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CONFERENCE 2019

DISPLACEMENT & DOMESTICITY

SINCE 1945

Refugees, Migrants & Expats making *homes*

28-29
March
2019

BRUSSELS
BELGIUM

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displacementdomesticity@kuleuven.be

WORKING PAPER SERIES

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DISPLACEMENT & DOMESTICITY SINCE 1945. REFUGEES, MIGRANTS & EXPATS MAKING *HOMES*.

WORKING PAPER SERIES

2019

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DISPLACEMENT & DOMESTICITY SINCE 1945

REFUGEES, MIGRANTS & EXPATS MAKING HOMES.

WORKING PAPER SERIES

Edited by Alessandra Gola, Ashika Singh and Anamica Singh

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The WORKING PAPER SERIES gathers results from the EAHN 2019 Thematic Conference: DISPLACEMENT & DOMESTICITY SINCE 1945: REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND EXPATS MAKING HOMES. The EAHN conference was held in Brussels, Belgium on 28-29th March, 2019, in collaboration with KU Leuven Department of Architecture, the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium and FWO. The papers presented draw together different responses regarding the question of displacement and domesticity in various circumstances (e.g., forced, economic, etc.) and in relation to past, present as well as future notions of SPACE, PLACE and ARCHITECTURE. The table of contents responds to the programme of the conference (although not all presenters submitted their full paper), which was designed by the organisers to highlight common and significant themes in the papers. In addition to displacement and domesticity, these themes attempt to untangle notions of HOME, HOUSING, the CITY, GENDER and SHELTER. Therefore, this book of working papers introduces the theme of DISPLACEMENT and DOMESTICITY as a significant one of interdisciplinary investigation for our time. It looks to continue the discussion further – to provoke and to challenge new questions and perspectives, reconfiguring the scholarly approach to these ideas. The WORKING PAPER SERIES is now available for download: <http://www.a2i-kuleuven.be/>

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CONFERENCE TEAM

Herewith we would like to mention and publicly thank the team of KULeuven alumni that volunteered in the organisation and realisation of this congress:

RANA BACHIR [LEBANON]

HÉLÈNE DORNY [BELGIUM]

FLORENCIA FERNANDEZ CARDOSO [ARGENTINA]

HABIB GHASEMI [IRAN]

SEBASTIAAN LOSEN [BELGIUM]

WILLEM NEYENS [BELGIUM]

ROGERIO REZENDE [BRAZIL]

GEORGINA TRUTER [SOUTH AFRICA]

RUTH VAN DER MEULEN [BELGIUM]

This conference was organised in the highest consideration of ethical requirements concerning fair work conditions, equality and inclusiveness and environmental sustainability.

CONFERENCE VENUE

Palais der Academiën/Palais des Académies

(Palace of the Academies)

Rue Ducale 1

1000 Brussels

Belgium



CONFERENCE PROGRAM- DAY 1 – THURSDAY 28/03/2019

THREADS :	RETHINKING DOMESTICITY	PRACTICES
9:00-9:30	INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME -AUDITORIUM ALBERT II	
9:30-10:30	1ST KEYNOTE LECTURE: PETER GATRELL (UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER) - AUDITORIUM ALBERT II	
10:30-11:00	COFFEE BREAK	
	PARALLEL SESSION A (BIBLIOTHEEK - ground floor)	PARALLEL SESSION B (ROOM OCKEGHEM - ground floor)
11:00-13:00	<p>(RE)FRAMING DOMESTICITY SESSION CHAIR: HILDE HEYDEN</p> <p>Ipek Mehmetoglu <i>Our Art Ambassador in Paris: Fahrelnissa Zeid and Artistic-Domesticities</i></p> <p>Cathelijne Nuijsink <i>Acculturating the 'House for the Salaryman': A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Home-Making</i></p> <p>Robin Vandevoordt <i>The politics of food and hospitality. How Syrian refugees in Belgium create a home in hostile environments</i></p> <p>Carmen Popescu <i>Transgressive Domesticity. Learning from displacement(s)</i></p>	<p>BUILDING SHELTER SESSION CHAIR: KELLY SHANNON</p> <p>Elis Mendoza <i>Closed Objects, Open Systems: Experiments in Sheltering Processes</i></p> <p>Aleksander Stanicic <i>Refugee shelters done differently: Humanist (and global) architecture in socialist Yugoslavia</i></p> <p>Alexander Kader, Saja Alarefaie <i>Sustainable landscape architecture in Azraq refugee camp development</i></p> <p>Hafsa Olcay <i>Beyond Containers: Rethinking architectures of home in temporary refugee settlements</i></p>
13:00-14:30	LUNCH BREAK	
14:30-16:00	<p>FROM EMERGENCY TO HOME SESSION CHAIR: SOFIE DE CAIGNY</p> <p>Irit Katz <i>Better than a Shelter: On Architectural Nuclei of Life in Displacement</i></p> <p>Toby Parsloe <i>Displacement and Domesticity in the City: the politics of constructing a home in Berlin's institutionalised refugee shelter</i></p> <p>Dalia Dukanac <i>Housing displaced Yugoslav People's Army officers in the post-war Belgrade</i></p>	<p>HOME AS EVERYDAY PRACTICES SESSION CHAIR: ELS DE VOS</p> <p>Niccolò Suraci <i>Dong Xuan Center in Lichtenberg. The everyday life of the Vietnamese community in Berlin</i></p> <p>Maretha Dreyer <i>Place, Power and Belonging: A feminist informed perspective on the provision of housing for asylum applicants in Ireland</i></p> <p>Babette Wyckaert <i>Housing pathways of refugees as an indicator for (social/spatial) integration in Flanders.</i></p>

DOMESTICITY BEYOND THE HOME

THE HOME & THE POLITICAL

PARALLEL SESSION C (ROOM BORDET - 1st floor)

PARALLEL SESSION D (ROOM PRIGOGINE - ground floor)

HOME AS ENDURANCE

SESSION CHAIR: ROMOLA SANYAL

Suraina Pasha

Urban (In)visibility and the Politics of Survival of Syrian Non-Refugees in Jordan

Liat Savin Ben Shoshan

Wadi Rushmia 1948-2010

Julia Tischer

Domestic exclusions: Hochbunkers as containers of post-war subculture 1945-1975

Wafa Butmeh

Static Displacement, Adaptive Domesticity: The Bargained Existence inside Firing Zone 9181, Palestine

DOMESTICITY AND INTEGRATION

SESSION CHAIR: MARJAN MORIS

Kezia Dewi

Home Making Process of Tionghoa Community in Postcolonial Indonesia. From Chinatown, Inner City Kampung to Gated Communities.

Benedikt Stoll

Re-tracing Home – Conversations with Syrian newcomers on the “arrival crisis” in Berlin

Elisabeth Edwards

Cambodian Crisis - Finding Refuge in the America

Anamica Singh

Beyond Displacement and Dispossession: Urban Villages in negotiation with neoliberalism

HOMING THE CITY

SESSION CHAIR: LUCE BEECKMANS

Maria Cecilia Chiappini, Kris Scheerlinck, Yves Schoonjans

Spatial Appropriations by Migrants as Research Tool in Glòries Square, Barcelona

Yu-Hsui Liu, Chin Lin Pang

Homing the City – Cross-Scale Exploration of Negotiating the Idea of Home by Chinese women in Antwerp

Dina Dahood

Spatiality in refugee camps, a figure or a reflection. Tracing the evolution of regulatory rules on shaping urban realities in Marka camp, Jordan

CONFERENCE PROGRAM- DAY 1 – THURSDAY 28/03/2019

THREADS :	RETHINKING DOMESTICITY	PRACTICES
16:00-16:30	COFFEE BREAK	
16:30-18:00	<p>HOME AS CARE & COMMUNITY SESSION CHAIR: SUSAN GALAVAN</p> <p>Shelly Cohen, Yael Allweil <i>Displacement & Domesticity: Shared residence of care workers and elderly people</i></p> <p>Maram Shaweesh <i>The expression of parenting values in the domestic setting: The case of the Lebanese community in Sydney</i></p> <p>Gregorio Carboni Maestri <i>There's A Lot of Chile In Every Romanian Migrant</i></p>	<p>DISPOSSESSION AND DOMESTICITY SESSION CHAIR: CHIN LIN PANG</p> <p>Gabrielle Ackroyd <i>Quiet Unmakings: Reconfiguring domesticities of lost Irish mortgaged houses</i></p> <p>Anna Di Giusto <i>Making Home in Borgo Mezzanone. Dignity and Mafias in South Italy</i></p> <p>Afroditi Maragkou <i>Traces of rural domesticity. The aspects of forced displacement due to reclamation works on the countryside of Greece</i></p>
19:00	CONFERENCE DINNER	

DOMESTICITY BEYOND THE HOME

THE HOME & THE POLITICAL

HOME AS CITIZENSHIP

SESSION CHAIR: PETER GATRELL

Alessandra Gola

Building identity through manifold displacements: dwelling cultures in urban Palestine

Aikaterini Antonopoulou

Mediating between Formality and Informality in Refugee Crisis Athens

Farhan Karim, Tasniva Rahman

Refugees at Home: Urban Growth of the Bihari Geneva Camp, Dhaka

PUBLIC HOUSING AND ITS (DIS)CONTENTS

SESSION CHAIR: SIEN WINTERS

Sila Karatas Başoğlu

Public housing for domestication: The socio-spatial politics of settling the Bulgarian immigrants in Turkey after 1950 and 1989

David Escudero

Architecture as an actor: two post-war cinematic representations of the Quartiere Tuscolano II in Rome

Dirk Geldof, Louise D'Eer, Lore Robeyns

Before you can make a home, you need to find a house

CONFERENCE PROGRAM- DAY 2 – FRIDAY 29/03/2019

THREADS :	RETHINKING DOMESTICITY	PRACTICES
	PARALLEL SESSION A (BIBLIOTHEEK - ground floor)	PARALLEL SESSION B (ROOM OCKEGHEM - ground floor)
9:00-11:00	<p>THE AGENCY OF DOMESTICITY SESSION CHAIR: FREDIE FLORE'</p> <p>PANEL 4</p> <p>Layla Zibar, Nurhan Abujidi <i>Who is doing what? Spatial Practices in refugee camps- Kurdistan region of Iraq</i></p> <p>Shima Rezaei Rashnoodi <i>Narratives of homemaking in diaspora presented in social media; the case of Iranian women.</i></p> <p>Ayham Dalal <i>Dwelling as Negotiating: Homemaking practices in Zaatari Camz</i></p> <p>Caio Penko Teixeira <i>Displacement in Austerity Urbanism: Immigrants and squatting practices in Torino</i></p>	<p>EXPAT DOMESTICITY SESSION CHAIR: RAJESH HEYNICKX</p> <p>Swagata Das <i>Gurugram and its Globalized Citizens: an enquiry into the domestic spaces of the Millennium city</i></p> <p>Anat Falbel, Karine Daufenbach <i>Hans Broos: an architect in search of domesticity in foreign lands</i></p> <p>Jose Vela Castillo <i>Internal Migrants, Inner Expats. Paradoxical ways of life in the mid-1950s Spain</i></p> <p>Matthew Teismann, Rachel Ghindea <i>Living within the Absurd: Albert Camus and Social Estrangement</i></p>
11:00-11:30	COFFEE BREAK	
11:30-12:30	2ND KEYNOTE LECTURE: ROMOLA SANYAL (LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS) - AUDITORIUM ALBE	
12:30-14:00	LUNCH BREAK	
14:00-15:45	<p>DWELLING IN TEMPORARINESS SESSION CHAIR: JOHAN LAGAE</p> <p>PANEL 5</p> <p>Raffaella Greco Tonegutti <i>Between waiting and homing</i></p> <p>Maier Yagod <i>Further thoughts about Border as Refuge Demarcating Safe Spaces in Times of Conflict</i></p> <p>Racha Daher <i>(Un)Making Home: Displaced in the North Quarter</i></p>	<p>MAKING HOME AWAY FROM HOME SESSION CHAIR: PAOLO BOCCAGNI</p> <p>Huda Tayob <i>Trans-national Homes: From Nairobi to Cape Town</i></p> <p>Mina Roces <i>When Home is an Empty Italian Villa in the Philippines: The Semiotics of Consumption of Filipino Domestic Workers in Italy, 1980s-2017</i></p> <p>Illinur Can <i>A Spatial Quest on the Integration of Immigrants: Uyghur Immigrants' Settlements in Kayseri</i></p> <p>Gabrielle Schaad <i>Collective Form between Migration, Adaptation, and Appropriation: Thai-domesticity at Golden Mile Complex Singapore?</i></p>
15:45-16:15	COFFEE BREAK	
16:15-17:15	3RD KEYNOTE LECTURE: PAOLO BOCCAGNI (UNIVERSITÀ DI TRENTO) - AUDITORIUM ALBERT II	
17:15-18:00	CLOSING DEBATE - PLENARY SESSION - AUDITORIUM ALBERT II	

DOMESTICITY BEYOND THE HOME

THE HOME & THE POLITICAL

PARALLEL SESSION C (ROOM BORDET - 1st floor)

PARALLEL SESSION D (ROOM PRIGOGINE - ground floor)

ARCHITECTURAL DISPLACEMENTS SESSION CHAIR: MARK CRINSON

Gina Hochstein, Bil McKain

European Émigrés and Modernism in Post-war New Zealand

Daniela Ortiz dos Santos

Displacement and the Making of Latin American Architectural History

Kirsten Doermann

Bungalow compounds in Johannesburg: Organic re-appropriation of imported domesticity

Els De Vos, Dirk Geldof

The layered threshold as a mediating figure in the homes of migrants and newcomers

OCCUPIED DOMESTICITIES

SESSION CHAIR: LIEVEN DE CAUTER

Elisa Ferrato

Making Space under Occupation. The West Bank case study

Soumya Dasgupta, Fatima Noreen

Imposition of Identities and Othering of Migrants: Spatial Stories of 'Blacks' and 'Habshis' in Delhi's Khirki Village

Fatima Abreek-Zubiedat

At Home in the Gaza Strip in the Gaza Strip in the Gaza Strip: Between Camp and City, 1972-1982

Shadi Saleh

The Displacement of the Displaced: The Production of the Public Space of Jabaliya Refugee Camp

RT II

(RE)GENDERING DISPLACEMENT & DOMESTICITY

SESSION CHAIR: YVES SCHOONJANS

Marianna Charitonidou

Gender roles in Neorealism's baraccati and national identity in postwar Italy

Menatalla Ahmed Agha, Els De Vos

Displacement and the (Re)gendering of the Nubian house

Zoe Jordan

The world we share": Domesticity in Sudanese refugee-refugee hosting relationships in urban Amman

HOMING THE CAMP

SESSION CHAIR: NURHAN ABUJIDI

Ashika Singh

Negotiating Homelessness: Discovering the concept of home in the refugee camp

Ahmad Aqra

Deformed Landscapes: The image of home in the eyes of Palestinian refugees The case of Qalandia camp near Jerusalem

Isra Assaf

The Displacement Cognition; Past, Present and Future illustrations of domesticity in Qalandia Refugee Camp

KEYNOTE SESSIONS



PETER GATRELL
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

MIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND OTHERS: IN AND OUT OF THE (DIS) COMFORT ZONE

In this keynote I shall engage with some of the core themes of the workshop as outlined in the original reflections prepared by the organisers. I want to think historically of ‘home’ and ‘homeland’ as having the capacity to be both a comfort zone but also a zone of discomfort, manifested most clearly and dramatically in orchestrated episodes of forced migration but also evident in other strands of migration. Likewise, in relation to population displacement, I want to broach questions of discomfort and comfort, for example in refugee camps and shanty towns, and to consider whose interests are served in devising and maintaining these arrangements and in transforming them through schemes of ‘development’. Finally, I want to think about the forms and meanings behind movement between zones of comfort and discomfort. My illustrative examples are drawn from an eclectic range of sites of displacement, and will include visual images as well as written testimony from officials as well as migrants and refugees. If time permits, I hope to offer some remarks about the lexicon of displacement: not so much about the typologies but about the keywords, such as ‘protection’, that circulate in public discourse. In my presentation it will also be apparent that I am operating outside my usual comfort zone



ROMOLA SANYAL
THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

MAKING HOMES IN EXILE: GENDERED PRACTICES OF BUILDING REFUGE

How do refugees make homes in exile? Much of the literature on refuge focuses on camps, informal settlements, cities and other spaces. However, there is a need to think beyond these larger geographies to think about the other scales of habitation, such as that of the house itself, and how the house or the shelter becomes a home. As Blunt and Dowling (2006: 3) note, “Home is more than a house or household. Whilst house and household are components of home, on their own they do not capture the complex socio-spatial relations and emotions that define home.” In shifting scales then, we are able to pay closer attention to the affective nature of homes, and the processes of homemaking. In this it is also useful to pay close attention to questions of identity. For example, how are men and women differently involved in the production of homes? In this talk, I look at the production of informal settlements in refugee colonies in India with a specific focus on the role of gender. In doing so, I am interested in thinking critically about who is involved in building informal settlements and how the building and inhabitation of homes is infused with social and political processes. Through this analysis, I hope to draw together the critical literatures on home-making, urbanization and refugee studies and critically consider how the ‘descent into the ordinary’ (cf. Das) becomes a powerful act of resistance and belonging.



PAOLO BOCCAGNI
UNIVERSITY OF TRENTO

***DOMESTICITY - HOME - HOMING
MINDING THE GAP BETWEEN PLACE-RELATED EXPERIENCE AND
ASPIRATIONS AFTER DISPLACEMENT***

My keynote is an invitation to look at the dwelling conditions and trajectories of migrants and refugees in light of the interdependence between three analytical categories, i.e. domesticity, home and homing. Each category evokes something of the everyday lives of those who find themselves out-of-place after major biographical disjunctures such as displacement. Yet, it is only their cumulative relation that illuminates the material, relational and temporal dimensions of experiencing place after displacement. What is constructed as domesticity, or the lack thereof, tends to articulate a view of home from the inside(r), focused on infrastructural conditions, house affordances, domestic rituals and material cultures. Yet, the subjective experiences associated with it, and the ways of getting access to space and negotiate “thresholds of domesticity” within it, call for a broader analytic. This can be developed in terms of home and homemaking, to highlight that any construction of the domestic is processual, interactive and contextual. All home-related claims for security, familiarity and control vary over time and space, between and within groups, and may be at odds with each other (what is home to some being non-home to most). While the field of home is bound to remain contested, there is still another (phenomenological) question: the experience of home involves an ongoing struggle towards a “better” condition, rather than its full achievement. This opens up to the category of homing, and to a still larger research and biographical field for those who went through displacement and extended mobility. The latter processes do constrain, and potentially annihilate, people’s rights, needs and possibilities to carve out a special place of their own – a location they call home. The temptation is strong, however, to approach the aftermaths of displacement through analytical shortcuts: assuming the migrant or refugee condition as synonym with non-home; zooming down to any micro-form of homemaking as meaningful in itself (albeit insufficient to cope with structural marginality); seeing migrants’ home experience as the mere reproduction or retention of what they left behind. A homing perspective invites, instead, to appreciate the evolving interplay between the places migrants live in and their ongoing constructions of better ones, given their resources and structures of opportunities. All efforts to bridge between lived and aspired “homes” reveal a key biographical commonality between displaced people and their counterparts.

SESSION 1.A

(RE)FRAMING DOMESTICITY

TRANSGRESSIVE DOMESTICITY: LEARNING FROM DISPLACEMENT(S)

Carmen Popescu

Transgressive Domesticity. Learning from displacement(s)

CARMEN POPESCU

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In the past few decades, and even more so in recent years, the phenomenon of human displacement has challenged architects in a number of ways. As they sought to find solutions for displaced populations, they were ultimately inspired by the needs and consequences of unrootedness, whether it be chosen or forced. Addressing displacement implies a paradoxical choice, wherein architects are compelled to reflect upon a pre-architectural condition: if they fulfil the (primary) need for shelter, they lose in the process the complex notion of 'home'. In anticipation of the relation between mass-housing and precariousness, Joseph Hudnut wrote in the wake of World War II (WWII) an essay premonitorily entitled "The Post-modern House": comparing the new American suburbs to immense parking lots, he pointed out that standardized mass-produced dwellings lacked the "promise of happiness, which, in houses is the important quality of all appearances" (Hudnut, 1949).¹ Most architects engaged with issues relating to displaced populations left the matter of homeliness – the "promise of happiness" – into their care. Instead of looking at the domesticity created by these displaced inhabitants, my paper examines its impact on recent architecture and the way this came to question its most essential epistemological bases. I will do so by analyzing a series of exhibition installations and by critically reflecting on how the rise of social, political as well as humanitarian concerns engendered new manners of conceiving the act of inhabiting. Finally, I will consider how this implies a turn in today's architectural thinking which reassesses the role of (vital) space.

Keywords: post-modern, WWII, critique, art exhibition, domesticity, imaginary, epistemology.

PREAMBLE: NO DOMESTICITY FOR THE DEPRIVED OF SPACE (?)

Following WWII, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy published an essay in *Perspecta* which claimed that the history of man in relation to his environment is a history as a "seeker of shelter" (Moholy-Nagy, 1954). Her statement sought to stimulate the study of what she called 'anonymous architecture' in historiographic discourse. At the same time, it reminds one how military conflict not long past had assigned a renewed importance to the notion of shelter.

This notion has itself a long history in the evolution of architectural thinking. One of the most compelling is, undoubtedly, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux's "shelter of the poor". Seated under a tree, on an endless field, the poor has no roof over his head but the sky. Ledoux pictured the scene with lyrical emphasis: "this vast universe that might surprise you is the house of the poor [...] he has the azure vault for dome and communicates with Gods' assembly" (Ledoux, 1804).²

But, how can the poor feel at home under the open sky? If Ledoux's reference to the sky was intended to parallel Vitruvius description of men's evolution from the "wild beasts" in their need for shelter – as they were no more "obliged to walk with faces to the ground, but upright and gazing upon the splendor of the starry firmament" (Vitruvius, 1914) – then it obviously holds a philosophical dimension. While the scene could further be read as an allusion to Kant's conclusion to the *Critique of Practical Reason* – "starry heavens above me and the moral law within me" (Kant, 1781) – it could also give rise to a literal coalescence between 'dome' and the Latin 'domus' – that is, home. From this perspective, the entire

1 The author's emphasis.

2 The quotations are my translation.

universe appears as the poor's home: a cosmic domesticity, deprived of all architectural element, invoking total freedom. But Ledoux warned his readers against this delusional idyllic imagery, insisting on the poor's actual request for a house and on the fulfilment of everybody's "exact needs" (Ledoux, 1804).

This late eighteenth century architectural fable appears strangely contemporary and acute, not only when related to today's human displacements – refugees, migrants, etc., who are often forced to sleeping under "starry heavens" –, but also in terms of questioning the sense of domesticity. François Lyotard (1994) remarked that "when modernity began, the mode of dwelling (...) designate[d] by the ancient Latin noun *domus* started to vanish". But this vanishing act was not the same for the "poor" and the "rich", to reuse Ledoux's words: the accepted exposure created by transparent facades, which were one of modern architectures utmost principles, is in no way comparable to the vulnerability of being deprived of any physical protection. Total transparency is lived as a form of freedom only when chosen. Heidegger (2013) called this vanishing act induced by modernity "distancelessness", Lyotard (1994), "disappearance", while MoMA explored it in the 1999 show "The Un-Private House".

However, if this chosen lack of privacy is a "cultural invention", as claimed by Terence Riley (1999) who curated the 1999 MoMA show, the deprival of intimacy (as resulted from the non-action in favour of or the actions against those displaced or 'unplaced') is instead a political act. In the following, I will look at displacement from the perspective of displaced and 'unplaced' populations, living in extreme economic and spatial insecurity and for whom mobility is not a choice, but an imposed condition.

ACCOMPANYING DISPLACEMENT: BUILDING SPACES

If, in architecture, mobility arose – for multiple reasons – as a concern and a challenge in response to the fast moving frame of modernity, then its force of invention was partially adjusted to solve the very flaws of the same dynamics. For instance, there was a transfer of expertise focus from the demountable week-end units, a topic of architectural interest during the interwar years, to the WWII Army shacks which, at the end of the conflict, were turned into emergency dwellings. An example of this is the B.L.P.S. week-end facility (built in 1935 and designed by Eugène Beaudouin and Marcel Lods with Jean Prouvé) which served as a base for invention.

As time passed, a specific expertise was developed in response to mounting hostile circumstances and 'crisis' situations of human displacement. Seen as related to a state of exception, these circumstances were regarded for decades as marginal for the regular practice. However, an increasing concern with the architectural ethics has propelled them in very recent years on the stages of major exhibitions. Seven out of the ten past editions of the Architectural Biennale in Venice tackled more or less directly issues of displacement or un-placement, entitled as follows: *Città: Less Aesthetics, More Ethics* (2000); *Cities. Architecture and Society* (2006); *Out There. Architecture Beyond Building* (2008); *People meet in architecture* (2010); *Common Ground* (2012); *Reporting from the Front* (2016); and *Freespace* (2018). The issues raised by Massimiliano Fuksas, curator of the 2000 edition became in the following years topical subjects for the Venice biennale and other architectural manifestations: "transformation and changes [...] often accompanied by conflict, an increase in the urban population, old and new forms of poverty, pollution, desperation, waves of emigration, refugees..." (Fuksas, 2000). Even the 2014 edition "Fundamentals", imagined by Rem Koolhaas as a celebration of one hundred years of modernity, addressed in an unexpected manner Ledoux's "exact needs". In the Giardini central pavilion, a quote from the 12th century Chinese "Treatise on Architectural Methods" introduced the I-Ching principle of "roof above and support below to take shelter from rain and wind".³

3 Lie Jie's *Yinzao Fashi* (1103); explanatory panels accompanying the installation..

From these Biennales, two essential facts emerged: not only were architects ready to embrace this territory, disregarded until then by the profession, but they were also eager to learn something from it. Invited for the 2000 edition of the Biennale, the Indonesian architect Eko Prawoto stated that “the problem of the poor inhabitants of the Chode-Riverside [for whom he designed the exhibited project] was evidently not architecture, but, as I gradually learned from them, how to minimize their inferiority feelings”, while acknowledging that his project was “inspired by the humanitarian work of Father Manguwijaya” (Prawoto, 2000).

Terms like ‘learning’ and ‘lesson’ marked the discourse of several architects presenting works around displacement and/or un-placement. In the 2016 edition, dubbed “the biennale of the poor”,⁴ such acknowledgements were numerous, which came as no surprise, as its curator Alejandro Aravena had already been praised in Venice (2008 and 2012) for having innovatively developed incrementalism and participatory practice with precarious populations. Christian Kerez’s entitled his project for this 2016 edition “Learning from favelas (without poeticizing them)”,⁵ while Rahul Mehrotra and Felipe Vera explained that, in creating their installation “Ephemeral Urbanism. Cities in Constant Flux”, they “learn[ed] a lot” from the dynamics of the ephemeral religious festival Kumbh Mela. Moreover, the “ephemeral condition” (or otherwise put, the informality) was presented by Mehrotra as “the ultimate lesson for how to deal respectfully with the planet”⁶.

BRIEF INTERMISSION: DOMESTICITY INVENTED

Though denied to those deprived of space in general, domesticity is arguably what comes first even in temporary setting (Dammond, 2017). If the architect has the capacity to edify a space, then it is the dweller that turns it into a place.

How can domesticity be imagined in the context of irregular inhabiting (i.e., living in camps, slums, hosting centers, etc.)? Studies, realized by a number of architects and/or associations working with and for displaced populations, show that in such displaced circumstances creating domesticity requires both more and less assets in order to function.

It requires less assets because of the imposed conditions of inhabiting, which blur the notions of interiority and exteriority. In certain situations, processes of space appropriation are heavily restricted, thereby disabling interiority as a form of intimacy – that was the case, for instance, of the 125 uniformly white containers composing the Temporary Hosting Center in Calais, wherein “personalization” of the shelters’ interior was forbidden. In other situations, the informal appropriation leads to a ‘disqualification’⁷ of the space, as so happened in the industrial hangar of Sangatte, whereby the alleys between tents and containers were turned into sleeping places (Agier et al., 2018).

Meanwhile, it requires more assets, because the cumulative adding of different objects inside a shelter is not enough for creating homeliness. As revealed by certain research-actions, the displaced inhabitants need to integrate the material semiotic of the respective objects into an active system something akin to Latour’s (2005) Actor-Network-Theory, and thereby provide themselves with a sense of hospitality. Only like that does their shelter no more function as a neutral space, but as something more like a home.⁸

4 Alejandro Aravena in the panel discussion “Sustainability vs. Security”, 15th edition of the Venice Biennale, November 25 2016.

5 Quotations from the explanatory panels accompanying the installation.

6 Quotations from the explanatory panels accompanying the installation.

7 I use this term in the sense that Agamben (1998) uses it when he speaks about qualified life related to ‘zoe’ and ‘bios’.

8 See the Al-Madhafah/The Living Room project created by Sandi Hilal, based on her fieldwork for the Public Art Agency Sweden with refugees in Boden, Sweden (2016). See also the study produced by Cyrille Hannape and his students at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure d’Architecture de Paris-Belleville, after their fieldwork in the Calais “Jungle” (2015).

More or less: apparently the two terms designate the difference between occupying a space and inhabiting it. But, is this really the case?

LEARNING FROM DISPLACEMENT: NEW PARADIGMS OF (INTERIOR) SPACE

Several architectural installations exhibited in the Venice Biennale announce a certain change of paradigm. If the architect is a “seismograph”,⁹ this grasp goes beyond the profession, questioning new modes of inhabiting: not only a given space, but the world in general.

A number of key concepts – incremental, participatory, inclusive, transitory, unqualified – prefigure this new paradigm, addressing space from one or multiple points of view: abstract understanding, practical fabrication, actual inhabiting. They all imply scarcity and an ‘elastic’ domesticity, as evoked above.

These concepts were considered in many ways in the past editions of the Venice Biennale. Using the existing – materials, free spaces, urban configurations – and incrementalism were topically illustrated, for instance, by installations such as those presented in 2008 by Estudio Teddy Cruz and by Elemental office.¹⁰ Each of them addressed ambiguity (i.e., the connection between normativity and informality) and incompleteness (i.e., flexible solutions) in response to the increasing blurriness of our time. The asymmetrical exchanges between San Diego’s Levittown and Tijuana’s slum (via Estudio Teddy Cruz) subtly tackled the idea of border, understood not only in geopolitical terms but also in disciplinary ones. The ‘half-houses’ designed to resettle the illegal inhabitants of Iquique district in Quinta Monroy (Elemental) constituted not only a practical solution against economic distress, but also a manner of rethinking the notion of inhabiting. In this context, domesticity is about filling in void spaces

Elemental’s method, crafted for precarious communities, was turned by architects in the Western world into a tool for recreating connections. According to this renewed use, participatory design is less about economy and more about soci(et)al empowerment. Such was the lesson learned and displayed twice by the French pavilion. In 2006, Patrick Bouchain imagined “Metavilla” and invited the collectif EXYZT to literally inhabit the pavilion, hence displaying the process of creating domesticity.¹¹ “Infinite places” revisited the concept in 2018, by bringing together ten examples of large disused buildings and sites across France, all reinvested by architectural collectifs, associations, inhabitants. While suggesting that these places remain perpetually unfinished, the term ‘infinite’ stressed specifically the inclusiveness of their space as well as the endless combinations of appropriating it.

Practically, inclusive space and flexible dwelling were at the core of rethinking the complex notion of inhabiting. In 2016, four pavilions compellingly addressed it. Both the British pavilion and the German one – respectively, “Home economics” and “Making Heimat” – reconsidered the idea of home from the dwelling unit to the urban scale. While the British installation invited its visitors to reflect upon homeliness in terms of future dwellings, as the result of a gradual disqualification of the interior space, the German display proposed an almost opposite discourse insofar as it sought to turn the entire city into a place of hospitality in response to the migration policy of its country. This same concern for sharing spaces was differently analysed in the Japanese and the Finnish pavilions. Contemplating the ancient Buddhist notion of En – a symbol of the living together, but also of the concept of “edge” – the Japanese installation “En: Art of Nexus” questioned limits, both physically and philosophically, in the frame of cohabiting¹². The Finnish

9 “Sensing the Future: The Architect as Seismograph”, curator Hans Hollein; 1996 edition.

10 Estudio Teddy Cruz, “South to North: Suburbs made of non-conformity, Tijuana’s encroachment into San Diego’s sprawl. North to South: Suburbs made of waste: San Diego’s Levittown is recycled into Tijuana’s slum”; Elemental office, “From Sub-Urbia to Super-Urbia”.

11 The title of the installation was a phonetic transcription of the French *Mets ta vie là*. The term collectif, literally “collective”, started to be used in the past years instead of the established “office”, designating a French version of fablabs.

12 Quotations from the explanatory panels accompanying the installation.

pavilion, “From border to home”, extended the scale of cohabiting to seek mass-solutions for hosting migrants; it thus presented four international projects exploring such solutions: “enter the void” turned to benefit the existing spatial resources in the city; “start with a roof” used the roofs structures of future houses as temporary shelters; “IMBY” proposed to install hospitality structures in private yards; “donor apartments” imagined a similar structure inside the dwelling, reserving an “embedded refugee room”.

TO CONCLUDE

In the context of displacement, temporariness and the un-qualification of space appear as essential elements for rethinking the act of inhabiting. “Home-economics”, the 2016 British installation, provided a compelling image of what could be the home of the future, presenting a space deprived of almost anything: an empty concrete cube, with a partial divider, and appliances for minimal comfort – water and electricity.

Although the 2016 British pavilion had nothing to do with migrants, refugees and homeless, the several spaces composing it uncannily reminded one the unqualified spaces of the displaced and un-placed. But in one case, mobility and giving up possessions was a reaction against a corrupt system, and, in another, it represented an obliged condition.

There is a certain similarity between the bareness of unqualified spaces and Ledoux’s “shelter of the poor”. How is one to interpret the freedom – so absolute, so terrifying – promised by such a place? As the ultimate stage of a humankind liberated from material constraints? As the logical result of the swift mutations of a “liquid society” (Bauman, 2000), a society changing more rapidly than its capacity to develop meaningful routines? Or as an instrument of biopolitics, the equivalent of “bare life” in a world where zoe has no more value (Agamben, 1998)? As a matter of fact, that was the message of the British installation, which was less about solutions for the evolving notion of domesticity and more about anticipating what could be the meaning of home in the era of late-capitalism. The nakedness of its spaces, which is irrigated by a critical reflection on economic constraints, social inequality and political leverage, could be read as an architectural paraphrase of the ‘ultra-violence’ of *A Clockwork Orange*.

Meanwhile, this same bareness conveys a message about living together and inclusiveness. The unqualified space might hence be interpreted as a reversal of perspectives, turning exteriority into interiority, that is, a common to be shared by many. This reversal concerns appropriation, less in the sense of furtively occupying empty spots of the public space and more in the sense of sharing spaces. If this ‘exterior domesticity’ was at stake both in the urban appropriation exhorted by the “Making Heimat” installation and in the disused sites of “Infinite places”, the best example was offered by the 2018 Belgian pavilion, “Eurotopia” – an invitation to meditate upon the (metaphorical) meaning of living together. Such a reversal of exteriority into interiority invites also to apprehend the significance of hospitality, a value that PEROU, one of the associations exhibited in the 2018 French pavilion, proposed to UNESCO as a form of immaterial heritage of humanity.¹³

Many approaches of the examples discussed above are not new, reminding one the militant actions of architects like Hassan Fathy, Buckminster Fuller, Yona Friedman, to quote only few. What is new is the progressive spread of transgressive ways of thinking and acting. If this concerns a new ethical dimension of architecture, then it is a reflection of how to displace the discipline out of its typical boundaries. And, whatever the context, domesticity appears as a concept to be revised.

13 The request presented to UNESCO was evoked by Sébastien Thierry in a lecture at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure d’Architecture de Bretagne, February 5, 2019.

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SESSION 1.B

BUILDING SHELTER

REFUGEE SHELTERS DONE DIFFERENTLY: HUMANIST (AND GLOBAL)
ARCHITECTURE IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

Aleksander Stanicic

SUSTAINABLE LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN AZRAQ REFUGEE CAMP
DEVELOPMENT

Alexander Kader, Saja Alarefaie

Refugee shelters done differently: Humanist (and global) architecture of socialist Yugoslavia

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This paper explores the peculiar architecture of refugee shelters in Socialist Yugoslavia, focusing particularly on the Refugee Center in Banja Koviljača (1964) designed by Mihajlo Mitrović. Since this initiative coincided with the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement, architects saw in this challenge an opportunity to create “representative” architecture that would serve as the catalyst of transcultural exchange among nations. The paper will show how Yugoslav modern architecture – backed by Yugoslav globalist aspirations, which also included the exportation of “soft” socialism across its borders – bridged different worlds, redefined the concepts of local and global architectural heritage, and erased the boundaries between European and non-European architectural traditions.

Keywords: Refugee shelters, socialist Yugoslavia, Non-aligned movement, cultural exchange, international style, Mihajlo Mitrović.

INTRODUCTION

„...there are no [too] big or [too] small themes in architecture, the size of buildings has no influence on architectural experience, building traditions are inexhaustible source of inspiration for new designers, landscape is the prime factor in artistic determination of work of architecture” (Mitrović, 1971, p.6).

Architectural miniatures, similar to miniatures in music, painting or sculpture, can send powerful messages and have a long-reaching impact. There is no idea too pertinent, no ideology too grand, that cannot be conveyed by the smallest of architectural forms. The dominant notion in socialist Yugoslavia in the 1960s, for example, was that non-alignment is an advantage rather than a hinderance, and that the country can use its peculiar political position to spread its influence and act as a cohesive element in a deeply polarized and divided world. Architecture played no small roll in achieving those ambitious goals.

To put the discussion into the right context: political rift between Josip Broz Tito and Joseph Stalin in 1948 led to the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the communist bloc under the dominion of Soviet Union, but at the same time, opened the door for a young federal nation to politically and culturally reinvent itself. In the decades that followed, the country developed an unique system of governance which is described by many modern-day historians as “soft” socialism (Kulić, 2009). Totalitarian rule of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, with Tito as its undisputed leader, intertwined self-governing industrial production and a lavish life-style that drew its inspiration from the capitalist West. This state of “in-betweenness” required, and indeed produced, an architectural style that was “capitalist in form and socialist in nature”: formally, it had to be distant from the legacy of socialist realism traditionally associated with Soviet Union and simultaneously embody the “progressive ideology” of the Party (Kulić, Mrduljaš and Thaler, 2012). Solution was found in the creation of a specific kind of “Yugoslav” modernism, characterized by a high level of professional independence, individualism and freedom to search for innovative architectural forms. The social status of architects was so high that they were considered one of the main drivers of social change, while aggressive construction of modern forms at the expense of vernacular architecture was often used as the substitute for actual modernization of the country (Herscher, 2010).

At the zenith of the Cold War, in 1961, the founding conference of the Non-Aligned Movement was held in Belgrade, then the capital of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The movement was seen as a third, neutral alternative to the two confronting political and ideological blocs – Eastern and Western. Its formation started the series of events that had an enormous effect on economic, cultural and – by translation – architectural production in the country. First of all, it enabled a conquest of a huge, unexplored market that ranged from South America, through Africa, to far East Asia. The high status of an unofficial leader of the Non-Aligned Movement gave the Yugoslav construction firms, such as Energoprojekt and Mašinoprojekt, privileged position when bidding for commissions in developing countries, which, in turn, gave the Yugoslav regime a convenient platform for spreading and promoting its political and ideological agenda (Sekulić, 2016; Mitrović, 1995). The famed maxim of “brotherhood and unity” was spread and practiced well outside state borders; cultural exchange bloomed, erasing the boundaries between European and non-European architectural traditions, producing in turn unique specimens of modern and post-modern architecture both in Yugoslavia and its comrade countries.

REFUGEE SHELTERS DONE DIFFERENTLY

Meaningful collaboration between Non-Aligned countries went far beyond the economic exchange and “empty” words of solidarity. As large number of foreign exchange students attended Yugoslav universities tuition-free, and vice-versa, it became common practice to help friends in need by sending humanitarian aid or taking in refugees from conflict areas into dedicated centers. These centers were built specifically for the purpose of hosting displaced persons. The quality of those places was exceptionally high, both in originality of architectural expression and applied building standards, such that it was not possible to distinguish them from social housing or even leisure facilities in whose vicinity they were usually situated. In all fairness, the number of refugee shelters built in Yugoslavia was not so high that their construction would present a burden on the state budget, and the number of displaced persons who found a home in those facilities was purely symbolic in the first years (and even decades) since their opening.¹ Nevertheless, the architects who designed them did so with special care, seeing in them, above all, places to promote local cultural heritage and transcultural exchange.

United Nations refugee center in Banja Koviljača (Spa Koviljača, Fig. 1), as it was officially called, was completed in 1964, only three years after the Non-Aligned Movement was formed. The architect of this particular edifice, Mihajlo Mitrović, had already attained an abundance of experience as a practicing architect and had proven his talent for designing architectural miniatures, rich with traditional motives. That same year he designed a custom house at Gevgelija border crossing, a modern building with strategically placed sculptural motives taken from local monasteries. He saw this building primarily as a place where “tourists entering the country would get the first-hand information about cultural sites they are about to encounter just down the road” (Staničić, 2016).² His aspiration to transform those places of continuous stress and estrangement into places of meaningful cultural exchange between the hosts and people coming from abroad for various reasons is evident.

The design of the building draws its inspiration from the surrounding picturesque terrain, from which it organically grows. Banja Koviljača is one of the most luxurious spas in Serbia, only a couple of kilometers from Serbian-Bosnian border, and the refugee center is at the very edge of the spa complex. The architect himself vividly explained his key concepts by stating that “with its forms and materials, the edifice succumbs to the mighty colors and silhouettes of the beautiful park and the forest that hover above”

1 Serbia alone today has five such centers with a total capacity of 1700 people. See <https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/serbia/types-accommodation>

2 Today, Gevgelija lies on the border between Greece and North Macedonia. Mitrović's custom house has been destroyed in the meantime.

(Mitrović, 1971, p.8). Small building of only couple of hundreds of square meters in surface, and only 120 available beds, consists of two tracts (dormitory and a restaurant) joint with a light-weight connection. These tracts are covered with low-slope twin roofs that lay on massive wooden beams. Wide overhanging eaves are reminiscent of Serbian old building traditions, particularly construction of medieval wooden churches and concurrent vernacular architecture. The façade is composed of large window surfaces combined with wall canvases coated in local broken stone. In his monograph on the work of Mihajlo Mitrović, Aleksandar Kadijević writes that what gives this building its charm is precisely this “combination of contemporary industrial and natural materials” (Kadijević, 1999, p.60).

The dominant architectural motive, immediately visible from every possible angle, is the high chimney with open, pyramidal capital piece (Fig. 2 and 3). It clearly marks the most important room of the entire complex: similar to old, traditional Serbian houses, there is a large, multifunctional living room with an enormous hearth in its midpoint. This room is the epicenter where all day-to-day activities happen; where people gather, talk, play, dine. The hearth represents the inexhaustible spring of (building’s) energy and life. Although clearly modern in its architectural expression, the architect roots this modernity in traditional elements that abound in this part of the country. Mitrović managed to create warm and welcoming architecture that invites displaced persons to get familiar with indigenous culture and explore even further local “hidden treasures”, as he loved to call those lovely pieces of traditional architecture scattered around burly Balkan mountains. Let it be noted that this designer’s approach lies in stark opposition to the modern-day design, organization and positioning of refugee shelters.

The edifice got high praises from the moment it opened its doors to the first occupants. At the opening ceremony, Sadruddin Aga Khan, then United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (not to be mistaken with Aga Khan IV, the founder of prestigious Aga Khan Award for Architecture), acknowledged the unusual but rational architecture of the refugee center (Mladenović, 1983, p.6). In a letter he personally received from Sadruddin Aga Khan (June 10, 1966), Mitrović testifies that Aga Khan “feared the possibility that refugees might decide to stay in this shelter voluntarily longer than they supposed to” (Ibid.).

Building’s peculiar design didn’t go unnoticed even among Yugoslav planners and architects – on the contrary. In 1967, it won the prestigious Republic Borba Award for architecture (Alihodžić, 2015). Jury offered the following rationale for their decision:

“The Refugee Center in Banja Koviljača [...] represents a significant contribution to our architecture. This building is characterized by well-balanced masses and expert usage of authentic materials, as well as the emphasis put on the texture of wall surfaces. Mitrović uses local materials and, by exploiting their unique features for the design of external as well as internal spaces, achieves personal architectural expression. The composition of basic volumes is skillfully imbedded in the ambiance through terrain modeling and respect toward surrounding natural values. Simple but functional scheme is enriched with the [perceived] ‘mobility’ of volumes that accurately interpret the content of the interior. Mitrović achieves particular and exceptional quality of the building through the artistic treatment of architectural details [...]” (Unknown, 1967, p.15).

By winning the Republic award, the project automatically won the nomination for the Federal Borba Award on the behalf of the Republic of Serbia. There it was again shortlisted but lost in the final round of voting by a narrow margin (jury voted 5:6) to the Elementary school building in Kočevje, designed by architect Jože Kreger (Ibid.).

Arguably, the awareness among Yugoslav architects about the importance of transcultural exchange started with the construction of the Refugee Center in Banja Koviljača, and with it, the inception of the

international style in Yugoslav architecture that would seek to transcend national borders and redefine styles and geographies of architectural production. Some of the well-known examples of this genre that followed up include the House of Yugoslav-Norwegian Friendship (today, the House of Serbian-Norwegian Friendship) in Gornji Milanovac (Fig. 4) and the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Belgrade. The claim that these examples, in their effort to bridge different worlds, managed to redefine the concepts of local, regional, European and global architectural heritage, is hardly an overstatement. As for the refugee centers, rare are the ones that managed to reach high standards set by the Mitrović's masterpiece. The one that came the closest is perhaps the refugee center in Bogovađa, but the comparison between the two is hardly possible (Fig. 5). This miniature fountain of creativity Banja Koviljača, in the unlikely field of architectural production, demonstrated the power of architecture to transform the unfortunate social circumstances, such as displacement and segregation, into an opportunity for transcultural collaboration – again, contrary to the current developments in refugee-shelters building.

POST SCRIPTUM

After several decades of silent, almost undetectable usage during which it mostly welcomed asylum seekers from the Eastern Europe, the refugee center in Banja Koviljača was finally put to the real test in 1990s (Jovanović and Rudić, 2011). From the early onset of Yugoslav wars (in 1991) to 2006, it sustained the surge of refugees from neighboring Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, which exposed its most notable flaw – a lack of capacity to accept large number of people.³ The structure, which was built to host no more than 120 residents on average, then hosted two to three times that number. Years of heavy usage left visible marks on the structure so it had to be refurbished in 2006 with the financial support of UNHCR. The Serbian government decided to establish the Asylum Center in Banja Koviljača on December 6, 2008, following the passage of the Asylum Act (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia no.109/2007) and Regulations on housing conditions and provision of basic living conditions in the Asylum Center.⁴ The passing of these regulations was one of the preconditions for Serbia to join the Schengen list. Serbia was thereby committed to processing asylum seekers who used the so-called “Balkan route” on their way to the European Union.

This paved the way for the most recent surge of refugees coming from the hot conflict regions of Middle East, Africa and South Asia. At the peak of the migrant crisis in 2011, the refugee shelter in Banja Koviljača hosted somewhere between 1000 and 2500 people (depending on the source), more than ten times the capacity of the center. People were sleeping outside of the shelter walls in the backyard, but also in the spa's public park and city bus station, which inevitably led to some frictions with local population (Rudić, 2014). The reception of refugees among locals worsened after a series of incidents (in only handful of those refugees were not the victims of crimes), inciting street protests organized by city residents. Since then the situation has slightly improved. The Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of Republic of Serbia reports a steady inflow of refugees that go through the center, about a thousand per year, but still some local organizations demand the permanent closure of the refugee center and its removal from the town. The building whose purpose was to welcome foreign friends in need and serve as a bridge between cultures, in an overall national climate of hostility and bigotry, turned into the major source of intolerance and segregation.

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Dedicated to the loving memory of Prof. Mihajlo Mitrović (1922-2018). Friend, mentor, inexhaustible

3 Data available at <https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/serbia/conditions-reception-facilities>.

4 <http://www.kirs.gov.rs/docs/azil/Asylum%20Center%20Banja%20Koviljaca.pdf>

source of inspiration.

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FIGURES

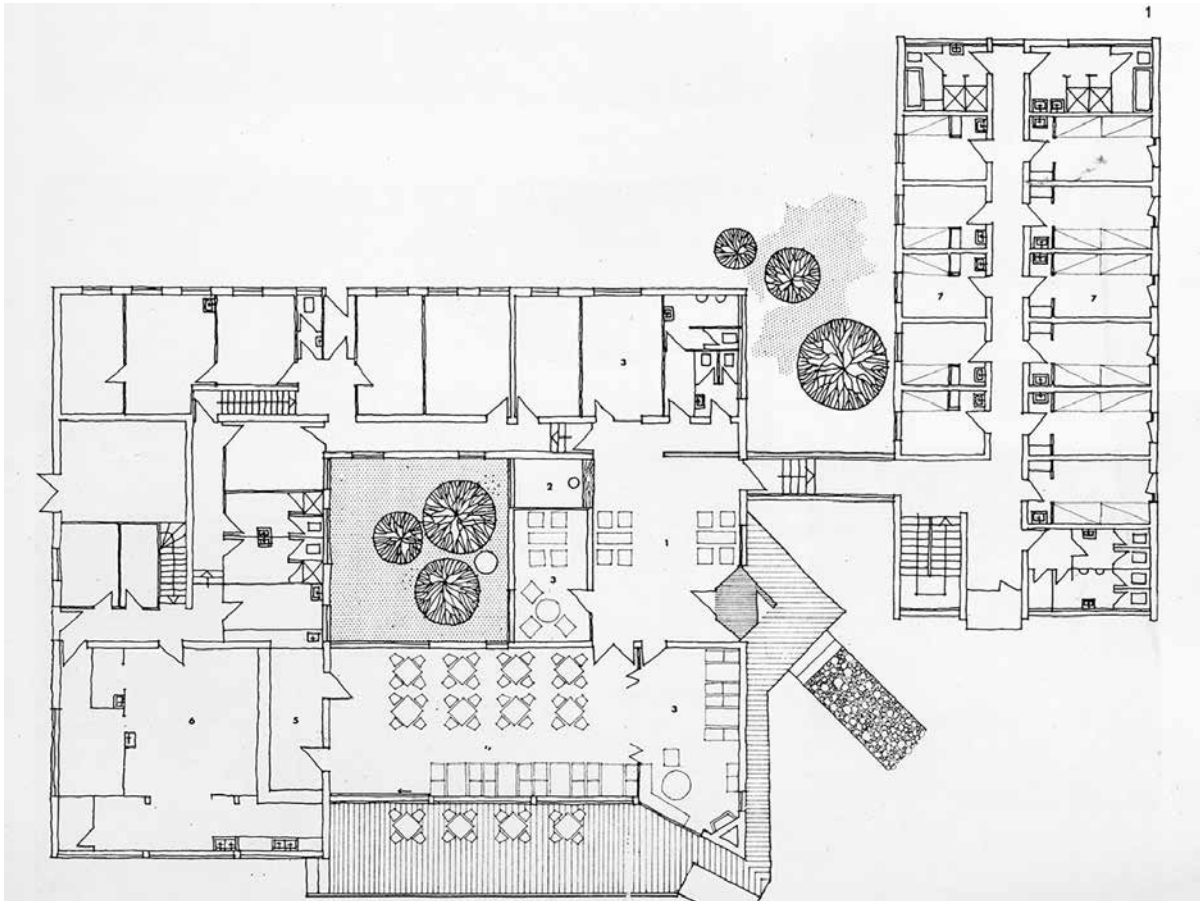


Figure 1

United Nations Refugee center in Banja Koviljača. Architect Mihajlo Mitrović, 1964. Ground floor plan. Source: Mihajlo Mitrović: izložba arhitekture, Muzej primenjene umetnosti Beograd, 13-25. april 1971.



Figure 2

United Nations Refugee center in Banja Koviljača. Architect Mihajlo Mitrović, 1964. Source: Mihajlo Mitrović: izložba arhitekture, Muzej primenjene umetnosti



Figure 3
United Nations Refugee center in Banja Koviljača. Architect Mihajlo Mitrović, 1964. Today's appearance.
Source: Wikipedia.



Figure 4
House of Serbian-Norwegian Friendship in Gornji Milanovac. Architect Aleksandar Đokiić, 1987.
Source: www.gornjimilanovac.rs.



Figure 5

Asylum center in Bogovađa.

Source: <http://www.kirs.gov.rs/docs/azil/Asylum%20Center%20Bogovadja.pdf>.

Sustainable Landscape Architecture in Azraq refugee camp development

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Refugee camps are a necessity following any crisis, to provide shelter and solace to those affected. Architecture has a pivotal and important role in humanitarian situations. In this paper, we will focus on the history of camps and the role that landscape architecture has had in the development process of them. We have chosen Azraq refugee camp in Jordan as an example to demonstrate this. Many investment projects are currently taking place, which show the camp has other added benefits, rather than just being a temporary shelter. This paper includes both research and projects proposing a sustainable design for re-structuring and developing Azraq camp. By proposing agricultural and entertainment projects involving both the refugees and the locals, we are hoping to improve the socio-economic situation, to allow for more employment opportunities in the future.

Keywords: Disaster, crisis, landscape crisis, refugee camps, disaster recovery, post-war cities, humanitarianism, sustainable landscape architecture.

INTRODUCTION

The terms crisis and disaster both have a common meaning, describing a situation of an unpleasant change, a great disagreement, confusion or suffering. It can describe sudden and harmful damage, which can ultimately result in death or other serious difficulties (Press & Combley, 2011). Disasters have harmful consequences and if no action is taken to mitigate these, the damage created can persist. Disasters can impact living conditions, the environment, health and the economic situation of the location affected (Kondylis, November 2010). Those traumatized by a disaster need more help than others, and may need open, peaceful places to allow them to heal (Klaric, Klarić, Stevanović, Grković, & Jonovska, 2007). Refugee camps form as a result of a crisis, which can lead to psychological, environmental, social and cultural benefits. 'Crisis landscape' is a term that describes a sudden shift in the urban context which involves both the community and the authorities, ultimately leading to urban modification (Ponzini, 2016). This form of crisis negatively affects social, political, economic and urban levels of society. Consequently, socio-economic disparities form. The social and economic gaps, as a result, in the community are mutual and connected.

The aim of this research is to evaluate the factors leading to these inequalities and to identify ways of reducing them. We will be discussing the history of displacement and analysing a case study. We will follow this with an applicable design proposal in a systematic plan concentrating on the refugee camps. We aim to convert them into healthy green small towns by considering the urban planning level, the economy of the host country and the social life.

REFUGEE CAMPS IN HISTORY

A refugee camp is a place or a settlement that receives a group of people seeking refuge and safety after a crisis or a disaster. One of the main characteristics of any camp is that they are only a temporary displacement (UNHCR, 2015). The structure of a refugee camp usually includes tents initially as a form of shelter. With time, if the crisis is prolonged, caravans may replace these tents. The size of a refugee camp depends simply on the number of occupants (Slater, 2014). Some refugee camps have reduced in size over time whilst others have permanently closed following a crisis, like the Anjar Armenian Refugee Camp in

Lebanon (Shemmassian, 2014). Some camps still exist today and are currently expanding. According to UNHCR statistics, 45.2 million people were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, generalized violence and human rights violations (UNHCR, 2016).

Refugee camps can be classified. Two of the main classifications are the location and the supporter (NGOs and government). Refugee camps are built with the support of either the government or international organizations such as ICRC or NGOs. Some settlements have developed without the aid of the government. Examples of such camps include the Calais Jungle Refugee camp in France, and the Idomeni Refugee camp in Greece (Fidler, 2016). Refugees are classified into either externally or internally displaced people (UNHCR, 2012).

Refugee camps used to be described in history with different expressions such as “Displacement”. Groups of tribes would be expelled or asked to leave an area due to a natural disaster, a war announcement or a pogrom (Petee & Petee, 2005). The Ottoman Empire in the Russo-Turkish war, World War I and World War II are examples of this. The first two official refugee camps were established in 1900 in Pretoria and Bloemfontein during the South African War (Second Anglo-Boer War) by a military notice. The main purpose of these camps was to give safety and protection to the families of Boers, but unfortunately this aim was not achieved (Potgieter, 1976).

By the end of World War II, there were more than 40 million refugees in Europe. Subsequently, international law and international organizations were established as an urgent response to the crisis and these remain today. (U. H. C. f. R. UNHCR, 1 August 2005).

Another example of a crisis response was Ballinstadt. As shown in figure 01, Ballinstadt was a memorial park and was an emigration station in the port of Hamburg, Germany. It was established around 100 years ago when Albert Ballin (1857-1918), the Director General of Hamburg America line, built the first emigration hall in 1901. The design of the station comprises a complex of three main buildings that contain halls where the emigrants were distributed. They then waited, while provided with shelter, food, water and safety. More than five million European emigrants flew from political and religious persecution or even poverty via Hamburg. Therefore, Ballin-Stadt was a transit point for many emigrants and a temporal solution for such a crisis (BallinStadt-Auswandererwelt, 2008).

The steps of any displacement, whether it is official or unofficial, are usually the same as shown in figure 02. The process begins when a group of people is forced to leave their home with only their essentials due to a natural disaster or a war. This process contributes significantly to camp formation and leads to spontaneously formed camps. The first choice for these displaced people is unoccupied areas, allowing them to settle down and create a camp while they wait for official aid from the government. Those who get the chance to settle down and be hosted by the local community are the lucky few.

DIFFERENT URBAN SPATIAL STRUCTURES OF REFUGEE CAMPS

The structural formation of a refugee camp depends on many factors such as the location, the local material and the level of the governmental support. The structures currently are; grid, centralized, decentralized, clustered and dispersed. Studying the history of refugee camps gives us insight into how government responses to an emergency have changed over time. It underlines the transformations in how authorities manage camps, including the planning of a settlement. In the past, urban structures of the camps were more expanded as dispersed or clustered with no clear planning system (See figure 03). Lately, governmental organizations propose to manage the transitional settlements properly in the early stages before expanding in larger scales. The most common urban planning approach is the grid plan structure where the settlement looks more like a military camp as shown in figure 04; Zaatari camp.

Another approach is the cluster structure, where the roads grow in a hierarchy system to create more privacy (Stauffer, 1995-1996).

The urban spatial structure and the morphology of a refugee camp play an important role in the refugee camp nature, refugees daily life and their future (UNHCR, 2015). When a refugee camp is unofficial or not planned well in the early stages many problems arise.

Examples of this include:

- High population density.
- Overcrowding and poor hygiene creating an environment for diseases to transfer easily.
- High unemployment rates
- Poor infrastructure.
- Harsh winters and extremely hot summers due to the site selection.
- Airstrike on camps (IDP); internally displaced persons camps cases.
- Contaminated water supply.
- Less security and increased levels of crime (Sandri, 2018)

There are different social, economic, political impacts depending on whether the refugee camps are internally or externally located. Refugee camps act as an urban shift on the rural areas and cities. The first impression people may have of a refugee camp is that they are unhealthy and troublesome places, and that there is inadequate nutrition and educational opportunities (SusanF. Martin, August 23, 2017). This image may have arisen from the negative examples we are exposed to in the media. Nowadays, governments are trying to avoid these problems by taking into consideration the regulations of a healthy refugee camp. The function of refugee camps is to provide a safe place for refugees, with adequate living conditions, which is largely missing today. In addition to this, refugee camps are only a temporary solution, leading to a lack of stability in life and less social integration. Furthermore, there is a need for a robust economic plan to minimize the risk of poverty for refugees whilst also giving rise to benefits for the location affected. Moreover, refugee camp designs can be improved by optimizing the location of the camp, the weather conditions, the existing urban structure and the camp outdoor design spaces (Bertram de Rooij, 2016). Most designs lack outdoor open areas or green spaces (Mansell, April 2016). These areas are very important especially for traumatized people. Green spaces are a place for recreation and relaxation, but could also provide added benefits to the economy by promoting farming and food production. The cultural background and traditions of displaced people should also be taken into consideration (Dalal, 16 August 2017). The construction of shelters could be done by refugees using local materials, providing them with job opportunities. Finally, the landscape architects should have the chance to be part of the design team with the collaboration of the urban designers and the architects in order to provide more resilient and robust solutions for the camps (Kennedy, 2004).

CURRENT CASE STUDY: AZRAQ REFUGEE CAMP IN JORDAN

Azraq camp opened in April 2014 to provide safety and security to Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 29 February 2016). It was built differently than other refugee camps. It was built in response to the troubles faced in

Zaatari camp and to the Jordanian government's struggle to host the growing number of refugees. This camp was planned and designed before construction in contrary to Zaatari camp. This allowed for the 'tent phase' usually seen in camps to be surpassed. Shelters were constructed from the beginning. The design took a year to complete, and the camp was triple the size of the Zaatari camp, hosting the same number of refugees. The camp currently hosts 40,901 Syrian refugees and has the potential to be expanded to accommodate 120,000-130,000 refugees (Knell, 30 April 2014). Azraq camp has huge potential, largely due to the fact construction was organized and planned well. The camp design has prospective for more development and more potential to turn into a green and sustainable camp. It is the first solar refugee camp powered by renewable energy with a solar field that provides electricity for 20,000 people (J. F. UNHCR, 31 Aug 2018).

Azraq refugee camp is located 20 km west of Azraq town, 100 km east of Amman and 90 km of Jordan-Syria border. The camp is approached by the main highway, which connects Al-Zarqa city with Azraq town. The camp has one main entrance, which leads to the public entrance and first reception point. From that point, refugees are moved into the base camp which has the reception area where they register and receive their welcome meal (J. F. UNHCR, 31 Aug. 2018). The main transportation vehicle into the camp is the car, followed by a bus. Refugees move within the camp by foot or bicycle as shown in figure 05 (Stephan, February 25, 2015 by dandy).

The decentralized structure of the camp gives it an urban identity compared to the other grid structured camps (Barnicle, August 30, 2013). In addition, the site of Azraq refugee camp was used previously as a transit camp for Iraqis and Kuwaitis in the Gulf war 1990-1991 (Oddone, 30 April 2014). Some opinions about the camp were recorded shown in figures 06,07 and 08.

"We've studied what's been done in Zaatari and other refugee camps around the world and tried to plan carefully. It's not a luxury that we normally have to prepare for months with our partners.", a UNHCR official stated. *"What you see when driving around is possibly one of the best refugee camps in the world"*, they further explained. (Knell, 30 April 2014).

"When I first arrived and saw the camp, I almost had a heart attack. The sense of emptiness and uncertainty overwhelmed me." an elderly refugee said. (Sweis, 15 March 2015).

"The only risk is that you will die from boredom." another refugee expressed. (Davies, 4 March 2016).

AZRAQ CAMP PLANNING STRUCTURE & MORPHOLOGY

The size of the camp area is 14.7 km². This is almost triple the size of Zaatari camp (5.2 km²). As shown in figure 09, the camp structure was planned in a decentralized manner (Barnicle, August 30, 2013). The structure is subdivided into seven villages. Each village has the capacity to house 10,000-12,500 people and has its own community centre, community police post, women and child friendly spaces, primary health post and recreation grounds. Other facilities like the formal school, the main supermarket, the hospital and the mosque can be reached by all the villages and have the capacity to accommodate all the refugees (Gatter, February 2018).

As shown in figures 10 and 11, there is no steep slope in Azraq camp, only a slope with an average of 2.7%. Security points are located in strategic positions on the top of the hill surrounding the camp (UNHCR, 29 Dec 2015). In winter, rain water runs down the slope gathering in the lowest point between villages III, II and villages V, VI causing a flooding (ACTED, 2017).

Deserts have less variety in plantation compared to wet areas. However, there are a lot of different xeriscape plants that grow in Jordan and specifically in the hot arid areas. Examples include: Aizoon

canariense, *Ixiolirion tataricum*, *Picris longirostris*, *Androcymbium palaestinum*, *Bellevalia desertorum*, *Rhus coriaria*, *Olea europaea* to name a few.(Mayhew, 15 April 2006). Successful planting projects were noticed in Zaatari camp as shown in figure 12.

Azraq refugee camp has huge potential to become the gold-standard of a crisis response. There are some clear threats on the socio-economic level and some other opportunities in making this camp a solution for existing local challenges (Dalal, 2015). This camp could be an urban linkage point connecting Azraq town with Zarqa City and Amman, the capital. This design will help to improve the economy of Azraq town, which causes an urban expansion and a stronger integration between the locals and the refugees. If we take a closer look at the camp, we notice how the electricity gave the camp life; by implementing a solar farm, and a chance to start some projects and open small shops (Lee, 23 November 2017). Other sustainable and green projects could also take place like food production by the hydroponic system and the gardening activities that have been previously done in Zaatari camp (Elgot, 29 October 2014).

DESIGN PROPOSAL

The Design Proposal of Azraq camp consists of three sustainable designs to improve the landscape feature of the camp taking into consideration the social, environmental and economical aspects. Starting from a bigger scale, the first proposal includes a design of a green connection node between Azraq town and Azraq camp in order to enhance the socio-economic relations between the camp and the town. Moving closely into the camp scale, the second design proposes eco-solutions for the existing villages of the camp and for the villages that are still under construction. The third level focuses on the shelter blocks design, suggesting a community shared space that could reflect the arabesque design elements, strengthening the neighbourhood's social outdoor spaces and emphasizing the Syrian cultural background.

Green Node Between Azraq Camp & Azraq City, Scale 1: 10,000

This proposal is suggested for the long-term as it needs a strong financial fund. The design includes recreational gardens, xeriscape garden, amusement park and a zoo that are structured in a semi-centralized manner as seen in figure 14 and 15. The main objectives of the design as shown in figure 13 are:

Strengthening the social integration and the relations between the refugees and the locals.

Providing more job opportunities for both locals and refugees.

Economic improvement in Azraq town and Al-Zarqaa city.

Urban expansion towards Al-Zarqaa and Amman,

which could lead into more investment, projects in the future.

Creating a green linkage between the town and the camp that could grow into other green corridors.

Recreational spot for both refugees and locals.

Raising the awareness in the local xeriscape landscape.

Ecological improvement by vegetation and a green transportation system, allowing for a cooler environment with less dust, soil improvement with time, and a habitat for wildlife.

AZRAQ ECO-CAMP

This design suggests a re-thinking about the open spaces in the camp including more green spaces. Thus, a big central garden beyond the entrance area is proposed, as shown in figure 17, which will be the

gathering point from all the villages. The green transportation network will help the students reach the schools conveniently and will aid the elderly, wounded and handicapped people. The hill on the south of the camp, where the security points are located, will be planted with olive and fig trees. Olive production is one of the strongest businesses in Jordan. Refugees can take part in this project of planting and harvesting olives. In addition to this, they can also harvest edible fig fruits and produce fig marmalades. Shared allotment gardens will strengthen the social life in the camp as well as providing the opportunity for food production projects. The flooding problem should also be taken into consideration as it impedes the movement between the south and the north.

Design Objectives as shown in figure 16:

Help refugees, especially those who are traumatized, to overcome their crisis.

Overcoming boredom. Boredom is one of the main complaints from the refugees. Green-economic projects and recreational open spaces can provide a solution to this.

More employment projects for both locals and refugees.

Encouraging more landscape projects in the region.

Utilization of the heavy winter rain to solve the water supply problem in the camp as shown in figure 19.

Improving the transportation network of the camp considering the elderly, people with special needs and students as shown in figure 20 and 21.

Sustainable solutions to decrease the heat in the summer (more vegetation, courtyards, pergolas, grey water recycle, natural urban ventilation channels according to wind direction etc.).

Enhance the wildlife in the region.

Strengthening the social relationships between the refugees.

Decrease the criminal activities. Healthier environment in the camp.

Less chance of poverty in the camp in the future.

Food production as shown in figure 18.

ARABESQUE GREEN NEIGHBORHOODS

This design proposal shows how culture and tradition could be integrated in the design process with the use of specific elements of the landscape to fulfil societal needs. The arabesque courtyards or patios are a simulation of the Syrian sustainable oriental house. These patios, as shown in figure 23, could be designed in the blocks, gathering the refugees together from all the shelters, providing a friendly, cool, green space. Pergolas, as shown in the sections in figure 24 and 25, will be used around the patio as an arcade element, cooling the temperature and providing shadow. These pergolas will also be used between shelters with short distances, connecting the refugees inside the neighbourhoods. The refugees propose elements like a central fountain, since it reminds them of their home and helps to cool down the temperature. Fabric sheets between the shelters are replaced by hedges and plants in order to give more privacy to the refugees.

Design Objectives as shown in figure 22 are:

Improve the social life within the blocks.

Create an urban identity for the camp.

Provide more convenient outdoor spaces for the refugees.

Help traumatized people overcome the crisis.

Healthier neighborhoods and fewer bacteria.

More privacy to the shelters.

Decrease criminal activities.

This structure can be built by the refugees themselves. The grey water coming from the shelters is mostly water from cooking or laundry as explained in figure 26. Very few refugees are using this water at the moment to water their plants or for other uses. A recycling system is suggested to collect the grey water underground and reuse it for watering plants in front of their shelters and for the flushing cabins in the washing units.

CONCLUSION

If governmental organisations contributed enough to the design of refugee camps, there is a higher chance for it to be implemented. Azraq refugee camp is an example for how important it is to get involved early in the design process. The olive and fig farms besides the allotment gardens will remain for the locals. The camp location was already used before as a transit camp for the Iraqi and Kuwaiti refugees in the gulf war between 1990-1991. Thus, the opportunity to allocate the location for future crisis response is possible with some modifications. This research and previous experiments on site have proven that the list of possible plants and vegetations is clearly wide. This result shows the importance of the public awareness for the maintenance for the plants. Involving the refugees in both design and construction phase will make the design more valuable to them. Finally, other design components may be more logical and be more realistic to implement in the long run. This makes the discussion open to other professionals to share their suggestions for a better design.

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FIGURES



Figure 1
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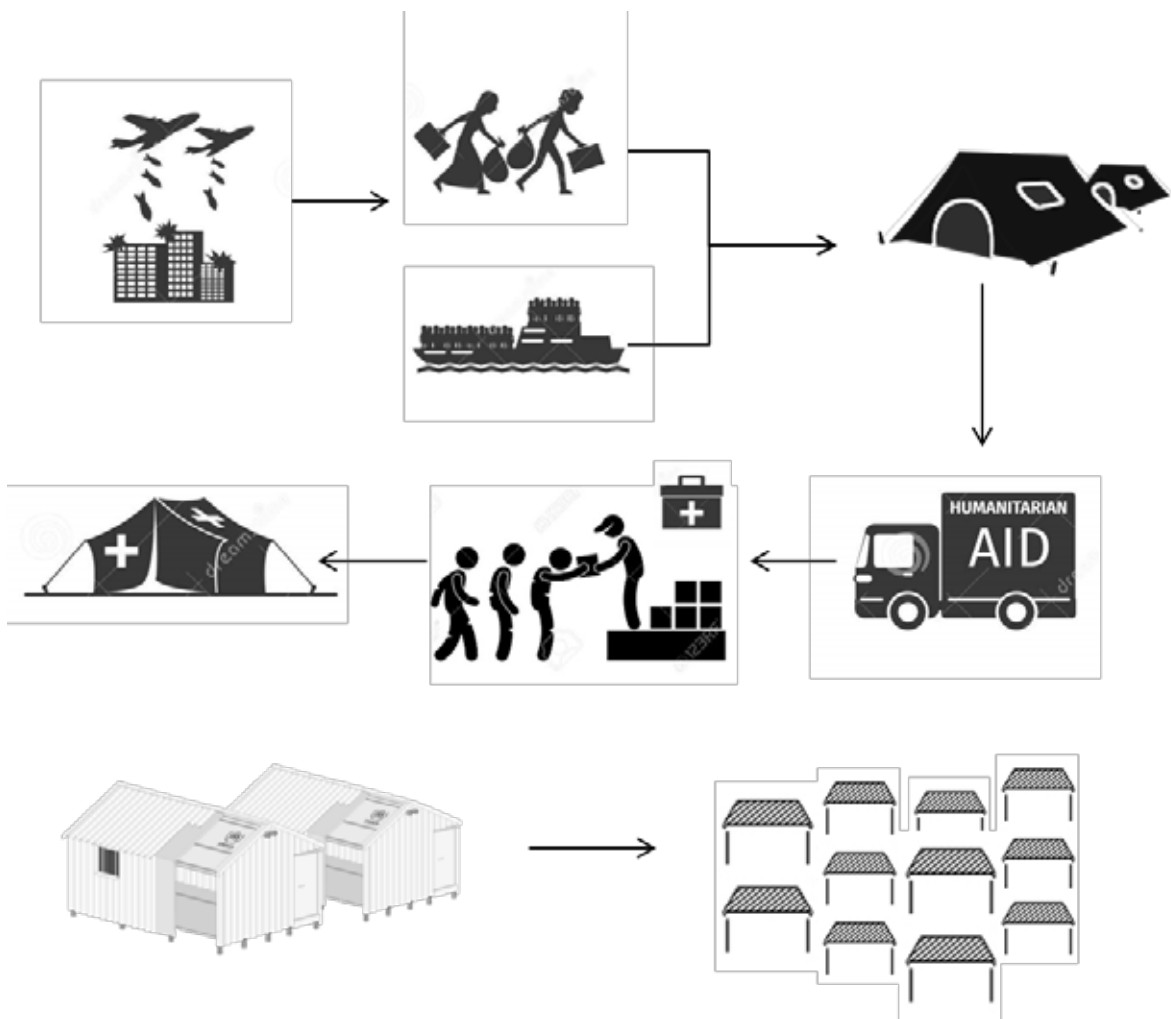


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Source: Author.

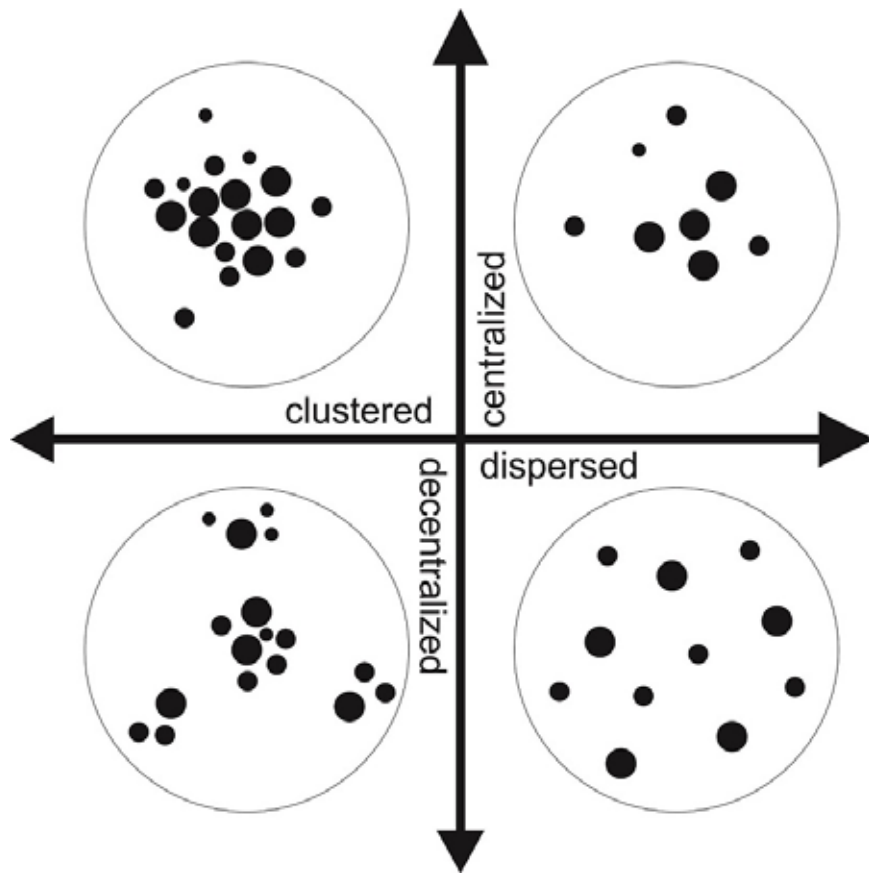


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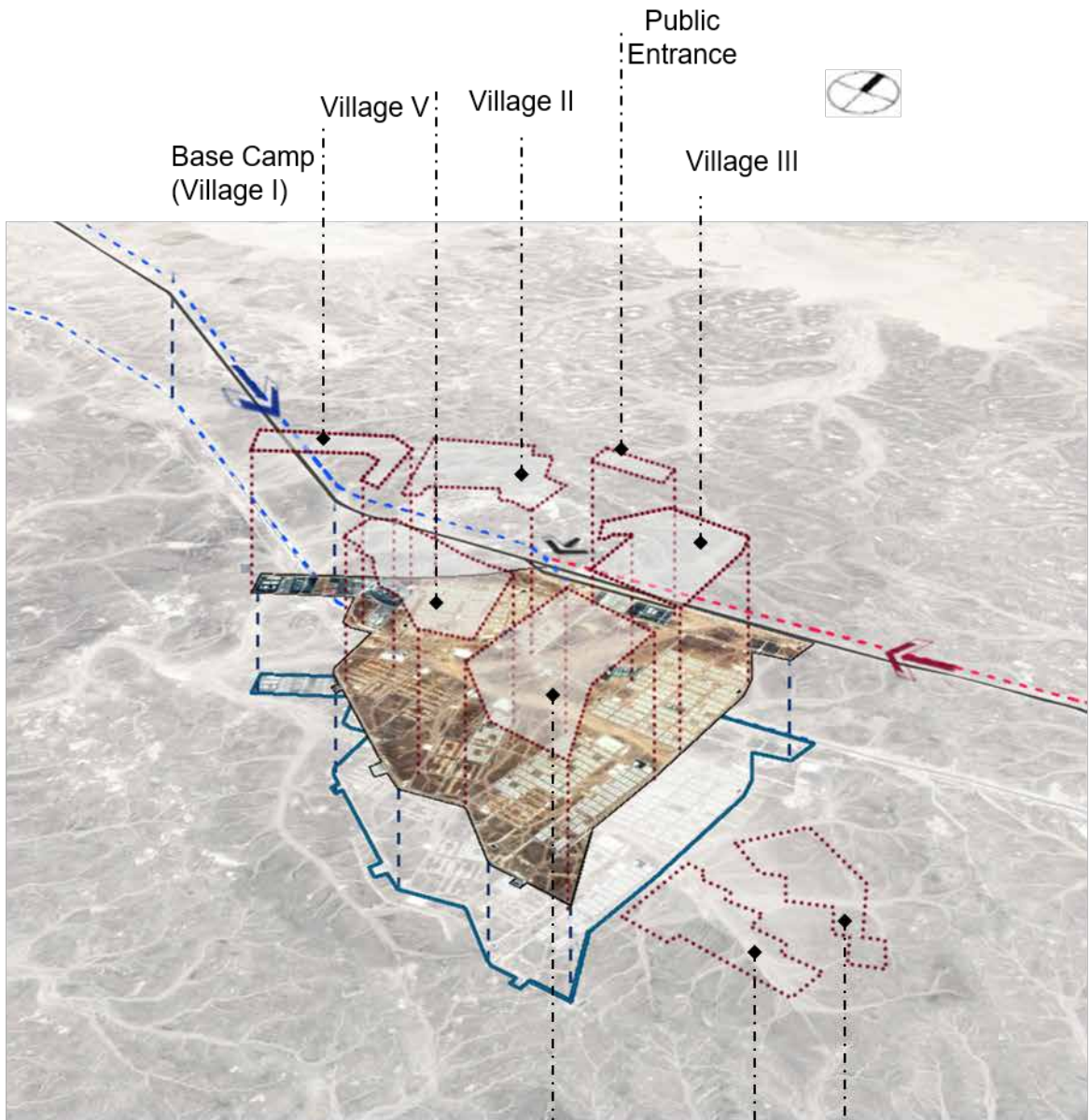
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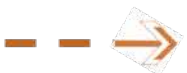
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Reaching the Camp
from Azraq town



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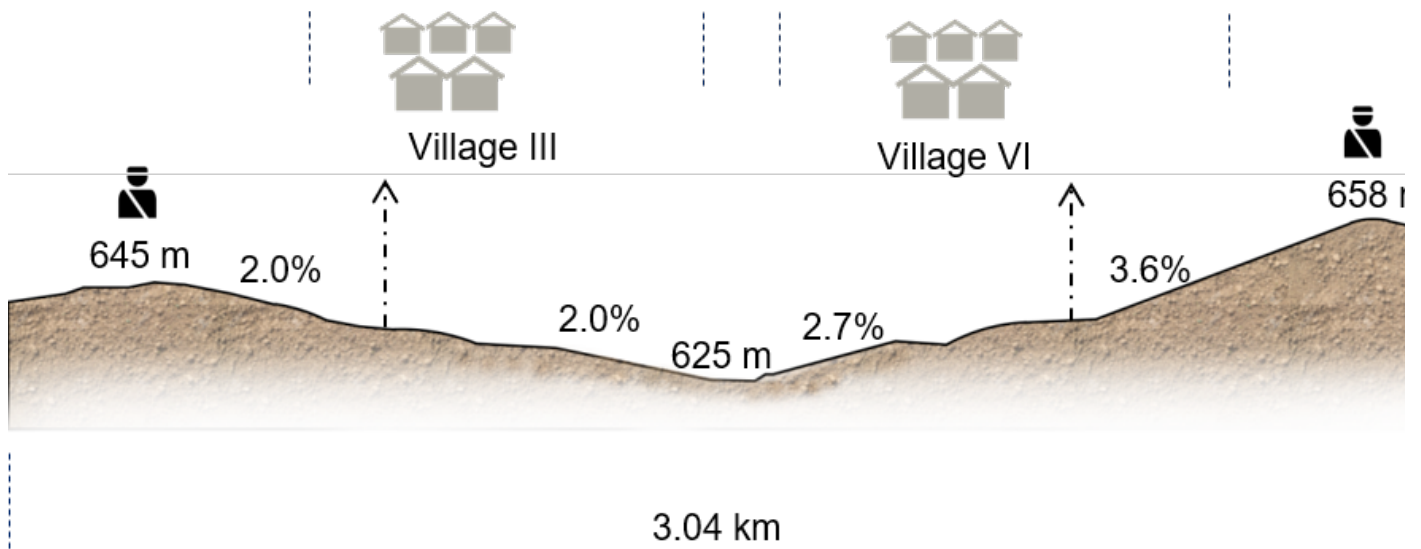


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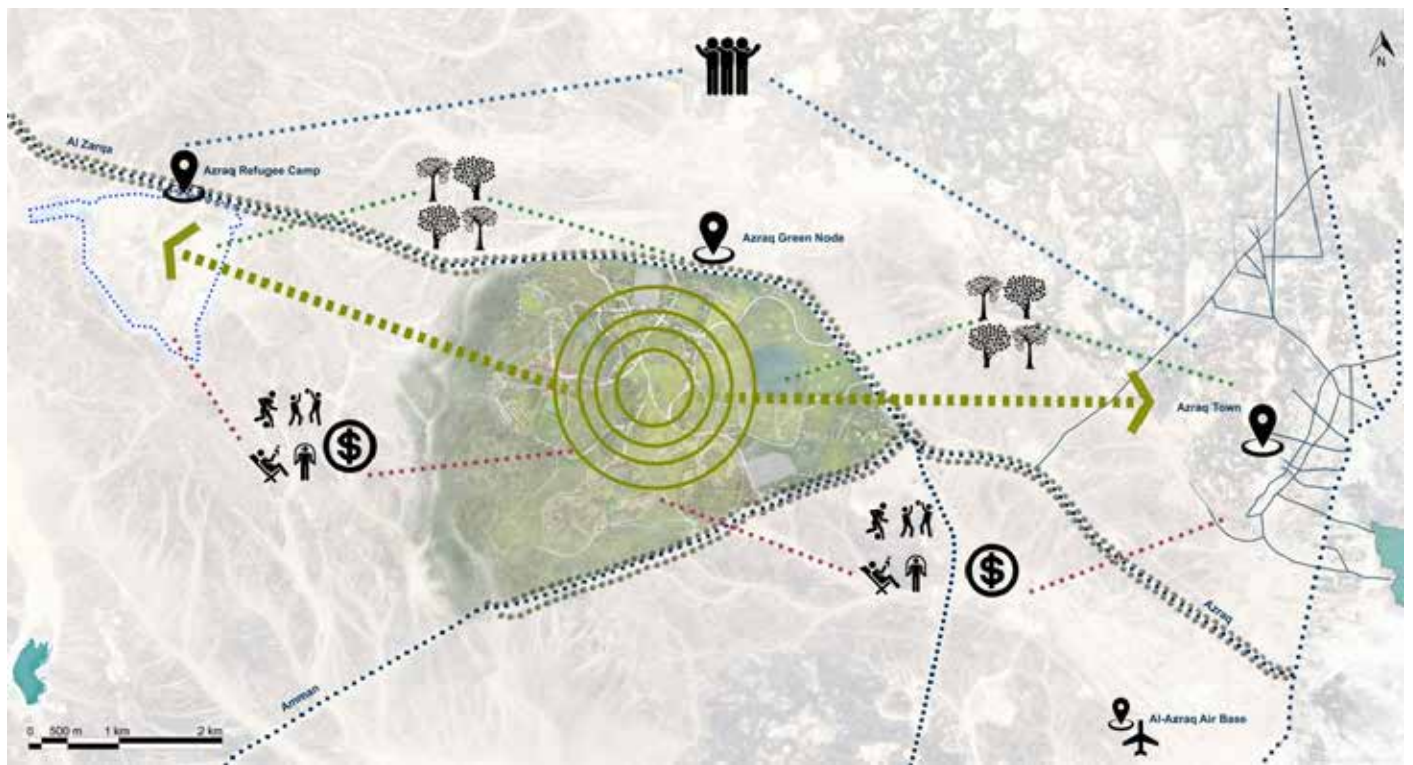


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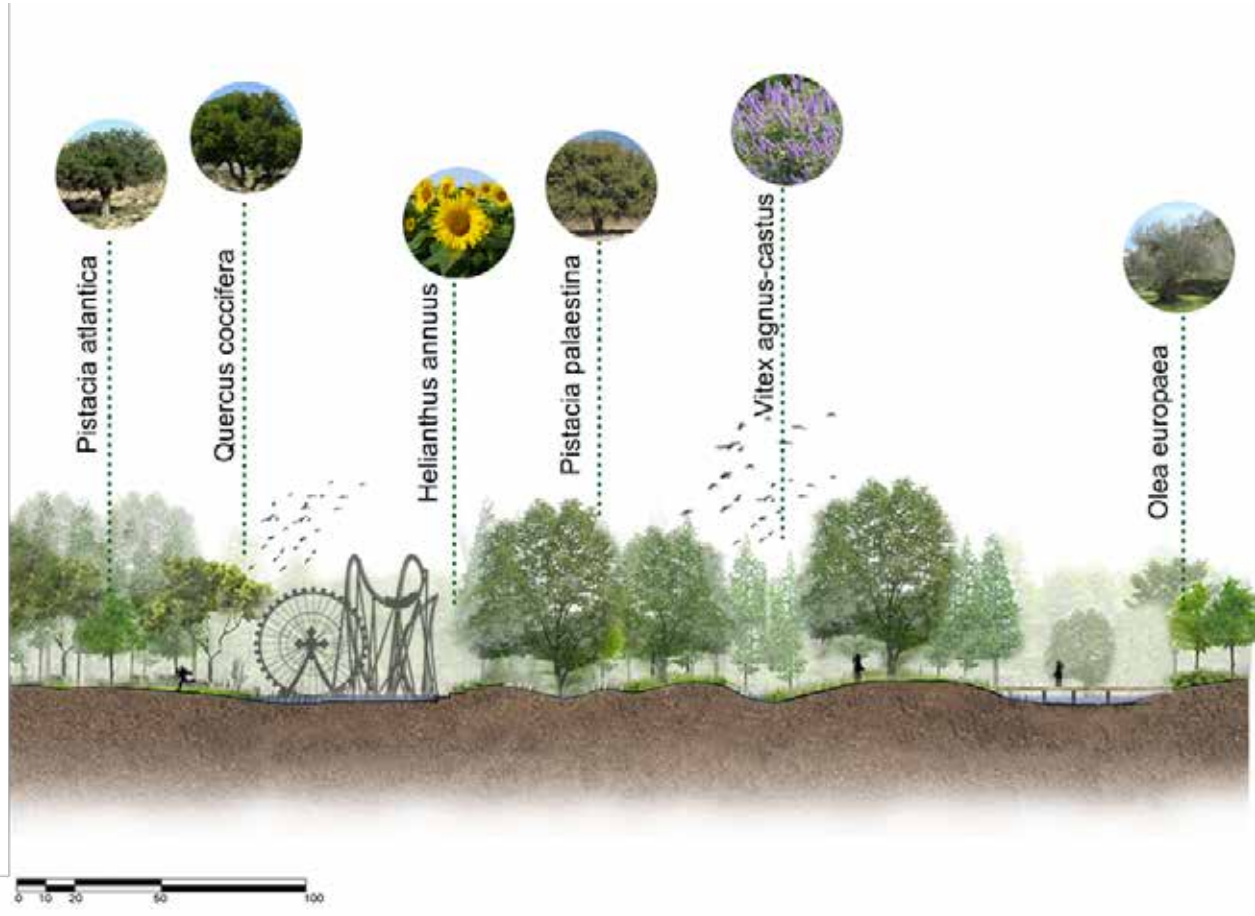


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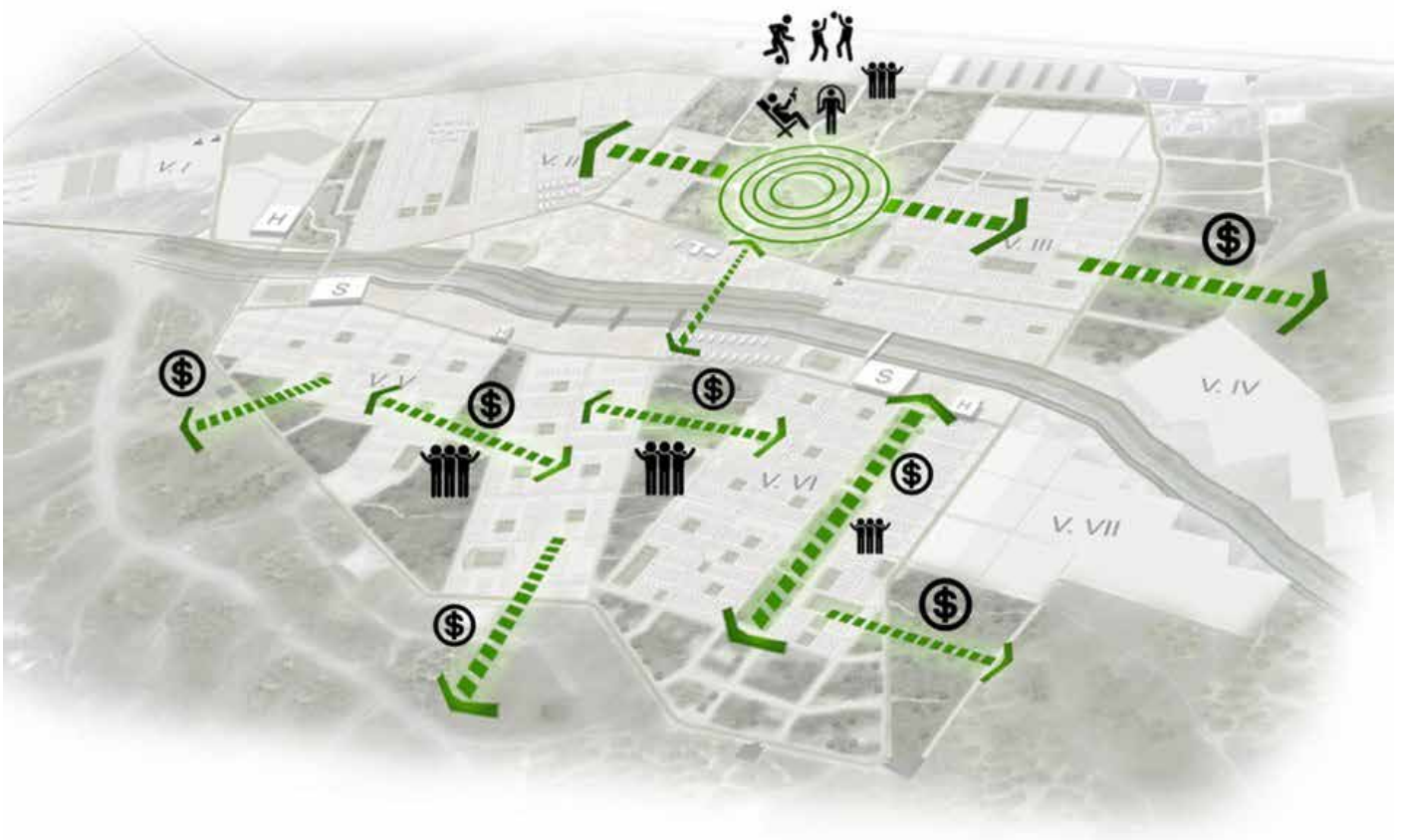


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Figure 18
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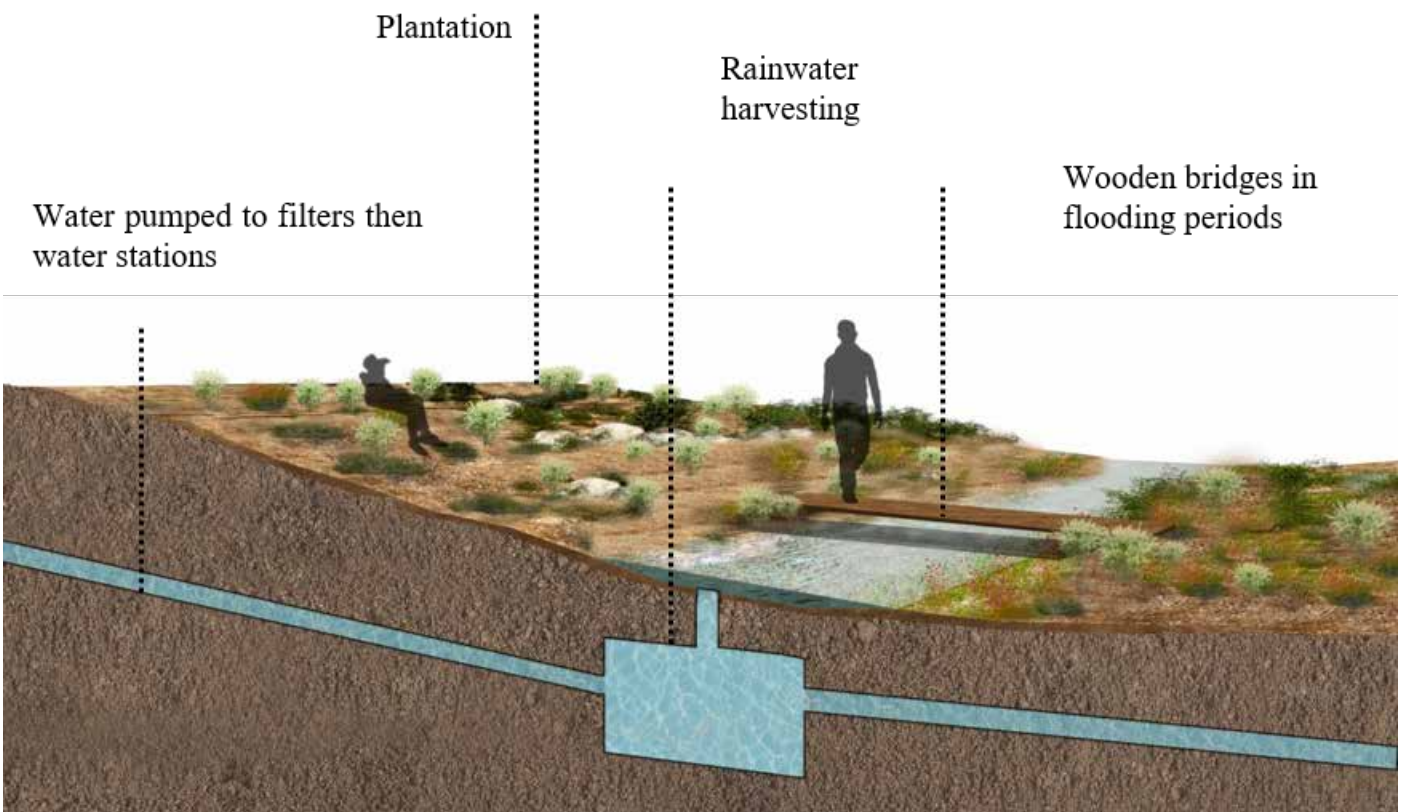


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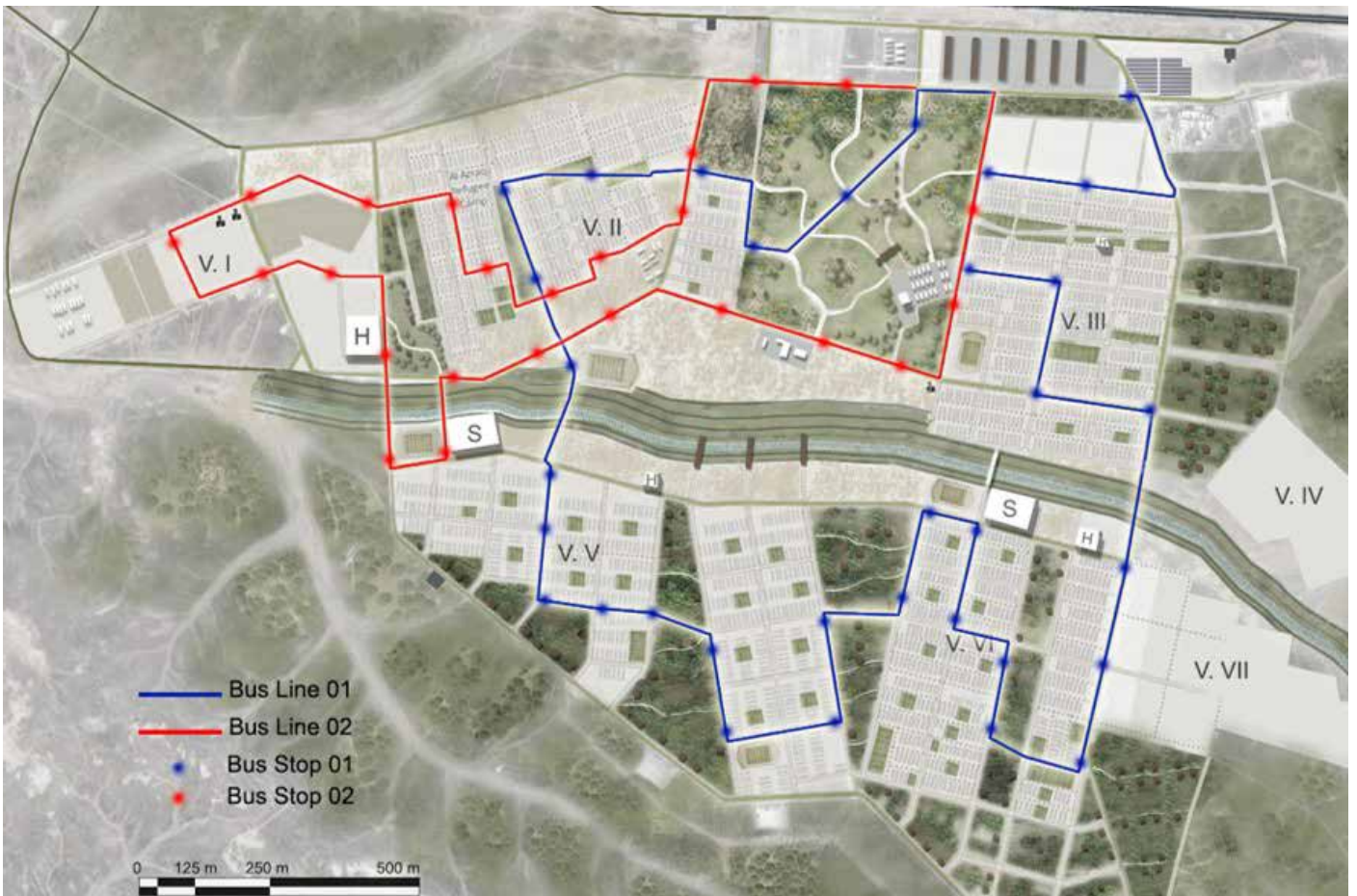


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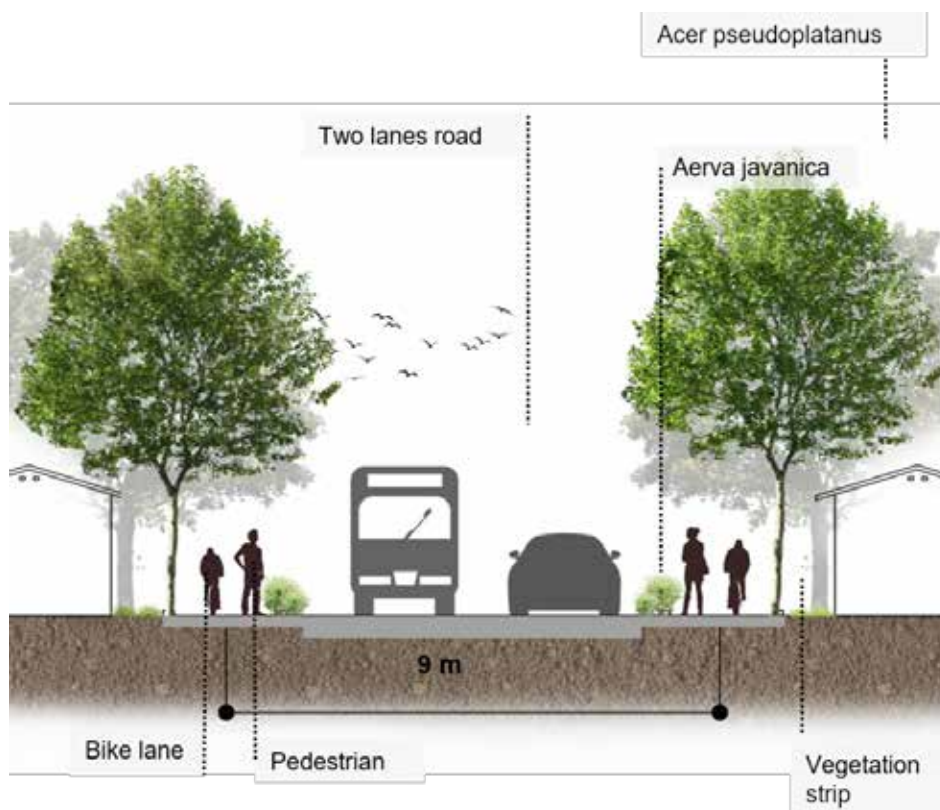


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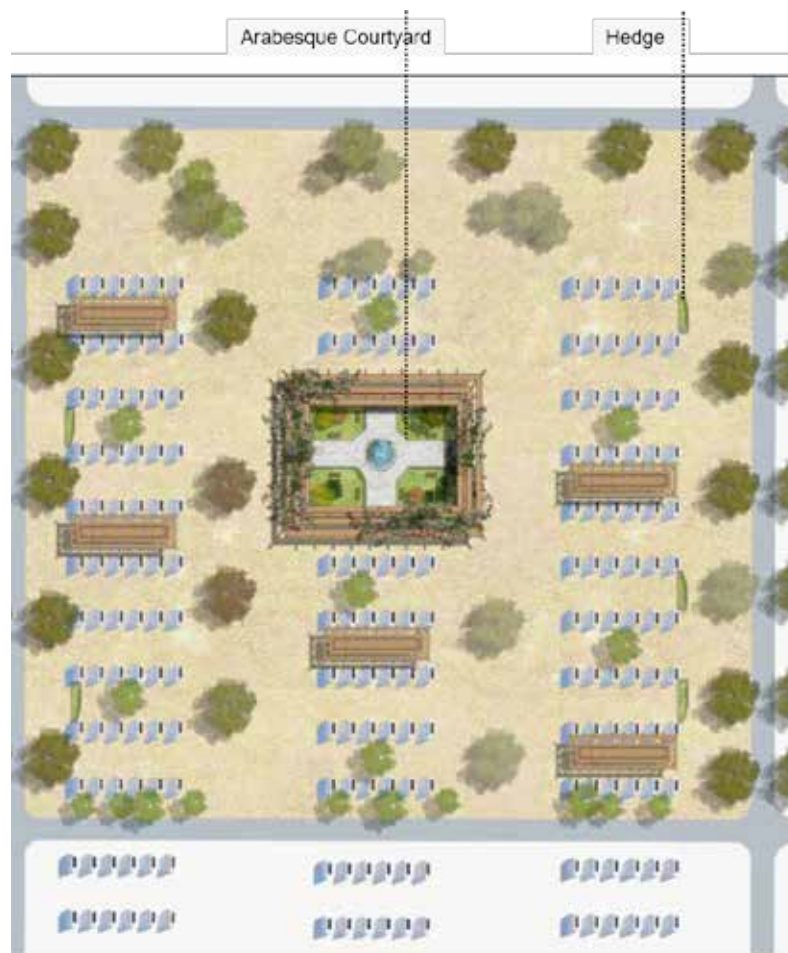


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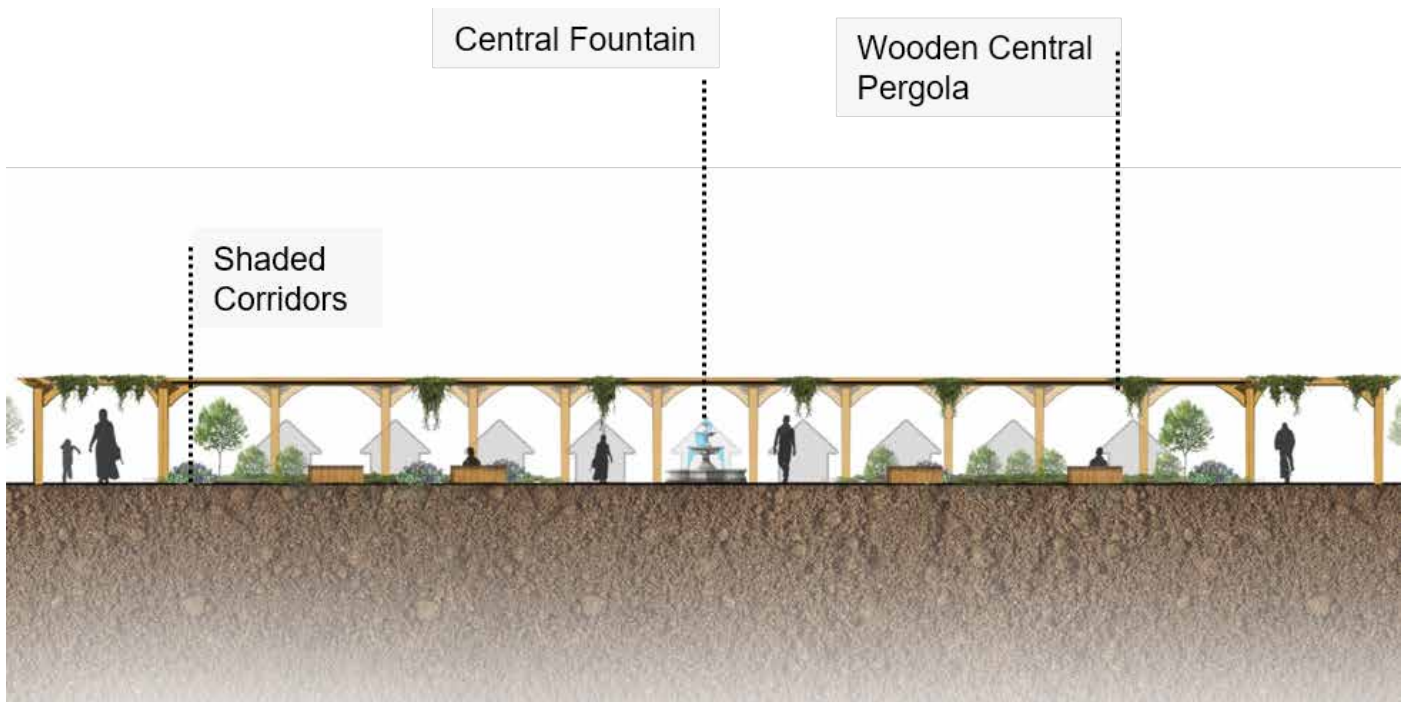


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 Source: Author.

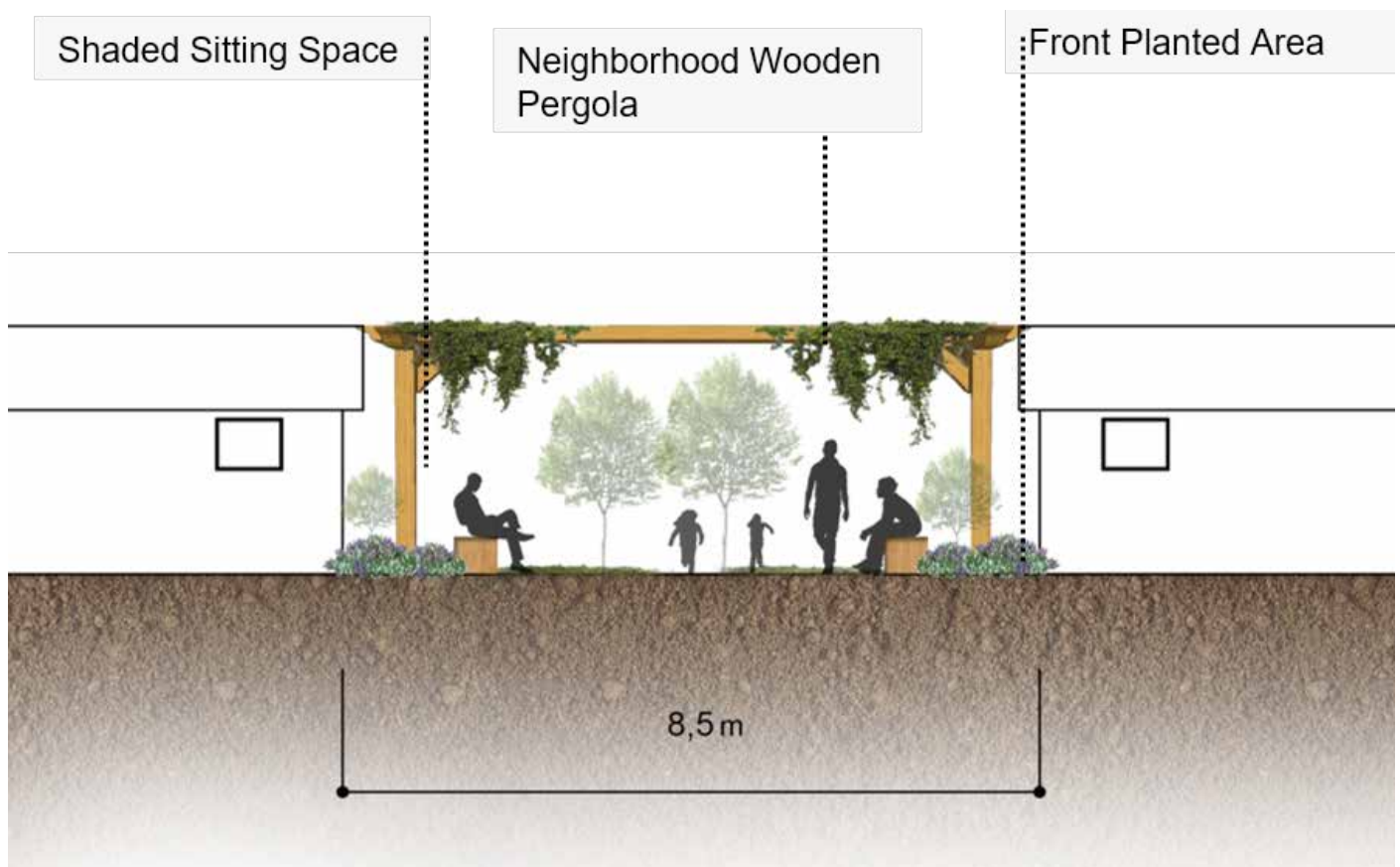


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 Source: Author.

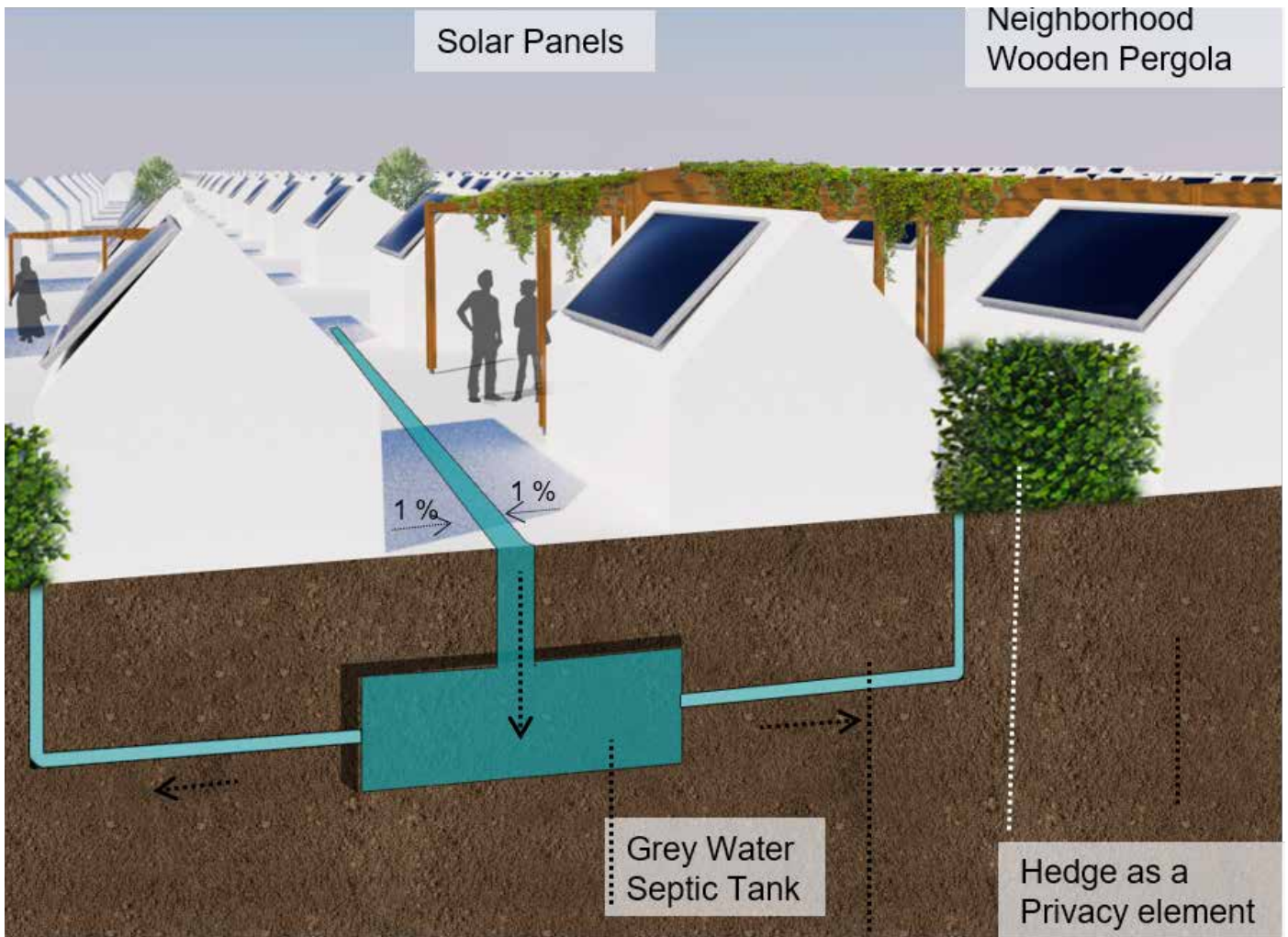


Figure 26
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SESSION 1.C

HOME AS ENDURANCE

STATIC DISPLACEMENT, ADAPTIVE DOMESTICITY: THE BARGAINED EXISTENCE
INSIDE FIRING ZONE 9181, PALESTINE
Wafa Butmeh

Static Displacement, Adaptive Domesticity: The bargained existence inside firing zone 9181, Palestine

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This paper draws on community testimonies and the oral history of Masafer Yatta to discuss a rarely explored facet of displacements, one that could be termed as “static displacement” inside closed military zones in Palestine. Through distinguishing between the concepts of geobody and geography. Where the geobody is a neutral identification of space, while geography is an infusion of spatial cultural practices and perceptions that are contained within the geobody, and referring to concepts of legal geography and personal geography, the paper has illustrated how community knowledge was utilised to manipulate the vagueness of the legal geography to create a gray geography that enabled the endurance of the domestic geography of Masafer Yatta between the 1950s and 1980s.

Keywords: Palestine, Masafer Yatta, 1950s, 1980s, occupation, enstrangement, immobile displacement.

INTRODUCTION

“What is geography if it is not the drawing and interpretation of a line? And what is the drawing of a line if it is not also the creation of new objects”. (Pickles, 2004, p. 3).

In the 1970s, the Israeli Military scratched a line on a map, creating 38 illegal Palestinian communities within the West Bank. Overnight, those villages became located inside areas declared as ‘closed military zones’ (OCHA, 2012). The closure intended to serve Israeli military purposes and protect the Israeli settlements enterprise. Consequently, the Palestinian presence was banned and construction was prohibited inside those zones (B’tselem, 2015). (Fig. 1)

The concepts of critical legal geographies (Kedar, Amara, & Yiftachel, 2018) and the personal geographies (Abrams & Hall, 2005) of the cave dwellers of Palestine, intersect to compose the gray terrain of the closed military zone. This paper draws on community testimonies and the oral history of Masafer Yatta to discuss a rarely explored facet of displacements, one that could be termed as “static displacement”. In this context, the term static displacement is referred to as an indication of the relationship between the legal classifications of land and their impact on the conditions of existence of the original dwellers. Which builds on the distinction between the concepts of geobody and geography. Where the geobody is a neutral identification of space, while geography is an infusion of spatial cultural practices and perceptions that are contained within the geobody (Abrams & Hall, 2005). The paper seeks to map the adaptive techniques that the community of Masafer Yatta had adopted between 1950 and 1985 to perform their domestic activities, as tools to resist being forcibly evacuated from their homes after the establishment of a new legal status of the area.

Before exploring those strategies in further details, I seek to clarify some general notes on approaching Masafer Yatta as a case study in this regard; Firstly, it showcases a special manifestation of a permanent temporality within the general discourse of displacement, where the same geobody hosts more than one geographical reality: the domestic geography, the foreign geography and a liminal “gray” geography. Secondly, Masafer Yatta represent a particular case within the academic and urban literature produced to unpack the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Being a border cluster of villages, with the Green Line of 1948

separating its historical land and social ties, it is argued that to unpack the spatial-legal duality of Masafer Yatta, academic research needs to be conducted in a cross-border fashion. Unlike the prevailing tendency to produce academic literature that is separated by the geopolitical borders on the map, in the sense that literature discussing Arab minorities in Israel is separated from literature discussing marginalized communities in areas controlled by Israel in the occupied West Bank. Finally, Masafer Yatta highlight a special case of nomadism, that distinguishes between farmers (Fallaheen) and Bedouins, which also diverges from the stereotypical cases of nomadism within the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, which study bedouins as landless mobile communities. People of Masafer Yatta are owners of the lands they inhabit during their seasonal travel.

FROM REGISTERED ZERO TO CLOSED MILITARY ZONE 918: THE STORY OF MASAFER YATTA

Masafer Yatta, or the outskirts of Yatta, are 18 satellite nomadic communities with a total population of 1,519 (IPCC, 2013). During the period 1950-1985, those communities were forcibly living off the grid, completely united with nature that they even sleep in the womb of the earth, in caves carved by their ancestors (Soteras Jalil, 2011).

The Palestinian writer Hussein Al Barghouthi argues that existence starts with the name. And the story of the name 'Masafer Yatta' is told differently by the different nomadic groups in the area. For the farmers' community the name Masafer Yatta is simply a direct expression that encapsulates their lifestyle and the habitation pattern of Masafer Yatta. However, for the Bedouin community the name indicates a way to escape paying Taxes to the Ottoman Empire.

"there is a story, one with numbers: this place during the Ottoman Era was supposed to pay taxes for the land and for the animals, and each time that the collector appeared, everyone disappeared, having the collector to write in his report 'sifr, sifr, sifr'. Sifr, zero: null, emptiness, nothingness" (Soteras Jalil, 2011, N.P.).

The Head of the Village Council of Masafer Yatta, tells the story of the name explaining the lifestyle of the community since the first is an implicit description of the later:

"The name Masafer, is derived from the Arabic root Safar, which means travel. This is because the community of Masafer Yatta were a mobile community, not a Bedouin community and not a settled farmers community. They used to have three seasonal trips: one in the summer, in Yatta, where they harvest figs and grapes from the fields there. The second is in Masafer Yatta, which is from the end of summer until the beginning of spring. The families move to Msafer Yatta to graze their sheep and to cultivate their lands in the Masafer. While the third trip was in spring, where the shepherds used to travel further south and stay in tents in order to graze their sheep all spring. Thus, you can see how it is all about livestock and agriculture in the community of Masafer Yatta." (Com.1, 2018)

The name as introduced by the Bedouin community, and the life style as introduced by the community leader, directly indicate a troubled relationship with the state, as the nomadic lifestyle of the community of Masafer Yatta does not align with the modern statecraft principles of abstraction, simplification and standardisation (Scott, 1999).

It could be argued that the problematic relationship with the state was cartographically manifested in the British Mandate era. In the 1942, the British Mandate approved the Jerusalem District Regional Plan, known as (RJ-5), the plan, which used Howard's garden city model to diagrammatically represent development zones, designated parts of the area as agricultural land and other parts as a natural reserve,

without indicating the presence of any population (Crookston, 2017). (Fig. 2). Later, during the 1970s, the Israeli occupation declared the area as a closed military zone known as Firing Zone 918 (B'tselem, 2015). This declaration does not just turn a blind eye to the population, it prohibits their existence, calling for forced displacement.

Nevertheless, the community of Masafer Yatta persisted to inhabit the land by redefining the space-time dimensions of the closed military zone in response to the changing legal geography. The community representative summarised the the past 71 years in Masafer Yatta :

“It is like time has stopped for the past 71. It is unfortunate to say that Masafer Yatta in the mid-1940s was developing to be settled villages, where a merchant class has emerged, and people started to build with stone. Since 1970s, people were living in caves. It is only recently that the villages of Masafer Yatta are becoming villages again.” (Com. 2, 2019)

DISPLACEMENT IN DISGUISE: THE LEGAL-SCAPE AND THE GRAY GEOGRAPHY OF MASAFER YATTA

Referring to the geopolitical map of Masafer Yatta as a tool to investigate the spatial-legal alignments in the area, the region is cartographically defined by 4 lines, each delineates a different spatial-legal territory. First, is the Green Line, indicating the borders of the two sovereign states of Palestine and Israel according to the United Nations. Second is the Area C boundary, indicating the areas within the West Bank that are under full Israeli control, both civic and military, according to the Oslo Accords. Third is the closed military zone boundary, identifying areas that designated as closed military or firing zones, usually utilised as training areas for the Israeli military. Finally, the planned path of the Annexation Wall, that serves to define the frontiers of Israel (Bimkom, 2008). (Fig. 3)

However, a closer look into the hamlets reveals more than just contradictions, it reveals intersections between the legal patterns and the habitation pattern in Masafer Yatta. Drawing on the concepts of critical legal geographies, this paper delves in understanding the dynamic relationship between the legal structures and the act of displacement as interpreted by the community of Masafer Yatta. Critical legal geography emphasises that the seemingly neutral law (as a system of institutions and procedures) is not entirely innocent from being infused within power relations, where the powerful dominates the powerless in the guise of legal procedure (Kedar et al., 2018).

This concept is not only relevant with regards to community perceptions gathered in the interviews, it is arguably directly attributed to statements made by Israeli Knesset members in 1950. In the negotiations that took place in the United Nations prior to the 1948 War regarding the division of Historical Palestine between the two states, Negev was to be part of the future Palestinian state. However, after the war, Negev was occupied and annexed to the Israeli state. A general attitude that prevailed in the Israeli Knesset during the 1950s, was that it was a duty to minimise the Arab population in Negev and in Israel in general. This was advocated to be done by marrying direct and indirect transfer measures. For example, Moshe Sharett, expressed that Israel cannot achieve its goals of evicting Arab minorities by military force only, there should be measures to allow for the least possible provision of rights for Arabs, yielding to their migration (Masalha, 2002). This strategy of categorising the population into two ethnic groups, where one ethnicity is treated as superior to the other, is what Yiftachel develops as the concept of “ethnocratic states” (Yiftachel, 2006). In the light of this, Masafer Yatta could be analysed as the frontiers of an ethnocratic state, inhibited by the inferior ethnicity.

The community of Masafer Yatta were aware of this attitude by the state, as they have flagged several

years in the period between 1948 and 2019 as benchmarks in the collective memory of the community, associating them to direct and indirect displacement measures. Direct measures, in their extreme form, would include forcibly evacuating people from their lands. While indirect measures are usually concealed by the seemingly neutral laws, which tend to restrict the communities abilities to perform and sustain their economic activities (Com. 2, 2019).

According to the community, the real occupation of Masafer Yatta took place in the year 1950, a well engraved year in their collective memory, as they call “the year of the great fire in the fields”. In May, 1950, the Israeli military attacked the hamlets and set their cultivated fields on fire. Since then, Masafer Yatta was under attack more than once during the 1950s and 1960s(Com.1, 2018). However, the situation of Masafer Yatta had escalated when the area was declared as a closed military zone in the 1970s. It is legally forbidden, by military order, to enter, remain in or exit a closed military zone without the official permission of the military commander(Bimkom, 2008).

Since the domestic geography of Masafer Yatta was rendered as a place of sustenance, and enterprise, this paper focuses on discussing the legal patterns that had impacted the main activities; grazing, cultivation and shelter. Tracing the adaptive techniques that the community utilised in order to carry on those activities is essentially a study of the border making mechanisms in Masafer Yatta, whether the demarcation and establishment of the Green Line or the boundary of the closed military zone.

The boundary that is delineated on the map is established on the ground by the laws and regulations implemented by three actors according to the local community of Masafer Yatta; the Israeli Military Forces, the Environmental Protection Department the Israeli Civil Administration (ICA). The community had developed an understanding of the laws and regulations that each of the actors enforced on the ground. Mainly, planning and regulation laws, which prohibits any kind of construction, a building, a tenet, a fence, a well or even a tree without the official permit of the military commander and the ICA (B'tselem, 2015). The Ottoman Land Law, which states that any land that is found to be uncultivated for three consecutive years is automatically declared as stateland (Bimkom, 2008). And finally, the Black Goat Law, that was endorsed in Israel in 1951, which forbids the grazing of the black goat in lands that are outside the registered private property of the shepherd, including individual dwelling or a private garden, with a special condition that one black goat is allowed to be owned for each 20 dunums of registered private land (“לש הבוש – אידיג דח” n.d.).

Despite the fact that those laws do not specify any ethnic background, the community of Masafer Yatta perceived them as discriminatory. According to the local community, the implementation of such laws is basically the state’s rejection of the economic pattern in Masafer Yatta, and the indirect act of displacing the nomadic communities from the Southern Hebron Hills. However, the community representative states that:

“We knew that if we leave, that will be like saying goodbye to the land considering what had happened with other communities across historical Palestine.” (Com. 2, 2019)

Thus, the community of Masafer Yatta was placed under the challenge to dwell within the vagueness of those laws, both the laws as final outcomes, and as procedures. This act of manipulative existence between the blackness of illegality and the whiteness of legality is what Yiftachel referred to as the ‘grey space’. According to him, grey space is a growing form of urban informality that includes partially incorporated people, localities and activities (Yiftachel, 2009). The grey space was manifested in Masafer Yatta through boundary challenging techniques that sought to redefine the time-space relationship of the boundary, creating times and spaces where the geobody could operate as their domestic geography, and not as a

closed military zone.

Particularly important, is the communities testimonies regarding the borders:

“ the demarcation of the Green Line was done though the installation of barrels with metal polls, which used to be changed from time to time, however, the new barrels were not placed in the exact same location as the old ones, they used to be placed within a range of 3km to 4km during the years [...] it is 2019 today, and we are still confused where the Green Line is [...] Another point to consider, is that no signs were placed to indicate the boundaries or the entrances of the closed military zone since 1977. The only signs that were installed, were on the 1948 side of the boundary, facing traveller who are entering the firing zone from Negev” (Com. 2, 2019)

Hence, the community of Masafer Yatta used this vagueness to their advantage, by developing a style of living that juggles the spatial-legal patterns of the land. The communal attitude was to persist to live, while minimise the casualties of such living. Accordingly, their first task focused on removing any traces of buildings or structures to protect themselves from demolition and forced displacement on the basis of the closed military zone laws. The second task was to leave traces of their cultivated lands to protect them from being confiscated on the basis of Ottoman Land Law, and finally, they needed to protect their herds from being confiscated and fined on the basis of plants protection against the dangers of the black goat.

The community leader explains the adaptive techniques they have utilised to achieve the previously mentioned goals:

“We understood that whether the military or others, they are all employees, they operate according to their work calendar, thus, the community decided that it was safest to garze and cultivate during times outside the working hours of the military and the environmental protection department, hence, the community had converted their lives from daytime to nighttime [...] the prohibition of construction forced the community to live in caves, from the declaration of the firing zone until the late 1980s people find refuge underground, in the Canaanite caves. During the day, when the military machine was present, people would not get out of their caves, but when it was night time people would cultivate their fields and graze their sheep” (Com. 2, 2019).

In this regard, it could be argued that immediately after the declaration of the closed military zone, the new geography used to exist when the military machine was present in the area, whereas the geobody would retain its domestic geography at night, and during Jewish weekends and holidays. However, preserving the domestic geography is not as simple as just creating a pattern of existence and nonexistence geographies. Later, the Israeli military started to utilize technological advancement in aerial photography to monitor the establishment of the new geography of the firing zone. The fact that Masafer Yatta used to be regularly monitored through an air balloon, forced the community to create visual illusions to conceal their domestic geography in the captured aerial photos. The community understood that they need to develop a mechanism to deal with their domestic activities, both as a process and as a photographed outcome. In this regard, the three main activities could be seen as follows:

Grazing, which is predominantly a process. If the herds are not out in the fields, they won't be confiscated, or fined. Thus, the community could protect their herds by changing the management of their grazing collectively. Instead of grazing as individual families, each hamlet would form a group of 2 shepherds and one watchman, who would graze all the herds of families living in the hamlet, between

dusk and dawn. Cultivation is more complicated, as it is both a process of cultivating, and the product, a cultivated land. Although the process is prohibited by law, as it involves existing illegally inside a firing zone, the product is needed to protect the land from confiscation, it was left uncultivated. Thus, the community had altered their cultivation techniques, so that they could cultivate at night, and only a very limited range of crops, that are low maintenance, and not very expensive if they were destroyed, which has severely affected the regional position of Masafer Yatta. According to the community, Masafer Yatta used to be the food basket of Yatta, but during the 1970s and 1980s, cultivation was not done as a way of having abundant products, it was only a tool to create the illusion of cultivated fields in aerial photographs (Com. 2, 2019).

Shelter is the most complicated of all three activities, as both the process and the product are prohibited. The community had to adapt to the fact that their construction will not just be noticed by the military, it will also appear in the aerial photographs, thus, they needed to create a geography that is suitable for their needs and that is also justifiable in the eyes of the camera. An old lady told the story of building and construction in Masafer Yatta:

“We are cave dwellers, but you cannot always live in a cave, eventually the families grow in size, and our kids get married at some point, so, we needed to survive and grow at the same time. In the 1970s and 1980s, and even until today, when we build, we make sure that the structure is as small as possible, we build one unit at a time, and we do not install a permanent roof [...] it is a common knowledge that when people build with bricks they would cover the building with a fabric, to make it look as temporary as possible [...] we have been dealing with the ICA for two decades now, we understand that a demolition order is better than the stop work order, thus, we need to create facts on the ground, establish finished structures and then fight to make them last longer, by petitioning to the court. You could say, we buy time. On the other hand, if you receive a stop work order, that is it, the order is implemented on the spot. Thus, people build at night and on Saturdays, and no construction should take longer than 3 days to be build [...] we notice the air balloon twice or once a week, so we better create facts on the ground before during times where there is no balloon, to avoid a stop work order.” (Com. 2, 2019)

Going back to the statement by the community leader of Masafer Yatta, “it is like time had stopped for 70 years in Masafer Yatta”, this paper has argued that within this frozen time span on the macro scale, time and space were defined and redefined continuously on the micro scales to sustain the essence of the domestic status of Masafer Yatta, by adapting to the legal-patterns both as processes and as products. The paper has illustrated how community knowledge was utilised to manipulate the vagueness of the legal geography to create a gray geography that enabled the endurance of the domestic geography of Masafer Yatta between the 1950s and 1980s.

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FIGURES

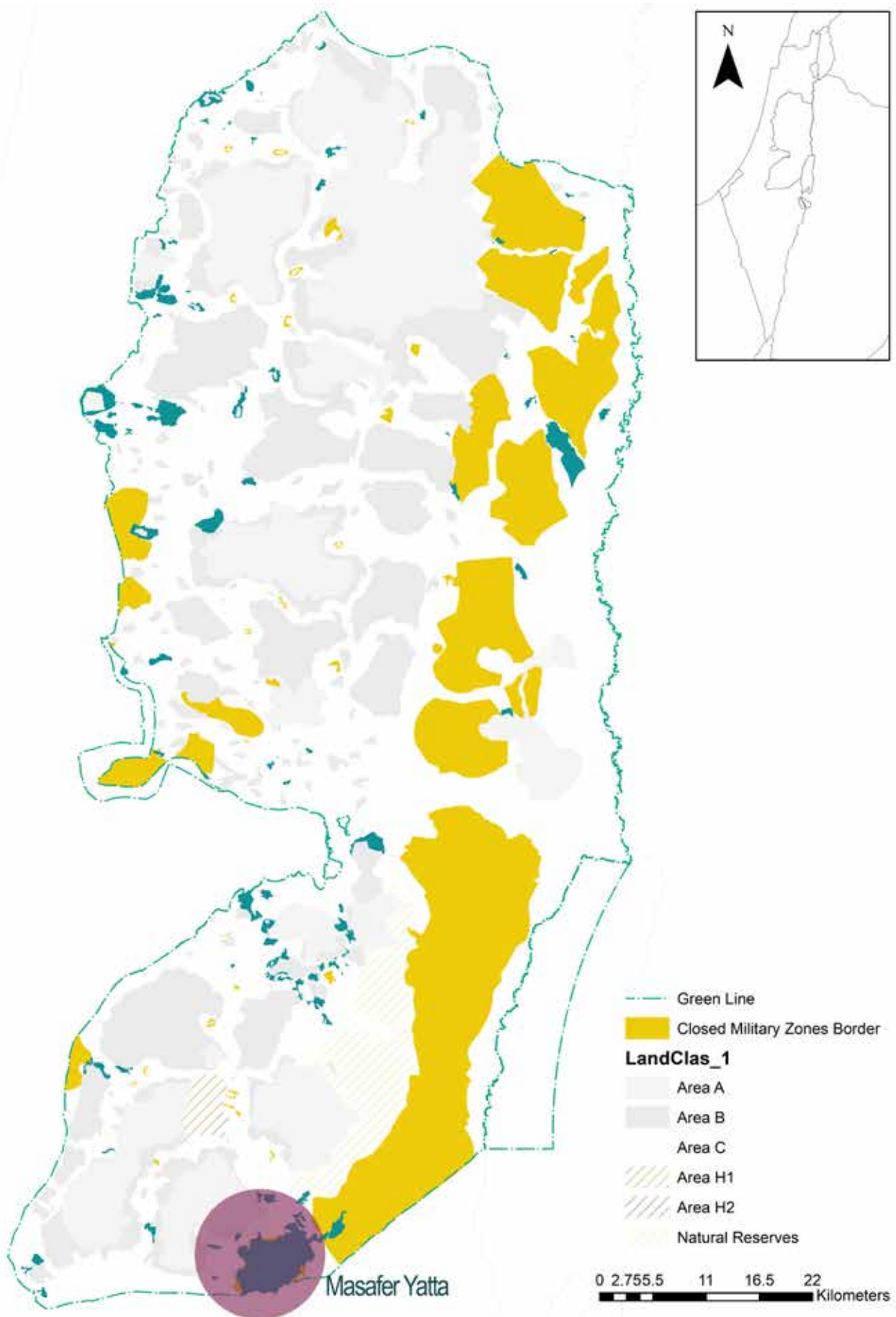


Figure 1
Closed Military Zones in the West Bank, Source: Base map: MoLG, 2018, edited by author

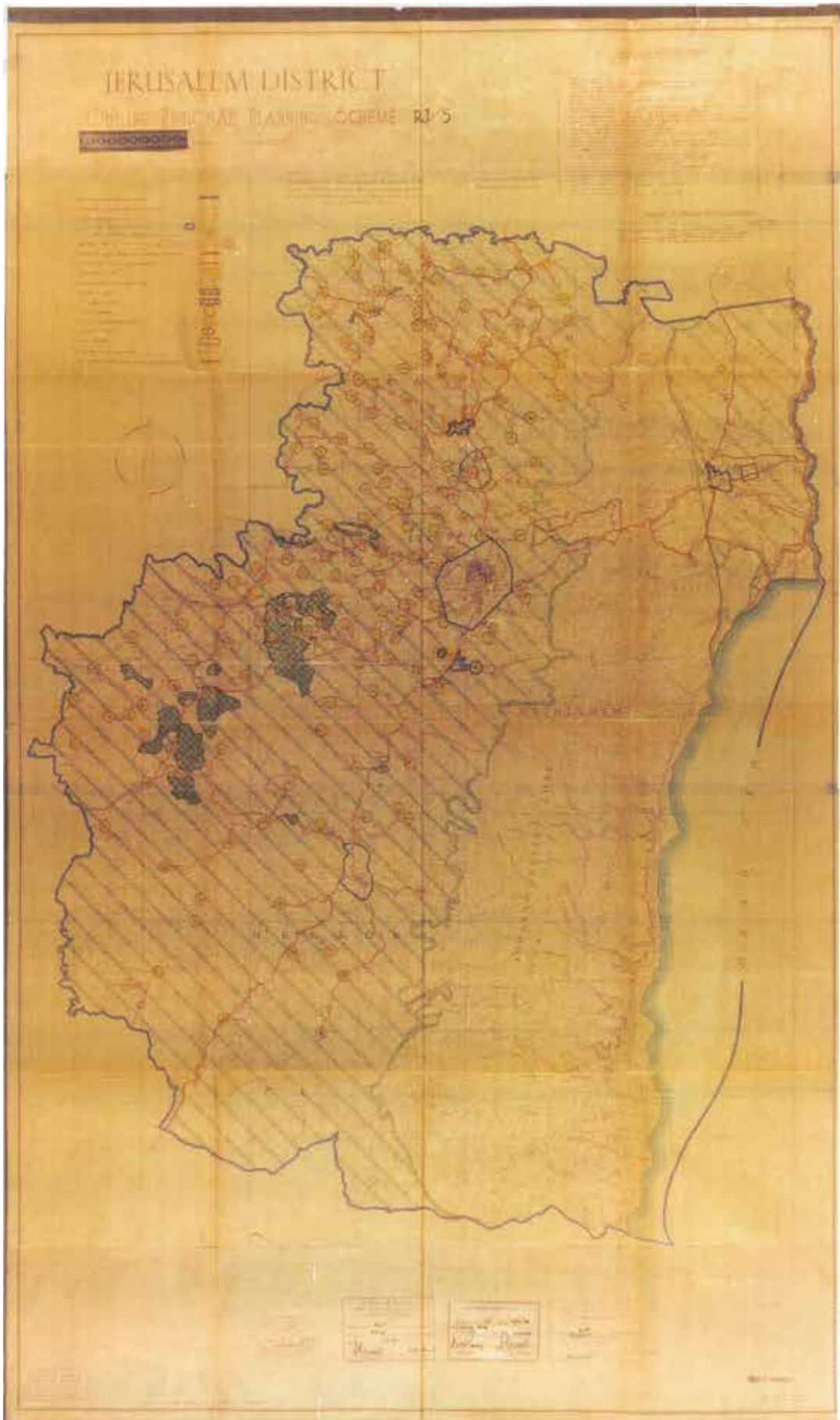


Figure 2
British Mandatory Plan (RJ5), Source: MoLG, 2018

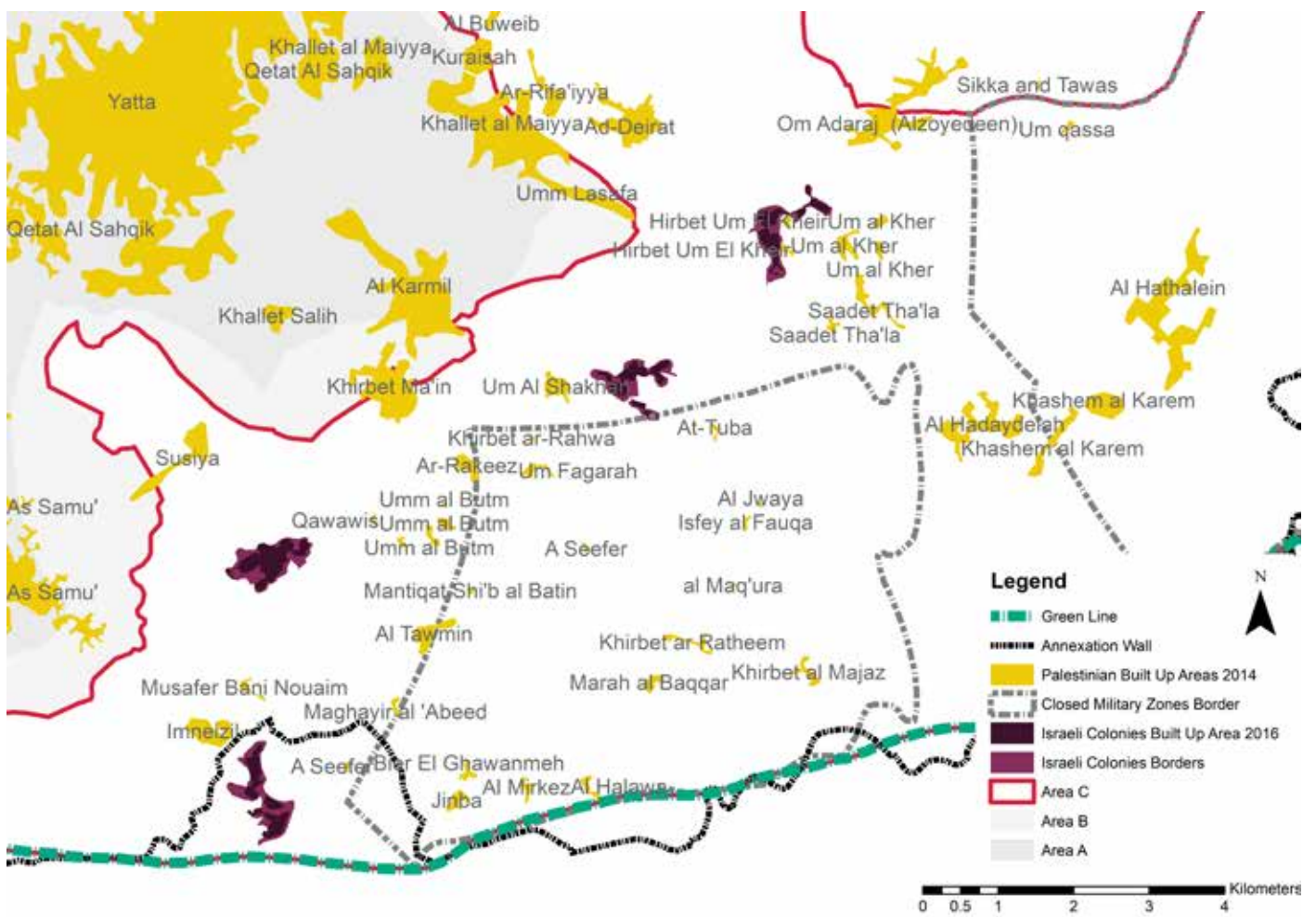


Figure 3
 Geopolitical Map of Masafer Yatta, Source: Base Map: MoLG, 2018, edited by author

SESSION 1.D

DOMESTICITY AND INTEGRATION

RE-TRACING HOME- CONVERSATIONS WITH SYRIAN NEWCOMERS ON THE
“ARRIVAL CRISIS” IN BERLIN
Benedikt Stoll

CAMBODIAN CRISIS - FINDING REFUGE IN THE AMERICA
Elisabeth Edwards

Re-tracing Home

Conversations with Syrian newcomers on the “arrival crisis” in Berlin

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The design research project “Re-tracing Home” aims to challenge the contemporary notion of crisis as one of politics and not of capacity. The alleged “arrival crisis” is investigated from an urban design perspective by juxtaposing contemporary forms of “refugee architecture” with Bourdieu’s theoretical “habitus” concept (1979), Wines’ architectural “Highrise of Homes” project (1981) and cognitive maps of Syrian newcomers’ perceptions and imaginations of home and housing. A phenomenological understanding of the re-configuration of the city as a fluid space of shifting borders shall postulate that one has to co-produce its preconditions as well as its outcomes.

Keywords: “refugee architecture” – “arrival crisis” – habitus – cognitive mapping – fluid home.

INTRODUCTION

This paper argues that the ongoing “refugee question” in Germany is regarded as a political short-term problem which is primarily dealt with through temporary architecture. This results in an unwelcoming reception of newcomers that hinders their integration and exacerbates the “housing question”. Moreover, it is criticised that the knowledge and preferences of newcomers are almost never incorporated in their arrival process to find an appropriate accommodation in Germany. This can be observed by assessing the status quo of “refugee architecture” shown in the Making Heimat database (2016) that was presented at the Venice Architecture Biennale 2016. Therefore, this paper is addressed to professionals and academics working for and especially with displaced communities and aims at providing a methodological prototype to challenge the binary view of either traumatised refugees (Taufiq, 2017) or pioneering migrants (Saunders, 2010) by re-tracing their memories and imaginations of home and housing (Fig.1). The term “arrival crisis” is used to withdraw from the controversial term “refugee crisis” that completely muddles up the causes and consequences of the crisis (Merkel, 2017). This suggests a perspective that shifts the attention from the apocalyptic rhetoric of politicians to the reciprocal process of arrival and a crisis “of politics, not capacity” (Roth, 2015) according to Human Rights Watch.

Regardless of the differences in dealing with the “arrival crisis” across Europe, massive displacements and refugee movements are not expected to stop. In contrast this problem is expected to exacerbate as climate change may cause the permanent displacement of 200 million people especially in the developing world (Stern, 2008). The accommodation of many of these displaced communities will probably become one of the major challenges for European urban development and architectural design in the future. However, this does not necessarily facilitate a more fundamental understanding of the “socio-cultural and architectural identities” (Wines, 1981) of newcomers. Wines’ “Highrise of Homes” project (1981) in the American context of rural-urban migration proposed to transfer these distinctive identities – in his case rural single-family houses – from their old home to a new context of a vertical city community. This idea could offer a proactive alternative to recent examples of “refugee architecture” as a newly interpreted “collage of architectures collectively created by its inhabitants” (Cline, 2002) and constitutes my conceptual framework.

Contradictions, determinism and bias in recent debates on “refugee architecture” in Germany are

heavily influencing practice. The container villages of Feldschnieders + Kisters architects as one of the numerous examples of temporary “refugee architecture” has often been celebrated and awarded because “the arrangement of the courtyard houses accommodates the need for peace and privacy” and it is highlighted that “an employee from the Muslim community sensitised the planning architects to the residents” (Making Heimat database, 2016). But do newcomers actually prefer to live in their presumably traditional forms of housing or do people change when they migrate? Interviewing the Syrian architect Yasser Shretah suggested that the “transfer of Syrian typologies to Europe would not make sense” (Shretah, 2017) to make newcomers feel at home. He points out that architecture always evolves through flows of migration but warns of prejudices and further explains that there are huge differences of lifestyles and standards of housing between Syrian villages and cities.

In order to rethink such deterministic and biased misconceptions about “refugee architecture”, I decided to frame and analyse these perspectives as limited understanding of Bourdieu’s “habitus” (1979) concept. The concept implies that people from a similar cultural background have similar expectations and ideas of their lifestyles and forms of housing as a result of their experiences since childhood. This perspective can illustrate the predominant and often generalising discussions in Germany on how newcomers would potentially like to live. I aimed to challenge this preconceived approach towards “refugee architecture” with the often discussed critique of Bourdieu’s “habitus” concept of being deterministic. With reference to Hilgers’ thoughts about “how sociological consciousness can be deployed as a tool to modify habitus” (2009), this critique is juxtaposed with an analysis of the diverging views of Syrian newcomers in Berlin which I collected during cognitive mapping workshops. Bourdieu’s idea of class conform patterns of behaviour that imply a similar preference of forms of housing is meant to be challenged with the outcome of my workshops showing that newcomers who are conscious of their constraints can emancipate from their habitus (Hilgers, 2009). Thereby my methodological approach was to ask Syrian newcomers to re-draw and re-write their old, new and ideal “home” through floor plans, objects and narratives from their memories and imaginations (Fig. 1). A broad set of exercises was provided to give participants the opportunity to choose their preferred forms of expressions and topics to prevent any emotionally upsetting or stressful experiences. This open-ended and participant-led format allowed them to decide on the process and outcome of the workshop according to their preferences.

DISCUSSION

Exploring the status quo of the “arrival crisis” in German architecture and urban planning agendas could begin with the German “Making Heimat” (Cachola Schmal et al, 2016) contribution for the Architecture Biennale 2016, which was dealing with the latest “refugee architecture” as well as affordable housing. Some even argued that a new social consciousness has developed within the profession (Heathcote, 2016; Winston, 2016). Yet, analysing the corresponding database of refugee housing projects, a great gap between the idealistic agenda and the actual harsh planning and design reality is evident. The increasing engagement within the profession to address wider societal issues is still very much limited in the sense that most design solutions are conceptualised and conducted from a very narrow - mainly white, male and German - perspective, which does not include the perceptions and needs of the individuals they actually want to design for.

“Refugee architecture” seems to remain static in the form of provisional container architecture next to a few alternative examples. Therefore, it even has been argued that temporary shelters are exactly how conservative and right-winged parties “hope to discourage refugees from coming to Europe” (Pater, 2016). But the scarcity of research and design proposals for alternative “refugee architecture” has to be seen

in the light of a more general lack of contemporary housing alternatives, which has been an issue long before the “arrival crisis”. Despite the demographic and socio-economic transformations within globalised societies in Western Europe, standardised housing typologies for the traditional family model are outdated. A pluralistic and cross-cultural understanding of our ever-transforming societies could hence emphasise the need for new housing alternatives that deny the standardisation of family models and socio-cultural values.

The thematic analysis of my fieldwork focused on the presumed commonalities of the participants’ Syrian class habitus (Bourdieu) and distinctive architectural identities (Wines) in contrast to their subjective notions of “home”. Moreover, ideas like Mihailescu’s (2016) performed identities of Romanian migrants and Yildiz’ (2016) transtopias of returning Turkish immigrants helped to identify and contextualise different figurations of newcomers. Both design research projects stand exemplary for the well-known phenomenon of migratory urbanism that describes the idea of how migrants leave their traces in the built environments of their “arrival countries” as well as their “home countries” when they return.

In general, all participants of my cognitive mapping workshop seemed to be very aware of the different legal and cultural figurations of newcomers and wanted to explain their situation and legal status without being asked. Consequently, one should not consider the terms “refugee” or “migrant” as a title but as a legal or temporary situation that also leads to different stages of home-making and abilities to integrate into German society. Selected participants shared a similar cultural background in Syrian middle-class families and age (1986-89), have all previously experienced life in urban areas (Damascus or Aleppo) and have completed higher education. Moreover, all of them came to Germany feeling that they do not belong to Syria (anymore) and are reluctant to readapt or even feel like strangers in their own home country in contrast to other friends and family members. All are willing to adapt to their new sociospatial context in Germany but still feel foreign. Even though most miss stability and being able to plan their lives without the pressure of time and being questioned about their identity, they also take confidence in their new situation and status. In relation to Bourdieu’s idea of class conform patterns of behaviour one can say that even though all participants come from the distinctive social class, they seem to be very aware of their constraints and have developed a “sociological consciousness” (Hilgers, 2009) after moving to Germany that allowed them to emancipate from their socialisation or in other words their habitus in contrast to those who stayed in Syria.

Discussing distinctive architectural imprints or preferences almost always came down to the impression that traditional Syrian architecture is not functional and convenient for contemporary forms of life anymore. Following the Syrian independence in 1946, the country modernised and internationalised so that women started to enter higher education and become part of public life. Consequently, lifestyles changed and people aspired to move out of their old courtyard houses to live in apartments designed by architects. Traditional Syrian architecture seems to have become a symbol of national heritage and a tourist attraction. Nevertheless, most participants still revealed some affection for the houses and cities where they grew up and reported particular architectural features or practices in Syria. But regarding the meaning of home these notions were less important than social relationships and being accustomed with certain cultural habits. Being in a place where one is respected and also the importance of establishing something new were common preferences.

It appears that those who stay in their home countries need to adapt to predominant norms that might be relatable with Bourdieu’s idea of class conform patterns of behaviour. But in regard to Wines’ assumption of particular architectural identities that could be directly transferred to a new context, it was evident that my workshop participants rather consider traditional Syrian architecture as a touristic attraction than a contemporary form of housing. In contrast to the idea that newcomers would be

determined by their habitus, transtopian diaspora communities seem to disobey any deterministic logic of distinctive cultural or architectural imprints. Rather, they declare an independent logic on the move to choose what is best and what is not (Yildiz, 2016). This can be exemplified by the changing meaning of interior features of Syrian architecture that arose from my study. For instance, one participant outlined that the “corridor from the courtyard house became the hallway in the apartment to separate function and to not directly ‘jump’ into the living room for privacy reasons” (LZ*, 2017). Another person stated the “lwan and courtyard became the balcony, a (covered) exterior space for the family to gather” (MO*, 2017). Thereby the separation of functions – and eventually also gender – was a key aspect in this discussion with all female participants whereby one participant clearly argued for transparency by drawing an open-plan housing as preferred form of housing (NH*, 2017). Furthermore, the application of “Western” feminist and anthropological critiques of the home (Aureli, 2016; Douglas, 1991) on “Arabic” ideas of “accepted inequality” (LZ*, 2017) in space can be quite problematic. Thereby, the spatial idea of “open eyes” where “everybody can see everybody is not how we work”, clarifies LZ* and asks to consider a different idea of privacy. MO* also insists on spatially almost invisible but culturally practiced transitions of private and semi-private spaces that distinguish rooms for daytime and night activities or guest and family occasions in traditional Syrian houses that are still relevant for the design of modern apartments. In contrast MA* points out that globalisation led to an increasing disappearance of some of the presumed typical Syrian archetypes like the guest room in courtyard houses which were actually also only popular in rather urban areas of the country. Thinking about designing contemporary forms of housing, NH* highlights that one should find a balance between German standards and the need for more creative and flexible solutions that negotiate the needs of its residents.

In a sense, one can say that dialectical conversations led by newcomers through situated speaking, drawing and writing in order to reveal unpredicted and tacit knowledge is a personally and professionally enlightening experience. Thereby one should be open to understand the eclectic meanings of architecture that can help to transfer needs rather than preconceived forms (of housing) to the German context. The critical analysis of Bourdieu’s “habitus” concept between determinism and freedom of choice can be used to challenge presumed knowledge on an architectural level but also common values in politics or even ethics, coming from either religious or cosmopolitan beliefs, through the notion of “home”.

Re-tracing memories and imaginations cannot only help to understand the socio-cultural and architectural background of newcomers but more importantly foster an in-depth discussion about sensitive issues around home, architecture and identity. Thereby, one can go beyond the binary view of traumatised refugees and pioneering migrants to showcase a much more authentic and subjective figuration of newcomers, who are sometimes unsteady but sometimes also very confident. This would contrast the predominant national perspective on newcomers that defines them by their legal status and withdraw them from any agency or even autonomy.

Based on my cognitive mapping workshop a speculative design proposition of a “fluid home” could postulate open and undifferentiated “housing” structures that can be appropriated by its inhabitants. In this way, newcomers would be enabled to set the thresholds to the public themselves and become part of the cultural and architectural process of re-negotiating meaning into space. A “systematic collection of the spatial possibilities of a building type” for the “fluid configuration of inhabitants and spaces” (Borsi, 2009) proposes a different notion of housing standards and typologies. Eventually, blurring the lines of dualisms (domestic/urban, interior/exterior...) implies the importance of the urban context surrounding the home through the understanding that “urban spaces should be thought of as externalized domesticity and the domestic as internalized urbanity” (Jaschke, 2008) and even redefines the disciplinary and professional

boundaries within the field of urban design

Consequently, a basic structural framework for individual appropriations of safe interior spaces might become the basis of newcomers' performed identity in relation to the public and built environment called "home" (Mihăilescu, 2016). Thereby, this approach can contribute to current debates on "refugee architecture" as well as address wider societal issues regarding the provision of (social) housing for all. A conceptual re-appropriation of Wines' theoretical "Highrise of Homes" project (1981) in the scope of Borsi's (2009) resurgence of the "Berlin block" as a fluid configuration can support the idea of Wagner's "growing house" (1932) that can adapt to the socio-economic circumstances of the inhabitants. Wines' "multi-story matrix that can accommodate a vertical community of private houses, clustered into distinct village-like communities on each floor" (SITE, 1981) can be paraphrased as a structural framework that can accommodate diverging architectural identities of newcomers.

In this regard one should consider Jaschke's plea for spatial ambivalence that could reflect mental realities and "built homecoming", meaning the potential of human identification with the environment. She refers to Aldo van Eyck's practice declaring cultures as "structural entities or systems of psycho-social and material relations" as well as Benedict's concept of the "patterns of culture", pronouncing the shared mental and physical dispositions in all cultures which would also be defined by their very own structural configurations. These ideas reject a deterministic explanation of a functional, environmental, biological nature and generalising notions of cultures but declare them as particular and creative processes. This "phenomenological understanding of the constitution of meaning" (Jaschke, 2009) in space and the importance of relational situations correlates again with Norwood's architectural phenomenological approach that intends to "sanctify particular forms of subjectivity" (2017) by emphasising the particularity and ambivalence of human encounters.

CONCLUSION

The design research project "Re-tracing Home" counters the often deterministic and preconceived approach of German "refugee architecture" by confronting it with diverging views of Syrian newcomers which have not yet been incorporated in the design process of their home-making in Germany. The critical analysis of Bourdieu's "habitus" concept is used to address the dilemma of determinism and freedom of choice in relation to my workshop participants ideas of home and preferred forms of housing. Thereby Wine's proposal to directly transfer distinctive architectural identities of newcomers from their old to a new home has to be criticised as idealistic but preconceived anticipation of newcomers' preferred forms of housing which does not correlate with their actual needs and imaginations. Moreover, it needs to be clarified that newcomers develop a "sociological consciousness" (Hilgers, 2009) that allows them to emancipate from their habitus so that they seem to disobey any deterministic logic of distinctive cultural or architectural imprints.

To sum up, one can say that newcomers' ideas of home emerge from a "hybridization of historic (colonial) times and diasporic spaces, and imagination of exogenous standards and transnational lifestyles" (King, 2004), demanding a new understanding of contemporary "refugee architecture" in Germany and beyond. Migration may have the potential for re-imagining transtopian cities and societies in which every integration starts at home. A new cross-cultural co-design agenda should introduce a new narrative of urban design to openly diminish architectural exoticisation of "other" cultures and call for a new perspective on "refugee architecture" and contemporary housing models. Challenging common preconceptions and dualisms through an ethical and phenomenological approach to sanctify particularities should blur the lines of architectural and cultural boundaries.

Being Syrian in Syria is completely different to being Syrian in Germany. The rise of new border realities and identities has to lead to a more open and non-deterministic perception of newcomers by professionals and academics working for and with displaced communities. This new understanding could be the basis of an informed design agenda for contemporary “refugee housing” which could eventually also be considered as one aspect of re-creating a “new” home away from the “old” home. Whether their social, cultural, political or spatial integration is questioned, newcomers have to feel safe and comfortable in an appropriated home-like space, first of all in order to be able to slowly build relationships with others to re-negotiate the thresholds with the public. The importance of lived time, culture, ownership and meaning in space implies the performance of home as the most visual and embodied interpretation of future cities and societies (Mihăilescu, 2016).

If one idealistically attempts to include newcomers in the design process of their new homes, one should not neglect the danger of racist clichés by reducing complexities. The cultural re-appropriation of architectural identities by simply transferring presumably Syrian typologies to the German context might encounter invisible borders like the tacit separation of a guest and a living room which are actually one room. If one attempts to mediate the city as fluid space of shifting borders, one has to co-produce its preconditions as well as its outcomes.

This research was conducted for a MRes master thesis in Interdisciplinary Urban Design at The Bartlett School of Planning at University College London and supported by Migration Hub Network, Über den Tellerrand, Architecture for refugees and Guerilla Architects.

FOOTNOTE:

LZ*, MA*, MO* and NH* were participants of my cognitive mapping workshop and shall remain nameless because of ethical and data protection reasons.

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FIGURES

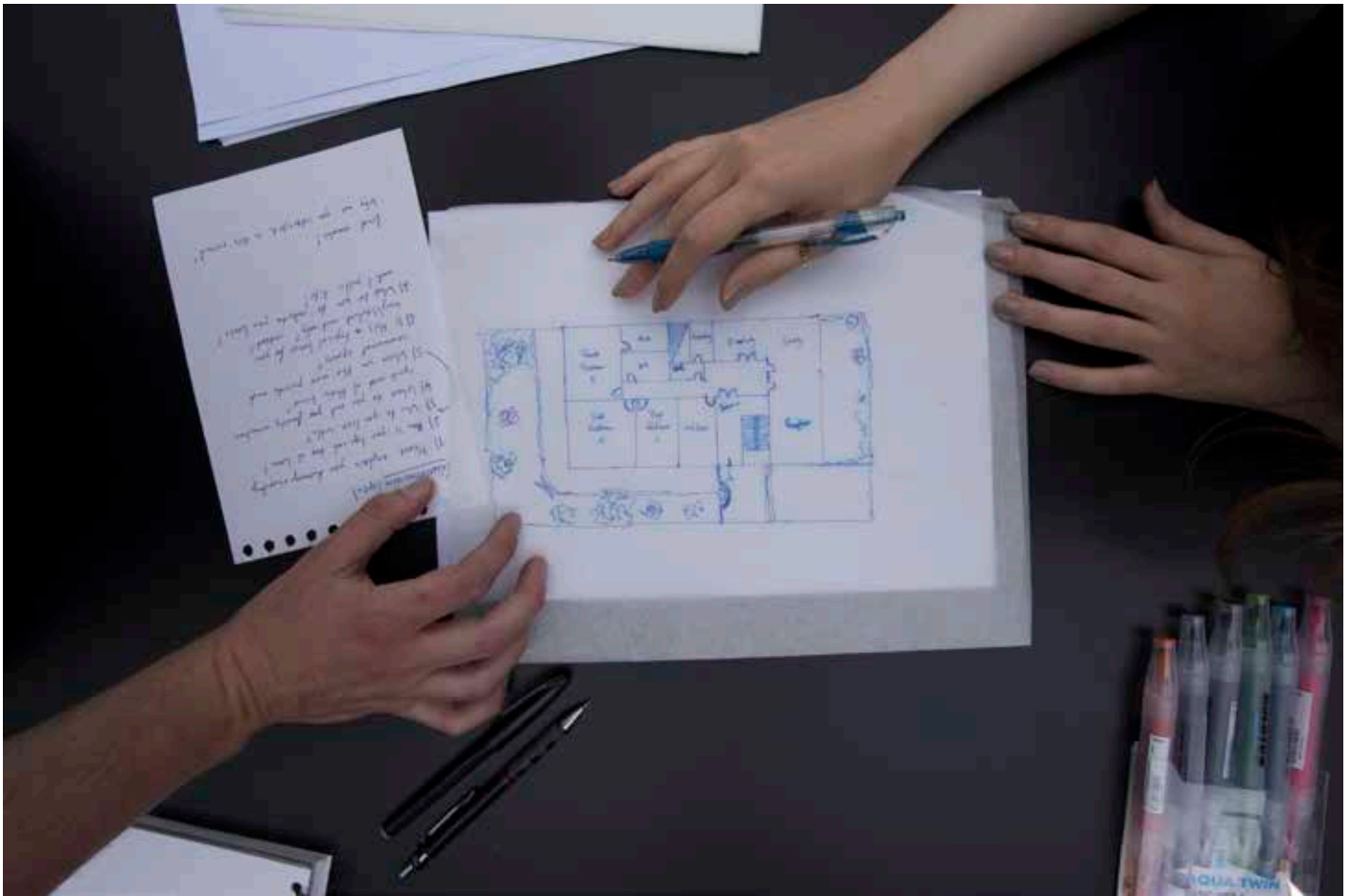


Figure 1

Re-tracing an "old" home from Aleppo, Syria..

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Cambodian Crisis: Finding Refuge in America

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The humanitarian crisis that occurred in Cambodia from 1969 to 1994 represents challenged domesticity across international boundaries as families and individuals evoked daily practices from meager constructs. Extended violence forced hundreds of thousands of Cambodians to seek refuge; primarily in Thailand and the United States. Thousands were repatriated by the Thai government, yet the Cambodians attempted to maintain their familial lives. Reestablishing household life and adapting to American culture was particularly difficult with the absence of male figures in the family, as they were targeted by the Khmer Rouge. Refugees were allowed to acculturate to the American context while restoring their standards of domesticity, though racial and economic tensions of the time challenged their efforts.

Keywords: refugee, violence, adapt, community, resettlement.

INTRODUCTION

This article contributes to a reflection on crimes against humanity in the recent pasts of privileged and underdeveloped worlds. It focuses on the violent civil conflict between Cambodia's communist insurgency and their tenuous government, amplified by hostilities with neighboring Vietnam and Thailand. The upheaval of Cambodian culture and domestic life during the late 20th century forced refugees to escape to brutal, unwelcoming conditions in Thailand or adapt to the striking urbanism of western countries. The article concludes by questioning the transiency of tradition and whether the psychological effects of trauma can be resolved in a modified state of domesticity.

CAMBODIAN CRISIS: FINDING REFUGE IN AMERICA

From 1969 to 1979, Cambodia was torn apart by unrelenting conflict, both domestically and with neighboring countries. Its neutrality began to dissolve as the South Vietnamese and United States initiated sabotage missions, covert intelligence-gathering, and overflights to counter the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong. The distressing political climate agitated social tensions, creating a suitable environment for the growing internal communist insurrection to erupt in Cambodia's rural regions in 1967 (Pike).

Violence quickly spread while King Sihanouk supervised the counterinsurgency measures, later recognizing that approximately 10,000 people died as the royal armed forces reestablished peace. Eleven of Cambodia's eighteen provinces were left in a state of unrest by the close of 1968 as the communist Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (RAK) gathered strength (Pike).

With 1970 came the overthrowing of Sihanouk, dragging the country deeper into conflict between the revitalized Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK) and the renamed Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces (CPNLA, formerly the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong, and the RAK). The two sides were not equally matched, chiefly due to the large amount of urban youths that joined FANK, giving them a quantitative advantage. This subsequently inhibited FANK from effectively imparting combat training to their numerous inductees, contributing to their collapse (Pike).

In April of 1970, the United States assisted in providing materials to the new government's armed forces countering the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong and the amassing Khmer Rouge insurgents (Pike). The Khmer are a major ethnic group in Cambodia, with the national language also called Khmer. King Sihanouk

initially devised the term “Khmer Rouge” to describe the few thousand Cambodian communists led by Pol Pot in the 1950’s (Chan, 2017). By June of 1970, FANK lost significant territory and the Khmer Rouge designated liberated areas to operate independently of the Vietnamese. The communist forces continued to grow despite being plagued by disunity and corruption throughout the civilian administration and army. North Vietnam supplied the military, but the Khmer Rouge became independent enough by 1973 to control nearly 60% of Cambodia’s territory and fight major battles against government forces without assistance (Pike). These situational influences are important in framing the traumatic psychological state most Cambodian refugees carried with them in their resettlement phases.

During this time, female soldiers provided moral support for men on the front lines through strategic organization. In Siem Reap, for example, a cell of two women would care for one man, with one tending to his wounds and the other preparing food (Frieson). As of 1974, more than two million civilians took refuge in Phnom Penh and other cities. The urban centers were targeted by daily rocket attacks through April 17, 1975, when Phnom Penh surrendered (Fig. 1). This capitulation came only five days after the United States embassy evacuated Cambodia, but thousands of civilian lives had already been lost in the airstrikes (Pike). A few thousand Cambodians were able to evacuate to the United States during this time, primarily well-educated refugees who had escaped the trauma of the Khmer Rouge’s rule. These first Cambodian-Americans were critical in establishing refugee communities in the new, foreign territory of the United States from the mid-1970’s onward (Chan, 2017).

Humanitarian relief efforts were slow to launch in Cambodia until 1979, when operations began to be conducted in Hanoi and Phnom Penh despite geopolitical tensions. The first shipment of relief supplies arrived on August 9th from UNICEF and ICRC (United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund and International Committee of the Red Cross) by plane to Phnom Penh. At the time, the Cambodian authorities’ ability to manage the aid was a source of sustained debate. The crisis was significantly impacted by the Cold War, which alienated Cambodia from support that could have been provided by the United States and most western countries. With the U.S. disconnected from Indochina, regional tensions grew between Thailand and Vietnam since control for Cambodia was open for expansionist conflict (Cambodian Refugee). Independent family organizations were obliterated by the state during this time. Women were forced into the same difficult labor positions as men, though age distinctions were made. This slavish service, primarily in agriculture, denied them the bonds of kinship and tore them from their homes (Frieson).

Cambodian refugees fled by the tens of thousands to the Thai border, some reported to have survived on wild bark and mushrooms. Annual harvesting was impeded by the Vietnamese offensive against the Khmer Rouge, preventing spring planting and increasing famine (Nations, 1979). Many migrants were in poor health, plagued by malaria, starving, and threatened by gunfire from Khmer Rouge soldiers. These soldiers planted land mines along both the Thai and Vietnamese borders, killing a significant number of refugees at the end of an interminable journey (Chan, 2017). Those who managed to reach the border were barred from entry by the Thai military. A vast number of these suffering traders, combatants, and farmers were forced to establish provisional camps of thatched huts along the indistinct border (Cambodian Refugee). Approximately 1,700 Cambodian refugees arrived at a temporary shelter at Wat Koh only to be transported by the Thai Army back to their war-ravaged homeland, under the impression that they would be taken to a permanent camp in Trat (Fig. 2). Their harsh journey has been documented by letters citing the miserable conditions of starvation, exhaustion, and grief at the border while trekking under the watch of armed escorts. One man wrote to his uncle, “Living here deprives me of the most basic necessities of life...We are living without salt, without money. At this moment I am condemned to live with starvation.”

(Nations, 1979).

In 1979, the United States' former senator Dick Clark coordinated with officials in Bangkok to secure the refugees' temporary asylum in Thailand. An agreement with Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanan was reached to house the Cambodians, though the policy was disputably enforced. The influx of several hundred thousand Cambodians threatened Thailand's own national security, already weakened by famine and war (Nations, 1979). At the height of refugee influx, Cambodians totaled half a million in Thailand, or one percent of the country's population (Chan, 2017). Thai soldiers continued returning refugees by the thousands to their home country. Their policy against the influx of Cambodian refugees was inconsistent, at times allowing large numbers to enter and be supported by local Thai villagers while other times the military would threaten to shoot anyone attempting to cross the border and enforce it with barbed wire at meeting points (Cambodian Refugee). Military sources from the Thai army claimed to use persuasion rather than force to expel the Cambodians by providing them with sufficient provisions, seeds, and tools to plant. They also stated that they would return the refugees to secure areas not dominated by the Khmer Rouge, but instead under the control of Vietnam or a neutral zone (Nations, 1979).

This qualification to avoid forcible repatriation abandoned the Cambodians in desolate areas of defenseless wilderness and vicious crossfire between the Vietnamese and the Khmer Rouge. While the U.N. was unable to supply emergency food and shelter in a war zone, the International Red Cross was granted access across the Thai border without requiring Bangkok to acknowledge them as refugees (Nations, 1979). The recently established Cambodian government was highly sensitive to activities at the border, publicly citing that humanitarian agencies acted in favor of the Khmer Rouge in perpetrating genocide rather than rescuing the millions of survivors left inside Cambodia. Thailand's military held the primary influence at the border, with its predominant concern being an invasion from the Vietnamese army (Cambodian Refugee).

The Thai government refused most humanitarian aid from the United Nations throughout most of 1979. Because Thailand did not sign the 1951 Refugee Convention, they held firmly to the claim that any Cambodian who entered was an "illegal migrant" or "illegal entrant" rather than a refugee free to seek asylum (Cambodian Refugee). Thailand prohibited international organizations from assisting refugees in resettlement abroad for fear it would attract more unwanted migration (Chan, 2017). The border camps grew, with Aranyaprathet as the nucleus for relief operations, as tens of thousands of perpetrators and genocide victims continued to flee to the Thai border (Fig 2). These refuge areas were frequented with attacks as the Khmer Rouge fought Vietnamese forces. Refugees rarely found peace as they were trapped in the center of conflict between various military factions, corruption and black markets within camps, and the pressing threat of a Vietnamese invasion (Cambodian Refugee).

As desperation, international pressure, and substantial monetary offers increased, the Thai government was convinced to implement an "open door" policy, allowing the Cambodians to freely enter for refuge. Many Cambodians were wary of the holding centers built by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Though they were designated for their safety, many feared the shift in refugee population would threaten the power of camp leaders at the border. Those leaders spread wild rumors about what awaited refugees if they trusted the holding centers. Aggravated Thai military officials retaliated by restricting food supplies and bombing some border camps to pressure residents into leaving. Civilians were inevitable casualties (Cambodian Refugee).

The refugee camps within Thailand held a reputation for intolerably harsh conditions, which largely contributes to many Cambodians' negative view of Thailand to this day. Shelters generally consisted of crude plastic tarps hung from poles, hastily constructed in fields and rice paddies with poor drainage (Chan,

2017). Some were more suited to the climate and made of vernacular thatched materials (Tan, 2016). Others who arrived by water fashioned temporary shelters from their boats (Fig. 3) (Lambert, 2017). Many Cambodians died from exposure and disease bred in the muddy, open pit toilets (Chan, 2017).

An international conference held in 1979 further addressed the crisis, identifying levels of sanctuary in countries that could house these refugees. Neighboring countries, including Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, and the British crown colony of Hong Kong (being treated as a country), were titled “countries of first asylum” and would continue housing refugees. Officials from the Office for Refugee Resettlement (ORR) attempted to spread displaced groups throughout these countries to limit financial and social strain. They also looked for cities with cheap housing, employment that did not require English, and where the refugees might already have family. Resettlement countries of farther proximity, primarily the United States, Canada, Australia, and France, were called “countries of second asylum” and would increase their intake number of refugees (Chan, 2017).

The United States passed the 1980 Refugee Act in response to the apparently unceasing outflow of displaced Cambodians and other Southeast Asians seeking asylum. Despite not wanting to admit Khmer Rouge soldiers and associates, some were received as refugee advocacy groups pressured U.S. immigration to quicken their case-by-case review process. The program accepted mainly refugees, as well as immigrants seeking family as sponsors in the United States and humanitarian and public interest parolees. The latter were viewed to be deserving of admission but did not qualify for refugee status. The U.S. Cambodian refugee program concluded in 1994, having accepted a total of 157,518 Cambodians since 1975 (Chan, 2017). While the resettlement of these refugees succeeded in preserving their lives, many of them felt a sense of failure for abandoning their heritage and being forced to assimilate to an unknown future (Howell, 1982).

The initial priority of these refugees was finding employment. However, that proved difficult as most of them lacked transferable job skills, the ability to speak English, and a familiarity with industrialized society. A significant number of the Cambodians that arrived after 1979 became the working poor, chiefly employed in processing facilities or the service industry. Women were earning wages for the first time, contrary to their previously critical role of supporting the family through house work. Their recent tragedy was an additional burden, even for the well-educated who escaped in 1975. Many suffered from post-traumatic stress after experiencing what they call “Pol Pot time” (Chan, 2017). A study treating 23 severely traumatized Cambodians for ten years resulted in thirteen showing improved social, vocational, and subjective quality of life. The remaining ten had comparatively poor outcomes even with additional years of therapy (Boehnlein, 2004).

Families that settled in the first few decades could not depend on the same upward social mobility that other Asian immigrant families had enjoyed. Their assigned placement in inner city neighborhoods disadvantaged them with gang warfare, which contributed to poor graduation rates among Cambodian youths. This was also affected by a lack of positive role models and well-educated parents that could help children succeed in school (Chan, 2017). Cambodian families tended to believe success could be achieved the “middle way” based on Theravada Buddhist philosophy, teaching to not demand too much of a child and not expecting more than the child can deliver (Canniff, 2001). This passive religious grounding coupled with their recent trauma did not interfere with refugees’ desire to reconstruct their communities.

Long Beach, California rapidly developed as the “Cambodian capital of America” after the government of Cambodia arranged for its students to attend universities in Los Angeles and Long Beach in the late 1950’s. The city continues to have the largest population of Cambodian ancestry outside of the home county

itself. That education program ended when Sihanouk broke off diplomatic relations, but the cultural ties between generations continued as refugees came needing sponsors. The Cambodian Students Association transformed into the first Cambodian mutual aid association incorporated and organized in the county, titled the Cambodian Association of America (Chan, 2017).

Massachusetts followed in 1985 by signing an executive order to help refugees find employment through state agencies, encouraging the state to grow as a resettlement destination. A revered Buddhist monk, one of the few senior monks to have survived the purges of the Khmer Rouge, came by invitation to serve in a temple established in North Chelmsford, Massachusetts. Other major cities across the country began filling with refugees placed by the ORR, with the only failure being New York City. Cambodians accustomed to rural life were unable to adapt to its fast-paced, global urbanism (Chan, 2017). Though most lived in poverty, refugees' commitment to rebuilding family and cultural domesticity allowed them to reconstruct familiar businesses, restaurants, and pharmacies.

Despite their wide dispersion and resilience, Cambodians have more physical illness, psychological distress, and difficulty adjusting to the United States than any other group of Southeast Asian refugees. In addition to PTSD, many exhibited symptoms of diabetes, heart disease, stroke and seizures. The older generations of refugees preferred to cling to traditional Cambodian cooking focused on high vegetable and fruit consumption with minimal meat, but children favored the American diet rich in fat and calories. Single mothers were most vulnerable to changing the eating habits of the household since there was only one adult to counter the children's rejection to customary recipes. A case study of three women in their seventies who had all lost husbands and children during the genocide showed a consistent diagnosis of insulin dependent diabetes mellitus and hypertension (Palinkas & Pickwell, 1995). It is possible for these women, and many other refugees, to access western healthcare, but a lack of familiarity restricts their ability to take advantage of early detection benefits.

A universal desire developed within Cambodian families to resuscitate their culture, regardless of what new nationality or socioeconomic status these refugees attained. The Khmer Rouge eradicated the key social facets from traditional dance, music, art, and religion, leaving them to be preserved only through poignant memories. Buddhism remained a source of communal strength for the adapting refugees, who modified the homeland adage, "To be Khmer is to be Buddhist," to "To be Buddhist is to find social support" (Chan, 2017). As generations continue to grow in resettled cities across the United States, they will continue to adapt their culture to the American way of life, but how their culture will be reflected in America's skyline is yet to be determined.

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FIGURES

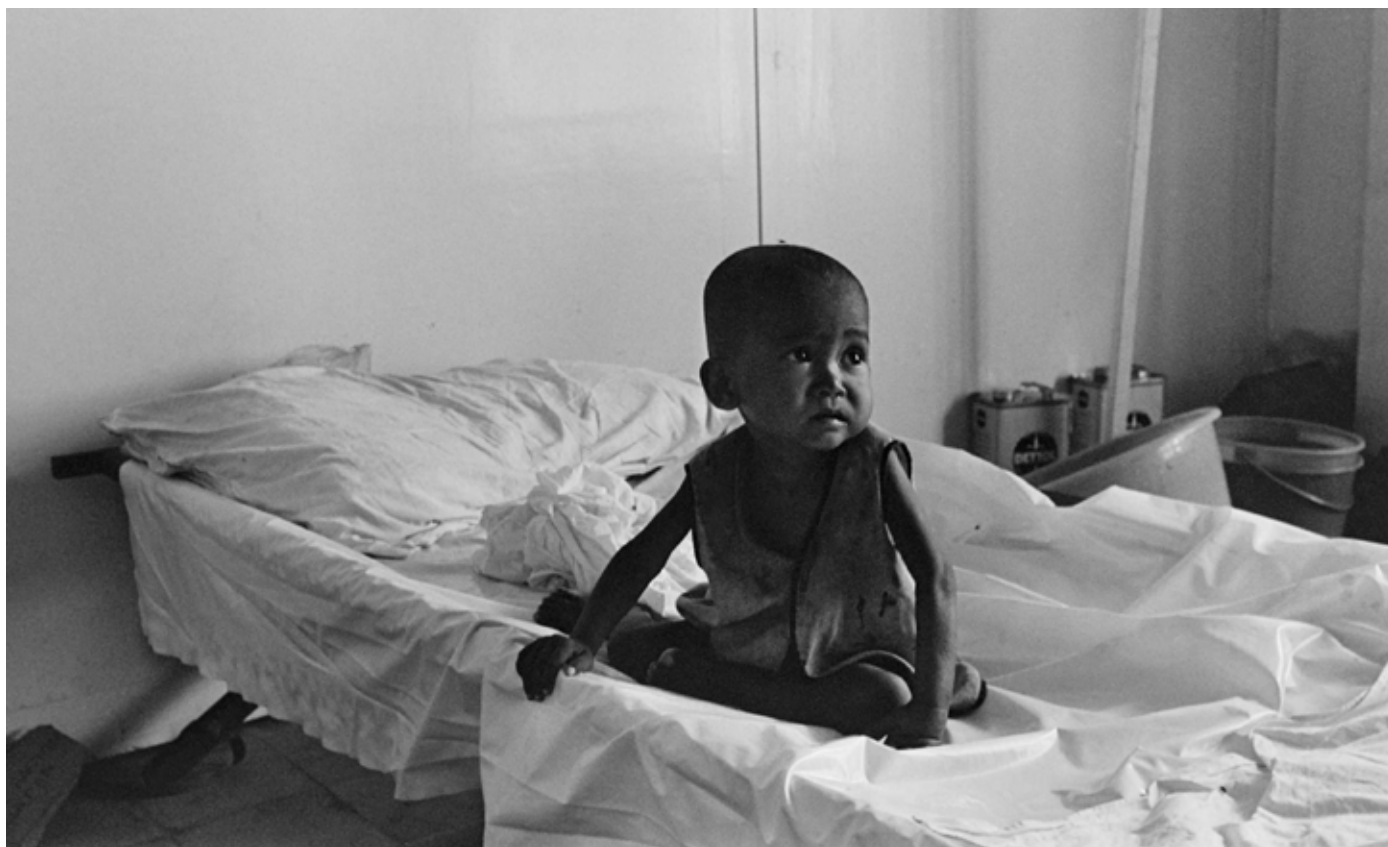


Figure 1

A Young Cambodian child at a hospital in Phnom Penh, March 1975, representing the many children displaced by the country's civil violence (Seiff, 2015).

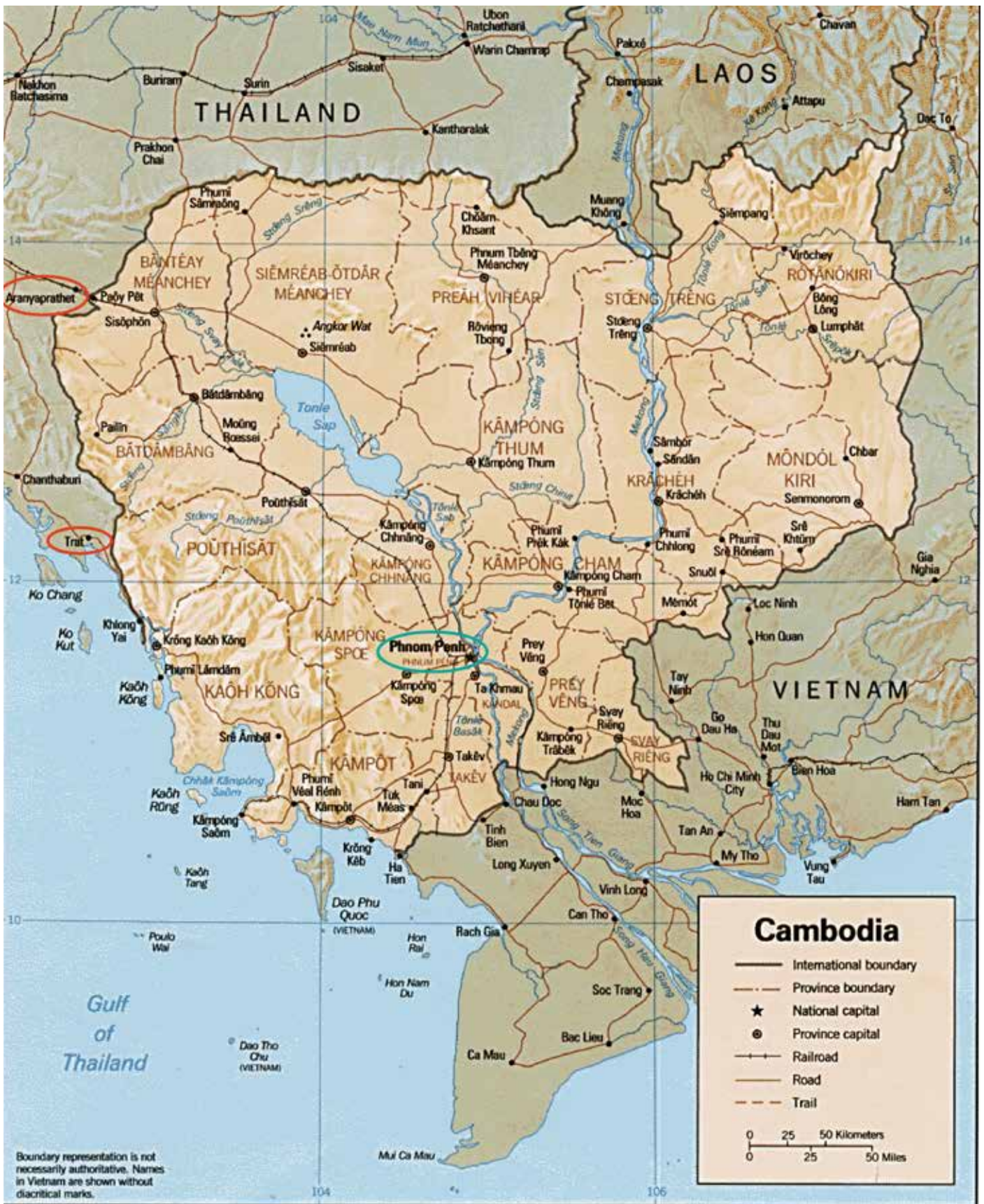


Figure 2
 1991 map showing Cambodia and its capital of Phnom Penh (circled in green), as well as Thai border cities involved in refugee operations (circled in red) (Maps of Asia).



Figure 3
Cambodian “boat people” refugees putting up temporary shelters at the Sakaeo camp in Thailand (Lambert, 2017).

SESSION 2.A

FROM EMERGENCY TO HOME

FROM EMERGENCY ACCOMMODATION TO PERMANENT TRANSFORMATION:
THE LONG-TERM IMPACT OF HOUSING DISPLACED
ARMY PERSONNEL IN BELGRADE

Dalia Dukanac

From emergency accommodation to permanent transformation: The long-term impact of housing displaced Army personnel in Belgrade

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This paper investigates the housing strategies applied to military and civilian personnel of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (Jugoslovenska narodna armija - JNA), who, on the eve of the 1990s Yugoslav civil war, were re-settled in Serbia after being encouraged to leave their homes in other Yugoslav republics due to their employment. Combining archive plans and data, interviews with residents, and different representation techniques, this study explores how domesticity and home culture were introduced in the leftover spaces of socialist housing, generating a tendency to appropriate, alter, expand and merge such spaces within collective housing on both formal and informal bases.

Keywords: Yugoslavia, Serbia, Socialism, social housing, JNA, army, resettlement, home culture, adaptation.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on archival and field research of Block no. 23 in New Belgrade, designed by the architects Božidar Janković, Branislav Karadžić and Aleksandar Stjepanović in 1968, and constructed between 1969 and 1974 [Fig.1]. The investor was the State Secretariat of Peoples' Defence (Državni sekretarijat za narodnu odbranu - DSNO), and the 2342 apartments were intended almost entirely for JNA personnel. Between 1989 and 1990 the Block experienced spatial and functional alterations in order to expand the Army's housing funds and accommodate additional personnel families. Coinciding with the prelude to the war and corresponding redeployments of personnel from other Yugoslav republics, 92 new housing units were granted mostly to these migrating families. I will aim to show how in architectural terms, socio-spatial strategies born out of this state of emergency and enabled by the socialist housing system later mutated into widespread housing practices of the post-socialist model of free market economy frequently disruptive for the broader urban space and community.

From the creation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until its disintegration, the Federal Secretariat of Peoples' Defence (Savezni sekretarijat za narodnu odbranu - SSNO) represented the largest beneficiary of the state budget, and was consequently by far the biggest investor in Yugoslav housing construction¹ (Milićević, 1986). These apartments were distributed to residents via tenancy rights, in accordance with the model of self-managed socialism, and were not intended for the housing market. However not all apartments were granted exclusively to JNA personnel, since the integration of the civil and military housing represented an important dynamic in domestic defence strategy, since civilian residential areas could not be considered as military targets during conflicts (Nikodijević, 1992). This and other housing policies contributed greatly to blurring the boundaries between the civil and military sectors that would otherwise have clearly defined the military as a cultural sub-group.

Within a wider research framework around housing built for the purposes of the Army, the case of Block 23 was identified as valuable ground for the investigation of housing strategies, policies and practices carried out during the 1990s, which in today's context of free housing market in Belgrade (Serbia) resonate to great extent. Furthermore, the outcomes of these events, along with individual practices of

¹ For the general review of housing construction built for the purposes of the Army see for instance: Marušić, M. (Ed.). (1988). *Katalog stanova JNA/ 1, 2 and 3, sveska 1* (1968- 1986); Žanko, A. (Ed.). (1966). *Stan I; Žanko, A. (1967). Stan II.*

domestication conducted throughout the following years by the residents, were systematized and visually reconstructed.

Based on the concept of the critique of everyday life (Lefebvre, 1959, 1991, 2002, 2005, 2012) three levels of dwelling practices were employed in this research analysis and interpretation.² The first level - spatial practices or the appropriation of space - deals with the immediate use of the living space, primarily under the influence of private consciousness. The second level - representation of space - is the result of the perception of the housing space as a public space, as a transitional model of sociability, and as the basis of the relationship between the private and the social consciousness of users. The third level - the historical-cultural model together with the spaces of representation - interprets the understanding of the self in relation to housing as a product of social consciousness.

The archival research includes original project documentation, investigation of housing norms promulgated by the Army, and housing laws and regulations regularly published in the official gazette of the Army (*Službeni vojni list*). However the everyday changes within housing space appear as a more complex issue, and do not depend only on changes in the dominant state ideology and market model. The cultural and historical model of the social group that is the subject of this research was therefore explored empirically through a qualitative approach to investigating individual lived experiences. The field research conducted in the second half of 2018 included observation visits combined with semi-structured and unstructured interviews, supplemented by comparative analysis of project documentation and subsequent changes in architecture and apartment layouts. While photographs, hand sketches and notes were used to document spatial and functional alterations to the apartment units and their adjacent common spaces, two- and three-dimensional representations of the units were produced as a form of spatial analysis of the design concepts, and of the socio-economic circumstances that shaped the current layouts of the apartments. This research approach combining architectural and ethnographic methods aims to investigate the potentials of architectural drawing as a tool of research in cross-disciplinary studies; such methodologies have recently been investigated both within architectural and anthropological discourses.³

HOUSING THE MIGRANTS

As the Yugoslav civil war continued to smoulder in the second half of the 1990s, nearly 540,000 people migrated to urban and rural areas around Serbia (Ambroso, 2006, 2; ECRE, 2010, 1; Petrović, 2001, 216-217; Vujadinović, Šabić, Stojković and Milinčić, 2011, 238). Although records show that 73.3% of refugees were hosted within existing households (Grečić, 1998, 94), a variety of methodologies were applied to house the remaining families, including housing projects funded by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), self-built houses with modest housing loans provided by the government, and conversion of public buildings into 'collective centres'.

From the outset of the refugee crisis in 1992, the academic and professional architectural community contributed to the development of refugee housing strategies. Feasibility Study for Building accommodation for Republic Serbia Refugees, UNHCR (Žegarac and Mirković, 1992) showcases various examples of 'collective centres' that housed around 20,000 refugees in total; temporary individual housing aided by UNHCR which produced modest results (merely 630 units that complied to UNHCR minimal standard regulations were built in Kovin and Jagodina according to 1995 data); and permanent individual

2 As used in the pavilion and grand estate studies carried out by the Institute for Urban Sociology (Institut de sociologie urbaine- ISU) published in 1966 in: *L'habitat pavillonnaire* by Antoine Haumont, Nicole Haumont, Henri Raymond and Marie-Geneviève Raymond with introduction by Henri Lefebvre, *La politique pavillonnaire* by Marie-Geneviève Raymond, and *Les pavillonnaires* by Nicole Haumont.

3 See for example Marie Stender. Towards an Architectural Anthropology—What Architects can Learn from Anthropology and vice versa, *Architectural Theory Review*.

housing entirely funded by the Commissioner for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia (Žegarac, 1995). Since land allocation in urban areas demanded extensive planning and investment, plots for permanent individual housing were mostly acquired in rural or suburban areas of smaller towns in Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The pilot project for permanent housing models designed and partially constructed between 1993 and 1996 in five different towns and villages around Serbia was intended to create not only new housing space as part of the emergency response but also to generate new local community identity, through a strategy of semi-participatory design. The intended residents took an active role in the housing construction process during which they often altered the organisation of their future homes in coordination with the architects. Moreover, the design process itself often implied multi-phase construction; in some cases the minimal cores of housing units were built in the first stage of construction with an option for vertical and/or horizontal extension, performed in the second stage by the residents with the help of architects on site. In other cases the first stage of construction meant the execution of unfinished housing units of appropriate size but with no household fittings and equipment, which were supposed to be incorporated during the second stage with the help of donations, loans, etc (Ibid, 64-71). Although a majority of projects designed for both temporary and permanent housing were unfortunately never realised, often due to lack of resources and inadequate logistics, what this practice displays is active engagement of the professional community in housing refugees.

It is worth noting that the status of refugees, IDPs and war-affected persons was not easy to identify and classify at the time. Particularly ambiguous was the case of Army personnel, who were officially redeployed and therefore had no grounds for acquiring refugee or IDP status. Although they received temporary housing, in order to be included on the Army's waiting list to acquire permanent housing rights in Serbia they were required to renounce any property and housing rights acquired in the republics from which they emigrated (Službeni vojni list, 1994/11, 207; 1995/18, 681, 693). Army personnel were furthermore ineligible for assistance from non-governmental organisations and were instead supported solely by Army resources. These resources included residential property owned by the Army that offered an alternative strategy for personnel - occupation of communal spaces within apartment buildings. Such spaces were most often allocated in large socialist-modernist housing estates designed and constructed in New Belgrade (such as Block 23) or in the southern suburbs of Belgrade during the 1960s and 1970s heyday of the Yugoslav economy; these included rooms for housing council meetings, laundry and storage facilities, superintendant rooms, lofts and other communal or shared spaces (Ibid, 1991/22, 733; 1994/11, 206; 1995/18, 677, 680, 682, 693). These spaces – usually with no insulation or household equipment – were distributed either as emergency accommodation or as military service apartments (Ibid, 1994/6, 92; 1995/18, 693); intended as temporary housing solutions, they were eventually turned into homes, and in most cases continue to serve the same purpose to this day, becoming part of the contemporary housing market.

STRATEGIES FOR HOUSING ARMY PERSONNEL: THE CASE OF BLOCK 23

While tenancy rights for military service apartments were mostly granted in 1991 and 1992, the status of emergency accommodation apartments were sometimes retroactively regulated in the years following. Within Block 23 both types of housing solutions were identified and three separate but repeating cases of housing practices to house redeployed Army personnel were further elaborated.

The first case illustrates the re-use and adaptation of four recreational centres for pensioners - originally designed as part of the ground floor in two of the eight buildings in Block 23 - into military service

apartments by Army personnel families redeployed in 1991. These centres were originally intended for use by large groups of people, each consisting of a vast open-plan area filled with stone chess-board tables followed by a kitchen with a bar, male and female toilets, and an office in the ground floor, topped by a mezzanine with a snooker table [Fig.2]. These vast spaces of approximately 130m² exceeded the maximum surface allowed by military housing regulations; however in anticipation of the approaching conflict, these regulations were often overlooked in favour of the relocation of Army personnel (Ibid, 1991/9, 296; 1994/6, 93; 1995/18, 694).

One such space was domesticated by a family of four, comprising two medical doctors, previously employed in a military hospital in Slovenia, and their two children. Appropriating the space, the family turned the open-plan area into a living room with pools of varying ambience created by furniture disposition and decorative elements. The glazed front facade overlooking the highway was partially occluded by aluminium panels to increase the privacy of the living space. The mezzanine was turned into a master bedroom for the parents, while the office was turned into a smaller bedroom shared by the children. The public toilets were turned into a regular bathroom with one toilet, a sink and a bathtub. The kitchen was the only room to preserve its original use, although the large bar was replaced by a dining table. As the family structure changed throughout the years (particularly due to divorce, and the children starting their own families and moving out) the apartment was further re-adapted and the use of the rooms continued to change [Fig.3 and Fig.4].

The second case involves the reuse of ground floor commercial units attached to building entrances to house Army personnel redeployed in 1992. Although a number of these commercial units were inhabited by JNA officers and their families during the 1990s, most of these families were dislodged and the units brought back to their original use, today serving a variety of purposes, such as stores and offices. However one such unit facing the highway continues to be occupied today by the widow of an Army officer from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The appropriation of this space led to the extension of the unit onto the communal ground of the inner housing block space; but even with this enlargement, the unit remains a substandard housing space of only 30m², containing a modest toilet, kitchenette and flexibly utilised room. The glazed walls were bricked up and today only a few windows remain on the front facade. Conversely, as the contemporary housing market shows little interest in ground floor apartments, the units in ground floor level in Block 23 originally designed as apartments can sometimes be found adapted into offices.

In contrast to both of the previous cases, the third case represents a more extensive and systematic strategy. Prior to the redeployment of Army personnel, a rooftop extension had already been constructed by the Army for a building originally designed with a series of two-storey apartments on top of the 10th floor in line with ten ground-floor entrances. Although this new design and construction included the original architect of the Block Aleksandar Stjepanović, who along with his team provided consistent architectural plans and documentation, it was performed in haste and consequently resulted in low quality construction.

Originally prefabricated concrete panels and cast concrete columns structure enabled flexible use of the housing units; in contrast the extension was performed in steel structure and wall partitions producing quite constrained living space, while the facade and roof were finished in corrugated metal panels. The extension added up to six new housing units above each building entrance; most of the units were relatively small, between 27-42m², consisting of a corridor entrance, a kitchen with dining area, a bathroom and either one or two rooms. These created the necessary space for redeployed families but diminished the periodic architectural emphasis in an otherwise linear repetitive structure.

Since this case represents purpose-designed housing units, they were the least problematic in the subsequent process of housing privatisation; after they entered the housing market, Army personnel frequently sold these apartments on, and as a result it is not easy to find such apartments inhabited by the original tenancy right holders. Different spatial practices such as additional division of space and redesign of built-in elements by new residents were usually applied.

Notwithstanding compliance with official regulations in the process of adaptation, the first two cases are more complex to interpret in terms of ownership and legal status. In 1997 new regulations for determining the living conditions of housing units was codified (Ibid, 1997/1, 3), allowing residents to renegotiate the status of their apartments. Regardless of whether these units were listed as emergency accommodation or military service apartments⁴, however, the residents never fully privatised them. In the first case, the residents became collective owners of the communal space when the apartments in the building were privatised; yet both the current apartment residents and the Army consider themselves to be the rightful owners today, perpetuating years-long court proceedings. In the second case, the ownership of the commercial unit is more clearly with the Army, which is nevertheless unable to evict the current resident until it adequately resolves her housing needs. In both these cases, both residents and Army are suspended in a certain limbo.

I would argue that the strategy for housing displaced Army personnel changed the image and urban fabric of New Belgrade, and that these changes became permanent in the transition to the open housing market. This strategy furthermore contained practices that can be interpreted as a representation of space; a certain socio-spatial process enabling a dialectical relationship between the private and social consciousnesses of the residents, the Army and the city itself, rendered in architectural terms within Block 23. The extent to which and the circumstances under which these practices had an impact on the broader urban landscape and housing market in the post-socialist period remain open for further investigation.

CONCLUSION

These cases elaborate the strategic actions taken by the Army to house personnel redeployed in the approach to war. These actions were systematic and organised, but always accompanied by spontaneous individual practices of appropriation and domestication. The latter prefigured the spread of formal and informal housing practices; for example the model of rooftop conversion as a means of creating additional (and valuable) space became widespread and continues into the present. By replicating such strategies in illegal rather than legal contexts (Petrović, 2001, 226), Belgrade residents, informally supported by local authorities, contributed to the current perception of the apartment as entirely private, divorcing it from its societal role.

While these strategic actions enlarged the scope of the housing market, the units were far from meeting Army housing standards, consequently degrading the overall standard of the housing in Belgrade. In the transition from self-managed socialism to the free market, the Block 23 apartments were almost all privatized, including those incorporated in the strategy for housing displaced Army personnel. This process took place during the period of high inflation of the 1990s following the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the economic embargo, and the rapid devaluation of domestic currency; during this period the JNA lost most of its influence in the socio-cultural space, leading to the demilitarisation of the housing sector.

4 The 1991 regulations determined that any communal space permitted for adaptation into an apartment would be required to be privatised subsequently (Službeni vojni list, 1991/22, 734), but different sets of regulations concerning military service apartments specified that these were not permitted to be privatised (Ibid, 1991/9, 294; 1993/19, 19), and that they could only be rented during the period of military service (Ibid, 1991/9, 294; 1994/6, 91; 1995/18, 692-693); a later set of regulations did allow some apartments to be rented indefinitely in exceptional circumstances (Ibid, 1996/09, 205).

The research interviews exposed a historical-cultural model that differentiated displaced Army personnel families from the other residents of Block 23 and Belgrade more widely. A certain collective image of the self was created during the complex process of acquiring a home, a process which caused permanent insecurity among these families. In conclusion I would propose that these dwelling practices became a vehicle for the societal negotiations specifically called for a state of emergency, but which consequently generated broader and longer-term socio-spatial impacts.

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FIGURES

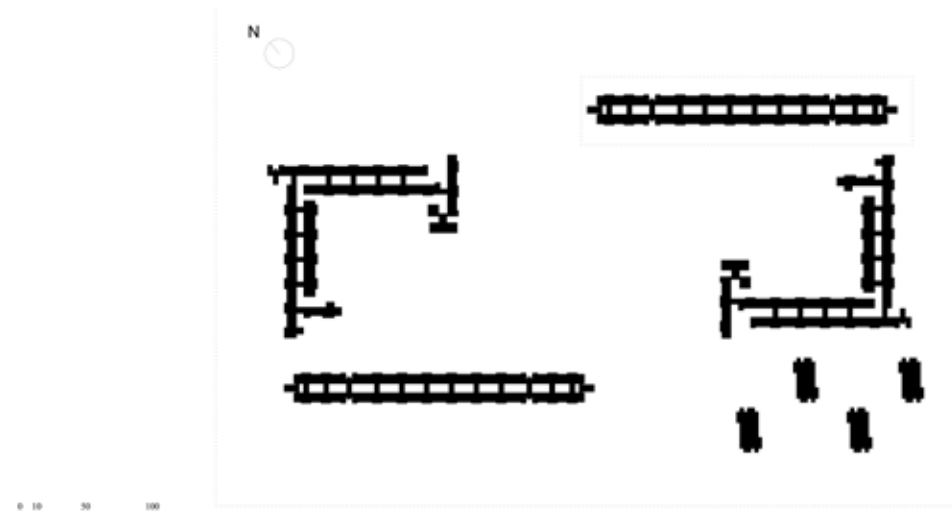


Figure 1
Top view of the Block 23

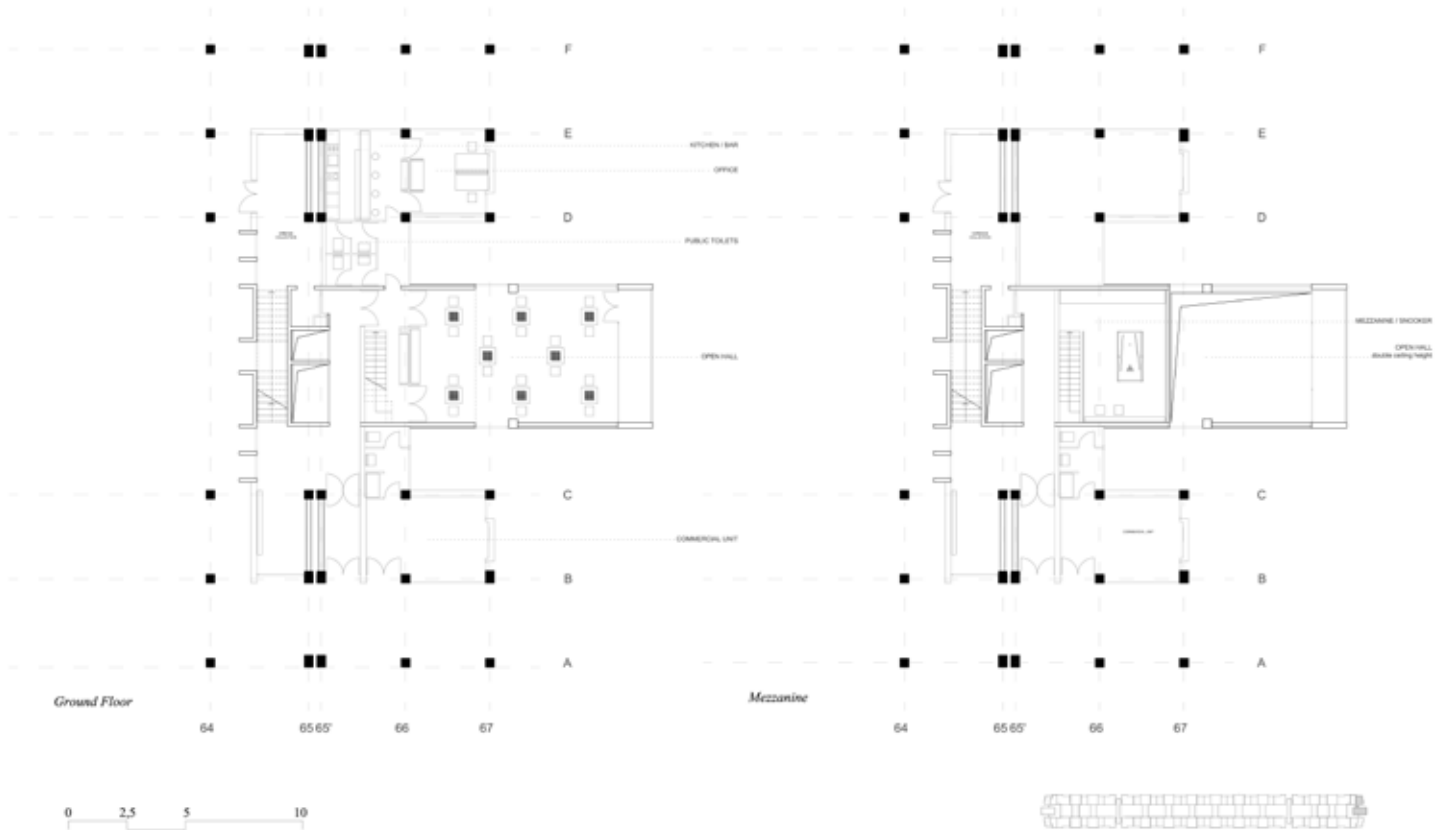


Figure 2
Case study 1 - Recreational centre for pensioners - original layout

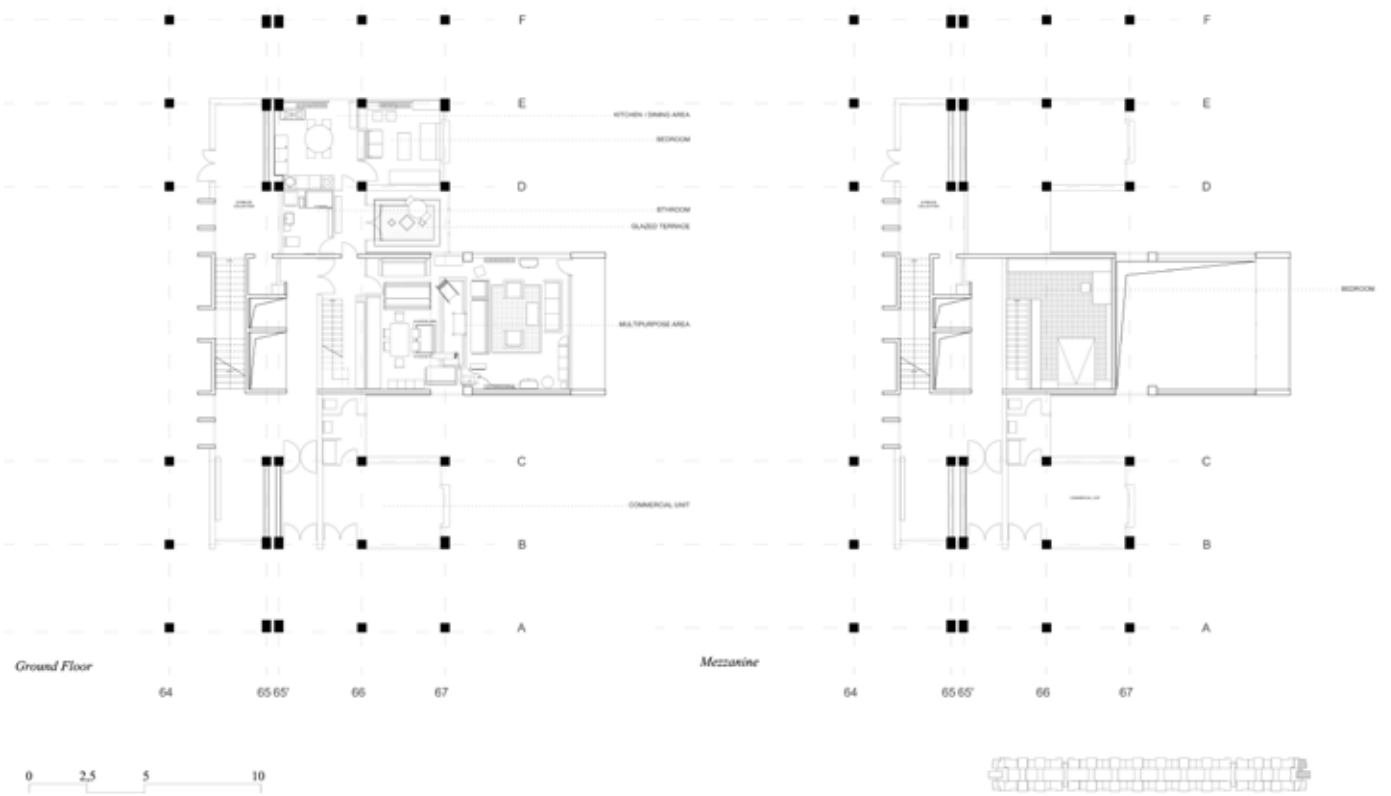


Figure 3
 Case study 1 - Recreational centre for pensioners - altered layout - current state

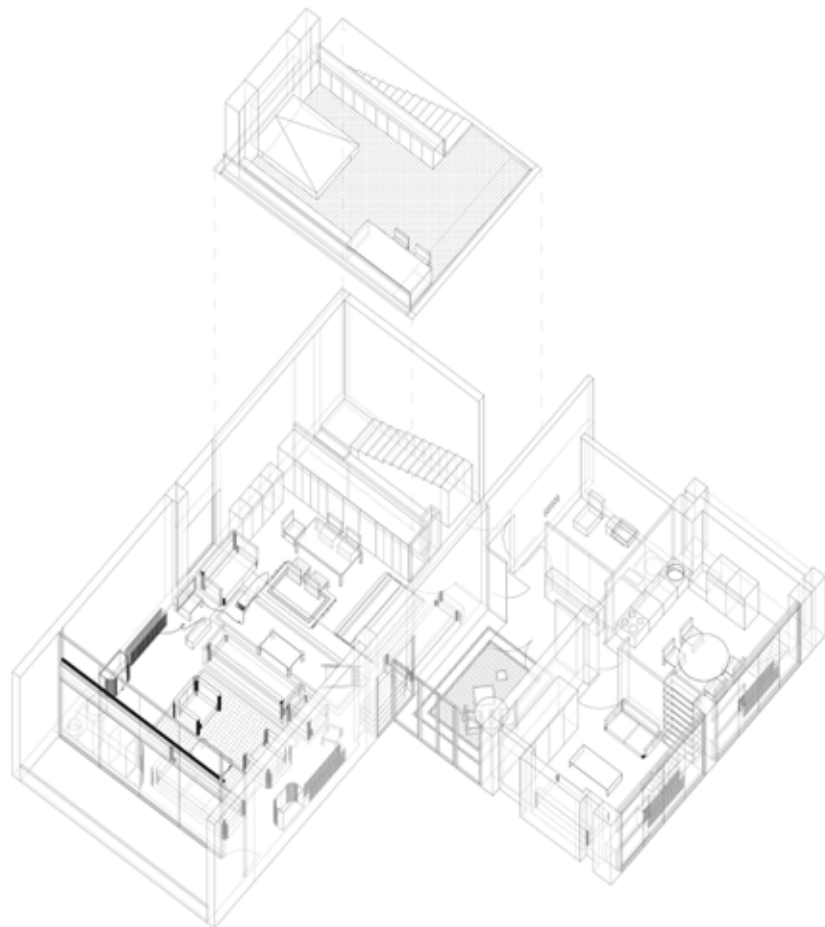


Figure 4
 Case study 1 - Recreational centre for pensioners - three-dimensional view - altered layout - current state

SESSION 2.B

HOME AS EVERYDAY PRACTICES

PLACE, POWER AND BELONGING: A FEMINIST INFORMED PERSPECTIVE ON THE
PROVISION OF HOUSING FOR ASYLUM APPLICANTS IN IRELAND

Maretha Dreyer

DONG XUAN CENTER IN LICHTENBERG. THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE VIETNAMESE
COMMUNITY IN BERLIN

Niccolò Suraci

Place, Power and Belonging: A feminist informed perspective on the provision of housing for asylum applicants in Ireland

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Attachment to place develops over time when mundane activities “become taken for granted by both body and mind so that conscious thought appears unnecessary in our everyday dealings with familiar places and situations” (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). The term ‘belonging’ refers not only to ‘be-ing’ as a person’s unique, embodied experience of space, but also to a feeling of yearning or ‘longing’ for what has been lost (Probyn, 1996). Refugees, asylum seekers and other displaced people often intuitively recreate or re-enact routine, everyday activities in an effort to reconnect with the home they have lost. However, circumstances are not always supportive of these ‘home-making’ acts. The system by which the Irish State meets its obligation with regard to the basic needs of asylum seekers while their claims for refugee status are being processed, is commonly referred to in Ireland as Direct Provision. In this paper, I endeavour to demonstrate that Direct Provision actively constructs space as uncondusive to embodied attachment and thereby obstructs the establishment of a meaningful connection to place. Asylum seekers are unable to re-enact habitual embodied routines such as eating, sleeping, religious practice and caring, in the familiar way they used to ‘back home’. With repatriation being the ultimate goal of the asylum application process, enforced supervision over the daily routine and intimate details of asylum applicants’ lives, creates additional disconnect. In this excessively controlled environment forced assimilation into western ‘neutrality’ transforms life into a meaningless existence. Making use of autoethnography as a reflexive research method, I provide an account of my personal experience as a participant/researcher at a skillshare initiative within the context of a Direct Provision centre in Dublin. These explorations allow me to share some personal insights regarding the spatial dimension of the politics of power, oppression and belonging.

Keywords: : Ireland, 2000s, refugees, asylum seeker, alienation, control, politics, State, self-ethnography, everyday, practice.

INTRODUCTION

Home is an indelible place. It is the landscape of things felt rather than thought through, of the world in its beauty absorbed before it is understood, of patterns and sounds that lodge themselves in the psyche and call out across the years. When home is left behind, or shattered, an immense struggle often ensues to fill the void – Roger Cohen (2015).

In recent years, changes in migration patterns, together with the increased securitization of migration (Huysmans, 2000), has led to a growing number of people worldwide, finding themselves in a no-man’s land of forced immobility. Asylum seekers who have sought international protection in a host country, but whose claim for refugee status have not been determined, are often caught up in the uncertainty of such prolonged conditions of displacement (Doná, 2015, p. 68) – sometimes for years.

In Ireland, a system known as Direct Provision meets the subsistence needs of asylum applicants by providing full board in State funded but mostly privately administered centres, dispersed around the country. Residents are not detained and within certain limits, supposedly ‘free’ to come and go. Although it was intended as a temporary solution, the inefficiency of the asylum applications process has resulted in many applicants spending years in Direct Provision, waiting for a final decision on their asylum application

(McMahon Report, 2015, p. 49). A striking aspect of the Irish reception system is that, unlike other European countries, the accommodation centres are not operated by non-profit organisations.

Displaced people often intuitively recreate or re-enact routine, everyday activities in an effort to reconnect with the home they have lost (Christou, 2011, p. 250). The term 'belonging' refers not only to 'be-ing' as a person's unique, embodied experience of space, but also to a feeling of yearning or 'longing' for what has been lost (Probyn, 1996). Attachment to place develops over time when mundane activities "become taken for granted by both body and mind so that conscious thought appears unnecessary in our everyday dealings with familiar places and situations" (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). However, circumstances are not always supportive of these homemaking acts as there are often "inconsistencies between state-centred perspectives and people-centred meanings of the constellation of homes" (Doná, 2015, p. 67).

This paper makes use of ethnography as a feminist research method, in order to examine the space of Direct Provision, with the ultimate aim to look for traces of asylum applicants' attachment to place. This leads me to explore and ultimately, share some personal insights, regarding the spatial dimension of the politics of power, oppression and belonging within the Direct Provision system.

ETHNOGRAPHY

The data used in this paper was originally collected as part of my research towards a Master's degree in Women, Gender and Society at University College Dublin, Ireland. I made use of ethnography as a reflexive research method in order to provide an account of my personal experience as a participant/researcher, while volunteering at a weekly skillshare initiative at a Direct Provision centre in Dublin, between June and August 2016.

Ethnography is a qualitative research method that makes use of personal reflection and draws on the lived experience of the researcher in order to obtain insight into how people live their lives. Sharing the view of feminist academics that knowledge is subjective, situated, and embodied, this method emphasizes the intersubjective nature of research (Davids & Willemse, 2014, pp. 1-4).

The basis of my ethnographic exploration took on the form of a reflexive diary as a way to record my personal thoughts, feelings and observations within the context of Direct Provision. What follows, are some of my reflections as novice researcher, based on a diary entry describing my experience one evening after completing the skillshare activity.

REFLECTION AND INSIGHTS

Having heard that I'm doing research on the living conditions in Direct Provision, Elijah offers to show me his room while everyone is still socialising in the lounge. Very conscious of all the security cameras, I follow him down the first corridor, through a set of doors, left up the stairs, left again, up some more stairs, through another set of doors. I nervously chat along the way as I'm rather anxious. "If you don't take me back down, Elijah, I'll never get out of here," I comment, trying to hide my uneasiness with a feeble joke. I'm not supposed to be here. Up another set of stairs right at the end of the hallway, through the double doors... The hallways are clean and empty. No pictures, no curtains. Nothing that says 'home'. It looks like hospital corridors with linoleum floors and light walls.

*

Every time I visited the Direct Provision centre, I was aware of constantly being monitored by the CCTV cameras. I wondered why such high security would be necessary in a facility where people are supposedly

free to come and go as they please. For me, the experience relates in several ways to Foucault's theory of power and discipline. In his book, *Discipline and Punish* (1977 [1975]), Foucault introduces the term 'disciplinary power' to describe a means of social regulation and control exercised directly onto the body, with the goal to manipulate and train the individual. Referring to the philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham's late 18th century design of the Panopticon, Foucault explains the idea of self-surveillance. The Panopticon represents a prison which allows for all the prisoners to be watched over by a single guard in a central watchtower. Even though it is physically impossible for the guard to observe all the cells at once, the prisoners do not know when the guard will be watching. Similarly, self-surveillance is a system of social control that is imposed onto the body by subjecting it to the disciplinary power of constant surveillance and examination in order for it to behave in a "desirable" or "appropriate" manner. Over time, external surveillance is internalised, so that each individual eventually regulates their own actions and thereby becomes the docile objects of self-surveillance (Foucault, 1977 [1975], pp. 200-202). The CCTV cameras in Direct Provision serve to control, monitor and transform asylum seekers into "acceptable", docile bodies.

*

Elijah stops at a random door. "This is my room," he announces. While he takes out a key card and unlocks the door, a man walks past and looks at us curiously. Elijah greets him friendly: "Hi Nigeria, my friend" and holds the door open for me. I walk in. "Here, please sit down." He places a folding chair in the middle of the room, and sits on the bed. There's a single and bunkbed moved tightly together on one side of the room to create space for a small table with a computer and speakers, a presswood wardrobe and some shelves with clothing. He explains that he doesn't have to share his room like the other men as he is not an asylum seeker anymore. He's just staying here while finding alternative accommodation elsewhere in Dublin. The others don't have extra belongings such as shelves or computers, he clarifies. I ask about privacy and lockable cupboard space. Privacy is good. He has his own bedroom and bathroom. "There, have a look." I get up to see the bathroom: it is tiny but functional and spotlessly clean.

According to Walker, space "tells people where they can and cannot be, which, in part, defines what people feel about who they are and how they feel about each other" (2002, p. 829). Within the context of Direct Provision, space and place take on a particular significance as these concepts are complex - entangled with the politics of power, oppression and belonging. Foucault's theory continues to explain that power plays out at the microlevel of society. These micro incidents of power are complex layers of privilege within the space of Direct Provision, where some residents, such as Elijah, are treated as superior to "the others". This constitutes internal hierarchies amongst the residents, whereby privileges are determined by each resident's intersectional identity characteristics. In Direct Provision asylum application status plays a very important role to determine the level of autonomy individuals are granted.

*

"The other guys struggle with privacy, as they can't choose who they share a room with. Here, let me show you." He gets up, leads me outside to the next room. He knocks: "Hi Somali, my friend Somali, open up. We have a visitor. She wants to see your room. Just cover yourself up." I cringe at just how inappropriate the situation is. I shouldn't be here... The door is opened cautiously from the inside. Except for the beds being arranged differently, the room is identical to Elijah's. Even the curtains and linen look the same. However, in this room it is obvious that there is not enough storage space, making it seem cramped and claustrophobic. "See there's place for three single men in this room," Elijah explains. "At the moment, the centre isn't full, so there's only two men sharing the room for now". I cannot imagine that there could be space for another man and his belongings in here. "The men are from different countries. They have

different cultures and speak different languages. Sometimes there's conflict if one man wants to sleep and another wants to watch TV and they can't speak the same language..."

Meaningful connections between people and place form over time and plays an important part in identity. We often use place as reference when we identify ourselves, referring to hometown or country – or wherever we call 'home'. A feeling of being 'at home' refers to a person's emotional tie to a place and counteracts feelings of dislocation, fragmentation and disorientation. 'Home' necessarily entails separation from an outside world, in fact, it usually becomes home precisely through the act of excluding others (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, pp. 75-77). In this way, 'home' transforms into a highly politicised concept, implicating deeply entrenched perceptions on property and power, including "who can own what and who should live where" (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 95).

There is an extreme lack of privacy and autonomy in Direct Provision. Besides the routine and regular rules that govern their lives, residents need permission to sleep out, decorate or make use of any electrical equipment in their rooms, or leave children in the care of another adult. Residents do not have a say in who they share a room with and are expected to move when required by management – that could be to a different room or even a different centre altogether. Unannounced inspections can take place and may even be conducted in the absence of residents (Reception and Integration Agency, 2019, pp. 18-24). Single adults are accommodated in multi-occupancy rooms, sharing the space sometimes with several people from diverse cultures and backgrounds, often unable to speak the same language. Families are accommodated in one or more rooms, depending on the size of the family and the gender of the children. The majority of the centres are located in buildings that were originally intended for short-term accommodation only, such as former convents, nursing homes or hotels. Consequently, the bulk of the accommodation comprises of mainly bedrooms, unable to house the activities long-term living entails. Most residents do not have access to separate living space or cooking facilities. All meals are served at specific times and many residents complain that the food is not culturally appropriate. Lack of facilities to invite people to their homes adds to social exclusion (McMahon Report, 2015, pp. 18-19).

Our sense of belonging and 'home' is usually dependent on a certain amount of autonomy and exclusion: having the authority to make personal decisions and decide who is invited in and who gets excluded (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 97), what to eat for dinner or when to go to bed. Direct Provision is not an environment conducive to meaningful attachments and a feeling of belonging as the most intimate detail of residents' lives are controlled and scrutinised by the system.

*

"Come," Elijah instructs. We go back to his room and measure it together. I draw and write dimensions, he reads the measurements from the measuring tape. The room is 3.5 x 3.5 meters including the bathroom. "About 12m²... Rather small for two or three strangers to live out their lives for years on end," I think to myself. On our way out, I notice the lovely view from one of the windows. The glass is broken so I can see out. All the other windows are frosted, I now notice. Elijah points to a glass conservatory below us. It's a nightclub, he explains. In the evenings when the weather is beautiful they open the roof up. "Right here in our own back yard, and we can't even afford a coffee in there."

Tuan (2008 [1977], p. 6) explains that "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it and endow it with value". At first, when arriving in a new area, we are treading in unfamiliar space. Over time we get to know different landmarks and the routes. Through daily encounters, we start to attach meaning to certain locations. "Eventually what was strange town and unknown space becomes familiar place. Abstract space, lacking significance other than strangeness, becomes concrete place, filled

with meaning” (Tuan, 2008 [1977], p. 199). Connection with place evokes a feeling of belonging and makes us feel ‘at home’ (Massey, 1994, p. 1).

Elijah’s superior status allows him to make his room into a place, to claim his own space, move the furniture and add extras according to his needs. For the general residents of Direct Provision, however, space is constructed as uncondusive to embodied attachment by means of the enforced routine and control of everyday life. This creates additional disconnect as asylum seekers are unable to re-enact habitual embodied routines – such as eating, sleeping, religious practice and caring – in the familiar way they used to back ‘home’. In this excessively controlled environment, forced assimilation into western “neutrality” transforms life into a monotonous meaningless existence, evident in the way one resident describes her day:

“I sleep... I wake up, I eat breakfast, I go to my room, I wait for lunch, after lunch, I go to my room, I wait for dinner, after dinner, I go to my room. I sleep...”

CONCLUSION

In this paper I made use of ethnography to gain insight into the spatial politics of place, power and belonging within the context of Direct Provision in Ireland. By introducing Foucault’s theory of surveillance, I considered the social regulation of the asylum applicants within a centre in Dublin and discussed the formation of internal hierarchies that shape each individual resident’s experience uniquely.

Concepts of ‘home’, ‘identity’ and ‘place’ are interwoven and form over time through the repetition of monotonous daily tasks. Domesticity, as the performance of everyday life, has the potential to transform abstract space into meaningful place. Displaced people need the freedom to make decisions regarding their own lives in order to recreate a sense of the home they have left behind. In Direct Provision, however, even the most trivial details of residents’ lives are regulated to such an extent that forming any attachment to place, is reserved for only a privileged few.

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Dong Xuan Center in Lichtenberg.

The everyday life of the vietnamese community in Berlin

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The Vietnamese market “Dong Xuan” - located in Lichtenberg (Berlin) and opened between 2003 and 2006 thanks to Nguyen Van Hien - has been recognised as a Vietnamese cultural centre since 2015. Dong Xuan is not a place for dwelling, but a place for living , for the Berlinese Vietnamese community and it is considered as a significant manifestation of social inclusion. Within the Center, it is possible to find both working and labouring practices: the presence of this double-sided social dynamic fosters the existence of domestic behaviours inside the Center. Dong Xuan is the place where Vietnamese people use to spend most of their time, not just for work, but also with their families and friends. Although there is not a particular concentration of Vietnamese living in Lichtenberg – indeed the 14.000 units are spread heterogeneously between the various areas of East Berlin - the Vietnamese population in Berlin represents the most significant migrant group from Eastern Asia (60.000 units in 1989). This case study represents a privileged point of view on the integration dynamics of this community and on the relationship maintained with its roots and collective memory. This paper regards an ongoing research project (started in 2015) based on both quantitative and qualitative approaches. In this specific case the results of the first two (of three) moments of ethnographic research will be presented , confronted to the quantitative understanding of migration and space production phenomena related to the case itself. The work already carried out provides the basis for describing a phenomenon that has far deeper roots than the forced migration of Vietnamese during the GDR period. This could therefore represent a significant benchmark in relation to cultural inclusion and coexistence processes.

Keywords: Vietnamese, place, space, collective memory, ethnography, graphic ethnography.

INTRODUCTION

The Vietnamese market “Dong Xuan” - located in Lichtenberg (Berlin) and opened between 2003 and 2006 thanks to Nguyen Van Hien - has been recognised as a Vietnamese cultural centre since 2015. Dong Xuan is not a place for dwelling, but a place for living , for the Berlinese Vietnamese community and it is considered as a significant manifestation of social inclusion. Within the Center, it is possible to find both working and labouring practices: the presence of this double-sided social dynamic fosters the existence of domestic behaviours inside the Center.

Dong Xuan is the place where Vietnamese people use to spend most of their time, not just for work, but also with their families and friends. Although there is not a particular concentration of Vietnamese living in Lichtenberg – indeed the 14.000 units are spread heterogeneously between the various areas of East Berlin - the Vietnamese population in Berlin represents the most significant migrant group from Eastern Asia (60.000 units in 1989). This case study represents a privileged point of view on the integration dynamics of this community and on the relationship maintained with its roots and collective memory.

This paper regards an ongoing research project (started in 2015) based on both quantitative and qualitative approaches. In this specific case the results of the first two (of three) moments of ethnographic research will be presented , confronted to the quantitative understanding of migration and space production phenomena related to the case itself. The work already carried out provides the basis for describing a phenomenon that has far deeper roots than the forced migration of Vietnamese during the

GDR period. This could therefore represent a significant benchmark in relation to cultural inclusion and coexistence processes.

OBJECT OF THE INVESTIGATION

The object of the investigation is the Dong Xuan Center - a Vietnamese cultural center and marketplace - that is today the reference place for the Vietnamese community in Berlin. This community is a quantitatively relevant group already today, but it was the most significant during the GDR. Since the 70s political agreements between the Popular Republic of Vietnam and the GDR fostered the exchange of qualified workers between the two socialist countries (fig. 1). While Vietnamese workers in precision manufacturing were brought to Eastern Germany, German engineers were sent to Vietnam to participate in the design and construction of districts and cities (Schwenkel, 2016). Most of the vietnamese workers were welcomed in GDR for a limited period of time - in most cases five years - but for many of them the period became longer and longer, sometimes lifelong.

The factory that employed the highest number of Vietnamese workers was VEB-Elektrokohle, the most important graphite producer and transformer in the GDR. The fall of the wall was a disruptive moment for the Vietnamese community in Germany. The first effect of this historical event was the collapse of the socialist productive system, unable to compete on the free market. The graphite production of Elektrokohle was interrupted. Part of Vietnamese workers came back to their own country, but many of them remained in Germany in a sort of Vietnamese diaspora. A significant part of them started to work in import-export sector - especially flowers - spreading in the city of Berlin.

In 2003 Nguyen Van Hien - a Vietnamese merchant - realized the idea of bringing together most of the Vietnamese merchants in one place. So, thanks to a private financing program, the Dong Xuan Market was born, right where the Elektrokohle factory stood, in the district of Lichtenberg (fig. 2).

In 1996, the company was sold to the US group UCAR International and to the SGL Carbon group. But they stopped production in 1997. In one part of the lot, the production of graphite was continued by PanTrac GmbH. In that same period the Elektrokohle site was redeemed with the contribution of the U.S. Army - with the demolition of the largest part of the buildings - and the district of Lichtenberg has been hit by a fast process of depopulation and abandonment (Badel, Herschel & Karau, 2009). This process was linked to the nature of the place. The district was substantially created after WWII by the socialist government. It was characterized by a productive core surrounded by hyper-dense residential units - in form of Plattenbauten. With the disposal of the productive area - and the reorganization of the geography of the city - Lichtenberg became a marginal neighbourhood, unable to be attractive for the new creative population of the city. For all those reasons the Vietnamese entrepreneur's investment was possible thanks to a high cost-benefit yield. After ten years that place was officially recognised by both German and Vietnamese government as a cultural center.

METHODOLOGY

Paraphrasing Georges Perec: there are many things in central Lichtenberg, for example: a police station, a monumental refurbishment of abandoned industrial building by Arno Brandlhuber, a straight tramline, five abandoned railway lines, a tower of rehearsal rooms for musicians, many community centers, some aggregates of creative and fashionable activities, Plattenbauten residential blocks, some former buildings of workers' associations, many stops of public transport, a park, a public hospital, abandoned lower class residential blocks of the fifties, and many more. Most of these things have been described and classified in articles and research papers, especially in the last ten years.

In the next pages will be described what can happen between these things. In particular in the block that has its main entrance at the number 128 of Herzbergstraße. Something that is usually identified as a private activity, but that is assuming a relevant position in the reactivation of the neighborhood. The description will focus on the image of this place, its everyday image, that which remains independent from the instantaneous use of people, what happens when nothing happens, except time, people, machines and clouds (Perec, 1982).

As underlined in the previous lines, phenomenological observation of the place is the main tool of this investigation. Every survey began with a superficial observation, crossing all the spaces, without focusing specifically on anything. After that first phase, the different environments that compose the Dong Xuan Center are observed and investigated deeply. The layout of every investigation can be briefly described in three steps:

- phenomenological exploration of the place, taking notes (vocal and written) according to the methodology proposed by Georges Perec in *Tentative d'épuisement d'un lieu parisien*.
- non planned interaction with people, in the form of natural and casual behaviour (e.g. buying something, eating something, asking for information etc.)
- collection and cataloging of objects (e.g. goods, bills, food etc.)

From the design field point of view, it is necessary to specify how this research proposes to start the observation of the built environment, considering it as a phenomenon, rather than as a palimpsest. This takes place in a trend related to the study of urban marginality, which finds relevant positions in many disciplines, but still not in design studies. This approach proposes to «see urban margins as a lens to explore the diverse and complex ways in which urban dwellers actively contest, negotiate, dissolve and change margins–centre relations. This approach to urban margins therefore works against the compartmentalisation of urban studies. It provides a unitary framework for analysing urban dwellers' practices in the context of: neighbourhood segregation and stigmatisation ('ghettos', 'slums'); exclusionary citizenship regimes ('sans papiers', refugees); and marginalised social positions (gender, age, sexuality) limiting urban dwellers' access to the city's spaces and resources» (Aceska, Heer & Kaiser-Grolimund, 2019, pp 2-3).

Observing the built environment as a phenomenon means to give importance to all the non dissolvable relations than constitute it. In that conception, design theory can give a contribution to the field of studies, through the recent as well as proficuous debate around the concepts of atmosphere and assemblage (Bille & Sorensen, 2016). This approach considers the perception and the sensation as the starting point of the investigation: a point of view peculiarly effective in the case of marginal objects, that escape or remain impermeable with respect to traditional research tools. «Urban margins constitute spaces and places of change, which brings to the fore urban dwellers' agency in sometimes unexpected ways» (Aceska, Heer & Kaiser-Grolimund, 2019, p 3). In these terms, this research shares the recent tendency to introduce ethnographic practices within the field of urban studies. Participant observation, as a practice of attacking the research object, requires particular attention to the description and representation, which historically belongs to architecture. The restitution of this observation can therefore take place in graphic form - with a more proper relation with the discipline of architecture - taking advantage, in a second moment, of the traditional tools of description and categorization. As operational references for the research, in addition to the aforementioned ones, it is useful to report "From the Things Themselves: Architecture and Phenomenology" (Jacquet & Giraud, 2012) for the descriptive approach and the assignment of value to the material facts, while "Architectural Ethnography: Atelier Bow-Wow" (Sigler & Whitman-Salkin,

2017) for the relationship with the representation and use of the drawing as a tool of investigation. The practice of drawing can be effective not only on the side of final restitution, but also as a tool for real time communication with the environment. «In this sense, drawing in ethnographic notebooks may best be described as an act of performance. A “theater anthropology”, where the notebook itself becomes the stage on which the ethnographer and the interlocutors meet, discuss and debate both the script and the decor» (Tondeur, 2016). In this specific case, also considering the disciplinary belonging, the drawings have been a way to overcome first and foremost the resistance to being photographed, secondly a tool to break down - at least partially - language barriers.

OPEN SPACES

Moving between the different Halle of Dong Xuan it is not easy to find landmarks. The sheds that make up the complex are approximately identical, with their white walls, the external canopies for loading and unloading and the pitches covered by photovoltaic panels.

Entering the Center from Herzbergstraße, you cross a gate surmounted by a sign. On the sides of the gate there are two buildings. On the right, a recently restored three-storey building from the end of the 19th century. On the left there is a theater and recreation center built for the workers of VEB Elektrokohle, today partially demolished, whose facade towards the entrance is lined with banners with writings in Vietnamese. The only elements that make the vietnamese community recognizable are substantially the banners and signs. The 19th century building is listed as national heritage and it is occupied, since the beginning of this story, by some offices and services for the Vietnamese community.

The feeling is to enter in a large wholesale warehouse. Passing through the nineteenth-century building, a large parking lot opens to the left and a small garden on the right, not too well-kept. Inside the garden there is the only clearly identifiable artefact as a result of the Vietnamese presence. It is a small votive pylon, partially hidden by vegetation, surmounted by some candles - always lit - and by other small objects. During the visits to Dong Xuan, I have to admit, I never got to notice people around the pylon. The sensation is that of a phantom object, of which one can easily forget existence, a sort of very weak thread that produces a perceptual link with the land of origin and its traditions.

On the facades of the halles there are two categories of recognizable elements. The first one are the restaurants that - in the warm periods - put the tables out and it's easy to get caught up in the scent of spices. It is said in Berlin that the best Vietnamese food in the city is served at Dong Xuan. Being that the restaurants of Dong Xuan have a quite crucial role in attracting customers, on the facades of different sheds are posted advertising banners of different restaurants.

The second element are the groups of Vietnamese that populate the Center, moving there part of their domestic life. It is easy to find there children playing, old people sitting together in the bars and other forms of space and time sharing.

THE SHOPS

The internal landscape of the shops inside the Center looks like almost every supermarket all around western world. The prefab boxes that constitute the complex are a very anonymous artifact. Walking through the corridors (fig. 3) is like passing through a sequence of plasterboard walls and metal structures without solution of continuity, whose repetition is interrupted only by objects - also apparently anonymous - positioned at the entrances of the shops. Also the population of the space is made of heterogeneous fluxes of different ethnic groups and typology of users. It is very hard to recognize a clear “Vietnamese touch” inside the built environment.

Looking for Vietnamese cultural traits it is easy to think that these can be found by entering the shops (fig. 4). Also from this point of view the risk is to be disappointed. If originally the active population of Dong Xuan - but also that of the buyers - was mainly belonging to the Vietnamese community, this identity is gradually failing. Today, the Dong Xuan stores are being managed by Germans - or people of other nationalities - and are aimed at cross-cutting users, with a majority of the local population. Therefore, even entering the shops, there is a substantial continuity with the landscape of the corridors. This is true with the exception of bars and restaurants, where elements superficially attributable to an imaginary of Southeast Asia, come to the surface (fig. 5).

Some elements of discontinuity instead emerge going deeper in the exploration and are mainly configured in two fields. Firstly in the interaction with the Vietnamese traders, with whom linguistic uncertainties emerge. This element somehow makes the boundary of the community perceptible. A community that continues to have an endogenous relational structure. Secondly, especially by interacting with shopkeepers, one realizes that there are essentially two levels of commerce, partly overlapping or in any case separated by a blurred boundary. In some ways it is as if there were goods - this is more evident in the food sector, but also present, for example, in that of clothes - which are addressed exclusively to the Vietnamese community. These are not, however, isolated from the others, but they emerge timidly and manifest themselves only to a curious look, or to those who know their location. What is said is certainly true for food products, but also for traditional clothes, which are often exhibited together with their imitations, mainly aimed at the ever-increasing touristic public of Dong Xuan.

This absence of separation between the authentic and the imitative, in addition to questioning the Western concept of "originality" (Han Byung-chui, 2018), is in fact a significant peculiar element of this place, which could be a clue of its collective and social value. The Vietnamese community seems to be able to remain identifiable to itself through codes that do not require exclusive support, but which have the ability to coexist in a system open to the outside.

OVERALL CONSIDERATIONS

The first and clearer element of recognizability of the Vietnamese community in the Dong Xuan Center are the people. It is a matter of fact that Vietnamese people are physically different from most of East Berlin native population. It is, for sure, a matter of height and somatic connotations. It is also true that, from the point of view of clothing and behavior, it is rather difficult to identify differences. This is certainly due to the fact that in many cases they are second generation immigrants, or at least people who have studied and grew up in Berlin. For the vietnamese community, Dong Xuan represents a reference point, an island, in an "archipelago city".

The only element of direct comparison between oriental and western culture, within the Center, is on a gastronomic level. A Vietnamese restaurant and a Currywurst are just a few meters away. It is difficult to say that there is an ethnic differentiation between buyers, during the various inspections it seemed that these were divided heterogeneously among the various gastronomic proposals (fig. 6).

Dong Xuan is a very peculiar place. From a large scale observation it is the place of the Vietnamese community, but on site it becomes clear that it is a place owned by vietnamese, not only for the vietnamese, and not only held by vietnamese. This place challenges the western idea of the materialization of memory inside objects (Forty & Kuchler, 2001). In the case of the vietnamese community it seems that their collective memory is guarded by the life of the community itself, by daily actions and practices.

Considering this work as part of a broader research that investigates the role of migrant populations

in the processes of urban transformation, it is crucial to underline the part of cultural heritages and their transmission in the observation of the behaviour of the Vietnamese community. Space is perceived through senses, but «even if the sensorial hierarchies are never explicit, these are lived, practiced and experienced by all cultures» (Howes, 2005, p. 324) in specific ways. In this measure, the senses can be understood as «culturally and historically generated methodologies of knowing and understanding» (Smith, 2007, p.3), since «the senses are not universal, they are not trans-historical, and can only be understood in their specific historical and social context» (Smith, 2007, p.3). The way in which the Vietnamese behave today, is the result of the complex network of relationships that consists of the personal history of individuals and that of the community.

«As Maurice Halbwachs argued, the concerns of the present color what is remembered from the past. Thus, like collective memory in general, the construction of urban history is necessarily selective and exclusive. Yet, human beings cannot remember without social frameworks to help us recollect. For example, collective memory is sustained through place—the social construction of sacred group landmarks. This makes the study of memorials particularly relevant to the analysis of collective narratives» (Silver, 2006, p.3).

In these terms, this work deals with observing the concerns of the present. The description of the present allows us to identify the clues (Ginzburg, 2013) of a relationship with the past that sometimes manifests itself according to unexpected dynamics. At the same time, it is necessary to admit that what has been sustained with respect to the senses and perception, is more valid than ever for the observer, who must clearly determine the field of value of the investigation. The investigation on the margins - with the cultural complexities that characterize them in the contemporary world - requires the experimentation of new investigative tools, which are as trans-disciplinary and trans-cultural as possible.

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FIGURES



Figure 1

A landscape view of the center, on the left the old factory with the chimney, on the right the new commercial spaces.

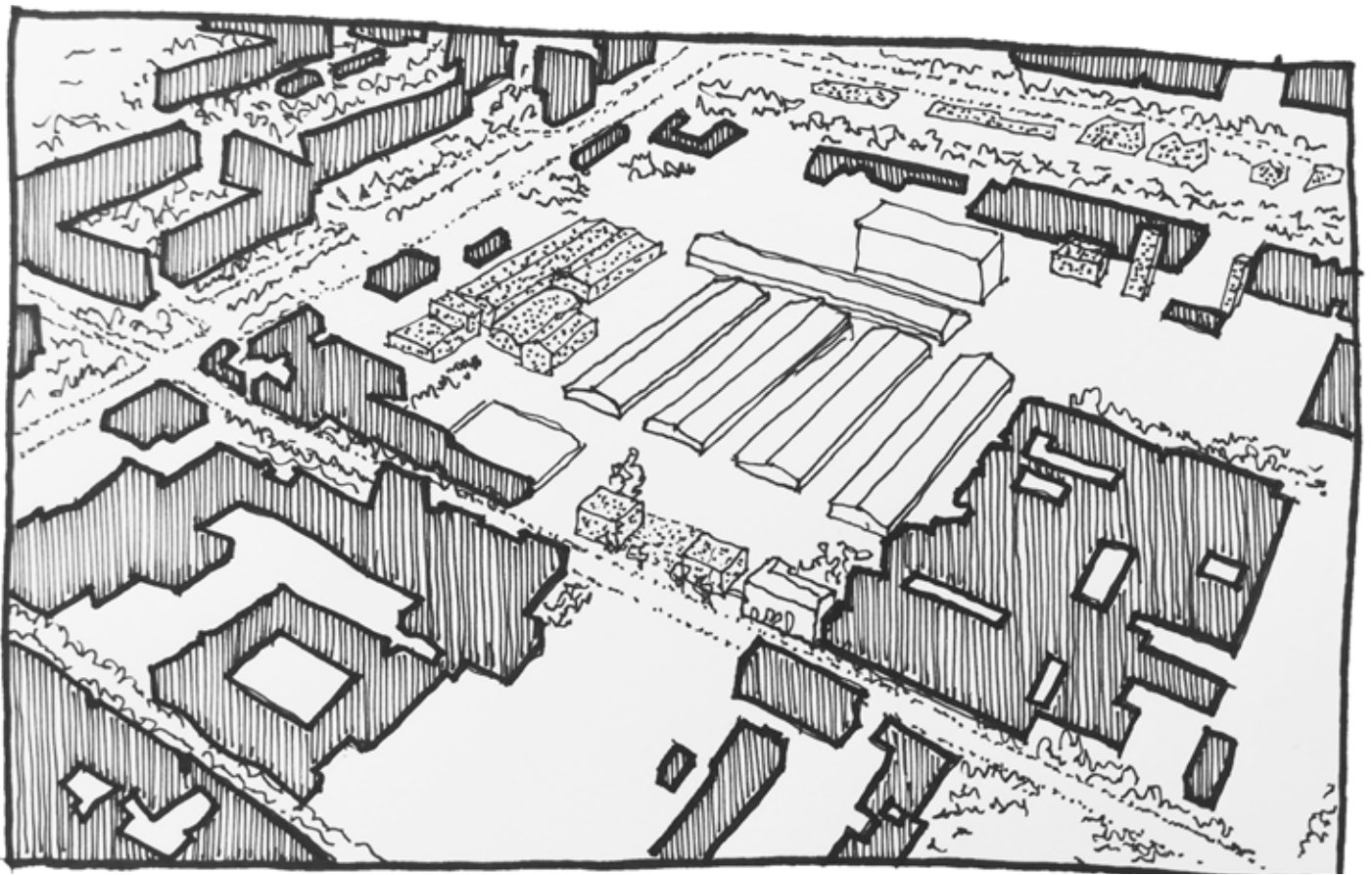


Figure 2
Axonometric sketch of the Dong Xuan Center



Figure 3
Picture of the Halle 2 trade corridor, shot on 16 May 2018.

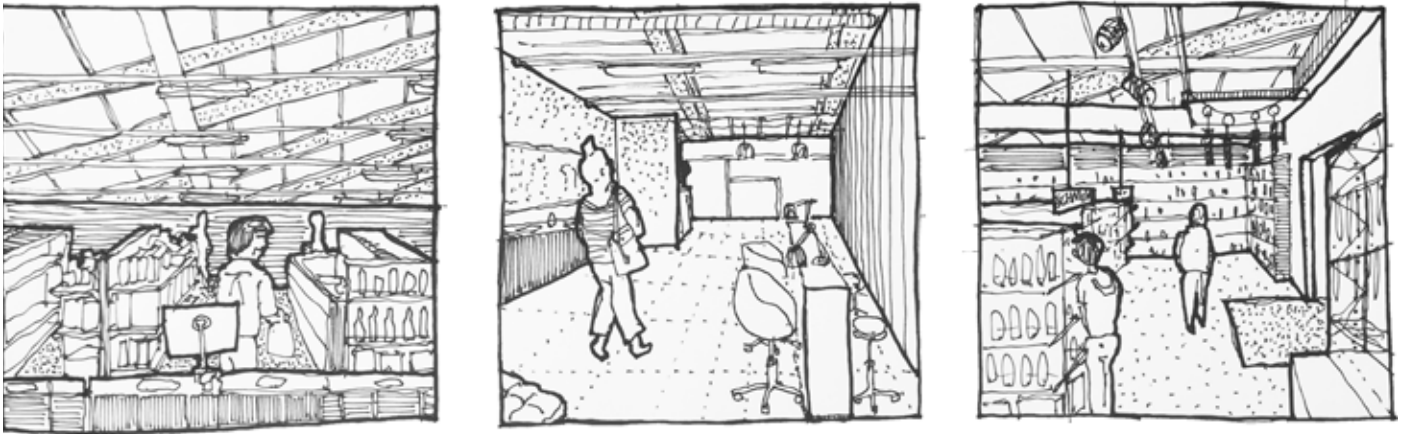


Figure 4

Extract of the graphic ethnography of the interior spaces of the Dong Xuan Center. From the left: supermarket, beautician, jewelry shop.



Figure 5

Picture of a café in Halle 4, shot on 16 May 2018.



Figure 6

Extract of the graphic ethnography of the interior spaces of the Dong Xuan Center. From the left: Vietnamese dish, German dish.

SESSION 2.C

HOMING THE CITY

SPATIAL APPROPRIATIONS BY MIGRANTS AS RESEARCH TOOL IN GLÒRIES
SQUARE, BARCELONA

Maria Cecilia Chiappini, Kris Scheerlinck, Yves Schoonjans

HOMING THE CITY – CROSS-SCALE EXPLORATION OF NEGOTIATING THE IDEA OF
HOME BY CHINESE WOMEN IN ANTWERP

Yu-Hsui Liu, Chin Lin Pang

SPATIALITY IN REFUGEE CAMPS, A FIGURE OR A REFLECTION. TRACING THE
EVOLUTION OF REGULATORY RULES ON SHAPING URBAN REALITIES IN MARKA
CAMP, JORDAN

Dina Dahood

Spatial Appropriations by Migrants as Research Tool in Glòries Square, Barcelona.

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Glòries Square is an area under permanent transformation at the core of Barcelona. Moreover, it is a gray zone where marginal actors, alternative appropriations and underground processes find ephemeral favorable conditions to arise. They involve in large majority migrants that challenge the ways urban spaces are understood and managed, paradoxically becoming a research tool for understanding and embracing blurry urban processes emerging during extensive transformations. The article explores this paradox by studying their spatial practices of domesticity.

Keywords: Barcelona, Glòries Square, migrants, urban spaces, adaptation, domesticity.

INTRODUCTION

Glòries Square is an area under permanent transformation at the core of Barcelona. Moreover, it is a gray zone where marginal actors, alternative appropriations and underground processes find ephemeral favorable conditions to arise. In recent years, the presence of illegal domestic practices in private and public domains, along with the productive networks performed by marginal sectors, has drastically increased. The orchestrated manners in which they are directly or indirectly chased by control forces, and the way they relate to more stable urban configurations, seems to be reaching new thresholds. Studying these practices can give hints on how marginal collectivities perform as critical urban actants.¹

The involved actors are migrants from Nigeria, Senegal and Morocco, but also itinerant “miserables” (homeless/poor) of Spanish origin. They exceed the formal capacity of city-administrators to deal with the phenomenon of massive arrivals or escape them voluntarily in search of freedom. They can unveil blurry urban processes particularly those emerging during extensive transformation processes, as is the case of Glòries. To address this paradox, this Phd-project has surveyed since 2015 the way these actors deploy strategies of appropriations or accumulations, particularly intertwined with the transformations at spatial, material, and infrastructural levels. A better understanding of the uses of urban space as extension of informal domestic and productive spaces, with particular physical outcomes is pursued. This article explores how these processes occur, to later set lines to question the ways urban space is articulated in cases of urban processes with infrastructures as pivotal components; specifically focusing on the marginal domestic occupancies.²

1 The notion of actors or actants, does not limit itself to human individual actors but extend the word actor to non-human, non-individual entities: something that is, that acts or to which activity is granted by others. (Latour, 2005).

2 The presentation is a portion of the Phd-research that María Cecilia Chiappini is conducting since 2015 under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Kris Scheerlinck and Prof. Dr. Yves Schoonjans, of the Research Group Urban Projects, Collective Spaces and Local Identities (<http://www.collectivespaces-kuleuven.be/>), at the Department of Architecture, Campus Sint-Lucas Brussels/Ghent, KU Leuven. The process is approaching an end in 2019 and this conference/article is particularly interesting to test some of the preliminary conclusions related to the interplay between centralized and marginal pushes as one of the critical research strategy components. For further references on the case-study, methodology, and theoretical position check the author publications: Chiappini, 2016 and 2017, available at: <https://lirias.kuleuven.be/cv?u=U0106344>

1. SPATIAL APPROPRIATIONS BY MIGRANTS IN GLÒRIES, BARCELONA

The PhD-research uses the extreme case-study of Glòries, Barcelona, Spain (Figure 1).³ Glòries Square is an infrastructure-based open space at the core of the city that once exposed a variety of logics, processes and spatial configurations linked to a long-lasting complex transformation process that is now being turned into a formal urban complex that simplifies, thus overwrites that variety (Figure 2).

The complexity of the overall situation and transformation of urban spaces around the area with its long timeframes; seems to be tightly related with Glòries capacity to support the presence of marginal networks of domesticity, and, as this Phd-research shows, to provide rooms for the related actors to fulfil their needs, at least temporally.

At intermediate and micro scales, Glòries has specific spatial configurations towards one and other orientation: the sea-side edge (South-West) and the mountain-side edge (North-West). Both are highly sensitive areas, heavy occupied by marginal migrants and intended to support the arrival of 90.000m² of new building mass.⁴

In the sea-site edge (towards Poblenou Neighborhood, going under a major regeneration project called 22@), many of the empty plots pending from project implementations are currently being squatted, in relation to soft or hard materialities of fences (but not in direct association to them: harder fences=less squatting), positions and other factors. Field-work conducted in 2016-2018 showed occupancies of different sizes and natures: the minimal version registered is of one-to-five inhabitants of a small plot.⁵ The maximal version registered the presence of around 40 people in a warehouse evicted and demolished, repetitively between 2016 and 2018.⁶

In the mountain-side-edge, empty plots between precarious buildings and open spaces under transformations present similar occupation patterns than in the sea-site edge, while those precarious buildings and warehouses affected to demolition are also in large squatted. At residential buildings, the occupancy happens by multiplying the densities of occupants per habitational unit, apartments or bedrooms. Field-work conducted in late 2018 and 2019 shows that within the specific restrictions, extensions towards open spaces (both public or other privately owned) are also attempted in creative ways, by for example opening up extra windows or doors towards them or setting gardens or “urban farming” areas (Figure 3).

Illegal occupations or squatting are in Barcelona generally referred as “chabolas”. In and around Glòries, a large amount of buildings and empty plots are affected to chabolism; being the occupancies of different in sizes and natures. They normally include individual living units, shared spaces for domestic extensions, such as eating areas; along with collective work or storage areas.

The settlements start and grow based on solidarity and their compositions as marginal collectivities, are strongly ethnic-based, but also, linked to a variety of factors, constituting an exemplary case of what Vertovec defines as “super-diversity”, including the interplay of “additional variables: differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses buy service providers and residents” (Vertovec, 2007). In short, the composition and arrangements are varied, going from impoverish migrant Spanish and gypsies that tend to stay in couples or

3 Flyvbjerg, Bent, "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research," *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 12, no. 2, April 2006, pp. 219-245.

4 Chiappini, 2019.

5 For example, on the North side of Carrer de Pamplona between Carrer de Sancho de Àvila and Carrer de Tanger.

6 Between Carrer de Pamplona, de Bolívia, d'Alaba and de Tanger.

with kids, sometimes combining 2-5 nuclear or assemblaged families in a unit (plot of building with private or sub-units for each “family”); while Sub-Saharan Africans tend to live in communities of men alone, with 10-15 individual private units. The level of compactivity or permeability between these collectivities is in turn varied, as well as their interaction with other presences of Glòries (Figure 4).

In open spaces or inside large warehouses, occupants normally build precarious huts made from cardboard, wood, metal or textile, making use of walls or floor surfaces that are left after demolitions. The interiors are of a great variety, with a bed, some working-sorting space, a small table, pictures or objects of the homelands. Some are very tied and clean. When scale allows, semi-private spaces are organized in front of “private” spaces or areas, also collective semicovered socializing or eating areas with ad-hoc pieces of furniture. The open space is organized and negotiated as well, sometimes with storage places assigned to people or collected materials (semicovered when possible). In larger complexes, common services such as restaurants or markets are arranged, even attracting external providers. Sanitary facilities are non-existing, so sometimes common areas for washing or toilets are organized, or individual ones improvised inside the units. This sanitary situation, plus the impossibility of getting rid of garbage, triggers the presence of rodents and the general critical salubrity conditions. This generates complains from regular inhabitants of the surroundings with strong echo in the media⁷.

The marginal domesticity practices are strongly embedded in productive networks related to garbage. The collection, sort, eventual repairing, trading and distribution of material such as metal, paper or plastic, along with used object found in trash bins or collected from industries or homes (door to door service), or just found in the streets, even some stolen objects, in chatarreros markets (from chatarra, in English: garbage, Figure 5).⁸ The markets are one type of manifestation of these networks with direct trading in public space, but this also includes the presence of collectors working independently or in groups (basically inspecting waste bins and carry found objects in supermarket carriages), the trading of materials in municipal or clandestine centres and their eventual redistribution within the city or to other countries (mostly in Africa).

As a way of dealing with these informal networks, the State deploys a variety of strategies, some including the direct or indirect chasing of informal activities, some embracing them. For example, while strong evictions take place, a formal cooperative, Alencop, was created in 2014 by the Municipality of Barcelona.⁹ This gathers currently around 30 people and was born after the eviction of a large-scale squatted warehouse in Carrer de Puigcerda (that acted as a sort of regional marginal headquarter). There 120 to 300 used to sleep (according to different sources) and many more benefited and traded.¹⁰ The cooperative attempts to replicate the modus operandi of chatarreros absorbing it within legal frames and providing sources for upgrading and upscaling. This kind of operations by the Municipality seems to embody their efforts to control marginal processes by assigning specific places to urban actors that exceed their established definitions and operational tools.

2. AS RESEARCH TOOL

There are several spatial implications of such domestic practices performed by migrants as exemplary cases of marginal collectivities. Understanding them deeper can give hints on how urban processes in

⁷ To get an comprehensive view on this process, articles on the media denouncing and condemning (such as ESTEVE, 25/06/2018(a) and 2018(b)) are being crossed referenced with on-site interviews and testimonies, documentary photographers experiences, and sociological studies on informal labours, to focus on the conditions, qualities, and social and spatial constructions. Some insights are available thanks to the photographic documentary work of Eduard Alegre and Maria Contreras Coll. See: Contreras Coll, 2017.

⁸ Chiappini, 2019.

⁹ See: <http://alencop.coop/>

¹⁰ See: Europa Press, 2013.

relation to them occur, and therefore they turn into exceptional research tools on urban spaces. Based on the study of different cases, some of the preliminary findings include:

First, the needs of marginal collectivities and their spatial outputs are highly reactive, in the sense that they depend of a conjugation of external-internal factors that has different and broad origins (social, economic, political, cultural factors), that are constructed in time, but are still rather unstable, and even volatile (they can change suddenly based on pressing conditions in unpredictable ways), having a deep influence on the manners and extends of the phenomena and its spatial manifestations.

Further, their spatial outputs, embracing configurations, social and symbolic levels, cannot be fulfilled and contained within the occupied plots, nor stay invisible. Therefore, there are inevitable extensions towards open spaces, beyond domains (based on necessity and scarcity, as well as spatial restrictions). Simply, public or privately-owned spaces, including their arrangements, objects (from furniture to signs), speeds, rituals, turn into “living rooms”, “sanitary areas”, “trading spaces”.

This produces a stretching of spaces of (marginal) collectivities related to their domestic-productive activities, in multiple directions: on the one hand, “internal” or intimate aspects of it, such as intimate domestic rituals of sleeping or personal cleaning, sorting or hidden exchanges of commercial nature, are extended towards urban spaces. On the other, more “external” rituals or exchanges, such as markets-trading, eating or socializing, are assigned higher exposure levels, both taking place in urban spaces or brought in the marginal enclaves of chobolas (in buildings or occupied private or public open spaces), in higher tension and connection with urban processes not strictly related to these marginal activities.

In urban space, certain devices or areas become critical (particularly benches and fountains, for example; or trading hotspots, circulation nodes); especially, where urban processes come together: fluxes and loads related to infrastructures, most crucially. They manage to condensate peculiar tensions on the territorialisation processes around them and their control may be key for survival.

This generates pushes for the surveillance and control of such devices and eventual clashes among different (marginal) groups (or collectivities) that claim territorial authority over critical spatial components (areas with a specially exposed or protected visibility, for example). The level of tolerance or permeability within these collectivities becomes manifested in their spatial encounters.

This generates also clashes with the expected users, registered citizens that are envisions in the paradigms of civility: week-end runners that want to refill their bottles, families using playgrounds while migrants try to sleep or clean themselves, etc. Probably the extreme version is the accumulation of large numbers of marginal traders in ephemeral markets that assemble and disassemble in a matter of minutes based on the presence and tolerance of control forces, and the position of loose traders during stages of non-assembled markets, along urban “corridors” or “hotspots” (meaning areas of fluxes or accumulations at intermediate urban level).

The control forces are called to mediate these encounters. Looking at the strategies, timings and moods of security agents can provide both hints on the official attitudes at the end and origins of their related processes (those social, economic, political, cultural factors). Simply, both disclosing how they deal with their consequences, and how they are embedded in its origins. Control forces are not only those officially assigned to this purpose, but include a broad range of representatives, with official presence (cleaners, facility managers, information desks, etc.)

Further, by registering where and how occupations and extensions occur and the way they relate to mediating forces, it is possible to unveil invisible layers of space management and control over the city.

Specifically, open spaces under the jurisdiction or law scope of one or another police agency (municipal, regional, national) or State levels may present different occupations patterns and control strategies related to specific spaces or timeframes.

In Barcelona, particularly, on top of control forces jurisdictions,¹¹ when performed in public domains, uses and activities are ruled by the “Ordenanza de medidas para fomentar y garantizar la Convivencia ciudadana en el espacio público de Barcelona” in act since 2005 (In English: Ordinance of measures to promote and guarantee citizen Coexistence [or Communal] living in the public space of Barcelona),¹² basically a set of principles controversially defining what is allowed and not in public space, leaving in hands of the police agent its extend and implementation. For example, Article 5.4. claims “(...) every person is obliged to use public space properly (...)”, but what exactly is and who determines “properly” is not a straight forward criteria.

Finally, to address these complex overlaps of territorialities and interplays, city administrators are challenged to revisit their tools and organizations. The most common reaction is to refine procedures and play with the level of tolerance, combining harsh and soft procedures, visible and invisible measures, presences and absences. These soft ones are frequently linked to social beneficence, which emanates not only from the State but also from different levels of the civil society (neighborhood associations for example, commonly also engage with charity). The levels and character of actions, perceptions of actions, intensions, public narratives and opinions, implications from the different perspectives, etc. tend to be in delicate unstable balances, and be highly embedded in the intertwine between expected and executed; the special, the social and the symbolic; the claimed and hidden (agendas, affiliations) related to them.

As a primary resource of the State, design (including planning and up to a certain level, governance or management of space) is increasingly summoned to this duty: simplifying spatial conditions, providing neutral plateaus, making operational levels clearer (opening times, open-close fences), diversifying the quality, look and outlook of state presences (devices, assistance, information desks), guaranteeing direct relations, enlarging possibilities of social control (though activities and proximities), are becoming recurrent resources or requirements for urban spaces guaranteed by volumes, forms and materials.

These lines cannot but trigger broader questions on the nature of urban spaces in relation to marginal domestic practices and beyond: is this really the way to deal with such central-marginal encounters? Can a deeper understanding of the elements coming together in interactional relations assist the diversifications of procedures? Can this broaden the room of conflict and fuzziness as quality and resourceful component of urban life? Can a deeper understanding on where and how territorialisation processes involving greater varieties of actants, collectivities, spatial conditions, appropriations, symbolic construct, be a way to pursue this? What would including such glance mean for Glòries, for its envisioned park, for the marginal collectivities that condense here?

11 In Barcelona, jurisdictions have a great impact on presences and chasing actions. Technically, Guardia Urbana (In English: Urban Guards) is the local police force operating per city-district, based on specific protocols and laws for intervening in public or private spaces; Mossos d'Esquadra (In English: Troopers, literally Squad Lads) operates at the regional level (Generalitat de Catalunya), while Cuerpo Nacional de Policía (CNP, In English: National Police) and Guardia Civil (In English: Civil Guard) both of national level, also have jurisdiction in urban spaces. Particularly infrastructural spaces linked to trains (on surface or underground including trains of different distances and metros) are in this sense conflictive, because they belong of one or another State level. This manifests most explicitly in and around railways spaces, including tracks, safety areas, stations, technical devices (such as ventilations, emergency exists), etc. In Glòries there are no occupations along the train tracks because the “harsh” national-regional levels are responsible for these areas; while stations may gather all kind of occupations depending on who is on call; furthermore, more or less stable occupations taking place in private plots demand long legal sequences and trials procedures, ultimately leading to evictions (which are in turn socially loaded and politically sensitive). On top, the jurisdictional borders between (equal) levels of control forces become relevant: when district-assigned city police forces approach, marginal occupants make sneaky use their territories: simply moving some meters may imply the (im)possibility of being chased away.

12 Free translation from Spanish by the author, including clarification from literal translation.

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Figure 2

Occupations in see-site edge: empty plots (red) and marginal occupations and types of fences (black); examples of minimal and maximal versions (top) / Occupations in existing buildings in the mountain-edge: exchanges and domestic expansions (bottom). Source: diagram produced by Simon Desimpelaere under supervision of the author and photos by the author, 2018.



Figure 4
Chabolas interiors. Source: Maria Contreras Coll, 2017. (Rights acquired for academic publications), 2019.



Figure 5
Marginal market and dispersion strategies. Source: photo by the author, 03/2018.

HOMING THE CITY – Cross-Scale Exploration of Negotiating the Idea of Home by Chinese women in Antwerp

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Homing refers to the process of migrants reconstructing a home in a new place, and the home-making process can also extend beyond the private dwelling place into the public space. This paper focuses on the homing processes of Chinese women in Antwerp. The main research question investigates issues concerning their way of homing in their physical home through objects as well as in the public space. The adopted method is a triangulation of literature review, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The result shows the connections between home and culture, identity, social relation, and experience.

Keywords: home, homing, Chinese women, immigrants, Antwerp Chinatown.

INTRODUCTION

Homing refers to the process of migrants reconstructing a home in a new place. The concept of home entails not only the material space but also social relations. In this sense, the home-making process of migrants includes both the representation of the spatial condition and the web of social relationships. This research explores the homing process of Chinese women in Antwerp. Antwerp has the largest Chinatown in Belgium, which represents spatialization of the Chinese culture. In addition, it is the result of Chinese immigrants trying to make their new city feel like home. In this sense, the notion of home can be felt and constructed not only in the very private domestic realm but also in semi-public and public spaces. Chinatowns around the world are sites of expression and negotiation. Nowadays, although Antwerp Chinatown is still dominated by Chinese culture, more and more new shops have been set up which create an environment for the expression of pan-Asian culture (Pang & Hauquier, 2006).

The article focuses on two topics. The first one aims to explore the crucial elements of home for the Chinese women in Antwerp and how these elements function as agents that transfer the notion of home, and the second one is where and how do the homing process happen. The article shows how the cultural background and experience are interdependence with the homing process.

IMMIGRANTS AND HOME/ HOMING

Home is the place we live in (Blunt & Dowling, 2006), but the concept of home is something more. The notion of home can be both material and immaterial, and the concept varies in different contexts. Although home can be materialized, it is still socially constructed. The notion of home emerges when the material environment is arranged in a meaningful setting (Boccagni, 2017), and the definition of "meaningful setting" is highly related to the person's experiences, such as the way of living (Hanson, 1998) and everyday practice (Cristoforetti et al., 2011), which is influenced by culture. Home in the social realm is regarded as the anchor of the social relation (Dovey, 1985; Allen, 2008), and it links to identity and belonging (Liu, 2014) and thus the nation (Khondker, 2008).

Home is constructed based on the tension between "being home" and "not being home" (Martin &

Mohanty, 1986: 195-6). The concept of home gains meaning when people are leaving it (Moore, 2000), as this forms the distinction between where is home and where is not. Although migration seems to be an opposite concept from home, it still connects to home, albeit a new home. As an act of leaving “home”, it usually leads to a process of home-making in a different place. Home, for an immigrant, is a strange concept (Blunt & Dowling, 2006), as it is not limited to one place, which shows the multi-sitedness of the notion of home for migrants (Boccagni, 2017).

The existing frameworks related to homing in social science are diverse. In this paper, homing refers to the term proposed by Boccagni (2017: 26). He frames homing as

"a range of spatialized social practices through which migrants – as exemplary of people who went through extended detachment from their earlier homes – try to reproduce, reconstruct and possibly rebuild meaningful home-like settings, feelings, and relationships."

The concept of home evolves over time as it is influenced by experience. Therefore, the process of homemaking (Fig. 1) always goes back and forth between the real home and the aspired home (Boccagni, 2017), and the notion of home shifts between material and immaterial, private and public, distances, and life stages. The homing process is like the bridging of the gap between the real home and the aspired home. It is also a process that bridges the past home and the future home. Migrants practice the notion of home in everyday life in order to maintain their identities, and form connections throughout their lives, between the past, present and future (Boccagni, 2017). Home is a continuous presence throughout the course of a migrant's life.

The homing process can be attached to objects or socially constructed. As a result, the ways to represent home are diverse. Studies have been conducted on the relationship between migrants' life stories and home material culture (Miller, 2006), lived experience and the concept of home (Johnson & Bibbo, 2014), narratives of home and symbolic construction (Svasek, 2002), as well as home and emotion (Cristoforetti et al., 2011). This research will be a combination of these aspects, to which will be added the element of space, as the home is also a stage of negotiation (Heynen, 2005; 2013).

With the interaction of migration, culture, life experience, and space, homing is the new lens through which we can explore the home-migrant nexus (Boccagni, 2017).

METHODOLOGY

As a Taiwanese, the author has a cultural proximity to Chinese, from the understanding of the context to the language (Mandarin Chinese). Thus, the approach would take advantage of it.

The first approach was an explorative literature review according to the research domain, which will mainly be the interrelation between migrants, homing, gender, and city. Three topics were sorted:

1. Migrants' notion of home and homing process
2. Women and domesticity in the modern city
3. Transnational Chinese identity

The second phase of approach aimed to study the relationship between people and built environment at the site, Antwerp Chinatown. The site in Antwerp Chinatown was the site for examining homing in the public space. The places chosen were the places where Chinese culture was practiced and were female-dominated. The primary method used in the site visit would be participatory observation and collective interview through informal chatting with the members.

After exploring the site, the study shifted to a more personal experience. The approach was the qualitative study of individual interviewees. The interviewees consisted of Chinese immigrant women who identify themselves as Chinese, go to Chinatown at least once a week, and preferably join one of the organizations in Chinatown. Two parts of interviews were conducted during this phase. The first part of the interview aimed to get a general idea of the concept of home for Chinese women in Belgium. The method used in this part was the semi-structured interview. The second part of the interview aims to explore the interdependence of personal experiences and their notion of home. As a result, the data was collected through varied ways depending on the interviewee and the context. All the interviews were conducted in Mandarin.

The data collected in different phases were put together to get a hybrid analysis of spatial and social approach, then the data was analyzed by person. Using the story of the cases of three persons as the structure, the result would be a combination of data from all phases. Finally, the results of each person were put into the scheme of homing and compared.

CHINESE WOMEN AND HOMING

Home is a set of relations shifting between material and/or immaterial objects. Activities associated with home formulate the connection between people and home. For Chinese people, dining at home with the family can be an important activity related to the notion of home. One interviewee Ms. C claimed that

"The notion of home for me is the family having meals together, but my husband cannot have Chinese food every day. He likes Chinese food, but just as a special meal every now and then, and I am not used to eating Belgium food nor do I know how to cook it. As a result, we eat separately, and sometimes this makes me feel that there is no sense of home."

Food is one of the most often mentioned element during the interview, as food culture plays a crucial role in Chinese culture. Chinese people feel the sense of home not only because of the taste but also the activities.

Moreover, to make proper Chinese food requires certain kitchenwares or setting. The kitchen of the immigrants is one of the places to materialize the sense of food. For example, most of the Chinese immigrants have a rice cooker at home, and Ms. C, as a northern Chinese, had brought kitchenware such as steamer and cake maker for the food of her origin (Fig. 2). She thus associated her notion of home with her kitchen very much. Also, as the fact that her husband and son occupied the living room and the dining room with their stuff, they formed their own territories by appropriating different space and as a way of negotiation. She defines her husband as "the others" in her kitchen.

"He could hardly tell the difference between various Chinese ingredients such as vinegar and sesame oil, so I kept finding things in weird places with other ingredients that do not belong to the same category. It took more than a month to find all my kitchenware and food and put it back in the right places."

The notion of home is linked to food in other ways. Ms. C said that a pot of tea is what makes her feel the notion of home. She came from a big family, so she used to eat with her whole family at home and to chat with her sisters, and which transformed to meeting with friends in Belgium. The pot of tea for Ms. C, is a representation of sharing and gathering, and which is one of the example of how the notion of home transfer between objects. A large part of food-related elements can be noticed in the homing scheme of Ms. C (Fig. 3).

Families is another crucial element of home. Interviewee mentioned various kinds of materials and activities with their family, ranging from photographs of their relatives to video chat with parents. Chinese

culture defines the posterity as the extension of the life. They regard the survival of the individual as the existence and extension of the group (Ma, 2009). Most of the interviewee have children, and their notion of home were all influenced by their more or less. On a practical level, taking care of children is one of the "tasks" usually taken on by women, and thus children become a large part of their everyday routine. But to add to this, maternal love makes women considerate of their children's needs. What they want is what is good for their children. Ms. A said:

"My ideal home now would be more like an ideal home here. My child will grow up and may compare our home to other classmates' homes. I want to make a home that is nice according to the standards they have here, for my child's sake."

If we can say that the parents represent the past home, then the children represent the future home, so it is reasonable that people shift their concept of home according to their child. In contrast to Ms. A, Ms. D thinks she is very likely to return because her child lives in China. And the planning of the future home reflected on the setting of her home. As Ms. D has no child live with her, she has only basic furniture at home. She does not have to make her home cozier for her child. She regards her living place as a temporary home and thus it is unlike a "regular home".

HOMING THE CITY

Living a modern life means living in the city. Low (2016) refers to homing the city as a way of making the city home-like, which implies an aspect of negotiation between different groups in the city regarding the notion of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). The home-making process involves the formation of meaningful relationships and the spatializing of culture (Low, 2010), and it also brings domesticity to the public space. Semi-public spaces such as the restaurants, organizations are places that engage more with the city while still allow some freedom of appropriation. These organizations are thus crucial for examining how the immigrants' homing process interacts with the city as a whole.

There are many organizations in Antwerp Chinatown. The organizations are both the process and result of the home-making of Chinese immigrants. Taking Chinese school for example, the place functions something more than a place to learn Chinese.

IDENTITY

The Chinese school teaches not only the Chinese language to the students. There are classes about Chinese culture around once a month. Students learn about traditions of important holidays as well as the traditional food (such as dumplings) eaten on that days. For example, they made the spring festival couplets for the Chinese New Year. They are not just learning Chinese for practical reasons, most parents want their children to be "Chinese", and this is one of the ways to help their children become more engaged in Chinese culture. One of the parents said:

"I sent my sons to this school because I want them to learn about the Chinese culture, and also because Chinese is their mother tongue. ... I also take them to Chinese restaurants and visit China with them every year."

For this parent, Chinese is more than a language. It is part of her children's identity. As mentioned before, children are regarded as the extension of the parents themselves, so to introduce Chinese culture and to enhance the Chinese identity of their children is also a way of homemaking for the Chinese immigrants. Similarly, teaching Chinese means more than a job for the teachers in the school. They promote the Chinese identity and cohesion at the same time. Ms. C, a teacher in Chinese school, said

"Many second generation children feel isolated and feel that they are "the other" at school. We want this school to help them realize that they are not alone and that there are many children just like them."

Chinese tend to make connections with people via different commonality, and the organizations make the groups they make materialized. Home for them is the symbol of their identity when they deal with the others (Ma,2009). As a result, they face "the others" with the group. They tend to hide behind the group rather than showing their personal characteristics. The different groups they make show the flexibility of the notion of home for Chinese.

CULTURE

The interviewees feel the organizations like home in different ways. For example, Ms. D is the member of Fo Guang Shan Temple. She felt a sense of belonging when she passed through the temple for the first time although she was not a devoted Buddhist before. Chinese culture and Buddhism are intertwined and hard to be discussed separately. As a result, Chinese people are familiar to the Buddhist art, literature, ceremony and so on, and which is what made Ms. D familiar. Our cultural background plays an important role of what is the "meaningful setting" at home. The temple is the material representation of Chinese culture- from the color of the facade, which was painted in the widely used color of temple- yellow, to the decorations inside the building such as spring festival couplets, lantern, and calligraphy (Fig. 4). Also, the meaningful setting sometimes has to be completed with the intangible objects such as the smell or the sound. The smell of incense inside the temple is familiar for most Chinese people and will be associated with the temple or other places of worshipping. So does the sound of chanting the Sutras during the ritual. They are both a part of Chinese culture. The smell and sound make people in the cultural context feel a sense of tranquil no matter what religion they believe.

FOOD

Furthermore, food as an important feature of the Chinese culture also contributes to the notion of home in the temple. Doing food-related activity reminds them of home and brings the notion of home beyond the domestic realm and brings the members together. For example, the members of Fo Guang Shan usually stay for a while in the kitchen. They make tea and eat the fruit used in Buddhist offerings. They may discuss plans for future activities. Then the chatting can become more casual, focusing more on their everyday lives. For most people, the chatting after the event is as just as important as the devotion. It is their social network. They sometimes also gather just to make food and to dine together in the temple, which is an event that has little connection with the religious but more relates to the lifestyle. Moreover, the vegetarian food is more than an element of nostalgia. They always serve food after the event of the Buddha's birthday and have held events to teach people how to make tasty vegetarian food as the introduction of Buddhist culture. They have brought Chinese culture and religion together. The interesting culture provides a way for them to easily interact with others, and the vegetarian food is the agent.

Besides the social relations, the moving of the elements of home also extend the boundary of home, and Chinese food is still one of the important elements in the organizations. During lunchtime in Chinese school, teachers bring their own food, which is mostly home-made Chinese food, and talk to each other. The food they bring sometimes reflects their origin. Teachers from northern China often bring cooked foods made from wheat (buns, scallion pancakes) while others usually prepare rice. They discuss how to cook and what to cook a lot while having their food. For example, they may discuss how to make lamb tender, or recipes for using up leftover rice. They also talk about other things, any topics related to their lives such as an incident that happened when doing yoga, the right way to brush teeth, or the design of earrings. In

addition, they discuss issues related to students with their colleagues in order to find solutions. The kitchen is transformed into a more private space with these kinds of activities, eating and talking about private life.

EVERYDAY PRACTICE

Furthermore, the homing process happens also in the public space in the city, mainly by everyday practices.

Gathering to chat with friend is a part of daily life for many Chinese women in Belgium. They can talk for a whole day, with topics ranging from husbands and children to fashion. Mr. C enjoys the regular meetings with her friends every week. They usually choose to spend time at McDonald's in the morning and go to a Chinese restaurant for lunch.

"We usually go to Chinese restaurants, but not for the food. The reason is that we talk loudly and we feel more relaxed doing this in Chinese restaurants. It is less noticeable when we are loud and speaking Chinese. This is the same reason why we like to go to McDonald's."

The choosing of the place relates to the atmosphere. When Chinese people gather in a restaurant, it gives the space another cultural context and allows all the Chinese people in the restaurant to behave more "naturally" instead of being careful about what is improper in that space. This kind of notion of home is generated through distinguishing from where make them feel "not being at home". By comparing to being at the other places such as Belgian restaurants, they feel more like home in these places. It is the flexibility of home.

Moreover, the Chinese immigrants make home in places which are even more public. The homing scheme of Ms. D (Fig. 5), who lives alone in Antwerp, shows that she sticks her notion of home more to the public space than the others who live with families. Ms. D goes to the park almost every day. She usually walks in the park for exercise, and then she sits and enjoys the atmosphere. The park is her favorite place in the city. She also meets her friends there sometimes.

"I have gotten used to telling my friends that they can find me under the usual tree."

By using the space every day, Ms. D transforms the park into an extension of her home. Through these actions, she treats the park like her home, which is proof that she lives in the city beyond her house.

CONCLUSIONS

Home is a unique part of our existence. It is not just a physical space or a social concept, but is a combination of both. Therefore the notion of home for each individual is a complex web of experiences and imagination.

The cases had shown the ways of homing and how it varied according to the environment. There are some patterns that what is meaningful for Chinese women in Antwerp such as Chinese food, their children, Chinese culture. All these elements are highly related to their similar cultural and social background. In addition, the notion of home is flexible and fluid. The case studies presented some examples of how the women's notion of home took on different forms: this was in relation to shifts between the material and the immaterial, private space and public space, distances, and life stages. The everyday routine is also important in attaching the notion of home to certain places. The notion of home is a special relationship between people and the environment, and it is established through the interactions between them. The activities that take place in a space, and what you think of the space will generate these links, and this is how the notion of home transfers between objects.

The study on Chinese women in Antwerp revealed a number of ways in which homing can be achieved, some of which are related to the objects which symbolize their notion of home (such as calligraphy or kitchenware), and some of which were related to the activities that help establish relationships (such as talking in Chinese, touring, or other elements of the daily routine). The method of homing was altered according to the different characteristics of the groups and spaces.

In summary, this research provided some examples of the homing process and analyzed the possible factors involved in this process. It showed how Chinese women manage the distance between the real home and the aspired home in both private and public spaces.

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FIGURES

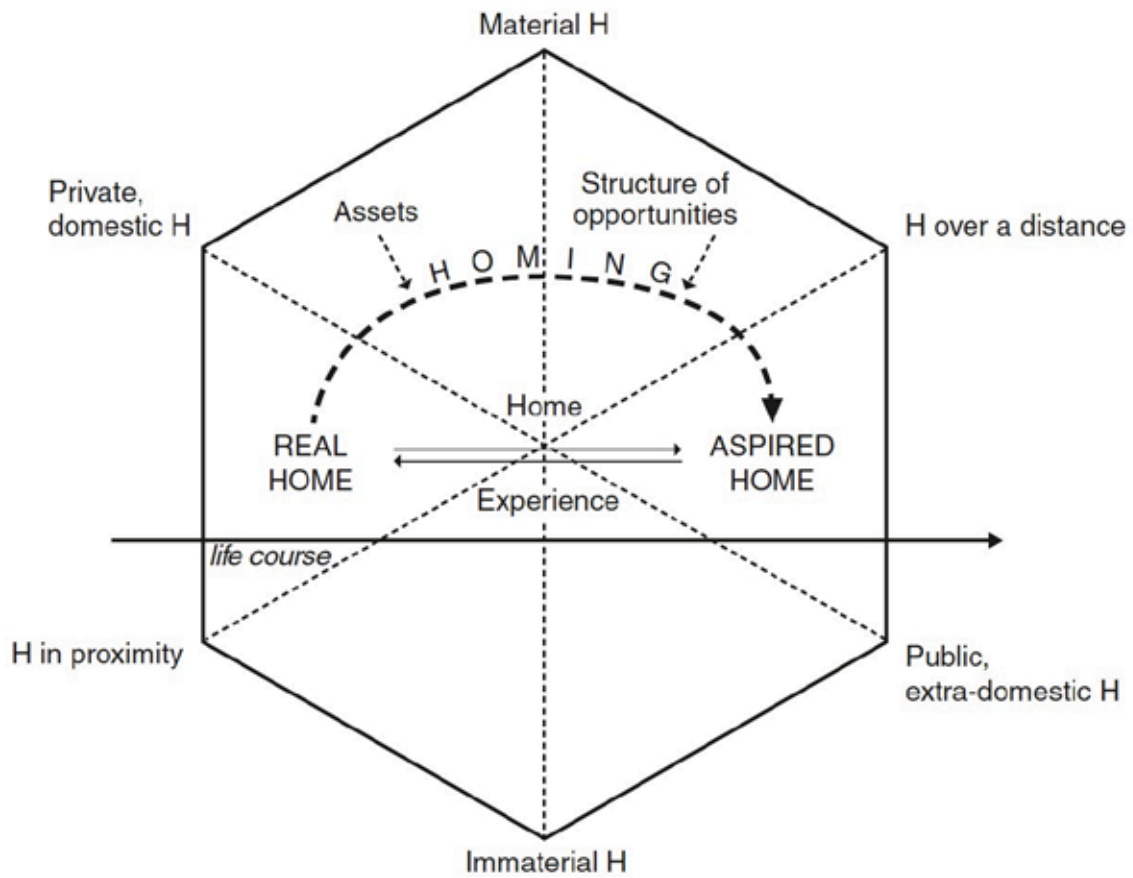


Figure 1
 Homing process (Source: Boccagni, 2017, p.25)

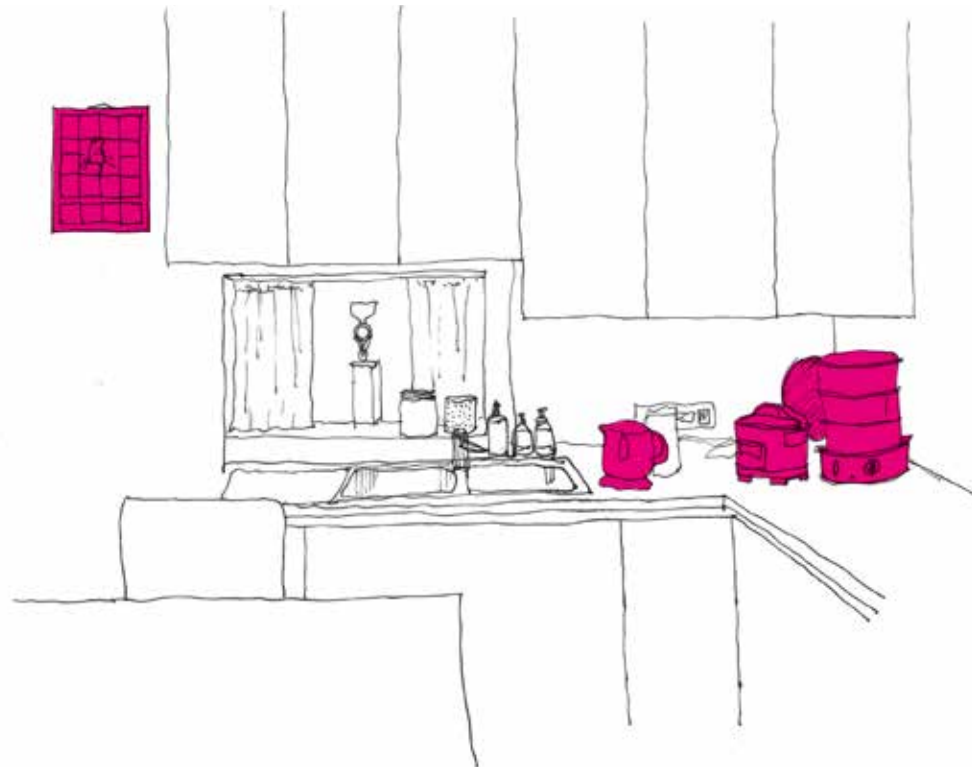


Figure 2
 The elements of home in Ms. C's kitchen.

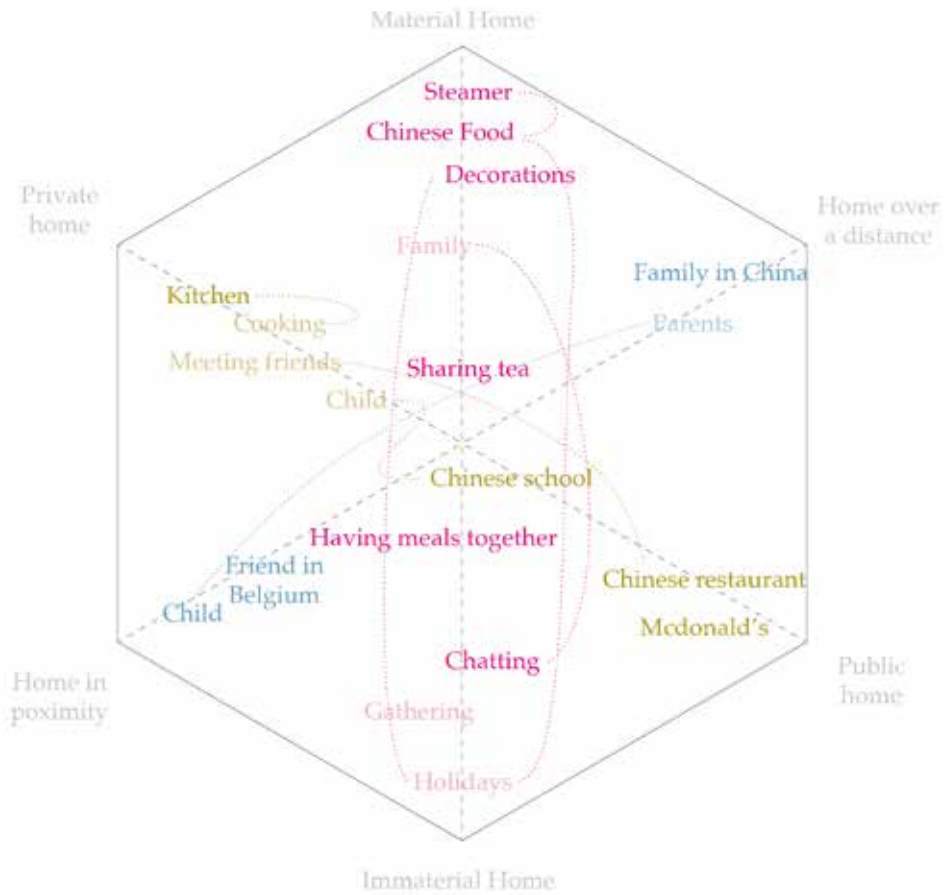


Figure 3
 Homing scheme of Ms. C (The homing scheme is based on the scheme of Boccagni. The three colors represent three dimensions of the shifts in a person's notion of home. The dotted lines show how it shifts, while the lighter words represent the objects whose meaning has been transferred onto the darker words.)



Figure 4
 The facade and decorations of Fo Guang Shan Temple.

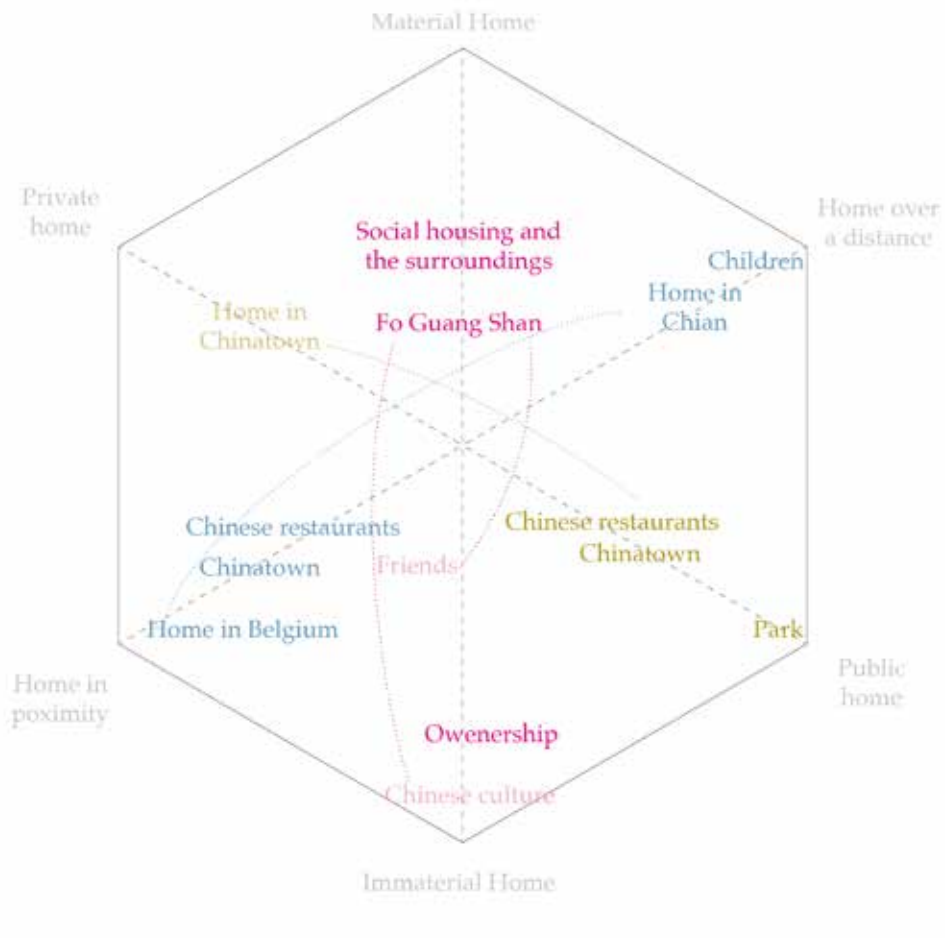


Figure 5
Homing scheme of Ms. D.

Spatiality of refugee camps in Jordan: Tracing the evolution of spatial realities, the case of Marka Camp, Jordan.

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In today's discourse it is common to claim that the world is rapidly urbanizing; in this context cities are seen as key mediators in global politics and economy, as well as in the social and cultural tensions of living with diversity. Yet, recently, the city is being discussed within the frame of forced migration and refugee issues. This paper investigates the relationship between forced migration and the city, and frames its exploration in the context of the city of Russeifa in Jordan, aiming to unfold the position of the Marka Camp within the spatial processes of its host city. The paper delves into the spatial regulations' history in Russeifa, and compares it in parallel- with the building guidelines in Marka Camp. The paper distributes the evolution of Russeifa City over three main phases: [a] Incremental Growth, [b] Augmented Growth, and [c] Saturation Growth. Moreover, the paper positions the socioeconomic situation of Marka's refugees, and traces its spatial implications. In doing so, the paper aims to further understand the agency of transient habitations (namely refugee camps) within the spatial evolution of its hosting systems; it calls for a better engagement of the forced migration's spatial impact on the city, and aspires to better unpack the existing, and hopefully future, character of the city itself.

Keywords: Forced migration – Palestine refugee camps – sociospatial agency.

INTRODUCTION

A common trend in today's discourse on urbanization gives cities a key role as mediators in global politics and economies, as well as within the socio and cultural tensions of living with diversity. (Amin, 2012; Sassen, 2008; Wilson, 2015). Yet, it is only recent when the city is being discussed within forced migration and refuge framework (Darling, 2017), framing such discussions within state-camp conception, which is wildly accepted. By investigating the unfolding of spatial evolution dynamics of Russeifa City (that hosts Marka camp), I argue that Palestine refugee camps in Jordan have turned over time into socioeconomic centers of gravity with a direct impact on urban and regional expansions. Such an exploration aims to contribute to a more open discussion when unpacking the city's spatial character, specifically as it relates to developing countries.

FORCED MIGRATION AND THE CITY, REFLECTIONS FROM LITERATURE

We can divide the theoretical discourse on refugee camps into camps themselves. One camp casts refugee camps as geographies of violence, as seen by Arendt (1973) who discussed the refugee as a living, foundational challenge to the nation-state's system, and as an interruption to or aberration of "the proper and enduring form of political identity and community- that is, the citizen and the sovereign nation-state" (Nyers, 2013). Another theoretical camp formulates the refugee camps as sites of incarceration (Perera, 2002), depoliticized spaces of exception (Agamben, 2005) or nondescript places (Said, 1999), where refugees wait the day they return to their homeland. Other theorists position the camp as irrational, structurally invisible non-places (Augé, 1995). While other scholars like (Sanyal 2011) discuss how some researchers like Hanafi (2008), measures the openness and closure character of the camp in relation to its mimicking level and resemblance to its urban hinterlands. More moderate yet recent discussions view refugee camps as spaces of hospitality (Ramadan, 2008) and identity (Malkki, 1996).

Some social studies discuss refugee camps or humanitarian sites (Feldman 2014 and Agier 2004) within a Foucauldian frame (Hyndman, 2000; Lippert, 1999), applying the technology of “care” and “control” (Malkki, 1992) on their sites, and manifesting the working power in the application of techniques of headcounts and situation reports, which may support fragile forms of political and community activism (Ramadan, 2013; Rygiel, 2012). Hyndman 2000) describes the grid distribution of shelters with the hegemonic presence of the humanitarian building, all drawn carefully using precise aerial photos, demonstrating a blatant reflection of the hierarchical relations of power.

However, despite the dichotomy in the treatment of camps (hyper-tensioned versus depoliticized passive sites), major debates seem to agree on juxtaposing the camp and the city (the exception and the norm), or the notion of the refugee and the notion of the “state” as Gill (2010) argues. Such discourses in literature are problematic, because such opposition creates an automatic hierarchy, overlooking the agency of the refugees and habitually absents the fluidity of relations.

In this paper, I argue for the need to better unpack the cities’ spatial characteristics that host refugee camps, especially in developing countries, by considering those geographies of forced migration and exploring the spatial evolutions of those hosting systems. I also argue for more dynamic and inclusive perspectives when exploring spatial development alternatives of the city as such.

The research uses Marka Camp in Jordan as a case study. Marka Camp, one of the six "emergency" camps in Jordan, was erected in 1968 to shelter 15,000 Palestine refugees and displaced persons who left the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestine Refugees are now living under a wide range of different national jurisdictions. In Jordan, they became formal citizens since 1949 (except the ex-Gazans) during the annexation of west bank to the kingdom¹, while those who took refuge outside the country remain stateless (Jalal Al Hussein & Bocco, 2009). Marka camp shelters more than 50,000 refugees in the same area of land. The camp is located in Russeifa, a city in the Zarqa Governorate in Jordan. A larger metropolitan area hosts Russeifa together with Amman and Zarqa and homes more than half of Jordan’s businesses.

METHODOLOGY

The paper aims to compare the camp’s land use and historical evolution with the City’s from the establishment date of the camp in 1967 to 1993 when the Oslo Accords were signed. The paper traces the evolution of the refugee-camp regulating norms in Jordan, in parallel with the city’s spatial evolution. Consequently, the main methods employed are: historical and mental tracing and interviews, in addition to the analysis of available Aerial and archival photos of the Marka and its surrounding.

8 interviews were held between October 2018 and February 2019 with officials and former officials at UNRWA, Department of Palestinian Affairs and Russeifa municipality.

The paper documented Russeifa’s spatial evolution using a combination of direct and indirect methods, due to the absence of archival mapping documents in the municipality. Accordingly, the expansion was cartographically translated over two phases. The first phase projected the governmental decisions of “expanding/ excluding” municipality’s plots. The decisions were issued by the Ministry of Municipalities Affairs, and were well documented at Russeifa’s municipal archive. The second phase included interviewing surveyors from the municipality to trace and mentally map the city’s boundaries. The paper also utilized historical aerial photos to verify the findings.

SPATIAL DYNAMICS, RUSSEIFA AS A CASE

1 West Bank was disengaged from Jordan in 1988

The city of Russeifa is located in the central region of Jordan, in the Zarqa River basin. The cities of Amman, Zarqa, and Russeifa compose a corridor that forms the second largest metropolitan area in the Levant (after Damascus), where it currently hosts more than half of Jordan's businesses (Ababsa, Myriam, 2013). Russeifa also hosts the second largest Palestine "official" refugee camp in Jordan (UNRWA, 2008), Marka Camp. The city has experienced different phases of change before reaching this stage of importance on the national level. The following section aims to unfold the city's evolution and highlights the position of the Marka refugee camp within the process. The main phases discussed are: [a] Incremental Growth, [b] Augmented Growth, and [c] Saturation Growth.

[A] INCREMENTAL GROWTH. RUSSEIFA CITY, THE BLUE ZONE

The Romans took the Russeifa area as a station on the Trajan road, which ran between Petra and Damascus. Excavations reveal several archaeological sites such as Khirbet Al-Russeifa, Rijm Al-Mukhaizin, Jreiba, and Abu Sayyah hill, as well as caves dating back to antiquity. The word Russeifa is a feminine mini-name of the word pavement, meaning the road paved with gravel.

Russeifa remained deserted for a long period of time, until the Circassians immigrated to the area and were assigned by the Ottomans to protect the Hejaz railway and the surrounding plots. The new comers founded the Circassian Village of Russeifa in 1909, and built the Old Circassian Mosque the year after. Knighthood was not the only quality of the Circassians; they were also distinguished farmers, and this quality was spatially interpreted by their settling in the banks of the Zarqa River. They developed the land into groves of almond, peach and apricot trees. The Circassian Village and their farms along the river banks formed the first strip-nucleus of the future city of Russeifa which later shaped the land parcellation of the kingdom to-be of Jordan. Around the 1920s, some Druze and Armenian families settled in the Circassian village of Russeifa; thereafter, the Armenians ended up in a small neighborhood to the south of the city and the Druze inhabited some of the orchards along the river banks and the eastern mountain named later as Al Aradfeh neighborhood.

Later, the areas outside the Circassians' orchards became in the domain of Bani Hasan and Al Da'aja Bedouin tribes, Al Madareb. Al Da'ja's Madareb were to the south of the Hejaz railway while Bani Hasan's were to its north; both tribes used the area for herding. The land tenure was musha' or shared amongst those two tribes. The Ottomans and later the British committed to deconstruct the musha' into a more individualized land tenure, in order to capitalize the tax revenues by basing them on an individually-based agriculture tax system (Razzaz, 1993). In 1929, the British registered the cultivated land to its holders, and categorized the pastoral, desert and semi-desert as "state domains". Back then, the land had nominal market value in the area and for the first thirty years, Bedouins used this land, termed musha' in Arabic, freely for regular herding, and the state didn't claim its "new" rights in the area.

The discovery of phosphate in 1932 triggered an economic boom in the city. The mineral soon turned it into a major source of national revenue. However, miners had to excavate and process the phosphate manually, which proved to be time-consuming, labor intensive, and overall limited in production. When Jordan nationalized the phosphate company in 1953, it carried intensive mining operations; it even imported its first shipment at the same year of establishment.

Soon enough, the Circassian Village became an industrial and agricultural attraction and began to grow excessively; newcomers started to flock to the city, and many of them built/squatted the areas on top of the mining tunnels. The Jordanian Government closed the mine in 1984 due to its environmental pressure, but the mine still exists, leaving huge plots of land ready for potential revitalization.

The history of the Russeifa municipality can be traced to the early 1950s. Services were initially provided by the municipality of Zarqa, until the first Village Council was formed in mid-1957. In 1964, the Village Council got upgraded to become a Municipality. However, and due to its geographic position between Zarqa and Amman, Russeifa has been trapped in the grey area ever since, sometimes treated as a vicinity of Amman and sometimes as that of Zarqa's. Many appeals to de-annex and annex plots to the municipality's domain have been well documented in the municipality's archive. This position has amplified Russeifa's dependency on Amman, and further promoted the centralized model of spatial governance, where the Ministry of Municipal Affairs (MoMA) in Amman has the upper hand in the production process of the master plans (Land use Plans) of the city. The result was a mitigation-oriented planning trend starting from the first Structural Plan of 1969, where Structural Plans (Mukahttat Haikali) were produced - right after socioeconomic pressures - in the capital and then projected on the city.

[B] AUGMENTED GROWTH PHASE

The UNHCR has recently highlighted the concern for urban refugees (Marfleet, 2006). In 1995 the agency had stated that "flows of refugees to cities were undesirable", reflecting the priority of placing refugees in camps (UNHCR, 2012). It was not till 2009 that UNHCR adopted a more inclusive policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas. This neglect of urban refugees can be related to the persistence of a series of normative assumptions over refugee policies (Darling, 2017)

Thus, as Kibreab (2007) argues, in many countries the refugee camp is constructed as the "proper" space for refugee populations, acting as a technology of spatial segregation that enables the containment of those displaced. In such contexts, refugee camps are spatially segregated to echo the perception of refugees as "temporary guests"; such a discourse is used to legitimize the placement of refugees in segregated camps.

Jordan has been accommodating various waves of migration; these include the Armenians, Circassians, and Chechens in the 19th century (Series, 2010), the Lebanese during the 1975-1991 civil war, the Iraqis in the 1991 and 2003 Gulf Wars, and the Syrians of the most recent refugee crisis (which is still ongoing until the date of this research). Yet, it is generally acknowledged that the two waves of Palestine refugees (of 1948 and 1967) played a fundamental role in shaping the modern history of Jordan (Ababsa, 2010; Arouri, 2008; Series, 2010). After the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Jordan lost most of its fertile lands to the Israeli occupation, and hosted more than 300,000 Palestine refugees (Razzaz, 1993) in six official refugee camps established by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). Together with the host government and the notables from the camp, the agency governs the service provision to the refugees.

MARKA CAMP

The Marka camp was an emergency camp that received Palestinian refugees who fled Jordan valley camps (Ghor Kibid and Ghor Nimrein) in 1968 due to the heavy air raids of the Israeli army. Approximately 30% of the total population was ex-Gazans (UNRWA, 2019). The fertile land of Marka Camp was soon divided into lots; UNRWA gave each family a 12x9 meter plot of land and a tent. Sanitary facilities were public; the shared toilets were distributed amongst the camp's sectors. Water points were also distributed along the camp's main roads and women used to collect the water from those common water points, carrying them back to their shelters. In case of water cutoffs, as interviewee Ms. Fatima recalls, women accessed water from the Zarqa River. Another interviewee, Abu H., remembers that the German Schneller School provided the camp with water for four years; this represented the major interaction between the

camp and its German neighbors. Months later and due to the harsh weather, UNRWA replaced the tents with 3x4 m asbestos units. The financially capable refugees managed to build extra brick-walled and zinc-roofed room(s), triggering the early stages of the camp's horizontal expansion.

ON CITIZENSHIP

Palestine refugees are now living under a variety of different national jurisdictions around the world; many refugees became formal citizens in Jordan as of 1949 (except Ex-Gazans who were under the Egyptian regime at that time), while the majority of those residing in other host countries have remained stateless (Jalal Al Hussein & Bocco, 2009).

The remittances were soon translated into spatial development inside and outside the camps. Refugees in Jordan found themselves enjoying a unique situation as refugees and citizens together. Many of the refugee expatriates invested their savings in expanding their shelters inside the camp (which mostly hosted their extended families). Others managed to buy plots in the immediate surroundings of Marka Camp and become urban refugees. This point is crucial because the camp in this case acted as a social, cultural and political center of gravity. Refugees chose not to reside far from the camp to remain connected to their parents and families, perceiving the camp as a symbol of resistance and as a form of claiming their right to return. Thus, whilst (Agier, 2002) claims that the "city is in the camp but always only in the form of sketches that are perpetually aborted", it can be argued that the city and camp exist in a dual-direction relationship, where city and camp haunt each other, and that they are inseparable if one intends to unpack any of their socio-spatial realities.

However, the refugee-citizen privilege was not the only engine of Russeifa's spatial development; the systematic series of regulations created by the Department of Palestinian Affairs (DPA) also facilitated the horizontal and vertical expansion of the camps in Jordan (after the Oslo accords of 1993). Until 1988, the shelters were designed mainly as clusters of one-storey ground-level rooms incrementally and self-constructed by the refugees. However, these regulations were not binding and many refugees expanded their shelters vertically (to more than one storey). When the DPA began governing the camps' built environment in 1988, it allowed building an additional floor in the shelters².

Nevertheless, some uncertainty regarding the correlation between citizenship and spatial development (the case of ex-Gazans) still exists and further investigation is required to refine the findings.

UNRWA

UNRWA established the camp partially on state land or Khazeeneh, and the government of Jordan rented the remaining plots from individual proprietors from the Da'ja tribe. This arrangement gave the refugees who live inside the camp's official borders the right of use (not that of ownership). Accordingly, the camp became beyond the reach of the municipality's regulatory authority, resulting in tax-free businesses inside the camp's official borders. The demographic shock and the new business center that emerged in the camp succeeded in rapidly creating an additional nucleus for the city.

However, although many scholars theoretically posit that the UN premises are standardized, clustered and hegemonic spaces, UNRWA presents a different approach in that it has targeted status rather than geography. UNRWA's service provision exceeded the camp's official boundaries, which capitalized on the camp's permeability (refugees outside the camp are also eligible to receive services provided by UNRWA). Furthermore, the spatial presence of UNRWA's premises with their –relatively- spacious courts, have succeeded to protect one of the few outlets for the refugees in the camp. Over time, these

2 The second floor expansion was permitted in 1997 (after a socioeconomic eligibility assessment of the household was conducted)

service-providing structures have turned into social (meetings), spatial (wayfinding) and economic (trade) anchor points for different users (refugees, UNRWA employees, and customers) from inside and outside the camp.

At the same time, UNRWA's role in enhancing the permeability of the camp has exceeded the physical dimension, thereby reaching the socioeconomic one. UNRWA's ten schools (running double-shifts) have equipped Russeifa with well-educated youth, feeding the labor market in Jordan and the region. The oil boom of the 1970s in the Gulf created a thirsty market for professional laborers (engineers, teachers, doctors, etc.), and the Jordanian government was more than willing to fuel that market.

During the interviews and focus groups, the participants emphasized several pivotal moments in the camp's history, in particular UNRWA's establishment of a vocational training program, which facilitated, along with other factors, the "chain migration" of refugees in the region³. According to the interviewees, many refugees during the oil boom in the seventies tended to prefer two-year diplomas at UNRWA College in order to join the labor market in the Gulf faster.

MARKA CAMP AND THE CITY

Throughout late seventies and eighties (and especially during the "industrial revolution" that the city witnessed when it received yet another wave of migration during the Lebanese Civil War of the mid-1970s), Russeifa became the favored destination for factories and businesses, thanks to its cheap labor. The factory zone grew and expanded rapidly and was mainly fueled by refugee laborers from Marka Camp. The vibrant economic activity in the late seventies and eighties led to the establishment of mega infrastructure such as the Amman-Zarqa Highway.

During this era many refugees (including ex-Gazans) migrated to the Gulf's welcoming markets; refugees invested their remittances in expanding shelters and buying adjacent plots outside the camp as close to their families as possible. Interviewee M.G, born in Marka Camp, studied in UNRWA schools and became one of its employees, and explains how it took him more than forty years to leave the camp and reside in Amman, and that he was amongst the minority who resided that far from the camp.

Natural population growth, combined with the improving financial solvency, formed the main imputes for urban expansion along Zarqa-Russeifa-Amman corridor. Moreover, the socioeconomic dynamics resulted in two distinct geographies: the East and West. While the economically better-off population inclined to reside in Amman (mainly in the western side), those with lower economic profiles settled in the East (Russeifa and Zarqa).

Unfortunately, the government plans systematically promoted an imbalanced spatial distribution. The 1987 Structural Plan of Russeifa includes land regulations that support affordable housing only by applying C and D building codes (less setback distances and more built-up areas) without mixing housing typologies to achieve a more relaxed spatial arrangement in the city.

Moreover, during the time of economic prosperity, property began to gain rapidly in value. Bani Hasan and Da'ja were more than willing to capitalize on that boom by registering the land to subdivide it and then sell it, but it was too late. The state denied any rights to what became "state land" or Khazeeneh. As the demand for land was growing dramatically, some members from Bani Hasan and Da'ja started to illegally subdivide their land into smaller parcels and sell it to new settlers who sought affordable housing. This trend directly affected Russeifa's land development. The sequence of land use planning in Jordan

³ Female teachers who were employed in Saudi Arabia, mainly as teachers had to travel with their husbands according to the Saudi Arabian policies.

followed –in most cases- the OBSP model: occupation, building, servicing then planning, reversing the land development pattern in developed countries as discussed by Baross (1990). Massive land parcellation took place during that period, and the municipality implemented affordable housing regulations all over the city. Al- Msheirfeh, Al Jabal Al Shamali and Al- Tatweer were all new neighborhoods emerged to the north of Marka Camp

By the mid-1970s, unemployment in Jordan almost disappeared and more than 25 percent of the domestic labor force was working in the Gulf (Razzaz, 1993); Russeifa was not an exception. By the early 1980s the country was experiencing an economic boom. Remittances grew from 7.5 million Jordanian Dinars (1JOD=3\$ in 1981).

[C] SATURATION PHASE

The happy age of prosperity came to an end during the 1999 Gulf war. Some 350,000 Palestinians and Jordanians who worked in the Gulf lost their livelihood, becoming homeless and jobless overnight and being forced to come back to Jordan. Most of the returnees had to start from square one. A survey of returning migrants at the Jordanian borders showed that more than 70 per cent of the returning families had spent more than 20 years abroad; more than 40 per cent lost over 10,000 JOD in salaries, compensation and savings; and more than 70 per cent owned neither land nor house in Jordan (DOS, 1992). This massive return not only escalated the land prices to more than 200 percent (Razzaz, 1993), but also led to more dense, overcrowded spatial tissues, especially in Zarqa and Russeifa. This time, nature was most affected: the Zarqa River turned into a stream and its water was contaminated to the extent that the government banned any irrigation activities from its water.

CONCLUSION, REVISITING THE SPATIAL INFLUENCES OF MARKA CAMP

As aged agglomerations that have existed for more than half a century, Palestine refugee camps in Jordan have become strongly connected to their host built environment, and have succeeded in developing socioeconomic intensity (Ababsa, 2010) and a remarkable social network of activities. However, most academic analyses focus on the camps' political implications and rarely link the camps' socioeconomic behavior to its spatial realities.

In Jordan, these refugee camps have turned over time into socioeconomic centers of gravity. This transformation has not been instantaneous but is rather related, as presented in this paper, to a distinctive institutional climate co-produced by the refugees and the host country. Refugee camps are not as powerless as often assumed in literature. The camp's basis of power, the spatial one in our case, lies within the uprooting and displacement that characterizes it. For instance, the camp's impact over its surrounding area extends the mere concentration of population; the uprooting and ephemeral character of the camp creates an orbit of spatial evolution. Likewise, diversified levels of agency in the camp also catalyze additional forms of such spatial evolution. In Marka camp for example, the role of UNRWA in empowering the spatial development of the area as a whole is evident.

However, the centrality of governance in Jordan has delayed the response to the contextual demand of Russeifa, especially the environmental ones. For instance, the municipality's retroactive mechanism led to an accelerated deterioration of the city's natural resources (most significantly Zarqa River). This paper proposes that by considering the camp as a real player in the area, the governing regime will play a further constructive role in the city's evolution and in the protection of refugees.

Finally, this paper argues for the importance of considering forced migrations' geographies while crafting spatial decisions in cities; this will inevitably and strategically contribute to more comprehensive outcomes,

more specifically in the built environment.

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SESSION 3.A

HOME AS CARE & COMMUNITY

THE EXPRESSION OF PARENTING VALUES IN THE DOMESTIC SETTING: THE CASE
OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNITY IN SYDNEY
Maram Shaweesh

THE EXPRESSION OF PARENTING VALUES IN THE DOMESTIC SETTING: THE CASE OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNITY IN SYDNEY

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This paper reflects on the use of domestic settings of two Muslim Lebanese households' in Sydney, Australia as informed by their cultural and parenting values. The cultural values of the research participants were documented through in-depth interviews recording domestic space allocations and sleeping arrangements for participants coping with shifts across time (such as age and marital status). The analysis examines the adjustment of one family's domestic space in response to the home-schooling needs of their three children; it investigates the attitudes towards gender and the generational differences that inform the second family's parenting values and reflect on the family's domestic spaces.

Keywords: Australia, Sydney, Lebanese, Muslim, adaptation, family management, care, gender, parenting, traditions.

1 INTRODUCTION

Societies of the 21st century are becoming increasingly diverse, due to the dramatic growth of international migration (particularly since 1945; Levin, 2015). Migration as a global phenomenon led to a substantial transformation of cities (including Australia's built environment), which became the centre of scholarly debate in the past two decades (Beynon, 2006; Levin, 2015; Lozanovska, 2016). Mirjana Lozanovska (2016, p. 3) argues that global contemporary debates focused on the role of cultural diversity in retail and commercial streetscape. She considered architecture as the 'implicit background' of these discussions.

The settlement of migrants in new contexts, such as migrants settling in Australia, does not only require them to adjust to a new physical environment; it also necessitates adjustment to new cultural and emotional milieus (Armstrong, 2000), wherein they start to negotiate their cultural identities (Abbas et al., 2018). Yet, within this new built environment, how do they perceive their own identities, how do they relate to the host society and how do they relate to their original culture?

The domestic settings of migrants and ethnic community members are primary environments that foster cultural and religious identities (Hage, 1997). Therefore, the "migrant houses" emerged as a field of study investigated in relation to a range of issues, including the negotiation of the migrants' identities in the host society (Levin, 2015). To decode the way in which acculturation is embodied in domestic spaces it is important to look beyond the physical, objective attributes of the house and consider its subjective particularities.

Analysing the qualitative data collected during my ongoing PhD research, I found that parenting values comprise a pivotal factor in the Australian Lebanese participants' management of their domestic spaces. In this paper, I use the term 'parenting values' to refer to an individual's perceptions of what is deemed important and culturally, socially and religiously appropriate in relation to raising children, which may differ from—but will not necessarily contradict—the parenting values of the mainstream society. This paper seeks to elicit the relationship between the parenting values of Australian Lebanese families and their domestic spaces.

2 INTEGRATION OF THE LEBANESE MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

The Lebanese migration to Australia commenced in the late 1880's (Convy & Monsour, 2008). However, a large influx of Lebanese migrants arrived after the outbreak of the Arab/Israeli war between 1947 and 1976 (mainly Christians), and the Lebanese Civil War in the period between 1976 and 1981 including members of both sides of the conflict; Muslims and Christians (Convy & Monsour, 2008). According to Betts and Healy (2006), the political and social situation in Lebanon has given Lebanese migrants arriving between 1947 and 1981 a poor start in Australia. They were confronted by all the challenges associated with their refugee status such as inability to find jobs, and the lack of community networks and pre-existing ethnic constitution that caters for the Muslim Lebanese migrants (Betts & Healy, 2006).

A report by Pe-Pua et al. (2010) identified multiple factors challenging the acculturation of Muslim families in Australia. For example, the report identified a strong desire among some families to prevent children with access to welfare at a young age from engaging in inappropriate behaviours, such as consuming alcohol or drugs. Unfortunately, the mainstream Australian media makes the parenting experiences of Muslim families even harder, as they constantly shed the light on crimes conducted by Lebanese community members (Betts & Healy, 2006). As Poynting (2002, pp. 155–157) explains, Lebanese parents are constantly being blamed for 'losing control on their children' and told that 'they should be ashamed of their children's behaviour'. Parenting has also become an increasingly difficult task for the Lebanese Muslim community after the incidents of September 11.

Parenting challenges are not limited to Lebanese migrants; as being part of a minority cultural group can be equally difficult for subsequent generations, even for those who have never visited their ancestors' homeland. Children of migrants sometimes feel 'torn' between their parents' world and the mainstream society's world (Khawaja & Khawaja, 2016). Australians of Lebanese Muslim background face an ongoing accusations of 'failing to integrate' pressuring members of the community (whether migrants or descendants of migrants) into negotiating their rights to preserve their religious and cultural identity, while striving to achieve positive contact with the mainstream society (Due & Riggs, 2008; Abbas et al., 2018;). Australian-born Lebanese community members are also negotiating their identities with their families and other members of their Lebanese community. In the 1980s, Humphery (1984, p. 185) described emerging Lebanese Muslim families as traditional households that supported the division of sex roles, recognised a head of household and made men morally and socially responsible for female family members. However, the continuity of the traditional family structure in Australia leads to disputes among family members (Humphery, 1984), indicating a shift in cultural and social norms and parenting values across generations.

This paper identifies the interaction between the parenting values of two Muslim Lebanese families in Sydney and the use of their domestic spaces. It discloses how space limitations of their Australian dwellings coupled with the families' endeavours to achieve their parenting values as culturally distinctive group in Australia factors on the families' management of their domestic settings.

3 METHODS AND PARTICIPATING HOUSEHOLDS

The following analysis is based on data collected through digitally recorded in-depth interviews where participants were encouraged to reflect on their past and present daily activities and their attitudes towards space as well as to report changes to the use of domestic spaces in response to evolving household needs or structures (such as age, marital status, occupation and the flow of people in and out of the house). Four informants from two different Muslim Lebanese households were interviewed; both households were located in areas of Sydney with concentrated Lebanese communities. The first

dwelling, Rania's house, located in Chester Hill, accommodated her family of five: Rania (an Australian-born participant), her husband and their three sons. The second dwelling was located in Yagoona and accommodated Aisha's (a Lebanese migrant's) family, which had been through various changes in size; over time, the house had accommodated a mother (Aisha), a father (deceased two years after moving to the house), two daughters (Amani and Maha) and two sons (one of whom had moved out after marriage and the other of whom had mental and physical disabilities). The family was also joined temporarily by Aisha's son-in-law (Amani's husband) and her grandson.

4 THE EXPRESSION OF PARENTING VALUES IN DOMESTIC SETTINGS: ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES

The following analysis will explore the use and adjustment of the domestic space in response to Rania's family's decision to home-school their three children. This will be followed by an investigation of the attitudes towards gender embedded in Aisha's parenting values, which affected the family's residential preferences and their allocation of domestic spaces.

4.1 RANIA'S HOUSEHOLD: HOME-SCHOOLING AND THE DOMESTIC SPACE

As second-generation Australians, Rania and her husband were no less concerned than other migrants about the influence of unsupervised contact with the mainstream society (for example, at school) on their three children. Even though the family lived in an area with multiple Islamic schools, they decided to home-school their three children (one child was pre-school age at the time of the interview) until they reach the age for high-school. The decision, which transformed the use of the family's domestic spaces, was made for multiple reasons. First, the couple were worried about their children being bullied or becoming bullies (a common concern among Australian parents and educators; Rigby, 2017). Second, home-schooling allowed them to teach their own perspectives about global and local political issues alongside the information obtained from the Australian curriculum. In particular, Rania (a former primary school teacher) believed that the Australian curriculum did not provide just historical views about colonisation or about the current situation of Australia's Aboriginal population. Last, home-schooling provided an opportunity to teach their children the Arabic language and basic Islamic concepts.

4.1.1 THE ADAPTATION OF THE DOMESTIC SPACE FOR HOME-SCHOOLING

When the family's domestic space became the primary schooling environment for their children, their residential experience was transformed dramatically. The adaptation of a dwelling for home-schooling involves three main aspects: adapting the space to cater for studying activities, compensating for the experience missed by the children not attending formal school and limiting interference between learning activities and the family's daily activities. Rania explains:

We were aware of the challenges associated with this decision, but we think it is worth it. We are trying to adapt the house to become a comfortable learning environment and, as a former teacher, I can still evaluate the academic achievement of my children in comparison to their peers. We will ensure that the decision does not have a negative impact on them.

To cater for the children's home-schooling activities, the family needed to assign a personal learning zone to each home-schooled child. Rania considered her house to be 'relatively big' in relation to the other houses in Sydney that they had been able to afford to rent. However, offering each school-aged child a comfortable, personal space wherein they were expected to spend a good portion of their day studying was challenging. The family placed the children's studying area within the kitchen, an unusual location for such activities (Fig. 1). However, this required Rania to coordinate cooking and studying activities, to ensure that the domestic environment did not negatively affect the children's academic achievement.

Rania's domestic spaces were also required to atone for the experiences missed by the children not going to regular schools, which included two main aspects: having regular outdoor time and interacting with other children in a learning environment. Therefore, Rania, who was a member of a group of parents who home-schooled their children, hosted twice-weekly group home-schooling sessions involving up to ten children. During these sessions, the kitchen was transformed into a bigger classroom, with two foldable tables and ten chairs brought in for the learning activities (Fig. 2E); pre-school-aged children were settled in to the main living room as a play area. To offer the children an equivalent outdoor time to their peers, Rania's backyard became an essential component of her domestic/educational space, used to accommodate the children's daily outdoor physical activities, such as riding their bikes and gardening. Consequently, Rania would not consider moving to a property without a backyard in the future.

One of the challenges in managing the domestic space to serve as a successful home-schooling environment was to avoid the interruption of learning activities by the daily activities of the other occupants (Rania, her husband and her pre-school-aged son), without impinging on their comfort. Rania adopted multiple strategies, for example, during group home-schooling sessions, the younger children (under school age) used the main living room (Fig. 1A) as a play area to eliminate interference with the learning activities of the school-aged children. The younger children were usually supervised by Rania or by one of the parents accompanying the other children participating in the sessions.

Additionally, Rania accommodated her youngest child in a separate bedroom (Fig. 1G), while the older children shared a bedroom (Fig. 1H), thereby avoiding the interruption of the youngest child's sleep and play routines by his siblings' different daily activities. When her youngest child reached school age, Rania planned to move him to share the bedroom with his siblings; as all children would be expected to follow a similar daily routine. Thereby, the kitchen would not have sufficient space to accommodate the needs of three home-schooled children, the youngest child's room would be converted into a study. Rania believed that bedroom sharing was beneficial for strengthening familial ties among children and that it would assist her in disseminating her cultural values to the children.

4.2 AISHA'S HOUSEHOLD: PARENTING VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER AND AGE

Tracking the changing use of domestic spaces and the participants' (Aisha's, Amani's and Maha's) attitudes towards space reveals the different parenting values of each generation of participants. The methods used by Aisha to achieve her parenting values vary from those adopted by Rania. Aisha's parenting values include forming strong familial ties among her children, passing on her cultural and religious values and avoiding the possibly negative influences resulting from the interaction between her children and the mainstream society. When Aisha moved to her current residence in 2000 (with her husband, two daughters and son), her parenting values were reflected in two ways: by her residential preferences and through her use of internal domestic spaces.

4.2.1 RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES AND DOMESTIC SPACE MANAGEMENT

Aisha's desire to maintain her Lebanese culture and to pass it on to her children informed her residential preferences in relation to location, size and internal space arrangements to cater for her children's needs. Aisha migrated to Australia as part of a chain migration, whereby multiple members of her extended family moved to Australia in the 1980s after the Lebanese civil war. Since then, Aisha had only considered living near her extended family members; better planned houses in different locations were not regarded as viable by her.

Aisha believed that having a family-oriented lifestyle was an effective way to transmit her cultural and

religious values to her children (it also provided her with emotional support as she settled in Australia). Therefore, Aisha's family's dwelling was not only expected to cater for its occupants needs, but also to allow for frequent family gatherings. Family gatherings were hosted every two to three weeks, with up to 50 family members expected each time (Fig. 4). Aisha said:

We need a big house because we always have visitors; we always host barbeques. The strong ties between my children and their relatives, especially their cousins, is a very good way to raise [children] according to my Lebanese Adat (تادات, or cultural norms).

The management of Aisha's domestic spaces revealed the influence of her attitudes towards gender on her parenting values. Aisha believed that creating a comfortable home environment would assist her to achieve her goals. However, her perception of each child's needs was highly influenced by gender. Aisha believed she would have less influence on her son than her daughters unless she increased the time he spent at home willingly. To this effect, Aisha's son was offered a spacious quarter of the house and (before moving out after marriage) occupied two rooms (Figs. 2K and 2J). Aisha allowed her son to host male friends without affecting the family's daily activities. In contrast, Aisha's daughters shared a bedroom until Amani was married and joined by her husband in the dwelling.

4.2.2 GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

The parenting values exemplified by Aisha's efforts to disseminate her culture to her children were not necessarily held by her Australian-born offspring. Generational differences in parenting values become problematic when shared domestic spaces are incapable of serving each occupant's needs. This issue was reported by Aisha's daughters, Amani and Maha. Amani first experienced discomfort of this kind when she had her first child while sharing accommodation with her family of origin. Despite occupying two rooms within the house (Figs. 2C and 2D), Amani explained that the dwelling's layout failed to prevent a clash between the daily activities of the occupants, which was problematic, especially in relation to raising her child. Amani described her experience as follows:

I love to raise my child around my family, and my mother helps me a lot in caring for him. However, it is very hard to share the house with my mother. I feel I have no control over his daily routine, the type of food he eats and [the] things he is allowed or not allowed to do. For example, my mother always has visitors around; sometimes it clashes with the sleeping routine of my child. We had to seal our doors with foam to reduce the noise in our bedroom and living area. If we had our own amenities and we could detach ourselves from the rest of the family's activities, this would have been a perfect place. This is the main reason we moved out: to raise my child the way I find is suitable for him and his future.

Maha disagreed with her mother's attempts to increase the time her brother spent at home as a way of passing her cultural values on to him. As a consequence of the additional space assigned to her brother for hosting friends, Maha believed her own comfort had been adversely affected. She explained:

"My mum was trying to keep my brother at home, I do not think [this was] effective in having control over him, and it just made us feel crowded. He had friends over daily, it was too noisy and I could not freely move around the kitchen and the living room because somebody might be passing to [go to] the toilet so I had to wear my scarf every time I stepped a foot outside my bedroom".

The generational differences as explored in the study of Aisha's family indicate the importance of considering cultural changes in studying 'migrants' houses'.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

While the participants in this study had congruent goals in terms of transmitting cultural and religious values to their children, various methods were adopted to achieve these goals. Rania's parenting values were closely related to the early education of her young children. The domestic space was actively used in the implementation of her parenting values as it was adapted to cater to the home-schooling activities and to compensate for the children's missed experiences while not attending formal school. In her study of the 'Migrant's Daughter's Study', Lozanovska (2002, p. 267) argues that 'the study' space in the migrant house is an implication of the lack of private space allowing individual subjectivity within the domestic space.

Having strong family ties is another commonly-used method (not just by the participants on this study, but across migrants in Australia coming from non-English speaking backgrounds) to disseminate cultural values to children (Hugo, 1995). While Rania sought to establish strong relationships among her children through bedroom sharing, Aisha achieved familial closeness by hosting frequent family gatherings (a common practice among Australian Lebanese families; Armstrong, 2000), which influenced the families' residential preferences in terms of location and size. Armstrong (2000) argues that suburban Australian dwellings do not cater for large family gatherings therefore many Lebanese migrants expanded their family living areas by removing internal walls. Aisha linked the ability to achieve her parenting values to the creation of a comfortable home environment by reducing the time they spent outside the home. However, Aisha perceived that raising her son would be more challenging than raising her daughters, which resulted in the assignment of additional spaces to her son, while her daughters shared a bedroom.

Despite Aisha's assumption that this arrangement met each child's needs with comfort, her daughter (Maha) disagreed and claimed that the allocation resulted in her feeling uncomfortable and crowded within the house. Zulkeplee, Aird and Buys (2015) argues that the privacy needs as perceived in the domestic space by Australia's Muslim population remains understudied in the architectural discourse. Despite efforts to transmit cultural norms to children, parenting values are not necessarily passed across generations. This was apparent when Aisha's family practised multigenerational living. When the house's layout did not allow Amani's family (Amani, her husband and child) to manage their own daily activities, Amani struggled to control her child's daily routine.

In sum, the paper contributes in filling the gap in research examining the residential experience of ethnic minorities in Australia. It demonstrated the strong relationship between the use of domestic spaces and the cultural values of its occupants, as it identifies how the domestic space can either impinge upon or support the family's ability to achieve their parenting values (influenced by their cultural values).

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FIGURES



Figure 1

Rania's domestic spaces: A) living area, B) dining area, C) study area used by Rania, D) children's study area within the kitchen, E) group sessions area, F) kitchen, G) youngest child's bedroom, H) children's bedroom, I) toilet, J) Rania's bedroom and K) backyard.

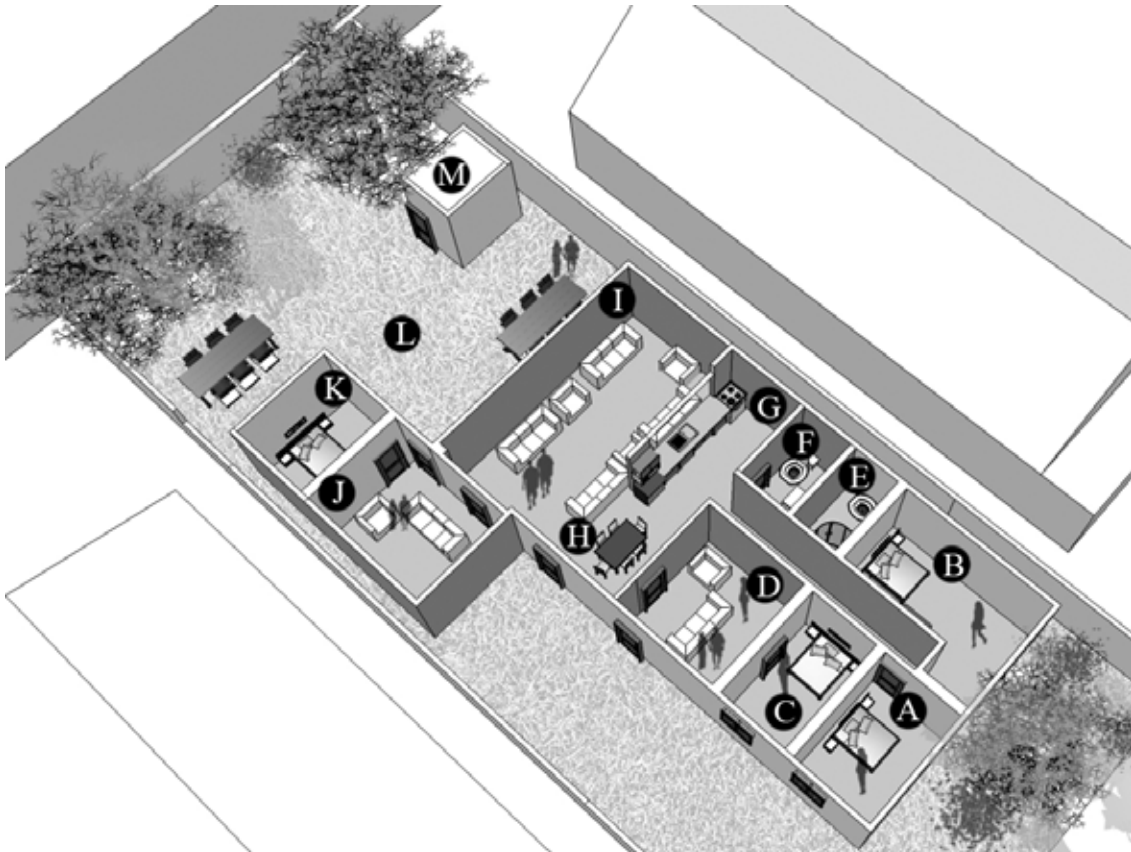


Figure 2

Aisha's domestic spaces: A), B), C) and K) bedrooms; D), I) and J) living rooms; F) guest's toilet and laundry; E) toilet; G) kitchen; M) outdoor toilet; L) outdoor living spaces; and H) dining table.

SESSION 3.B

DISPOSSESSION AND DOMESTICITY

MAKING HOME IN BORGO MEZZANONE. DIGNITY AND MAFIAS IN SOUTH ITALY

Anna Di Giusto

TRACES OF RURAL DOMESTICITY. THE ASPECTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT DUE
TO RECLAMATION WORKS ON THE COUNTRYSIDE OF GREECE

Afroditi Maragkou

Making Home in Borgo Mezzanone. Dignity and Mafias in South Italy

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Borgo Mezzanone is the biggest shantytown of migrant farmhands in Europe. It is located next to a CARA (Reception Center for Asylum Seekers). The management of the CARA is entrusted to cooperatives of the third sector social, dedicated to migrant reception that offer neither hygienic service nor language or working training to asylum seekers. Many different mafias are operating in this place: the Italian Sacra Corona Unita and 'ndrangheta, as well as the Albanian, Mexican, and Nigerian mafias. Faced with the impunity of these criminal cartels and the absence of the State, the refugees seek to regain their dignity through the construction of religious and entertainment buildings, demonstrating an astonishing ability in recycling. For surviving to marginality, housing is one of the few tools they have to recreate an acceptable condition of life.

Keywords: migrants, caporalato, mafias, housing, recycling.

INTRODUCTION

Since the '80s, Southern Italy, especially Puglia, has become a laboratory for the weaving of relationships among indigenous criminal systems, imported mafias, exploitation of human beings, economy, and politics. Around Foggia, the capital of a province of 627.000 inhabitants, the exercise of the caporalato and the exploitation of prostitution are widespread and very well known by the national and local media. This situation of degradation allowed for the emergence of ghettos and lagers similar to the Libyan ones of Sabratha, with a brothel and an internal square for the drug shop (Sagnet & Palmisano, 2015; Palmisano, 2018). In this article, I will focus specifically on the Borgo Mezzanone track, where the migrant emergency has turned an abandoned runway into a ghetto.

Borgo Mezzanone is only 15 km far from Foggia, but it is part of the city of Manfredonia, which is 45 km away. The village was founded in 1934 by the Fascist regime, which reclaimed the area to reduce the flows of emigrants to Northern Europe and the Americas. The first 700 settlers came from neighboring municipalities. At the beginning, the village was composed only of a Fascist house, a school, a church, a hospital, a well for water, a Carabinieri barracks, and various shops (D'Alessandro, 2002).

The area is today renowned for agricultural production, especially tomatoes. Every year seasonal laborers are recruited through "tomato summer campaigns." The recruitment process can take place legally – through temporary employment agencies or internet sites dedicated to job offers – or clandestinely – through the caporali recruiting labor on behalf of landowners. Thirty percent of workers, who are foreigners with or without a regular residence permit (Barbaro, 2018), are recruited illegally. Recent laws, such as the 138/2011 and the 199/2016, have tried to contrast the phenomenon of caporalato, but have failed because in Southern Italy the effective control of the mafias is powerful (Di Marzio, 2017). Furthermore, the latest Italian laws about migration have encouraged the creation of an ever-increasing number of illegal migrants. Since 2002, as a consequence of the Bossi-Fini Law, migrants coming in Italy without a regular work permit are interned in "Provisional Stay Center", pending their expulsion (Di Marzio, 2017). It is the first time that a law, in clear violation of the Italian Constitution and the principle of non-refoulement in the international Refugee Convention, declares that these persons can be arrested not for what they did, but for what they are (Ferrajoli, 2011). Therefore, if the category of clandestinity in Europe prevents these

people from entering the labor market and creates an underworld of illegal workers, in Italy this segment of population, without any possibility to enter the legal work system, is hired by mafias, which allow these illegal migrants to live in areas where the Italian State cannot come to verify what happens (Mangano, 2010). This vicious circle fuels illegality and prevents the real integration of these refugees into the Italian social fabric (Liberti & Ciconte, 2016).

1. CAPORALATO IN PUGLIA

Firstly, it is essential to understand the concept of caporalato. The term refers to an informal system of organization of temporary agricultural work, which is carried out by laborers in groups of variable size. The caporale is a man – usually an Italian – who is capable of finding the cheapest labor for landowners and agricultural companies. Therefore, he is an illegal labor force broker who works also as a manager, answering to agricultural entrepreneurs (Omizzo, 2018). The caporale hires farmhands on behalf of the owner and establishes their remuneration, exacting a fee for his role in the transaction from both owners and laborers. Since the second half of the twentieth century, with the development of labor law, the practice of caporalato has been described as an organized crime activity with the goal of hindering illegal and low-cost exploitation of agricultural labor. Wages paid to workers (that are called ‘days’ because it is a daily remuneration) are considerably lower than those of the regulatory rates and often without social security contributions (Arena, 2012). In the case of the area of Borgo Mezzanone, the hourly pay is of € 3.50.

In 2011, the Italian law n.148/2011 introduced into the penal code a new crime: illicit negotiation and exploitation of labor. Penalties for so-called caporali include imprisonment (five to eight years) and fines of up to € 2,000 for each worker involved (Curci, 2008). The government has announced the use of regulatory instruments to punish severely, until the confiscation of assets, companies that hire workers through the caporalato system. The media instead stressed that the problem lies mainly in intermediation. According to many journalistic investigations and scoops, caporalato still exists in disguise as a legal form, such as false cooperatives and fake temporary employment agencies (Porcelluzzi, 2012).

In Borgo Mezzanone caporalato is very common given the high number of young people, mainly from sub-Saharan Africa, who left the same CARA or other reception centers but have been unable to find a way to enter lawfully the labor market. As a consequence of the Italian management of migratory flows that is often unclear and takes a long time, some of them do not have a permit of stay for problems related to Italian legislation (Guiliani, 2015). Their marginality makes them the “perfect victim” for mafias, in an area where the State is completely absent.

2. FROM ILLEGALITY TO CLANDESTINITY

The Italian legal system has undergone various changes in the last twenty years with regard to how to receive migrants. In 1998, the Turco-Napolitano Law established the first reception centers in Italy. In 2002, the Bossi-Fini introduced the crime of clandestinit  (crime of clandestinity), binding the residence permit to a legal job. In this way, the law has favored the blackmail of the workers who are forced to adapt to any new working condition (increase in hours, decrease in hourly wages) so as not to risk losing their job (Al , 2010).

Amnesty International has raised concerns about access to asylum procedures and the detention of asylum seekers, in open violation of international law. Amnesty also highlighted the violation of the principle of non-refoulement, which prohibits the repatriation or forced expulsion of asylum seekers to countries where they could be at risk of serious human rights abuses, as is the case with Libya (Amnesty

International, 2017).

Furthermore, the Bossi-Fini Law introduces discrimination among foreigners: it favors immigrants from countries which have signed a bilateral agreement for possible repatriation, while it impedes the entrance for those who come from countries that do not have this type of agreement (Pighi, 2008). Moreover, compared to the previous law, there has been an increase in forced expulsions—now preferred to the verbal injunction to leave the country. This change transforms the temporary reception center into detention centers, whose name was precisely CIE – Center of Identification and Expulsion -, and now is CPR - Detention Center for Repatriation (Borgna, 2011).

In 2009 the Pacchetto sicurezza (“Security Package” Law), proposed by the Minister of the Interior Maroni, establishes the crime of illegal immigration: anyone who touches Italian soil without a residence permit is charged with this accusation, which is not considered as a regulatory but as a criminal offense. The violation of the Geneva Convention is evident: immigrants are charged with the crime of illegal immigration before being allowed, in case they meet all the criteria, to apply for asylum (Chiari, 2010).

In 2018, the Italian Parliament approved the Decreto Sicurezza (Security Decree), called the Salvini Decree. The anti-constitutional nature of the provision is undeniable: the new law abrogates the humanitarian residence permit, leaving only the political asylum and subsidiary protection in force. In this way, the number of denials for asylum seekers has increased, preventing them from gaining access to the protection and reception system. The new law extends the conditions of illegality that the previous decrees had created for those who do not fall within the parameters required by the Refugee Convention (Conz & Levita, 2019). Therefore, the Salvini law weakens the reception system of the SPRAR (the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), despite the fact that many municipalities had obtained good or excellent results by integrating from below, both for the repopulation of the mountain and abandoned areas and for the inclusion of refugees in the social fabric (Camilli, 2018). The migrants that have been hosted in the SPRAR in the last months will be sent to the CARA and then, after the time required by the law, in liminal areas as Borgo Mezzanone. The most evident and severe result of this decree, expected by all, is the increase in the number of illegal immigrants.¹

3. ITALIAN AND FOREIGNER MAFIAS IN BORGO MEZZANONE

The case of Borgo Mezzanone is one of the worst of the country. In this area on the outskirts of Foggia the situation is desperate. Illegality is widespread also due to the strong demand for labor force to be employed in the lush surrounding countryside. It has been estimated that there are 6.000 residents living in the Borgo, but an official count is not possible. The shantytown was built around the pre-existing CARA, guarded day and night by police forces (Sabetti, 2019). However, in spite of the presence of the militaries, it is possible to pass easily from the reception center to the ghetto because there are breaches in the fence. The interviewees², all Africans especially from Senegal and Ivory Coast, declared lightly that the breach, however very large and therefore well known to the army there, is used to enter drugs and prostitutes into the CARA.

In 2016, the journalist Alfonso Gatti was introduced into the CARA as a fake refugee and was able to monitor the management of the center (Gatti, 2016). During his stay, he did not see any military leave the aseptic square of the entrance gate to visit the barracks where the migrants are housed. Gatti denounced

1 Extreme exploitation of migrants is taking place in Italy, the UN Special Report says (2018, October 18), Retrieved from <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/12752/extreme-exploitation-of-migrants-is-taking-place-in-italy-the-un-special-rapporteur-says>

2 The interviewees were fifteen young people aged between 21 and 34. Eight of them come from Senegal, five from Ivory Coast, two from Cameroon. The Senegalese did not apply for the residence permit, while the others obtained permission more than four years ago. None of them have lived in Borgo Mezzanone for a long time: the oldest lives there for a year and three months.

the indecent living, hygiene, and food conditions of the refugees, as well as the connivance of the cooperatives that should provide for the needs of these people for € 22 a day, which means a turnover of € 14 000 a day and € 15 millions in 3 years (Gatti, 2016b).

The mafia of the Gargano is able, thanks to a dense network of pushers of different nationalities, to drive drugs into the center -mainly Albanian marijuana, cocaine, Turkish heroin, and methamphetamine - (Zancan, 2017). These drugs reach the English-speaking part of the ghetto, dominated by the largest Central African criminal brotherhood: the Black Axe, which works to the drug and prostitution market together with the Italian 'ndrangheta and the Mexican Sinaloa cartel (Palmisano, 2018).

4. ENTRANCE INTO THE SHANTYTOWN

Even though even if the ghetto is in an area without paved roads to get there, there is a dirt road that passes through the fields. From here, migrants and traffickers cross a rough terrain, following a dangerous road that was not built for the passage of cars. When I went to Borgo Mezzanone³, I saw piles of rubbish, mostly glass, on the edges of that path. However, in all this chaos, I found a particular order because garbage is divided by time of waste, remembering the separate waste collection, and it is not widespread. Most Africans arrive on foot or by bicycle, while cars are rare. Once I had been arrived, the reality seemed unreal to me (Mangano, 2018). There are cars without wheels whose components have been reutilized: the seats have become sofas, the tires are used to fix the precarious roofs of the houses, while other smaller elements are used to fix walls, curtains or other materials used in the construction of houses.

The shantytown is located on a disused runway of a military airport. The machines and vans of the caporali arrive from the west. Since 2016, the ghetto has widened due to the arrival of the Nigerian mafia from Naples, which has occupied half the track. They have opened a bar, two restaurants, a nightclub that makes the sleep of tired laborers difficult every night, as the interviewees said. The other half is run by Afghans arriving from Bari, who have set up a grocery shop and built a mosque. The area of the Nigerians is forbidden to Francophone Africans, so much so that those who dare approach it risk their lives. As explained by my guide, an unwritten law exists within the ghetto that segregates the various groups and promotes hatred towards those who come from a different country.

5. A NORMAL DAY

In Borgo Mezzanone, at four in the morning, the laborers line up to fill their water bottles, because Italian landowners no longer give them water. Some Nigerians have been assisting the Italians as caporali waiting for the migrants on the runway on vans and ramshackle cars. The Nigerians take € 5 per person carried — money they deduct from the pay of the workers. Then the laborers are left along the edges of the road that leads to Foggia, where they are loaded by the Italian caporali. The workers who want to avoid paying the Nigerians leave on foot or by bike. In the shantytown, some of them keep their bikes near the bed because they fear that they will be stolen. The farmhands who lose their bike are then forced to pay € 35 a week to the caporali, which amounts to two days of work. The laborers who live inside the ghetto, that is, the CARA, are paid less than those who are in the slums because the caporali hold back the cost of food and housing, which however is provided by the Prefecture. They thus receive € 15 a day, while those of the shantytown get up to 25 (Gatti, 2016).

Many of them come back at 10:00 PM, line up to take a shower, wash their clothes, eat something and

3 My visit to Borgo Mezzanone took place on 6th September 2018 thanks to the accompaniment of a refugee staying in Bari. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to enter the center at other times because my presence - I was the only white person - was reported as unwelcome to my escort.

then fall asleep around midnight, despite the noise of the Nigerian nightclub. After three hours of sleep, they get up and leave for a new day, climbing over the wall of the CARA.

In Germany, for instance, during the same period of reception, refugees are required to follow German courses. Otherwise, their petition is rejected. Here no one has activated a course for them, and after months of exploitation, when they are transferred, it is as if they had never arrived in Italy (Palmisano, 2017)⁴.

6. HOUSE AND DIGNITY

Even though the situation both inside and outside the CARA is oppressive, without waste collection, water, and sewers; even though the lighting system is illegal because electricity is stolen from the road network (Senato della Repubblica, 2016); the immigrants have tried to recreate an environment that can somehow be called welcoming. The reuse of car interiors, the creation of restaurants, a church and a mosque, the presence of a recreational area are all signs of their need to feel somehow at home (Sennett, 2018). If the weather is dry, it is possible to notice that, among the dwellings, there are paths in clay, destined to become muddy during the rain. The search for aesthetic details —such as the reuse of Christmas decorations or of any objects they can find on site for the beautification of their premises— testifies to their need to rebuild their dignity as human beings (Carrier, 2018). The same prohibition I received from all the residents I met against photographing environments or exteriors responds, in my point of view, to their need to protect not only their privacy, but also what they consider an emergency and therefore temporary. As regards the passing migrations, the Anthropological theory is working on the conceptualization of a new kind of ‘transit-mobilities’ operating in the Mediterranean region. Scholars, such as Brekke and Brochmann, call “secondary migration” the step in the path to reach the final goal of the migrants, that is usually not a country in Southern Europe but in the North (Brekke & Brochmann, 2014). This concept is not adequate to describe the phenomenon of housing in Borgo Mezzanone. This place is full of the neighborhood waste, and, on a symbolic level for Italian residents, it is full of human garbage. Western civilization is characterized by excess, redundancy, waste and garbage disposal, so much so that today this last issue poses one of the most critical challenges to the future of the planet. At the same time, the wealthiest part of the world does not want to share its lifestyle and is predicated on the exploitation of the migrants’ work to maintain it (Bauman, 2004). Borgo Mezzanone is one of the demonstrations of the immigrants’ will to survive the physical and ideological walls built in recent times by Fortress Europe. None of the interviewees considers this place as the final goal of their journey, but even if only in passing each of them intends to survive this critical situation by implementing innovative housing strategies. The re-use of Italian waste symbolizes the resilience and the obstinacy of the migrants. Despite the abandonment of the State and the presence of different mafias, they are in search of strategies that can give them back their dignity.

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Traces of rural domesticity. The aspects of forced displacement due to reclamation works in the countryside of Greece.

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The paper examines the domesticity failure due to an internal displacement practice in the countryside of Thessaly in Greece. The construction of Megdova Dam on the 1960s was the springboard for the displacement of entire lakeside villages to the lowlands of Thessaly. The resettlement process that the state policies had planned, was spatially and architecturally organized in order to offer the desirable domesticity to the uprooted populations. However, the new settlements were never inhabited and stand nowadays as promising traces of domesticity in the countryside. These rural ruins raise questions about the internal displacement policies and the social context in which the domesticity has failed. The research methodology of this case study in the countryside of Greece is organized through a microhistorical archive, which is able to map and interpret the notions of displacement and domesticity from a bottom-up perspective.

Keywords: Greece, Thessaly, 1960s, internal displacement, resettlement programme, policies.

INTRODUCTION

The modernization era after World War II and the civil war that followed found Greece ready to reconstruct all the spatial and territorial damages in order for a national recovery to be realized. In order to examine the least known and recorded impacts of these modernization processes, this research is focused on the lowlands of Thessaly, at the rural part of central Greece, where we can identify all the socio-political aspects of an internal forced displacement phenomenon.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In order to understand the profile of the Greek nation's topological and architectural history after World War II and the civil war that followed, we should emphasize at the national reconstruction attempt that had its beginning in 1947. The Reconstruction Organization compiled by a transdisciplinary team of experts set the ground for a significant number of infrastructural and architectural projects. We can recognize in this national reconstruction team the personality of Konstantinos Doxiadis, who seemed to have a much more insightful view for this context. The aspects of this reconstruction process were to retrieve the war damages in the country and to implement new productive large scale development projects. The design and implementation of these projects had various impacts on the transformation of the urban but much more the rural part of Greece. The evolution of the rural habitation system, deeply affected by these national development projects, can feed us with significant aspects on the social impact of the modernization processes. However, in order to thoroughly investigate all the details on these impacts, the research concentrates in a single microhistorical case study on the lowlands of Thessaly, which, as an indicative example, aims to feed and broaden the desirable field of research.

The landscape of the lowlands of Thessaly, which is located in the central part of Greece, can summarize the identities, specificities, and changes of the rural habitation process of the country. The field observation and investigation of this landscape are not limited to the data of the geographical boundaries but consider the landscape as an open field of correlations and interactions. Therefore in order to understand the domesticity character of the landscape, we must at first understand the relationships between the state

processes and the local communities acting in it.[1]

THE INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT PROCESS

Forced displacement is a current and relevant topic worldwide, which includes demographic movements such as flight, evacuation, displacement, and resettlement. The causes of this process vary:

a) conflict-induced displacement: armed conflicts, (civil) war, generalized violence, and persecution on the grounds of nationality, race, religion, political opinion or social group.

b) disaster-induced displacement: natural disasters (e.g. floods, earthquakes), environmental change (global warming: e.g. sea-level rise, desertification) and human-made disasters (industrial accidents, radioactivity)

c) development-induced displacement: caused by mining actions and large- scale infrastructure projects like dams, roads, airports or military training grounds

On the countryside of Greece, this internal displacement practice along with the relocation of entire settlements was a significant and multidimensional project that contributed to the organization of the rural habitation system. Key factors of these rapid, ongoing and almost violent transformations of the rural landscape were all the development projects that the modernization acceleration of the 1960s brought, such as the extension of basic infrastructures, electrification, and national road network. All these development projects had a direct impact on the unequal development of the regions of the rural landscape and were the cause of the displacement and resettlement of populations in general.

The dimensions of this phenomenon can be political, social, economic, spatial and technical. Political, since they reflect the unwillingness of the Government and other planning agencies to protect the quality of life of residents in conjunction with the promotion of the development process. Social, because entire societies are moved away from the place they grew up, created their families, developed professional activities and finally they are emotionally tied to each other and to the space that is filled with memories. Economic, since the inhabitants of these settlements have developed economic activities which, in many cases, are separately linked to the specific area and are uniquely associated or largely affected by that. Especially in the case of rural families, the place of residence is the same as the place of economic activity, due to the cultivated land. In addition, on a spatial level, the new installation sites should combine a range of parameters, in order to respond to some basic principles, such as the viability of the new settlements.

THE RESETTLEMENT PRACTICE ON THE LOWLANDS OF THESSALY

This resettlement practice had a strong application in the landscape of the countryside of Thessaly and particularly in the broader region of Karditsa city. The mountain region of Plastiras Lake presents all the typical characteristics of a declining mountainous area: intense population aging and underemployment, under the domination of an extensive farming and forestry sector. The construction of the Plastiras Lake (1959-1962) in order to supply and irrigate the valley with water, resulted in the dissolution of the local agricultural and livestock production systems and the migration of residents to the neighboring plains and cities. The loss of this living space had an impact on the disruption of the contact and social presence of lakeside villages.[2]

In the early 1960s the construction of Plastiras lake, located on the plateau of Nevropolis in Karditsa region, caused a special treaty for population transfer. Nikolaos Plastiras conceived the idea of creating the artificial lake on the plateau of Nevropoli Agrafon, which crossed the river Megdovas. The lake would be used for the irrigation of the plain of the prefecture of Karditsa. The decision for the Megdova dam

construction was taken on 12 December 1961. (Fig.1)

The mountain populations affected by the project moved to properties that were allocated to the boundaries of existing villages in the plain of Karditsa. These new settlements were meant both for housing rehabilitation and labor as they were granted to any property and parts of arable land. The residential settlements established in each village on the lowlands were supposed to accommodate different numbers of people. Assignments were made from a village of the lake region to a village on the lowlands, and this number varied from village to village. (Fig.2)

TRACES OF RURAL DOMESTICITY

A very special case of settlement created by the displacement of these mountain populations is located in Orfana village. (Fig.3) When visiting the village we are confronted with an image of a strictly separated settlement from the main village, in complete desolation and abandonment. This settlement, having a strictly organized spatial structure is standing as the failed trace of an era of dynamic ventures without counterpart dynamic programming. It is located on the periphery of the Orfana village and consists of 92 properties. It is a settlement that its majority has never been inhabited. Most buildings are in their original form, brick. They are abandoned and the majority of them in a state of ruin. Some of them are plastered and painted white but still uninhabited. Abandonment is visible from afar and raises questions and searches around the notion of the rural ruin, its domesticity traces on the landscape and the sociopolitical context in which it was formed.

THE MICROHISTORY OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

At this point, it is crucial to underline the fact that the research of this specific case study of displacement is based on the historical field of “microhistory” as described by Carlo Ginzburg. The concept of microhistory, as a methodological and interpretative tool of historical research, is based on the principle that the selection of a small-scale observation can produce significant results and can also be a tool of a more general strategy.[3] The “indicative example” is considered to be a key element of this method, from which begins the establishment of a unifying framework in order to observe also the “global”. According to Ginzburg, “the constant and intensive analysis of a single case study is able to lead to a proper generalization”.[4] In our case, the “indicative example” will be the constant and intensive study of this ruined residential settlement on the landscape of Thessaly along with the traces of resettlement. Thus, this microhistory of a single and phenomenically minor case study in the rural part of Greece may point out the general context of such cases of displacement due to state policies and their domesticity failure in the modern world. The basic interpretational tool of this observation is the synthesis of an interdisciplinary archive.

The archival practice, in the form of indexes, directories, registries, etc. was one of the mechanisms by which the rational regulation of modernity took place. At the same time, the archive, as one of the sciences of modernity, as Foucault points out, is characterized by the possibility of decentralization, “the common tactic of being able to take distance in a self-critical way from its own traditions”.[5] Thus, this archival practice’s characteristic will lead the research to a more objective mapping of our case study.

As an interpretation mechanism, this “microhistorical” archive is organized through field visits, initially in the wider region of the Megdova dam and then on the microscale of the resettled residential settlements. Some indicative sources of field research for the collection of archive material are: the Greek State’s General Archives (department of Karditsa city), the Palamas Mortgage Office, municipal libraries of the whole Prefecture, the Topographic Service of Karditsa city, the Ministry of Rural Development, the archives

of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, etc.

At the same time, the interdisciplinarity in the archival recording of the events that contributed to this failure of domesticity is highlighted through the tool of oral history. Oral history as a collection of testimonies and experiences is structured around people by animating the story itself and expanding its horizons.[6] We attempt a historical record “from the inside” by taking the subjects who were part of this case of abandonment as objective narrative factors. The process of oral history is an integral part of the archival record, which, among other things, is asked to confirm or not, the narrative that will be produced from the other sources.

MAPPING AND INTERPRETATION OF THE TRACES OF RURAL DOMESTICITY

The state of ruin in Orfana village, in which we observe the physical legacy of this internal displacement process that took place in the landscape of Thessaly, is the springboard for our archival mapping. (Fig.4)

The research begins from the memories, stories, and voices of people who lived through this modernization process of the construction of Megdova dam. The use of oral sources creates new perspectives that go beyond the level of events, structures, and behaviors and illuminate the place in which they are experienced, kept alive, and interpret the past and present of individual and collective subjects. History gets a new dimension once the experiences of every sort of people can be used as the primary source.[7] Interviews also reveal documents, photographs (archive material) that cannot otherwise be enlightened. In our case, the survey of the interviews was initiated in the microhistory of the resettlement practice, at the ruined residential settlement in Orfana village. The two and only families living in the settlement, are the first oral testimonies that can set the beginning for revealing all the transformations of the social structures due to the construction of Megdova dam and the resettlement. They were identified at the site of the study, the abandoned settlement, and were willing to give an interview. An interview, in a free flow form, was chosen in order to highlight the narrative and subjectivity of the recording. The purpose of the research is to compile these narratives and to analyze the different types of evidence in order to construct the history and archive of the settlement. These first two oral testimonies opened the horizons of our mapping to a lot of sources of archival material able to construct and interpret the history and the impacts of this displacement process in the countryside of Thessaly.

In order to understand the differences in the settlement distribution and domesticity, we must look for the beginning and evolution of the form of the settlements and relate them to all the agricultural conditions prevailing in the area. Some elements of these conditions have a permanent character (climate and soil) and others are variable (safety conditions, social structure, cultivation system). [8] Thus, the ongoing interdisciplinary archive, composed through the pre-mentioned methodology and mapping, feeds us with significant aspects of the rural social anthropology, the role of the political systems in rural settlement planning as well as the spatial and architectural models of inhabitation.

At first, from the oral testimonies of the only inhabitants of the resettled residential settlement in Orfana village, we are confronted with the fact of a feeling of spatial “discrimination” from the inhabitants of the existing village. The designed settlement predestinated for the moving population from the mountainous area of Lake Plastiras was organized on the periphery of the existing village of Orfana, having as a strict border the railway. At the official state blueprints, we can identify this spatial planning, that leads to the lack of any neither visional nor social contact through the existing and the resettled inhabitants. This fact was a significant deterring factor for the incoming population to appropriate the new settlement.

Secondly, through the official state laws when the construction of Megdova dam took place, we can

identify the unwillingness of the political system to give emphasis to the social – anthropological profile of the moving populations on the contrary of the strict technical aspects of this reclamation work. As a result, these mountainous moving populations ended up to the countryside, having no experience in different land farming. The given residences came along with specified farming land, but the products that could be farmed and eventually would be able to be the economic resources for these populations were unfamiliar and difficult to appropriate with.

Last but not least, the rural architectural pattern used from the state's design agency, wasn't flexible for any personal intervention. One rectangular residence along with one smaller rectangular rural warehouse was predesigned without taking into consideration the profile of the different families that were supposed to inhabit. As a consequence, the majority of the moving families was unwilling to even finish the construction of these residences and automatically sold them in pursuit of a more custom habitation in the city of Karditsa.

CONCLUSION

The microhistory of this ruined settlement in Orfana village, read and analyzed through an interdisciplinary archive, composes a narrative of a failed domesticity that can be recognized to a lot of cases of rural resettlement due to reclamation infrastructures not only in the Greek landscape but also in a wider geographical context. The methodology that can broaden the research on the impacts of such internal displacement processes on the landscape, should not be limited to a strict discipline, such as history, architecture or sociology, but should derive all the data given from these disciplines in order to compose trans-disciplinary uncontested archival recordings. Such archival recordings will be able to expose the “subconscious” of the rural landscape and possibly redefine the terms and practices of the population resettlement.

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SESSION 3.C

HOME AS CITIZENSHIP

BUILDING IDENTITY THROUGH MANIFOLD DISPLACEMENTS: DWELLING
CULTURES IN URBAN PALESTINE
Alessandra Gola

Building identity through manifold displacements: dwelling cultures in urban Palestine

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Since 1948, the everyday existence of Palestinians is characterised by manifold experiences of displacement. Starting with refugees, passing to exiles, returnees, nomadic communities -the Bedouins-, urbanised villagers, economic and educational migrants, and black-market labours going back and forth from Israel and its settlements in the West Bank, each of these experiences of displacement is connoted by a different relation with temporariness and a different conceptualisation of the home, expressed on the ground by distinctive built structures and everyday practices. At the same time, the various types of displacements can be also read as the outcome of specific aspects of complex historical processes. In so far, the scholarly debate approached the Palestinian case mainly through the lenses of the conflict, hence often overlooking other dynamics that derive less directly from the Israeli occupation and that, nevertheless, are equally core to the construction of the Palestinian socio-spatial identity in the contemporary. This contribution pursues a close-up view of the different homing cultures deriving from two processes of displacement that mostly characterise the today's urban West Bank, explored through the case of two households respectively settled in Al-Amari Refugee Camp and Umm Al-Sharayiet. Although closely situated in the suburb of Ramallah, the study cases represent quite opposite socio-spatial systems coexisting in the city, with Al-Amari being the long-term outcome of the forcible eviction of Palestinians by the Israeli occupation since 1948, developed through incremental and informal dynamics, and Umm Al-Sharayiet a recent neighbourhood largely built by private speculators in response to the internal migration of clerical workers from minor centres across the West Bank. Drawing from Setha Low's concept of "homing the city" (2016) and relying upon an extensive fieldwork that interpolates full-immersive ethnographic methods and architectural analysis, this contribution will redraw the relation with home and temporariness expressed by the two cases, contextualising the experience in the field within the broader frame of displacement processes.

Keywords: Palestine, Ramallah, 1940s, 2010s, subcultures, urban, refugees, economic migrants, everyday practice, built environment, ethnography.

INTRODUCTION: THE CONTEXT AND THE TWO CASES

Since the fall of the Ottoman Empire Palestine has undergone repeated transformations of borders and governmental authorities: in one century its territory and people were variously reshuffled into the British Mandate, Israel, Egypt and Jordan with spots of extraterritoriality, like in the case of Jerusalem and the refugee camps. The conflicts that produced these changes were all-encompassing, and invested territories and borders, laws, micro and macro economies, communities and families, and naturally, caused displacement and migrations.

The less visible side of the geo-political shifts represented in the maps in figure 1 is the manifold experience of displacement that has forged the everyday existence of Palestinians since 1948. Refugees, exiles, returnees, nomadic communities -the Bedouins-, urbanised villagers, economic and educational migrants and black-market labourers going back and forth from Israel and its settlements in the West Bank: each of these figures carries a different relation with temporariness and a different conceptualisation of the home, expressed on the ground by distinctive built structures and everyday practices. At the same time, the various types of displacements can also be read as the outcome of specific aspects of complex historical

processes.

GAPS & CONTRIBUTION

When discussing migratory flows in the Palestinian context, the scholarly debate focusses mainly on migrations caused directly by the colonial policies involving this region, with particular interest for the refugees from the Israeli war campaigns of 1948 and 1967 and the “temporary” settlements that accommodated them. In a lesser way, studies can be found regarding the Palestinian diaspora in the Levant and in Western countries, more often approached through the anthropological and social point of view (Turan, 2011; Khalidi, 1997).

The search for maps regarding the Palestinian diaspora reflects the two-fold problem of this prevailing approach: on the one hand, by remaining on a very large scale the picture of the Palestinian diaspora is as broad as it is general and undetailed; on the other hand, the focus on macro dynamics largely falls short of including the diverse experiences of displacement that characterise the Palestinian Nation today in this portrait, which are still influenced by and framed in the Israeli colonial project, but in a less direct, and often more devious way.

In the light of my nine-year experience of living in the occupied West Bank, I argue that the contemporary identity of Palestine and Palestinians is far more complex than the mere relation with the Israeli military forces, and that the variegated experience of displacements play a crucial role in shaping this identity, or one might better say a composition of identities articulated in sub-cultures and sub-communities (Bhabha, 2012), which materialize spatially through peculiar architectural and urban forms.

Moreover, the prevailing of mono-disciplinary attitudes falls short of capturing the relation between cultural transformations and social constructs, their physical/material manifestation and the dimension of time.

I believe that the knowledge produced around the Palestinian case has reached a point that allows and also urges for a further step towards an interdisciplinary understanding. This is what I ultimately tackle in my research and in this contribution as well.

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I wish to challenge these two points by making reflections on two households in Ramallah,¹ respectively located in the Al-Amari Refugee Camp and the residential suburb of Umm Al-Sharayiet. By means of these two examples, I will try to highlight the different homing cultures and their relation with different processes of displacement characterising today’s urban West Bank.

The theoretical framework for this study builds upon De Certeau’s *Everyday* and looks at the production and reproduction of spaces and spatial performances through the concept of acting as a statement, meant as the ‘appropriation or reappropriation’ that ‘establish[es] a present relative to a time and place; and it posits a contract with the other [...] in a network of places and relations’ (De Certeau, 1984, p. xiii). This quote from De Certeau’s brings to the fore the three components that constitute the pillars of the research methodology for this research: place (a meaningful space), society and time.

In this essay, I approach the everyday environment as the ever-changing outcome of socio-spatial relations occurring throughout time, with the aim to unpack the way diverse processes of displacement fashion the relation between the “house” and broader collective contexts -such as that of the neighbourhood and the city-, with particular interest for the interconnection between the different scales

1 The de-facto administrative capital city of the Occupied West Bank.

that construct the dimension of the everyday.

The contents for this paper were collected through an extensive fieldwork carried out in the study cases throughout 2016 and 2017 based on an empirical approach that combines full-immersive, co-participate and co-produced ethnographic methods and a set of graphic/visual techniques of analysis and representation belonging to the architectural disciplines and applied individually and collectively, with the engagement of members of the local communities and with a group of twenty students from the Faculty of Architecture of Birzeit University.

THE CASE STUDY

Situated nearby to each other in the South-Eastern suburb of Ramallah, Al-Amari Refugee Camp and Umm Al-Sharayiet represent quite opposite socio-spatial systems deriving from different processes of displacement and coexisting in the main Palestinian cities.

The camp of Al-Amari is the long-term outcome of the forcible eviction of Palestinians by the Israeli occupation: informally started in 1948 and formally acknowledged and organised by the UNRWA later in 1952, Al-Amari's current population is mainly formed by refugees who fled from the Israeli war campaigns of 1948 and 1967. Rising initially as an encampment in the rural surroundings of the back-then small settlements of Ramallah and Al-Bireh, Al-Amari developed through incremental and informal dynamics largely based on collective negotiations and self-building. As the near villages of Ramallah and Al-Bireh grew and merged together surrounding the camp, Al-Amari became a de-facto component of the city, fully participating and contributing to its mechanisms and dynamics.

The adjacent Umm Al-Sharayiet is a neighbourhood of recent formation, largely built by private speculators in response to the internal migration of clerical workers from minor centres across the West Bank. Its main development started in the early '90s under the effect of the establishment of the PLO headquarter in Ramallah and the relocation of most prominent Palestinian enterprises, businesses and agencies in Ramallah/Al-Bireh due to the relatively more stable situation of this area during the second Intifada. Regardless of its relatively recent formation, Umm Al-Sharayiet shifted its role and significance within the urban ecosystem of Ramallah/Al-Bireh several times, passing in less than fifty years from being an agricultural area, to an administrative district location for governmental offices, to a residential neighbourhood. The almost simultaneous relocation of public offices by effect of Fayyad's policies² and the construction of the Separation Wall by the Israeli occupation along the borders of Umm Al-Sharayiet caused a major shift in the neighbourhood's position into the local urban hierarchy, becoming suddenly a marginal urban sprawl for lower middle-class employees attracted mainly by the drop of real estate prices.

TWO HOUSES

This paragraph will attempt to outline two processes of home making related to different forms of displacement through the story of two households respectively in Al-Amari Refugee Camp and Umm Al-Sharayiet. The analysis that follows makes an attempt to provide a trans-scale reading of built forms in the light of the underlying social structures and dynamics, starting from the dwelling unit and scaling up to

2 Salam Fayyad was the Minister of Economics within the PLO in the period 2002-2005 and 2007-2012. Fayyad promoted a highly pragmatic approach with neo-liberal imprint (Dana, 2015), focussed on the fashioning of a Palestinian administrative and economic system that could "demonstrate" the reliability of Palestine as a fully-composed and functioning country able to keep control and manage its territories, citizens and, therefore, its security. Part of this overarching policy was the construction of a governmental headquarter in Ramallah, in which to relocate ministries and diplomatic offices previously accommodated in civilian buildings-like adapted apartment buildings- across the main Palestinian cities. Many of such governmental offices were in Umm Al-Sharayiet. Within the local political framework, this act signified the de-facto acknowledgement of Ramallah as capital of Palestine-or the Cis-Jordanian region at least- and was seen by many as a signal of the reneging on the claim to Jerusalem as the legitimate capital city for the entire Palestinian nation.

their aggregation into progressively more complex structures.

The approach proposed here aims to provide a finer-grained understanding of the internal diversity that characterises the Palestinian Nation residing in the West Bank today, its contemporary identity(ies) and its (sub)cultures, bring to the fore the difference in the socio-spatial dynamics developed within the two cases at study.

At the same time, to retrace the processes of home making within different experiences of displacement is a powerful way to grasp the pervasive, multi-layered, often creeping impact of an occupation persisting since seven decades on the everyday lives of civilians. Most importantly, this essay wishes to highlight the capacity of (counter-)agency of the Palestinians in fashioning the best possible everyday existence within very variegated sets of constraints and difficulties.

A HOUSE IN AL-AMARI REFUGEE CAMP

Mahmoud is a young engineer working for the Municipality of Ramallah. The elder brother of four and orphaned by his father, Mahmoud was raised by his mother, who made a living out of a manufacturing activity at home and some financial support from other members of the family, a situation quite common in Al-Amari camp. When we first met, Mahmoud's house was a single-storey building of roughly 80 m² situated along a secondary road in the middle of the camp: replacing the original one-room shelter, the house covers the entire surface of the plot, being delimited on the other three sides by very narrow alleys left by the expansion of the surrounding buildings as a guarantee of the minimum right of passage and ventilation for all the neighbours. The small yard originally in front of the shelter has been progressively filled with new rooms and was eventually roofed. The room facing the larger street was turned into a mini-market by Mahmoud's father: however, after his death, his wife and the rest of the family decided to close the activity, as Mahmoud's mother couldn't see herself comfortable as a single woman working in a "public" facility such as the neighbourhood's drugstore. Mahmoud's mother is the mistress of the family; however, she is progressively handing the most practical part of this role to Mahmoud, as she grows older and as her eldest son has reached maturity and a paid job. In the view of providing for his younger brother -an occasional construction worker in his early twenties-, and his aging mother, over time Mahmoud gradually saved the money and, with his good connections in the neighbourhood and the council of the camp, was able to start building a second floor. Given the density of their 'hara',³ much of the preparation involved the timely anticipation of the intention to build to the neighbours: some of these were previously allowed to have windows looking directly onto Mahmoud's rooftop - used as a terrace for hanging out the washing - and this courtesy was about to be taken back; the stairs to the second floor could only be constructed externally, reducing the road section of one of the alleys, etc. Also, Mahmoud financial means wouldn't suffice alone to pay for the works, meaning helping hands and sponsors among friends and acquaintances had to be sought. Finally, being the only graduate in the family and an orphan at that, it is important for Mahmoud to provide his family with a proper house, as a demonstration of the successful trajectory of the family despite the hardship, and also as a sort of pay-back to the sacrifices of his mother, who for a long time alone played a role that is a typical prerogative of men in the local customs. Following the initial stages of the work proceedings, it appeared evident that the decision over the design lay mainly in Mahmoud mother's hands: this kind of power is locally the indicator of who holds the "honorific leadership" in the family, a role attributed regardless of who materially pays for the project. Despite the limited funding, during the building process Mahmoud's mother also urged the starting of at least part of another floor of the house, so as to make a sort of material statement to the neighbourhood anticipating their future claim for a further portion of space - light, air and view.

3 Arabic term traditionally indicating the socio-spatial entity of the block or the neighbourhood. (Hakim, 1986)

Some important factors underlie the development of a dwelling like that of Mahmoud's, namely the self-design and self-building, the incrementality, the opportunity,⁴ and the social relations within the family and with the neighbouring households.

To produce a living environment from scratch on the premises with self-building and self-design in a condition of precariousness and an overall lack of financial means and expert guidance in practice leads to a heavy reliance on models and images from the people's lives prior to their displacement as refugees. This mechanism equally influences the architectural and the scale of the neighbourhood: despite being apparently very different, the refugee camp considerably follows and redraws the processes that formed the *kasbahs*⁵ in the Levantine region and in historical Palestine. Hence, contemporary techniques are used for building dwellings that feature the traditional layout of the court houses; units grow into family residencies accommodating multiple households which share together a highly collective everyday routine,⁶ and are therefore provided with architectural features that accommodate such habits, following socio-spatial criteria that can be found in historical complexes. On a broader scale, buildings aggregate into introverted clusters that foster social and spatial bonds, in a way that is architecturally and functionally pretty analogous to the typical *housh*⁷ (Hakim, 1986). Seen in this perspective, camps like Al-Amari probably constitute the last places where centenary ways of producing socio-spatial environments in urban contexts survive in the Middle East and continue their evolution in the contemporary.

The factors of incrementality and opportunity come to play together in responding to the conditions of scarcity of space, numerous families and often modest and sporadic incomes. The combination of these conditions triggers what could be called "space-grabbing": families may decide to build not only strictly out of necessity -because of incoming changes in the family structure, like new births or sons approaching the marital age-, but also when circumstances allow, such as when a bit of spare money or some space for extra rooms is available, and favourable social circumstances emerge -as, for example, good terms with the neighbours or the need of one of these to sell or exchange some of their space-.

However, in the crowded social and spatial tissue that of the camp, such a decision is never an individual one. Any change in the spatial layout⁸ is social -and vice versa- and the house is likewise a collective endeavour. Beyond the usual negotiation that takes place in any family nucleus when deciding over the interior arrangements of the dwelling unit, the expansion of a building from a single to multiple units belonging to nuclei from the same family is a matter of power geometries based on the factor of age, gender, social status and leadership skills.

Inserted in the broader picture of the hara, any expansion corresponds to somebody else's shrinkage. This concerns not solely the physical space, but also less material aspects that are nevertheless crucial to people's physical and psychological wellbeing, such as lighting, ventilation, view and, therefore, privacy. Starting from the centre of the plot, where the initial shelter was usually located, buildings tend to expand and merge toward the margins of the respective plots. Such edges are the place where spatial and social negotiations between different families happen and materialise; these are also the actual frontiers where social bonds are more likely to feature, whether in terms of solidarity, indifference or conflict. Buildings and their inhabitants have forcibly to talk to each other: the negotiation of rights and needs hence materialises

4 Intended as the chance to build but also building in a way that is appropriate and opportune for the rest of the community.

5 Fortified citadels

6 Such as sitting together on a daily basis, cooking and eating collectively, taking care of the children and elderly people of the family.

7 Arabic word that designates a cul-de-sac-like cluster of buildings aggregated around a semi-private common court, separated from streets of a more public access by a narrow alley working as a filter space.

8 This involves not only the act of building, but also that of demolishing, annexing or ceding spaces to a counterpart, reviewing the internal design of dwellings or making changes to the external façades.

in the pattern and alternation of openings, screens, filter spaces, common areas.

The collective dimension of home making in the camp is also an economic one. As families are numerous and rapidly increasing and incomes tend to be modest, (re)fashioning the house often requires seeking the contribution of family members and acquaintances in the neighbourhood, either for collecting the amount necessary for paying for the works, or for cutting on building costs by recruiting friends and neighbours to work on the site. The capability of aggregating forces around one's project is a matter of skill in social relations, but it is also part of a kind of non-monetized economy based on the exchange of reciprocal favours⁹.

The combination of all these factors eventually produces a distinctive environment, with a characteristic aesthetic for the built space and also a specific behavioural code and pattern of socio-spatial practices associated to the various spaces of the camp.

UMM ADAM AND UMM AL-SHARAYIET

Umm Adam, a divorced schoolteacher and mother of four, is one of those who moved in the years of the transformation of Umm Al-Sharayiet was engendered via Fayyad's policies and the construction of the Separation Wall. Native from a town in the rural outskirts of Nablus, Umm Adam moved to the city after getting married with an employee in the electrical company. In her eyes, Umm Al-Sharayiet is just a means of staying in Ramallah, a place that in her life means little more than a work place and lodgings: Umm Adam can't wait to return to her village with her children as soon as possible for as long as possible, so to enjoy the country house of her father, to get her daughters and sons to play freely amidst nature, and to enjoy some social life with her siblings and old friends, also finding some relief from her maternal duties by sharing the task with other members of the family. The city doesn't offer her any particular enjoyment: the morphology of the city requires people to move by car or taxi, which she cannot afford, the same way she cannot afford most of the cafes and restaurants downtown, while the neighbourhood doesn't offer more than a drugstore in each road. Her lack of attachment and limited salary push Umm Adam to refrain from investing in her house in Umm Al-Sharayiet: her true home lies in her native village, while her flat in Umm Al-Sharayiet is so small for her and her children that it constantly appears untidy, ramshackle and overcrowded. However Umm Adam's offsprings do not seem to be as nostalgic as their mother, busy as they are cultivating their social networks on the staircases of the building and the surrounding outdoor spaces. This occupation is a matter of concern for Umm Adam, who after schooltime keeps an attentive eye from the window, surveilling the groups of teenagers her son and her elder daughter hang around with in the neighbourhood. In this, at least, the grid of roads and free-standing buildings alternated by empty plots provides some benefits, offering quite a panoramic view on what happens around her flat.

The experience of Umm Adam is very common in Umm Al-Sharayiet: the interaction between the built environment and its inhabitants is permeated by the overarching sense of temporariness. The feeling of marginality and exclusion is also a characteristic of this context, fostered by a poor living environment produced by the overlap of profit-driven design by RE developments on the schematic grid of roads and parcelizations produced by the local planning tools. The response to the undetermined living environment, anyhow, triggers different tactics for appropriating the space, often trying to replicate traditional schemes on new spatial layouts, remaking the hara at least by the practice in space.

Very similarly to what happens in most cities of migration, most people find an accommodation in flats in multi-storey housing complexes built by real estate developers. Being conceived for an unknown third party, the building activity is somehow already approached by companies through a sort of logic of

9 See Mauss (The gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies, 2002)

a disposable architecture, based on the implicit supposition that Umm Al-Sharayiet isn't likely to be the lifetime place for its residents. This combines with the maximisation of profits as the builders' primary goal, pursued by the use of lower quality materials, the reduction of accessory spaces -like living rooms and terraces-, and a total neglect of the design of the outdoor spaces.

The encounter between the architectural production and the effect of governmental regulations in urban planning and building constructions becomes particularly visible at street level, a patchwork of juxtaposed privately-owned open spaces -the setbacks imposed by the building regulations- trapped between the buildings and the asphalt of the roads. The sequence of highly undesigned, uncharacterized outdoor spaces quite strikingly reveals the local incoherence between appropriation and ownership, with setback-yards jointly legally owned by agglomerates of subjects with little or no connection to one another and hence lightly appropriated, alternated by streets, the publicly-owned spaces for which the PA is expected to take full responsibility.

Temporariness, the poor design of both the domestic and urban built environment, the run-down landscape and the economic constraints together constitute a mechanism of segregation for the most fragile strata of the local population, particularly affecting those persons who bear impaired physical or economic autonomy -hence, in different manners, toddlers, the elderly, persons affected by handicaps, women-.

However, the indeterminateness of Umm Al-Sharayiet is also an opportunity: where a lot actually belongs to no-one, anyone can take over at any time, although informally and temporarily. The vibrant life of places like Umm Al-Sharayiet has to be sought in the ephemeral performances of the everyday, with the youngest generations playing a very active role: while the intimate, collective spaces like that of the housh are lacking, the desire to meet is still there and adapts to the corners and recesses of the setbacks. The urban grid took the place of the structure of the architecture of the hara, which traditionally defined socio-spatial micro-systems, and nevertheless the social distinction into haras still survives in people's practices and talks, especially among teenagers, being anchored spatially to gathering points and micro-morphological landmarks -the drugstore of the street, a parking area, a street curve, a drop in the topography-. Urban voids are the terrain for playing, for setting up clashes, or holding block-parties, for continuing rural activities in the city, and so forth.

A FINAL REFLECTION

This essay offers a brief close-up glance on two different realities that characterise today's urban environment in Palestine: the cases cited as examples show quite diverse urban ecosystems, each of which bears a specific social and spatial structure linked to different processes of displacement. A closing reflection looks at the bigger picture in which the study cases are contextualised, noticing how the microcosmos of Al-Amari and Umm Al-Sharayiet participate in the greater dynamics.

The different relationship with time and temporariness expressed through the experience of the two households and the absence in these portraits of a someone, so to say, carrying a gun and wearing a uniform, brings us to realise how seventy years of occupation are no longer a "time of exception", but have rather become the usual framework which the Palestinians are loathe to getting used to, but have to forcibly cope with on a day-to-day basis. Ramallah is what it is, the main receptor for a variety of migrations within the West Bank, because of the said conflict, because of its specific trajectory that overlaps on a very specific local geography. While the scholarly debate around Palestine usually associates the built environment to political issues almost solely in the case of camps and settlements and, in a lesser measure, in few historical kasbahs (Yafa, Acre, Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron), the case of a "modernized" urban

sprawl like that of Umm Al-Sharayiet is no less significant and shows how the persistence of the colonial regime drives and influences the local political apparatus, the attitude in the macro and the micro economy, the social transformation and the matter of inclusion, down to the tiniest aspects of life, even when these resemble those of an ordinary city.

The uneasy environment caused by the Wall and the neoliberal national policies affects the production and reproduction of the national landscapes both socially and spatially, shifting people around on the basis of economic needs or threat, while generating in parallel built environments that work as receptacles of such migrations.

Making a final exercise of overlapping the geography of the Oslo Accords in this suburban area of Ramallah/Al-Bireh reveals another possible layer in the relation between migrations flowing to micro urban areas and the greater geo-political decisions. The invisible lines system superimposed on the territories by the Oslo Accords seem to attract and sort diverse profiles of migrants by the force of the different legal conditions for its inhabitants, in terms of guarantee of security and autonomy, and therefore also economic perspectives such as how security and administrative sovereignty impact on land tenure, land prices, and how they affect the more or less precarious legal status of buildings and properties, not to mention the taxation of private individuals and enterprises. Put in simple terms, what is more secure and stable (areas A) costs more: a better guarantee of security, legality and stability becomes a commoditised asset, an investment that implies financial means and specific expectations for the future.

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FIGURES

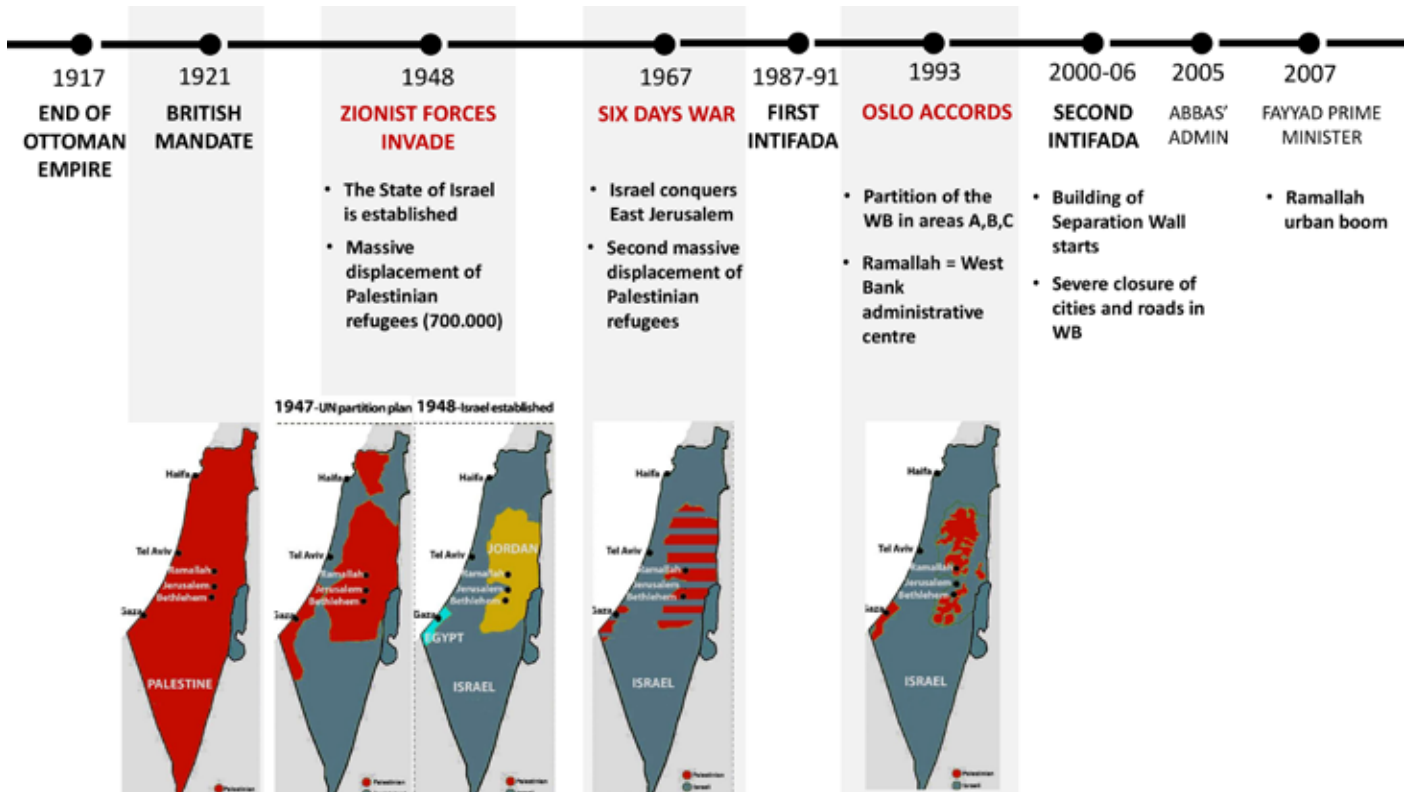


Figure 1
A brief timeline of Palestine and the transformation of its territories and boundaries

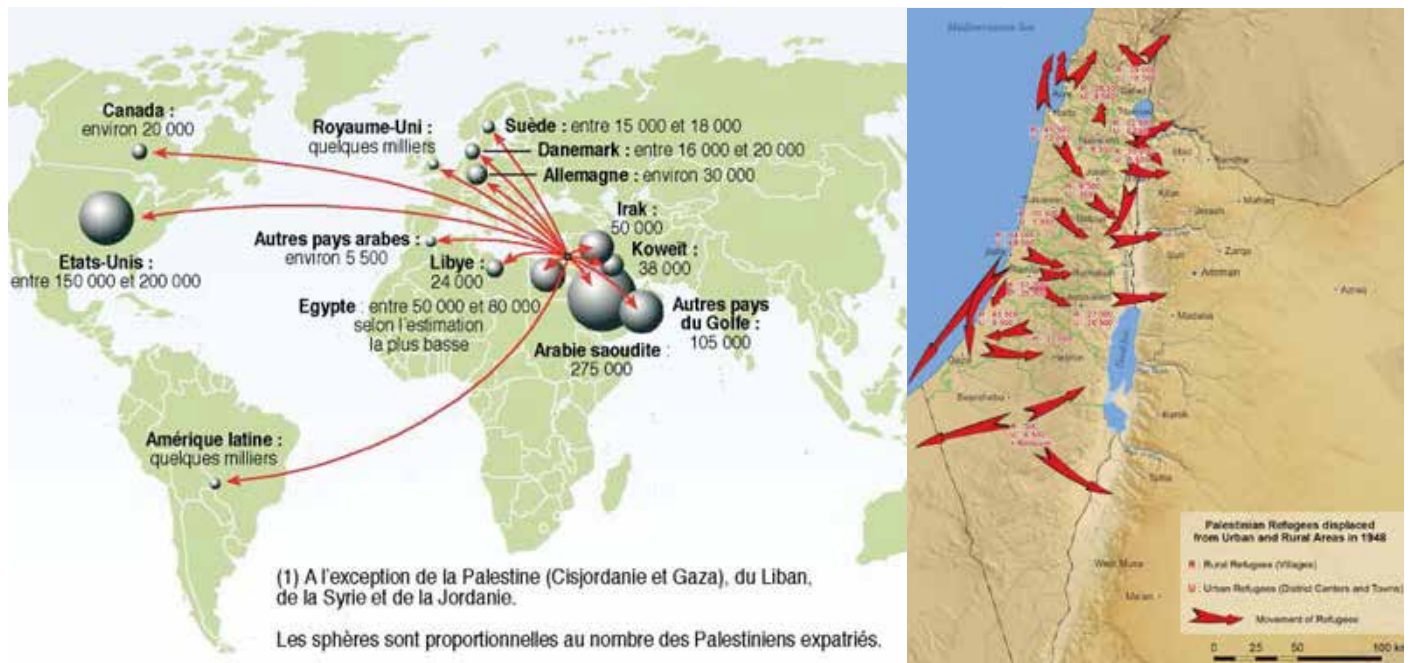


Figure 2
Maps representing the Palestinian diaspora. On the left: the Palestinian diaspora in the world (Rekacewicz, 2002). On the right: the exodus of Palestinians during the Nakba, 1948, in Husseini, J. A. 2013. Jordan and the Palestinians. In Ababsa, M. (Ed.), Atlas of Jordan : History, Territories and Society. Beyrouth : Presses de l'Ifpo.

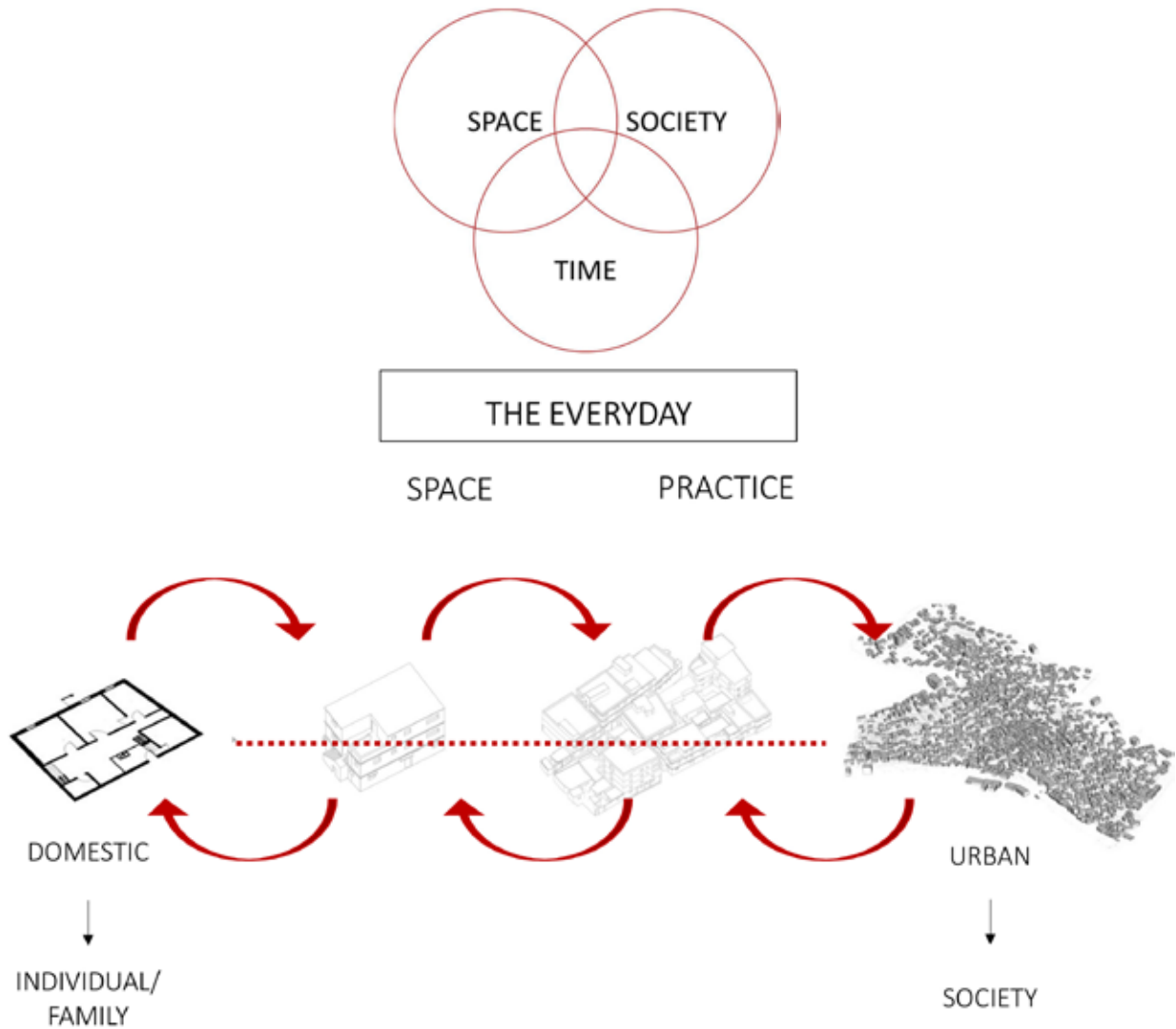


Figure 3
The elements for the methodological approach to this research

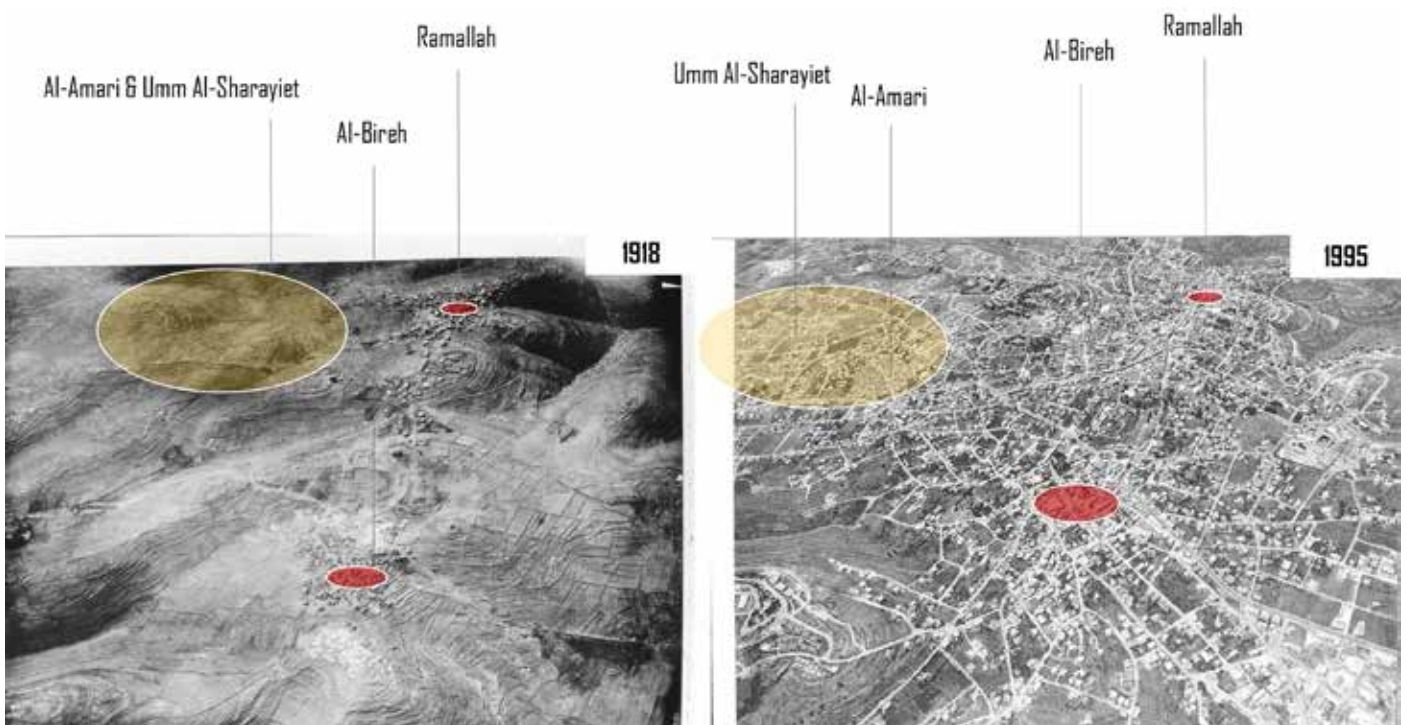


Figure 4
The location of the study cases in the broader context of the development of Ramallah/Al-Bireh from 1918 to 1995.



Figure 5
The relations between buildings in Al-Amari camp

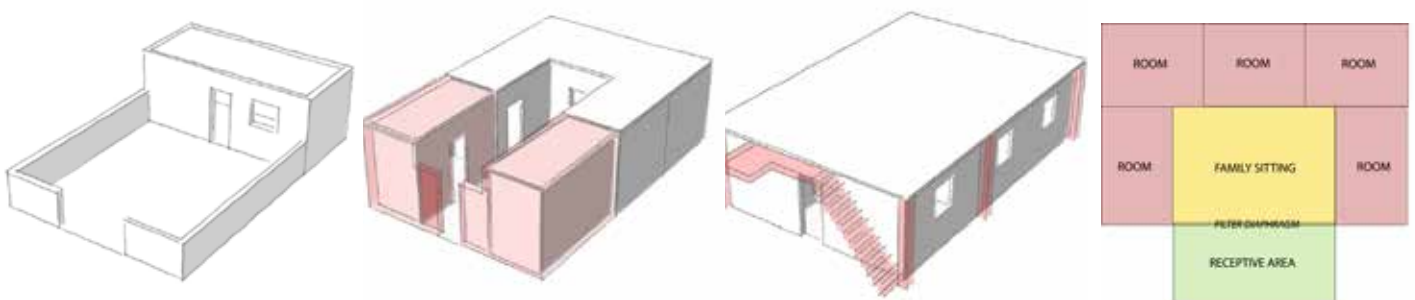


Figure 6
Schematization of the incremental development of a dwelling unit from the one-room shelter and the internal layout.



Figure 7
A view from Mahmoud's rooftop before the start of the construction works.



Figure 8
The view from Umm Adam's living room.



Figure 9

street views in the very surroundings of Umm Adam's apartment. From left to right: (1) the streetscape; (2) the ephemeral geography of the temporary appropriation of offsets by women and children; (3) the overlap of uses of urban voids: a playfield and a dumpyard.



SOCIO-SPATIAL AGGREGATORS

ANCHOR-ELEMENTS REGULATING THE METABOLISM AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

- Encounter
- Micro-economy
- Exchange of information
- Control
- Receptor/compensator for domestic functions



SPACES FOR SOCIAL CONFLICT

- **INSTRUMENTAL:** OVERLAP OF GROUPS OF USERS & THEIR INTERESTS
- **PERFORMATIVE:** STAGING THE DISPUTE
- **CATALIZER:** MEDIATION

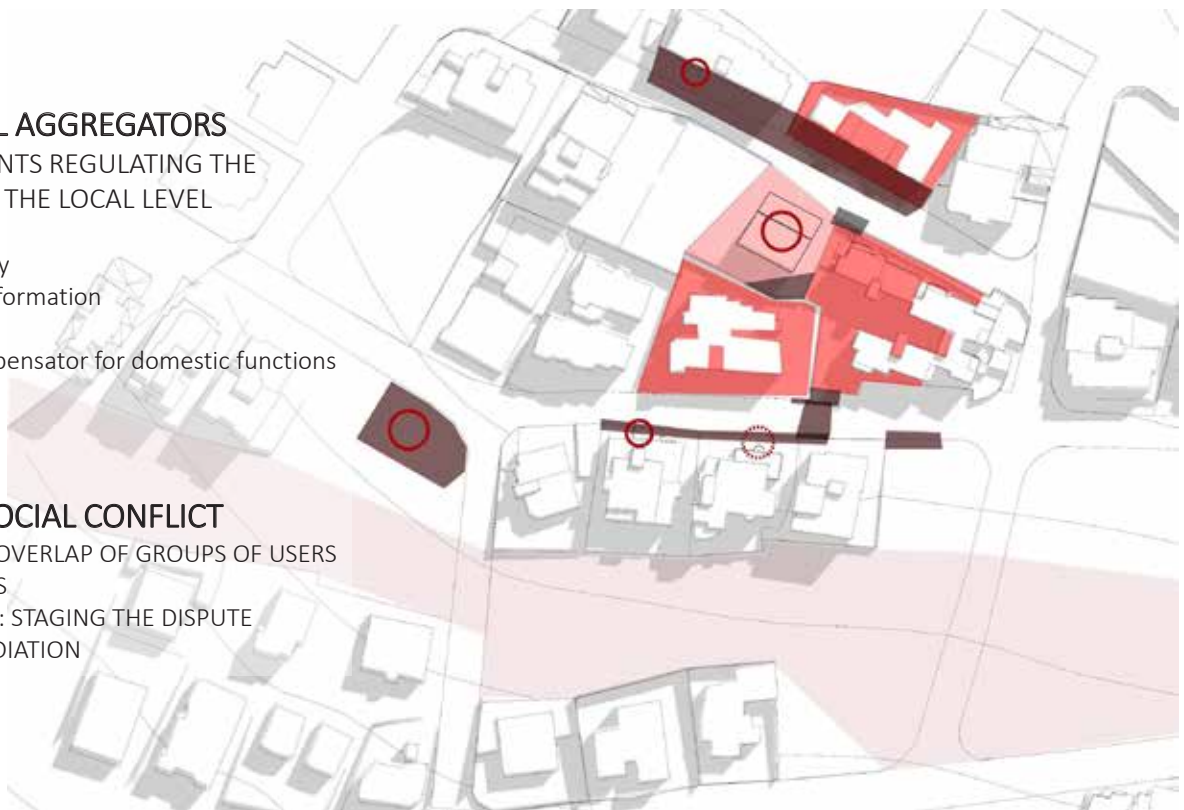


Figure 10:

Mapping the invisible geography of aggregation and encounter around Umm Adam's house.

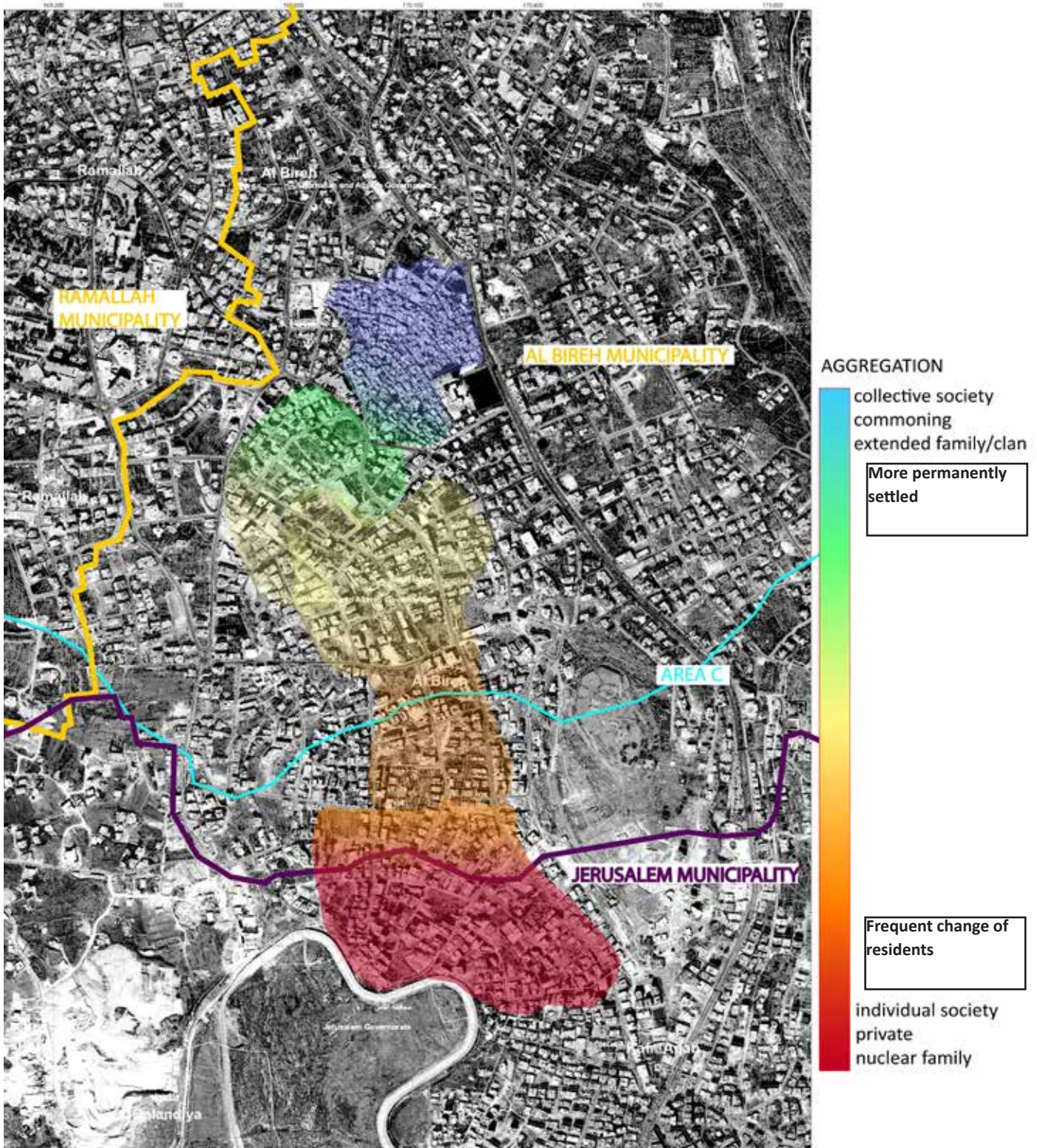


Figure 11
 Overlapping political boundaries on the local socio-spatial geography of temporariness.

SESSION 3.D

PUBLIC HOUSING AND ITS (DIS)CONTENTS

ARCHITECTURE AS AN ACTOR: TWO POST-WAR CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS
OF THE QUARTIERE TUSCOLANO II IN ROME

David Escudero

BEFORE YOU CAN MAKE A HOME, YOU NEED TO FIND A HOUSE.
HOW VOLUNTEERS SUPPORT REFUGEES IN FLANDERS IN THE SEARCH FOR
HOUSES AND/OR HOMES.

Dirk Geldof, Louise D'Eer, Lore Robeyns

Architecture as an actor: two post-war cinematic representations of the Quartiere Tuscolano II in Rome.

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Quartiere Tuscolano II in Rome was designed in 1950 within the INA-Casa national reconstruction programme. Documentary Case per il popolo (Damiani, 1953) and film Mamma Roma (Pasolini, 1962) were shot there. This contribution uses these two cinematic representations as a lens for examining how this neighbourhood was depicted at that time. Furthermore, since these two pieces of footage associate very different, if not opposite, meanings to the same architecture, some questions will be addressed: Which feelings for the home were highlighted? Which of its attributes were important and which were omitted? Or, what was life like before the Quartiere?

Keywords: Italian dopoguerra, representation, cinema, documentary, INA-Casa.

QUARTIERE TUSCOLANO II IN ROME

Quartiere Tuscolano II in Rome was designed by a group of architects led by Mario de Renzi and Saverio Muratori in 1950 and finished in 1954 (Fig. 1).¹ The neighbourhood is the second phase of a wider urban project, the first phase of which was designed by several architects including Mario Paniconi, Giulio Pediconi and Franco Minissi, and its third by Adalberto Libera, who designed the famous neighbourhood known as the ‘horizontal housing unity’ [unità d’abitazione orizzontale]. The three phases were constructed as part of the INA-Casa national reconstruction programme. Titled ‘Plan for increasing workforce employment, housing for employees’ [Piano incremento della occupazione operaia, case per lavoratori], this ambitious plan was approved in February 1949 with the dual objectives of combating unemployment and providing housing for the workforce. The initial seven-year plan was extended for another seven years (1949-56 and 1956-1963), and finally the INA-Casa built around 350,000 homes (Beretta Anguissola & Piano Inacasa, 1963).²

In the Quartiere Tuscolano II, de Renzi and Muratori proposed a neighbourhood for 18,000 people—3,150 homes—over a surface of 35.5 hectares, combining squared and star-shaped towers, rows of three- or four-storey buildings and long open-block buildings (Fig. 2). Despite having been designed by different architects, they retained a general tone that made them recognisable as part of the same set. The buildings shared to a greater or lesser extent the proportions of the openings, the colours of the frames and sunshades, the prominent balconies and some of the details in the decorative elements (Fig. 3). This is due to the fact that the architects designed the neighbourhood in accordance with the premises defined by INA-Casa in their first two technical manuals (“Piano incremento,” 1949; “Piano incremento,” 1950).

In the same way, it is easy to find similarities with other INA-Casa neighbourhoods, such as the Quartiere Tiburtino in Rome, the Quartiere INA-Casa in Cesate and the Quartiere di Villa Gordiani in Rome, to name but a few. They were characteristic of the landscape and easy to distinguish due to their expansive surrounding spaces, striking colours, prominent balconies and variety of house styles (Beretta Anguissola & Piano Inacasa, 1963). In addition, INA-Casa promoted a school of thought about the home that went above and beyond simply quantitative factors. According to the INA-Casa’s instructions, the house should

1 The team also included: Lucio Cambellotti, Francesco Fariello, Giuseppe Perugini, Giulio Roisecco, Dante Tassotti and Luigi Vagnetti.

2 On the origins of the INA-Casa see also (Nicoloso, 2010; Istituto Luigi Sturzo, 2002).

contribute to shaping the urban environment — taking into account the spiritual needs of real humans and not abstract beings: individuals who do not like or understand the indefinite and monotonous repetition of the same housing type, different only in its number (“Piano incremento,” 1949).

This approach implies an interest in the quality of the home, since increasing the number of homes or concentrating occupation were of less interest than ensuring that the houses satisfied the physical and psychological needs of their inhabitants. The manuals stated that housing had been considered solely as an economic-construction problem, relegating the human, material and spiritual natures to secondary statuses (“Piano incremento,” 1949). Thus, ‘perfection’ was demanded in the development of the new homes, based on four equally important levels: economy of space, economy of materials and time, family well-being and aesthetic value (“Piano incremento,” 1949). This criticism is consistent with Ernesto N. Rogers’ (1946) earlier warning as editor of *Domus*:

*‘A house is no house if it is not warm in winter, cool in summer, serene in every season, receiving the family in harmonious spaces. A house is no house if it does not contain a corner for reading poetry, an alcove, a bathtub, a kitchen. This is the house of man. And a man is no man if he does not possess such a house’.*³

THE PROBLEM OF DWELLING DURING THE ITALIAN ‘DOPOGUERRA’

After the war, Italy needed more than five millions new residential units, to deal with large internal migratory flows throughout the peninsula and from the countryside to the cities (Beretta Anguissola & Piano Inacasa, 1963). During this period, cinema was fundamental in portraying the spatial form of the time. Urban destruction, the housing shortage, hopelessness and the lack of a national identity favoured the emergence of a cinematographic movement that reflected the harshness of the time, known as neorealism.⁴

The first neorealist films, especially *Obsession* (1943) [*Ossessione*] and *Rome, Open City* (1945) [*Roma, città aperta*], started a trend, and in just over five years, a number of films that reinforced this discourse, such as *Paisan* (1946) [*Paisà*], and *The earth trembles* (1948) [*La terra trema*], were released. At the same time, there was international recognition from the Oscars awarded to *Shoeshine* (1947) [*Sciuscià*] and *Bicycle Thieves* (1948) [*Ladri di biciclette*]. As such, by 1950, several of the most-representative neorealist films had already been produced, although subsequently, notable contributions were made by *Miracle in Milan* (1951) [*Miracolo à Milano*], *Umberto D* (1952), *La Strada* (1954), and *Rocco and his brothers* (1960) [*Rocco e i suoi fratelli*], among others. Neorealism extended throughout the decade of the 1950s, and it was diluted little by little at the beginning of the 60s. There is no consensus about its origin or end.

But not only cinema focused on the problems of reconstruction. Remarkable documentaries also represented urban phenomena, such as Michelangelo Antonioni’s *Nettezza Urbana* (1948) [*Urban Cleanliness*], Vittorio Sala’s *045: Ricostruzione edilizia* (1952) [*045: Housing reconstruction*] and *Le case degli italiani* (1956) [*The houses of the italians*], Giorgio Ferroni’s *Ai margini della città* (1954) [*At the margins of the city*] and Luigi Scattini’s *Borgate della riforma* (1954) [*Villages of the Reform*].⁵ In the same qualitative tone with which INA-Casa and some architectural voices such as Rogers, Zevi and others had manifested their concern for housing, all these audio-visual materials represented the problem of dwelling from a discursive perspective that contributed to the creation of a visual culture at a key moment in Italy’s reconstruction.

3 Translated and reprinted in (Ockman, 1993).

4 The term ‘neorealism’ has always been controversial. On its general context see (Marcus, 1987; Shiel, 2006)

5 On these documentaries see (Ciacci, 2010).

Two of these pieces chose the Quartiere Tuscolano II as the setting and principal actor: the 1953 propaganda documentary *Case per il popolo* [Homes for the people], directed by Damiano Damiani, sponsored by INA-Casa and digitalised only recently by the Cineteca di Bologna; and the 1962 film *Mamma Roma*, directed by Pier Paolo Pasolini and starring Ana Magnani. The same architecture plays a decisive role in these two pieces of footage and raises thought-provoking questions about the concept of home. Which feelings for the home were highlighted? Which of its attributes were important and which were omitted? Or, what was life like before the Quartiere?

CASE PER IL POPOLO

The nine-minute-long documentary, *Case per il popolo*, depicts Italian society's progress in leaving behind substandard housing through the eyes of a girl called Mariuccia, who gets a house in the Quartiere Tuscolano II. In it, the nuances brought by the two narrators are as relevant as the images, reinforcing the message conveyed by the visual representation.

The first scene introduces the deplorable housing situation, focusing on a building built on a rock where, as the camera pans down, a cave appears and a man emerges, walking out of what is his house. Next, a series of squalid constructions shown in the foreground with the city in the background serves to underscore the problem. Some have even been built on what was once a grandstand for military parades, which for the male narrator are 'precarious solutions for a distressing problem: housing' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).⁶

The young protagonist is then shown in the settlement in which she lives: a group of self-built shacks where families live alongside chickens, dogs and other animals. The water source that supplies them serves some five hundred people, and there Mariuccia appears collecting water, something that she has to do, they say, twenty times a day. 'What will become of these children growing up without a home? Of these children with marked faces, already adults? They are surely already sick, in body and mind: they need to get off the streets' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).⁷

After some references to the difficulties of finding a job, the Quartiere Tuscolano II introduces hope: from the Parco degli Acquedotti, in the south-east of the neighbourhood, two of the towers appear — one on each side of the image — with the low-rise housing blocks in the background. The camera pans sideways and shows more of the neighbourhood's buildings until Mariuccia appears, her back to the camera, accompanied by two other children on a boulder, holding each other's hands and looking at the buildings (Fig. 4). The scene changes. A siren sounds and a line of workers returns to work. The male narrator then mentions the INA-Casa programme and its dual purpose of providing housing and work, just as the last sections of the Quartiere Tuscolano II are shown being built: the western towers and the last of the low-rise buildings. But, as the female narrator points out — and as the technical manuals advised — INA-Casa wants to build 'not only homes, but beautiful homes, where people can rest well, and a kind living-room. Homes created from the warm imagination of the architects who have accumulated the latest international experiences on the subject' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).⁸

Alongside panoramic views of the neighbourhood, the female narrator describes how, when walking through these neighbourhoods, one cannot tire of the variation in appearances, colour schemes and elevations. They are sequences that start as close-ups of a detail and as they pan out they reveal a street

6 'Soluzioni precarie di un angoscioso problema: la casa'. Translated by the author.

7 'Che ne sarà di questi bambini cresciuti senza una casa? Di questi bimbi dei visetti segnati, già adulti? Saranno dei già malati, nel corpo e nello spirito: bisognerebbe sotrarli alla strada, subito'. Translated by the author.

8 'Costruire non solo case, ma belle case, dove sia sereno il riposo, e piacevole il soggiorno. Case create dalla affettuosa fantasia di architetti che hanno fatto tesoro delle più avanzate esperienze internazionali in materia'. Translated by the author.

or a general image, always at eye level (Fig. 5). While the three children are seen entering a building, the camera climbs following their path and the male narrator points out: 'spaces that expand by showing the sky, open-air staircases that seem to invite the sun in. And where it was necessary to repeat the architectural module, colours were introduced in order to differentiate each house' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).⁹ The camera then travels around other neighbourhoods built by INA-Casa, such as the Quartiere Stella Polare in Ostia and the Quartiere San Paolo a Valco in Rome, both projects by De Renzi and Muratori. Afterwards, on returning to the Quartiere Tuscolano, long panoramic aerial shots from Via Selinunte towards the north-west show the neighbourhood's longest building, still under construction, until the camera stops in a square full of children playing and the female narrator tells them: 'here there is good air, children: it is a corner of calmness in the world, all for you, away from the streets' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).¹⁰

Thereupon, the camera finally goes inside the house. Mariuccia opens the door and enters her new home. The female narrator addresses her again: 'go on, Mariuccia, this is your new home: light, newly plastered walls, with the smell of fresh paint' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).¹¹ The girl takes off her coat and a dialectic is established through the *mise en scène* with her face and the sink tap. Here, as the prelude to the end of the documentary, that first image of the cave returns; this time, however, it is boarded up and one hears that: 'the caverns will be bricked up, hidden forever as an offence against human dignity' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).¹² Back to the house, after a tour of the hallway and two rooms without seeing any windows, Mariuccia is ultimately seen leaning on the sink staring at the tap with a look of surprise. She extends her hand and manages to turn it on, the water pouring out of it in torrents (Fig. 6). She leaves it on and her hand disappears from the image. After lingering on the shot with the tap, a close-up of the girl appears and the female narrator says: 'No, this is not a fable, Mariuccia; from now on, the water will not be so bitter' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).¹³ The documentary concludes with an aerial shot from a plane that pans over the Quartiere Tuscolano II, while the male narrator points out that:

'These new INA-Casa neighbourhoods, which together could form a city the size of Naples, belong to the Italian people. They are the expression of a generous act of social solidarity for the unemployed and the homeless. Thus, by contributing to this great work, every Italian can feel proud to have helped those who have suffered the most' (Gestione INA-Casa, & Damiani, 1953).¹⁴

MAMMA ROMA

Pasolini recounts the fate of an ex-prostitute, Mamma Roma, who gives the film its name, and her son Ettore, after moving to their new home in the Quartiere Tuscolano II in search of a better life. After moving, Mamma Roma starts selling fruit and vegetables on a street market stall. However, far from making progress, a series of misfortunes gradually chip away at their prosperity until the tragic end when Ettore dies sick and alone in prison and Mamma Roma attempts to commit suicide from the window of her house.

Ettore was 16 years old and lived in Guidonia, a town some 30 kilometres from Rome, where Mamma

9 'Spazi che si dilatano mostrando il cielo, scale aggirano che paiono invitare il sole ad entrare. E là dove era necessario ripetere il modulo architettonico, ecco intervenire il colore, ad differenziare casa da casa'. Translated by the author.

10 'Qui c'è aria buona bambini! È un angolo di mondo sereno, tutto per voi, lontano dalla strada'. Translated by the author.

11 'Vieni avanti Mariuccia, questa è la tua nuova casetta: muri candi, appena intonacate, odore di vernice fresca'. Translated by the author.

12 'Le caverne saranno murate, nascoste per sempre come un'offesa alla dignità dell'uomo'. Translated by the author.

13 'No, questa non è una favola Mariuccia. D'ora in poi l'acqua non sarà più tanto amara'. Translated by the author.

14 'Questi nuovi quartieri INA-Casa, che uniti insieme potrebbero formare una città delle dimensioni di Napoli, appartengono al popolo italiano. Sono l'espressione di un generoso atto di solidarietà sociale verso i disoccupati e i senzatetto. Così, nel contribuire a questa opera grandiosa, ogni italiano può essere orgoglioso di aver aiutato chi ha sofferto di più'. Translated by the author.

Roma goes to find him in order to take him to Rome with her. She tells him she would take him to a real home, beautiful, full of respectable, high-class people (Arco Film, & Pasolini, 1962). So, she takes him temporarily to the small room in the Garbatella neighbourhood where she was living while waiting for the death of her elderly husband with whom she had entered into a marriage of convenience when she was 14 and he was 65. At that very moment, her former pimp appears and forces her to prostitute herself again for money, promising that it will be the last time and he will disappear. While she engages in prostitution, Mamma Roma recalls that her elderly husband is about to die and resolves that she will not go back onto the streets. Indeed, after the funeral they move to the Quartiere Tuscolano II and, through blackmail, she gets Ettore a job as a waiter in a restaurant. Freed from prostitution, from her pimp, from her husband, and with work for her, for her son and a new house in an 'upper class' neighbourhood, Mamma Roma restarts her life.

From that moment, the film mainly takes place in the Quartiere Tuscolano. Mamma Roma's house is at number 47 on *Via Treviri*,¹⁵ in the most representative building of the part designed by Muratori and de Renzi (Fig. 7). The street market where Mamma Roma runs a stall is held on *Via Lucio Sestio* and several scenes take place in the vicinity of *Via Sagunto*, which frames phase II of the neighbourhood. Two nearby locations are also notable for their significant presence. On one hand, the *Parco degli Acquedotti*, a park with aqueduct ruins where the plot develops around Ettore and his new friends (Fig. 8). On the other, the dome of the nearby *Parrocchia San Giovanni Bosco* and its surroundings, to which Pasolini makes reference with frequent panoramas to support the discourse on religion, which underlies the film.

The ideal that Mamma Roma had expected on moving gradually fades away. She expected that Ettore would find well-educated friends and a promising future, far from a life of delinquency. However, the friends that Ettore meets when he arrives in the neighbourhood turn out to be jobless hustlers who have no qualms about stealing from people dying in hospital. Bruna, Ettore's good-looking lover, does not live up to the ideal either, as she turns out to be a crook who will love anyone for convenience. Finally, the past catches up with Mamma Roma and her pimp reappears, becoming the trigger by blackmailing her into returning to prostitution again and giving him money in exchange for not telling Ettore that she was a prostitute. By that point, Ettore had already quit his job, already knew that his mother had been a prostitute, was under arrest for trying to steal a radio from a patient in the hospital, and had fallen ill with a fever that would lead to his death in prison. Upon hearing the news of his death, Mamma Roma immediately goes to her apartment to jump out of the window and end her life (Fig. 9).

DISCUSSION

The comparative study of the Quartiere Tuscolano II through the reality, the film, and the documentary, is enriched when the approach shifts from cinematography towards architecture, and not the other way around. That is to say that it contemplates cinematography as a generator, as an active element, and not just as a passive medium of a visual record. In particular in this case, where the physical space is the same but two representations of it associate it with different values. It is, therefore, a question of considering that a cinematographic representation has the ability to change, configure and even create spatial contexts by itself. In other words, the moving image is presented as a vehicle for the significance of a physical space with which images, feelings, memories or desires are associated.

In this sense, Mamma Roma and *Case per il popolo* associate very different, if not opposite, meanings to the neighbourhood: a symbol of prosperity in *Case per il popolo*; a symbol of decadence in Mamma Roma. The same environment that De Renzi and Muratori designed in 1950 to provide a home for workers was,

15 Ettore mentions the address, but it is wrong: *Via Calpurnio Fiamma* 47, apartment #24.

in 1953, capitalised on as the flagship of INA-Casa's progress, not only offering houses but quality homes and, in 1962, was the scene of a model in collapse, a neighbourhood whose dynamics not only prevented the former prostitute from rebuilding her life, but also prompted her suicide and her son's death. The neighbourhood destroys Mamma Roma's hopes of progress, returning her to the poverty into which she was born; comparable to the poverty in which Mariuccia was born, for whom her new home is a guarantee of wellbeing.

That said, representation itself reveals what qualities and resources are used to associate certain values with the home, whether positive or negative. The houses that are differentiated by their colour in the documentary are lost in the black and white of the film. The squares where, in the documentary, innocent children play protected from the streets, are occupied in the film by adolescent hustlers who steal from hospitals. The concept of home, which in *Casa per il popolo* is conveyed by associating the values of prosperity, hygiene, wellbeing and access to basic services such as running water, is represented in *Mamma Roma* by hopelessness, frustration and impotence in a physical environment that condemns everyone who inhabits it.

Last, even the intentions of the INA-Casa programme to provide houses avoiding 'indefinite and monotonous repetition' and 'different only in its number' were blurred when Pasolini placed *Mamma Roma's* home in the most monotonous building in the Quartiere (Fig. 10). In fact, in the documentary, the interior of the house only appears once and is a definitive sign of prosperity with the water from the tap. In the film, the interior appears four times, with something negative happening on three of those occasions: in one, Ettore steals a vinyl in order to resell it and buy a necklace for Bruna; in another, the pimp reappears to extort *Mamma Roma*; and in another, *Mamma Roma* tries to commit suicide from the window. The idea of home that, in the documentary, is an object of longing, a symbol of progress, is relegated in the film to providing a modicum of privacy while life takes place outside it. Decadence and prosperity begin in the neighbourhood and end in the home itself. Two sides of the same coin, two representations of the same architecture.

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FIGURES



Figure 1

Aerial photograph of the Quartiere Tuscolano II, circa. 1954, published in the magazine *Architettura Cantiere*, 16, 1958, Gorlich Editore, Milano, pp. 84-89. Author: unknown.

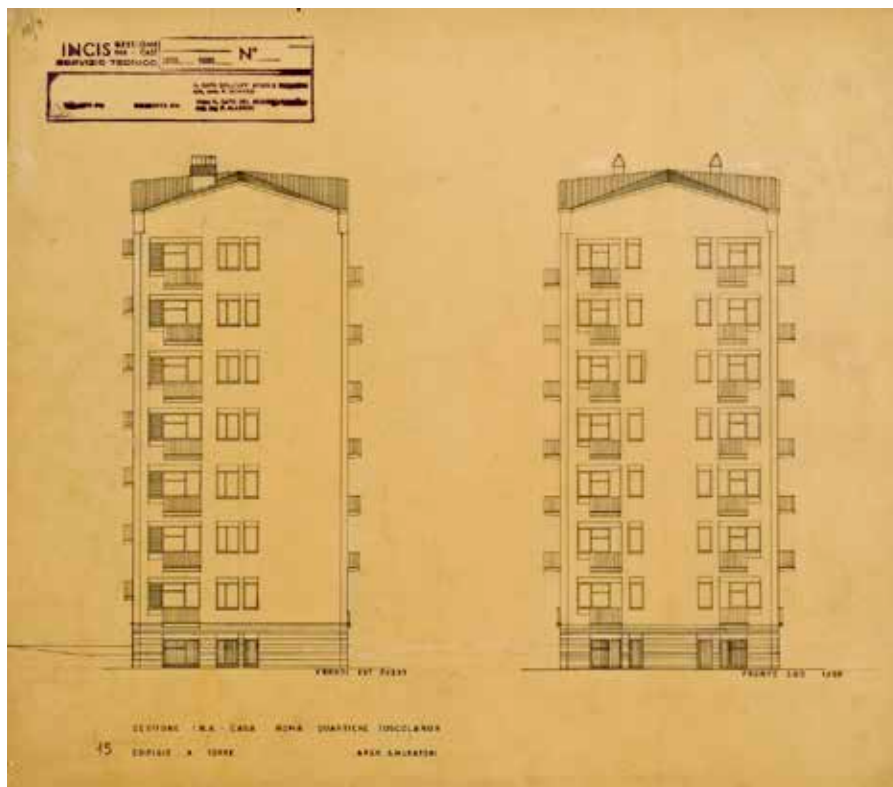


Figure 2

Elevation of residential tower at Via Cartagine. Quartiere Tuscolano II project. From *Arch. Mario de Renzi*, circa. 1951. © Fondo de Renzi, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Roma.



Figure 3

View from Via del Quadraro to the north-west, circa. 1954, published in the magazine *Architettura Cantiere*, 16, 1958, Gorlich Editore, Milano, pp. 84-89. Author: unknown.



Figure 4

Mariuccia arriving to the Quartiere Tuscolano II. Still from *Case per il popolo*. Damiano Damiani, 1953. Fondo audiovisivo, Archivio storico INA Assitalia (Assicurazioni Generali).



Figure 5

View from Via Paestum to the south-east. Still from *Case per il popolo*. Damiano Damiani, 1953. Fondo audiovisivo, Archivio storico INA Assitalia (Assicurazioni Generali).



Figure 6

Maruccia trying to pour water for the first time. Still from *Case per il popolo*. Damiano Damiani, 1953. Fondo audiovisivo, Archivio storico INA Assitalia (Assicurazioni Generali).



Figure 7

Mamma Roma and Ettore arriving to their new house at the Quartiere Tuscolano II. Still from Mamma Roma. Pier Paolo Pasolini, 1962.



Figure 8

Ettore at the Parco degli Acquadotti and the Quartiere Tuscolano II in the background. Still from Mamma Roma. Pier Paolo Pasolini, 1962.



Figure 9

Mamma Roma trying to commit suicide by jumping from the window. Still from *Mamma Roma*. Pier Paolo Pasolini, 1962.

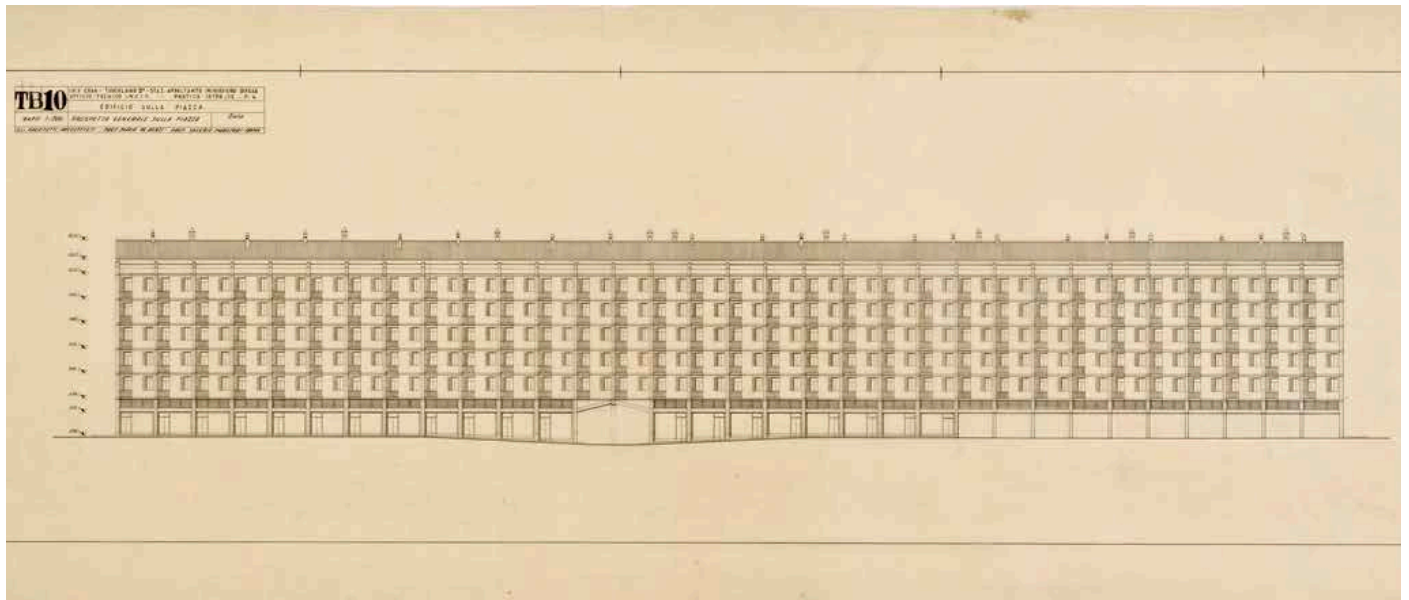


Figure 10

Elevation of residential building at Largo Spartaco where Mamma Roma lived. *Quartiere Tuscolano II* project. From Arch. Mario de Renzi, circa. 1951. © Fondo de Renzi, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Roma.

Before you can make a home, you need to find a house.

How volunteers support refugees in Flanders in the search for houses and/or homes.

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As current regulations in Belgium require refugees to find a dwelling within two months after recognition, there is a pressing need for housing support. Volunteers have been increasingly taking up this task. Based on research for the Flemish government in 2018-2019, we report on initiatives in which volunteers take up responsibility in the search for houses and/or homes of refugees. We critically reflect on the possibilities and limitations of volunteers in the search for housing, and we present a typology of housing initiatives for refugees, with special interest in developing new forms of accommodation for refugees, based upon case studies and in-depth interviews.

Key words: Refugees, housing, housing path-ways, homing, volunteers.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A HOME AS A NEW STARTING POINT FOR REFUGEES

Resettling after displacement is crucial and complicated. According to Fozdar & Hartley (2014) creating a 'home' is crucial in giving refugees a feeling of belonging. The definition of home, is however affected by variables such as social class, gender, age and ethnocultural background. Consequently, the individual ways of experiencing home vary. Furthermore, home is not only a place of residence, but also a set of meaningful relationships, recollections and aspirations (Boccagni, 2016). Nevertheless, the two belong together; the material environment influences the emotions and social involvement of a person. A house and a home are therefore inextricably linked. Although finding a suitable, safe house in itself is not enough to create a home, it is an essential condition for being able to settle and integrate successfully (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014).

Additionally, Boccagni (2016) argues home is not a static concept but a development over space and time; a process through which people negotiate a sense of home vis-à-vis their external circumstances. Housing is therefore one of the immediate needs that refugees experience and (not) finding a home has long-term effects on integration (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014). The opposite is also true, however; poor living conditions hamper the integration process in the new society and therefore lead to poor health, and poor social and economic results (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014). However, little research on homing of refugees has been done in Flanders (Geldof, 2018b).

HOUSING SUPPORT FOR REFUGEES IN FLANDERS

After the 2015 refugee 'crisis' - which was hardly a 'crisis' in Belgium compared to EU-countries such as Greece, Italy or Germany - the federal government invested in extra refugee centers. The Flemish government granted additional financial support for social organizations (Centra voor Algemeen Welzijnswerk CAW & OCMW's) and professionals in order to support refugees in their integration process and their search for a dwelling. However, in 2018 the additional financial assistance for most of these

(temporary) housing support came to an end (D'Eer, Robeyns & Geldof, 2019).

Such housing support however is necessary. The housing market in Belgium is dominantly a private market. Around 70% of all Belgian citizens are house-owners. The social housing sector is rather small, compared to the Netherlands. Only 10% of all dwellings in Flanders are social housing apartments, and around 100.000 people and families are on a waiting list for a social dwelling. The private rental market thus is rather limited, certainly for renters with a small budget. As a result, there is a strong pressure on this rental market and competition is hard. Prices go up, certainly for houses and apartments of lower quality. In cities such as Brussels, Gent or Antwerpen there is a housing crisis for vulnerable low income groups (Winters, et al, 2015; Verstichele, 2018; Vlaamse Woonraad, 2017; Geldof & Vandekerckhove, 2018).

Refugees are accommodated at refugee centers during their asylum procedure. Once they are given international protection and they are recognized as refugee, they have to leave the asylum-center within two months (a period that can be expanded with an extra two months). In Belgium, refugees are responsible for finding an affordable rental house, on a housing market in crisis.

Though additional professional housing support was provided in 2016-2017 by the Flemish Government, many refugees were still struggling to find a proper house and avert homelessness or poor living conditions. Volunteers have increasingly taken up the task of supporting refugees in this challenge. Individual volunteers, groups of volunteers as well as volunteers who are affiliated with professional social organizations, have initiated their own means of assistance. Some limit themselves to finding a house as a place to live for refugees and refugee families, for others this is one element in a larger trajectory with these families, including supporting the process of homing. Many initiatives highlighted the great need of support for these volunteers.

The Flemish Agency for Youth Welfare (Agentschap Jongerenwelzijn) financed a research on 'capturing and disclosing good practices on working with volunteers in the housing support of refugees' (June 2018 - April 2019). This mixed methods research involved a web survey to map housing support initiatives for refugees involving volunteers and to explore the need for support for these volunteers. Furthermore 9 case-studies of homing-projects for & with refugees were conducted, with in-depth interviews of professionals, volunteers and refugees, as well as a round-table discussion with volunteers.

MAPPING HOUSING SUPPORT FOR REFUGEES BY VOLUNTEERS IN FLANDERS

From 28/6/2018 until 13/9/2018 we conducted an online web survey. The main goal was creating an explorative image of housing support performed by volunteers and the needs they experience as a result of offering this housing support. The survey targeted both professional care providers and volunteers offering housing support for refugees. This approach can't guarantee a representative view on housing support: certain categories of volunteers (those who engage in housing support rather individually and/or informally and refugees who volunteer themselves) are more difficult to reach.

The online-questionnaire was ultimately completed by 261 respondents: 43% (111) are volunteers, 48% (126) are professional employers or employees and 9% are both (24). Of those who combine both positions, 10 people filled out the questionnaire reporting on their experiences as a volunteer and 14 as a professional counsellor.

29% of the (119) responding volunteers are connected to professional organizations, 26% of the respondents are volunteers in a voluntary organization with a permanent structure, 17% volunteers in an informal, factual volunteer organization and 18% are volunteers who sometimes collaborate with organizations or other volunteers but who are not permanently connected to it. 28% has designated 'other'

as choice of answer.

The explorative web survey highlighted a large variety in forms of housing support, provided by these volunteers, depending on the local context and needs, but also on the kind of organization or initiative they were engaging themselves. The majority (72%) of the (107) surveyed volunteers contacts owners/real estate brokers and (72%) searches online for houses. 63% of the respondents also visit potential houses together with refugees, 57% provide administrative support and 51% provide logistical support.

A much smaller group (only 8% of the respondents) made (a part of) their own home available for the housing of refugees and another 8% of the respondents offered a different type of housing support, such as providing a home for recognized refugees within a cohousing project, referring to other services or voluntary activities, contacting municipal officials or being active as a buddy in accompanying families that live independently for the first time.

ANALYZING VARIETY AND CREATING TYPOLOGIES

The variety of initiatives supporting refugees was high. In order to analyze and structure this variety, we developed a range of typologies, based upon the web-survey and enriched with the information of nine case-studies (see 5.)

Firstly, the inspiring cases differ in terms of their content. Some initiatives take up several elements of housing support, including supporting processes of homing, while other initiatives are limited to one aspect of housing support. A number of initiatives consciously choose to provide social support in addition to mere housing, while other initiatives choose to prefer to focus on housing support and leave this broader social support to other initiatives.

Secondly, the case studies differ in their organizational structure. Some of the initiatives are characterized by a bottom-up formation and an informal non-hierarchical structure. Other initiatives originate from a top-down formation and have a rather hierarchical structure.

Finally, the case studies also vary in the intensity of the tasks of the volunteer take on, and the extent to which they receive support from the initiative in the performance of their duties.

Based on these three elements, we developed three typologies to map the variety of the housing support initiatives for refugees in Flanders. The first typology is based on content of housing support. A second typology is based on the organization structure of initiatives and the third typology distinguishes differences in policies towards volunteers in these initiatives. For these typologies, we refer to D'Eer, Robeyns & Geldof (2019).

In this paper, we want to propose a fourth typology, based on the initiatives' strategic decisions. We analyzed the differences in the strategies between the initiatives. A majority of the initiatives focusses on finding houses for refugees on the traditional rental market. Others, frustrated by the limited availability of houses for refugees due to the housing crisis and due to discrimination, try to expand the traditional housing market in orders to increase refugee accommodation capacity in Flanders.

A first strategic decision concerns the degree of temporality of the housing solutions: more temporal versus more permanent housing solutions for refugees. A second strategic decision is about the position of the initiative towards the housing market: are they mainly operating within the existing housing market (guiding and supporting refugees to find a dwelling on the private rental market), or are initiatives focusing on the creation of extra capacity by expanding to rental market, especially for refugees.

When we combine these two axes, we distinguish four (ideal typical) types of support initiatives:

- initiatives focusing on long term rental contracts on the existing rental market,
- initiatives trying to find temporary housing solutions on the existing rental market (mostly to reply to very urgent housing needs and/or to avoid homelessness),
- initiatives oriented towards temporary re-use of existing infrastructure e.g. old schools, hospitals, holiday accommodation)
- and finally structural and innovative social developers, focusing on extra capacity and/or new typologies (e.g. co-housing projects with different groups).

In the research, our main focus was on initiatives working towards more permanent housing solutions (the upper part of Figure 1). Occasionally initiatives were forced to find temporary solutions in the form of transit housing. Temporary re-use of existing infrastructure was not represented in the case studies, but exists in the collaboration between NGO's (e.g. Red Cross, CAW's) and public authorities (e.g. Social housing corporations).

INSPIRING CASES OF HOUSING SUPPORT (WITH OR BY VOLUNTEERS)

In the next phase of our research, we analyzed nine Flemish cases of inspiring practices, in which volunteers and citizens are (co-) involved in providing housing support from recognized refugees: Buren zonder Grenzen, Woonclub CAW De Kempen, Buddywerking CAW Limburg, Melding Tijdelijk Wonen, BioTope Cohousing Gent, Genks Comité Vluchtelingen, Huizen van Vrede vzw and Karavanserai. We visited each of the initiatives and interviewed volunteers, coordinators and professionals for those initiatives combining professional staff and volunteers (D'Eer, Robeyns & Geldof, 2019). Since housing support has many forms and variants, we selected these nine cases based on the criterion of maximal variation, based on the information gathered in the web survey.

Additionally to the nine Flemish cases of housing support, we selected four inspiring cases of housing support abroad. StartBlok Riekerhaven in the Netherlands, Sharehaus Refugio in Germany, Refugees Welcome in Italy and Singa (France and Belgium). Flanders is characterized by a large variety of initiatives offering housing support to refugees. What they have in common is being locally anchored and providing houses for refugees on a relatively small scale. In other countries, the housing situation for refugees is regulated differently. In countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden or Denmark, local or national authorities have a greater responsibility providing housing for refugees. Therefore these countries are confronted with other housing support needs for refugees. Consequently, their housing support focusses on different aspects than the Flemish support.

In the Netherlands, the COA (Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers) determines in which city or municipality refugees must live. Subsequently every city or municipality has the duty to accommodate the assigned refugees. The housing of the refugee must take place in three months. Since local authorities are obliged to provide housing, there is no reaction from civil society to support refugees and guide them in their search for housing, as is the case in Belgium. In Belgium, the voluntary work and citizens' initiatives have arisen from the need to support refugees in their housing search and the lack of support from government agencies.

This does not mean, however, that the situation in the Netherlands is ideal. Refugees sometimes have to wait a long time in the shelter before a social home is released, they cannot choose where they end up, and the houses are not always in good condition.

The housing supervision provided by volunteers and civil society in the Netherlands is therefore more

focused on integrating refugees in the local context. This is also expressed in the selected case study 'Startblok Riekerhaven'. Instead of focusing purely on providing housing, Startblok Riekerhaven is a project that aims to increase the interaction between the Dutch youth and young recognized refugees. The scale of the initiative is certainly inspiring, which is much more adapted to the size of the current housing needs.

In Belgium, the initiatives that aim to extend the capacity of the rental market are always organized on a relatively small scale. Scaling up these initiatives requires financial support by the government, as is the case with Startblok Riekerhaven.

The Dutch situation is comparable to the German one. In 2017, the 'Integration Act' was implemented by the German federal government. This integration law means that refugees are assigned to one of the 16 German federal states for a period of three years. As in the Netherlands, the local municipality is obliged to provide the refugee with a dwelling. As a result, civil society support for refugees in Germany is, as in the Netherlands, rather focused on community projects that promote integration and inclusion.

Sharehaus Refugio, was also deliberately chosen for its link between housing support and employment for refugees. After all, the two aspects are strongly intertwined. Finding a qualitatively and spacious home in Flanders is a big challenge for someone receiving financial aid by the government. A transit house where the refugee is offered the chance to gain working experience (as in Sharehaus Refugio), strengthens the refugee for a follow-up search on the rental market.

CONCLUSIONS

In the aftermath of the 'refugee-crisis' of 2015, refugees in Belgium are confronted with the need to find a house after their recognition. To (re)settle after a stressful period - on their way to Belgium and during the asylum procedure – creating a home is an important element. However, before you can make a home, you need to find a house, which is very difficult due to the shortage of affordable housing in Flanders.

Since professional support for refugees to find a house once they are recognized is very limited, and budgets have been cut back in the last two years, volunteers have increasingly taken up housing support in Flanders. Sometimes they take up tasks within professional social work organizations, sometimes they take over projects that were previously subsidized by the government, and sometimes they start up new citizen initiatives to structurally broaden the housing market for refugees in Flanders. The urgency puts a strong burden upon the volunteers. Support to find a house or apartment becomes more urgent compared to support for integration and establishing a home in the broader sense.

The conclusions of our research for the Flemish authorities make it clear that:

- Finding a house or a dwelling, is an very difficult task for refugees in Flanders, because they have to leave the refugee centers within a short period of time after recognition, and find a house on their own, on a housing market under pressure, and with limited professional support.
- Increasingly volunteers and initiatives have taken up housing support for refugees.
- These volunteers need to be supported more intensively.
- However, the housing problems of refugees can not be solved by volunteers alone, neither within the existing housing market.
- Collaboration between refugee and social work organizations, architects & designers and authorities is necessary to develop extra capacity and new typologies, but even more important, to invest in housing and homing processes as an important precondition for wellbeing and integration of refugees.

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SESSION 4.A

THE AGENCY OF DOMESTICITY

WHO IS DOING WHAT? SPATIAL PRACTICES IN REFUGEE CAMPS- KURDISTAN
REGION OF IRAQ
Layla Zibar, Nurhan Abujidi

NARRATIVES OF HOMEMAKING IN DIASPORE PRESENTED IN SOCIAL MEDIA; THE
CASE OF IRANIAN WOMEN
Shima Rezaei Rashnoodi

DISPLACEMENT IN AUSTERITY URBANISM: IMMIGRANTS AND SQUATTING
PRACTICES IN TORINO
Caio Penko Teixeira

Who is doing what?

Spatial practices in refugee camps - Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

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On the background of the Syrian conflict started in 2011, camps were set to host temporarily the waves of displaced Syrians kept flowing inside Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). Majority of these populations are from Kurdish background, seeking refuge in what they believe to be a part of the “home-land” of the Kurdish Nation. In addition to their ethnic affiliation, shared history, language and cultural similarities of the host community, the region at the time of displacement presented economic opportunities, creating a proper destination for most of the displaced Syrian- Kurds. With the prolonged displacement, unclear future of the situation in their original towns and lack of economic opportunities in stable areas, majority of the refugees seem to be convinced that these camps are their new homes. In attempts to retune the tempo of a “situational normalcy”, a sense of home is being constructed within refugee-hood, camp dwellers utilize different place making methods, trying to bridge gaps created by the rupture of displacement, and difference of what is believed to be a priority in their dwellings. The socio-spatial transformation has been taking place in the standardized camp layout, changing the pre-fixed typologies, to fit the cultural norms. Recently, as UNHCR policies for “exit strategies” regarding Syrian Refugee camps in KRI are based on moving towards “more sustainable solutions”, they have been (including other NGOs and local organizations working under their umbrella) supporting refugees with general construction guidelines, building typologies and different means to construct their own residential units. But the conflict between what is provided and designed for and what is changed by refugees is present in the physical environment. As space, the container of everyday life, mirrors the reality, the camp space plays the medium where the visual representations of this conflict is being reified. This paper aims to trace spatially the process of home making in the camp’s pre-fixed physical environment, in different Syrian refugee camps in Kurdistan region of Iraq. Based on field visit and interviews, narratives and stories told by families and UNHCR personnel from refugee camp, this paper attempts to untangle the complexity of “who is doing what” in the camp, linking the changes in the physical environment to their original agents and actors, providing a comparative analysis of what is being planned for, what is provided and what is being changed by refugees, in order to familiarize, relate and recover.

Keywords: Refugee camps, refugee experience, home-making, place-making, collective memory, hybrid Culture, Patchwork, adaptation, state of exception, normalization.

INTRODUCTION

Refugee camps have always been a crucial spatial formation in the struggles over territories, borders and identities (Ramadan, 2013), they are produced as temporary “Humanitarian Spaces” dedicated to provide a “relative safety”. Regardless to the expansion period of exirer of camp life over and over again, these spaces have always represented “waiting” or “out of place” and have been associated with the loss of home, falling ‘outside’ the debates on ‘normal’ societies and the “national order of things” (Sanyal, 2014; Malkki, 1992). In protracted refugee camps, “normalization” processes take place, responding to the extended needs in relation with time. People seem to (re)organize their daily lives and think about

their futures, while their abilities to plan appear curtailed, their home-making practices are shaped by hardship and uncertainty (Brun & Fábos, 2015). Recently, strategies of housing refugees seek to “provide components necessary to move from survival to effectively exercising rights, ..., a place somehow to call home” (GSC, IFRC, & UNHCR, 2018). Refugee camps render to have “multiple facets of homes/houses: a top-down manufactured object, and a site of everyday lives and complex social relations”. (Handel, 2019).

Refugee camps emerged in the Levant as “temporary” spaces for housing the vulnerable displaced Syrians since 2011, becoming-in time- “temporary homes” for those who couldn’t/wouldn’t make it to Europe or beyond. Depending on the intensity of the displacement push, geographical proximity highly influenced the selection of the first refuge distention. Yet, factors such as ethnicity, livelihood opportunities and political affiliation play a more decisive role when choices arise. The latter applies to the case of Syrian Refugees in Kurdistan region of Iraq (KR-I) (Bahram, 2018).

This paper aims to look at refugee camps as a “diverse assemblage of different social, institutional and diasporic relations and practices that nurture refugee life” (Ramadan, 2013). It attempts to develop a more conceptual framework for understanding agents, moving beyond the opposition of home as a fixed territoriality and refugee camp, by building on Brun & Fábos framework constellations of home, in combination with Handel’s (2019) work on “what makes a home”. It develops an analytical outline to understand homemaking processes in refugee camps, how it is “constructed” or “reproduced”, by “whom” and “what does it signify?”, illustrated by the particular case of Syrian Refugee Camps in KR-I in relation with Kurdish diaspora, which have been poorly investigated. This work is based on an ongoing ethnographic field work (initiated in 2018), semi-structured interviews with households, individuals, governmental/ organizations personal and historical data analysis.

THEORIZING HOME IN REFUGEEHOOD

The constant labeling of refugee camps as “limbos”, “waiting zones” and refugees “out of place” have been always the focus of refugee studies, relating the rupture of the original habitat territorially and the emplacement in “alien geographies”, being spaces of social isolation and alienation (Bartram, 2016) and the “strict opposition to what was familiar”. Studies include narratives of home as “elsewhere”, with inseparable bonds between home and homeland (territorial belonging), correlating “temporariness” and “homelessness” in opposition with “permanency” as fixity and belonging (Brun & Fábos, 2015). They have been exhaustively studied as spaces hold the state of exception (Agamben 1994), control and discipline (Hyndman, 2000), humanitarian sovereignty (Malaki, 1992), reformation of identify (Malaki 1996), security islands and hospitality (Ramadan, 2008, 2010). They are also seen as spaces of resilience and time machines for memories (Bshara, 2014). Moreover, home and homemaking theories in refugee camps always highlighted the refugee agency as a resistance act and reclaiming power over self (Bshara, 2014; Ramadan, 2013; Sanyal, 2014), with scarce information about other types of agency present.

Rising empirical and academic research are rethinking these static paradoxical concepts, as despite temporariness, making a home can appear in the “waiting” within uncertain future in the context of conflict and mobility (Brun & Fábos, 2015), yet agency of the housing regime in refugee camps has been always previewed as an exercise of power. We argue, that these institutions provide (despite the form of sovereignty attached), a canvas where refugees start to weave their practices of home-making. While a wealth of case studies now exist on reproduction of home in displacement, a broader comparative and theoretical framework including both agencies is still missing, while interdisciplinary approaches haven’t been fully developed. There is a need to understand processes and steps of homemaking in the assumed temporariness, in relation with agency that enacts these processes, altering the notion of spaces where

refugees are acted upon, to acting on (lozanovska, 2008) and acting with space.

Thus, to frame homemaking in refugeehood, it is important to link the definitions of “dwelling” as an act of material provision, “home” in the making and producing familiarity previously experienced, and activation of agency in protracted displacement (Brun & Fábos, 2015), starting from the material and territorial to the imaginary and symbolic.

Now, in a broader understanding; dwelling can be theorized as an act housing policies and personal aspiration of the dweller which attaches meaning to materiality (King, 2009). Scholars concepts of home are linked to security, identity (Porteous, 1976), “place” (Easthope, 2004), socio-spatial, psycho-spatial notions (Saunders & Williams, 1988) and sites of domination (Somerville, 1989). However, Handel (2019) proposed to tie home/house concepts relation together in two layers: housing regime in a broader system of institutional/state planning, and the active dwelling as an engine for home making. While both actions are linked to agency, they differ on the actor/meaning level, he separates between housing/dwelling as the act of providing/construction/building to reach a certain level of security, and processes of homemaking that extends beyond materiality: attaching meaning and routinization of day-day living experiences, done and undone by everyday practices (De Certeau, 1980).

While Handel’s approach has acknowledged the existence of two types of agencies for homemaking, his framework didn’t include fully the inseparable connotations of homeland in the reproduction of home. Thus, we include Brun & Fábos (2015) constellation of home in a displacement framework:

“home” as a day to day practice,

“Home” as a representation of feelings and intangible dimensions based on memories, traditions and an ideal dream.

“HOME” to include nostalgia and the “lost homeland” in the protracted displacement debate.¹

Thus, to decode these processes in refugee camps’ case, we call into question its categorization of agency in these constellations. We suggest an outline built on a combination of Handel and Brun & Fábos’s approaches mentioned earlier: bridging the gap between the pre-fixed and refugees agency, looking at refugee camps as ‘producing spaces’ both physically and politically (Sanyal, 2014). We suggest looking at the agentic processes in here as dichotomy of:

The formal: a top-down approach: Humanitarian Regime and its partners’ agency in providing and regulating refugee camp space. (See section 4)

The informal: A bottom-up approach as the “agency in waiting” modifies and attaches meaning of making (or remaking) the constellations of home by active dwelling (See section 5).

AGENCY BETWEEN HUMANITY AND WAITING

Refugee Camps result from exceptional circumstance², layered and ordered by diverse objects and programs (Hailey, 2009). Historically, these settings were the responsibility of armies, who produced and managed them within their logic of ordering the temporary: rows of provisional sheltering units organized according to the functionality of humanitarian operations. After WWII, refugee camps’ management shifted to United Nations and UNHCR³, shelters and layouts of refugee camps were rethought in relation to communal living and livelihood opportunities (i.e. Fred Cuny models see in Siddiqi, 2017), which

1 as geopolitics of nation and homeland that contribute to situations of protracted displacement, and includes status assigned to displaced populations in a particular society.

2 In this paper we focus only on planned refugee camp, not self-settled.

3 Palestinian refugees are responsibility of the UNRWA Since 1949. UNHCR became UN acting committee regarding refugees since 1951.

diminished again in 1980s debates that re-emphasized the temporary nature of refugee camps and durable solutions, sending designs back to a military grid logic.

UNHCR, governments, along with its partner agencies seem to act as a housing regime by providing technical expertise on camp planning and regulating the dwelling processes between the allowed and the restricted, creating a Humanitarian space⁴ defined as:

“The operating environment in which humanitarian organizations seek to provide assistance, (it) is not an exclusive space for humanitarians but is usually occupied by a variety of institutions and actors, such as the military, human rights organizations, development specialists, peace-builders, private corporations and businesses, national government and various religious and political organizations.” (ODI, 2014).

Power of different actors is exercised spatially in the name of humanity, what happens in the camp is their “responsibility” and camp dwellers are their “citizens”, hence, their spatial policies seems to be blurry between “provide, plan and protect” and “control and manage populations in an orderly fashion” (Malkki, 2002).

Nevertheless, the prolonged exile has become the norm. acknowledging this fact seem to be pushing aid agencies to ‘rethink’ refugee spaces as potential urban seeds, aligning with terms such as, transitional settlements (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005), “green camps” (UNHCR, 2018) and exit strategies. Their policies have been shifting towards development, sustainability and resilience: more “resilient shelters” are incorporated within different humanitarian agencies standards, acting like “tents in concrete” (Skotte, 2004). This “rethinking” appears clearly in different manuals such as “shelter typologies” (UNHCR, 2014), where phrases like “feel at home” are used. The latest issue of shelter and settlement strategies for 2018-2022, agencies have shaped their vision to providing a “home”. In this report, the foundation of the response is based on the traumatic “loss of home” for the displaced, and the rupture from community structures. moving from the “don’t die survival” into “a place that families and communities can somehow call ‘home’(GSC et al., 2018):

“a physical dwelling to protect the health, security, privacy and dignity, providing much needed protection against, physical, climatic, disease and violent (including gender-based) threats; a stable foundation, a location, where other services and support can be accessed; and a sense of identity, a place to gather belongings, family and community, a neighborhood to belong to, to be able to consider the past and rebuild a sense of future” (GSC et al., 2018).

Their definition links saving and enablement to the physical unit provided, their plan involves activating the role of refugees by support, advocacy and cash programs in addition to guiding principles. Though that this plan seems to emphasize and highlight the role of the “affected populations”, it also hides the politics of national regimes and their perceptions of the “non-citizens”, whether by restraining, limiting and banning these activities. Moreover, the idea of “home” to be “provided” as a “response” here, hides the informal agency of refugees that creates that “home”.

Conventionally, for prolonged displacement future seems unclear, thus, activities oriented towards it appear to play out on a cyclical manner heading towards an undefined point in time (Brun & Fábos, 2015).

With the assumed mental rupture of existing in different localities of the past (previous homeland/habitat), present (camp) and future (the unknown), it is accompanied with provisional stability. Refugee practices in the camps lie “between vulnerability and agential power”. Camp dwellers conventionally start in temporary structures provided by the humanitarian regime, later, they transform these structures

4 put by Brauman in the 1990s

into a more permanent dwellings (Brun & Fábos, 2015) : moving “shelter” as a momentary response into dwelling/housing, as they are “descending into the ordinary” (Das, 2007), and creating a feeling of being at home (Dudley, 2011) . By stabilizing cyclical activities and developing to some extent a sense of familiarity, making home in displacement represents the transition from a victim to agent: refugees trying to gain control over their lives by renegotiating their specific understandings of home, with particular regimes of control and assistance (Brun & Fábos, 2015). Refugees’ active home-making and dwelling becomes a performative act intended to reconstruct (..) imperfect home into a safe place that it should have been (Handel, 2019), everyday dwelling becomes active form of home-making (Easthope, 2014), refugee agency is exercised, reclaiming livable spaces (Sanyal, 2014), and refiguring their place in the world in the waiting.

This suggested outline allows to navigate through “homing” in “refugeehood” as multi-layered complexity of control, agency and recovery. The next section presents the case of Syrian-Kurds and their refugee camps in KR-I as specific interrelationships between the two types of agency, and the re-identification of/with the meanings of home.

SYRIAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN KURDISTAN REGION OF IRAQ

KURDS IN THE SHADOW OF THE SYRIAN CONFLICT

Kurdistan, the land where Kurds claim their historical entitlement to, was divided through the nation states’ project among Turkey, Iran, Armenia, Syria and Iraq.⁵ The fierce conflict over borders to claim the right to an identity geographically bounded, have created multiple waves of displacement that became deeply attached to the Kurdish experience (Barzani, 2008; McDowall, 2004). Kurds have been subjects of identity and cultural attacks, through practices of oppression, persecution, political and economic marginalization (Yildiz, 2005), not to mention the attempts of demography changes and Arabization in Syria and Iraq (Bahram, 2018). In the absence of clear recognition of Kurdistan as a political entity , a national dream of a united homeland surpasses the reality, it exists and survives through the collective belief generationally transmitted (O’Shea, 2004). Kurdistan transcends beyond borders, in the imaginative perception of a larger place where Kurds geographically and mentally belong to. However, the Kurdish aspirations remain at the mercy of internal feuds, hostility with Arabs and regional rivalries over the Kurdish question (Harling, 2013).

Regardless to the cultural trauma of the Kurdish diaspora, these different practices of oppression have created different sub-narratives of different containing nation-states, separated by borders. Syria’s Kurds inhabit lands close to the Turkish and Iraqi borders⁶. Unlike their Iraqi counterparts, they have not reached any autonomous form in Syria. Being under systemic and different forms of discrimination, repression, and inequity⁷ . Although revolts occasionally erupted every now and then in Syria, they were quickly crushed, with a quiescent population as a result. With Syrian Uprising erupting in March 2011, Kurdish youths were part of the uprising scene from the beginning calling for a regime change⁸ (Allsopp, 2015; KB, 2011; Zisser, 2015). Yet, Kurdish areas were partially spared the regime attacks, as the uprising there seemed not to reach the other age-groups, With the withdraws of regime’s official forces to concentrate elsewhere, Kurdish troops stepped in and replaced them (Allsopp, 2015; Harling, 2013).

Threatened, deeply affected by the deteriorating economic conditions, or (and) not aligning with

5 1916 Sykes–Picot and the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne

6 in particular Damascus and Aleppo

7 though several cities in other parts of the country also have large Kurdish constituencies. Roughly 15 per cent of the estimated two million total – remain stateless and have no access to fundamental rights.

8 to the extent that one of the protest Fridays during the spring of 2011 was called by its Kurdish name Êna Azadî (i.e. Freedom Friday in Kurdish)

the post-conflict formed Kurdish authorities' practices, Syrian Kurds either left on their own or fled of persecution from different groups present in the scene. Orienting themselves towards the semi-autonomous Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KR-I)⁹, an official part of the longed-for "imagined Homeland" they collectively believe in their belonging to. The region at the time of displacement was undergoing an economic boom, and the tolerance of Kurdistan Region Government (KRG) towards the Syrian Kurds addressed as "Brothers and Guests" in the political speech (Barzani, 2011), minimum restrictions on labor, played a decisive role for a large population to reside.

SYRIAN REFUGEE CAMPS AS URBAN SEEDS

Syrian refugees (Kurds or other) were granted the right to stay in KR-I and freedom to find work (Etemadi), also, they were free to decide whether to live in the Camps, the cities or towns. (Bahram, 2018). With the absence of a "clear solution" for the Kurds in present and future Syria, a "no-return" expectations seems to be forging in a spatial and material manner. Today, in 2019, 37% of the Syrians Refugees in KR-I living in camps are Kurds¹⁰ (UNHCR,2019 a), they seem to perceive these settings as their new "homes".

The housing regime in these camps is a combination of: UNHCR and its agencies and KRG bodies¹¹ : Setting the "shelters" and camps as a "response" to "accommodate" the momentary "housing needs". UNHCR coordinates with humanitarian actors to complement the work of local authorities to improve living conditions (UNHCR,2018). The pre-fixed also is linked to accommodate as many people as possible, moving beyond emergency, planning for other camps' prefixed layout take more strategic steps.

Humanitarian regimes have always been worried about the long-term displacement of refugees under its care (UNHCR, 2012), with gossips about decommissioning the camps, they have defined their strategies "towards more sustainable camps" in KR-I, taking steps towards exit strategy to handover local authorities. Moreover, UNHCR and its agencies re-organized "Chaotic" zones (unplanned, self-set) in camps, relocated refugees (or re-emplaced) to newly planned zones in the same camp, or moved them to other camps. Additionally, most of the basic shelters are improved or upgraded, appropriating infrastructure and paving spaces in between. In today's refugee camp scene in KR-I, these zones have a regulated modular form. Moreover, implantation for more sustainable solutions by using solar panels and more sustainable sanitation and water solutions, in UNHCR latest produced report:

"Shelter priorities for Syrian refugees include the improvement and upgrading of shelters. Of the approximately 18,000 plots in refugee camps in the KR-I, over 98% have been improved with concrete bases and an individual kitchen, latrine, and shower. Over 88% have been upgraded with solid house-like structures, which include concrete bases, concrete block walls, sandwich panel roofs, and an individual kitchen, latrine, and shower" (UNHCR,2019).

With the support and coordination with other agencies active in enhancing shelter conditions¹², upgrading shelter is related to providing materials, cash and design guidelines for refugees to build or hire someone (preferably camp dwellers). This provision is phased and linked to spatial conditions and restrictions on modifications such as: changing the location of the kitchen and latrine, limitations to build on plot and light materials for roofing (usually with upgraded shelters is sandwich panels) to eliminate

9 Kurdistan region of Iraq (KR-I) is an autonomous region of the Federal Republic of Iraq since 1991, has a state-like-status with large authorities of administrative and internal affairs. The region constitutes of 4 governorates: Duhok, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah and Halabja, and majority of its populations are from Kurdish background.

10 Majority of refugees living in camps arrived through Semalka/Peshkhabour border crossing , (Bahram, 2018). UNHCR working with Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) set Domiz Refugee camp in Duhok (being closest to the Border) starting early 2012 and followed that with the other 8 camps to be able to contain the influx.

11 Camps are managed by the government has its own bodies in each governorate. BARHA in Duhok, EJCC in Erbil and Sulymanieh

12 Peace Winds Japan (PWJ) for instance.

vertical expansion. All calculated to fit their standards, and as much people as possible, hence acting like a housing regime with production chains: questioning number of families are housed/accommodated and in which type.

Following the outline proposed, the “informal agency” in Syrian refugee camps in KR-I, a broader question of “where is and when is home?” (Kabachnik, Regulaska, & Mitchneck, 2010) must be investigated: highlighting the complexity between multi-faced belongings that seem to take place in this particular context. HOME; as the past understandings of home/homeland, and the longing of two lost ideas of home (the one in Syria being recently lost, and the homeland of Kurdistan never being achieved) linking it to its geopolitical and historical narratives. KR-I appeared to be the part of the dream realized, as it is a semi-autonomous state, where the culture and language are exercised as the norm.

In order to see the situation in a more holistic view, we aim to unfold the belonging complexities that challenge Syrian Kurds and impacts their spatial practices in the waiting: by asking “What does a building do?” (Verkaaik, 2016) and what does it mean? Through using the constellations of home in a Syrian Refugee Camps in KR-I.

HOME (THE ARTEFACT)

Here, we deal with the term “home” as an individual/family unit construction, and the artefact that refugees modify to be lived in on every day basis, by the repetitive and performative act of making security, they also produce and reproduce their selves and identities. (Handel, 2019). Examining empirical evidences of homemaking practices enacted by refugees, we must indicate here that the “future” seem to be expected for years to come.

Dwelling (as an act of responding to needs) comes first: recreating a sense of privacy and security linked to mental well-being. The strategy is based on retaining what works well, modifying what doesn't fit (making and unmaking). 83% of the families interviewed had basic plans to improve their current living conditions, often by adding rooms, or modifying spaces that don't “suit” their way of living: majority tend to emphasize on the need of “a room to accommodate guests”, enlarge the kitchen that is “too small” for their activities, and plant some “greenery” in front of their plot or inside in the “Housh” (inner court yard) in some other cases.

Here flowing on Handel's method of interpretation the housing unit elements, interviewees attached meanings to elements : “Roof over head” (symbol of stability and protection), “four walls to veil us” (hideout/containment), “Door to be closed on us” , “Windows to allow the sun”(controlled thresholds), “home to protect and gather us” (the unit as a safe place) and describing front porch planted spaces “our greenery to revive life” (defining territory & inviting others). In (re)articulating elements to meanings, the refugee shelter start taking steps towards home, by involving future aspirations of betterment on a spatial level, thus defying the common understanding of living in “limbo”.

HOME (COLLECTIVELY EXERCISED)

Now if “control over a space is important to people's understanding of what it means to be at home, it also means the ability to exercise a degree of autonomy over their lives” (Parsell, 2012), the extension of thresholds, and the use of common spaces in each zones by its inhabitants, have somehow re-created a sort of social control for camp society (Brun, 2001), where the “eye on the street” (Jacobs, 1961), influence attitudes and behavior on a communal level, reintroducing “respect” and “fear of shame/scandal”.

(Re)producing “Home” in the refugee camp seem to start with processes of reclaiming a level of

pervious identity and belonging collectively perceived and practiced: refugees re-tying their loose networks and re-grouping mechanisms. A fluid situational culture seems to emerge (Hannerz, 1969), in attempts to re-construct a meaningful social reality (Thompson, 1978). These (re)establishment of networks in Syrian refugee camps in KR-I appeared in different mechanisms: being recommended to move into the camp by others (family/kins), or being regrouped in relation to geographical location back Syria, marriage after arrival to camp that unites unrelated families and other, all helped to restructure previous shared common social codes, yet, influenced by the newly gained refuge behavior and temporality. Moreover, by practicing group activities spatially (cooking together in kitchens), meeting/ hosting (guest rooms, spaces in between buildings, front porches). By importing/reconnecting their previous social networks, refugees seem to live by almost the similar previous norms, however, tainted by present uncertainties.

Moreover, “Home” can become a source of pride or shame depending on its social functionality on a group level, It becomes a “Home” by moving from invulnerability to a social accomplishment (Boccagni & Brighenti, 2017). This has appeared in different interviews when phrases like “now we can have a proper place to accommodate guests”, “now the kitchen is proper” or “does this look like a proper place for guests”, “how can we cook in such tiny space, I can barely stand” are used. Dwelling acts like a loci for social engagement, activated by matching the collective perception of “proper”, where certain activities take place collectively: women cooking together, a place for hosting guests and a representation of a social status.

HOME

The broader belonging for the camp society to a nation and a nation state seem to crystalize in space. While refugee re-shape forms of “home” and “Home”, (re)identification of the self in a collective manner seem to take a material form. The case of Syrian refugee camps in KR-I presents itself as a more complicated matter of refugeehood and loss of home, in relation to the Kurdish diaspora and the never-fully-realized identity of being a Kurd (in Syria) acts as a magnitude. A sense of Kurdish belonging has been expressed in majority of interviews with Syrian Kurds living in camps: verbally “we are in our country here too” visually (using flags, language .. etc.), or by an action like joining the Peshmerga¹³. They belong to KR-I as a HOME by “incorporating ideal concepts of home and homeland” (Brun & Fábos, 2015). However, it still doesn’t fit the imagined longed for land uniting Kurds, being seen as Syriakan (Syrians in Kurdish) (Bahram, 2018) labelled as refugees, not to mention the sub-cultural and linguistic difference, all led to an in-migration into camps, especially when accompanied by economic hardship¹⁴. This aligns with Brun& Fábos concept of HOME:

“HOME indicates how people conform with, negotiate, challenge, and change the labels assigned to them, and thus, finally, HOME signifies the dynamics of identity formation at community and individual levels that often take place during displacement as a result of the experience of loss of home on the one hand, and the experi-ence of being labelled a refugee on the other hand.” (Brun & Fábos, 2015)

Small Syria(s) seem to be reconstructed in camps: people visiting or living there refer to it like “going back to Syria” (UNHCR, 2012), where everyday life appears to become similar to what they once knew. Syrian refugees feel at home revisiting and reconstructing the past, to reconcile the loss on everyday familiarity. While their Kurdish belonging is strongly exercised: flags of Kurdistan, PDK¹⁵ and using written

13 Official Kurdish army recognized as well by the Iraqi central government. Generally, it is a source of pride for the families if they have a member in the Peshmerga

14 The economic crisis became sever in relation with war with ISIS and the penalties by the Iraqi central government on the background of the referendum enacted by KRG in September 2017.

15 Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Party Demokrati Kudistan). The leading party in KRG with MR. Masoud Barzani as his leader in 2018 at the

Kurdish language for their shops is omnipresent in camp space, in combination with Syrian references. In this context, we must question the notion of “non-citizen” as these spaces present themselves where hybrid contestation of national and ethnical citizenship (Sanyal, 2014) is crystalized. In KR-I Syrian refugee camp, the paradox between Syrians and Kurds disappears, with territorial connection seems progressing into realization: camp space (territorially marked with physical boundaries) resembles Syria, while geographically existing in Kurdistan (the home-land). People don’t seem to need to choose between these identities. Regardless, “Rojava” is the name majority of refugee use to refer to their geographic belonging in Kurdish parts of Syria.

SUMMARY

This paper aimed to untangle the complexity of agency present in Syrian refugee camps in KR-I, by understanding and highlighting ways in which: dwelling being a political action of world-making that can never be fully reduced to existing institutions and rationales (Handel, 2019). We looked at home(ing) as an agentive act, and process of making (and unmaking) with negotiations between space, time and re-identification, by attending to both: different housing regimes present in the scene (providing, controlling administrating), and the specific ways that people live agentive lives in “waiting” (Brun & Fábos, 2015). By understanding and analyzing the refugee camp, we tried to move from static notions of Limbo into everyday spaces where the two types of agency (formal and informal) interact in activation the processes of transforming temporary shelters to places of re-identification, recovery and meaning. As well through looking at practices that connect past and future homemaking imaginaries to present experiences of camps. The camp spaces become the stage where multiple realities collide producing a hybrid materialistic image of displacement(s) narratives, taking solid steps towards permanency.

While the pre-fixed characteristics and futures of these settings are shaped by the humanitarian regime and reshaped by refugees. Geopolitical sub-histories, laws, socio-economic factors, and the displaced expectations and attachments reconstructed within what seems endless cyclical presents still need to be investigated in this specific case. Further research aims to understand the different scenarios of how the future is framed for Syrian-Kurdish Refugees in KR-I? moving to a more general question of how to utilize and address such practices as improvements or even investments to temporary dwellings.

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Narratives of homemaking in diaspora presented in social media; the case of Iranian women

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This research examines how Iranian women have built socio-spatial networks of social media as an alternative space of empowerment. With the help of social media, a space of shared agency is created that brings Iranian women in Iran and the diaspora together through knowledge-sharing processes that are centred on the making of the home. This paper argues that through sharing everyday practices of homemaking on social media, Iranian women -as the 'other' both in Iran and the diaspora- have created an alternative space of possibilities claiming a public presence that has not been achievable otherwise. It is concluded that although the home-centred presence of Iranian women on social media may contribute to the conventional gender roles as well as facilitating the notion of home being a female domain, a more realistic image of Iranian women's life is represented through the dynamics of social media. It is creating a gradual change in Iranian women's circumstances both in Iran and in diaspora during the last decade.

Keywords: Iran, diaspora, virtual space, social media, homemaking, gender roles, socio-spatial domains, networking.

INTRODUCTION

Arthuro Escobar (1994) in his Essay "Welcome to Cyberia" talks about the ways in which the modern cultures are shaped around "the taken-for-granted" cultural traditions and introduces the notion of Cyberculture to encourages anthropologists to study "the story of life as it has been lived and is being lived in every moment" (Escobar, 1994: 211 and 223, see also Wilding, 2006). Cyberia is introduced as a space where modernity and cultural traditions meet. By acknowledging this juxtaposition through Cyberculture, an exciting space is created for empowering possibilities (Escobar, 1994, p: 214). Raelene Wilding (2006) argues that this utopian anticipation of the virtual environment might not necessarily be the case as the world of Cyberia could follow the familiar patterns of everyday life instead of providing a just alternative. Whether the virtual environment is a utopia providing opportunities that are not possible in the real world or a dystopia that isolates individuals and limits real-life interactions, it is an undeniable aspect of the everyday life, as at times it contributes to the old patterns of inequality and at times shapes new ones (Wilding, 2006, p: 126).

This study examines how social media has been employed as an alternative space to reality to relief different conflicts associated with the diasporic experience. The transient nature of diaspora provides a unique opportunity to study the relationship between identity, space and (social) media because it grasps the human displacement and settlement as co-existing processes rather than contrasting elements (Georgiou, 2010, p: 17). Sociologist, Roger Brubaker (2005) proposes that diaspora should be analysed as an 'idiom' and non-linear process rather than a 'bounded entity'. In this way, the conflicts of yearning for homeland and identity come into relief. "As an idiom, stance, and claim, diaspora is a way of formulating the identities and loyalties of a population" (Brubaker, 2005, p: 12). Additionally, Pnina Werbner (2010) describes diaspora as "deterritorialised imagined communities" that is defined within a spatial dimension and is located via cultural values. "Like many such formations, diasporas are chaorders, chaotic orders, which are inscribed both materially and imaginatively in space, time and objectifying practices" (Werbner, 2002, p: 119). Based on the new definitions of diaspora, Hunger and Kissau (2010) draw attention to the importance of Internet on providing the means of achieving a profound understanding of the diasporic

networks' complexities (Hunger & Kissau, 2010, p: 246). They argue that diasporic communities are grounded on networks of homeland and the host country, and the Internet is now in the centre of these links. Additionally, the Internet plays a significant role in the formation of the diasporic identity by revoking the ways in which the image of the homeland is re-lived. In that guise, the Internet becomes where the public/private and personal/communal interaction meet online (Kissau and Hunger, 2010, p: 246-247).

Additionally, social media creates a space those two different types of "othering" identities are practised. Simone de Beauvoir (1948) talks about genuine freedom created by developing subjectivity by acknowledging others and their freedom.

The individual is defined only by his relationship to the world and to other individuals; he exists only by transcending himself, and his freedom can be achieved only through the freedom of others. He justifies his existence by a movement which, like freedom, springs from his heart but which leads outside of him" (Beauvoir, 1948, p: 156).

The virtual environment provides a space for the coexistence of two otherings; one being the other in the patriarchal society and the other being the other as the migrant in the diaspora. In her research on young Muslim women in Copenhagen, Karen Waltorp (2013) discusses how the boundaries of public and private and real and virtual spaces are blurred by the way these women use social media where religion, gender and age-related localities meet (Waltorp, 2013, p: 555). Based on Hannah Arendt's (1998) notion of how one's identity comes to being in relation to the others, she argues how social media entails not only professes to be an audience but also to be seen, to present and to be presented to others (Waltorp, 2013, p: 557). Waltorp calls these virtual spaces a 'moral laboratory' a notion introduced by Cheryl Mattingly (2010) in which is a space of creative negotiations where people act and experiment narratives of transformation, not only of themselves but the social and physical space they inhabit (Waltorp, 2013, p: 558). It is through these practices that virtual environments such as Facebook and Instagram possess similar qualities that of public spaces and begin to influence how real public spaces are experienced.

DIASPORA: THE SPACE OF SOCIAL MEDIA AND THE SPACE OF HOME

To situate social media within conflicts of home and displacement, space and place must be defined according to networks of diasporic experience, embracing gender and identity negotiations. Sara Ahmed (1999) has discussed the idea of "estrangement" in migration and how it has led to the creation of migrant communities based on the collective memory of a particular historical period and shared feelings of familiarity. "Migration can hence be considered as a process of estrangement, a process of becoming estranged from that which was inhabited as home. The word estrangement has the same roots as the word 'strange', and yet, it suggests something quite different. It indicates a process of transition, a movement from one register to another" (Ahmed, 1999, p: 343). Based on Rosie Braidotti's theory of "Nomadic subjects" and Iain Chambers' idea of "Authentic migrants", Ahmed defines migration in terms of movement and transition, and how this process of movement shapes the migrants' identity as fluid and unfixed. There is no desire to fixity, as being a migrant does not need settlement, since we are all migrants at some point. Based on these theories, she concluded that to claim space and to claim home, no settlement is required as for the global nomads the world becomes home. Therefore, the movement does not destabilize identity; instead, it creates a global identity, and the stability is developed through the shared experiences of lacking home rather than the desire of home. Consequently, to be able to create a new (imagined) home, identity becomes detached from a particular place (Ahmed, 1999, p: 343). The role of social media for diasporic communities and its relation to home (both as a location and a concept) retains the notion of everyday life in its core. Therefore, conceptions of space that define it as a social product, a place of encompassing daily

practices and a place of overlapping fluid movements become relevant (Lefebvre 1974, Soja, 1996 and De Certeau, 1984). According to De Certeau (1984).

A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus, a space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities” (De Certeau, 1984, p: 117).

Doina Petrescu defines how the relationships and social interactions form a space based on Deleuze and Guattari’s idea on the rhizome. “Making rhizome represents the political and poetic dimension of a relational practice: the invisible collective effort (social, political, emotional) to create networks and spaces, to challenge new imaginaries, to invent new discursive practices” (Doina Petrescu, 2012, p: 138). Then, space is an embodiment of nomadic movement, and its boundaries are defined according to the fluid territories of nomadic relationships. Furthermore, Rosie Braidotti explains nomadic consciousness by comparing, exile, migrant and nomad. For Braidotti, exile involves a sense of “foreignness” and the feeling of “hostile” from the host country. A migrant is in a better position in terms of being involved in the host country but is trapped “in an in-between state” and for him/her, the present can change based on what occurs in the origin state (Braidotti, 1994, p: 30). The nomad, on the other hand, does not stand “homelessness or compulsive displacement; it is rather a figuration for the kind of subject who relinquished all idea, desire, or nostalgia for fixity” (Braidotti, 1994, p: 23). Braidotti’s spectrum of exile to nomad also shows different levels of “otherness”. Nomadic consciousness is proposed by Braidotti as a solution to become an active “other” and change the perspective on who is the “other” and who is the “one”. This transformation is embodied through practices within social media.

IRANIAN HOME AND IRANIAN WOMEN IDENTITY: MAKING A CHANGE THROUGH REPRESENTING HOMEMAKING IN SOCIAL MEDIA

Internet and social media have become a significant part of the daily life of Iranians. More than 70 million Iranians (out of the 81 million population) and 60 per cent of the families have access to the Internet. Consequently, mobile phones have become the dominant means of communication (Eghtesadonline, 2018). The social media has caused complexities for the Iranian authorities as bans have been designated on social media such as Facebook and Twitter since the protests were organized within these platforms resulting in the uprisings in 2009 in response to the presidential election outcomes. These social media platforms have been censored since then, and Iranian users have been shifting between using VPNs and using alternative platforms such as Telegram and Instagram to defeat the censorship. These online platforms go through temporary censorship, but their economic and political influences have made their permanent shut down, a difficult choice for the authorities (Khodabakhshi, 2018). This paper mainly focuses on the way Iranian women use these platforms as a place of resistance. In fact, authors such as Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh (2014) point out that the Iranian women movements had only started to succeed when the movements were taken to spaces alternative to the public spaces (Abbasgholizadeh, 2013, p: 833). She illustrates that Iranian women have deployed cyberspace as an alternative space as a response to the imposed oppression in public spaces and created a space of sharing goals, finding common ground and organising events that eventually shaped the real-life public activities (Abbasgholizadeh, 2013, p: 839). Consequently, online activities could result in the shared meaning-making process in online networks that leads to a collective identity formation to facilitate actions in real public spaces (Khazrae and Novak, 2018, p: 4).

This paper, however, focuses on the space of home as a place of empowerment and argues how Iranian women shared narratives of homemaking provide a space of resilience both for Iranian women in the diaspora and at home. The Iranian domestic sphere has always been a culturally and architecturally introverted space. The emphasis on the privacy of home has been maintained not only by the spatial arrangements but also through cultural, religious, political and gender norms. The advent of social media, particularly during the last decade, has resulted in blurring the boundaries of public and private for Iranian homes with the growing numbers of profiles run by women who share their homemaking approaches by presenting images of their home and their daily homemaking stories. Similarly, Iranian women in the diaspora are also among the most popular Instagram profiles in the Iranian realm, sharing their homemaking strategies in a different country. Benefiting from the less restrictive context of diaspora, the narratives of homemaking is a combination of the Iranian culture and the host country. These social platforms have provided a place of identity re-construction for the owners of these profiles while creating a learning and sharing environment for their audience. Subsequently, the ways these narratives are situated within becoming processes as migrant women from Iran is the main focus of this research.

SPACE: DIASPORA, SOCIAL MEDIA, AND HOME

The current diasporic experience of the home exceeds beyond the tangible elements such as objects and the physical aspects of home but instead seeks a “feeling of domesticity”, that can temporarily be provided by the media (Bonini, 2011, p: 871 and 874). In this case, media is represented as a homemaking tool that creates the possibility “to return home” (Bonini, 2011: 881). The media “protects migrants from alien space” and provides a place of dreaming about home (Bonini, 2011, p: 875).

The internet alters the domestic space in various ways, the same way that homes went through changes due to the household access to media (Williams 1970 and Gustafsson 2018), the internet is influencing domestic space practices in ways that have not been experienced before. The Internet is the source of information, a window to numerous possibilities and lifestyles; however, it could also provide the mobility or freedom that has been taken from women in the public sphere (Gustafsson, 2018, p: 191). For example, after the 1797 Islamic revolution, the hijab has been mandatory, and women have to appear in public covering their hair and their body (Abrahamian, 2008, p: 134). A noticeable body of Instagram users, however, represents a different image of the society, perhaps a more realistic one, in a way that Iranian women without Hijab on Instagram has become an acceptable culture. Most of these photos are taken at homes, representing daily activities, sharing food recipes and sharing moments of gathering with friends or celebrating cultural and social events. Therefore, home is central to all these narratives of everyday life among Iranian Instagram users as a place where they can be their true self. The Instagram profile of eleven Iranian women in Iran and seven Iranian women in Diaspora with high number of followers (more than 200,000) were followed over the course of two years by the author, particularly, examining their home making approaches and identity representation.

Popular Iranian Instagram accounts of Iranian women in Iran represents a more inclusive image of Iranian women. The majority share photos of themselves without hijab in their house, capturing the essence of everydayness at home on different occasions. There are also more conservative users as they do not appear in the photos or when they do their hair and body are fully covered. Most of these accounts are aiming to show an ideal image of the house, as it is directly associated with the female identity. There are also other female users, however, who have taken a less formal approach in representing an image of their home, sharing images that show their home in ordinary, less ideal situations such a Friday afternoon, packing for moving out and sitting on the floors in very informal settings. Each of these posts has become a

space of knowledge-sharing with so many comments by other women on the furniture, the objects, where to purchase them and seeking advice on how to make spaces such as the ones of the owner. Although most of these posts are focused on narratives of homemaking and everyday life, these profiles have also become a place where these women actively express their opinion on social, political and economic events.

A very similar culture is present in the Instagram account of the Iranian women in the diaspora. Most of what they have chosen to share, are photos of their home, their cooking routines and homemaking approaches but are specifically focused on the challenges of migration and how that has affected running an Iranian household outside of Iran. "I am thirty-three, and I have already migrated three times. Every time is difficult in a different way. Perhaps, I can say that in the last two time assimilating with the new circumstances has been the hardest part (although the hardship of migration cannot be summarised only to this)" writes Shirin in a caption of a photo she shared about packing and moving back to England after living in Iran for 10 years. The Iranian women in diaspora maintain a connection to homeland trends, detecting decoration and artefacts to be purchased and brought to their diasporic home. The interesting point, however, is the strong presence of objects and decorations with Iranian inspired objects and patterns in their homes. They maintain a connection to homeland trends through social media, detecting decoration and artefacts to be purchased and to be brought to the diaspora. These women use Instagram to stay connected with Iran, to receive updates about the political and social everyday changes. Through Instagram, they stay connected to other women in Iran and the regular homemaking practices. Therefore, Instagram has become the platform to find products, to bring them from Iran and in some cases to advertise them. On the other hand, Iranian women in Iran learn from the experience of diaspora, they share the new recipes, different homemaking trends, and learn about other countries' culture. Consequently, a discursive space of negotiating gender norms, cultural, social and political modalities is created.

CONCLUSION

The advent of social media has influenced the diasporic spaces as well as the formation and representation of the diasporic identities. The very essence of diasporic experience as being broken from the homeland community has been rebuilt through everyday online practices (Kissau and Hunger 2010, p: 246). However, there is more into social media than solely building connections; it is a multi-facet phenomena that has created spaces of resistance when the users face oppression in the real-life circumstances (Abbasgholizadeh 2014, p: 839). Resistance towards being placed in the periphery, whether it is being a woman, in Iran claiming rights in public spaces or dealing with being the other in the host society in the diaspora.

Apart from the rapid and instant reactions organised through online platforms, this research explores the gradual changes over the last decade that is facilitated by Iranian women Instagram users by the way they share their household activities and homemaking strategies. This has resulted into a more diverse representation of women in Instagram that of the real public realm, where the Iranian women are presented through limited images approved by the authorities through imposing rules of how to appear in public. Therefore, by representing a more realistic image of themselves, sharing their everyday life in their ordinary space of home, these women have created an inclusive space that is moving towards improving unjust circumstances. This space is where Iranian women inside Iran and in diaspora come together and share different stories of otherness. Although Iranian women have managed to empower each other within online practices, the everyday narratives of homemaking have not resulted in rapid action, neither it provides the lost freedom or mobility for these women. It helps to cope with the way that their voice

has been muted publicly (Gustafsson, 2018, p: 193), therefore at times they contribute to the conventional gender roles and at times sharing the homemaking processes help towards the empowerment of Iranian women.

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DISPLACEMENT UNDER AUSTERITY URBANISM: IMMIGRANTS AND SQUATTING IN TURIN

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In this article, the aim is to examine the political agency of refugees, asylum seekers and other displaced immigrants via squatters' movements in their search for home. The analysis is informed by fieldwork carried out in the Italian city of Turin known as 'Ex-Moi Occupation'. To this end, the article is organized in four sections focusing on event-led urban change, the financialization of housing and the intersectional lens on contentious collective mobilization. The contribution is to further the dialogue between immigrants' activism and squatting offering on reflections about forced displacement in austerity urbanism and its implications to contemporary housing movements studies.

Keywords: displacement, squatting, immigrants, housing, austerity.

INTRODUCTION

This article attempts a rethinking of both migration studies and urban social movements research, aiming to reflect on how immigrants have been organizing themselves through squatters' movements in their search for home in a context of forced displacement. It asks how resistance can be theorized today in light of urban social movements that have been intersecting and overlapping different claims together such as fair-housing and migrants' rights. Intersectionality is used to address the issue of under what conditions subaltern groups develop forms of collective agency, assuming an oppositional power in relation to elite-led project of market-oriented economic urban regeneration. Often, the resistance is expressed via squatters' movements.

Although the practice of squatting has been associated with citizenship activism, displaced people are engaging in resistance and political protest as well. Urban social movements play an important role in creating political opportunities to asylum seekers, refugees and other displaced people who have been struggling adequate housing and standing up for migrants' rights. Inspired by the fieldwork carried out in the EX-MOI occupation in the Italian city of Turin, it reminds us that housing has always been an epicenter for social movements that seek to enhance social justice, and, one contemporary feature is the noncitizen activism to active their goals. The article draws from digital methods, semi-structure interview mixed, and fieldworks notes of the grassroots organization assisting the EX-MOI occupation known as 'Refugees and Migrants Solidarity Committee' - Comitato Solidarietà Refugiati e Migranti.

1. EVENT-LED URBAN CHANGE

Mega-events have been assumed a significant role for host cities aiming to establish a political strategy for urban-renewal programs often transferring the financial risk to public sector (Scherer, 2011) and justifies the urban policy for regeneration and redevelopment based on the long-term benefits of urban events-related facilities and its post-event legacy (Müller 2015). Given its post-industrial path, the Winter Olympic-Games of 2006 turned into a central tool to the Turin's regeneration process (De Pieri, 2010). This urban event was used as a catalyst and legitimator of urban investments contributing to boosting city competitiveness (Bondonio & Guala, 2011).

The Olympic Winter Village was an outcome from the Olympic-led urban change. The construction of

the Olympic Winter Village was a project led in partnership between local public authorities financed by the bank foundation known as 'Compagnia di San Paolo'. It was built in the former marketplace introduced in 1933 (Mercati Ortofrutticoli all'Ingrosso - MOI). The Olympic Village was built in the former industrial zone of Lingotto neighborhood in the southern region of the Turin's city. However, the Olympic Village was left to decay over for a number of years after the games. In 2013, the abandoned buildings of the Olympic Village were squatted by thousands of immigrants experiencing by poverty, housing insecurity and risk of homelessness. The squatters were from multiple nationalities mainly from African countries. The end of the "Emergency North Africa Programme" was one driver for the occupation process of these vacant buildings. The programme was a government-led resettlement offering humanitarian protection through the Hosting Centers for Asylum Seekers, hosting and aiding asylum-seekers related with the Libya conflict (Tazzioli, 2016).

From Olympic Winter Village to the 'Ex-Moi Occupation', the squatting has become the largest squatting of the Piedmont region of Italy with over hundreds of people. The organizational strength of this informal settlement is led by the "Refugees and Migrants Solidarity Committee" known as 'Comitato Solidarietà Refugiati e Migranti'. It can be viewed as a fair-housing movement made up by activists who have been struggling for housing and standing up for immigrants' rights based on the unlawful property use. The Ex-Moi has been a home to a vibrant social movement, an eloquent evidence of the significance of political and social radicalism in the city, a makeshift of how informal settlements became more permanent communities for people who take refuge in abandoned buildings for emergency shelter. It is viewed as a response made up by immigrants in their search for a place to crash after the end of the 'Emergency North Africa Programme'.

Cities have different conditions that make squatting a possibility, and the understanding of housing as a profitable commodity for investment is one aspect of why existence of vacant properties happens. How to afford a home with unlawful legal status? It seems that difficulty finding stable employment and housing led them to activism. The city's abandoned properties reveal a battlefield in the contest for housing. Abandoned properties, vacant homes and lots are reminders of implications related with the financialization of housing under austerity urbanism.

2. HOUSING STRUGGLES AFTER THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Issues of finalization of housing and austerity urbanism have been interviewed over the last years the urban development. The financial-housing nexus helps to better understand under what conditions marginalization, exclusion, displacement, disempowerment or oppression of urban inhabitants are related to profit-driven urbanization based on the commodification of housing as a long-established trait of neoliberal capitalism and its logic of urban renewal projects (Aalbers 2016; Rolnik 2013). In context of post-war capitalism and hypermobility of capital, housing itself become a global financial instrument of corporate economic growth (Sassen, 2009).

The homeownership ideology (Ronald, 2008) interplays with the contemporary geopolitics of internationalisation of real estate influencing in housing rights (Budenbender & Golubchikov 2017). Aalbers (2016) calls financialized privatization of housing as the very process of debt-led accumulation regime of foreign investment in the city. Housing is no longer a matter of rights; it is subject of commodification and its financialization that have joined the ideological discourse that tends to beget yet more policies based on finance-dependent forms of urban redevelopment (Rutland, 2010) Housing-induced type of financial investment is ensured by attracting international capital investment for regeneration policies (Rutland, 2010; Rolnik, 2013). In this sense, the logic of investment-based and finance-led accumulation regime plays

an important role in configuring the neoliberal version of urban crisis expressed in the 2008 crash.

The 2008 financial crisis and its instrumental impact on the urban landscape is one in which the very basis of housing affordability has been called into question. The post-crisis corollary calls for austerity as part of the neoliberal repertoire of governance to 'urban crisis (Peck, 2012). The austerity is apparent in aspects such as budget squeezes, downsizing of public-sector workforces, and public services cut in which governments are deeply influenced to adopt austerity-driven public policy making (Peck, 2012), and such a crisis historicizes the production of urban in its assumptions posed by austerity measures impacting considerably the affordable housing sector. That is, a political economy of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012) that can be identified through privatization of public/social housing stock and repositioning house for into financial assets. The withdrawal of the state in providing public services to the socioeconomically disadvantaged is a major consequence to this urbanism under conditions of austerity. In this sense, the housing conditions of the working poor is a mixed result of speculative investments of financial funds and corporations into real estate and housing market and the so-called 'migration crisis'.

3. OVERLAPPED CRISIS AND INTERSECTIONAL CLAIMS

It has been associated crisis and migration over the last decade in public discourse. Most important, however, is the fact among often this interpretative framework evoke certain kind of threat. The so-called 'migration crisis' is a powerful narrative that produces knowledge, shapes policy design and frame governance structures (Dines at al 2018). Broadly understood, crisis means a critical moment or turning point event that can bring a certain type of upheaval (Sinclair, 2010). Crisis as an unexpected or 'traumatic' event invokes the sensation of insecurity that leads to degrees of risk or vulnerability (Sinclair, 2010). Samman (2015) argues that crisis refers to different ways in which the complexity can be reduced to set causal-chains of events. Fear and insecurity are major features of crisis mediated by policy responses. That said, Europe's refugee crisis was marked by the 2011's political uprisings in Tunisia and Libya.

The combination between both crisis altogether helps to make sense of the Ex-Moi Occupation. The influx of forcibly displaced migrants into Europe meets the pro-market solutions to housing. In Italy, the asylum support, refugee resettlement, and emergency shelter has gone hand in hand with an austerity politics. The political question of resettlement and protection of refugee and other forced migrants is not only shaped by austerity measures and also with the lack of affordable housing. Such a focus highlights that the migration crisis and financial crisis are albeit somewhat overlapping. In the top-down overlapped crisis, collective action by forced migrants creates an impressive intersectional response from below. Lopez (2018) pointed out that the global financial crisis and the austerity policies reveals the interplay between experiences of solidarity natives and immigrants into today's revived interest for urban squatter settlements. Indeed, squatting is a repertoire of collective action capable of move from individual life stories of grievances to urban activism (Lopez 2018). This collective mobilization often is based on a set of engagements.

Often social movements are characterized by intersections of race, class, and gender in its analysis of resistance about the reciprocal relationship between sources of oppression that might be used a resource for social chance though embracing a integrative perspective on collective action (Wilson, 2013). Informed by race-based and gender-based work on inequality and its foundational significance for identity politics (Crenshaw 1994), intersectionality looks at how disempowered groups can be understood beyond the class-only explanation (Collins & Bilge 2016). From the oppression structured by race and gender, intersectionality points out a more nuanced view over struggles for social justice, more important, as a motivational force for political change by which grassroots organizations shape forms of mobilization,

origins, motivations, and movements outcome.

4. SOLIDARITY TIES AND ORGANIZATIONAL LINKS

Drawing from the Ex-Moi Occupation, it is argued that the immigrants' activism via the practice of squatting may be interpreted as a challenge for a more conventional literature of housing movements. The struggle for housing is no longer a matter of ordinary citizens activism. It is also about noncitizen engagement. Solidarity ties between citizens and noncitizens contesting experiences of oppression and social injustice seems emphasizes an emergence of meaning-making of interest to urban researchers and the fundamental link to forms of political organizing.

Looking at squatter housing through an intersectional lens, there is much we can learn—analytically, conceptually and theoretically. Firstly, the importance for an analytical shift the place of a political agency of displaced immigrants from one of passivity to one of a potential role for social change. Secondly, the conceptual acknowledge of noncitizen activism demanding of grievances and political interests from below. Thirdly, the need for a more nuanced theoretical frame on when, how and why displaced immigrants engage via collective actions. It is suggested that the search for housing of displaced immigrants points out this analytical shift, the making home experiences of displaced immigrants in informal settlements may be relevant for the conceptual debate and, finally, the study over squatters' movements made up by solidarity ties between citizens activists and noncitizens activists might reveal important information on the boundary conditions of urban struggles in the face of austerity urbanism and constitutes a clear research agenda that all of those reflecting on the possibility of 'making homes' in displacement should be take into account.

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SESSION 4.B

EXPAT DOMESTICITY

INTERNAL MIGRANTS, INNER EXPATS. PARADOXICAL WAYS OF LIFE IN THE MID-
1950_s SPAIN
Jose Vela Castillo

LIVING WITHIN THE ABSURD: ALBERT CAMUS AND SOCIAL ESTRANGEMENT
Matthew Teismann, Rachel Ghindea

Internal migrants, inner expats

Paradoxical ways of life in the mid 1950s Spain

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This paper explores the architectural solutions devised for housing two very different immigrant communities in the mid 1950s in Spain: the rural immigrants to the big cities from the impoverished agricultural countryside and the US military forces that came to the country to populate the recently built military bases. A case study in Madrid (the policy of 'Poblados' to relocate immigrants living in shantytowns) and a more general overview of the US bases housing policy tries to show how modern architecture, to which Spain was opening at this time, was applied following similar design strategies with, however, different implications for the everyday life of the inhabitants.

Keywords: Madrid, 1950s, social housing, rural immigrants.

INTRODUCTION

It was surely a coincidence that the first comprehensive social housing developments that adopted modern architecture in Spain, designed in the outskirts of Madrid starting 1954, coincided with the design and construction of the U.S. military bases in Spain, the result of the 1953 'Pacto de Madrid' or U.S.-Spain Agreements, also started in 1954.

Immigration from the rural areas of Spain, severely hit by the inefficient agrarian policy established by the Franco regime, towards Madrid and other important cities reached one of its peaks in the mid 1950s. Extensive shantytowns ('chabolas') surrounded the outskirts of the Spanish capital, growing every year at a fast rate. Different strategies were designed by the planning authorities to cope with the pressing issue, among them the 'Poblados de Absorción' and the 'Poblados Dirigidos', new social housing developments to provide adequate dwelling. These were designed, for the first time, following not only modern rational criteria, but especially, postwar modern architecture models. This implied modern functional plans, very far from the rural-vernacular houses from which the immigrants came, and, especially modern stylistic traits.

Simultaneously, the main U.S. military bases in Spain (Rota, Morón -close to Seville-, Torrejón -close to Madrid- and Zaragoza) advanced in their construction, expecting to be finished along 1957 (although 1959 turned to be a more reliable deadline). One of the main concerns of the military and of the US Congress alike was to provide their navy man, airmen and officers with adequate housing. Hence, different housing programs were implemented both inside and outside the bases ('in base' and 'off base' housing). There were not enough houses for all them (more than 20.000 US nationals at its peak), and most resorted to the Spanish rental market, but for those who had one, the experience seemed exactly like living in the US. This particular type of short-term expats found modern houses, even when designed by Spanish architects, which supported the very same way of life they experience at home: American way of life (anticipating, then, today's globalization).

'POBLADOS DE ABSORCIÓN' AND 'POBLADOS DIRIGIDOS' IN MADRID IN THE 1950s: A TURN TO A MODERN LIFE
The Spanish Civil War ended in 1939 with the triumph of the Franco side and the emergence of the Nuevo Estado, leaving a balance of destruction and impoverishment across the country. Along the 1940s the agrarian population of Spain increased given the poor industrialization of agriculture that demanded more workforce. However, immigration of unqualified labor force towards the cities also

increased, peaking along the following decade.

The reconstruction of Madrid started just after the end of the war, with the creation of the Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid in October 1939. In 1941 (but only approved in 1946) a new master plan for the city (Plan General de Urbanización de Madrid y Alrededores) was devised by Pedro Bidagor, and the Comisaría General para la Ordenación Urbana de Madrid y sus Alrededores (COUMA) was created to supervise its application. The Plan proposed a set of satellite towns, mostly working class and industrial neighborhoods surrounding the 'Imperial city', sanitized through a net of green wedges that acted as buffer zones. Soon these green areas started to be filled with informal settlements where the growing immigration from the countryside tried to accommodate in the empty land (sometimes buying the plots, more often just occupying them).

By the mid 1950s the number and extension of shantytowns around Madrid towered, and even if the 1950 Plan de Poblados Satélites was in development and some new settlements to relocate these people already started in 1952, the situation was getting worse day by day. Franco himself was famously worried about it, in his condescending and paternalistic way. In 1954 a new man, the architect Julián Laguna, arrives at the COUMA, with the priority of giving a solution to the unhealthy settlements. At the same time new legislation was passed, simplifying and rationalizing the officially existing housing types, and especially introducing a new type of houses, the Vivienda de Tipo Social, with limited square footage (42m²) and cost (25.000 pesetas) together with a slightly more flexible type of Vivienda de Renta Limitada. Finally, a new director arrived at the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (INV), Luis Valero Bermejo, with which Laguna established a close acquaintance and complicity, which eased the application of the new legislation. With these tools at hand, Laguna started a revolutionary policy, if voluntarist and ultimately failed.

To cope with the problem Laguna's team devised four main types of interventions: Poblados de Absorción to 'absorb' (quickly relocate) the most urgent cases on temporary bases (although many became permanent), Poblados Dirigidos, bigger, better planned and built and intended to be permanent, and two minor categories, the Poblados Mínimos (with minimum houses) and the Poblados Agrícolas, that incorporated bigger courtyards with pens as a middle of the road solution between city and countryside. These two last categories were marginal, but of the other two, especially the Poblados Dirigidos (in terms of dwelling units), many were designed and built. The original Plan of Laguna included, after having solved the shantytowns problem with the previous interventions, two new and more advanced proposals: the Nuevos Núcleos Urbanos and the Barrios Tipo, intended as model neighborhoods with all the services and facilities that the previous categories lacked. These two types never entered construction phase.

The key element in the plan was that Laguna called for the design a new generation of architects that introduced, for the first time at this scale and with official support, modern architecture in Spain. In fact at least two generations of brilliant architects coexisted, one slightly older and another recently egressed from the School of Architecture of Madrid. There were, of course, other initiatives before and after, but the unity of the ones promoted by Laguna, his decided support of modern architecture (even if his own practice was more traditional) and his personal energy (and the close access he apparently had to Franco himself) produced a unique set (almost) apparently in tune with the more advanced social housing then being designed through Europe and the US, both in style and scope.

Two examples of Poblados Dirigidos will help us to understand this.

The Poblado de Entrevías was designed and built by Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oíza, together with Manuel Sierra and Jaime Alvear in 1956 (finished 1960). In it the architects elaborated on a previous design for the Poblado de Absorción Fuencarral A, also by Oíza. The approach was absolutely rational. Only one

type of houses was employed: single-family row houses. The architects used cheap load bearing brick walls, with a minimum span of 3,6m which allowed two rooms per façade in the first floor, and kitchen, living and bathroom (exterior) in the ground floor, plus the back yard, for a total of 60m² (backyard excluded) (Fig. 1). The master plan was organized as an abstract grid, with the blocks on platforms to avoid earthwork, and roads, services and facilities reduced at its minimum expression for cost saving (Fig. 2). The use of a rigorous abstract massing, the reduction of materials to brick, the use of continuous fenêtre en longueur in the first floor and the white painted brick lattice work that protected the patio entrance gave them a radically modern aesthetic appeal that contrasted heavily with the barren surroundings (Fig. 3). Some of the pictures taken at its completion clearly betray the American models of housing suburbs Oíza had seen in his trips to the US and, maybe, the influence of Hilberseimer's The New City, which Oíza admired, and that where, of course, address a very different type of society. Interestingly, the future inhabitants also participated in the construction, supplying the initial deposit the state required for the house in species, working during the Sundays in them as low skilled masons. However they were not allowed to participate in the design, nor were they even asked to better understand their needs and demands, which resulted in very limited types with almost no variants: one size-fits all.

The Poblado Dirigido de Canillas was designed by a younger architect, Luis Cubillo, following an undisguised Scandinavian influence (Fig. 4, 5). The acknowledged inspiration of Arne Jacobsen, whose works Cubillo visited in a trip to Denmark, produced a radically contemporary work in terms of aesthetic, even if the political paradoxes of following social democracy models escaped the architect himself. The master plan was more balanced and more adapted to the topography than in Entrevías, and embraced a previous (and more organic) Poblado de Absorción by Federico Faci. A single motorcar street articulates the compound, following a strict separation between pedestrian and vehicle traffic. Two-story row houses alternate with four-story blocks in a very abstract pattern. However, the lack of services and facilities and the single road connection to Madrid weighed the success. Brick was, again, almost the single material, but the use of wood in the neoplastic-Jacobsen-like openings produced warmer yet abstract facades. 'Sunday workers' also contributed to the construction, which created a climate of comradeship and community that helped to integrate the newcomers, yet gave them no freedom to participate in the design.

In both cases the design of the houses was completely modern, thus implying a specific way of occupying and using space. For many of their inhabitants, coming from rural areas and used to a different way of living, the new homes imposed a not always desired (and understood) modernization in their everyday life. Starting from the aesthetics of the house, with flat roofs and abstract openings, repetitive and monotonous, with very limited usable surfaces (houses in the country tend to be big), with cheap construction systems if maximized by the ingenuity of the architects, even in the cases as Fuencarral A or Entrevías in which a backyard that could be used as workshop or patio seemed to ease the transition from the agricultural environments to the city, the domesticity they produced was felt as alien. The lack of services, facilities and community centers, the cursory design of public areas, too often no more than a couple of trees in an earthen plaza added to this alienation, and the isolation from the main city (Madrid), to which they were badly linked by public transportation, and from which they were fully dependent, showed the darker sides of the program.

THE US MILITARY BASES: LIVING IN SPAIN LIKE LIVING IN THE US

The four main bases the US built in Spain from 1954 to roughly 1959, together with several dozens of smaller installations, configured a huge infrastructure that demanded an important amount of housing. Even if by the time agreements were signed the size of the US presence in Spain was curtailed from the

much more expansive earlier proposals, from around 46.000 to a more modest 16.000 or so, housing the military population was an issue. During the initial design stages the efforts were devoted to the military installations: runways, control towers, fuel deposits, ammunition depots, silos, etc. However, housing was an important concern from the start both for the military and for the congressman that closely followed the Spanish bases program. For example, detailed surveys on rental possibilities for family housing in the environs of the bases were carried out prior to the construction. Barracks for airmen and personnel were considered in the masterplans but only very limited family housing, necessary to bring the families in, a policy that was starting to be implemented in the new US bases. As soon as 1954 the Airforce included Spain in their already running in other parts of Europe guarantee housing plan and contacts with possible Spanish sponsors were initiated to check their willingness to enter into this program.

For the Spanish bases two main approaches were taken: 'in-base' housing, within the physical perimeter of the base, and 'off-base' housing, beyond it. But this clear distinction needs to be further developed, since there were different types of both, depending on the size and location of the bases and the program under which they were built. There were also differences between the Airforce bases and the Navy. And things changed a little across time too. Finally, the amount of houses built was only a fraction of the demands, so many military resorted to the Spanish rental market.

In the main bases two types of in-base housing were planned: Dormitories (for single personnel) and family housing. The first ones were divided among ranks and were three story structures, usually laid in bare brick with horizontal strip fenestration under a spare awning. A standard modern design.

Family housing in the big air bases was restricted to a number of houses for personnel with specific EWO (Emergency War Order) missions, although the final number depends on the bases. In Torrejón only 67 units were made, even fewer in Zaragoza. In places like Morón the housing was an issue, since the rental opportunities in the small village were limited; however the in-base family housing was limited to 36 units. A standard model of duplex house with a pitched roof and shared carport was used in most of the bases, including Torrejón, Morón, Rota or Cartagena, but other designs were also produced.

In the smaller bases and secondary installations, depending on location and land availability, either/or in-base dormitories or off-base family housing were provided. Since these minor bases were frequently in relatively remote places, the housing can be considerable far from the base. Different 'poblados navales' and 'colonias de la aviacion' were designed as in Cartagena or Aranjuez (Villatobas), but also smaller settlements as in Figueras. Most of the smaller bases also had its Spanish section. Usually Spaniards were in charge of general security of the base, but were separated from the Americans in their own, poorer accommodation.

At the end of 1955 the JUSMG (Joint United States Military Group, the military body that was responsible for the bases) launched a competition for 1518 housing units to be built by Spanish sponsors under the rental guarantee program. The selected bases were only the Airforce ones: Zaragoza, Torrejón, Morón and San Pablo (in Seville). Rota and other naval stations weren't part of the program. This is perhaps the better known part of the whole US bases program in Spain (not only concerning housing). What made it famous is that Richard Neutra was convinced by one of the Spanish sponsors to participate in the competition. Neutra's proposal didn't win, though. The program was divided into two bidders. The Morón and San Pablo sites would result in the Ciudad Jardín Santa Clara in Seville, were local architect Aurelio Gomez de Terreros proposed a suburban American style neighborhood yet dressed the houses in vernacular outfit. The Torrejón and Zaragoza sites were given to El Encinar de los Reyes SA, for which architects Luis Laorga and José Lopez Zanón, with the consultancy of Ernst J. Kump, proposed an equally

modern masterplan with matching modern style houses (Fig. 5).

For obvious reasons the bases were gated communities. They were designed as US enclaves in foreign land, and prepared to work as much as possible detached from the territory in which they were placed. Given the unitary conception of the whole program, designing from scratch a comprehensive network of military installations in a country that was neither a former enemy and occupied country (like Germany) nor a long-time ally (like Britain), the result could be seen as one of the most perfect articulations of postwar American 'imperial' expansion. The urban design of the bases themselves, which followed strict military protocols and needs, cannot fail to remind the sprawl of contemporary American cities of the postwar era. Designed for the use of the automobile, with oversized streets in which planes could land if necessary and truly American facilities, from bowling alleys to baseball fields, one of the points was to make their dwellers to feel as much as possible as at home. If the living conditions in contemporary bases in France or Germany were poor, the brand new Spanish facilities were different. Clubs, swimming pools, golf courses, riding facilities, a 100% American products Commissary (grocery shop/supermarket), theatres, schools, hospitals and churches made living in the bases almost equal, or even better from a financial point of view, that living at home. The rental guarantee off-base housing communities designed and built by the Spaniards followed US suburban patterns too, and were also conceived as gated communities even if no real fence was built. A stop signal, a sentry and a barrier prevented the entrance of any foreigner, but no wall was built around. Mowed lawns and no fences kept surprising the Spanish visitors till 1992 in Royal Oaks nearby Madrid. And all this was designed using postwar modern architecture language.

Wives were encouraged to accompany their husbands to overseas destinations as Spain, kindergartens and pediatric units in hospital started to be frequent services in the bases. This resulted in an use of land that implied a paradoxical politics of space: the bases were at the same time paradigmatic democratic American communities that displayed the likes of consumerism and political freedom and segregated military enclaves in foreign land, access to which was forbidden to the locals who lived under a dictatorship in a backward economic system. Food, including fresh vegetables and fruits, was airshipped from as far as California during long periods of time, and the supply of the oversized containers was always ready to reach the American housewives. The availability of these products was complete to the military living inside the bases, but purchase was strictly forbidden for the Spaniards, which created a black market of both goods and desire. In that sense, the bases were understood as 'ideal' American communities, in which ample greenery, zoning divisions, primacy of car, ordered life, consumerism and protected freedom would show the supremacy of American way of life. Whatever the local resentment that also generated, the food-packed shining fridges that were counted by hundreds in the bases commissaries, even more than the automobiles, encapsulated the imaginary of perfect life that American consumerism can brought to the world.

CONCLUSIONS

Were those completely different groups of immigrants and expats, perhaps inadvertently, living in similarly designed modern houses, practicing notwithstanding very different ways of life? The answer is slightly more complex than a yes or a no. It can surely be argued that the life conditions in the consumer oriented housing developments for the US bases were alien to the working class Spaniards living in the newly built Poblados in the outskirts of Madrid. However, the similarity in the purely architectural solutions may tend to impose its own agenda in the daily life of people, and certainly, beyond its very different economies. The size of the houses in the bases or in the off-base settlements was, surely, bigger than in the social housing counterparts of the Poblados, but the structure of the families they were designed for were

similar, nuclear families with ideally two plus two kids, which means that the layout of the houses in plan follows the same normative logic. On the other hand, the spatial politics implied in both cases were utterly different. In the case of the bases they followed, and not only for military reasons, the oversized logic of suburban American capitalism: space was produced and consumed in huge quantities in the bases, a cheap commodity. The opposite was true for the Poblados, in which economies were the main issue. We should not be misguided by the use in the Poblados of a set of urban design strategies that can be directly linked with these suburban American models, starting with the famous and much quoted model of Radburn. For example, limiting the car circulation mostly to the perimeter of the units that constituted the Poblados and the frequent use of cul de sac roads, thus enabling safer and protected pedestrian circulations and a garden-like central area, was more a question of economy than a response to the increase in the use of cars. In these social housing developments, designed to relocate people that was actually living in self-constructed houses in occupied land, the use of cars was marginal, and it was supposed to remain so in the governmental planning policies of the time. Urbanization was expensive, so reducing it to the minimum was a cost-saving strategy rather than a car-oriented strategy. If in the American suburban model implemented in the bases the car remained the central commodity, few cars populated this social neighborhoods and will remain so till the late 1960s or the 1970s. Badly linked to the historical city they were designed neither as self-sufficient communities nor as private-car based garden cities, but as emergency answers to a problem of public hygiene.

The Poblados in Madrid were less a coherent social experiment to house the working class population at the initial states of its transformation into a consumerist class than a paternalistic construction of the authoritarian fascist state that needed to cope with a problem of hygiene and public order. They were not, at this precise moment, intended as part of a process of modernization of the country and society through architectural means following state driven policies as in other places of Europe. This will happen, and only partially, later. Their design was modern, true, but this was almost the result of an architectural accident: it was because the architects designed it like that, and the office led by Julian Laguna allowed them to do so, but the preferred architecture style for the state apparatus was still a, say, traditional one.

In terms of everyday life, the differences between both type of settlements were also substantial. Women in the Poblados, apart from taking care of their homes, worked in many cases in the domestic service, and their husbands worked in two or more employments to obtain a minimum wage, while the military wives in the bases had plenty of leisure time and in many case domestic service. The bases activated the mechanisms of desire in the Spanish population, and started to be seen as the perfect embodiment of what life can be, but in the highly impoverished Spain of the time the promise of consumerism was not even a promise and only a faint reflection of this wealth captured the attention of the local population. In the Poblados, and in most of Spanish houses for that matter, there were no tv sets, no modern house appliances, no fridges, and what was even more important, no food available to fill those fridges as seen in the contemporary American ads. The government still struggling to produce enough food to feed the country, consumerism as such didn't enter Spain till the late 1960s. At that time, mid 1950s, with a political and especially economical system almost closed to the outside and in the verge of collapse, liberal capitalism still considered by many of the political families in the regime as evil, the process of transformation of the economic system has not started yet (it will, eventually, in 1959).

The architecture of the Poblados, however, marks the starting point in Spain of the assimilation of modern architecture design that sealed the consumer-oriented welfare state pact in Postwar (Western) Europe; but the consume wasn't yet there, nor the welfare state, nor the liberal democracy pact. Both examples as the result of the spread and even commodification of modern architecture models in the

postwar period seem to share the same architectural agenda and material environments, imposed by similar conceptual and design strategies, and I would even say that neither the inhabitants of the Bases or of the Poblados would have felt themselves alien or disoriented in the other's space, if abstraction of the commodities' content of the house could have been made, but the paradox of the title, in terms of the everyday life of the inhabitants and the domesticity it creates remains: the container looks pretty similar, the life within remains utterly different.

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FIGURES

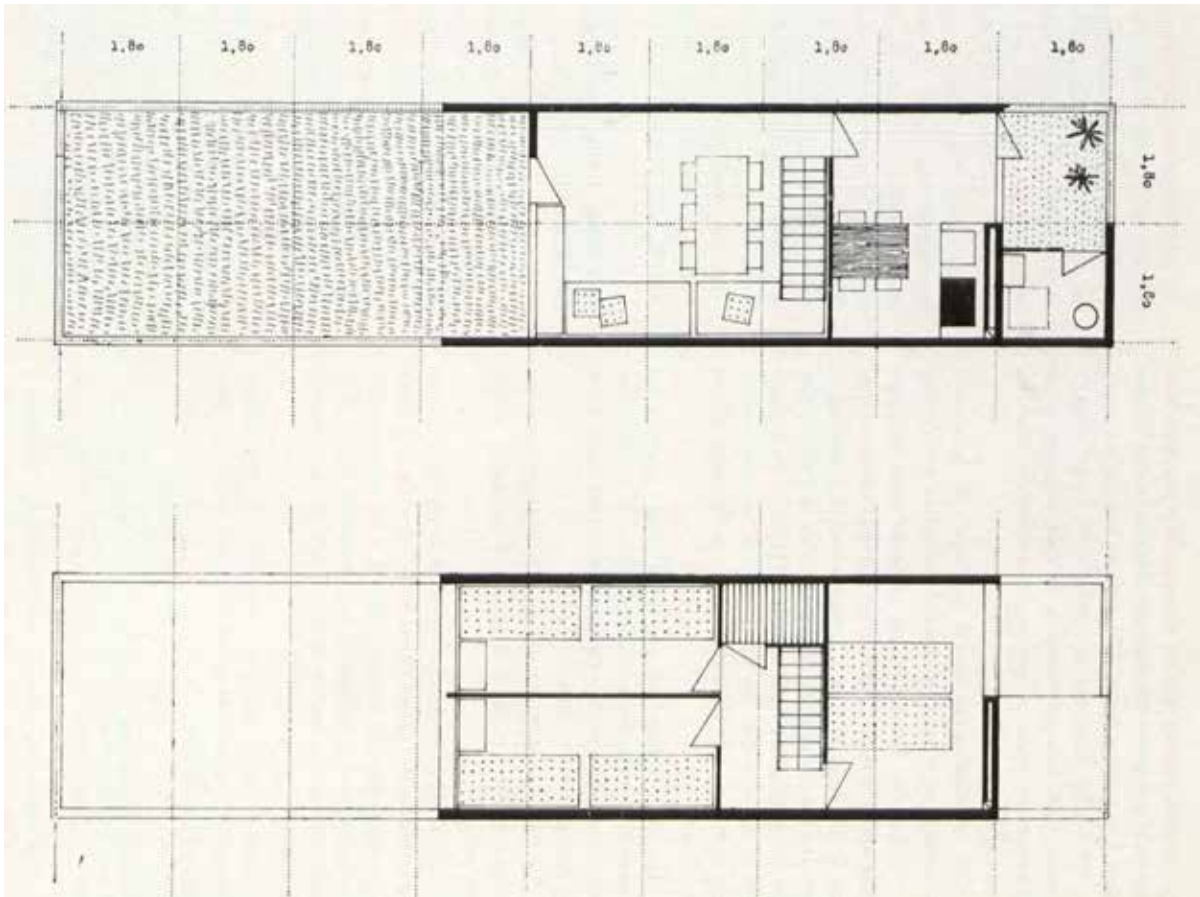


Figure 1

Oíza, Sierra and Alvear, Poblado dirigido de Entrevías. Single-family housing, plans.

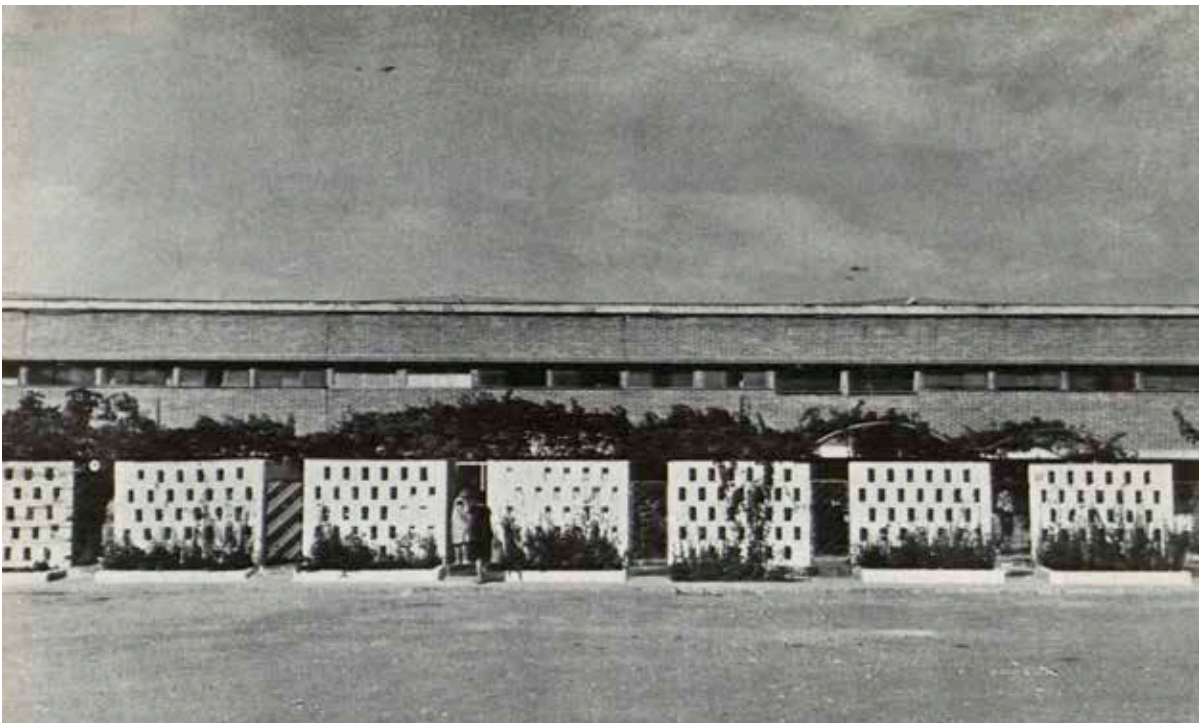


Figure 2

Oíza, Sierra and Alvear, Poblado dirigido de Entrevías. View of single-family housing.



Figure 3
Luis Cubillo, Poblado Dirigido de Canillas. General view.

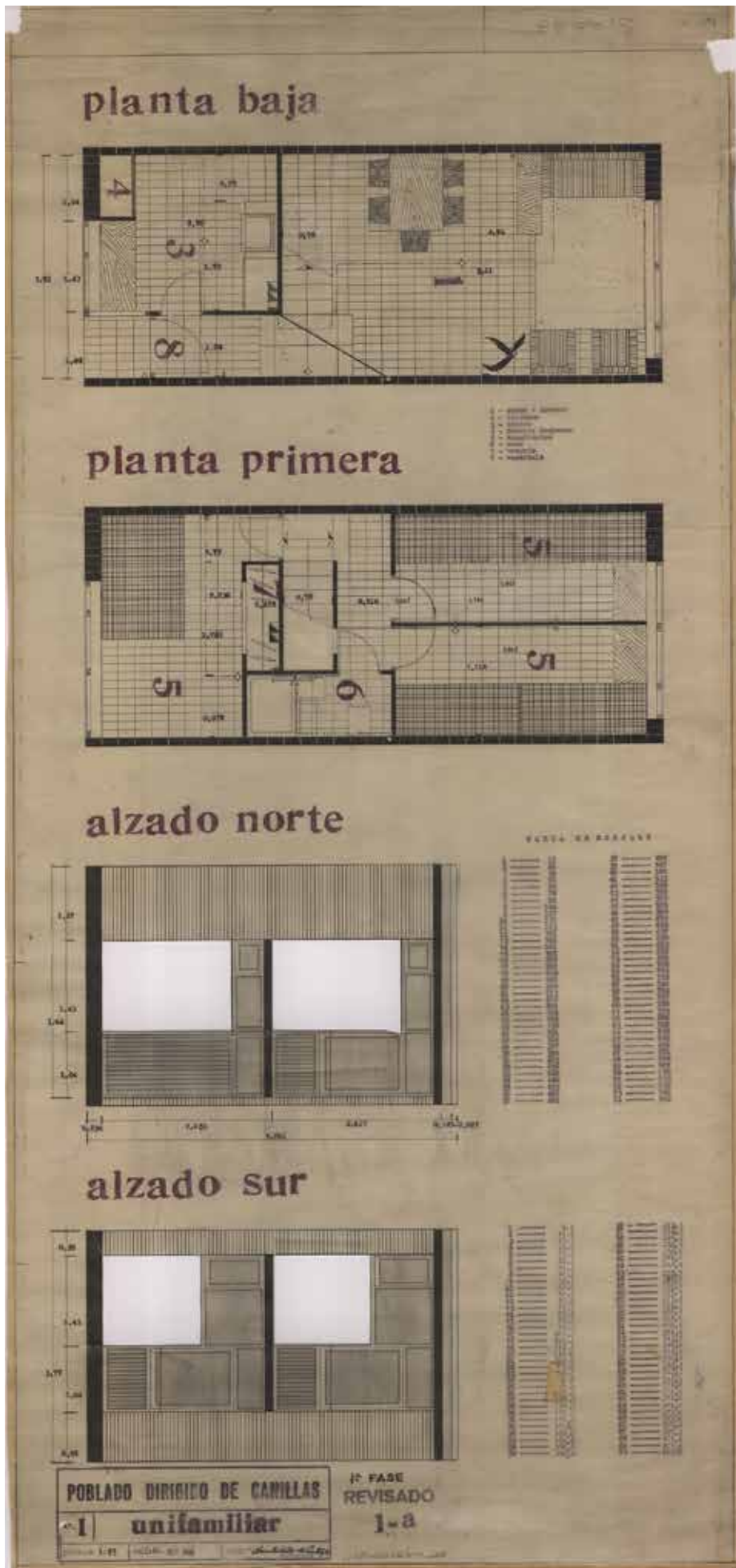


Figure 4
 Luis Cubillo, Poblado Dirigido de Canillas. Single-family housing, plans and elevations.

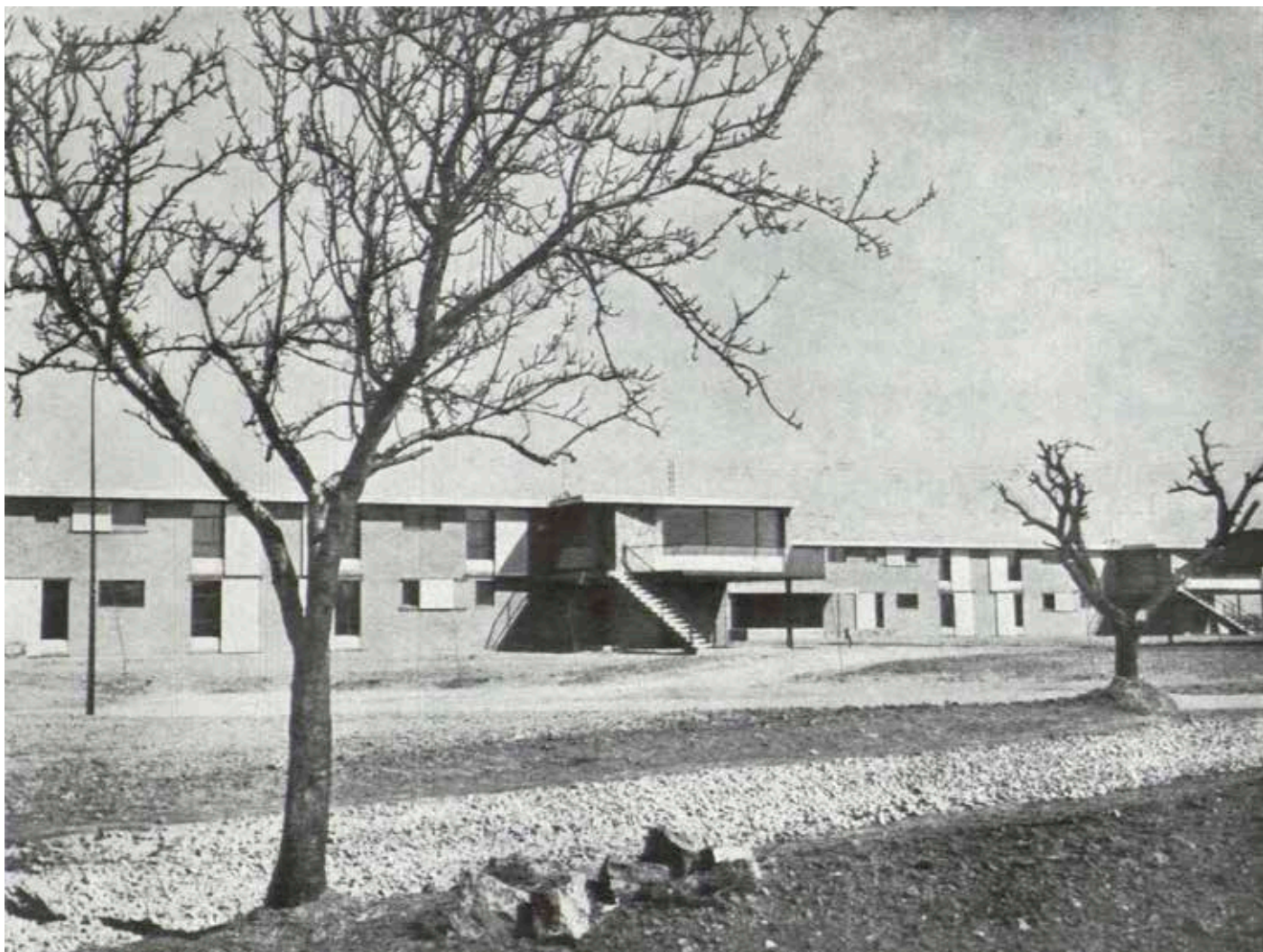


Figure 5

Luis Laorga, José López Zanón and E. J. Kump (consultant), Urbanización 'El Encinar de los Reyes SA' (Royal Oaks) for the JUSMG.

Living within the absurd: Albert Camus and Social Estrangement

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Albert Camus's writing are biographical descriptions of domestic and urban space that provide a stage on which characters become exiled from society which surrounds them. Emblematic of an absurd incongruence between life and the world, his writings portray an abstraction of architecture in vast African cityscapes. An analysis of displacement present in Camus's writings, this paper interrogates episodic architectural instances as described through Camus himself. Inspired by Albert Memmi's work on post-colonial theory, and Esra Acan's melancholy of colonialism, this investigation will deepen relationships between the colonizer, colonized, and domestic space. Living in a displaced world, Camus abstracts himself, and subsequently the characters in his novels, from the reality of these environments.

Keywords: Albert Camus, Esra' Acan, Algeria, French colonialism, exile, imaginary, domesticity.

INTRODUCTION

Returning home from the holidays on January 4th, 1960, Albert Camus was killed when his car crashed into a tree. Found in the mud at the accident site was an incomplete manuscript of his latest book, *Le Premier homme* [The First Man], which, like his earlier novels, is a semi-autobiographical account of his life. An Algerian born Frenchman, Camus was conflicted between his ethnicity and perceived home, often describing a complex relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Emblematic of an absurd incongruence between life and the world, his writings portray an abstraction of architecture. Camus's works provide an illustrative insight into the post-WWII colonial rubric. As Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* (1994) indicates, "Camus's narratives of resistance and existential confrontation, which had once seemed to be about withstanding or opposing both mortality and Nazism, can now be read as part of the debate about culture and imperialism" (p. 172).

An analysis of societal displacement present in Camus's writings - in particular *La Peste* [The Plague], *L'Étranger* [The Stranger], and *Le Premier Homme* [The First Man], this paper analyzes episodic architectural instances through the lens of Camus's notion of home. What can the analysis of a particular author tell us about the relationship between literature, colonialism, and architectural spaces of domesticity? How does Camus's philosophy of the Absurd impact an idiosyncratic narrative and its memory? Most importantly, how does one's sense of home affect the way they cognize and abstract the reality around them?

DISPLACEMENT & EXILE

While Camus spent most of his adult life in France, he found Paris too disconnected from his Algerian upbringing. While his only desire was to leave Paris, he hoped that a life in Algeria would reignite his literary pursuits. According to biographer Oliver Todd (1997), Camus "longed to be rid of Paris, and not just for a few months at a time" (p. 293). He complained that life in the city prevented him from working any more than four to five hours daily.¹ During this feeling of homelessness, Camus wrote, "[t]he place where I prefer to live and work (and even rarer, where I wouldn't mind dying) is a hotel room..." (Todd, 1997, p. 294) Camus came to realize that his feeling of inclusion may have merely been youthful callowness. Like a hotel

1 Throughout his life Camus wished to escape Paris to write creatively - his creative efforts dwindled while in the city.

room, his Algerian upbringing was not a home at all.

A man seemingly with no native identity, his exile is similar to Esra Ackan's (2012) description of colonial melancholy. Ackan indicates, the dilemma is "initiated by the simultaneous desire to be part of the 'western civilization' ... and to establish an identity that would avoid being 'absorbed by the West.'" (p. 140) This internal conflict led Camus to abstract himself from his surroundings - a necessary response to a feeling of exile from his birthplace, his nationality, and his friends.²

Following WWII, Camus experienced additional isolation from the French Intelligentsia because of his stance on French-colonialism in Algeria. An incongruence between an insatiable human drive for meaning and the inability to find this in a post-war world incapable of meaning, provides a backdrop for Camus's philosophy of the Absurd. Insofar as it is inherently devoid of significance, Absurdity, means a conflicting relationship between our minds and the world. The disconnect between humans' desire for meaning and a world without intrinsic meaning creates a friction that is nonsensical, or, as Camus would say, Absurd. Camus best describes this interrelation when he said, "the absurd is not in man... nor in the world, but in their common presence" (Todd, 1997, p. 145). Camus's aim, as such, is to eliminate the assumption that the meaning of life is a condition of existence.

Although a self-denied existentialist, Camus's philosophy posits an indubitable need for a life's meaning, albeit inconsistent with the world as we know it. According to biographer Robert Zeretsky (2013), an Absurd life "tears us from our everyday subjective experiences and forces us to assume an external viewpoint - a perspective that rattles the conceits and assumptions we hold about our lives" (p. 11). Evident in the writing of Camus, the result is a need for abstraction. Abstraction is one's way of coping with Absurd inconsistencies between life and the world in which one lives. As such, in his novels Camus creates an abstracted, nondescript architectural framework detached from this world.

A NONDESCRIPT ARCHITECTURE

Showing an early interest in art and architecture,³ Camus would often go for walks through the city to study its forms and structure in light and shadow. His walks through Oran and Algiers left lasting impressions on a young Camus. On his first trip to Marseilles he visited the architecture of Le Corbusier. Camus's initial impressions were that Corbusier's modern architecture was befitting of the working-class. (Todd, 1997, p. 46). Camus identifies with modernist principles, such as an abandonment of superfluous ornamentation, as opposed to the ostentatious architecture of the bourgeoisie. Camus's novels contain detailed events that occur in particular architectural spaces. Despite this, Camus's architecture is nondescript. Not without detail, it is plain and abstracted - devoid of ornate detailing or stylistic idiosyncrasies. No more is this notion of abstraction more evident than in the author's most isolating novel, *The Plague*.

THE PLAGUE

First published in 1947, *The Plague* follows the story of a town entrapped by the grip of disease that threatens not only their lives, but, perhaps more notably in the text, their way of life. Not unlike Camus's experience in Paris during WWII, inhabitants of Oran are forced to remain in a place for which they feel no domestic affinity. From the onset of the plague, the town gates were closed, isolating two groups of people:

2 The Algerian War was the primary divisive force in Camus's life friends. Following Camus's death, his friend turned rival, Jean-Paul Sartre wrote, "we were on bad terms, he and I, but bad terms mean nothing, even if we'd have never met again, it's just another way of living together." [Todd, 1997, p.415]

3 Surprisingly, he suggested architecture a more pragmatic art than literature or philosophy, insofar as it was made substantial and had consequences. [Todd, 1997, p. 33]

those displaced from their home country and trapped in Oran; locals who had left and could no longer return. Divorced from ordinary rituals, Oran becomes an unfamiliar environment that resists the familiar feeling of home. Camus, and his characters, experience inconsistencies between their life and the world they live in, ultimately leaving them trapped in a state of absurdity. The only way to live with absurdity is to embrace it through a means of abstraction.

The narrator of *The Plague*, Rieux⁴, is accused of living in a world of abstractions - or divorcing himself from reality - to escape suffering without meaning. Rieux ponders over this for some time, ultimately agreeing that abstracting oneself from reality is the only way to continue living in the presence of the plague (Camus, 1991, p. 91). Since the gates of Oran are closed, inhabitants are left with no other options, except suicide, which Camus rejects as an answer to Absurdity.

Before the onset of the plague, another character, Cottard, was brought to a point of wanting to kill himself to evade imprisonment. Instead, the plague fulfills this purpose, his life improving as a result. He is prosperous and at ease, even comfortable, while the death toll rises. Cottard is abstracting himself from reality, insofar as his version of reality is one in which the plague is beneficial to him. The plague is an escape, an abstraction. He fears the end of the plague, as it might end his freedom.

Building a fabricated reality up in one's mind is reminiscent of the colonizer dreaming of his mother country. According to post-colonial theorist, Albert Memmi, in *Colonizer and the Colonized*, "[a]lthough he is everything in the colony, the colonialist knows that in his own country he would be nothing; he would go back to being a mediocre man" (Memmi, 1965, p. 60). A colonialist might conjure up a perfect, though inaccurate, memory of his home in the absence of associated comforts, a fabrication of an exaggeration. But, if the colonialist were to ever return home, he would destroy the sublime nature of this false reality. Discovering the flaws he abstracted away, the colonizer would realize his own as well.

Growing up in colonized Algeria, Camus is no stranger to the need for abstraction. Camus, like his characters, is forced to abstract his reality, or else acknowledge the unethical societal structure that he contributes to by attempting to call Algeria his home. Memmi states that the "result is that the colonialist is unsure of his true nationality. He navigates between a faraway society which he wants to make his own (but which becomes to a certain degree mythical), and a present society which he rejects and thus keeps in the abstract." Thus, Camus constructs myths in lieu of his actual surroundings.

Camus's descriptions of architecture emerges from his necessity for abstraction. In *The Plague*, the narrator explicitly describes the city as having "uninspiring surroundings." Were the surroundings uninspiring, or is this a reflection of Camus's unwillingness to unpack his own surroundings, to acknowledge the land and cityscape that was not of his own ancestors? Camus fabricates an architecture that is non-descript, it does not identify with any style, but one devoid of defining details. This is a result of his homelessness, his inability to identify with any one nationality - or related architectural style - and his abstraction of the built environment that shelters him.

In the midst of the plague, Rieux describes the city as, "no more than an assemblage of huge, inert cubes, between which only the mute effigies of great men, carapaced in bronze, with their blank stone or metal faces, conjured up a sorry semblance of what the man had been." (Camus, 1991, p. 172) Bereft of material and defining qualities, these "huge, inert cubes" are indicative of the absurdity of the plague, and the abstractions that result. The most notable mention of unidentifiable architecture in *The Plague*, it is accompanied by a description of "mute" statues with "blank faces." Our narrator sees before him

⁴ Camus withholds the narrator's identity until near the end of the novel in an attempt to prevent the reader from developing a bias. Emblematic of Camus attempting to negotiate his life between two nationalities, he cannot evade bias both in his life and in his literary work - by the time Camus reveals the narrator of *The Plague*, their identity is already apparent.

only a simple rendering of what actually exists. He retreats to a place in his mind which conjures up only a baseline-understanding of his surroundings. These non-descriptions of architecture become even more evident in Camus's other works: *The Stranger* and *The First Man*.

THE STRANGER

Camus's most widely published novel, *The Stranger*,⁵ tells the story of Meursault, inspired by Camus, a detached figure who according to Said (1994) exhibits "astonishingly existential isolation" from an outside position - paralleling Absurdism (p. 172).

In the first scene, Meursault is attending his mother's funeral. Camus describes specific and precise details of the space, from the cross-shaped sawhorses, to the shiny screws in the casket, that were "not screwed down all away" (Camus, 1989, p. 6). Moreover, Camus illustrates materiality of objects such as the casket's "walnut-stained planks." In describing the space itself, Camus mentions ubiquitous and unidentifiable features, such as nondescript white-washed walls and a "skylight for a roof." The form of the space is ignored, its materiality unidentified, and its elements monolithic. In contrast, objects and events that occur in the space are given copious detail.

Later, in a confrontation on the beach, Meursault murders an Arab man, after which he is sent to prison where he stays until his death. In his cell, architectural elements - the wall and window - have neither material nor substance. The wall's purpose is to protect through confinement. The window's purpose is to punish. One may suppose that the wall is intended to comfort and support Meursault. We are given this clue insofar as it suspends the 'wooden boards' on which he slept. Meursault describes this welcomed isolation as follows, "I wasn't really in prison those first few days: I was sort of waiting for something to happen... from that day on I felt that I was at home in my cell and that my life was coming to a standstill there" (Camus, 1989, p. 72). The wall is abstracted to a mere dividing element from both the Arab prisoners and the French population in the city. As Meursault's confinement continues, he becomes increasingly comfortable in his new domestic exile, and increasingly annoyed by the world beyond its walls:

"I walked into a very large room brightened by a huge bay window. The room was divided into three sections by two large grates that ran the length of the room... Because of the distance between the grates, the visitors and the prisoners were forced to speak very loud. When I walked in, the sound of the voices echoing off the room's high, bare walls and the harsh light pouring out of the sky onto the windows and spilling into the room brought on a kind of dizziness. My cell was quieter and darker... I was feeling a little sick and I'd have liked to leave." (Camus, 1989, pp. 73-75).

Like the funeral, the reader is given vague and ubiquitous descriptions of architectural space. The room has "high, bare walls" with a "huge bay window." Camus, as such, restrains his architectural portrayal to qualities of space that define its affect on the senses. The room's size and proportions result in a disorienting echo. The light, harsh. The experience, dizzying. At the end of the scene we see Meursault pining for his "quieter and darker" prison cell.

Architectural elements of the courtroom sequence consist of window treatments, a rostrum that "dominated the room," and two large fans that were ineffectively cooling the space (Camus, 1989, p. 105). Coupled with a dizzying heat, Meursault is perpetually distracted by the sounds and smells of the street outside. During the climax of the trial, in which Meursault's attorney is pleading his defense, Meursault

5 The *Stranger* is translated in its UK Release as 'The Outsider', which is a more appropriate translation from the French 'L'Étranger.' The United States publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, New York (1946), likely choose 'The Stranger' as it is closer phonetically to the original French title. The Outsider, however, is befitting of Camus himself, whether in France or Algeria, he seemed to be an 'Other.'

descends into a daydream, in which “the utter pointlessness of whatever I was doing there seized me by the throat, and all I wanted was to get it over with and get back to my cell and sleep” (Camus, 1989, p. 105). Camus uses this opportunity to further reinforce his philosophy of the Absurd, inasmuch as visceral and seemingly inconsequential aspects of life give it significance. In other words, Meursault’s life is in the balance, his fate and death are being decided, and it was of “utter pointlessness” (Camus, 1989, p. 105).

THE FIRST MAN

In 1994 Camus's daughter, Catherine, published the handwritten manuscript of his last and incomplete novel. *The First Man* describes the poverty-stricken life of a boy, Jacques, searching for an identity through childhood memories and his dead father. Camus is eager to grasp for what Memmi ascribed of his character a decade earlier, as the colonisateur de bonne volonté’ [the colonizer of good will]⁶ (Memmi, 1957).

In the first scene of the book, Jacques is born in a dilapidated house in remote Algeria. Walking through the “small whitewashed house,” Jacques’s father “barely took time to notice... the whitewashed kitchen with a sink of red ceramic tile” (Camus, 1994, p. 9). The building itself was plain. Camus goes on to describe a “rickety sideboard made of unfinished wood.” The scene quickly sets up an overarching theme of the book, the disparity between the richness of poverty versus superfluity of the elite.

Jacques later accompanies his grandmother to a cinema. Poverty, not the film itself, takes center stage. The reader is constantly reminded that Jacques grew up in the poor part of town surrounded by “an obstacle course of Arab peddlers” (Camus, 1994, pp. 93). To reinforce his narrative, Camus even intended to include more descriptions of poverty in this scene. Hand-written on side of the manuscript, while describing his grandmother’s “meager funds” (Camus, 1994, p. 96), is inscribed as follows: “add symptoms of poverty - unemployment...” Even the cinema exhibits neither ornament nor texture, with only “bare walls,” and a “floor littered with peanut shells, the smell of cresyl mingled with a strong odor of humanity” (Camus, 1994, p. 95). Opposed to opulent theatres in Paris, this cinema itself is merely a barefaced vessel.

The harsh and poverty-stricken landscape of Algeria starkly contrasts with portrayals of France. While more detailed, French architecture contains aspects that are disgraceful to Jacques, such as the “villages and ugly houses” or the “commonplace houses with ugly red tiles” (Camus, 1994, pp. 20,22). Moreover, this clear disdain for the French vernacular is evident in the cemetery scene, where some gravestones are simple, and “others ugly and pretentious, all covered with that bead and marble bric-a-brac that would disgrace anyplace on earth.” Throughout the book, Camus differentiates between the poor, but simple, Algerian landscape, and the bolstering French cities of little character.

AN ABSTRACTED REALITY

In early May 1954 a new colonial conflict emerged in Algeria. After the beginning of what was later called the Algerian Revolution, Camus pleaded that Algerians and French should live equally in a democratic Algeria, which found little support from both native Arabs and French nationalists. Akin to the ‘melancholy of the colonized’ as outlined by Ackerly, Camus felt as neither a colonizer, in this case a French national occupying a colonial land, nor a colonized, a local Arab-Algerian under foreign colonial control.⁷

Memmi (1965), however, tells us that there is no such thing as a neutral colonial, meaning a colonizer who rejects oppressive behaviors and stratified social structures (p. 20). Algerian-born historian Azzedine Haddour parallels Memmi’s sentiment in *Colonial Myths: History and narrative*, where he indicates that

6 Memmi indicates that although Camus is well meaning, he remains a colonizer regardless (Memmi, 1957)

7 In a letter Camus wrote to the French President in 1954, Camus describes himself as “an independent writer who knows about North African questions because of his origins, and who tries to judge without prejudice whenever possible” (Todd, 1997, p. 322).

Camus “stressed the unity of the Mediterranean world” but “was incapable of thinking in terms other than those of a French colonizer” (Haddour, *Colonial Myths* p. 29)

The French, who wanted control over the colony viewed Camus as an Algerian sympathizer. They equated his stance that Arab-Algerians should be equal, as unpatriotic. Camus’s egalitarian viewpoint led to a discrimination against Camus and other pied noirs living in North Africa. Whereas the French felt Camus was too Algerian, the Algerians felt the opposite - that Camus was too French. Although Camus was born and raised in Algeria, he was nonetheless French by his ethnicity and skin color. Moreover, Camus did not support a free and independent Algeria for the Arabs. Camus was steadfast in his rejection of the terrorist policies of the Front de Libération Nationale [FLN], both because of their violent tactics and their socialist inclinations (Todd, 1997, p. 323). Camus’s insistence in an equally French and Arab Algeria defines him as an ‘Other’ from both sides.

Camus’s reluctance to accept his surroundings motivates him to fill his novels with nondescript architecture. As Memmi postulates, “[t]o live without anguish, one must live in detachment from oneself and the world - one must reconstruct the odors and sounds of one’s childhood” (Memmi, 1965, p. 26) A colonizer who tries to reject association with one side or another “either no longer recognizes the colonized, or he no longer recognizes himself.” Forced to remain in a state of absurdity, this person loses contact with reality and “begins to construct myths” (Memmi, 1965, p. 32]. Perhaps this is why we see descriptions of architecture that are devoid of materiality or form. Instead Camus chooses to describe the sounds, smells, and sights that make up an experience in a space. A result of his detachment from his Algerian surroundings, architectural experiences are abstracted, reduced primarily to an emotional response a space elicits. Said (1994) suggests that Camus and characters in his novels “blocked off” ambitions of France to “possess the territory” of Algeria (pp. 176, 178) Camus abstracted his surroundings - stripping them of signification - resulting in ethereal experiences as opposed to tangible reality - such as style, ornamentation, and detailing.

CONCLUSION

Growing up Camus believed that an Algerian-born Frenchman could live peacefully in Algeria. Later in life, following the Algerian Revolution, Camus refused to admit that not only was he not welcome, his ideology that the pied noirs could call Algeria ‘home’ was not shared by others - neither French nor Algerians. What Camus had once thought of his home was no longer. It is likely that the overwhelming disagreement with Camus’s stance may have shocked him - coming to the self-realization that he may have never been home in Algeria all along. Unwilling or unable to accept his position as a colonizer, Camus, and the characters of his novels, are forced to construct myths to combat the Absurd.

Detached from his world and unwilling to accept his reality, Camus’s status as a colonizer and colonized, stripped him of all notions of domesticity and home. Unsure of his true nationality, Camus is forced to navigate between a society for which he was promised a sentiment of home, and a society whose structure he rejects. As such, he is left in the abstract, caught somewhere between. [Memmi, 1965, p. 68]

Likewise, his architecture is also unidentifiable. Light and sound affect his characters through raw, visceral circumstances, however, the architecture itself remains ubiquitous. Its location is anywhere, its style unidentifiable. His characters, a biographical parallel of Camus, are likewise exiled where abstraction is a necessity. Instances of nondescript architecture in his novels, therefore, result from a need to create myths in an Absurd reality.

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SESSION 4.C

ARCHITECTURAL DISPLACEMENTS

EUROPEAN ÉMIGRÉS AND MODERNISM IN POST-WAR NEW ZEALAND

Gina Hochstein

BUNGALOW COMPOUNDS IN JOHANNESBURG:
ORGANIC RE-APPROPRIATION OF IMPORTED DOMESTICITY

Kirsten Dörmann

THE LAYERED THRESHOLD AS A MEDIATING FIGURE IN THE HOMES
OF MIGRANTS AND NEWCOMERS

Els De Vos, Dirk Geldof

European Émigrés and Modernism in Post-war New Zealand

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The émigré occupies a place between refugee and migrant. Refugees are fleeing their homelands, migrants are often seeking a better life elsewhere, but the term émigré has political connotations, often that of self-imposed exile from home. In the mid-Twentieth Century, European émigrés, often fleeing fascist and occasionally communist regimes, played an important role in the creation of the modern era – in countries other than their own. These exiles were often notable people and progressive thinkers such as writers, artists, architects, scientists and others. This paper focuses primarily on European modernist architects who settled in New Zealand, especially an enclave in the foothills fringing Auckland, New Zealand’s largest city. This location, Titirangi (‘fringe of heaven’ in Māori), is now acknowledged as an important hotbed of modernist creativity in the post-war period. Over 30 significant modernist houses in the area have been identified by the authors, most designed by émigré architects for themselves or clients. However the modernism of these émigrés was at odds with that developing in New Zealand at the same time. New Zealand-born artists, writers, architects and other creatives were engaged in a search for ways of expressing national identity after the Second World War when the country was gaining full autonomy from Britain. The émigrés had a distaste of nationalism, having experienced the negative side of it in the rise of European fascism and the conflict of the Second World War. Consequently their architecture was in the International Style, quite different from the developing New Zealand Regional Modernism, and frequently described as alien to the New Zealand landscape, climate and society. This paper will survey émigré modernism in New Zealand, responsible for many excellent International Style houses, and focus on their place in the country’s architectural history.

Keywords: Auckland, Titirangi, New Zealand, European modernist architects, émigrés, politics and architecture, International Style, Regional Modernism, cultural confrontation.

INTRODUCTION

The émigré occupies a place between refugee and migrant, usually leaving their homeland for political or philosophical reasons. Out of step with their old land, for good reasons or bad, for better or for worse, the *émigré* makes a new life in a new land but can remain preoccupied with the old. There is a sense that the new place they occupy now may be temporary or may be permanent. In some ways *émigrés* take their homeland with them and continue the artistic or political work they were previously engaged in, but whether this is relevant or not to their new place of residence varies world-wide.

During the pre-Second World War period European artists and intellectuals would leave Europe for artistic, ethical and philosophical reasons as well as personal, practical or political ones. During the German Third Reich, the International Style of modernism was suppressed and politically vilified as ideologically suspect (Rosenfeld, 1997). Thus modernist architects found practice and patronage was limited. Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius are perhaps the most famous modernist émigré architects, departing Europe for the USA.

This paper focuses on the architectural contribution of émigrés in New Zealand and discusses the role that pre-war and post-war European émigré architects played in the introduction of modernist architecture

to New Zealand. However it argues that their adherence to the International Style, after the Second World War, at a time when New Zealand-born modernists in all the arts were engaged in a search for means of expressing national identity, meant that their work has been sidelined in our history, perceived as out of step with mainstream local architectural development, especially in the realm of house design. This paper will identify reasons for this.

Émigrés primarily settled in two New Zealand cities: the capital, Wellington, and the largest and northernmost city, Auckland. Most chose Auckland and a large number settled in the forested hilltop village of Titirangi. The great majority of the architectural work in Auckland was domestic free-standing housing for individual families. This may seem odd to a European audience but even today, although architects also engage in commercial and institutional buildings, the architect-designed house remains a primary site of architectural activity and New Zealand's architectural histories focus very much on the house. And this we will argue is one reason why the domestic work of these émigré modernist architects has until recently been marginalised in the canon.

TITIRANGI, AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Titirangi ('fringe of heaven' in the indigenous language Māori) is located in the Waitākere Ranges, a forested hilltop suburb on the outskirts of Auckland. The Titirangi neighbourhood in the post-war period was not wealthy, but was sophisticated, intellectual and appreciated the arts. Many émigrés chose to settle here because of the cosmopolitan character of the progressive, arts-minded people, and the attraction of the semi-alpine forested environment, away from the conventional housing of the flatter Auckland suburbs and their more conservatively-minded inhabitants. The sloping forest-covered sites of the area were also cheap and the challenging topography encouraged innovation in house design. The people of the area were interested in experimentation and the possibilities of the new promised by modernism. Many modernist mid-century houses were built here for émigrés themselves and neighbours happy to engage with new architectural language that incorporated other aspects of the arts such as painting, sculpture, furniture, ceramics and weaving. Artist Lois McIvor recalls that "... creativity and the aesthetic feeling in Titirangi was quite remarkable and very unusual at the time ..." (Bonny, 2011, p. 103).

Art historian Leonard Bell in a recent publication, *Strangers Arrive: Émigrés and the Arts in New Zealand, 1930-1980* (Bell, 2017) discusses the wider role of the (mainly European) émigré in New Zealand society in this period. While the new visual and other arts ideas they brought were taken up by native practitioners and flowed into other areas, mainstream New Zealand society continued in the post-war period to have a "...provincial Sunday afternoon feel," as described in a 1943 *Horizon* periodical (Kavan, 1945, p.162) and émigré assimilation could prove difficult. Consequently many émigrés created their own enclaves, made up of diverse nationalities and artistic modernist practices. Bell's work looks at many of the individual émigrés including some architects; this paper looks at the place of émigré architects in New Zealand architectural history. Their work has only really been focused on in the past few decades, beginning with architectural historians Peter Shaw and Douglas Lloyd Jenkins, and continues to come to light through contemporary research. Over 30 significant modernist houses in the Titirangi area have been identified by the authors of this paper, most designed by émigré architects for themselves or clients.

NEW ZEALAND MODERNISM OF THE PERIOD

Looking at the development of modernism in most of the arts in New Zealand such as painting,

sculpture, music and literature, one can see two post-war streams of modernist thinking; one focused on a more international style and the other more focused on a sense of national identity. In the visual arts for example, the painting practice of Milan Mrkusich represents the former and the work of Colin McCahon expresses the latter.

In pre-war architecture, modernist New Zealand architects such as Robin Simpson and Paul Pascoe worked in an international style, however in the 1940s Pascoe argued for a new architecture to be more “expressive of national character” (Shaw, 1992, p.24). Simpson died young but his architectural partner Vernon Brown also became an advocate for an architecture expressive of national identity. Allen Curnow, the important New Zealand poet, wrote in 1945: “Strictly speaking, New Zealand doesn’t exist yet. It remains to be created – should I say invented – by writers, musicians, architects, publishers...” (Curnow, 1945, p.2). The country was moving away from its colonial past and British motherland, towards independence and modernity.

This paper argues that this drive to produce an identifiably New Zealand modernism has marginalised the contribution of the more internationally-minded modernists, including the work of some native-born New Zealanders. The phrase native-born New Zealanders refers to those born in New Zealand, largely of British descent but including the indigenous Māori. It should not be construed as only indigenous Māori.

When discussing the manifestation of national identity in architecture we define this as concerns for climatically appropriate forms, the usage of local materials, the needs and household arrangements of local people and reference to local precursor forms such as vernacular buildings. In New Zealand the latter were timber farm buildings such as milking sheds and woolsheds, and indigenous Māori meeting houses. Influential practitioners with this ambition in the post-war period were Vernon Brown and the Group Architects. These architects, as will be discussed later, were also influential teachers at New Zealand’s only school of architecture (until the late 1970s) in Auckland, and active in publication, criticism and commentary. The houses produced by the nationalists made overt reference to vernacular forms through timber structure and cladding, visible sloping roofs of corrugated iron, verandahs and so on. The work of International Style practitioners often took the form of flat-roofed glass pavilions with materials such as steel, concrete, marble and stone prominent.

This preoccupation with national identity was not unique to New Zealand and can be seen in many countries around the world, especially the post-colonial and the newly independent. It should be remembered that the Twentieth Century is notable, as a result mainly of two global wars and many more of independence, for the breaking-up of empires, de-colonisation and the establishment of independent nations.

The European émigrés however, had left their homelands often because of the emergence of nationalism, used by fascist governments as a tool to manipulate populations. The Austrian Ernst Plischke, who left Europe in 1939 after the Anschluss, and was perhaps the most famous architectural émigré to make New Zealand home, commented to architectural theorist Nikolas Pevsner that the nation: “*goes through a sort of emancipation struggle, economically as well as intellectually. In architecture the highest word on the list is ‘indigenous’.*” *The search for the local, he continued, “is all a bit difficult and the endeavour smells a bit like blood and soil”* (McAloon, 2004, n.p.).

This latter is a reference to the rhetoric of German National Socialist nationalism. As art historian and critic William McAloon has pointed out his new home was also somewhat unwelcoming of the new émigré: “*...as well as having to counter accusations of espionage, Plischke was required to explain to a confused constabulary that a consignment of steel tubing delivered to his house was for use in furniture*

and not the production of something more sinister. More significantly, Plischke refused to sit the exams for a qualification that would be recognised in New Zealand, insisting that his six years' training in Vienna, including study with the great modernist Peter Behrens, was superior to anything offered here. As a result, one of our most significant architects was never actually able to call himself one" (McAloon, 2004, n.p.).

During the National Socialist movement's rise to power in Germany and the Second World War, over 1,100 refugees arrived in New Zealand from Europe and over 2,000 immigrants arrived post-war and into the early 1960s (Bell, 2017, p. 3). New Zealand's population of 1.6 million was small but this is still not a large percentage given the wartime context. However a significant number of these immigrants were professional people with families. For the émigré and refugee architect there were obstacles to gain work. Apart from language barriers, architectural registration required examinations, as mentioned above. They also faced prejudice. In 1940 populist newspaper *NZ Truth* stated: "*... if the tide is not stemmed ... it will handicap children of men who fought the last war, while we extend preference to the children of their adversaries*" (Bell, 2017, p. 3).

Yet, émigré intellectuals and professionals played an important part in promoting current European ideas which flowed into New Zealand culture such as those of modernism into architecture (Bell, 2017). This offered an alternative to the traditional conservative English practice that up to this point was prevalent.

ÉMIGRÉ ARCHITECTS

Émigré architects who settled in the capital, Wellington, included Ernst Plischke, Friedrich 'Fritz' Eisenhofer, Helmut Einhorn, Friedrich Neumann, Friedrich Ost, Max Rosenberg and others. Many were involved in government work (and also anglicised their names. Schnoor, 2015, p.562).

Plischke was the most famous, arriving in 1939. Formerly employed by Peter Behrens in Germany, he had established his own practice and reputation in Europe before leaving with his Jewish wife Anna. He was employed until 1947 by the government and involved with large projects such as multi-unit housing (apartment buildings), planning of new settlements and community centres. Plischke maintained an International Style of modernism in all this work, much of which did not proceed beyond the drawing board. During this time he published the book *Design and Living* (1947) promoting an International Style of modernism. One of his biographers, Linda Tyler, wrote of his weariness of pressure for 'indigenous' architectural expression as it smacked of the fascist nationalism from which he had escaped. Beyond work he and his family, as foreigners, remained suspect, considered to be enemy aliens during the war, although classified as sufficiently reliable unless there was an invasion of New Zealand, at which point they would be interned (Tyler, 2007).

New Zealand cities at the time were low-rise with suburban housing, unlike the multi-unit European urban environment that Plischke was familiar with. In his new country, dense housing such as flats was viewed with suspicion, according to Plischke, where it was said "*only prostitutes or intellectuals wanted to live in them*" (Tyler, 2008, p.87). However he was crucial in the construction of New Zealand's first large modernist apartment buildings (fig.1); as he remarked, "*my department built the first continental European block of flats*" (Plischke, 1989, p.249). However due to the frustrations of government work, he left and founded a practice with Cedric Firth where they built a significant International Style modernist building (Massey House, 1951-7) on Wellington's main street as well as a number of International Style houses around the city's suburbs. Plischke left New Zealand in 1963 to return to Europe and an appointment as Professor of Architecture in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. He received a belated New Zealand institute of Architects fellowship in 1969 although he had never been properly recognised as an architect in

New Zealand. In the 1980s he commented how xenophobic and hostile some New Zealanders were to him and his form of “European high modernism” (Long, 2007, p. 264).

Most immigrants chose to settle in New Zealand’s largest city, Auckland. Prominent among these were architects Gerhard Rosenberg, Imric Porsolt, Odo Strewe (landscape architect), Vladimir Cacala, Tibor Donner and Heinrich Kulka (Fig.2). Artists included Kees Hos, Theo Schoon, Frank Hofmann, Marti Friedlander and Ans Westra. Many of these settled in the Titirangi enclave that also included notable native-born architects and artists such as Bill Haresnape, Colin McCahon, Molly Macalister, Lois McIvor and writers such as Maurice Shadbolt.

The experience of other émigrés varied from that of Plischke but even with what seems like success in practice, none became well known or were highly thought of and featured in our architectural histories, due to their adherence to the International Style rather than embracing Regional Modernism.

Czech architect Heinrich Kulka had been a partner of Adolf Loos and in the 1930s had authored *Adolf Loos: Das Werk des Architekten*. He was active in the development of the Raumplan and brought to New Zealand this idea of spatial planning within his modernist homes (Gatley, 2008, p. 52). Employed as Chief Architect by the very large company Fletcher Construction, he designed over 100 commercial and 40 residential buildings. James Fletcher, owner of Fletcher Construction, sponsored and supported his employment (Smith, 2014, p.34). Kulka brought with him new technologies such as the introduction of natural light into factories through saw-tooth roofing (Gatley, 2008, p. 52).

Another Czech, Vladimir Cacala, lived through the war, then studied at Prague University where his architectural education was based on Bauhaus principles. From 1948 the Czech Communist Party constrained private architectural practice and Cacala escaped to the American-occupied Bavaria in September, 1949 (Tyler, 2007, p.29) before arriving in New Zealand in 1952. He worked at Brenner Associates, advocates of International Style design, before starting his own practice. He designed numerous houses and multi-unit European style flats and apartments incorporating modernist elements, especially large areas of glazing and colour, at odds with the then prevalent New Zealand wooden house. His 1959 Blumenthal House (fig.3) features swathes of glass and cantilevered elements creating a light filled and spacious home with the front painted in rectangles of primary colours earning it the nickname ‘Mondrian House’, after the De Stijl artist (Tyler, 2008, p.91).

ÉMIGRÉS IN NEW ZEALAND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

It has only been in the last 20 years that émigré architects who practiced in the International style have been acknowledged in historical research in New Zealand. Until recently the nationalist view of New Zealand architecture and its history has been dominant. The highly respected history of post-war New Zealand architecture, *The Elegant Shed: New Zealand Architecture Since 1945* (1984) by David Mitchell (an important architect, commentator and architecture school lecturer) takes a regionalist stance. The title refers to New Zealand vernacular buildings and the book’s chapter structure focuses on different regions. Plischke, as expressed above, had doubts about New Zealand’s aspirations to a Regional Modernism. He believed that nationalism had political overtones and proposed that International Style modernism was still good design. Mitchell commented that Plischke “...stamped his houses with the cool elegance of the International Style” but “...nor could New Zealand architects easily accommodate the work of talented Europeans... perhaps they [the New Zealanders] were too self-consciously nationalistic ... feeling that they had to develop their own way of doing things...” (Mitchell, 1984, p.65).

As recently as 1998 the Auckland School of Architecture publication, *Connections: The House in the*

Auckland Scene could still comment: “Continental modernism in New Zealand, as in the works of refugee architects and Ernst Plischke, never quite shook off an alien, dysfunctional relation to the New Zealand scene” as John Dickson put it (Dickson, 1998, p.30). A second author, Peter Bartlett, concurred, finding the work “subversive” and “inappropriate for New Zealand and as pursuing too simplistic and formalist an agenda” especially in the realm of house design (Bartlett, 1998, p.23). The work of the émigrés was considered extraneous to New Zealand’s architectural direction and dismissed in histories.

Why were émigré architects not well received and acknowledged as part of the historical narrative of New Zealand’s modernist period; considered not of value in creating New Zealand architecture, merely transplanting an international one? This paper posits three reasons. The first is war-time suspicion of the foreigner, as expressed in the experiences of Plischke and others as being possible ‘enemy aliens’. This is echoed years later by the use of the phrases “alien” and “subversive” in *Connections*. The second factor is the influence of the Auckland School of Architecture. For many years this was the sole school of architecture in the country and it was dominated for decades by nationalist/regionalist architects such as Brown, Bill Wilson (of the Group) and Mitchell who had very significant teaching roles and were also highly engaged in writing history, criticism and commentary. The third is the predominance of the house as the primary site of architectural expression in New Zealand architecture, as opposed to larger commercial and institutional buildings in most other countries. Since most émigrés, like other architects, were highly engaged in house design, it is unsurprising that this ‘battlefield’ of the national/regional vs the international has led to the marginalisation of émigré work and the Titirangi enclave.

This paper also suggests a reason that a new generation of historians has ‘discovered’ this oeuvre and endeavoured to bring the work of *émigrés* to light: that is the world-wide renewal of interest over the last 20 years in classic modernism and the International Style, what we now refer to as Mid-Century Modern and the Retro-Modern.

CONCLUSION

As Chris Stephen puts it, the architecture of migrancy is “explicitly international in character” (as cited in Cairns, 2003, p.17). Gülsüm Baydar proposes an idea in “The Cultural Burden of Architecture” (2004), that “Architecture as a universal signifier becomes a historical reference for historical narratives” (Baydar, 2004, p.25). To bring this to the context of this paper, the culture from which the émigrés came (and brought with them their architecture) has now become part of New Zealand’s narrative of architectural history but has previously lacked acknowledgement of the extent of their achievement, particularly in the design of the domestic; the house. The architectural language of the International Style aimed “for global application but Regionalism challenged this” (Gatley, 2008, p. 3). *Émigré architects* to New Zealand expressed a formal and international modernist vocabulary in the architecture they designed, especially homes, and this was a powerful symbol to articulate their own new start in a foreign country. But it was out of step with the aspiration of the mainstream of architects in their new home.

Émigrés who brought concepts of International Style modernism to New Zealand were at odds with New Zealand’s post-Second World War search for national identity. It should also be mentioned that New Zealand-born architects working in the same style, and in Titirangi, such as the firms Rigby Mullan and Mark Brown Fairhead also suffered this marginalisation, but it was the émigrés who were most affected. Most New Zealanders, in their South Pacific nation, were looking to move away from the ties of the British Empire and were seeking to express this in the arts and architecture. It is unfortunate that this ambition has for many years clouded the achievements of others in producing good design and led to the marginalisation

of émigré achievement. It is to be hoped that New Zealand and other nations value diversity and the talents of immigrants more today than they have done in the past.

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FIGURES



Figure 1:

Ernst Plischke, Sutch Smith House (1953-6), Wellington House designed by Ernst Plischke for W B Sutch, Todman Street, Brooklyn, Wellington. Ashton, John Hammond, 1917-2010 :Negatives. Ref: 1/2-199947-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/22335792](https://records/22335792)



Figure 2:
Tibor Donner, Donner House (1946), Titirangi, Mark Smith, 2017.



Figure 3:
Vladimir Cacala, Blumenthal House (1959), Auckland. Domus, 1960.

Bungalow compounds in Johannesburg: Organic re-appropriation of imported domesticity

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The paper deals with three illustrative samples, of a larger inventory of Victorian/ Edwardian bungalows, and their organic re-appropriation, into African compounds as a contemporary practice of homemaking. This is in the context of post 1990 urban migration and densification in two inner city suburbs of Johannesburg, South Africa: Yeoville and Rosettenville. These have been almost completely repopulated by African residents. Key themes are: history of displacement of building and people; re-appropriation of shared spaces through cultural values and economic necessities; adaptive architecture as a form of DIY urbanity;. The conclusion introduces the proposition to develop bungalow compound standards for future residential developments. The study places itself in the field of inductive design research and records the transformation underway.

Keywords: Johannesburg, re-appropriation, Victorian, Edwardian, bungalows, adaptation.

INTRODUCTION

Hidden behind walls of buildings made in another time and for different people, hundreds and thousands of beds accommodate Johannesburg's post 1994, transitional, multinational population; many of them in bungalows of the Victorian/ Edwardian age (Fig1). The social networks that run through these spaces often continue and actually enhance existing relations from far away places, with a multitude of diverse and rather unique narratives of everyday domesticity. They effectively create African compounds in the city.

The bungalow was the first residential model used in speculative mass housing for middle and working class, after the discovery of gold in the last years of the 19th century. With its origin in colonial India, it was brought onto the South African landscape under the dominion of the British Empire (Chipkin, 1993). It is one of the most common, most repeated, and most adaptive formal dwelling structures in inner city suburbia of Johannesburg's central business district. The 'bungalow compound' however - as a contemporary form of affordable co-housing, often for transient, migrant population - has not been acknowledged, defined or researched as such. The rule of law treats the mainly non-formal appropriation of the building, and its yard, as a spatial illegality requiring replacement, rather than a cultural transformation with socio economic opportunities.

BACKGROUND

Johannesburg is one of the three largest cities of Sub-Saharan Africa and has "the largest economy of any metropolitan region of the continent" (MGAfrica, 2015). Like other major African cities, its current development deals with issues of rapid urbanization, densification, high rates of migration, foreign population inflow, low cost accommodation and conflicting relations between the formal and the non-formal (Todes et al, 2015). Where the population density increases within existing structures, spatial transformation often takes place incrementally. Where the increasing population has little economic means or insecure legal status, domestic adaptations often happen 'inside out' and remain invisible to the 'official' eye (Caldeira, 2017).

Many sites in the fragmented South African urban landscape are dealing in their own particular way with these phenomena. In the main, most post-Apartheid attention has been given to inner city (CBD) and township re-development. This study, however, argues for the importance of investigating the transformation of the older, previously white, lower middle class suburbs as a key examples of other, possible forms of contemporary urban domesticity (Jenkins, 2013) (Fig2). While several studies have been done on the transformation of the modernist high rise (Le Roux, 2014, Rubin, et al., 2016, Zack, et al. 2009) the bungalow, as dominant building type in 1st generation suburbs, has been left mainly unnoticed outside of historical documentation (Hindson 1987) and the next generation of speculative investors looking for 'cash cows'. This is what subdivided and extended bungalow properties are commonly called in the local real estate business (ARPL 4000, 2018). Yet aerial views display that 65-85% of Johannesburg's early suburbs in inner city proximity are covered with bungalow plots. Internal densities have increased dramatically up to 400% inside one (officially) single dwelling property (ARPL 2000, 2012; ARPL 3007, 2013, ARPL4003, 2018). These numbers do not appear as such in official data, because the single dwelling and its additions are counted separately, not per one erven (CoJ, 2016:28-29). However, the ability to 'auto-construct' new forms of home and adapt, from a middle class home with garden, to multiple, subdivided, 'room by room' work and live arrangements, provides a rich seam of knowledge about DIY domesticity in the African metropolis (Caldeira, 2016).

DEFINITION

Bungalow¹ compounds are middle and working class properties with a bungalow as the central structure, that has been transformed into rent per room type of accommodation. It can house, together with additional rooms, up to five times the original occupational density and a variety of uses (Benit Gbaffou, Doermann and Matsipa, 2010). This is on a site of approx. 500 sqm. In principal it presents itself as an enclosed space on a privately owned plot that is surrounded by a wall for an average of 10-20 units. The unit size differs but is generally based on single rooms and subdivisions thereof, with shared or single kitchen and bathrooms. The number of occupants per unit fluctuates. The forms of governance vary. The layout and relation of bungalow/ outbuildings of each individual site differ. The common denominator in all arrangements is the private yard as shared communal space

The term is associated with traditional African compounds as larger family estates (Bourdier, Minh-ha 1996) and other current, popular housing typologies on the continent (Osasona, CO, 2007, Jenkins 2013), with similar layout, programme, economies or building processes. The nature of this study extends King's reading of the bungalow as a global occurrence (King, 1984) and explores its transformation into a local vernacular.

DOMESTIC CHANGES

The bungalow yard in Johannesburg has demonstrated the ability to physically react to changing socio cultural circumstances. This is namely in two categories – flexibility and adaptability, explored by Habraken, Brand, Price (Lifschutz, 2017) or described as 'margin excess capacity' to explore different uses' by Koolhaas (Hill, 2003). In the bungalow context that is related to re-use of rooms inside the original building, additions to the building on the plot, and the change of programme on the plot, often along the street edge which effects the neighbourhood. A major change in the context of 'bungalow domesticity' is the understanding

1 The bungalow is a building type that bears a strong physical resemblance across the world: a one storey separate or detached dwelling, usually with a veranda, generally designed for one household or family, placed on its own plot, often with a pitched roof and slightly elevated off the ground zone. The local differences are generated through context and time, in other words, the conditions, in which it was produced and inhabited, and can as such be considered an explicitly racial and cultural, and implicitly political type (King, 1984)

of the family unit. Whereas the original design typically looked at housing two parents two children, one car and eventually a domestic worker (Hindson 1994, Ginsburg, 2011), little is known about how to measure or even define 'households' in the current context. Numerous non-typical household compositions have been recorded in the transformed bungalow compounds (Mavuso, 2014, ARPL 2000, 2014, ARPL 3012, 2013, ARPL4000, 2018). These range from a married couple to one parent and young child, adult child and retired parent, two friends, cousins, or single workers. In official documentation of 'Housing Circumstances', they are simply listed per member number (CoJ, 2016), with one to three members per household being the most common size in the city and surroundings. In relation to the spatial organisation of the bungalow compound, the shared common unit is the room with a queen size bed. Is the room the new scale of home and the bed the moving constant?

LOCATION: TWO SUBURBS

Yeoville (1890) and Rosettenville (1889) are two of the cities oldest suburbs, located in the north and south of the Johannesburg's central district. Like most townships in close proximity to Johannesburg's city centre that were set up before 1920, their layout followed a traditional grid system, that adapted organically to the topography of the site where required (CoJ, 2014). The late Victorian and Edwardian speculative house then developed on the private market as a form of small mass housing provided for the working and middle class after the South African War (1902). The majority of the plots were occupied by detached as preferred, semi-detached and terraced bungalows with the corner shop/ house combination as mixed use option.

The primary characteristics of Johannesburg's first lower-income residences were a result of domestic building practice and the impetus of foreign architectural sources. It goes back to the transformation from the original farmer's hut in Bengal, India in the 17th century, to the 'Anglo-Indian bungalow' that accommodated European visitors on the Asian continent from as early as 1783. The South African history of the bungalow is however less the representation of the official and the institutional of the colony (King, 1984) than accommodation for European immigrants who arrived as a result of the expanding mining industry. The bungalow reflected (English) middle class values, and the desire to represent these values and status to family, friends and society (Hindson, 1987). While the Anglo-Saxon style became the desired and celebrated appearance of the growing suburbs, the bungalow on its site, has from early on responded to South Africa's particular social history of cultural separation and led 'a double life'— served and serving spaces, white owners and black domestic labour, visible front gardens and invisible backyards (Ginsburg, 2011). The practice of backyard rooms began as early as 1910, when "a special committee appointed to deal with African housing in Johannesburg could report that most middle-class households provided separate outside rooms for their African help" (Ginsburg, 2011: 10). In the selected suburbs, these clear layouts of separated co-existence changed since the transition into democracy into dense morphologies of *bungalow compounds*.

Everyday life today appears vastly different from their origins as white middle and working class suburbs. In the present, both areas exemplify many of the issues and concerns faced by low-income suburbs in Johannesburg, with quite transient populations from the continent, often with no consistent income or legal immigration status (Dörmann, 2017). At the same time, underneath the decaying surfaces, it has been noted that 'low-income migrants have exercised agency in appropriating space [and developed] new forms of spatial loyalty' (Harrison and Zack, 2014: 16). Complex forms of associational life (Simone, 2001) support the transformation of the formerly mainly residential and culturally rather homogenous environments into overlapping layers of informal and formal multi use spaces, with the bungalow and its numerous and by

now diverse multiplications at the center stage of transformation.

THREE BUNGALOWS

A sample of three adjoining bungalows (Fig 3), where access was negotiated during collective research in the field, was used as basis to record illustrative transformation.

All three bungalows have left the outer structure of the original bungalow basically untouched, few alterations on the inside and extensions in the back, front and side allowed to adapt the widely spread 'one house one family' typology to a multi housing unit without major visible changes on the outside beyond the boundary wall.

ALONG THE SIDEWALK

Bungalow compound 1 offers twelve rooms, six inside the bungalow, four newly built units at the front, along the edge of the sidewalk and two at the back: the former garage and domestic worker's room. Two main entrances to the property, three small courtyards and a linear driveway structure the yard through a series of semi-private meeting places that manage to control access and channel the flow of residents and frequent visitors without crowding the circulation routes. The centre of the compound is the veranda and the adjoining shared kitchen inside the bungalow in the former 'hall' space (Fig 4), which has been fitted with appliances and utensils by the landlord and residents. The owner's son stays in one of the newly built units in the front, directly opposite the veranda. He works on the veranda with a group of male business partners, as a strategic position of control, with simultaneous views onto all access points. The shared kitchen is operated by female tenants, who are all originally from the Congo. One of them, Mama Christie, has been residing on the property for 14 years, first as a domestic worker in the back room and now as tenant inside the house in the former living room. The bungalow has two bathrooms, one male and one female, the original kitchen has been transformed into a residential unit with separate access. All outside additions have their own bathroom and cook inside their units. No rental contracts exist. The units were built by a family member in exchange for occupation of the transformed garage. They have not yet been recorded by council. despite most changes on the property being within building regulations. The local building inspector has not reported it yet to the authorities.

HIGH DENSITY MIXED USE

Bungalow compound 2 offers twenty rooms, five inside the bungalow, one shop unit at the front, along the edge of the sidewalk, two on the side of the bungalow and twelve at the back, four of them on a 2nd floor. The bungalow units share a kitchen and two bathrooms, one male and one female. One bedroom does not have natural air and light. At the back four units share a bathroom. Although they have access to the communal bungalow kitchen, most tenants cook in their rooms. This compound has a cleaning service twice a week. Outdoor spaces are not utilised. Tenants originally come from the Congo, Zimbabwe, Eastern Cape. They mainly live with 2 adults and children in their units and are mostly related – husband, mother or sister. A commercial tenant operates the shop unit. The building inspector flagged the construction and authorised it later. The landlord does not live on the property anymore, he owns the neighbouring bungalow 3 as well, which allowed him to build on the building line on the side without any further permission. According to his neighbour, he now calls these properties 'his cash-cows' (Interview April 2018).

STUDIO LIVING

Bungalow compound 3 offer five units inside the bungalow and five units at the back of the property.

Each unit has their own entrance, bathroom and kitchenette. The additions are hardly visible from the street. Shared spaces are merely used for circulation to the units and parking. The tenants are multinational, with most coming from Nigeria, Zimbabwe and South Africa. At R2550 (166 Euro), the rent is 15% higher than in the neighbouring unit. Tenants have stayed between four and five years on the property. Additions have not been recorded by Council to date. All changes on the property could possible be or be amended to the Building and Town Planning Regulations.

THE ROLE OF THE YARD

The most obvious change in the domestic landscape of the bungalow is morphological. In the selected suburbs, the original bungalow property has merged from a free standing into a courtyard house (Rapoport 2007). The most radical change is socio-cultural. The single family home has transformed into a yard based, organically emerging compound-type for multiple forms of cohabitation. Although from the outside still readable as bungalow and additions, the plans show continuous arrangements of rooms around a series of yards. These evolving spaces have often been transformed without involving architects and respond rather directly to needs, necessities and possibilities. They give thus a direct insight into the everyday and serve as a reflection of home constructs and cultural practices (Williams-Robinson 2006) of the respective, mostly African, often migrant residents. With the two areas under investigation being nearly fully repopulated since the initial inception of the bungalow as white middle class residences (Frith, 2016), the current materialities are a physical imprint of that change. They support the idea of ‘architecture as a cultural medium’ (ibid) and the reciprocal relationship of changing cultures and corresponding forms of domesticity.

Culture in this instance relates to values, habits and expressions of particular people/ groups and to their way of dwelling in a specific setting (Rapoport, 1989) and as a “collective process maintained through practice, but supported by artifacts and by memory.” (Williams-Robinson, 5, 2006). Housing is understood as “a system of settings within which a system of activities takes place” (Rapoport. 1989, xiii), which situates it between the house as home and housing as an institution, and in turn the individual and the collective. This spectrum allows for cross cultural comparisons and various scales of the bungalow compound that negotiate between the private life of each resident and the urban context: plot, block, neighbourhood, city. Within this broad scope, the limits within the study are determined by the intersection of a typological study and the recording of how people have used and transformed the space –as local practice- and related rules and regulations. The courtyard house is following Rapoport’s conceptual analysis (Rapoport, 2007) of the phenomenon, as a type that does not necessarily resemble the prototypical sample of a centric, all enclosed open space – the yard – surrounded by the main building. It is rather a spectrum of spatial yard arrangements with particular attributes, which looks specifically at the interdependence and behaviour of open and build space, in a particular location and people inhabiting them. The characteristics deal with thresholds between public and private spaces, activities in the yard as part of a larger setting like the block and the neighbourhood as well as provision of access to other spaces. They also address the question of sharing and efficient use of space in relation to density. The yard is treated as a void that takes on physical properties, as opposed to be left over open space between build structures. These properties result from and impact on socio-cultural context, economic activities and have an inherent political dimension.

CONCLUSION/ WAY FORWARD

These are three illustrative samples of a larger number of bungalow transformations that have been recorded over the last five years. They are currently being recorded as a database, to be developed into a catalogue of socio spatial knowledge (Fig 5) and future DIY design possibilities. It comes at a time when its existence faces major challenges and explicit opportunities. The study is certainly not aiming at a

'celebration of colonial architecture with large verandahs and pressed steel ceilings', (Parnell, 1995: 15), nor is it romanticizing the non-formal, for its resilient and dynamic interventions, without acknowledging its structural and technological limitations. However, in the light of manifestations of both urban management and housing crisis in the inner city (Zack, et al., 2010) there is a high demand for affordable accommodation, yet little knowledge about space sharing practices on private properties (Charlton, forthcoming). The study of bungalow compound aims at closing this gap. In the absence of other significant low rise high density typologies in these central locations, the proposition is to employ the emerging bungalow standards as relevant guidelines for productive forms of co-housing of migrant communities in the inner city suburbs of Johannesburg. This is based on the reading of the transformed bungalow compound as a model, tool box or site, for domestic densification in Johannesburg without further displacement.

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Parts of the work as been conducted as collaborartive research, led by the auhtor or produced in courses that led up to the research proposal, mainly in two City Studios, Yeoville Studio and Rosettenville Studio.

Courses referred to:

ARPL 4000, Advanced Design Studio, 2018: Urban Compounds, Transforming the Bungalow in Joburg, Speculative Property Development with the Permission to DIY.

All fieldwork material is a result of a collective design research investigation

Facilitator: Kirsten Doermann

City Studio Work .Yeoville and Rosettenville, 2010/11, 2013/14:

ARPL 2000, Architectural Design and Theory II, Facilitator: Kirsten Doermann

ARPL 3012, Comparative Approaches to Urban Design, Facilitator: Solam Mkhabela

ARPL 3006, Comparative African Cities, Facilitator: Chloe Buire

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FIGURES



Figure 1
Bungalow compound in Yeoville, 2011, Photo by Alistair James

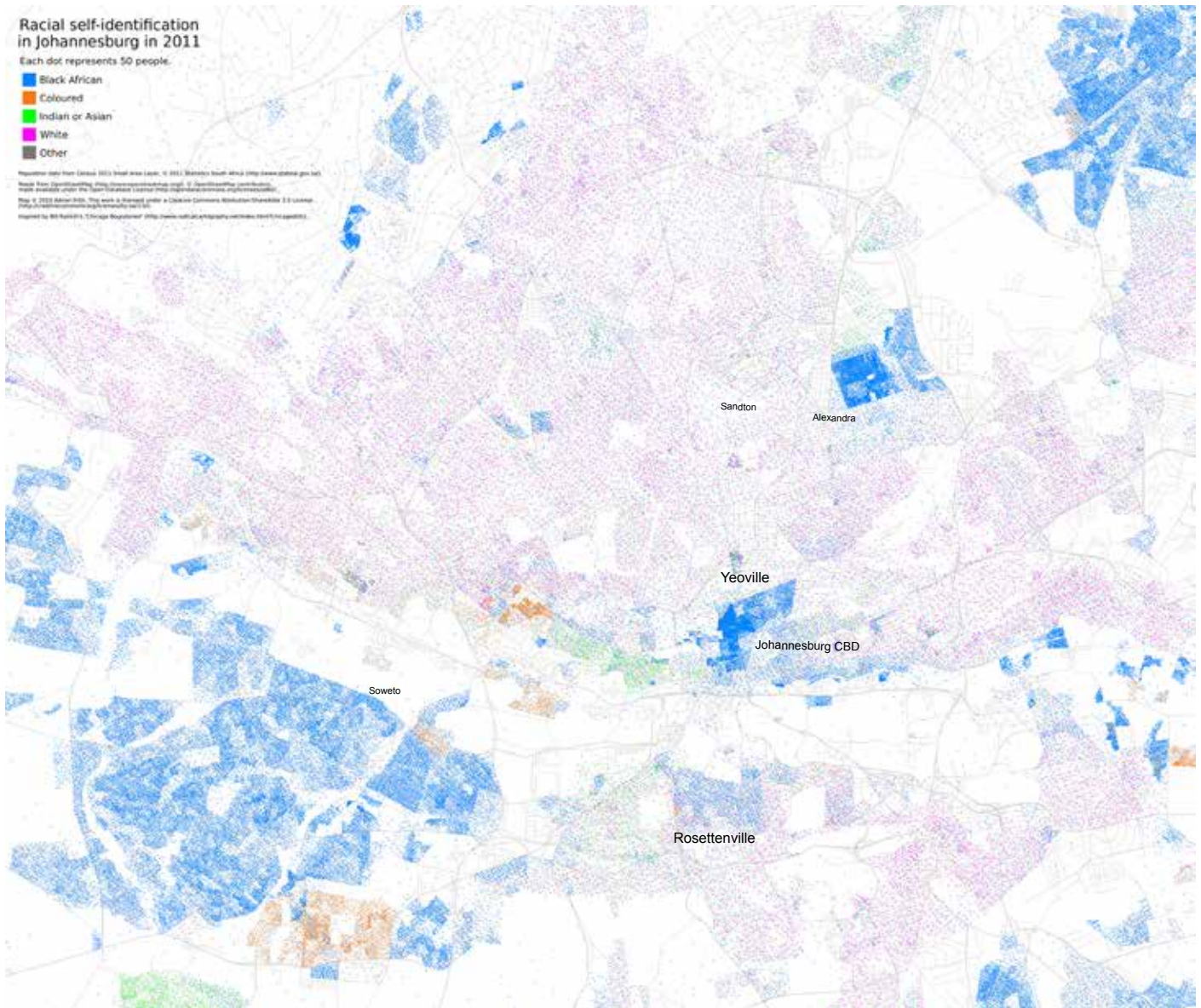


Figure 2
 Locating Yeoville and Rosettenville in Johannesburg, Map of Racial Self Identification 2011, Adrian Frith



Figure 3
Ground floor of three bungalow compounds, 2017, drawn by ARPL4000

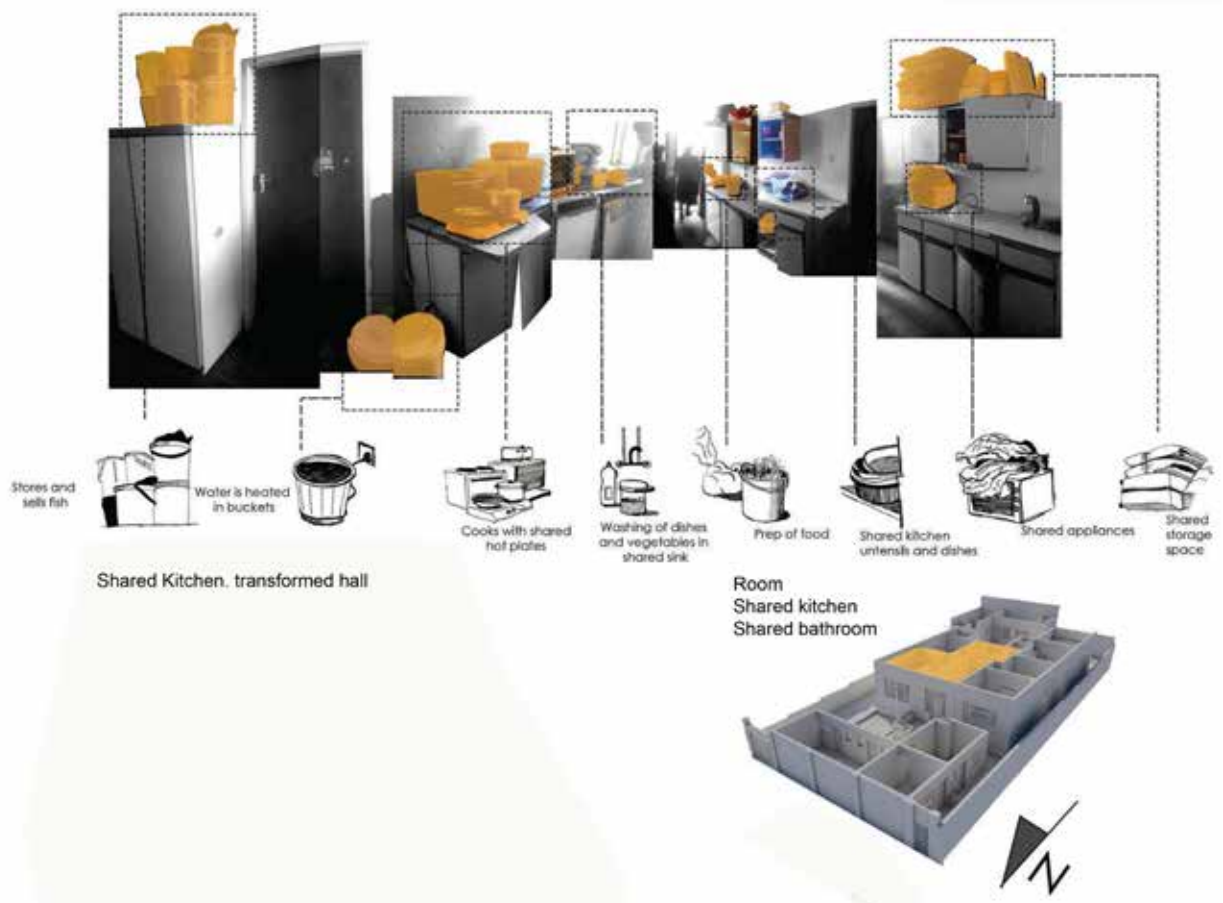


Figure 4
Mama Christie's domain: the former entrance hall transformed into a shared kitchen, where Congolese fish is dried and sold, collage by K Mogale, S Misinga, C Havinga, amended by author

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<p>1</p> <p>Jaha's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 105 DeWitt Rd Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>2</p> <p>Shahara's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 4 adults, family + 2 Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 117 DeWitt Rd Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>5</p> <p>Lee Mouskaka's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults, family + 2 Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 104 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>6</p> <p>Agrieth's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults, family + 2 Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 101 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>
<p>3</p> <p>Jahira's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 121 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>4</p> <p>Henry's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 92 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Maggie's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 98 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>8</p> <p>George's House Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 101 DeWitt Rd Other material: none photograph: none</p>
<p>9</p> <p>Mia Karamanga's Place Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 91 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>10</p> <p>Elizabeth's Place Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 91 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>13</p> <p>Daniel's Place Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 10 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>14</p> <p>Margaret's Place Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 10 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>
<p>11</p> <p>Elizabeth's Place Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 10 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>12</p> <p>Henry's Place Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 10 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>15</p> <p>Further City Studio research Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 10 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>	<p>16</p> <p>Further City Studio research Type: Housing, access to City Condition: Good Additional: Garage, back yard Residents: 2 adults Status: Other Drawing + text by: ADP, 2000 Year: 2014 Location: 10 DeWitt Street Other material: none photograph: none</p>

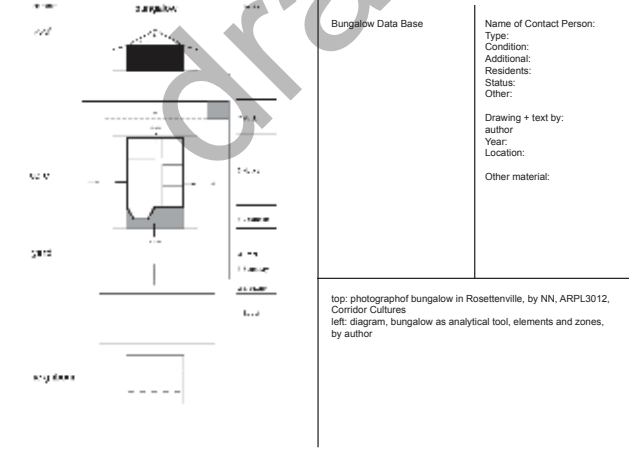


Figure 5
Bungalow standards, ongoing database.

The layered threshold as a mediating figure in the homes of migrants and newcomers. Towards a diversity-sensitive design.

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Little is known about how newcomers and immigrants in Belgium live in the existing housing stock. Yet this information is crucial if interior designers and architects are to develop 'diversity-sensitive' designs that take their requirements into account. Based on a re-analysis of thirty-five case studies, we investigate if the concept of the 'layered threshold' is a useful tool for mediating between the various zones in a domestic residence. We conclude that zoning is important which allows spaces of negotiation between public and private, front stage and back stage, male and female, autochthones' and allochthones' spheres, between diurnal and nocturnal zones and between spaces of order and chaos.

Key words: home culture, diversity-sensitive design, layered threshold, living practice, super-diversity.

INTRODUCTION

As Western society evolves towards the condition of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007, Geldof 2016), it is no coincidence that the home and migration nexus is an expanding field of research (Boccagni 2017). Very little is known about how immigrants in Belgium live in the existing housing stock (Geldof, 2018). Boccagni & Brighenti (2015) highlighted the paucity of structural research aimed at revealing the theoretical frameworks that underpin the housing processes of new immigrants. Existing research does not explain how immigrants actually inhabit the existing housing stock. Housing is one of the most pressing issues in Belgium and it is vital that designers understand how migrants experience, inhabit and possibly change the dwelling spaces they obtain or receive. Architects need to be able to design houses that take the needs of people with a migration background into account. The term we use to describe such designs is 'diversity-sensitive'.

Boccagni & Brighenti (2015, 2) argue that the concept of 'thresholds' helps immigrants to structure the transition from the urban environment to the domestic space. From a re-analysis of thirty-five case studies, we investigated how migrants appropriate their home in Belgium and if the concept of threshold might be useful to understand that process of appropriation and inhabitation.

THE THRESHOLD

The threshold is an important domestic feature. It symbolises both the distinction and the connection between the public and private spheres (De Cauter & Dehaene, 2008; De Visscher, 1998; Van Gennepe, 1969). While the threshold can be materialised as a simple doorstep or sill, it can have immense symbolism as a kind of liminal, in-between space. Van Gennepe (1969, 1909) distinguished three phases in his famous book *Les rites de passage*: the pre-liminal phase (of leaving the old), the threshold or liminal phase (during the transition) and the post-liminal rites (ceremonies of incorporation into the new society). Since then, the term threshold became an important anthropological concept, that is an essential aspect in the analysis of houses. In many cultures, such as those of the Kassena people, the Berbers or Nubians (Cassiman 2006; Loeckx 1998; Agha, De Vos 2017), visitors have to cross several thresholds before entering a family home. In

his seminal text 'The Berber house or the world reversed' Bourdieu (1972) elucidates very detailed how the threshold is crucial to understand the (reversed) orientation and order in the interior of the Kabyle house. He explains how important it is that the door is open, because it allows the "fertilizing light of the sun to enter, and with it prosperity", while "sitting on the threshold- and so blocking it- means closing the passage to happiness and prosperity" (Bourdieu, 146). Thresholds are thus places of transition, of complementarity and ambivalence. Gaining access to the domestic sphere in many cultures typically involves the navigation of gates, pathways and/or semi-public courtyards (Muzzonigro & Boano, 2012). We use the term for its anthropological significance.

In Belgium, the public sphere ends very sudden at a house. Terraced properties open directly onto the street, particularly in cities. The transition between the urban environment (public domain) and the house (private domain) is materialised by a doorstep, a hallway and also a pathway in the houses with a front garden. The Dutch expression 'falling with the door into the home', which means 'coming straight to the point', gives voice to the sense of intrusion experienced by the inhabitants when strangers enter a house abruptly.

Private and public spaces also exist within the home. In accordance with the definition of Goffman (1959, 116-117) of front stage and back stage behaviour– the former conducted by actors who are aware of the presence of an audience, the latter in the absence of an audience – it can be said that houses also contain front stage and back stage spaces. The former are rooms and spaces designated for front stage performances, such as the hallway, corridor and the living room; the latter are rooms intended for back stage use, such as the bathroom, the bedrooms and other service areas (Spigel, 1997). The boundaries between front stage and back stage spaces have evolved over time. Up until the 1960s, most people would have had a 'best room', an abundantly decorated and furnished room to receive higher-ranked visitors, that was set apart from the kitchen, the latter of which was used on a daily basis. Housing reformers argued against the concept of the best room (De Vos 2012, 138). They advised turning this space into a multifunctional area that could be used as an office, playroom or sickroom, and suggested to open it up to the adjacent space, ideally an open-plan living room, which essentially fused the 'best room' with a dining area. As a result, the dining room was incorporated into the front stage rooms (used on special occasions). Kitchens underwent a similar evolution. Beginning in the late 1960s, the kitchen went from being a small, separate and clinical space (which was prevalent in the 1950s) to an open-plan area in which people also took their meals. This is the spirit that led to the dining space being incorporated into the kitchen. Consequently, the open kitchen became a semi-front stage space that is seen by visitors. By time, many thresholds in the Belgian homes have disappeared from the 1960s onwards.

A CONTEXT OF INCREASING SUPERDIVERSITY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF DIVERSITY-SENSITIVE DESIGN

Belgium, just as most advanced welfare states in the 21st century, is in a transition towards superdiversity, especially the larger cities. Building upon the work of Vertovec (2007, 2012) and others (Crul et al, 2013; Geldof, 2016), we describe the transition towards superdiversity as a qualitative transition, referring to the processes of diversification of diversity, and as a (contested) process of normalisation of diversity. Both transitions should be seen against the background of a quantitative, demographic transition of increasing ethnic diversity, including the evolution towards majority-minority cities, where people with a migration background gradually form the majority of the population (Crul et al, 2013; Crul 2015; Geldof, 2016a&b). In Belgian cities such as Brussels, Antwerp or Genk, more than half of the population consists of migrants or citizens with foreign born parents.

Countries as Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands are characterized by populations with a multiplicity of countries of origin, languages, cultures, religions, immigration statuses and social positions. This process of diversification goes alongside an increasing diversity in migration motives, statuses of migrants and socio-economic positions, leading to increased complexity of the population within our cities and societies (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2013; Geldof, 2016a). Many professionals, including (interior)architects and urbanists, experience a growing diversity within and between groups and communities, as well as among those groups and communities. This impacts visions on the home as well. They need new ways to look at these new dynamics, so that they can identify and understand them and cope with them. In the 21st centuries superdiversity, researchers as well as designers, who are mostly autochtones as these dominate the academic world as well as the architectural profession in Belgium, have to move away from seeing ethnic diversity as exceptional (Meissner, 2015).

METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

If we want to understand the homing processes in superdiverse contexts, the challenge for design sciences is to move beyond the dominant white middle class focus on 'home'. In parallel with a gender sensitive design, we plea for a diversity-sensitive approach, in which designers take different backgrounds (ethnicity, nationality, age) into account, however avoiding the pitfalls of culturalization and/or stereotyping.

Individualisation and migration processes in the last decades went hand in hand with differentiation processes in family typologies. Focusing on ethnic diversity, we see demographic differences (different family-sizes, more generations living together under the same roof), socio-economic differences, but also the cultural and sometimes religious influences from countries of origin. This results in a diversification of what home means and of homing processes within contemporary superdiverse contexts (Geldof, 2015).

However, the concept of superdiversity implies to move beyond an ethno-focal lens to a multidimensional lens (Crul, 2015). Superdiversity urges us to deal with the transition towards a society in which diversity is no longer considered as something that exclusively affects the minorities in a community that was relatively homogeneous in ethnic terms. When diversity within diversity grows, ethnic origin is no longer the only characteristic to assess and regulate differences and interactions between people and groups in society. A focus on ethnicity remains relevant, but linked with differences in gender, socio-economic position, the country of origin, the length of stay in the country, the mother tongue or religious beliefs. (Vertovec, 2011, p. 11; Meissner, 2015).

The consequence of recognizing diversity within diversity is that ethnicity is no longer the only or necessarily the most important axis of differentiation (Meissner, 2015). Consequently, differences in homing strategies can be the result of socio-economic differences (class, educational level), demographic differences (family size) as well as cultural differences. Paying attention to increasing diversity within diversity implies avoiding processes of culturalisation and essentialisation of cultural differences. Different visions on home include differences within communities. It are these two challenges that we try to explore simultaneously in this paper.

THE HOME CULTURE OF MIGRANTS IN BELGIAN HOUSES

How do newcomers, but also second or third generation migrants, inhabit Belgian homes? How do people with different backgrounds and home cultures organise, arrange and furnish their homes? And how can designers facilitate these processes of inhabitation? We have analysed the Belgian homes of thirty-five immigrants by re-examining the case studies from two research projects. The first study is the master thesis

in architecture at the University of Antwerp of Siel Van Gool (2016), which documents the homes of six newcomers in Antwerp through in-depth interviews, photo-reportages of their accommodation and floor plans. The interviewees were newcomers to Belgium with low socio-economic profiles (having resided in the country for between one and six years), from Afghanistan (3), Somalia (1), Iraq (1) and Syria (1). The participants included two families with children, one couple and three single people. These case studies, in particular, shed light on the initial phase of settling and creating a home.

The second study was executed by the Expertise Centrum on Living (ILIV) and funded by IKEA, including twenty-nine case studies. The study involved domestic visits and interviews with the migrants about their notion of 'home'. The respondents came from Russia and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Albania), Syria, Dubai, Turkey, Africa (Algeria, Libya, Morocco) and China. Most had lived in Belgium for a period of five years or more and enjoyed a higher standard of living. The interiors of these homes were photographed by the interviewers, as well as by photographer Mashid Mohadjerin. The photographs allowed us 'to read' the interiors, as architects are trained to do. Since the study concerned the interiors of the houses, there were no pictures of the exteriors or the surrounding neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the combination of the photographs and the interviews did, in most cases, allow us to gauge the housing typology and its environment.

While analysing the interviews and the pictures of the interiors, we identified two kinds of transitional spaces as being crucial within the home: on the one hand, the threshold between the public and private space, and on the other hand, the threshold, or more precisely transition spaces, between the front stage and back stage spaces in the domestic sphere.

THRESHOLDS BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE

For the thresholds between the public and private, we focus mostly on the six cases in Antwerp due to the fact that we also have documentary evidence about the facades of the houses. Several interviewees hinted at a desire to live in ground floor accommodation because they thought it could facilitate the extension of their network.

Yet the majority of immigrants actually live above ground level. Yet even when they reside on the third floor or above, newcomers will still screen themselves from the street (despite the fact that no one can look inside their homes). For example, they cover the street-side windows with net curtains or turn their furniture inwards. Unlike Belgians, they rarely positioned a chair in front of a window so they can look outside. In most cases, the chairs had their backs to the windows. In so doing, these migrants do not seize the opportunity to at least make visual contact with 'strangers', which is something that Lynn Loffland has shown is appreciated by citizens. The preference for living on the ground floor (as a way of extending social contact) seems paradoxical in the light of the strategies used by these newcomers to turn away from the street. An explanation can be found in the types of houses they have left behind. The majority of the people interviewed explained that the rooms of their original homes were centred around a courtyard with a semi-public character. This implies a more gradual transition from the public to the private sphere than is typical in Belgium. In their homelands, strangers did not have a direct view into the interior of their homes. By the same token, turning furniture away from the windows is a way of creating a more layered transition between the street (public) and the interior (private). The curtains, cushions and arrangement of furniture all replace the transitional function of a communal space.

THRESHOLDS BETWEEN SEMI-PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACES

We also discerned a second need for a transitional space between the more public and private areas

of the homes. In every residence, there is a kind of front stage area that is indicated via decor or seating. In each home, even in the tiny apartments belonging to very new arrivals, a number of elements refer to the reception function of the house. These elements often express the (dual) identity of the inhabitants. It might be a picture on a mantelpiece in the living room, or on a dresser with an altar function (fig. 1). In the small apartment of an Afghan newcomer, for example, an old plate was propped up on a ledge above a radiator (fig. 2). The heating unit had been installed in the middle of an old fireplace surround. As the only and most important piece of decoration, it clearly has an emotional value for the inhabitant. Although it came from a second-hand shop, he had chosen it because it reminded him of his father who was an antiquarian.

In the home of another Afghan family, the flags of Afghanistan and Belgium are draped fraternally on the mantelpiece of the main living room. They represent their owner's dual identity: born in Afghanistan but living in Belgium. The importance of a front stage for the reception of visitors was also noted in the example of a couple from Iraq and Jordan. Although they live in a very narrow studio, they have installed a seating area with three exceptionally large chairs (accommodating six people) at the expense of a proper dining table. A two-person table is placed against the wall of the living room, near the kitchen.

Yet the back stage spaces are often experienced as too proximate, especially in small houses. An Afghan family wasn't happy that the kitchen could be seen from the living room. For the aforementioned Iraqi man, the kitchen was the domain of women and, as such, it needed to be screened from the rest of the living room. A number of Moroccan families also mentioned their desire for separate spaces for men and women, as both should have their own rooms in which to gather. A division between the diurnal and nocturnal zones was also crucial. In most cases, inhabitants sought to separate bedrooms from living areas, even if they were situated in the same room.

Migrants develop strategies by which to detach, or at least layer, these spaces. The interventions can be very basic. In one studio, the sleeping area is screened off through the clever positioning of a wardrobe and the use of drapes. In the home of a Tunisian man, curtains are used to divide the living room from the bedroom in a layered way (fig.3). In some cases, especially in small homes, the separation is not made spatially, but via real-time performance (use) i.e. by following diurnal and nocturnal rhythms. For example, the seat in the living room turns into a double sofa-bed for the parents at night. In this way, a living and play area is converted into a bedroom. The reverse is also true: a bed turns into a sofa during the day. This kind of polyvalence maximises uses to which rooms can be put and allows families to make optimal use of the spaces at their disposal. Ephemeral and non-physical borders between back stage and front stage spaces are present in many of the newcomers' homes.

Contrary to the 'front stage space' found in Belgian homes of the 1950s, those of newcomers are not necessarily lavish or overly full. In the house of one Afghan family, the very opposite is true. The centre of the room is empty, with the exception of two oriental rugs. There is a coffee table, asymmetrically placed in the room. Everything is oriented towards a central void. The large window is covered with net curtains, thereby shielding the interior from the street and directing the gaze inwards. The seats and cushions are placed against the walls or windows, as the occupants will invite people to sit around the edge of the room (fig.4). At first sight, the void in the living room is not only remarkable, but also the antithesis of the 'best room' tradition that is found in Belgium.

The reason for the void is twofold. Firstly, it enables the family and visitors to eat together on the floor. Although they have a dining table, that table is placed against the wall and hardly used since the family prefers to sit in a circle on the ground, around a blanket that is covered with a variety of plates (fig. 5). It

gives the family a greater feeling of connection and hospitality. As the Afghan man explains: 'We don't have a plate each but prefer to share plates with each other. For us, it is uncommon if everybody has his own plate.' Secondly, the void is an open space in which the children can play. As a family with six children living in a small two-bedroom apartment, the clear space is more than welcome, and even necessary. Also in their home country, they had a (bigger) multi-functional room.

Immigrants who have lived for a longer period in Belgium generally retained their dual identity and their houses tend to be hybrid in nature: a cross-over between traditional Flemish homes and styles that are typical of their homelands. A 42 year-old-man, the son of a Moroccan miner in Belgium, calls himself 'well assimilated'. In his house, he employs three styles of interior design that are each connected to a certain narrative. The respondent calls his house a 'reflection of his identity' and his living room 'modern'. As he explains: "the interiors demonstrate that he has achieved a certain level of status and respect within Flemish society". The sitting area with contemporary, neutral furniture shows that he has 'arrived' and gone up in the world, as he explains. His entrance hall and dining room, on the other hand, "express the successful completion of his studies, more particularly his master's degree in history", he continues. These rooms contain pieces of colonial furniture, and as such, allude to a specific historical period. He does not associate them with the negative aspects of Belgian colonialism and tends to view the objects as precious historical survivals.

He is also constructing what he calls a 'salon Arabe' in order to receive his Moroccan friends. In this room, the seats are placed with their backs against the walls so that people can sit facing one another. 'It will not be a regular salon Arabe', he stresses, 'because it will be installed on a veranda with a view on the garden, and not in a completely enclosed space [as is the case in his country]'. As such, the room for his fellow Moroccans, refers to his parents' homeland, while at the same time it has new condition (the glass walls of the veranda). Clearly, he has integrated his Moroccan migration background, interpreted the home culture of his country of origin and adapted it in his own unique way. This man combines an inward-looking typology (the salon Arabe) with one that looks outwards (the veranda). In his view, this version of the salon Arabe is a perfect example of his assimilation.

The example also reveals that, in an ideal situation, the front stage rooms will be separated from the back stage areas. Interestingly, the aforementioned salon Arabe gives rise to a third in-between space, a kind of interstice. For Flemish visitors, it remains a back stage area, for the owner's Moroccan (male) friends it acts as a front stage room, a personal space in which to gather and pray. The salon Arabe is a liminal space, one that stands on the threshold between the semi-public and private areas of the house.

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the thirty-five case-studies, we argue that transition zones which can be seen as broad threshold spaces, play a conceptual role in structuring the physical associations between the public and private spheres, but also the interpersonal relationships that are conducted within the domestic sphere, such as the relations between inhabitants and visitors, allochthones and autochthones, men and women. Instead of the term threshold, zoning might be a better term, because it refers more to creating a transitional space instead of a border. These transitional zones can be created by material (curtains, the addition of walls or furniture) or be completely immaterial (for example the transition from day to night use, and the reverse). In the latter instance, its performance is decisive. Only the hour and the living practices (such as sleeping, eating, playing) indicate the status of the space.

When migrants live in Belgian homes, they are in a "liminal phase" to use the term of Van Gennep, since they integrate elements of the houses they had left behind. In most cases, their original homes had

a more layered transition between the interior and exterior worlds, but also between the semi-public and the private spaces which is in most cases also gendered (men using the spaces bordering the street, while women using those more inside the home). As a result, many migrants aim to create a diversity of zones that, on the one hand, installs some thresholds inside their Belgian houses and, on the other hand, accommodate a diversity of users and visitors.

This process results in more layered transitions within the home, particularly between the public, semi-public and private spaces, but also between diurnal and nocturnal zones or between those reserved exclusively for male or female use. Once the migrants' income rises, their ideal home becomes more visible. In general terms, these houses remain containing elements drawn from their native culture as well as from the home culture of their guest country. This is clearly demonstrated by the creation of a *salon Arabe* in the Moroccan household. The salon is not accessible for Flemish visitors, but (semi)public for Moroccan male visitors.

Working with transitional zones increases the potential to diversify homes. In the context of superdiversity, we recommend that designers create homes and apartments that allow for flexible and layered usage. Crucial to this is the provision of varied spaces that are both lockable and divisible. The stereotyping of living preferences according to countries of origin can be avoided by producing flexible and diversity-sensitive designs that allow a layered usage. As superdiversity implies diversity within diversity, the home preferences of people with migration backgrounds will broaden yet further. It is also important to recognise agency. The case-studies also illustrate the inhabitants' creativity to establish thresholds or zoning via simple interventions, such as curtains, the positioning of furniture and even performance.

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FIGURES



Figure 1:
The fire place functions as an altar with a Belgian and Afghan flag. (photo: Siel van Gool)



Figure 2:
The old plate propped up on a ledge above a radiator has, as the only and most important piece of decoration, an emotional value for the inhabitant. It reminded him of his father who was an antiquarian. (photo: Siel van Gool)



Figure 3:
A layered division by means of curtains to divide the living room from the bedroom in the house of a Tunisian man. (photo: Mashid Mohadjerin)



Figure 4:
The room has an inward orientation. The large window is covered with net curtains, thereby shielding the interior from the street, although the apartment is on the fifth floor. (photo: Siel van Gool)



Figure 5:
Afghan people enjoying and sharing their meal with visitors. (photo private collection)

SESSION 4.D

OCCUPIED DOMESTICITIES

PLACE-MAKING PRACTICES UNDER OCCUPATION. HERITAGE PRESERVATION AND
RESILIENCE. THE WEST BANK CASE OF BATTIR
Elisa Ferrato

Place-making practices under occupation. Heritage preservation and resilience. The West Bank case of Battir.

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The Palestinian villages in the West Bank share a common history of occupation, segregation and land appropriation by the Israeli occupier. Their built environment shows the signs of the influence of labour experience in the settlements construction industry. The place-making activities in such villages reflect their history and the practices of adaptive resilience that the inhabitants have adopted. Battir shows the signs of its specific history of constructive resistance, developing architectural heritage and cultural landscape preservation as part of a transformative resilience strategy.

Keywords: PAlestine, West Bank, Battir, Israeli occupation, resilience, adaptation, built environment and resistance, cultural landscape.

INTRODUCTION

This paper introduces some results from the analysis of qualitative data gathered in the rural village of Battir in the Bethlehem Governorate (Fig.1). Between 2014 and 2016, around 20 participants were interviewed by the researcher, and more participated to focus groups and group discussions. The work was done in the frame of a research focused on the possible effects of the Israeli occupation on the Palestinian place-making practices and imaginary. In Battir the continuous dependence of the inhabitants of the area on agriculture as a major source of income has contributed to the creation of a unique cultural landscape (Fontana Antonelli, 2014), that evolved over time following the changes in human activity, reflecting the values of the society linked to it (Taylor & Lennon, 2011). The cultural landscape of Battir's agricultural gardens is composed of anthropic structures (terraced fields, dry-stone walls, irrigation systems) distributed along the Makroun valley, the product of continuous human interaction with the surrounding territory (Gola, Perugini, & Harb, 2010). Moreover, the cultural landscape of the agricultural terraces represents political as well as social and cultural constructs. It connects the people from the village to their past and the achievements and values of their predecessors (Fig.2). Since the beginning of Israeli occupation in 1967, the village has encountered changes in its social and economic conditions. At first, the families benefitted from the job opportunities that men could find in the construction industry, opening the door to new possibilities. But then, after the first intifada, and the all-changing Oslo Accords, opportunities gave way to colonisation and carceral systems (Bornstein, 2008). This paper explains what kind of resilient attitude was displayed in the village and what factors might have influenced it, with a specific focus on the place-making activities of the participants.

BATTIR: A HISTORY OF CONSTRUCTIVE PEACEFUL RESISTANCE

The territory of Battir was part of Jerusalem district until 1948 when the new-born state of Israel redesigned the geopolitical borders of the area. The border was drawn exactly on the site of the Ottoman railway that crosses the valley and connects the coastal plain to Jerusalem. The 1949 Armistice Agreement with Jordan gave Israel full control over the railway and the Battir station was closed, although passenger service restarted. The armistice line between Israel and Jordan was a barrier of total separation crossing the lands of frontier villages, separating them from their agricultural sources of income and livelihood (Brawer, 1990; Morris, 1993; Newman, 1995).

Battir shared this destiny with similar villages from all around the West Bank, but there is a unique

element in Battir's history: the presence of Hassan Moustafa. This local leader remains in the history of the village as the one who conducted negotiations with Israeli military and obtained a special provisional document, that drew the borderline about 200 meters east of the railway, and allowing the inhabitants to reach their fields up to 3km beyond the demarcation line, on the Israeli side (Botmeh, 2006). Unfortunately, with the railway inaccessible, Battiris were prevented from reaching Jerusalem, their main market and centre of social life. The despair and depression shared by the village inhabitants is a common memory: "We were simple farmers. After 1948, the villagers were two things: afraid and poor. Afraid of the Israelis and the occupation; poor because there were no jobs" (from a participant's interview). To counteract the social and economic depression, Hassan Mustafa applied a sort of constructive resistance, embarking on a community development scheme for the village that saw the participation of all the villagers (Kuntz, 2013; Rigby, 2010). In his own words "Battir is a living example of what a community can do to help itself" (Mustafa in Kuntz, 2013). Applying the concept of community work, the villagers participated in the works to improve the irrigation system and the fountain reconstruction; improvements such as new schools for girls, telephone and post office, a clinic, various communal clubs and organizations, helped to rebuild the village's social infrastructure, strengthening the community's resilience (Botmeh, 2006), in a process that would influence the village attitude until today.

1980S LABOUR WORK SHARED EXPERIENCE: BUILDING THE OCCUPIER'S HOMES

At the beginning of the military occupation of the West Bank, the Green Line was still a permeable border for everyone living in the geographical area under Israeli control. Due to Israel's settler-colonial policy of subordinate integration, thousands of Palestinians would commute daily into Israel for work, while others would travel to visit family and friends living inside Israel, or to explore the places of their past. From Israel, Jewish citizens would enter the occupied territories for cheaper shopping opportunities, for business, or to visit friends and relatives in the settlements. In those years, Israel applied a model of social and economic subjugation of the natives, as in the settler colonial attitude to first exploit the local population as a labour force. Along with the rest of the West Bank, in the years after 1967 Battir suffered the difficult conditions of the occupation, including the stagnation of local development due to Israeli restrictions. A majority of men found better work opportunities in the Israeli labour market, mostly in construction and the service industry (Tamari, 1981), particularly in the 1980s (Farsakh, 2005; Gordon, 2008). The wage-labour raised the households' standards of living, and the new wealth started to produce its signs in the villages built environment. As Tamari (1981) explains, the average peasant did not reinvest in business opportunities but tended to put his savings into a separate housing unit for his own household. Under the influence of the new techniques and new materials as concrete and iron seen while working in Israel or abroad, the Palestinians decided that the old houses were not viable anymore and built new modern houses on the family land. Older participants to the study share the opinion that those years of work in Israel are somehow something to be ashamed of. "We lost our tradition and our identity by going to work in Israel. They preferred to go away and earn more than studying and work with their fathers their land", says a Battiri. At that time, these feelings were expressed in the attempt to disengage from the Israeli economy during the first intifada. Palestinians who withdrew for protest from their labour in Israel were easily replaced, while for them it was not simple to find alternative sources of employment and income (Rigby, 2010).

AFTER OSLO: FROM OCCUPATION TO COLONIZATION AND SEGREGATION

With the Oslo II Agreements signed in 1995 by Israel and the PLO, the borders of 1948 (already undone by Israel in 1967) disappeared, and a new territorial organization was applied, gradually imposing on

Palestinians a segregationist regime. The West Bank land was divided into three zones: A, B and C. Area A, consisting of the built-up area of the main cities and towns, was controlled by the first ever Palestinian government: the Palestinian Authority. Area B, the built-up areas of villages, remained under Israeli control only for military matters, soon to be handed over to the Palestinian Authority. Area C (all the remaining areas, as the settlements, their foreseen expansion areas, the Green areas, the Israeli by-pass roads system, the Israeli military areas, the security buffer zone along Jordanian border) was under complete Israeli control. The land of Battir fell on the map for around 25% in area B (mostly along the road towards Bethlehem), and for around 75% in area C, under complete control of the Israeli government and at higher risk for land loss due to Israeli settlements expansion.

Israel followed the classic steps of settler colonialism, and the initial dependence on subordinate Palestinian labour developed in exclusion and displacement of Palestinian workers (Lloyd, 2012) enforcing segregation through a strict system of entry and travel permits, restricting Palestinian movement. The economic situation would worsen in the whole Palestine, but as in Battir a high percentage of the jobs were in the Israeli construction sector, the village would be affected more than others, resulting in escalating unemployment and level of poverty (Rigby, 2010). In fact, most of the participants indicate the Oslo years as the time when everything changed and the occupation started to be harsh. The construction of the Security Barrier acts as a separation point between the time when the Palestinians were free to travel in Israel and the occupied territories, and the time when their movement depended on permits and multiple borders.

SHARED MEMORY AND HERITAGE: THE ROLE OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN MAINTAINING THE PAST ALIVE

In Battir, the people from the village see now their space becoming smaller as their possibility to move around is subjected to more and more limitations. While living in a context of limitation of freedom and continuous confrontation with the occupant entities, the villagers express feelings of attachment to places of their past, buildings and structures that represent the collective identity, memory and culture (Zaprianov, 2012). Edward Relph used the term "unselfconscious place-making" to describe the vernacular practices of making a place by adapting to particular site-specific social, physical, aesthetic and spiritual needs of a group of people (1976). The pictures of old houses showed during group discussions recalled in most of the participants' memories of the common act of building traditional houses, involving the whole community and following shared knowledge. Influenced by their village's specific history of common goods, the inhabitants of Battir display a very strong association between heritage and place identity. As described in the literature, the latter fosters the feelings of belonging and continuity, while the former with its physicality adds a sense of material reality (Lowenthal, 1985). All the participants to the study demonstrated shared knowledge of old habits and old houses, linked to the idea of heritage, together with the agricultural land and local traditions. As they affirm, "(Heritage) is our existence. It is about life in Battir how it was, and my family, the other generations, talked to me a lot about it".

PLACE-MAKING UNDER OCCUPATION: FROM ADAPTIVE TO TRANSFORMATIVE RESILIENCE

The Palestinian population is characterized by something called *sumud*, meaning steadfastness, as a form of standing up to the challenges of daily life under occupation (Shehadeh, 1982). Resilience is described as the way of life of Palestinians under occupation, the sum of the everyday acts that prevent their total subordination to Israel (Allen, 2008). As the segregation process derived from the Oslo areas put most of the village land in area C, the available land in Battir shrank. To overcome the lack of free land, the villagers started to exploit as much as possible area B, where it was allowed to build without Israeli

permission. As the population increased, so did the floors of the buildings, to accommodate new families. By doing so, the old houses and the gardens and trees among them would disappear, demolished to make space for new buildings. (Fig.3) This place-making activity can be described as an adaptive resilience strategy, defined as the action of making choices and taking actions to mitigate the effects of conflict and stress. The livelihood strategies of the villagers evolved in a place-making process that embodies the union of a specific context and the architectural built form produced in it (Stea & Turan, 1993). People's happiness and wellbeing are connected to the quality of place-making (Alexander, 1979), but in the West Bank, segregation and land appropriation for the construction of settlements have affected the Palestinians, who share now needs for privacy, space and open view on nature. In the words of some participants: "before we had many houses here and here and here, there was space between one house and the other. Today there is no more space, you are so close to your neighbour", remembers a participant. In Battir the land started to shrink when Israel imposed many dispossessions to create a buffer area along the border and even more since the Oslo defined areas. As the participants recollect, "(in the 90s) there was an economic change, the families were growing and the land was not enough to sustain them. And also because Israel took a lot of land from Battir and the people were afraid to go to their land near Israel". But developing from the same stages seen in other villages, a multilevel process of transformative resilience was here put in place by different actors.

First, transformative resilience attitude was used to avoid the construction of the Separation Barrier on Battir's land through official channels. The whole process was a three years legal battle conducted by the Village Council for communal rights in the name of the right of the environment, of nature and cultural heritage. This process brought also to the inscription of Battir landscape on the World Heritage List and on the List of World Heritage in Danger by Unesco. Since then, the local community in Battir has created "Battir 2020", an initiative that works through sustainable cultural activities to encourage tourism and to preserve the endangered local heritage without the intervention of international donors. Traditional houses have been restored and are now used as guesthouses for local and international tourists, in synergy with the local Eco Museum, also located in a restored old house. Battir 2020 is a sign of Hassan Moustafa's legacy, with the community working together in an act of transformative resilience to counteract the negative effects of the occupation and to express the possibility to control its own future despite it (Fig.4). For the participants, heritage is connected to resistance to occupation, as maintaining all the village land (as Hassan Moustafa did) is the strongest act of resistance they can think of. Most of the participants consider the old houses as proof of presence in this land since old times: "it is very important that the people build their houses on their own land, so if they use their own land it is a proof (of ownership). The old houses are a testimony of the life at those times, but the new houses are proof of the ownership of these houses and lands today". Therefore, the restoration and conservation of old houses are also acts of resistance, because by doing that the people of Battir prevent the erasure of their history, against the occupier's narrative and intention: "people must know how we lived in Battir. How much the old generation has made efforts to keep them, and how much they resisted the occupation. So if we keep the houses we can know about all that. It is resistance".

CONCLUSION

Through acts of adaptive resilience, Palestinians make choices aimed at mitigating the effects of segregation. Palestinian place-making is, therefore, moving away from the traditional ways in order to satisfy the needs of a changing society and to go around the limitations imposed by Israeli policies or violence. After the success of the legal battle to avoid the construction of the Separation Barrier on the historical terraces, in Battir the relation between heritage and place-making has become the distinctive trait

of the village. Its example shows that when a community under occupation feels empowered and is given awareness of the importance of its heritage, then acts of transformative resilience become part of its place-making choices, and a possible future is foreseen.

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FIGURES



Fig. 1
View of Battir and its agricultural terraces



Fig. 2
The cultural landscape of Battir's agricultural terraces



Fig. 3
A mix of old and new houses in Battir's area B



Fig. 4

Battir 2020 construction site: mocking the USAID signs, it says “Funded by: families of Battir”

SESSION 5.A

DWELLING IN TEMPORARINESS

BETWEEN WAITING AND HOMING

Raffaella Greco Tonegutti

FURTHER THOUGHTS ABOUT BORDER AS REFUGE DEMARCATING SAFE SPACES
IN TIMES OF CONFLICT

Maier Yagod

(UN)MAKING HOME: DISPLACED IN THE NORTH QUARTER

Racha Daher

Between waiting and homing

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Undoubtedly time is a critical, yet uncertain factor in asylum proceedings. Since 2015 the time to process asylum requests in Belgium has significantly increased. Furthermore, as applications from Syrians were given priority, nationals from “safe countries” received more often negative responses for their asylum requests. These circumstances affected the lives of many individuals applying for asylum, for which the waiting time in reception centres got significantly longer than they initially expected, in particular since the arrival of Syrians in the country. This paper describes and discusses individuals’ strategies to make a reception centre “home” in the indefinite situation of waiting in which they are forced during their asylum application. The research (February 2017 to May 2018), focuses on a reception centre located in the city centre of Brussels hosting a mixed population in terms of composition (women alone, families with young children, men and young boys alone) and origins (nationals from more than 15 countries, with a high prevalence of Iraqis, Afghans and Palestinians, and different African nationals). Interviews with individuals who accepted to relate their daily routine illustrate how they engage with the complex business of timepassing, alternating between a sense of purposeful waiting – the response of the Consulat General aux Réfugiés et Apatrides (CGRA) – and purposeless inertia – when all the fellow seekers receive their responses and you are the only one still on hold. The paper also describes the relation between “waiting” and “homing”, and how a temporary reception centre becomes a permanent reference for those who live inside (the residents) and for those who are out (granted the international protection). It discusses how making the centre home, notwithstanding the mixed feeling love (necessity) and hate that residents develop, is a permanent feeling even after leaving it with a positive decision from the State.

Keywords: Belgium, asylum seekers, reception centres, temporariness, adaptation, temporary domesticity.

In a reception centre located in Brussels, only a few kilometres away from the European Institutions and the Belgian governmental buildings, people seeking asylum are waiting. They wait for a State decision over their cases; a change in politics or in policy in their place of origin or destination or the production of specific documentation that can strengthen their cases, all in the hope of getting a permit of residence and/or of acquiring legal documents enabling them to start a family, to resume studying or to work. All their conceptualizations of the future are tied to the pivotal point of getting residence documents. This pivotal point represents the main (only) reference for the future and the motivation for continued waiting in the present time.

When will I receive the papers? is the most frequently asked question by the residents, relating to a sense of temporariness, precariousness and unpredictability often imposed by State procedures that regulate the lives of people seeking asylum. “When” is a crucial question, which presupposes that waiting (for something) is a temporary phenomenon. Yet, this temporary phenomenon can become a form of life (Veena Das, 2016) when people do not know what are the factors that influence its length, but it can also move from “an inert waiting to an active waiting” (Marcel, 1967 : 280).

Can we say that the act of purposefully waiting – defined by Craig Jeffrey as “stoicism, persistence, perseverance and patience” as opposed to purposeless inertia, defined as “ennui, listlessness and timepass” – in a “waiting zone outside the society” (Turner, 1969), under precarious and uncertain

circumstances is not only shaped by those who make others wait, but also by those who wait (Procupez, 2015)? Bandak and Janeja (2018) bring forward the figure of Penelope as a subject that cannot only evoke pity as she keeps her hope alive in her patient resilience. They claim that we cannot situate waiting merely in the frame of suffering but rather must attend to the variegated responses to lived historical circumstances and concrete situations. In other words, purposeful waiting also enables agency of people seeking asylum even in a situation of uncertain future (Bourdieu, 2000). Emirbayer and Mische (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998) insist on a revised conceptualization of the agency as more than the interplay of routine, purpose and judgement, and rather as a temporarily embedded process of social engagement informed by the past (in its habitual aspects), inspired by the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingency of the moment).

On this basis, I question here who has control over the present and future of migrants' lives whilst they are in reception facilities by analyzing the liminal space of the reception center. Despite I acknowledge that migrant reception and control over its temporality (i.e. waiting) is a biopolitical (Foucault, 2005) process as it involves controlling their bodies and the social worlds they can inhabit, I argue that people have agency even in such circumstances. I argue that while waiting for a State decision, people seeking asylum use their agency to transform the reception centre into a sort of "secure, familiar and controlled space" comparable to a domestic space. I question the possibility that people seeking asylum perceive centres as a secure place over which they exert some sort of control, excluded as they are from experiencing these two intrinsic characteristics of 'making oneself home' (i.e. security and control) even in a temporary, marginal, "waiting zone outside society" (Turner, 1967).

With Bourdieu, I consider waiting as a technology of governance: a way in which power is effectuated through its exercise over people's time (Bourdieu, 2000:228). The production of waiting time among people seeking asylum is one of the ways in which the State exercises its power producing uncertainty about potential futures. A central theme that arises here is the one of control (Gasparini, 1995): who is able to act on time and who is acted upon. People seeking asylum in Europe collectively experience the use of power over their life (time) by the States in which they seek protection. The lack of control over one's time, the (in)capacity of planning over one's life, the unpredictability of the outcome of waiting, are constant in asylum seeking experiences. However, with Boccagni (Boccagni, 2017) I consider home-making processes as the social and cultural ways in which home-related spaces are produced and reproduced; and as the everyday practices through which a sense of home is infused into places. The central point here, therefore, is that control over time is contested. It is not an absolute power over an absolute passive inertia: people seeking asylum also have agency. Enforced waiting and uncertainty reflects the power imposed by the State – biopolitical control of waiting. But the experience of making homes – an on-going process that is produced and reproduced in different contexts, including those generally defined as 'limbo' such as the reception structures for those seeking asylum - reflects a struggle for regaining control over certain aspects of everyday life by people residing in reception centres.

During a period of 15 months I have observed a group of 10 Middle-Eastern – non-Syrian – males, aged from 20 to 35, seeking asylum in Belgium and residing in a reception centre located in Brussels. They were all young men traveling alone with different migration trajectories, having experienced different temporalities in their journeys, and with different migration plans, ranging from settling in Belgium to trying to get to the UK and then to Canada via the sea.

The centre, which has been closed since February 2019, could host a maximum of 270 individuals hosted in rooms with 4, 6, 8, 10 and 20 beds, while families were given a room on their own. The residents

included women traveling alone, men travelling alone, families with young children and women with children from, on average, 20 different countries. The length of the residence of each individual was extremely varied and primarily depended on the administrative procedure of the asylum request. But it was also linked to the “good conduct” of the residents. The management, in fact, could shorten the residence and expel the individuals if their behavior was at any time judged as inconvenient. Misbehaviors could include being drunk, screaming, opposing a rule set by the management, cooking in the rooms and others.

The centre was located on the premises of a former catholic school, rented by a not-for-profit association awarded a grant by the State to manage the facility for a period of 5 years. It was a big building composed of four floors occupied largely by the bedrooms of the residents and by the offices of the management/coordination team. It also had some common spaces where the resident could meet. This included a small external smoking room, a canteen, a playroom for children only open during week days (but closed on weekends), a small TV room and a sofa room with internet connection and a court yard used as a parking space by the social workers. Cooking was not allowed for the residents and access to the canteen was strictly regulated and restricted to meal-hours.

I became aware of the existence of the reception facility through one of my informants who was residing in the centre, and who formally requested authorization to let me in, first to the social workers, and then to the general coordinator. This authorization was questioned several times during my participant observation period and was renegotiated with the coordination team of the not-for-profit organization managing the centre until the moment where it was finally withdrawn. The criteria to accept non-resident in the centre were never made explicit, nor explained, but the *condicio sine qua non* remained the invitation by one of the residents to enter the centre for maximum 2 hours on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon from 3 to 5pm. Conditioned by the invitation from a resident who should remain with the guest for the entire duration of the visit, a non-resident could then get the permission to access the court yard and the smoking room only. I have therefore carried out the fieldwork through weekly visits to the centre always in the early afternoon. Alongside with participatory observation, I have carried out in-depth interviews with some of the informant outside the centre, mostly in local bars situated close to the reception facility, and engaged with digital diaries with a smaller group of informants.

I have started this experiment with the aim to observe how individuals in reception centres engage with the experience of waiting. During my first 8 visits to the reception facility I refined the questions together with the informants, who contributed to the framing of the experience at the centre and to understanding the link between waiting and homing practices.

I have observed how each individual engaged with their personal experience of waiting, their “oscillations between doubting and hoping” (Bandak and Janeja, 2018), and the corrosive effect of the scrutiny and objectification of their lives in the form of external assessment of value or experiences of personal threats in their place of origin (Bredeloup, 2012). I captured the complex interaction between the biopolitics of waiting and the ways in which individuals engaged with the experience of purposeful/purposeless waiting (the poetics of waiting, to quote Badank and Janeja, 2018) and homing. The daily practices of the residents show well the difficult balance between State-imposed timescales and the attempt to organize life following people’s own timescales. Examples of attempts to create routines that give waiting a sense of purpose despite rules imposed by the State regulating time and space are smoking shisha at certain times; sitting on the same chair in the same corner of a small smoking room built with steel plate and wood in the external court of the centre; cutting the fruit-tasty tobacco in plastic boxes and wrap it into aluminum foils; preparing cardamom tea to sip in the company of nighttime-lover residents; cook food on camping stoves illegally placed in family bedrooms and eat it with compatriot residents after

kids are in bed, etc.

Also, the question of “when?”, often asked by my respondent and reflecting the uncertainty of the future illustrates well the attempt to actively fight the liminality by giving time a sense. Liminality is here understood as that undefined period connecting two clearly defined statuses or social positions. “When will I receive the answer from the CGRA¹”? The constant questioning, “how much time is left before I will finally be able to start living?” represents well the struggle over powerlessness. When life is on hold, waiting for an unpredictable decision by the State, each everyday action not oriented towards increasing the probability of a positive answer or decreasing the waiting time appears empty and meaningless (de Genova and Peutz, 2010). When life is on hold, liminality becomes indefinite and the present is no more experienced as meaningful as it is indeterminate and potentially eternal. “The present identifies like waiting at a bus stop for a bus that never passes” (Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018). When life is on hold, individuals feel trapped in a state of unwanted liminality where administrative time does not move forward, but biological time does.

Waiting for documents which allow asylum seekers to “start living”, defined by my respondents as “stuckedness”, makes it very difficult for individuals living in a reception centre to adjust to the time-space of mainstream society (Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018). It puts them out of sync and makes them live the wrong temporality. The indeterminate waiting produces a liquid temporality of monotonous repetitions, where the fear of an undesired outcome of the waiting becomes even more oppressive and corrosive than the sense of uncertainty linked to the unpredictability of the length of the waiting.

I have asked myself whether the self-understanding of people seeking asylum - being victims of a governance system that imposes its power over their lives (bodies and time) - is hampering or in fact creating a special connection to the space where they experience the waiting as it forces this space into being perceived as the “home” they feel they are entitled to due to their sufferings?

The observation of life practices in the reception centre suggests that for some individuals, especially those who were expecting that the waiting time would be long, the liminal space is assimilated to a domestic, personal, almost private space.

“I was aware that, as a non-Syrian, my case could take longer to be examined and settled. When I left home, I calculated that it would take me three years to get back to the situation I was in when I left – in terms of stable job, of autonomy, of economic independence. I was ready to adapt to whatever situation and to make myself home in whatever conditions.”

I observed that homing is a strategy to give waiting time a meaning. The creation of rituals (Giddens, 1984), repetitions of actions that bring a sense of security and control over one’s life and time, is a sense-making attitude breaking the psychological state suspending and bracketing activities (Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018). In their waiting I observed the different individual processes to homing, that is, giving meaning to each contextual situation, countering the “stuckedness” created by a lengthy waiting (Hage, 2009), which puts individuals in a liminal phase, making a mess of both the “because” and the “in order to” clauses for justifying the course of actions (Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018). Unpacking the experience of homing in the context of migration, and specifically of asylum seeking with residence in group/large reception centres, also entails investigating the extent to which a sense of home can be developed in diverse environments and changing spatial bases (Massa, Bonfanti, Miranda, working paper, 2018). It entails understanding how the “feelings and attachments, some of which, some of the times and in

1 Consulat Général pour Réfugiés et Apatrides

some places, become connected to a physical structure that provides shelter” (Blunt and Dowling, 2006) develop in a reception centre. In other words, it also entails investigating a “tentative enactment of specific emotional attachments and meanings” (Boccagni, 2017). If homing is an aggregation of micro practices, a “complex interactional achievement between persons, spaces and things that requires us to constantly ‘make homes’ rather than ever ‘be at home’” (Lloyd and Vasta, 2017), individuals seeking asylum try to make themselves homes in their changing life circumstances.

After months’ of observation of how my respondents created and recreated home-like feelings within the space offered by the State, I thus understand this ‘making homes’ process as an “irremediably contingent, life course-dependent and reversible achievement” (Boccagni, 2017). Also, I begin to understand homing as a multilayered process evolving over space (following migratory paths) and over time (as it is affected by past memories and future aspirations).

In the context of migration, and while residing – for an indefinite length of time and with unpredictable outcomes of an uncertain waiting – in a reception centre, the group of ‘non-Syrian’ Arabs enacted their agency by transforming a State-led and impersonal space into a familiar one. First, this was observable in what residents would wear when being inside and how they would change dresses and prepare themselves (hairs, make-up, etc.) when going out. The threshold between inside and outside, between a place of belonging and one of alienation was further visualized/strengthened by the entrance gate of the centre being equipped with security cameras and bodyguards storing/giving badges of those who go out/in.

I would like to elaborate on the issue of the threshold between inside and outside spaces, and the role of the centre’s management in defining these spaces, as well as the sense of “homing” developed by social workers and guards in the reception centre. I will focus on the sense of familiarity (a sort of attachment) perceived by those residing in the reception centre. Following Boccagni and Brighenti’s (2017) proposal to consider “home” to be a space where people attribute a sense of familiarity, security and control, I consider that a reception centre can be a domestic/private space within which people seeking asylum may develop a sense of familiarity over (waiting) time.

Evidence of such a sense of familiarity can be found in the recurrent practices linked to eating, sipping traditional drinks and smoking narghile at certain times of the day and night that continue to repeat themselves over days, weeks and months. Furthermore, establishing (friendly) relations with fellow residents, mostly non-Syrians sharing the perspective of an indefinitely long and uncertain waiting is a sign of establishing familiarity relations within the dwelling. Among Arab non-Syrian residing in the centre, a sort of solidarity linked to a sense of familiarity consolidated practices of fooding and drinking outside the officially allowed canteen hours created a sense of parallel life compared to the one imposed by the management of the centre. Cooking in a ‘home-like’ environment is perhaps the strongest strategy for home-making. Making and consuming food in the context of migration is a way to find familiarities with whatever is at hand while also searching for ingredients from one’s country of origin. (Massa, Bonfanti, Miranda, working paper 3, 2018). It is a framework of memory that mediates between one present self and his/her pre-migrant life. (Parvathi Raman, 2011).

Having a life ‘in the centre’, other than what is expected by the centre’s administration, contributes to building/strengthening a sense of ownership over the place and space. The acts of insubordination – e.g. cooking in the rooms on illegally placed camping stoves as well as bringing canteen food in the bedrooms to eat outside of the officially determined spaces and hours – are perceived as enactment of individual and collective agency by individuals seeking asylum, as well as demonstration vis-à-vis the centre’s administration of a level of appropriation of (and attachment to) the space.

However, such an appropriation does not happen in a void. What is the role of the centre's administration in defining the space and the possibility for residents to appropriate them? To what extent is there a tension between residents' attempts to 'make homes' in the centre (or in some of the private and/or public spaces of the centre), and the sense of home developed by social workers and guardians over the reception centre's spaces? Can we describe this 'double homing' as the tension between the sense of familiarity developed by residents and the sense of control (over the spaces) developed (and exerted) by those who work in the reception centre?

While recognizing that some of the elements of what Boccagni defines as central in the experience of homing are present in the way the residents in the reception centre experience the private and public spaces of the centre itself, I question the possibility that the centre is perceived as a secure place over which residents exert some sort of control, exactly because people seeking asylum are excluded from experiencing these two intrinsic characteristics of 'making oneself home' (i.e. security and control) even in a temporary, marginal, "waiting zone outside society" (Turner, 1967).

Residents report the occurrence of many accidents that they consider 'against' their psychological and physical safety, perpetrated by centre's administration staff. These occurrences range from preventing residents from eating if they miss the canteen hours, to preventing them to access medical care for health issues that are assessed as 'not serious enough' by the nurses performing the first screening of residents that report a problem to threatening residents over reporting any misconduct with possible (bad) consequences over their possibility to get the international protection. What is even more interesting is that the staff of the centre themselves acknowledge how the space is not safe (secure) for, for instance, woman residents living there alone (i.e. without male members of their families), let alone for young girls or single mothers. Security is intended, as it is defined by staff members, as protection against threats coming from the outside (hence the bodyguards at the entrance), but most of all as protection of the staff against violent acts perpetrated by residents ("when they lose control"). Control, then, is invoked by staff members against desperate acts conducted by residents bearing physical or emotional consequences for other residents or, as often underlined by staff members, for staff itself.

Besides security issues, the personal accounts from the centre's coordinators that I registered during my observation show a sense of control over the centre exerted by the staff (be it social workers, coordinators or guardians). As one said, "It is up to us to decide where and when people can stay, drink or eat; it is up to us to decide who can get in or have to stay out: c'est-à-dire whether residents can invite friends into the public or private spaces; it is up to us to make the rules, they have to respect them". If it is common that guests of residents in reception centres have to be authorized and registered, changing rules over why and who can access the centre makes centre's administration feel powerful (in control) over the spaces (and the residents), and in turn makes the residents feel out of power (control) over their home-like space, the familiar environment to which they develop attachment ties. Furthermore, eventual permission to guests of residents to access public spaces (smoking room, court yard and sofa room) and denial to access private spaces (rooms and bathrooms), strengthen the sense of marginalization and exclusion (Massa, Bonfanti, Miranda, working paper 3, 2018). Such varying permissions/denials open up other questions related to what makes rules suddenly change, and what makes the access to the centre an element of the power struggle over residents' bodies and lifetime.

If familiarity feelings and repetition of home-like acts/practices (routine) are constantly built and negotiated by the residents, independently from the length of waiting in the reception centre, individuals also need to constantly negotiate with the administration of the centres in order to gain security and control over their life (and their spaces). The process of homing is negotiated against time (i.e. waiting) and

against space (i.e. rules and denials), with different faces of the State, (i.e. the impersonal bureaucracy of those deciding on people's lives through the judgement of individual requests for international protection and the centre's administrators/managers).

The practices enacted in the process of making oneself home in the different environments inhabited during the waiting reflect, therefore, the power struggle between actors governing migration (including the centre's administration staff - from coordinators to bodyguards) and individuals residing in these centres.

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Rethinking Demarcating Safe Spaces in Times of Conflict: Border as Refuge

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Borders have become one of the most controversial topics of our times. Identifiable borders, be they physical barriers, markings or the physical delimiters of socially constructed entities, are essential to how we designate living spaces, land allocations, territorial ownership and jurisdiction and, in a more abstract sense, how we analyze and study natural and social realities as such. Throughout the war in Syria during the past few years we have seen a mass migration within and out of Syria in search of safety. Some of the internally displaced persons (IDP) sought refuge along the border with Israel, Syria's seven-decade-long mortal enemy. This choice might seem odd in light of the fact that these refugees show no intention of crossing the border into Israeli controlled areas. The article focuses on the "border area" as a space in itself, an unplanned, independent locus that because of unanticipated, anomalous circumstances became a haven from danger for Syrian refugees. These "internal refugees" effectively exploited the proximity of Israeli military forces to shield and protect themselves from their current feared assailants. Syrian IDP flee to areas where personal safety and protection were considered inconceivable in the past. The ebb and flow of refugees along the border area results in growing and shrinking of these settlements giving them an ever present dynamism, a three dimensional barometer indicating the level of safety that the residents have. The border areas adapted by Syrian displaced persons to their need for safe refuge are products of the interaction between desperate but resourceful people and the reality of displacement, insecurity and lack of shelter. The habitable spaces they created derive their distinctive character not from recognized theories of planning or regulatory oversight, but from the logic, ingenuity and inspiration of the mother of invention: necessity or, in more prosaic terms, from the exigencies of "informal planning."

Keywords: Syria, IDP, refugees, borders, Israel, adaptation, make-do, informality, spontaneous settlements.

INTRODUCTION

Definitions of things, places or ideas circumscribe their subject matter within boundaries indicating inclusion and exclusion. Identifiable borders - be they physical barriers, markings or the conventionally accepted delimiters of socially constructed entities - are essential to how we designate living spaces, land allocations, territorial ownership and jurisdiction, and also to how we analyze and study nature itself. Apart from the epistemic use for identification and classification, in the case of socially defined entities such as national territories, borders delineate the scope of an entity's social significance. Throughout history (Kuhrt, 1995, p. 561)¹ borders have been used to delineate land ownership, territorial sovereignty, even the domains of deities.² In Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt and China territorial markings took the form of stelae and fortifications around kingdoms, public property and national realms (Grosby, 1997).

In recent years we have witnessed both military and conceptual challenges to national borders. We see this in heated debates in America and Europe regarding open vs closed border crossings and in the proliferation of fences and walls between countries, such as India/ Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia/ Iraq,

1 "Frontiers and routes were always of major importance, and hence were marked by royal stelae, as well as by royally built and heavily garrisoned fortresses set on summits dominating the surround terrain" (Cornell, 1995, pp. 203–206). The boundaries of Rome and its territories were marked both by religious ceremonies dating back to Etruscan times as well as by physical earthworks and markings. For this and the concept of pomerium ("sacred boundary") (See also pp. 167, 195, 199, 203). "If we accept Schubert's suggestion (182) that the title of defender of the wicker-work barrier refers to a frontiers station defended by earthen walls, we may conclude that as to military presence a difference was made between the Dodekaschoinos and the rest of the occupied region lying between Maharraqa and the Second Cataract" (Török, 2009, p. 406).

2 Contrary to this approach, some scholars maintain that with respect to the ancient world, one may talk only about boundaries and not borders (see Giddens, 1985, pp. 49–53).

Hungary/ Serbia and Greece/ Turkey (Greaves & Faunce, 2017). The ISIS declaration of in 2014 of its intention to eradicate Middle Eastern borders created by France and Britain (Ruthven, 2017) attests to the continued importance of borderline demarcations today.

BORDER AREAS

National borders are delineated not only by de jure lines demarcating legal, political or geographical boundaries, but also by border areas, spaces that can be regarded as distinct entities in themselves.

UNPLANNED SPACES

One of the primary goals of zoning and designing spaces for habitation is the maximization of accessibility, convenience, safety, etc., for the intended residents. But what about unplanned spaces or areas initially planned or zoned for one purpose but subsequently used for another? Border areas often fall into one of these indeterminate categories. Unplanned spaces can be -- and are -- adapted to meet vital human needs during times when planned and designed spaces may fail to do so.

THE UNPLANNED BORDER AREA ALONG THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN BORDER

A 'border area' can be regarded as a space in itself, an independent locus. As a result unanticipated, anomalous circumstances, such areas became 'safe haven' areas for those fleeing the chaos within Syria. These areas emerged on the Syrian side of the border between Israel and Syria between 2013 and 2018. Until recently one could look across Israel's northern border towards the Syrian side of the Golan Heights and see several informal, makeshift settlements inhabited by displaced persons who had intentionally situated themselves close to the border.

This unusual military and political scenario reveals how such border adjoining spaces defy and confound our normal conception of the necessity and indispensability of planning in the creation of viable living spaces. I suggest that the very absence of planning made the Syrian encampments bordering Israel into viable living spaces. In normal times we design and plan cities, neighborhoods and homes to make them liveable and responsive to our needs. In times of radical, unanticipated events, such as war and social chaos, the uncharted potentialities of unplanned spaces may be preferable to the known benefits of planned ones.

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSON (IDP)

The massive displacement of citizens during the Syrian conflict consists of refugees escaping to other countries and internally displaced persons (IDPs) who leave their homes and seek refuge within their own country.³ According to the Internally Displaced Monitoring Centre, since the beginning of the conflict in 2011 over 6,000,000 Syrians were displaced. This number constitutes slightly less than 1/3 of the entire original population of Syria.⁴ It is safe to say that all these displaced persons fled mortal danger.

Internally displaced persons differ from refugees in two substantive ways. Firstly, they remain within their country of origin where they speak the language, know the culture and are likely to be connected to extended social networks they can rely on for shelter and assistance. Secondly, unlike those who emigrate, they live within an ever-present state of warfare.

Internally displaced persons may head towards their country's borders, some in order to cross into a

3 The U.N. defines IDP as "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border" (Deng, 1998).

4 See more at www.internal-displacement.org/database/country/?iso3=syr/.

neighboring country, while others may decide to settle close to the border. In the latter case, some intend (but are not always able) to cross the border eventually, while others remain and set up makeshift homes near the border for as long as danger persists.⁵

If it were possible, personal interviews and interactions with the Syrian IDP in their border settlements would have enabled my including an account of the spatial praxis of these internally displaced people. Unfortunately, due to strictly enforced military restrictions and personal safety considerations, I was unable to obtain living testimonies save for private conversations with “sources” who, in their official capacities as international observers, soldiers, aid workers, health providers, etc., shared their experiences and observations with me.

“MISPLACED CONCRETENESS”

The conceptual definition of borders as epistemic delineators of ideas and objects is sometimes forgotten by those who identify the concept of borders with the policies they are used to implement, especially when such policies have significant impacts on human lives. The borders of countries whose entry and departure policies are considered objectionable and unjustified sometimes become the focus of attention, so that the idea of borders, through association with particular negative policies, become the primary object of criticism.

In her book, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, Wendy Brown (2010) claims that “walls would seem to express power that is material, visible, centralized, and exerted corporeally through overt force and policing” (p. 81). It is undoubtedly true that people tend to associate concrete barriers with power and control, while many extend this association to the very concept of “border,” as if borders per se implied discrimination and exclusion for morally indefensible reasons. Yet the logical processes of demarcation and delineation are conceptually independent of the purposes for which they may be used.

Brown acknowledges that walls and fences do not have intrinsic or persistent meaning as borders (Brown, 2010, p. 74). Hadrian's Wall is a charming tourist attraction today but when it was constructed it surely was menacing to some and comforting to others. The functional significance of such concrete objects does not inhere in the objects themselves but is derived from their social and political contexts and, in some cases, from the individual perspective of the observer.

LOOSE SOVEREIGNTY

Apart from the connotations and associations of the term ‘borders’ in terms of context and individual perspective, the actual physical structure, environment and atmosphere of national borders can vary significantly. For example, even though the ambience and conditions at border crossings usually reflect the relations between bordering sovereign countries, these areas are often characterized by an informal atmosphere of “loose sovereignty.” Most border crossings are used by ordinary people rather than by official state representatives (Brown, 2010) and, consequently, are places of informal interactions rather than of formal political dealings. Totalitarian and police states notwithstanding, the informal atmosphere of border crossings, their special status with respect to government regulations, the “interregnum” of being betwixt and between jurisdictions and regulations of the respective countries – all contribute to creating an ambience of an interim, autonomous region.

The border and the individual are, in this way, seen as regulatory sites – borders to be policed – and the

⁵ For example, most refugees from war-torn Central African Republic of Congo settled on the borders of the two neighboring countries, Cameroon and Chad. See UNICEF Chad Humanitarian Situation Report at <http://reliefweb.int/report/chad/unicef-chad-humanitarian-situation-report-april-2017/>.

border-crossers are the only active (and thus the only responsible) elements of immigration (Wagner & Stein, 1998).

International airports, for example, although not usually situated at the edge of a country, nevertheless serve as national border crossings, although they can be described as areas of “loose sovereignty.” Countries may allow duty-free shopping or relinquish their legal right to collect VAT from local citizens traveling abroad.⁶ This form of “loose sovereignty” also enables countries to maintain holding cells where people may be held without being considered as having entered the country.

SHIFTING BORDERS AND GRAY ZONES IN TIMES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The functional significance of borders for identifying ideas, objects and social entities is best understood in times of social change when the legitimacy of certain entities and “individualities” are challenged and possibly replaced by others. Saskia Sassen has noted that the faces of sovereignty and borders are different today from what they once were, and that the mechanisms of “bordering” have also changed radically (Sassen, 2005, pp. 527–528). Lebbeus Woods describes the situation today as a “boundary condition,” a borderline, between “globalization” leading towards the “economic and cultural unification of the planet” and ultimately “a homogeneous geography into which all borders would simply vanish” and the established order where “borderlines separated only hostile and contradictory systems.” Due to the “inevitable delay” of the endpoint when all national borders vanish and cultural differences disappear, we are currently in a “state of ambivalence . . . an indefinite “between” zone, giving new significance to the idea of “borderline” (Woods, 1998).

DISPLACED PERSONS AND THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI BORDER AREAS

A theoretical analysis of borders may not be of interest to displaced persons seeking refuge, but an examination of these people’s behavior and reasons for selecting certain border areas rather than others can reveal crucial, previously unnoticed characteristics of these areas.

In the case of the Syrian settlements under discussion, clearly “loose sovereignty” was a necessary condition for being regarded as potential areas of refuge by displaced Syrians.

These refugees’ former homes in planned residential areas could no longer provide safe and secure living conditions and, therefore, their inhabitants sought radical alternatives that could provide the protection and safety they desperately needed.

During warfare and political disorder, chaos generates real and immediate dangers that drive people from their homes. Yet, the same chaos may also disclose places of relative safety and refuge, creating, in Woods’ terms, “the tectonic and spatial elements of a new landscape” (1998).

AN ORIGINAL UNDERSTANDING OF “SAFE AREA”

Due to the ravages of the Syrian war, areas previously used mainly as farmland ceased being cultivated. The marred and bomb-cratered landscape bears the unmistakable footprint of war, reminding us that although chosen by displaced persons as “safe areas,” the designation “safe” must be qualified as “relatively safe.” While safer than their abandoned homes and towns, these areas were not sealed off from the mortal dangers of the war-torn region.

The use of the term “safe space” or “safe area” in this context differs from the accepted usage of the term in architecture and in urban and neighborhood planning with respect to normally functioning societies.

6 In duty-free shops the state is not supposed to make any income on the products being sold.

The ordinary use by planners of the qualifier “safe” with “space,” “area” or “zone” can be understood by the “eyes on the street” (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 42–43, 54–55) idea formulated by Jane Jacobs in *The Rise and Fall of Great American Cities*. This idea, termed “natural surveillance” by Jeffery and others, is relevant to our current topic only to highlight the striking differences with the situation under discussion. ‘Surveillance’ with respect to the Syrian IDPs near Israel’s border is performed not by naturally caring neighbors but by an enemy whose vigilance produces a deterrence that, in turn, produces the (relative) safety of the areas wherein the IDP find refuge. The phenomenon of the threat of violence sustaining the absence of violence brings to mind the situation of mutual deterrence of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union (Delpech, pp. 23–28).⁷

THE BORDER AREA: A SAFE SPACE OF REFUGE

As a geo-political zone, the border evokes images of an intimidating place. Yet, in certain parts of the world these very spaces are being inhabited as places of refuge, ironically because of the perceived consequences of these intimidating features, albeit indirectly. The past encampments of internally displaced people along the Israel-Syria border showed that this is not unique, capricious or unreasonable.⁸

Situated as close as possible to the Israeli border on the Syrian side, the safety of the IDP encampments were sustained by a seemingly counter-intuitive logic: instead of seeking safety in secluded, inaccessible places that facilitate arms procurement for self-defense, the displaced persons chose an area that was visible, accessible and conspicuously close to an enemy border. The rationale was simple: If fired upon by Syrian government or opposition forces, and if a rocket, bullet or other projectile were to inadvertently enter Israeli territory, then the Israeli army would retaliate forcefully. This hypothetical scenario actually occurred on several occasions.⁹ Israel’s consistent military responses to such “spill-over” events had a deterrent effect, which, in turn, resulted in the relative calm and safety of the IDP border settlements.

The political and nuclear strategist Thomas C. Schelling (1980) explained the principle of deterrence best:

Thus, strategy ... – in the sense in which I am using it here – is not concerned with the efficient *application* of force but with the *exploitation of potential force*. It is concerned not just with ... the division of gains and losses between two claimants but with the possibility that particular outcomes are worse (better) for both claimants than certain other outcomes (p. 5; italics in the original).

Like the refuge-seeking IDP, the Syrian government and opposition forces understood that attack their enemy near the Israeli border ran the risk of accidentally provoking severe Israeli retaliation.

INFORMAL PLANNING WHERE FORMAL PLANNING DOES NOT APPLY

Since the 1960’s the concept of informal planning was extensively explored in architectural literature by John F. C. Turner (1972; 1976; Turner et al., 1968), Rem Koolhaas (2001), Alfredo Brillembourg and Hubert Klumpner (2010, pp. 26–35) and others. Also important in this regard was the work of Jan Van Ballegooijen and Roberto Rocco (2013, pp. 1794–1810, and especially pp. 1807–1809).

7 Delpech’s book focuses on active deterrence through armaments, but concepts such as “deterrence” and “second strike” are relevant insofar as they describe the prevention of violence through the threat of violence.

8 Similar cases of the use of the border area as refuge can be seen on the Turkish/Syrian border, on the Turkish/Iraqi border, and the Jordanian/Syrian border during the present conflict in Syria. Similar cases can also be found on the borders of Central African Republic/Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic/Chad and Myanmar/Thailand.

9 For example, on September 10, 2016, the Israeli airforce attacked Syrian army posts after projectiles hit the Golan. According to the article, Israel holds the Assad regime responsible for all errant missile fire regardless of the source. See www.timesofisrael.com/projectile-strikes-golan-thought-to-be-errant-rocket-from-syria/.

The makeshift Syrian IDP settlements near the Israeli border did not have a regular or planned grid. The houses were covered with white tarpaulin - likely to ensure their visibility and distinctiveness on the landscape, as if indicate to the onlooker: "We have no part in the war." Each settlement consisted of several scores of houses that were notideably not temporary dwellings, such as tents or caravans, but small dwellings of light construction materials. The dwellings appeared to have been built with the anticipated lifespans of several months, even years.

Despite the obvious situational advantage during unanticipated, extreme circumstances, informal planning is, by nature, far less proficient than its formal counterpart at solving infrastructural, climatic and long-term consideration with respect to stability and decay, endurance and deterioration, which invariably require professional experience.

THE BORDER AREA: UNPLANNED SPACES IN UNPLANNED TIMES

Planning of space for habitation is a dynamic, multi-dimensional endeavor. Conventional formal approaches to planning and design rely on principles and methodologies appropriate for developing "normal" environments and spaces, but not for dealing with exceptional conditions like those faced by the Syrian IDPs.

The "safe" spaces created by Syrian displaced persons along the Israel-Syrian border were products of the interaction between desperate but resourceful people and the reality of displacement, insecurity and lack of shelter. The habitable spaces they created derived their distinctive character not from recognized theories of planning and regulatory oversight, but from the logic, ingenuity and inspiration of the mother of invention: necessity or, in more formal terms, from the exigencies of "informal planning." Habitation design is ultimately a process, an interactive negotiation between expectations and reality. It is a human project not reducible to dogmatic conceptions and standardized practices.

The displaced persons who found refuge and relative safety in Golan Heights border areas were not at the end of their journey. Unfortunately, the people of Syria are likely to undergo further hardships in the foreseeable future. But from the presence of displaced Syrians in these border zones and the nature of the rationale for the placement of their encampments we can learn much about unplanned spaces and habitation in general. The marking of new boundaries for the purpose of transforming classic, presumably hostile, border areas into habitable refuge zones shows how the gray borderlines of unplanned spaces can be reinterpreted to meet the unanticipated, unplanned needs of displaced persons seeking safety and protection.

In the cases discussed in this paper, 'temporary' was the operative word. The IDP camps are no longer a common phenomenon along that border with Israel. The Bashar Assad government removed these residents from these sites. The regime now controls the entire area. In October, 2018, the border crossings between Israel and Syria were reopened under the auspices of the Syrian government.

(The current situation of the IDP 'settlers' is not known to the author.)

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FIGURES



Figure 1

A general view of a refugee camp on the Syrian side of the Israeli-Syrian border, in the Golan Heights near the Syrian village of Aesheh, June 27, 2014. Photo by: Ancho Gosh and Gil Eliyahu – JINIPIX.



Figure 2
Map by Maier Yagod based on © OpenStreetMap contributors



Figure 3

An Israeli army vehicle patrols the Israeli-Syrian border, near a refugee camp on the Syrian side of the border in the Golan Heights near the Syrian village of Aesheh, June 27, 2014. Photo by Ancho Gosh and Gil Eliyahu – JINIPIX.



Figure 4

View of a refugee camp on the Syrian side of the Israeli-Syrian border, in the Golan Heights near the Syrian village of Briqa, east of Quneitra, February 17, 2016. Photo by Ancho Gosh and Gil Eliyahu – JINIPIX.



Figure 5

Deportation of Refugees from the border area on the Golan Heights October, 2018. Photo by: Ancho Gosh and Gil Eliyahu – JINIPIX.

(Un)Making Home: Displacement, Domesticity and Solidarity in the North Quarter of Brussels

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This paper explores the spatial dimensions of displacement, domesticity and solidarity in the North Quarter of Brussels. The area's altering urban form created conditions to welcome migrant populations since the last century. By investigating the spatial means they inhabited for shelter overtime, it shows habitation typologies the displaced occupy have moved from robust building to improvised structure. This further leaves them to perform domestic activities in public spaces and through a solidarity network extended by citizen groups. Ever more mobile and ephemeral, these practices allude to an increasingly hostile reception policy toward displaced groups. Moreover, they illustrate changing aims from long-term settlement to pit-stop in an unfinished journey toward a new home, shifting the area's position from arrival city to passage city. Undocumented with the state, they are ineligible to access its support for basic shelter and domestic needs, creating a gap filled by organized citizens driven by solidarity that claims its growing space in the city.

Keywords: displacement, domesticity, solidarity, passage, undocumented.

INTRODUCTION

The North Quarter of Brussels is positioned at the nexus of displacement and domesticity. It is an area with a character varying between hostile and welcoming: hostile enough to be left to decay and demolition, but welcoming enough for people on the margins of society. Its territory has been altered over time in the process of accommodating different modes of passage. In addition to being morphologically displaced, it is also linked with social displacements: incoming immigrants, eviction, and contemporarily, asylum. In 2015, a short-lived, makeshift camp was set up by people forcibly displaced, mostly from war-torn Syria. Today, the area is domesticated by migrants-in-passage, predominantly from Africa on route to the UK. Undocumented and displaced, they thrive through an organized solidarity network.

This working paper is part of second year PHD research exploring the North Quarter as a case base to study inclusive urban strategies that transcend time of stay, questioning how urban citizenship is enacted, regardless of administrative status. Grounded contextual realities through design and action research, it studies the area's urban evolution to understand the spatial conditions leading its public spaces to serve as a haven for displaced people and the solidarity networks that support them. In light of this research, the paper aims to explore how, displacement, domesticity and solidarity materialize spatially in the North Quarter.

'Displacement' in this paper refers to two processes: a morphological alteration of the land and urban condition, as well as the forced, social movement of people. 'Domesticity' is referred to describe the act of people engaging a spatial setting as shelter (permanently or temporarily), as well as the activities of mundane everyday living, like sleeping, washing, and phone-charging.

In the course of the research several methods were used, the findings of which contribute to this paper. In addition to literature review and ethnographic work, gathering of archival documents and photographs, and a following of contemporary multi-media outlets were carried out. Additionally, two one-semester design studio investigations with students in a master's program were conducted. Moreover, an ongoing

collective action-research project¹ facilitated further personal communication, interviews, and intensive ethnographic work. Using material from all these methods, the paper illustrates the spatial means in which displacement, domesticity, and solidarity are entangled.

Through studying forms, spaces, and activities displaced people use in the North Quarter, the findings show that domesticity of displaced persons takes on an increasingly ephemeral and mobile presence. It also shows that solidarity in the city is increasingly spatial. This reflects the tension between forces in a host society and the opposing ambitions between them to welcome or unwelcome displaced persons. It further alludes to the shifting ambition of displaced persons to stay long-term in the area, altering its position from a place of arrival to a place of passage.

THE NORTH QUARTER: A LAND IN FLUX SUITABLE AS AN ARRIVAL CITY?

The intention of this paper to highlight the spatial dimensions of displacement, domesticity, and solidarity in the North Quarter. The spatial manifestations over time illustrate a shifting position of the city from arrival to passage. This shifting paradigm is not in line with the institutional rhetoric of 'long-term newcomer integration', creating a gap filled by alternative processes, with direct spatial impact on the city and its public spaces, as will be discussed later. In order to contextualize this in the area's urban history, a brief overview is necessary.

A fluctuating landscape hosting infrastructural changes and upgrades, the North Quarter displaced and replaced its morphology over time. Erased and re-written continuously throughout the last century, its territory always accommodated new ways of passage, and changing transit modes reshuffled the land: river transport was replaced by a canal; the canal extended; railways, railyards and stations appeared; a widened sea channel, deep sea docks and warehouses challenged the rail system; railways went electric; then cars and trucks turned boulevards into urban motorways (De Meulder, B., 2017; d'Auria et al, 2017; d'Auria et al, 2018).

In addition to land displacements, social displacements also made it a place of arrival for migratory groups. Economic processes first attracted displaced Jewish Europeans in the 1930s as a first wave of immigrants; then international migrant labor incoming from Mediterranean European countries like Greece and Italy (Cassiers, 2013) arrived in a second wave. As industrial processes suffered, the area gradually fell into disrepair. Rumors of new plans began to circulate, prompting building owners to stop maintaining their properties, creating a building stock of sub-standard housing (Fig.1) available to low income guest workers from Turkey and Morocco (Cassiers, 2013; Dessouroux, C., 2008; Demey, 1990). This third wave's role was to support the construction industry booming at the time as a result of upward social mobility and suburbanization (Kesteloot & Meert, 2000).

In the 1960s, the area underwent another displacement of urban morphology and this time its residents. Riding on momentum from World Exposition 1958, internationalization of Brussels' architecture (Den Tandt, 2002) and globalization (Cassiers, 2013), the North Quarter witnessed eviction of 11 to 15 thousand local residents, as well as erasure of its urban fabric to make way for a modern business district - the very well-known Manhattan Plan; tensions related to this have been rigorously documented (Martens, 1994). Following eviction and demolition, the plan was aborted after partial implementation, leaving a void in the morphology of the city.

The area became the residue of unfinished processes; its displaced land and decaying residential buildings created special conditions for the habitation of people with weak claims to the city, increasingly

1 Action Research Collective for Hospitality (ARCH) is an interdisciplinary research group initiated by Metrolab in Brussels. For more information, see <http://www.metrolab.brussels/news/arch-action-research-collective-for-hospitality>

becoming an area of resettlement for (im)migrant populations. It became an arrival city added-on to the edge of the city's historic center, populated by low-income migrants with ambitions for a better life (Saunders, 2012).

MIGRANT SHELTER: APARTMENTS TO TENTS, THEN CARDBOARD BOXES

With a predominantly foreign-born immigrant population, the North Quarter became an area of arrival where uprooted groups, old and new, establish a sense of familiarity. However, incoming migrants of the past established this in more permanent ways with the intention of staying, while those of today, in more mobile ways with the intention of leaving. To explore this in material terms, permanent and temporary habitation means were investigated.

Permanent residential building structures were mapped during an urban design studio conducted in Fall 2018 (d'Auria et al., 2018) revealing 5 generic permanent habitation typologies in the tissue. Those are: row-house, multi-family apartment building, 'slab' towers, courtyard apartment buildings, and new residential blocks.

The traditional row house is prevalent in the fabric surviving demolition, today mostly inhabited by Belgians of immigrant background. Typically, a single-family unit with a narrow profile and long garden, this structure is composed of ground floor plus 2 or 3 stories. It is attached to buildings on both sides to make up the street wall of a closed block. Most were built before 1945 but are renovated, and many have been converted to multi-family units (BrusselsRetrofitXL, 2015). On the ground floor, some have commercial activity. The second type catalogued is low-rise multi-family apartment block, typically between 4 – 6 stories tall. This building type appears in different forms dating back to different eras. In the portion of the Manhattan Plan both these archetypes once existed in the form of cheap hotels for temporary occupants of the city. Prominent in the landscape of the North Quarter are tall Modernist 1970s structures, locally known as 'slab' towers (in reference to their appearance as a vertically-placed slab), composing social or affordable housing unit schemes. Wide and tall, they appear solo or in an ensemble as "tower-in-a-park" typologies (Mumford, 1995). Meant to re-accommodate those evicted, only a small portion was compensated with replacement housing (Martens, 1994). They exist as social housing units with low-rent, or affordably-owned units. A fourth type constitutes a more recent apartment building taking on what resembles a courtyard typology with units around a collective central garden; this type is typically 4 - 6 stories high.

Acting as apartment buildings for the area's residents, the four types described homed displaced people of the last century in permanent means for long-term stability. Today, an effort to attract new upper-middle income inhabitants is under way. This is observed in new residential blocks developed by real-estate developers, comprising a fifth generic typology. If this gentrification effort is successful, another displacement of residents is imminent.

Less evident are temporary forms of domesticity used by groups without shelter currently occupying the area: makeshift structures in public spaces. This has, however, been covered in the media for almost a decade (Daher & d'Auria, 2018). In 2010 and 2011, a media outlet covering this reported that people were sleeping in Maximilian Park, setting up tents, evacuating, then reappearing (Bruzz, 2010; Bruzz 2011).

In 2015 when the 'refugee crisis' became highly public, the park was spotlighted as a hosting ground for large inflows of asylum seekers, who were at the time, mostly from war-torn Syria. Initially, when they arrived in large numbers at the former Office of Asylum and Immigration located in the World Trade Center, government administrations were not equipped to handle the volume of asylum applicants. What followed

were bureaucratic decisions to limit applications to a certain number a day, further stifling the situation and creating an overflow of unprocessed applications. Long waiting times left them stranded without shelter or basic necessities (d'Auria et al., 2018). This put them in a state of limbo creating conditions for a camp to be set up in the park in the form of a tent village. During that period, the tent became a prevalent ephemeral typology. This also created the space for civil action through solidarity.

Satellite images taken by Google Earth using the timelapse tool reveal the following: the tent village was only present for a period between August and October 2015 (Fig. 2). When it was dismantled, some of its inhabitants were distributed to emergency shelters while they waited for their applications to be processed. But a shortage of shelters still left others without it. While the camp disappeared from the park, solidarity motivated citizens to accommodate them in their private homes during the night (Cendrowicz & Paterson, 2015).

Despite the camp's short-lived presence, the park became an important location in the networks of those taking the journey of asylum across Europe, as well as in the networks that support them. Today the area hosts a demographic composed of people, mainly from Sudan, Eritrea and Ethiopia, on their way to the U.K; Brussels is a pit-stop for those migrants-in-passage. It also includes others from Egypt, Syria and Iraq who are caught in secondary movement due to the Dublin Protocol which dictates that the country that should grant them asylum is the one they first enter and in which they are fingerprinted.

Being without asylum status, nor applying in Belgium, renders them undocumented and displaced, invisible in the eyes of the state; this makes them ineligible for state support. Their numbers vary between 600 and 1000 (Personal Communication, 2019); while this does not seem like a large number, their centralized clustering in Maximilian Park and North Station makes their embodied presence visible, tangible, and contested. Both of those public spaces act as shelter where they assemble makeshift beds composed of flattened cardboard boxes and blankets. In the course of 2017 – 2019, during which ethnographic work was carried out, these 'beds' were observed with shifting intensities between the park and the station. Subject to police-chasing, they often abandon the beds and minimal belongings (often no more than a backpack) to run (Fig 3). Constantly being on the move, chasing exacerbates their displacement. Hence, for those undocumented and displaced, the flattened cardboard box in public space is a prevalent ephemeral typology for habitation.

DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES OF THE UNDOCUMENTED AND DISPLACED

Domesticity goes beyond the notion of shelter, which in itself is a challenge for migrants-in-passage. Undocumented and displaced, and without reliable long-term shelter, finding ways to perform the routines of everyday life is a daily struggle.

Maximilian Park acts as a large receptacle for varied routines of everyday life; here they domesticate objects and surfaces for their domestic activities. In it, they eat, wash, and sleep. As a result, existing infrastructure and material are used for those daily activities. For example, an existing water fountain is domesticated as a makeshift shower, ground surface and tree shades as dining and living rooms, and flattened cardboard boxes and blankets as makeshift beds. These methods show how they find inventive ways to appropriate design elements, developing the ability to share their space and avoid conflict (Foster, 2017, p. 81). They also rest, hang out, and socialize. When they play sports, others spectate and cheer on.

From January 2018 to May 2019, North Station provided a safe space in the form of a humanitarian hub where additional domestic activities could be performed, while also accessing other professional services. Led by the Citizens' Platform for Refugee Support (Citizens' Platform)², it was located on the first floor of

2 The Citizens' Platform emerged as a volunteer effort mobilizing citizen's to extend aid as urgent response during the 2015 camp in

the building, and was known as 'Espace Zero' or 'The Hub'. For a few hours a day, four days a week, the hub became a place closest to a 'home' where 250 undocumented and displaced men and women changed their outfits, washed them, and picked new clothing. They charged their phones, rested, socialized, and had the possibility to make 5-minute phone calls to loved ones at home (Citizens' Platform, Personal Communication, 2019). They also had access to professional legal, medical, and psychological services through partner organizations and professional volunteers. The humanitarian hub is now in the process of being relocated across the canal nearby, close to the Tour et Taxis site.

While the hub engages in domestic activities, it is not a place to sleep. Citizens' Platform runs a night shelter outside the North Quarter with a capacity of 300 beds, repurposing a vacant office building for solidary action; it is run completely through volunteer effort. Finding a spot for the night there is competitive, however, due to limited beds. At Porte d'Ulysse, they also have dinner and breakfast, as well as have the option to store their belongings for up to 15 days at a time (Inhabitant of Porte d'Ulysse, Personal Communication, 2019).

Moreover, between February and May 2019, North Station's management (the Brussels Capital Region, at the time) opened up a temporary 'rest space' for the undocumented and displaced in the building's basement, adjacent to bus platforms operated by local Flemish bus company De Lijn. This space is an indoor waiting area for the bus company's passengers. A large space with marble floors and high ceilings, the space offered them a place to sleep and rest. Its grandiose sat in contrast with the precarious rows of some 200 cardboard beds in which the undocumented and displaced slept (Fig 4). Not equipped for domestic living activities, however, this area quickly caused a stir-up with the bus company due to hygienic conditions and sanitation problems. As the building was sold to new owners, this space was evacuated and new commercial plans are underway for the station's structure.

THE SPATIAL DIMENSION OF SOLIDARITY

Civil society and citizen action play an important role in facilitating domestic activities of the undocumented and displaced. The motivation of such extension of support by citizens is solidarity, and the activities are mainly organized, coordinated and run by Citizens' Platform. Always acting with urgency to ensure those undocumented receive the ability to perform basic domestic needs, they use the space of the city to extend it. This entanglement of social value with the urban fabric echoes Richard Sennet's investigation of the ethics of the city by exploring the difference between 'ville' and 'cité', which he distinguishes as the built environment versus how people live in it (2018). The *cité*, he says, is a "political mentality" standing next to citizenship (Sennet, 2018, p.2). The actions of Citizens' Platform are a political attitude of how people want to live in the city: ethically and inclusively; to do this they portray solidarity as a form of social equity.

The spaces in the city that are mobilized to extend this support to those undocumented and displaced were studied, illustrating solidarity's spatial dimension. As mentioned earlier, in 2015 when the camp was dismantled, citizens showing solidarity with asylum seekers left without shelter, began offering them sleeping spaces in their homes. This practice has since continued and grown to become a major activity organized by the Citizens' Platform. This accommodation strategy between citizens and undocumented people diffuses domestic sleeping space across the Belgian territory (Fig. 5). People are picked up from Maximilian Park in the evening and dropped-back in the day (Hébergement Plateforme Citoyenne, 2019). The park acts as main dispatch space for citizen accommodation across private homes. In fact,

Maximilian Park. It has since evolved to become a coordinator of services with a network of citizens and non-profit organizations. Importantly, it has become an important negotiator for the rights of undocumented migrants.

communicating with the platform confirms the North Quarter as the main headquarter for its network of receivers and supporters. The point where they meet every evening at the crossing of the park and World Trade Center is labeled the “intersection of solidarity” (A.C. Santos,³ 2018) where support activities, including pick up and food distribution, take place.

Furthermore, during action research conducted with Action Research Collective for Hospitality (ARCH)³ which explores the North Quarter as a place of hospitality, close collaboration with the platform allowed gathering a list of all services it extends through its partnerships with other organizations and volunteering professionals. In order to understand where these services can be found in the city and understand their collective spatial dimension, their addresses were plotted on a map. Main transit points to reach some of the important services, and locations where citizens could engage were also plotted. The services include food and clothes distribution, phone charging, and showers among others. They also include shelters such as Le Petit Chateau and Samusocial, urgent and non-urgent health care, and legal services. Additionally, they include locations where citizens could drop-off donated items.

This process of mapping reveals that the solidary network has a spatial dimension. It puts the services of those undocumented on the map, legitimizing their embodied presence despite their invisible position in the eyes of the state. While their status is not approved at the institution level, their presence is visible, tangible and supported by a solidary network that is not only localized in the North Quarter, but that extends to the Brussels region, and diffuses throughout the Belgian territory.

DISCUSSION: ACCESS TO THE CITY BEYOND CATEGORY?

Characterized by morphological displacement and its residue, the North Quarter is a site where the spatial manifestation of social displacements materialized. It became a place of arrival for immigrants in the last century, but is now a place of passage for migrants in an unfinished journey toward asylum. Without legal status nor an intention to stay long-term, they are currently undocumented and displaced. This shift in paradigm from arrival to passage amongst migratory groups is visible in built form and public space. Forms displaced groups have inhabited show an increasingly ephemeral typology from a robust building to tent and cardboard box (Fig. 6).

Migrants of the past inhabited permanent structures, those of today occupy improvised structures. Today the flattened cardboard box is important item in the journey toward making home and its necessary unmaking in the process. In the absence of shelter and with consistent police-chasing, makeshift beds are easily and quickly abandoned. This highlights familiarizing practices in the area have varied over time between migratory populations. In the last century, migrants came with permanent motivation; current migrants have temporary ones. Moreover, a permanent shelter allows daily domestic activities to take form within the dwelling; a makeshift shelter does not, and hence they take to the city to perform them, altering urban and public space and re-appropriating it for new uses.

Yet, underlying this is a question of legal framework. While the North Quarter acts as “refuge against an unsettled and unsettling world” (Foster, 2017, p.72), the ephemerality of this domesticity highlights an increasingly hostile image of welcome at the institutional level. Because the undocumented and displaced are migrants-in-passage, they are categorized such that the right to access facilities is taken away at the institutional level. However, this creates a need filled by citizen mobilization and non-governmental organizations, supporting right of access in alternative ways. This presents itself as a solidarity network, with a political statement about the kind of city citizens want to live in: one that transcends administrative categories of the nation-state. In the city, this solidarity has a spatial dimension that is growing, begging the

3 See note number 1.

question, how will the city and public space design respond to such changing contemporary paradigms?

Note: While the author has published components of this research in other publications, this paper is written from the perspective of displacement and domesticity, and contains new developments in the research.

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FIGURES



Figure 1
North Quarter's buildings in disrepair, circa. 1960s. Photographs of Bruno De Meulder.

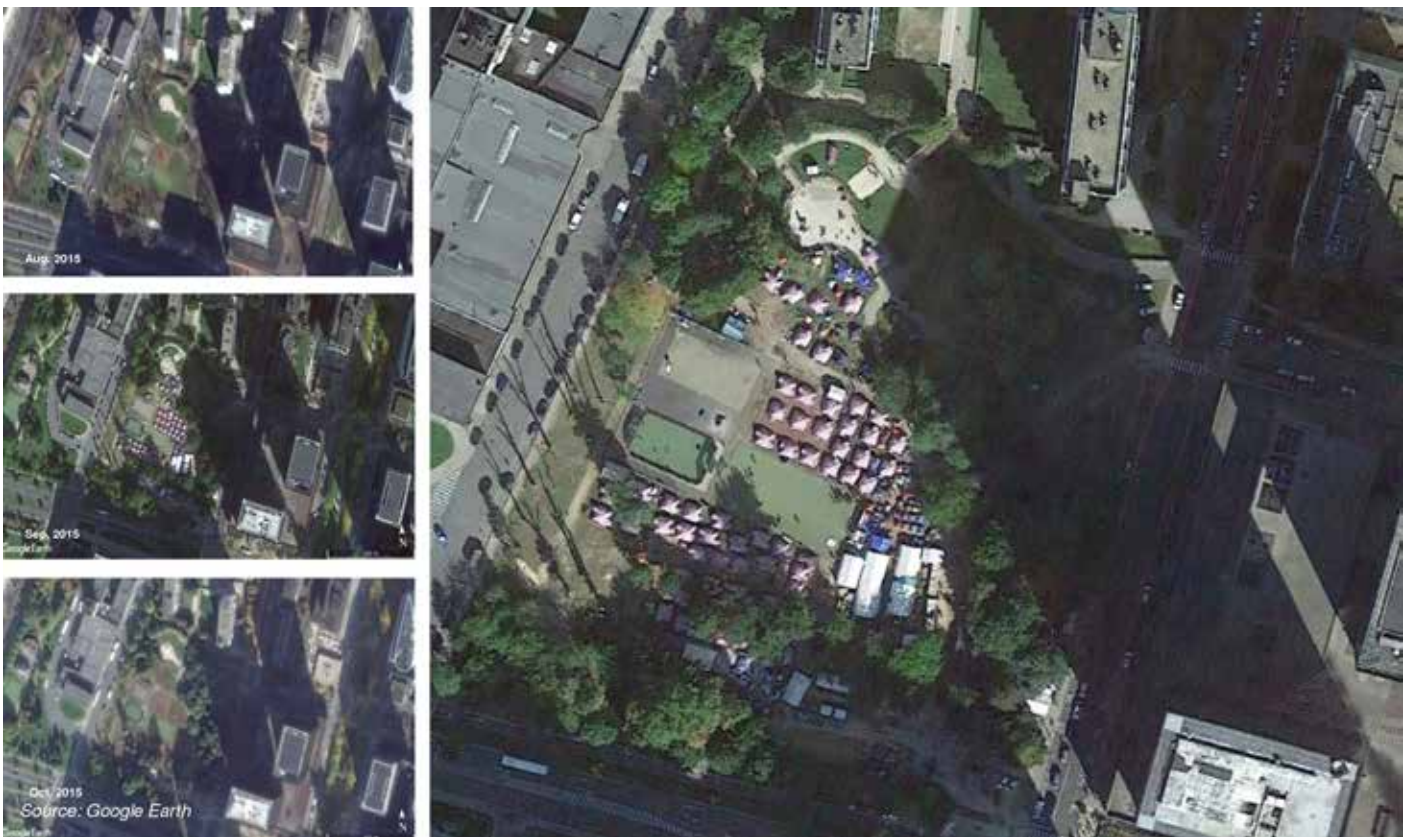


Figure 2
Maximilian Park between August and October 2015. Google Earth.



Figure 3
Cardboard boxes and police raids, 2018. Photograph of Frederic Moreau de Bellaing



Figure 4
Resting Space at the North Station, 2019. Author's photographs

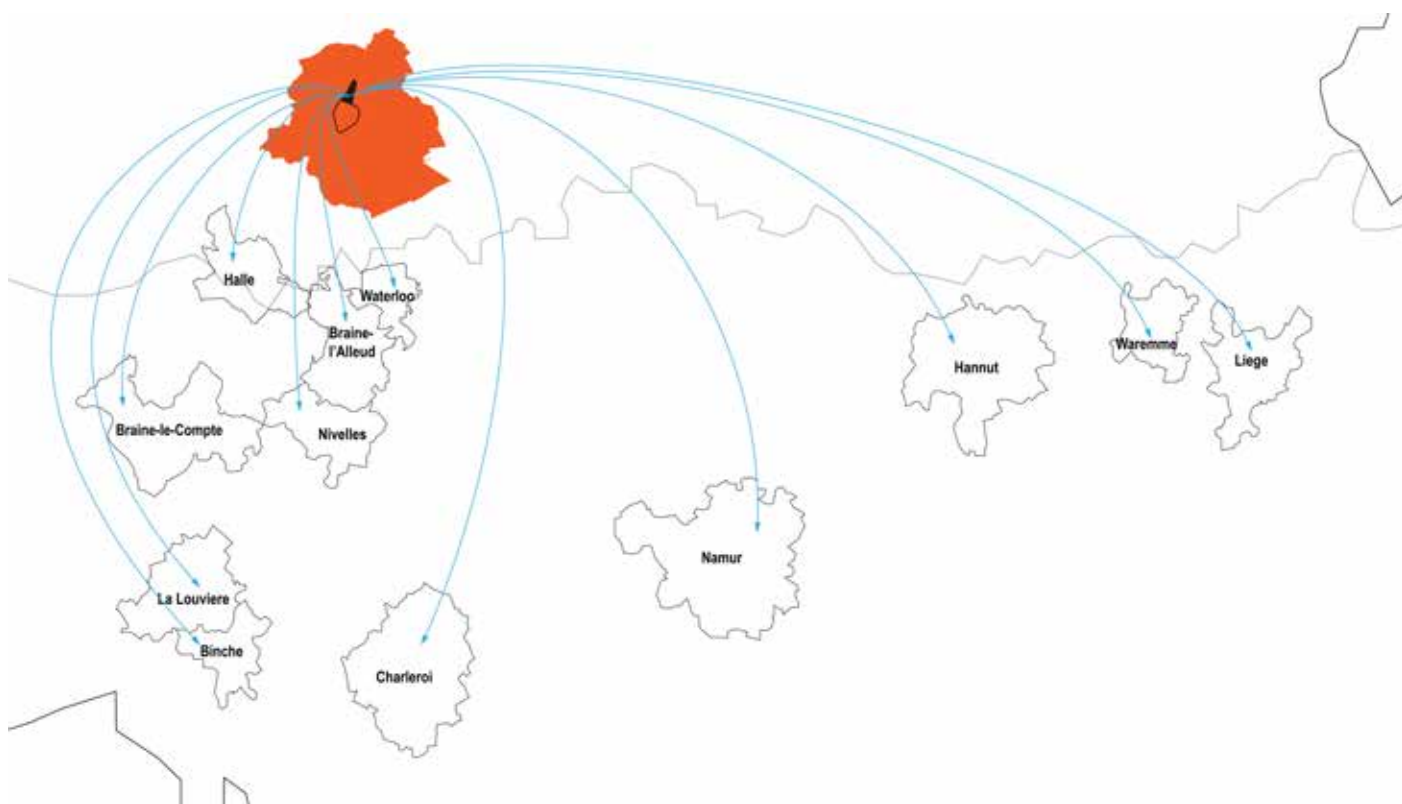


Figure 5
 Citizen accommodation across Belgium. 2018. Author's drawing.

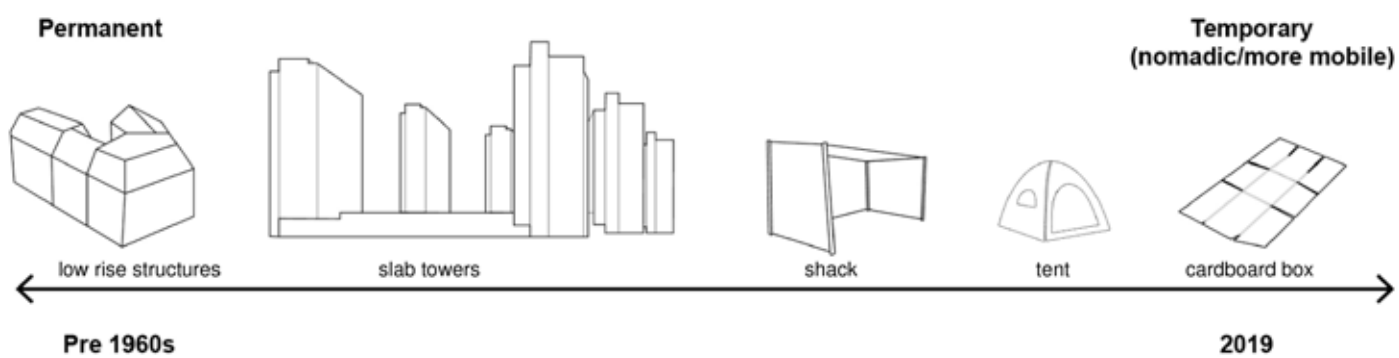


Figure 6
 Forms inhabited by migrant populations in the North Quarter, 2019. Author's drawing.

SESSION 5.B

MAKING HOME AWAY FROM HOME

A SPATIAL QUEST ON THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS: UYGHUR
IMMIGRANTS' SETTLEMENTS IN KAYSERİ
İlinur Can, Burak Asiliskender, Nilüfer Yöney

A Spatial Quest on the Adaptation of Immigrants: Uyghur Immigrants' Settlements in Kayseri¹

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In the case of forced migration when there is no option of going back, the primary human need is, a “place” to continue their life rather than mere survival. Therefore, immigration, as a geographical displacement, is also a subject that must be examined in the context of the experience of space and place. The immigration phenomenon will be examined through the experiences of the Uighur minority, who resettle in Kayseri in 1965 due to ethnic assimilation. Preliminary results indicate that the integration with place and community has been successfully established with the help of adapting old habits of living into the new settlement and transforming the spatial organization of their homes from traditional to contemporary.

Keywords: Immigration, Place-Making Experience, Sense of Belonging, Integration.

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AND CHANGING CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF PLACE AND SPACE

There are various terms and explanations in literature for the notion of geographic mobility, as in an experiential way of identifying, as such; migration, immigration, displacement, emigration, forced migration, and so forth; but the action itself represents the core of the phenomenon. Understanding mobility through the traces of routes, paths, flows and connections is the best approach could be followed (Adey, Bissell, Hannam, Merriman, & Sheller, 2014). Regardless of the cause, -which makes individuals or communities find a new place to live in, to settle, to dwell- geographic mobility is an action result with a shift in place. According to Relph (1976, p.5), the geographical reality is the crib of the human existence in a Heideggerian way of the being-in-the-world. Within that perspective, the phenomenon of geographic mobility gives an insight to the behavioural patterns of human being's -as an insider or an outsider- in the relationship with place, through the experience of the shift in locations. Therefore, it can be assumed that immigration as geographic mobility has a dramatic effect on humans' being-in-the-world.

Place, as the root and the source of human's existence, contains all the knowledge about individuals' perception of reality (Relph, 1976, Tuan, 2001). Displacement forces all kind of migrants to cut their root from their homes, neighbourhoods; the nation that they belong to, the ground that they grew up on; and to take roots in another place; where they are, from now on, an outsider. Within this paper, the inquiry of understanding geographic mobility through the experiences' of place, will focus on the experiences of being an outsider or an insider, with the aim of understanding the dynamics of this phenomenal experience through the place-making experiences'. The structure of the research has built on in-depth interviews and, spatial analyzes. Focus group of the case study is Uighur immigrants, whose resettle in Kayseri from East Turkistan Autonomous Republic in 1965, as a result of ethical and cultural assimilation enforced by the People's Republic of China. The aim of semi-structured interviews is to highlight the place-making

1 This paper is a preliminary product of the M.Sc. thesis study entitled “Integration through the Experiences of Place and Space: Analysis of Uighur Immigrants' Dwelling and Place-Making Processes”

experiences of individuals' as an outsider through the aspects of home and homeland.

PLACE-MAKING: AS A TOOL FOR INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS'

The place is an indispensable part of the human experience. Individuals define themselves with the relation with each other and their surroundings and, the place is where all of these relations occur and root (Auge, 1995; Dovey, 1999; Heidegger, 2001; Norberg-Schulz, 1976; Relph, 1976, Tuan, 2001). If the aim is to understand the social changes that have been caused by mobility, it is crucial to think through the insight, which provided from the literature on sense of place, experiences' of place and place-making.

In order to understand the reactions of Uighur immigrants into their new settlement in the aspects of place-making, their former settlement has been analyzed. East Turkestan, also known as the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, lies in the heart of Asia. The region consists of the cities of Turpan, Kashgar, Hami City, Urumqi, Yarkand, Hotan, İli-Altay, Yining City. The Uighur immigrants, who immigrate to Kayseri in 1965, were from Kashgar, Yarkand. As it can be seen from fig. 1 Kashgar has an organic urban development which shaped when the need has arisen for new spaces for any sort of purposes, as such; an extra room, a warehouse, and so forth. Table 1. gives the information that interviewers associate natural environments with their lost homeland; their emotional bond still continues along with the feeling of detachment.

In a Heideggerian point of view, place-making is an act of "being-in-the-world". Humans define their existence by defining their places in the world by setting up boundaries, by creating their own places in their environment (Tuan, 2001). The experience of place-making is a very instinctive one, for instance, animals mark their territory to define their own space in the world, and, humankind builds and dwells (Bachelard, 1994, Norberg-Schulz, 1993, Tuan, 2001, Rapoport, 1990). The question of "What exactly is the place?" starts to rise if the aim is to understand the dialectic between place-making and integration of immigrants'. The works of Tuan (2001), Relph (1976) and Norberg-Schulz (1979) define the sense of place as an indispensable part of human experience. Relph (1976, p.3) explains the place, within the perspective of Lukermann's understanding, as more than just knowledge of self-orientating in the world but is also an integration point which nature and culture develop on. Within that point view, it can be assumed that; place-making experiences provide an integration point, self-awareness and a way to be a part of the greater community by creating a dynamic relationship between individuals and place. Relph's definition of the place was established on human's needs such as attachment, identification and orientation.

Works of Bachelard (1994), Norberg-Schulz (1993), Relph (1976), Tuan (2001) and many others examine the notion of place attachment through emotional experiences and dialectical relations of individuals' with the home. The defining features of place attachment have been identified by Tuan (2001), Relph (1976), Norberg-Schulz (1979); "place identity", "topophilia", "insideness" or "rootedness", "sense of place" which are inseparable terms of individuals' place bonding relations. Places are the pivot points for humans to communicate with themselves and each other's and place attachment can be established through integration with the local area (Cuba, Hummon, 1993).

As Berry (1997) suggests, integration is a key point in human psychology by emphasizing that rejection of a small group in the larger community results with the lack of the self-knowing in the small group; and the larger community is open to the threats which could come from the rejected group. In light of the scholarly researches, it can be assumed that place-making experience represents a critique role in dealing with the migration issues. On account of this, the conditions of integration through place-making experience analyzed in two scales; which are neighbourhood and home. The analyzes of spatial organizations in Hoca Ahmet Yesevi neighbourhood and the spatial development in Uighur immigrants dwellings regarded as the

artefacts of the dialectics between place-making experience and integration.

UNDERSTANDING THE NEW ENVIRONMENT

Forcibly international displaced people face with a dramatic change in their environments, in their place of habit, in their Habitus. The idea of Habitus, as suggested by Bourdieu (2005), emphasizes the systematic of dispositions', which are the part of the being-in-the-world; a human-made reproduction of the social interaction and experience of individuals' with themselves and their environment. It is a term that covers the forms of behaviour, language, manners, seeing and interpreting the world (Friedman, 2005). Place, as an indispensable part of human experience, (Auge, 1995; Dovey, 1999; Heidegger, 2001; Norberg-Schulz, 1976; Relph, 1976, Tuan, 2001) represents the stage where Habitus enacts.

As it's pointed out with fig. 1, Uighur immigrants came from a rural area, where they built their own houses when the need has come. On the contrary in Kayseri, they met with the pre-designed neighbourhood. Fig. 2 shows the morphological pattern in Yeni Mahalle neighbourhood. It has radial main roads focused on a centre and radial streets that intersect with main roads. The buildings are 2 to 4 storey and have a garden.

Table 2. shows that interviewers first impressions on the new place they have to immigrate is shaped around environmental artefacts, which help them to identify their space in a new place. Altman & Low (1992) relates the notion of insidedness with individuals' bonding with the place, as a part of defining a feature of place attachment, and as an inseparable term for the sense of place and place identity. Chawla (1992), suggest that the creation of attachment to any place lies in a simple affection associated with family, love and security. As it can be seen from Table 2. it is much more easy to create a bond for children with place rather than adults, but the feeling of security helps the interviewers to establish a positive bond with Kayseri.

As the idea of Habitus implies the similarities of a group of person, their behavioural approach, language, perception, conception, action and so forth (Bourdieu, 2005), it is possible to analyze the term in neighbouring environments. Table 3. gives the insight that interviewers' create a Habitus for themselves in a new place in the hop for protecting themselves from the multiple shocks that they have been facing in the new place. Also, it is possible to detect that, through natural and built environmental artefacts, young interviewers feel at home in their new habitat.

The change in their Habitus, and through that in their day-to-day lives has raised the questions such as; is it important to feel belong to the place, to be part of the community? How can one feel belong to a particular place? Does memory have a part of in place-making experiences? What kind of step does an immigrant take when he or she dwells?

Sense of belonging constructed on four basic aspects: social locations, identifications, emotional attachments, and, ethical and political values (Yuval-Davis, 2017). The attachment of place may be the link between religion, nation or culture and individuals (Low & Altman, 1992). Auge (1995) suggests that attachment with the place arises from the experiences which that place provides, and, it is the basic prospect of refuge (Riley, 1992). Bonding with places, feeling belong to a community is a way of defining the self in contemporary consumer culture (Belk, 1992).

Semi-structured in-depth-interviews show that, even though there are majör changes in Uighur immigrants daily life, it is the minör habits -such as gardening- that they can be able to continue that helped them to feel belong the new place. Interviews prove that the first thing that they do is to build a wall for their garden to be able to know their space of responsibilities.

By defining boundaries, Uighur immigrants define their existence in that place and claimed that very specific space as their own; which is an act of place-making where they define themselves as an “insider” according to Tuan (2009, as cited in Kesim, 2017). Lynch (1984) suggests that sentimental and also physical claims upon a place establish through spatial rights such as the right of existence, being in a place, use an action, modification and disposition.

The semi-structured interviews showed that the interactions of Uighur immigrants towards their home and neighbourhood were an example of place-making experience as an explanation of Tuan’s (2009) and Lynch’s (1984). Immigrants hope to protect themselves from the multiple shocks that they have been facing in the new-land by staying close to each other, by creating a neighbourhood (Friedman, 2005). Fortier (1999) shows in her essay that Italian emigrants are in the need of creating a place where they feel belong and secure in Britain. This need satisfies by shaping space with the elements of the collective memory; St. Peter’s church in London represents a home in the daily life of Italian emigrants in London while for the locals it is just a public space (Fortier, 1999).

On the other hand, Uighur immigrants benefit from the neighbourhood that they have settled as a place of their own community. It represents a fragment of their homeland by the possibility of continuity of their old habits such as gardening and also offering a place where all they can be a part of their little community. After two years their resettlement in the region, the neighbourhood had been named after Hoca Ahmet Yesevi who was a great and an important man in Uighur culture.

Landscaping is an action not only provides survival resources but also is “educational tool of human development.” Human beings affection to the environment or a particular place is the product of the childhood experience (Riley, 1992). The environment preserves and supports the identity of individuals’ due to the reason that it is one of the basic sources of the individual’s identity (Tuan, 2001). Within this case, to be able to grow the special vegetable species, which belong to their homeland and the possibility of having the similar experiences from the childhood helped them to feel attached to the new place.

PLACE-MAKING THROUGH HOMING EXPERIENCE

Home and home environment, as the physical structure which shelters humans from harm, and, also the crib of the individuals’ experience and interaction with themselves in their space (Heidegger, 2001; Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Bachelard, 1994; Dovey, 1999; Fox, 2016), covers and implies all the information about Habitus.

Table 3. gives the idea that emotional bond between the interviewers and their lost home is shaped around mostly their childhood memories for young adults, which is a strong and desirable connection, but it helps them to accept the fact that their home is now somewhere else. Also, if we compare table 3. And Table 4., it is possible to see that their new understanding of home establishes on childhood experience.

Individuals need to be integrated with their surroundings and to be adapted to their situation (Lems, 2014). Therefore, being in a productive and dynamic relationship with the place, “outsiders” are starting to “build” a home in the place. This phenomenon can be explained through that being in place is not about being rooted or fixed but about the very process of itself and the interaction that it provides (Heidegger, Poetry, Language, Thought, 2001).

Home, apart from being a physical structure implies safety, familiarity, comfort, love and belonging (Lucas, Purkayashta, 2007, Bachelard, 1994, Norberg-Schulz, 1993). Bachelard (1994) explains home, in a phenomenological sense, as a driving force for individuals to understand and identify themselves. Home is both a root where individuals’ accumulations are founded and a warehouse, which protects those

accumulations. The possibility of turning an ordinary space into a home depends on the power of enclosing that it offers to its user.

Table 4. shows that there are similar artefacts between Uighur immigrants' lost home and new homes, even though the place is entirely different sociologically, architecturally or politically, the association between their old habitat and new habitat is shaped through environmental artefacts.

The sense of belonging and attachment, which empowered by the affiliation with space are the foundation of the notion of home (Bachelard, 1994). The question of "Where do I belong?" can be answered through the notion of place identity. Place identity can be defined as a hermeneutic way of self-describing that uses environmental meaning to symbolize identity, and home as a "warehouse of identity symbols" sustains the information of place identity (Cuba, Hummon, 1993). Yuval-Davis (2017) associates a sense of belonging with the feeling at home.

Immigration implies a kind of rootedness; it forces individuals to leave their home and creating a new one. Within this part of the research study, the homing experiences of Uighur immigrants will be analyzed due to understanding the effects of place-making experiences on integration. The integration into the local area constructs with attachment or affiliation (Cuba, Hummon, 1993). On the other hand, integration occurs when the immigrant community and the local community share interests with each other's cultures while in daily interactions with each other (Berry, 1997).

Displacement typically causes the readjustment of immigrants' Habitus. Home is a personalized space where one can have valued belongings to help identify him or herself as well as the room itself; and through the memories and experiences, it is an escape pod from the reality and at the same time a womb where its owner restore him or herself for the future (Fox, 2016). Home is a place where personal and social feelings are rooted (Lucas, Purkayashta, 2007). It sustains and reproduces the identity of individuals (Cuba, Hummon, 1993). It is a place of a family, who has similar or the same manners, habits, and behaviour. Within that point of view, home can be seen as the core of the term of Habitus, so the question of "is it possible to make the "outsiders" be an "insider" through their homing instincts?" becomes important.

Fig. 4 shows the original plan of the houses provided by the government for all the Uighur immigrants, and the final state of the home belongs to Batuhan Family. Through time, the family change it according to their needs such as; building a wall to set boundaries for their garden, building a pool for watering the garden, opening a gate through the kitchen to able to walk more freely and access to girls' bedroom without entering the living room/bedroom. The house was too small for 6 people to live in it, so they demolished the wall between the living room and porch and widen the room. Also, the smallness of the house was the reason for building a shed for storage area. By the time, the father of family started a small business as a lathe, for that reason they build a workshop in the backyard and an office for the workshop for welcoming the customers.

CONCLUSION

Table 5. represents trough homing experiences Uighur immigrants create an environment for themselves which they can be a part of a community and feel belong. Research study shows that home as a place of belongingness, safety, familiarity has a bridge-like effect on the integration of immigrants' with the new land. Trough the notion of home and its experiences' immigrants gain their places in a foreign country. The experiences of place-making through homing, helped them to integrate with the environment that they live in. The fact that having a home, helped them to survive in another country, and to set roots in it. By turning

a house into a home, Uighur immigrants have turned an ordinary place into their own space to live and exist in. By the power of unity, they had created a neighbourhood where they can remain and reproduce their old habits and their way of living. Thus creating a Habitus for themselves, they managed to survive in the new land.

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TABLES

TABLE 1

Memories of Homeland		Child	Young Adult	Born in Kayseri
Environmental	Built	garden,	street, courtyard	
	Natural	trees, rivers	trees	
Behavioural	Sociological	street game, family	street games	
	Physcological	attachment, bygone, fear	attachment, bygone	attachment, far away
	Antropological	root	root	root

TABLE 2

KAYSERİ		Child	Young Adult	Born in Kayseri
Environmental	Built	organized, great	organized, different, street, neat	organized, great
	Natural	white, cold	white	green
Behavioural	Sociological	new		
	Physcological	welfare, home, safe, distress	secure	welfare, home, safe
	Antropological	homeland	familiar	homeland

TABLE 3

LOST HOME		Child	Young Adult	Born in Kayseri
Environmental	Built	garden	garden, courtyard	
	Natural	river		
Behavioural	Sociological	games, family	street games, family	
	Physcological	fear, bygone	bygone, childhood	bygone
	Antropological			

TABLE 4

GIVEN HOME		Child	Young Adult	Born in Kayseri
Environmental	Built	modern, warehouse, garden, different, comfort, small	new, comfort, garden	garden, warehouse, porch
	Natural	trees	trees	trees
Behavioural	Sociological	father, game, family		family, brother, game
	Physcological	ours, crowded	ours	ours
	Antropological			

TABLE 5

NEIGHBORHOOD		Child	Young Adult	Born in Kayseri
Environmental	Built	garden	garden	garden
	Natural	trees	green	trees
Behavioural	Sociological	unity	unity	unity, friends
	Physcological	game, safe, comfort, ours, special	safe	game, safe, comfort, ours,
	Antropological	homeland, familiar	familiar	homeland

FIGURES

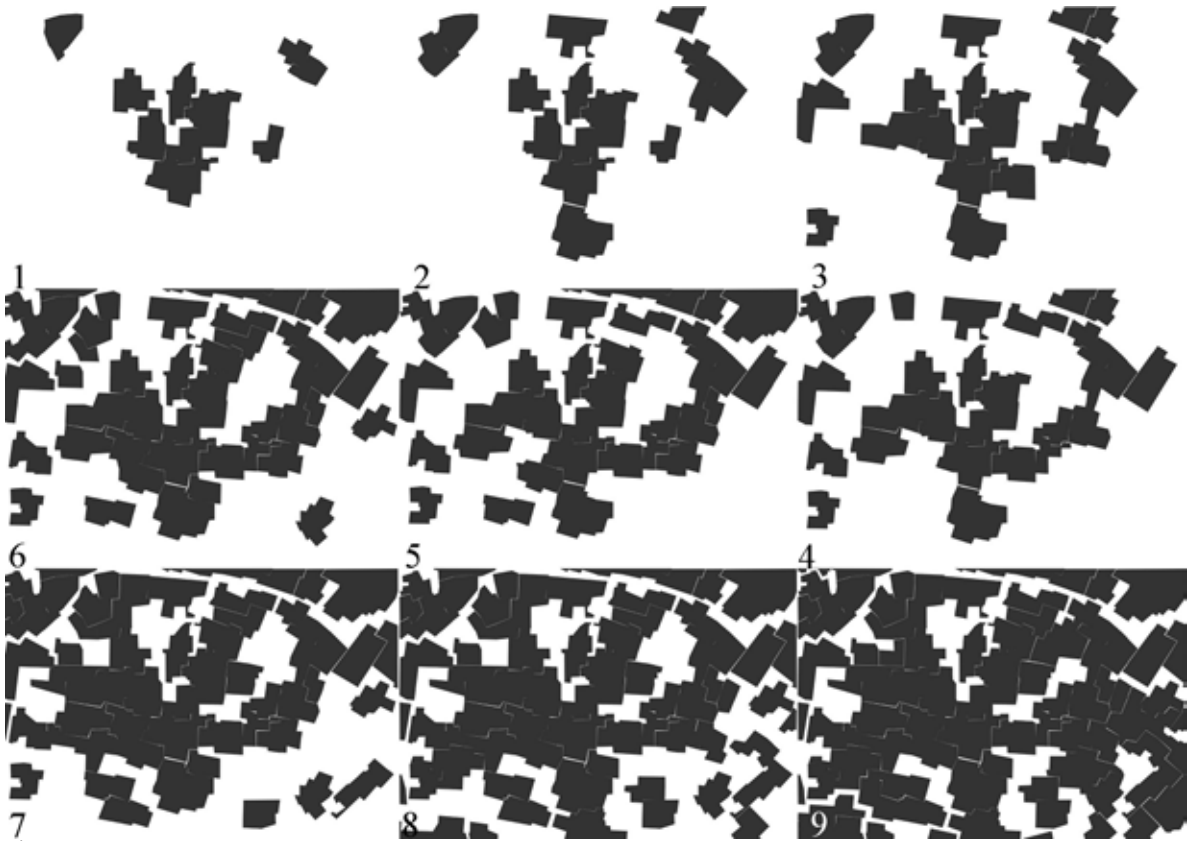


Figure 1

Urban Development of Kashgar (adapted and edited from Wing Pui Estelle Chan, *Subtracting Kashgar*, 2010.)

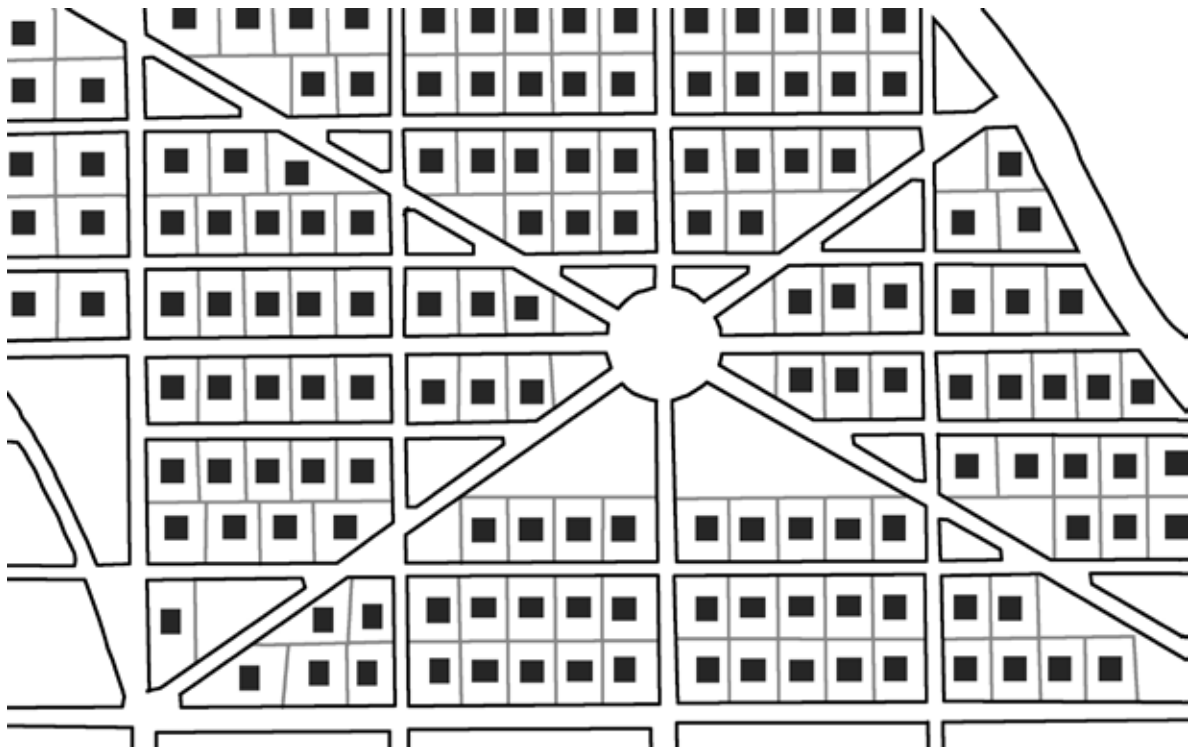


Figure 2

Yeni Mahalle Neighborhood in 1950s (Adapted and Edited From: Asiliskender, p.83, 2008)



Figure 3
Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Neighborhood (personal drawing)

*the original plan in 1965



*the final state in 1986



Figure 4
the Home of Batuhan Family (personal drawing)

SESSION 5.C

(RE)GENDERING DISPLACEMENT & DOMESTICITY

GENDER ROLES IN NEOREALISM'S BARACCATI AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN
POST-WAR ITALY
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Gender Roles in Neorealism's Baraccati and National Identity in Post-war Italy

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This essay, drawing upon the situation of the so-called baraccati in post-WWII Rome as presented in an ensemble of Italian Neorealist films, such as Pier Paolo Pasolini's Accattone (1961), and Vittorio De Sica's movie Il tetto (The Roof, 1956) among others, presents how migrant incorporation triggers processes of place-making which open up new social and conceptual spaces in the city. The cinematic representations of workingwomen in Italian Neorealist cinema reveal filmmakers' perception of a newly conceptualized Italy. The roles of borgatari and women in Italian Neorealist cinema function as devices of reconceptualization of Italy's identity, providing a fertile terrain in order to reflect on the intersections between migration studies, urban studies and gender studies.

Keywords: Rome, Italy, post-WWII, Italian Neorealist movies, gender, city, postwar reconstruction, pasolini, De Sica.

INTRODUCTION

Unauthorised immigration has emerged as a generalised fact in all Western economies in the post-Second World War era. This essay, drawing upon the situation of the so-called baraccati in post-WWII Rome as presented in an ensemble of Italian Neorealist films, such as Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Accattone* (1961) (Fig. 1), and Vittorio De Sica's movie *Il tetto* (*The Roof*) (1956) among others, presents how migrant incorporation triggers processes of place-making which open up new social and conceptual spaces in the city. The cinematic representations of workingwomen in Italian Neorealist cinema reveal filmmakers' perception of a newly conceptualized Italy. The roles of baraccati and women in Italian Neorealist cinema function as devices of reconceptualization of Italy's identity, providing a fertile terrain in order to reflect on the intersections between migration studies, urban studies and gender studies. In Vittorio De Sica's *Il tetto*, which was a fruit of De Sica's collaboration with Cesare Zavattini, a young couple decides to build a single room with a roof. As Howard Curle reminds us, this film was based on a sketch by Zavattini for a documentary about Italy (2000). The film, which was first screened at the Cannes film festival in 1956, features the story of newly-weds seeking a place to live. In the periphery of Rome, they would build slums on uncultivated land. The authorities that patrolled these practices would then order the immediate demolition of the illegally built slums. The plot revolves around their efforts to roof their illegal home in a single night before the arrival of the police. A main characteristic of the film is the juxtaposition of the Fascist city with the real city of cramped living conditions and poverty. The contrast between the slum dwellings and the newly constructed middle and upper class housing blocks makes clear the social argument of *The Roof*, which constitutes the final neorealist collaboration between De Sica and Zavattini. As Mira Liehm claims, *The Roof* refers to the impossibility of resuscitating the past (1986, 139). As the vehicle passes through the borgate, a travelling shot taken from the front of the bus shows the apparently endless landscape of new housing blocks, and the spectator hears Luisa exclaim, 'Goodness, so many houses!'. According to the movie critic and film historian Arthur Knight, "[t]he apprentice bricklayer and his young wife [...] are so real because De Sica has seen to it that every incident, every detail in every shot contributes to a sense of unstrained, unforced actuality" (1959, p. 23). Cesare Zavattini highlights the fact that De Sica had carefully researched the housing laws of the time (Curle, 2000, p. 210). At the end of the film, Natale and Luisa celebrate their new home, after having paid a small fine. A much earlier film directed by De Sica, *Maddalena zero in condotta* (*Maddalena, Zero for Conduct*) (1940), celebrated a female student's

free-spiritedness and appears to reward her rebelliousness (McGlazer, 2016).

BORGATARI AS AN ANTI-HEROIC DISPOSITIF OF RE-INVENTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

During the fascist years, a large part of the inner-city working-class communities were forced to move to the so-called borgate, the slums on the outskirts of Italy's major cities, while after the end of WWII major flows of Italians decided to migrate from rural areas of Italy to the cities with the hope to find a better quality of life. These migrants from the countryside were installed in the borgate. As a consequence of this rise of the population that were displaced in the borgate, the latter “expanded, and progressively absorbed former borghi rurali (rural towns) into the boundaries of the newly enlarged cities”. (Bertellini, Giovacchini, 1997, p. 96) In such a context, one can understand the interest of Neorealist cinema in depicting post-war urban crisis. The iconic status that the representations of the city in Neorealist cinema acquired internationally after the end of WWII should be comprehended in conjunction with the fact that “Italy was the only one of the defeated Axis powers whose cinematic representations of the city achieved iconic status internationally so soon after its military defeat” (Shiel, 2006, p. 69).

The endeavour of Neorealism to transform the quotidian life in the Roman borgate, the slums into the very essence of reflection is very present in Pasolini's novel *Ragazzi di vita* published in 1955. Pasolini, in this novel, which preceded his film *Accattone*, aimed to capture the quotidian life of the Roman baraccati, during the post-war years. *Accattone*, which is Pasolini's first film and is often cited as the last Neorealist film, constitutes a case where gender relations in the culture of post-war Roman slums played a central role. For this reason, the performativity of the female characters in *Accattone* is of great importance for this essay. Giorgio Bertellini and Saverio Giovacchini note, in their essay entitled “Ambiguous Sovereignities: Notes on the Suburbs in Italian Cinema”:

with *Accattone*, Pasolini radically reshaped the Italian cinematic representation of the proletarian borgata, representing it not merely as a site of oppression to be transformed and eliminated, but as the context where new, oppositional values were forged (1997, p. 101)

The relationship of *Accattone*, the male character of the film, with the three, strong, female ‘supporting’ characters – Maddalena, Ascenza, and Stella – should be interpreted as a dispositif that Pasolini employed in order to challenge the stereotypes dominating the role of women within Italian society. As Julia Khrebtan-Hörhager and Carl R. Burgchardt remark, “the female characters [of this film] perform complex identities that fuse motherhood, prostitution, and womanhood” (2016, p. 227). Khrebtan-Hörhager and Burgchardt also claim that these “female characters’ identities [...] contain a strongly historicized and cultured motherly element, which facilitates the poverty-stricken borgate and enables continuity of life in the Eternal City” (ibid.). Given the importance of the female characters in this film, it is paradoxical that gender issues in Pasolini's work are significantly understudied. Another issue that is of major importance for understanding Pasolini's *Accattone* is the cinematic representation of the borgate in this film. Khrebtan-Hörhager and Burgchardt note:

His complex, oxymoronic, and subversive art invites diverse interpretations, including the interrogation of culturally determined Italian gender roles – and especially the relational dynamics and performative fluidity between boys (*ragazzi*), mothers (*mamme*), men (*uomini*), and women (*donne*). Nowhere is this better illustrated than in Pasolini's ground-breaking film *Accattone* (1961) (2016, p. 2)

The special characteristics of Rome were very important for Pasolini's work, which should be understood in conjunction with the endeavour to reflect on the contradictions between the “grandiose aspects” of Rome, to borrow his own words, with the situation in the borgate during the post-war years. Useful for

comprehending his interest in these contradictions is what he wrote to Silvana Mauri to describe life in Rome during the post-war years, when the borgatari's protest dominated Roman political life: "Here I am in a life that is all muscles, turned inside out like a glove [...] Rome, ringed by its inferno of borgate, is stupendous right now [...]" (1986, p. 491). Pasolini believed that a "genocide" took place in the borgate and claimed that "a population was culturally destroyed" (1976, p. 154) (Fig. 2 & Fig. 3). Italian sociologist Franco Ferrarotti has described the borgate as "a Third World [...] at home", interpreting the borgate as a colony where the down-and-outs lived: "they haven't got the right of citizenship; they are illegal by definition; they are invisible men and women" (Ferrarotti, 1968, p. 4). Giorgio Bertellini and Saverio Giovacchini, in their essay entitled "Ambiguous Sovereignities: Notes on the Suburbs in Italian Cinema", shed light on the ambiguous identity of the borgatari:

No longer peasants and not yet blue collars, the post-war borgatari hardly fit the categories of Italian, rigid Marxism, which were predominant among the major exponents of Italian cinema. Who were they? Were they the future? Or did they represent the past (1997, p. 98)

ANNA MAGNANI'S PERFORMANCES AND HER IDENTIFICATION WITH POST-WAR ROME

André Bazin, in "Cinematic realism and the Italian school of the liberation", maintains that Neorealism as a film movement rejected the star concept (1997). Anna Magnani, as the opposite of the Hollywood star, was the kind of star that was compatible with the institutional narrative that Neorealism wished to promote, serving, at the same time, to enhance Neorealism's collectivist ethos. Magnani's place within the institutional discourse of Neorealism should be understood in conjunction with the notion of authenticity (Rigoletto, 2018), which as Bazin underscores, in the case of neorealist films, "was the result of an 'amalgam' of players: non-professional actors and film stars such as Aldo Fabrizi and Anna Magnani, who became famous for their informal, unassuming self-presentation both on-screen and off-screen" (Bazin, 1997, p. 35–37). Magnani's star image has been heavily shaped by the aesthetic, political and ethical concerns of Neorealism, within the institutional discourse of which she has often been seen as the embodied cinematic sign of a national identity, which cinema was called on to reinvent in the post-war years. Magnani's legendary performance in *Roma città aperta* (Rome, Open City) (1945), the film credited with founding Neorealism, was the expression of "a collective soul called society" (Chiarini, 1979, p. 141). In order to better grasp the importance of Magnani's performances for the transformation of gender stereotypes in Italian cinema, one should bear in mind the definition of the popolana as a "woman of the people" (Culhane, 2017) and reflect on how Magnani embodied the role of a popolana, as well as on the role that cityscapes played for such an endeavour. I could refer, for instance, to the fact that the strategy of mapping Magnani onto Rome's cityscape reinforces her performance as a popolana. Within such a context, the urban marketplace of Rome, in the case of Magnani's neorealist performances, often functions as a site of performance par excellence for the popolana.

Marga Cottino-Jones, in *Women, Desire, and Power in Italian Cinema* (2010), claims that male characters in Neorealist films acquire their significance through their political autonomy, while female characters are granted importance through their victim status. Between 1940 and 1965, the figure of the prostitute featured in more than ten per cent of all Italian-made films. Pivotal for understanding the importance, for Pasolini, of shaking gender roles is his second film entitled *Mamma Roma* (1962), an effort to challenge the stereotyped roles of women in cinema, in which Anna Magnani's performance had an important impact (Fig. 4 & Fig. 5). For his second film, Pasolini focused on the story of the prostitute Mamma Roma who decides to move with her son Ettore, a teenager whom she had allowed to grow up, to a new neighbourhood.

Magnani had already performed roles that had challenged significantly the stereotyped roles of women in cinema. Among them are Rossellini's *Roma città aperta* (Rome Open City) one of the most renowned Neorealist films, and Luchino Visconti's *Bellissima* (1951). As Catherine O'Rawe remarks regarding the screen persona of Magnani and how she embodied the culture of Neorealism, her passionate authenticity as Pina in Rossellini's *Rome Open City* became a "critical topos". As Mark Shiel underscores, Magnani's performance in *Roma città aperta* is representative of the endeavour of neorealism to shed light on Italian people and their suffering after the war. Shiel also claims that Silvana Mangano in Giuseppe De Santis' *Riso amaro* (Bitter Rice) (1949) had a similar impact on the re-invention of gender roles in post-war Italian cinema. According to Shiel, both Magnani and Mangano's performances in *Roma città aperta* and *Riso amaro* respectively came to be associated with neorealism as icons of the ordinary Italian people and their suffering after the war. In the case of *Roma città aperta*, Pina, embodied by Magnani, could be interpreted as an embodiment of the post-war face of Rome. Catherine O'Rawe, in "Anna Magnani: Voice, Body, Accent", refers to the "[c]ritical discussion on Magnani [...] around her passion and authenticity", and her spontaneity, not only in the case of her role of Pina in *Roma città aperta*, but also in her "performances as feisty mothers in Luchino Visconti's *Bellissima* (1952) and Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Mamma Roma* (1952)." (2017, p. 158)

Other Neorealist films that could be comprehended as endeavours to shed light on the connection between gender roles and the urban dynamics of Italian cities during the post-war years are Alberto Lattuada's short film "Gli italiani si voltano", an episode of the film anthology *L'amore in città* (Love in the City) directed by Alberto Lattuada, but also the episode "Il miracolo" ("The Miracle"), which was part of the same film anthology and was written by Federico Fellini. The film anthology *L'amore in città* was directed by Roberto Rossellini. In the case of "Il miracolo", "Anna Magnani played a naïve but religiously devout young shepherdess who miraculously becomes pregnant by Saint Joseph only to be ostracised by her disbelieving local community for whom she is the village idiot" (Shiel, 2006, p. 105). Another episode of the same film anthology which is worth mentioning is Francesco Maselli and Cesare Zavattini's contribution entitled "Storia di Caterina", which constituted the longest episode and was about a poor mother who abandons her child at an orphanage, only to be prosecuted and then pardoned for this crime.

MEZZOGIORNO IN NEOREALIST CINEMA

Neorealist cinema was interested in social crisis and reform. A central topic in Italian Neorealist cinema is the distinction between the mezzogiorno, the rural-agrarian and feudal south Italy, and the context of north Italy, which was more urban and industrial. This distinction was based on the intention to comment on the inequality between both areas. Antonio Gramsci has extensively analysed this inequality, interpreting the relationship between the southern and northern Italian contexts as "a colonial one in which the northern bourgeoisie profited from the subservience of the south" (Shiel, 2006, p. 63). Among the Neorealist films that aimed to shed light on the poverty of the rural south of Italy, I could mention Luchino Visconti's *La terra trema* (1948), which was to some extent adapted from Giovanni Verga's novel entitled *I Malavoglia* (1881), Pietro Germi's *In the Name of the Law* (1949), of which the script was based on Giuseppe Guido Lo Schiavo's novel entitled *Piccola pretura* (1948) and was co-written by Federico Fellini, and Luigi Zampa's *Anni difficili* (Difficult Years) (1948).

In order to understand Neorealist cinema's concern about the contrast between the mezzogiorno and the more industrialised and urban north face of Italy, we should bear in mind the fact that "[t]he poverty of the rural south was largely suppressed from public discourse in the fascist era, but in the late 1940s it re-emerged in politics and in neorealist cinema" (Shiel, 2006, p. 63). Mark Shiel, in contrast with Roy Armes,

who claimed that “neorealism was more concerned with ‘rural conditions and problems’ than it was with ‘urban settings’” (1971, p. 127), underscores that “in the work of De Sica, Rossellini and Visconti, urban representations had the edge” (2006, p. 65). This is particularly apparent in the case of De Sica’s films, such as *(Sciuscìa)* (*Shoeshine*) (1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (*Bicycle Thieves*) (1948) and *Umberto D* (1950), which take place in Rome, and *Miracolo a Milano* (*Miracle in Milan*) (1951) and *L’Oro di Napoli* (*Gold of Naples*) (1954), which are set in Milan And Naples respectively. (Shiel, 2006, p. 64)

GENDER ROLES AND URBAN REPRESENTATION IN NEOREALIST CINEMA

The reconstruction of female and national identities in post-war films was a central issue in post-war European cinema, as is demonstrated in the volume entitled *Heroines Without Heroes: Reconstructing Female and National Identities in European Cinema, 1945-51*, edited by Ulrike Sieglöhr and bringing together essays treating the formation of national and female identities and their interrelations within the post-war context in the U.K., France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. The main objective of this volume was to examine how representations of women during this period emerged from specific national contexts. Neorealism’s interest in urban dynamics and the way female roles embodied the vividness of the city are important for understanding the dispositifs that Neorealist cinema employed in order to re-conceptualise and reshape the national identity during the reconstruction years.

Paradoxically, despite the intense presence of both gender roles and urban representation in Neorealist films, neither the issue of gender roles nor that of urban representation is examined comprehensively. This oblivion of comprehensive studies concerning the vividness of female roles and the urban conditions in Neorealist films could be interpreted, as Shiel suggests, as a consequence of the fact that the way neorealist cinema conceptualised urban modernity differs significantly from how urban modernity tended to be conceptualised in films concerning more northerly European metropolitan cities, such as Berlin or Paris. In other words, the models employed to capture the dynamics of northern European metropolitan cities could not be efficient in the case of the cinematic representation of post-war Italian urban conditions in Neorealism since what was at stake was very different. More specifically, as Shiel remarks, “the Italian neorealist city does not necessarily lend itself directly to the ways in which most studies on cinematic city have approached questions of urban modernity in other countries” (2006, p. 66). The majority of the existing research on Neorealism, instead of examining the significance of gender roles and urban representation in Neorealist films, focused on the polarity between northern and southern Italy.

NEOREALIST CINEMATIC ROME VIS-À-VIS THE URGENCY OF HOUSING SHORTAGE

The large numbers of people made homeless by the war constituted a major problem within the post-war context in Italy, which remained unresolved even during the years of the so-called *miracolo economico*, the period of strong economic growth in Italy after WWII from the 1950s to the late 1960s, when the housing shortage problem remained largely unresolved. The specificity of the cinematic representation of post-war Rome in Neorealist films, such as those mentioned above, should be understood in conjunction with the fact that during the post-war years the number of people who were either homeless or living in slums and in miserable conditions had risen significantly. Referring to this issue, I could mention, for instance, that, according to Peter Rowe, “in Rome, by 1951, almost seven per cent of the population was living homeless or in temporary accommodation, and a further 22 per cent in unacceptably crowded conditions” (Shiel, 2006, p. 76). According to a survey on insecure dwellings and their resident population, ordered in 1957 by the city council, 13,131 dwellings occupied by 13,703 households consisting of a total of 54,576 people, or 3.75% of Rome’s resident population were insecure (Salvucci, 2014). Stefano Chianese refers to the “huge migrations that crossed the country between the two wars” (2017, p. 3) due to the fact

that large numbers of Italians moved from the countryside to the big cities of central and northern Italy. In order to grasp the impact of these big flows of migration within Italy we could think that “[f]rom 1958 to 1961 Rome received more than 200,000 immigrants, growing from 1961000 to 2181000” (Bertellini, Giovacchini, 1997, p. 95).

THE BLENDING OF GENDER AND MIGRATION STUDIES AS A NEW INTERPRETATION OF NEOREALISM’S INVENTIONS

As Teresa De Lauretis underlines, in her seminal essay entitled “Technology of Gender” (1989), gender should be understood as a product of various social technologies, including cinema. A distinction that is useful is that between genre studies and gender studies, highlighted by Christine Gledhill, in *Gender Meets Genre in Postwar Cinemas* (2012), where she examines the differences between genre studies and gender studies and the way both influenced film studies. Natalie Fullwood, in *Cinema, Gender and Everyday Space* (2015), analyses the relationship between cinema and social change during Italy’s economic boom of the 1950s and early 1960s. Given that migration and gender were central in Neorealist cinema, the incorporation of methods from migration and gender studies in the analysis of Neorealist cinema could reveal aspects of the Neorealist agendas that remain understudied today. The work of Danièle Bélanger and Andrea Flynn could be useful in such an effort to merge migration and gender studies, and especially their remark that “[t]he feminist reading of migration allows for the inclusion of gender as a central aspect of migration flows, labour patterns, trajectories, and experiences.” (2018, p. 185)

A point of departure of the reflection developed in this essay was the observation that research on migration and gender has changed considerably since the 1980s, shifting from discipline-specific studies of women immigrants and sex roles toward multidisciplinary analysis. As Silvia Pedraza underlines “[d]espite the overwhelming presence of women in migration flows, until recently the role of women in migration had been totally neglected” (1991, p. 303). The representation of women in films by directors such as Antonioni, Bertolucci, De Sica, Fellini, Pasolini, Rossellini, and Visconti could be interpreted taking into consideration Bernadette Luciano and Susanna Scarparo’s remark that “Neorealism defined a place for women on the screen rather than behind the camera”, producing “its own star personae”, which differed “from the glamorous images of both the diva of the silent era and the Hollywood star who had come to colonise Italian cinema” (2017, p. 431). In the post-World War II context, female icons such as Anna Magnani, Gina Lollobrigida, Silvana Mangano, and Sophia Loren, “were configured as youthful embodiments of a new national landscape.” (ibid). Marga Cottino-Jones has highlighted “the recurrent concern of Italian cinema with gender issues”, claiming that “[t]his concern is a demonstration of the centrality of gender issues in both Italian society and art” (2010, p. 7).

The intersections between migration studies, urban studies and gender studies can provide a new reading of the concepts of domesticity, citizenship and displacement in Italian Neorealist cinema. Over the last four decades, there has been a change in the paradigm of migration studies, which are gradually paying more attention to the gender composition of migration streams. Representative of this tendency is Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo’s interpretation of “gender as a constitutive element of immigration” (2003, p. 9). This trend of conjointly studying gender and migration phenomena becomes more and more dominant. Central in such an endeavour to merge the methods of gender and migration scholarship is the effort to draw on approaches from social science, on the one hand, and to treat gender as an institutional part of immigration studies, establishing legitimacy for gender in immigration studies, on the other hand.

According to Stephanie J. Nawyn, “[t]he integration of gender analysis in migration studies first emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s” (2010, p. 750). Nawyn also highlights the underpinnings of the

shift from studying women to studying gender, claiming that this shift took place in the mid- and late-1980s. Symptomatic of this shift is the 1984 special issue of *International Migration Review* devoted to the topic “Women in Migration”. The feminist gender-based migration studies understand gender as a system of relations which is influenced by migration. By the 1990s, one can observe an intensification of the tendency of understanding migration as a gendered process, promoting gender as a dynamic and constitutive element of migration and immigrant integration. More recently, the 2006 special issue of *International Migration Review* devoted to the theme “Gender and Migration Revisited” aimed to shed light on the intersection between gender studies and migration studies. In this issue, Suzanne M. Sinke, in her article entitled “Gender and Migration: Historical Perspectives”, provided an overview of the developments regarding the incorporation of key questions concerning gender studies into historical research, emphasizing “the need for longitudinal analysis in any study of gender and migration, and not[ing] some approaches to the concept of time used by historians” (2006, p. 82).

The way Neorealist cinema addressed questions related to gender roles and the problem of homeless people and *borgatori* within post-war Italian society would be better understood if we adopt models of interpretation influenced by both migration and gender studies but aiming to go beyond both. In order to decipher how Neorealist films provoked a mutation in our perception of concepts such as the user, domesticity and citizenship, we should bear in mind that migration, which was a central question in Neorealist films, challenges the above-mentioned concepts. Saskia Sassen’s understanding of immigration as “a process constituted by human beings with will and agency, with multiple identities and life trajectories beyond the fact of being seen, defined and categorised as immigrants for the purposes of the receiving polity, economy and society” (2014, p. 20-21) is useful in order to better grasp the impact of migration on the status of public space, leading to a more open conception of it and to the reconceptualization of the notion of place beyond traditional definitions, while challenging the boundaries between what is public, communal and domestic. The way migrant incorporation triggers processes of place-making which open up new social and conceptual spaces in the city was a major concern for Italian Neorealism, which was interested in surgically examining matters of society, paying an almost documentary attention to everyday life. Useful for understanding how the Neorealist films challenged the very conception of domesticity and gender is Kirsi Saarikangas and Liisa Horelli’s remark that the “[i]nterrelationships between modernity, gender, and space entered feminist discussion in the 1980s” (2018, p. 44), as well as Hilde Heynen’s consideration that “[f]ar from being an antidote to modernity [...] the home was indeed the place where modernity was enacted” (2005, p. 12). This seems to be at stake in the case of the Neorealist female personas, such as Magnani, since their quotidian life at home had a protagonist role in the endeavour to reshape the ideals of the newly formed post-war Italian society.

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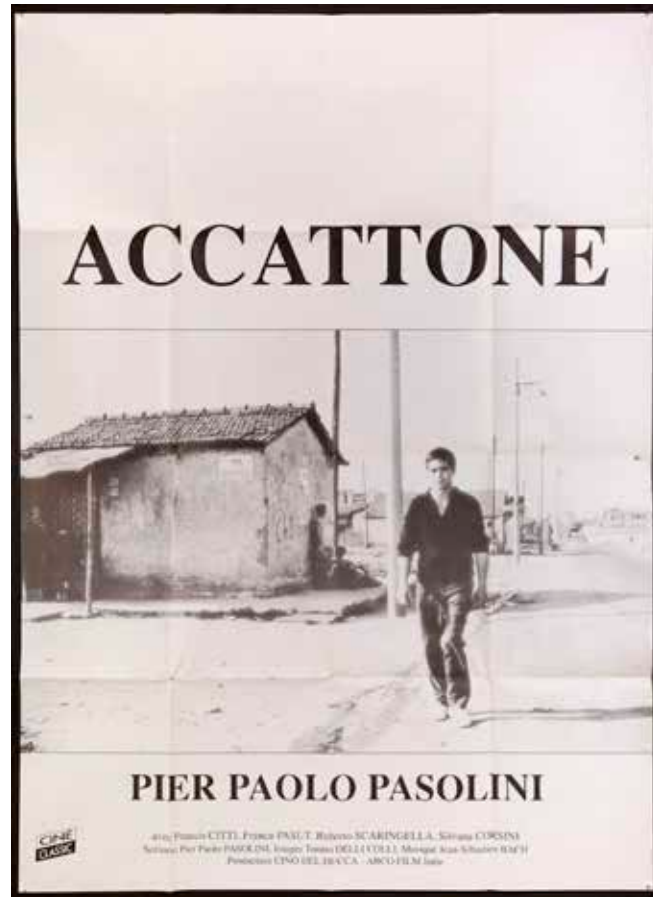


Figure 1
Poster for Paolo Pasolini's *Accattone* (1961)



Figure 2
Pier Paolo Pasolini in "monte dei cocci", Roma, 1960. Photo by Paolo Di Paolo © Archivio Paolo Di Paolo.
Courtesy Fondazione MAXXI



Figure 3
 Rome, 1960. Pier Paolo Pasolini playing soccer with the boys of the Roman district of Centocelle.
 Photo by Federico Garolla © Federico Garolla

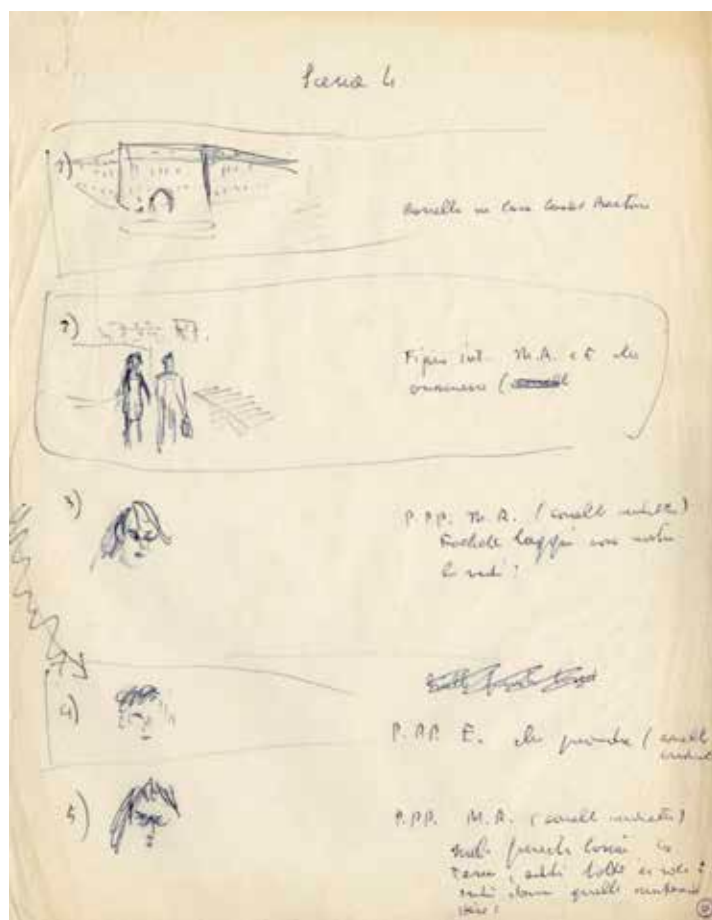


Figure 4
 Pier Paolo Pasolini's manuscript sketch for Scene 4 of Mamma Roma.
 Credit: Cinémathèque française. Gift of Pier Paolo Pasolini



Figure 5

Italian actress Anna Magnani discussing with Italian director, writer and poet Pier Paolo Pasolini on the set of the film *Mamma Roma*. Rome, 1962.

Photo by Angelo Novi. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio via Getty Images

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