

July 2006

Refugee Camps in Jordan: Options for Urban Redevelopment

by Maram Tawil

Supervised by
Prof. Günter Kroes
Prof. Volker Kreibich
Associate Prof. Fuad Malkawi

A doctorate dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Spatial Planning at Dortmund University
as a partial fulfilment of the requirements of the award of the degree Dr. Ing.

Abstract

The Palestinian refugee camps are settlements that were informally developed through five decades since their emergence in the early 1950s. The culture of temporariness in those Palestinian refugee camps is still dominant nowadays. It is vastly influenced by the paradoxical unclear political milieu that hinders an effective urban upgrading of those refugee camps in an urban setting.

This contradictive status implies the necessity of adopting and further developing modern participatory planning approaches in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, in divergence to the approaches so far implemented.

Accordingly, Suf Refugee Camp was adopted as an in-depth case study for the research. Several typologies were constructed according to initial indicators deduced from the interviews. Hence, various methodological applications were conducted to define the needs, problems and future visions of the camp's inhabitants, such as, grounded theory, theoretical sampling and sequential analysis. Tailor-made strategies were developed upon the determined needs. Three field surveys were conducted in Suf Camp combining different tools and instruments, such as, a future workshop, which was significant in raising the most strategy-oriented proposals.

The adoption of such a participatory approach yielded a drastic transformation from a passive attitude into a much interactive engagement of the inhabitants in the process of upgrading their spaces. Furthermore, the resulted cooperative-strategies were moulded into a realistic implementable action plan recommended to the Department of Palestinian Affairs.

Finally, particular strategies were generalized to enable further implementation in similar refugee camp cases in Jordan.

Preface

The problem of the Palestinian refugee lies in the emotional optimism that resulted from the surrounding promising attitude of the authorities that allowed the refugees the hope to return in the coming days or weeks or months!

From an observer point of view and while watching how the case of the Palestinian refugees is being dealt with and considered, a strong belief evolves and takes place that this case will be endlessly discussed and no final solution will be set into action.

That was evident through the fact that the refugees had to leave their homes to no certain destination but still clung to the keys to their homes after having locked their doors. This was a sign of returning from the first moment...

The problem of those refugees was adopted by diverse people and officials whose voice has a certain weight, ones with political influence and positions. For decades now, this problem was handled and discussed moreover, and as a result, the extent of hope to return was intensified within the refugee lives; they could not imagine leaving their deteriorated quarters and start over again. Subsequently, generations were building on this hope and reflecting these feelings on every single decision in their lives. Such adoptions and undertakings were unfortunately verbose and not everlasting. Those undertakings in addition, were numerous and alternating in notion and contents every now and then until the trust towards long term solutions was declined.

This led to a clear distinction towards the kind of community the refugees has become. It articulated the image of a community with many behavioural layers and much ambivalence that does not respond to direct surveys and eventual effective actions, but rather has to be approached differently.

This motivated me to think; why do so many studies exist on the refugee problem, and still not recognizable? So many projects and improvements were done in those settlements but still one cannot see the yields very clearly? I think it is because the refugees are not really taken seriously, listened to and treated as potential individuals in the prosperity of their own environment. They undergo such an experience, and maybe therefore, do not really act towards the expected development but rather react. This led to find about the possible and beneficial ways of approaching the refugee communities and placing that kind of approach as a foundation to serve future solutions and undertakings.

The research will move forward as a contributor to the process of upgrading the refugee camps. It will develop an insight on the options of redevelopment in those camps through their inhabitants, seeing in them the best possible capital and the best potential for the process. In addition, this research will try to give another angle from which, the problem can be perceived and acted upon.

The methodological approach will be of most importance to the resulted quality of the options for urban redevelopment.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	I
Preface.....	II
Table of Contents	III
List of Figures.....	VI
1 Introduction.....	1
2 Overview on the Refugee Problem in the Middle East	5
2.1 Historical background of Middle East conflict	5
2.1.1 Forced Migration	6
2.1.2 Palestinian Refugees in the Middle East	9
2.1.2.1 Status in West Bank and Gaza.....	12
2.1.2.2 Status in Lebanon	13
2.1.2.3 Status in Syria.....	14
2.2 Refugee camps in Jordan	15
2.2.1 Emergence of the refugee camps in Jordan	17
2.2.2 Authorities responsible of refugees in Jordan	19
2.2.2.1 Responsibilities and services done by UNRWA.....	19
2.2.2.2 Responsibilities and services done by DPA.....	21
3 The Issue of Refugees in Jordan.....	23
3.1 Paradoxical status of refugee camps: Temporal / Permanent	23
3.1.1 Political aspects	23
3.1.2 Economical aspects	25
3.1.3 Social / inhabitant oriented aspects	27
3.1.4 Concluding remarks	29
3.2 Current status of the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan.....	29
3.2.1 The image of a refugee camp in Jordan	30
3.2.2 Analytical perspective on previous projects in refugee camps in Jordan	34
3.2.3 Necessity for a new type of planning: participatory planning	38
4 Participation as a Concept of Empowerment	41
4.1 Participation in planning paradigms	41
4.1.1 Communicative collaborative planning	44
4.1.2 Incremental planning	46
4.1.3 Democratic Planning	48
4.1.4 Rational Planning	48
4.1.5 Concluded participatory framework	49

4.2	Participation in the local context of Jordan.....	51
4.3	Participation in spatial upgrading approaches	52
4.4	Methods of Participation.....	55
5	Research Focus and Methodology.....	57
5.1	Aims and gaps.....	57
5.2	Research Design: Statements and Hypotheses.....	58
5.3	Research Methodology	60
5.3.1	Qualitative vs. quantitative	62
5.3.2	Grounded theory	64
5.3.2.1	<i>Coding</i>	65
5.3.2.2	<i>Theoretical sampling</i>	66
5.3.2.3	<i>Sequential analysis</i>	67
5.4	Field survey and data collection.....	68
5.4.1	Preliminary site assessment	68
5.4.2	Primary data: Observations / interviews / mental maps	69
5.4.3	Primary data: Interviews / future workshop	73
6	Case Study Selection Process.....	75
6.1	Refugee camps in Jordan	75
6.2	Selection criteria	75
6.2.1	Baqa'a Camp	76
6.2.2	Gaza Camp (Jerash Camp)	79
6.2.3	Madaba Camp	81
6.2.4	Suf Camp	83
6.2.5	Hussein Camp	85
6.3	Case Study Selection.....	86
6.3.1	Validity description of Factors and indicators	86
6.3.2	Selection process for the second level of the case studies	88
6.3.3	Selection of the in-depth case study, third selective process	90
6.4	In-depth case study "Suf camp"	90
7	Inhabitants' Perception of their Camp.....	95
7.1	Typology of inhabitants	95
7.2	Needs as deficits	96
7.2.1	Return to Homeland	97
7.2.2	Urban layout Problems	98
7.2.3	Unemployment and poverty	100
7.2.4	Gender constraints	101
7.3	Aspirations and ideas	105
7.3.1	Tendency to integration and participation	105
7.3.2	Urban renewal	106
7.3.3	Reduction of unemployment and alleviating poverty	107
7.3.4	Alternative activities	107

7.4	Triangulation and networks of interpreted data	109
7.5	Participation in the refugee camps	115
8	Transformation of Inhabitants' Aspirations and Proposals into a Planning Framework.....	119
8.1	Synthesis of ideas of inhabitants	119
8.2	Strategies of dealing with problems and realizing ideas	119
8.2.1	Institutional development on local level (better dialogue)	122
8.2.1.1	<i>Administrative recommendations</i>	123
8.2.1.2	<i>Recommendations for socio-economic development</i>	123
8.2.1.3	<i>Recommendations for urban renewal</i>	123
8.2.2	Recommendations for small scale projects and future visions (cooperation in joint planning)	124
8.2.2.1	<i>Urban renewal projects</i>	124
8.2.2.2	<i>Socio-economic projects</i>	128
8.2.3	Cooperation in implementation and monitoring the projects	129
8.2.4	Cooperation in running and maintaining the projects	132
8.3	Five-year development plan for Suf camp	132
9	The Future of Refugee Camps.....	135
9.1	Dealing with Refugee camps in Jordan.....	135
9.1.1	Planning guidelines for dealing with refugee camps	136
9.1.1.1	<i>Approaching refugee camps</i>	136
9.1.1.2	<i>Good dialogue between stakeholders</i>	137
9.1.2	Tendency of stakeholders to adopt the resulted planning guidelines	137
9.2	Dealing with refugees in the Middle East	138
	References	139
	Appendices	145
	Appendix 1: Interview 1 with 83 years old man, Feb 2004	145
	Appendix 2: Report of the Future Workshop in Suf Camp, Jul. 2005	147
	Appendix 3: Structure of the narrative interview in Suf Camp	160
	Appendix 4: Topics for the semis structured questionnaire.....	161
	Appendix 5: Semis structured questionnaire	164

List of Figures

Figure 2.1:	Jewish population in Palestine, Immigration and total population in 1000s (1922-2000).....	6
Figure 2.2:	Estimated Palestinian population, inside and outside of Palestine, (1922-2000)	6
Figure 2.3:	UN partition plan for Palestine	7
Figure 2.4:	Galilee October 1948, Ethnically Cleansed Palestinians on their way to Lebanon	8
Figure 2.5:	Palestinian refugees near Toulkarem, west bank, summer 1948.....	9
Figure 2.6:	Palestinian refugees crossing the Allenby Bridge into Jordan, 1967	9
Figure 2.7:	Number of refugees in the five fields of operation (1950-2000).....	10
Figure 2.8:	UNRWA Fields of operation, Palestinian refugee camps 2001	11
Figure 2.9:	Refugee camps in the West Bank / 1967 occupied territories	12
Figure 2.10:	Refugee camps in Lebanon.....	14
Figure 2.11:	Refugee camps in Syria	14
Figure 2.12:	Refugee camps in Jordan	15
Figure 2.13:	Dates of construction of the refugee camps in Jordan	17
Figure 2.14:	Baqa'a Camp 1950s.....	17
Figure 2.15:	Baqa'a Camp 1950s, 1960s	18
Figure 2.16:	Baqa'a Camp 1960s - 1970s	18
Figure 2.17:	Baqa'a Camp 1980s.....	19
Figure 3.1:	Image of Gaza camp in Jordan / inadequate infrastructure	31
Figure 3.2:	Image of Gaza camp in Jordan / potential public spaces.....	31
Figure 3.3:	Image of Gaza camp in Jordan / cramped building structures.....	32
Figure 3.4:	Difference between before and after upgrading in refugee camps	32
Figure 3.5:	Image of Suf camp, paved roads.....	33
Figure 3.6:	Renovation of stairs pedestrian paths as type of upgrading process.....	33
Figure 3.7:	Adding elements as type of upgrading	34
Figure 3.8:	camp groups within the Social Productivity program / Community Infrastructure Project	36
Figure 4.1:	The four domains of social practice.....	43
Figure 4.2:	Relation between theoretical concepts leading to optimal participation	44
Figure 4.3:	Planner-client information flow	46
Figure 4.4:	Participatory theoretical framework for the upgrading in the refugee camps in Jordan	50
Figure 4.5:	Upgrading in Suf camp – potential for public spaces.....	53
Figure 4.6:	Upgrading in Suf camp – still deteriorated conditions	53
Figure 4.7:	Upgrading in Suf camp – little effect on building conditions.....	54
Figure 4.8:	Abstract refugees-citizens relation / levels of participation.....	55
Figure 5.1:	Justification of typology	61
Figure 5.2:	Hierarchy of empirical methods needed for the research	62
Figure 5.3:	Combining qualitative and quantitative techniques.....	64
Figure 5.4:	Parallelism in the data processing of the grounded theory	65
Figure 5.5:	Coding as a step toward the emergence of theories.....	66
Figure 6.1:	Patterns of land use plans in Baqa'a camp	77
Figure 6.2:	Patterns of land use plans in Gaza camp.....	80
Figure 6.3:	Patterns of land use plans in Madaba camp.....	82

Figure 6.4:	Patterns of land use plans in Suf camp	84
Figure 6.5:	Patterns of land use plans in Hussein camp	86
Figure 6.6:	Location of the Suf Camp within the governorate of Jerash	91
Figure 6.7:	Suf Camp, surrounding image 1	92
Figure 6.8:	Suf Camp, surrounding image 2	92
Figure 6.9:	Suf Camp, Paths leading to dwelling units	93
Figure 6.10:	Suf Camp, layout of units in a green environment	94
Figure 6.11:	Suf Camp, urban layout image	94
Figure 7.1:	Concept of sequence	96
Figure 7.2:	Right of return as priority: Future Workshop, July 2005, Suf Camp	97
Figure 7.3:	Mental map showing the urban need perceived by inhabitants	99
Figure 7.4:	Mental map showing the urban renewal needs perceived by inhabitants...	99
Figure 7.5:	First categorization of the local community needs according to the different typologies	110
Figure 7.6:	Second categorization of the local community needs according to the different typologies	111
Figure 7.7:	Third categorization of the local needs according to the different typologies	112
Figure 7.8:	Correlations between local needs and correspondent official perspectives	113
Figure 7.9:	Housing strategies derived from the local community	114
Figure 7.10:	Economic strategies derived from the local community	115
Figure 8.1:	Levels of presenting the upgrading strategies	120
Figure 8.2:	Institutional hierarchy responsible for the upgrading of Suf camp	121
Figure 8.3:	Setting up a land use map of Suf Camp, Jerash	125
Figure 8.4:	Abstraction for an urban renewal project	126
Figure 8.5:	Upgrading of a dry stream area in with perspective for a future regional space	126
Figure 8.6:	Small-scale action measures for the renewal of the stream area of Suf camp	127
Figure 8.7:	Synopsis of the different levels of development	131
Figure 8.8:	Development plan for Suf Camp	133
Figure 8.9:	Cont. Development plan for Suf Camp	134
Figure 9.1:	Framework of applying planning guidelines	136

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Budget granted to the refugee camps in Jordan from the Jordanian Government	21
Table 3.1: Total Program Investment (1000 JD)	26
Table 4.1: Methods of participation	55
Table 5.1: Gaps to be investigated	58
Table 5.2: Interview example: Open coding phase: previously determined phase	70
Table 5.3: Interview example: open coding phase: generated codes from the subjective perspective	70
Table 5.4: Example interview: Axial coding: methodological phase	71
Table 6.1: classification of the refugee camps in Jordan whether rural or urban	75
Table 6.2: Distribution of age intervals to population in Baqa'a camp and its	

governorate in (%)	78
Table 6.3: Distribution of Baqa'a camp population with educational degree / above 15 years	78
Table 6.4: Economically active groups in Baqa'a camp / above 15 years in (%)	78
Table 6.5: Camp selection matrix	89
Table 7.1: Priorities of needs by attendees in the future workshop	100
Table 7.2: Needs of inhabitants	102
Table 7.3: Needs and problems of the camp from an administrative bodies perspective	103
Table 7.4: Ideas of inhabitants and future perspectives	108

1 Introduction

The consciousness of a problem is always an integrated perception, however, vague, that is simultaneously an image of the situation and its constraints; of the goals to be achieved, of who the clients are and what kinds of solutions and resources are available. Problems do not exist without some linking of all those features, and the decision process is no more than a progressive clarification of this set, until a firm basis of action is found. One in which solution, aims, clients, resources to be used and perceived situation all seem to match one another (Lynch 1981:42)

By means of this citation, the problem of the refugee camps will be tackled and formulated. The perception of the camp's image through inhabitants, the cognition of the situation in its multitude dimensions and finally meeting the goals of the research and coming up with realistic options for a redevelopment progress for the refugee camps will be strived for. This will end with a development plan that embodies the resulted ideas and needs of the inhabitants transformed into a spatial planning framework.

Refugee camps in the Middle East are generally dense with high population along with precarious socio-economic conditions. They vary, however, from one country to the other. Those in Jordan are in a certain manner stronger epitomised because of the relative higher level of rights they are granted in comparison, as will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 2. Refugee camps in Jordan are settings that emerged in the early 1950s as a result from the Arab-Israeli Wars in 1948 and 1967 and got slightly developed over the years until they reached the informal state they are embodying at the moment. Those settlements suffer from political, socio-economic and urban constraints that have prevented their development as a normal settlement within a normal urban context. This research is going to deal with the settlements on the many levels creating those obstacles in order to reach a comprehensive effective planning approach, respecting in that, their ambiguity as well as their potentials. This planning approach will try to obtain maximum benefit from the situation, and ahead of that, a realistic concept that adapts to the needs and ideas of the camp inhabitants.

Refugees have all the right to keep on defending their position and their identity as Palestinians, though; they live in Jordan for more than 50 years. Hence, two perceptions of future ambitions of the research can be specified; first, through designing a place that corresponds to the needs, character and cultural background of a refugee, a pattern of a *Palestinian Refugee Camp* can be developed. Therefore, this research will act distinctively with a selected refugee community and try to develop, upon that, regional models in dealing with other similar communities. It will at the end attempt to develop a typology of refugee camp planning approach.

Secondly, bearing in mind the massive schemes, Jordan is undertaking towards sustainable development, and regarding the fact that refugee camps in Jordan occupy 6% of the country area, and population wise, they constitute around 6% of the population of Jordan (DPA 2000)¹; an effective planning of refugee camps is considered as a significant step towards the development on a country level. Refugee camps in Jordan are literally part of its urban context and should function within this context. Therefore, reality-oriented strategies should imprint the final results.

¹ The percentages are calculated from the camps' areas and populations mentioned in the report. The percentages themselves cannot be found in the annual report

The approach applied in this research will directly address the main stakeholders in the camp (the local community), create an overall picture of their perceptions, aspirations and action-oriented proposals, and attempt afterwards constructing a correspondent planning process that reflects these inputs.

The process though, needs steering course, upon which it can get developed. This can be served in this section through the questions of research that are once, general to enable the investigation on the scale of the refugee camps in Jordan as whole, and then, more specific ones pertaining to the upgrading of a particular selected camp. The first category of questions of research encompasses:

- In what sense are refugee camps considered as settlements and in what sense not?
- What are the options for camps' development within the present political discourse?
- How can a refugee camp be developed?

These substantial questions will form the overall perspective on the refugee problem in order to gain a wide vision of, what the components to such a topic are and to reach a status quo, from which the research can set forward.

The further step is to move on towards précising the given and acquired folds of research in order to achieve a level of applicable and poignant models and strategies that touch the lives of the individuals in the camp. Those comprise:

- What are the actual needs of inhabitants?
- How can refugees' ideas and needs be transformed into plans and strategies?
- What are the future perspectives for a camp life from inhabitant point of view?

The research is divided into eight parts in addition to the introduction. Those compile a systematic flow of the research that aims at reaching the specific status of the Palestinian refugee camps from a general contradictive starting point; the struggle of temporariness and permanence of the camps in the Middle East and specifically in Jordan. It will move more specifically to the upgrading options of the particular case that will be generated through the discussion, and then attempts again, on a wider scale, generating transferable strategies for the handling of refugee problem in general, in the face of the resulted specific arguments.

To shed the light on the individual parts of the research, it goes logically through:

- Chapter two: A historical background that provides a description of the waves of forced migration resulting from the Arab Israeli Wars. It provides with an overview on the case of refugee camps in Jordan; their emergence and the authorities responsible
- Chapter Three: Deals with the contradictive starting point for dealing with the refugee problem; temporariness or permanence. It demonstrates the results of the previous implemented projects and undertakings achieved in the refugee camps in Jordan and comes up with the necessity and the significance of such a research
- Chapter four: Provides with a theoretical background for the central issue of the work; participatory planning. It tries to weave needed threads for the discussion of applying such an approach in Jordanian settlements and specifically in refugee camps
- Chapter five: Portrays the focus of the research; the aims and the links between the theoretical and the empirical parts. It thoroughly expresses the methodological approaches adopted in the field survey; the emphasis on the qualitative approaches in elevating the subjective perception of the local community of their camp, and in the analysis and interpretation of the data for the specific refugee community using the grounded theory.

-
- Chapter six: Deals with the selection of the case study for the research. It moves from the thirteen camps in Jordan and levels them up to enable the focus on three of them. The selection procedure moves forward to determine the most proper settlement for the in depth study. The criteria for the selection are mainly dependent on the DPA² statistics and the previous projects implemented and promoted in the camps.
 - Chapter seven: Portrays the final results of the empirical survey. It deals with each investigated item; needs, aspirations and ideas of the inhabitants and presents the correspondent inputs from the survey in that regard. It correlates the results in a manner whereby, local-oriented strategies can get developed. This part of the work forms the perception of the camp and its future upgrading proposals from the perspectives of the inhabitants.
 - Chapter eight: Forms the concept of the researcher based on the results and the proposals from the inhabitants. This level will serve the transformation of those proposals into a planning framework
 - Chapter nine: Generates transferable strategies that can be adopted and implemented in similar settlements in Jordan. It investigates the specificity of the case and accordingly, the possibility for generalisation on other refugee camps in the country and maybe in the Middle East. This chapter aims at defining the patterns of future Palestinian refugee camps

² DPA stands for Department of Palestinian Affairs

2 Overview on the Refugee Problem in the Middle East

This chapter will provide with an overview on the Palestinian Refugees in the Middle East region; their history and the conflict resulting from the Arab Israeli Wars. It goes further to discuss the different statuses of the Palestinian refugees in the different countries of asylum; Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Gaza Strip and finally end up with justifying the case of this research; why should Jordanian refugee camps be upgraded?

2.1 Historical background of Middle East conflict

Over the past fifty two years, Jordan provided land to shelter the refugees until a just and comprehensive solution is reached. Jordan endowed most of the Palestinian refugees with the legal stability by giving them the Jordanian nationality. Palestinian refugees were regarded as Jordanian citizens after the union of the west and east bank, as a result of the unification of laws in the kingdom. According to the article 3 of the 1954 law conditions, the Jordanian citizen is:

A Jordanian citizen is any person with previous Palestinian nationality except the Jews before the date of May, 15, 1948 residing in the kingdom during the period from December 20, 1949 and February 16, 1954 (DPA 2000: 12)

The Palestinian refugee case is considered to be the largest and longest standing case among the refugee problems in the world (Badil 2002: 7). In the 20th century, the Middle East started practically to be the scene of political turmoil and major welfare, including World War I, II, Arab Israeli wars, Iraq Iran war and the Persian Gulf wars. The struggle in the region began with begin of the World War I and by the promise of the Britain to the Arabs to get their independent from the Ottoman Empire³ in return for their support against Turkey. The British and the French on the contrary, signed the Sykes Picot Agreement⁴. A new period of time afterwards began under the French and British mandate on one hand, and the start of a Jewish “national home” in Palestine on the other.

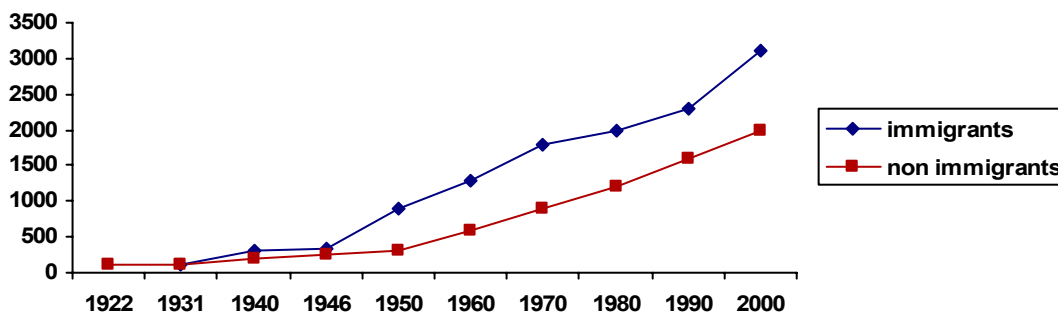
The Jews started in this period to immigrate to Palestine from all over the world. Under the British Mandate, large areas of Palestinian land were simply taken from their owners and given further to the Jewish companies such as Potash and electricity or to building up the road networks that connect the settlements where those immigrants are to settle. Constant flows of Jewish immigrants were more and more encouraged and permitted by the British mandate. In the 1930s for instance and as an impact of the Second World War, the anti-Semitic, the Nazi atrocities in Europe and the Zionist information campaigns targeted the displaced European Jews. This has resulted in a massive increase in the number of Jewish asylum seekers in Palestine (Badil 2000: 23). Figure

³ The Ottomans occupied the Arab countries in the Middle East for 400 years. The Arab won their independence through the Arab revolution led by Sharif Hussein who became afterwards the “king of Arab countries in the year 1916”.

⁴ The Sykes Picot Agreement between England and France was made on dividing the Arab countries among them, assigning Lebanon and Syria to France and Jordan and Iraq to Britain. Few months later was the Belfour Declaration in the year 1917, where Palestine was assigned and promised to be a home for the Jews.

2.1 shows the accumulative flows of the Israeli population in Palestine since begin of the conflict until the present time.

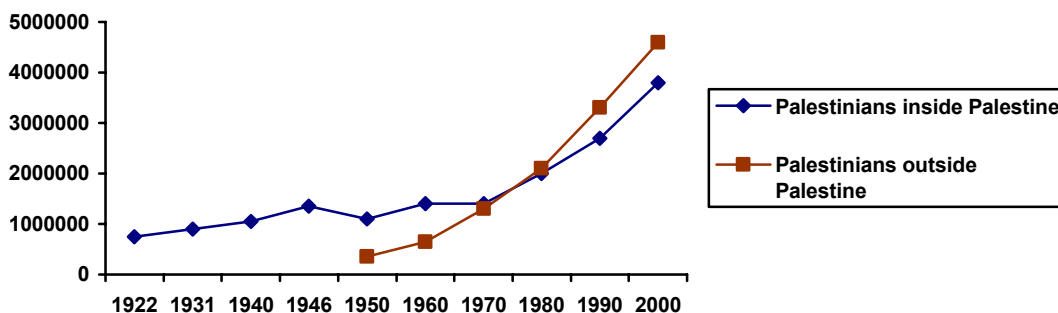
Figure 2.1: Jewish population in Palestine, Immigration and total population in 1000s (1922-2000)



Source: McCarthy, Justin. Columbia University press and Institute for Palestine studies, 1990. *A survey of Palestine, Vol. I. Israel central bureau of statistics 2001. Statistical abstract of Israel No. 52.*

At the same time, if we had a look at the Palestinian population in Palestine in this period of time, one can notice the freeze in the columns starting from the year 1946 and the increase of that population outside Palestine instead of a normal demographic growth. Figure 2.2 shows these increases inside and outside the country.

Figure 2.2: Estimated Palestinian population, inside and outside of Palestine, (1922-2000)



Source: McCarthy, Justin. *Palestine's population during the Ottoman and the British mandate periods.*

2.1.1 Forced Migration

According to the Badil resource centre (Badil 2002), a driving force for the involuntary transfer of the Palestinian population was the UN General Assembly Resolution 181 in November 1947 that allotted the proposed Jewish state 56% of the territory of Palestine including most of the fertile land. Regarding the fact that the Jewish community, at the time, comprised less than one third of the population and possessed not more than 7% of the land, this partition was allowing them to take over the country as shown in figure 2.3. Further giving tongue to the Badil resource centre (Badil 2002: 14), upon the UN recommended partition in two months, British officials in Palestine reported the violent conflict between the two communities that started to intensify. This conflict according to Badil (2002: 14-15) has proven how unworkable this partition was. It resulted further in an insecure atmosphere in the country. The UN and the British mandate started to

sense that and give warnings that were ignored. Meanwhile, the Zionist movement built up a centrally organized militia with some 60-70,000 men and by spring 1948. The situation began to unravel and the war took place.

Targeted attacks Against Civilians: During the 1948 conflict in Palestine, Zionist militias and Israeli military forces shelled Palestinian villages and towns to encourage flight. Palestinian men, women and children fleeing their villages in search for temporary refuge, was fired to ensure departure (Badil 2002: 16)

Figure 2.3: UN partition plan for Palestine



Source: <http://www.jafi.org.il/education/100/maps/part.html>, cited on 19.06.2006

In mid-May 1948, around 400,000 Palestinian Arabs comprising one third of the indigenous Palestinian Arab community residing in Palestine were already been expelled and displaced from their own villages and homes as shown in figure 2.4. By the end of this war, in 1949, half of the indigenous Palestinian Arab population of the country was displaced.

The displacement of the Palestinians; internally or externally, was not ceased with the Arab Israeli War 1948. It exceeded beyond that to create another movement of the kind in the year 1967, where second attacks of the Israeli military were headed to numerous civilian areas that had no military significance. The Israeli aircraft has also strafed Palestinian civilians who were fleeing areas of war and fighting⁵, which caused another flow of Palestinian refugees from the Palestinian territories see figures 2.4, 2.5, 2.6. This transfer was called ethnic cleansing by the Israelis according to (Morris 2001: 252-258).

⁵ Reported in the Guardian, 14 of June, 1967 and in the London Times, 22 of June, 1967, Cited in Nur Masalha, the 1967 Exodus, Ghada Karmi and Eugene Cotran, London Ithaca press, 2000: 94, Cited in Badil resource centre, 2002

Figure 2.4: Galilee October 1948, Ethnically Cleansed Palestinians on their way to Lebanon



Source: <http://www.allthatremains.com/Acre/Palestine-Remembered/Story562.html#Zionist%20Transfer%20Policy>

Cited on 6.12.2005

The position of the Israeli Authorities is further shown through the citations of Ben Gurion⁶:

I support compulsory [Palestinian Arab population] transfer. I do not see in it anything immoral

When I heard these things. . . I had to ponder the matter long and hard[but] I reached the conclusion that this matter [had best] remain [in the Labour Party Program] . . . Were I asked what should be our program, it would not occur to me to tell them transfer . . . because speaking about the matter might harm [us] . . . in world opinion, because it might give the impression that there is no room in the Land of Israel without ousting the Arabs [and] . . . it would alert and antagonize the Arabs

The transfer of Arabs is easier than the transfer of any other [people]. There are Arab states around . . . And it is clear that if the [Palestinian] Arabs are transferred this would improve their situation and not the opposite

With compulsory transfer we [would] have a vast area [for settlement].... I support compulsory transfer. I don't see anything immoral in it

Those and many other similar statements show the Israeli position regarding the forced migration of the Palestinian Arabs from their homeland. Figures 2.5 and 2.6 describe the image of the transfer further.

⁶ Cited in the article of Morris 2001 <http://www.allthatremains.com/Acre/Palestine-Remembered/Story562.html#Zionist%20Transfer%20Policy>, cited on 6.12.05

Figure 2.5: Palestinian refugees near Toulkarem, west bank, summer 1948



Source: Red Cross Archives

Figure 2.6: Palestinian refugees crossing the Allenby Bridge into Jordan, 1967



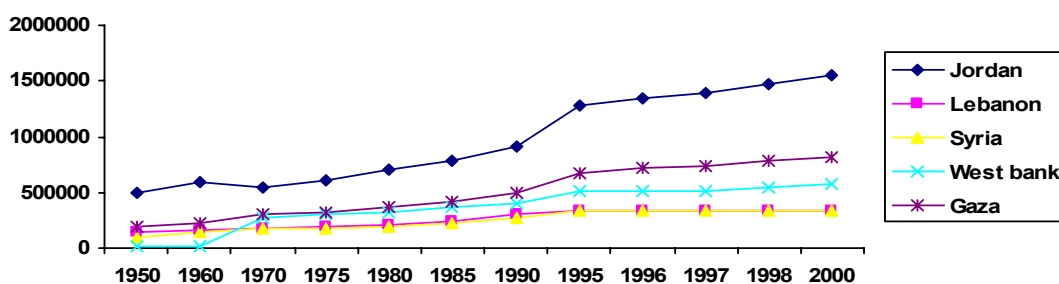
Source: UNRWA Archives

2.1.2 Palestinian Refugees in the Middle East

The Palestinian refugees are mainly and primarily divided into five groups; three of them are externally displaced whereas, the other two types are internally displaced in the Palestinian territories. The first group consists of the Palestinian refugees who were expelled from their lands and placed elsewhere in the year 1948. The second group had the same experience in the year 1967. The third externally displaced group consists of the refugees who are neither from the year 1948 nor the year 1967 and are not willing to return owing to fear from persecution or cannot return due to denial of family reunification. The other two categories or groups are the internal displaced ones either in the area that became the state of Israel in 1948 or the other group that includes the Palestinians

internally displaced in the 1967 occupied Palestinian territories.

Figure 2.7: Number of refugees in the five fields of operation (1950-2000)



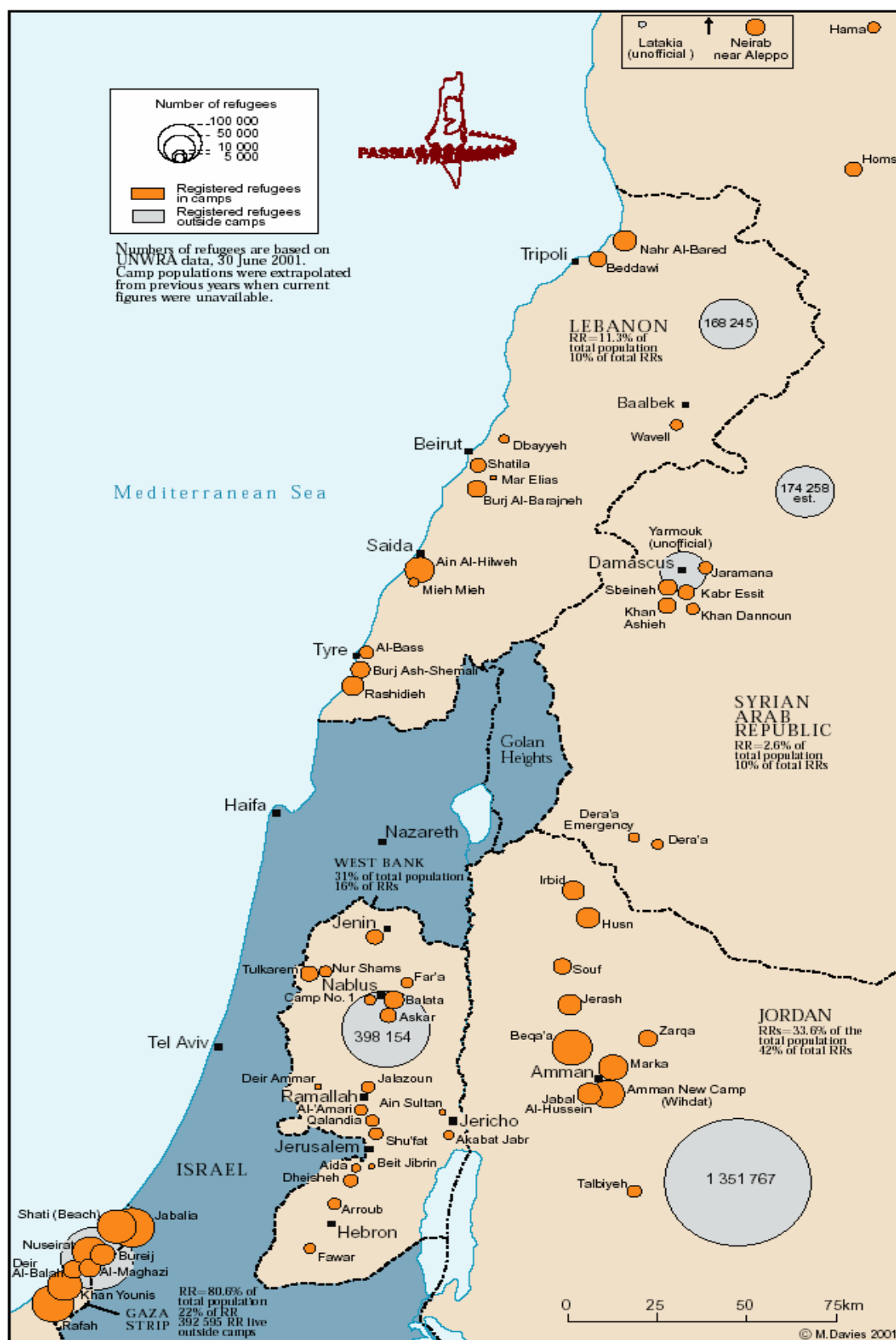
Source: DPA Department of Palestinian Affairs. *Five decades of responsibility in the refugee camps of Jordan 2000*.

The Palestinian refugees as shown in figure 2.7 are scattered in the fields of operation. They vary in their amounts with time and destinations.

The distribution of the masses of refugees in the four countries with the registered amounts showed in figure 2.8, states a phenomenon of migration out of the camps. In Jordan for instance, around 17% of the registered refugees still reside in the thirteen camps, whereas, the rest has moved into the cities and got spatially integrated, even if they are still registered at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. The case in Lebanon, Syria, West Bank and Gaza is very similar, however with different rates of migration outside the camp. The movement outside the camp is relevant to diverse reasons; working place, spacious living quarters and other different reasons that cannot be assessed in this framework. However, residing in the camp, according to Badil 2002, can be assessed as for reasons such:

- *Family and village support structure in the camp*
- *Lack of resources to rent or buy alternative accommodation outside the camp*
- *Lack of living space outside the camp due to overcrowding*
- *Legal, political and social obstacles which force refugees to remain in the camp*
- *Physical safety*
- *The refugee camp as a symbol of the temporary nature of exile and the demand to exercise the right of return (Badil 2002: 38)*

Figure 2.8: UNRWA⁷ Fields of operation, Palestinian refugee camps 2001



Source: Public information office, UNRWA Head Quarters, Gaza, Sept. 2001

[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/fullMaps_Sa.nsf/luFullMap/C0AE0492A49B374685256B99007423B3/\\$File](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/fullMaps_Sa.nsf/luFullMap/C0AE0492A49B374685256B99007423B3/$File)

⁷ UNRWA stands for United Nations Relief and Works Agency

[e/unwra_camps0901.pdf?OpenElement](#) , cited on 12.06.2006

Consequently, uncertainties will occur such as:

- Why camps are kept the way they are?
- What determines the image of the camp?
- And how can we deal with those settlements?
- What are the political obstructions for a camp development?

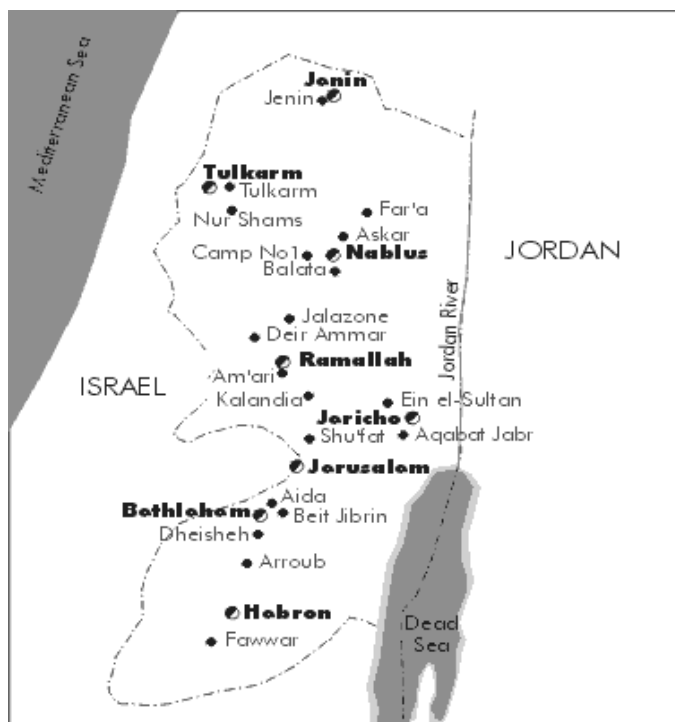
All these considerations will be discussed and justified in chapter 3. There are several settings of Palestinian refugee camps in the region and that is influenced and shaped according to the host country. In this regard, a description of the different layouts in the different countries will be introduced. The criteria that will be considered in this section will be revolved around spatial aspects that will be differentiated according to the following points:

- Political / legal status
- Social / economic status
- Urban context and physical status

2.1.2.1 Status in West Bank and Gaza

Taking the legal political issue in the beginning, the Palestinian refugees have generally the same rights as the non-refugees in the Palestinian occupied territories (Badil 2002: 62). The Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories carry the same passport the Palestinian inhabitants do. The only difference between the west bank and other host countries lies in the fact that the west bank still lies under the occupation that caused the war where those refugees resulted from.

Figure 2.9: Refugee camps in the West Bank / 1967 occupied territories



Source: <http://www.un.org/unwra/refugees/westbank.html>, cited on 12.12.2005

The Palestinians in the west bank went through different stages of nationality and pass-

port status that is not much of relevance to the discussion of this research but shows how the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the west bank jumped from one status to the other but not exclusively from the Palestinian refugees in the country. They shared the Palestinian inhabitants all their ambivalences and changes in the legal issues side by side. In the case of the occupied territories, the Palestinian refugees were people who lost their properties and were forced to migrate from their village of birth and living but did not change their status as Palestinians. They still do live in their country.

This is similar regarding the socio-economic issues for the Palestinian refugees. As for the economic status, employment and unemployment are the driving force. In the occupied territories, the right to employment is the same of the Palestinian citizen. Though, the employment status in the Palestinian occupied territories is dependent on the occupying powers and not absolute on the host country in this case. Furthermore, land tenure and right to ownership is as well a component of economical social status for the refugees. In this case as well, the right to own properties for the refugees is the same right for the normal Palestinian citizens. No difference if the citizen is refugee or not. The matter here lies in the power of expropriation that the Israeli government possesses which makes it hard on all Palestinian inhabitants, refugees or non refugees, to own immovable estates.

Considering the urban-rural status of the Palestinian refugee camps in the west bank and Gaza strip, one can notice and tell that certain common trades are ascribed to the refugee camps in the whole area of the Middle East. These common trades are usually the physical infrastructure and the land use patterns in the camps as well as the housing profiles.

2.1.2.2 Status in Lebanon

The case in Lebanon varies in the legal rights. The Palestinian refugees are not entitled to any residency rights in Lebanon apart from a few exceptions⁸, they do not carry the Lebanese passport and are not allowed to travel without a permission to leave and again enter the country. The Lebanese government considers the Palestinian refugees as a special category of foreigners⁹.

The socio-economic aspects are similar in the case of the host country Lebanon. The status differs in the way that the Palestinian refugees are subjected to all rights whatever given and offered to the foreigners, the non-Lebanese. In employment rights, they have to have a work permit (Badil 2002: 65). Conversely, some refugees with special expertises can be normally employed, but this is not the normal case. In the case of land tenure and ownership, the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are also considered as foreigners and, therefore, have no access to land tenure as normal citizens, either within or outside the camp borders.

⁸ According to the Badil 2002, few Palestinian refugees have been granted the Lebanese citizenship and are predominantly Christian or the ones who during the 1948 war took directly refuge in Lebanon.

⁹ Badil resource centre 2002. Decree No. 319, 2, August 1962: Article I (3) defines Palestinian refugees as “foreigners who do not carry documents from their countries of origin and who reside in Lebanon by virtue of residency card issued by the Directorate of the Surete Generale or identification cards issued by the General Directorate of the Department of Refugee Affairs in Lebanon”

Figure 2.10: Refugee camps in Lebanon



Source: <http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/lebanon.html>, cited on 12.12.2005

2.1.2.3 Status in Syria

The Syrian government has similar attitude to the Palestinian refugees as the Lebanese one. It does not grant Palestinian refugees the Syrian citizenship unless for refugee women who are married to Syrian men or ones who took refuge before the year 1948 according to the nationality law No. 98, 28, May 1951 (Badil 2002: 62). However, it has a kind of non-discriminatory law system regarding the refugees. The Palestinian refugees in Syria have the same residency rights as the Syrian nationals according to Law No. 260, 10, July 1956 (Badil 2002).

Figure 2.11: Refugee camps in Syria



Source: <http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/syria.html>, cited on 12.12.2005

The Syrian government's treatment towards the Palestinian refugees was fair enough regarding the economical issues represented in the employment. In spite of not possessing the Syrian citizenship for the most of the refugees residing in the country, it allowed them all employment rights according to Law No. 260, 10 July 1956 aiming at an economic integration of Palestinian refugees in the country (Badil 2002). Beyond that, they permitted the refugees certain extra rights such as the exemption of some national duties and restrictions such as a five year civil service prior to government service (Badil 2002: 66). On the other hand, the Syrian government does not permit the refugees to own immovable property; they are allowed to own one single home according to Badil 2002 and not an arable land.

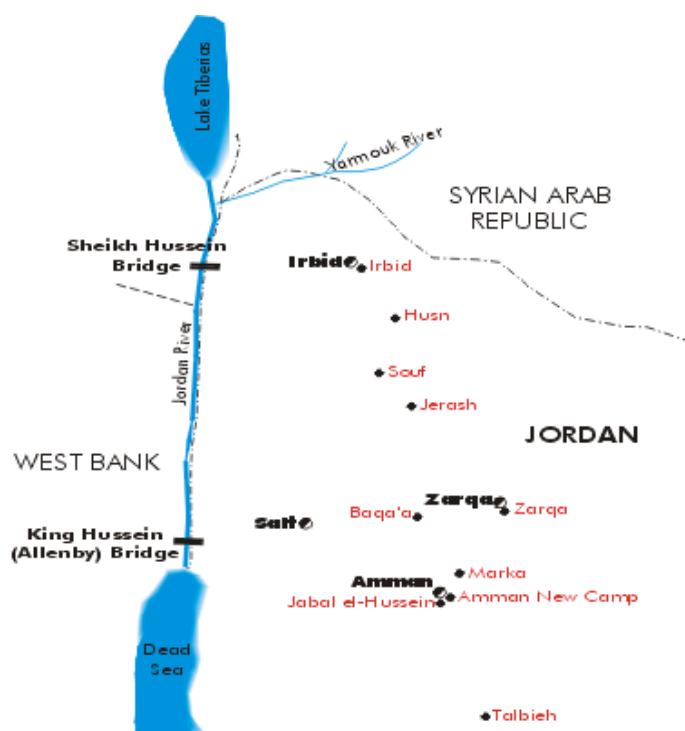
2.2 Refugee camps in Jordan

Refugee camps in Jordan contrariwise, are treated as Jordanian citizens. They are granted the Jordanian nationality except for the refugees immigrated to Jordan after the 1954. Refugees in Gaza Camp that was resulted from the Arab Israeli War 1967 are main example of the ones who are not granted the Jordanian citizenship. They compose around 70,000 - 80,000 of the overall number of Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

The refugee camps in Jordan are entitled to apply for any job. They are granted the same employment rights as the local citizens except for the ones in Gaza Camp that have no access to official governmental jobs. Unemployment rates in the refugee camps in Jordan are generally similar to the unemployment rates in the country as whole (Arneberg 1997: 53).

Regarding issues of land tenure and ownership of immovable property, naturalized citizens are eligible to own immovable property. The exception lies in the refugees who do not qualify to Jordanian citizenship (Badil 2002: 67).

Figure 2.12: Refugee camps in Jordan



Source: <http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/jordan.html>, cited on 12.12.2005

Refugee camps in Jordan have the image of a small city, informally developed. The housing units are systematically located in plots where they are divided by narrow streets and paths, whereas, wide ones dividing the plots. Moreover, the units of those camps in general are in a very bad shape and much deteriorated conditions, steel sheets are practically the ceilings of most of them not to ignore the cracks that are to be seen in the inner walls of those units. The general image of the camps is informal and multi-story. The financial capable inhabitants have simply gone vertically in their units to manage space for their extending families. Though, building regulations were not taken into consideration, therefore the informality and thus, the skyline of the camp is far from organized and beautiful.

The layouts of the refugee camps in Jordan and in the other fields of operation of the UNRWA; Lebanon, Syria and the West Bank, were not comprehensively and properly planned to render long viable communities. The space assigned for facilities, like roads, schools and health centres was as well very insufficient.

The data available about the refugees in the region and in Jordan are not accurate due to the absence of a comprehensive registration system for the refugees and the frequent migration due to political and economical reasons. UNRWA administers the only registration system for Palestinian refugees and due to different reasons they register only the externally displaced refugees and many of them were further not registered for the reasons below (Badil 2002):

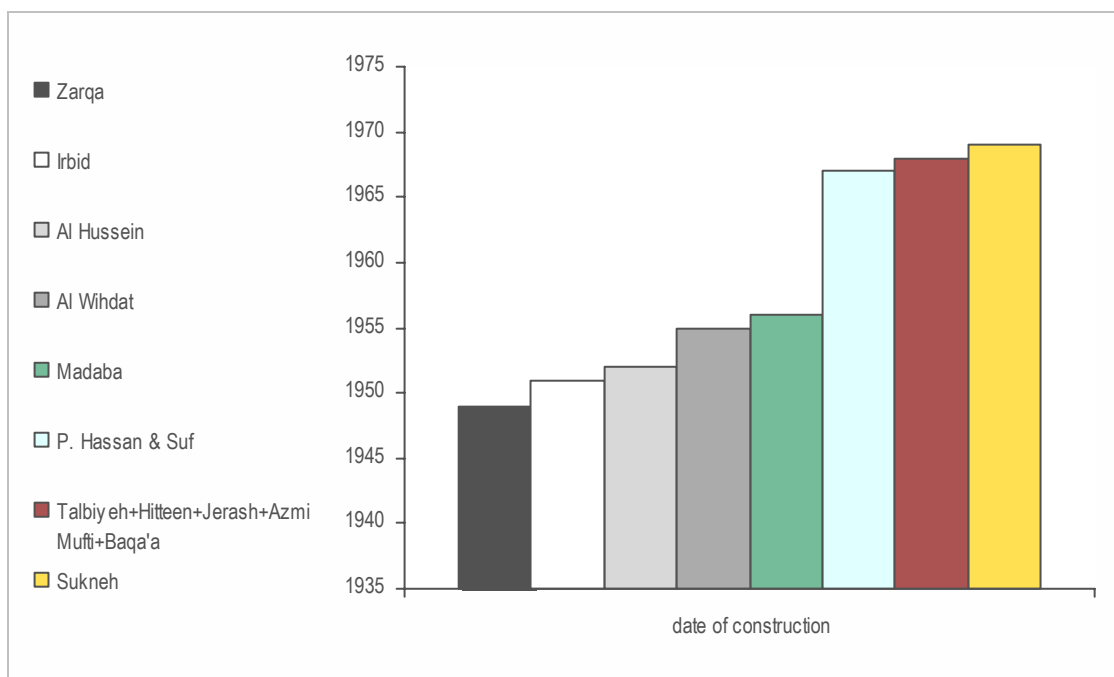
- Failure of meeting the assistance criteria
- Location of displacement outside the area of operation (Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine)
- Being dropped from the records due to financial constraints limiting the number of relief recipients
- Being off-spring of refugee mothers and non-refugee fathers
- Having an independent income or property
- Improved status of few refugees who eventually moved out of eligibility
- Refusal of registration for reasons of pride

Jordan received two waves of Palestinian refugees in the years 1948 and 1967; thirteen refugee camps were located and created in order to absorb the masses of refugees flown to the country. All of these are acknowledged and considered by the DPA the Department of Palestinian Affairs, whereas, only 10 of them are acknowledged by the UNRWA. A list of the refugee camps in Jordan and their populations combined with the date of construction are to be shown in figure 2.13.

These mentioned reasons for the exclusion of a large number of Palestinian refugees from the records of UNRWA result from and correspond to the following definition of a refugee according to UNRWA:

Persons whose normal residence was Palestine during the period from 1 of June 1946 to 15 May 1948 and who lost both their homes and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict and took refuge in one of the countries or areas where UNRWA provides relief, and their direct descendants through the male line (DPA 2000: 19)

This gives a hint why refugee women marry mostly refugee men so as not to be excluded from the relief agency records and then being excluded from the aid and eventually right of return.

Figure 2.13: Dates of construction of the refugee camps in Jordan

Source: DPA Department of Palestinian Affairs

2.2.1 Emergence of the refugee camps in Jordan

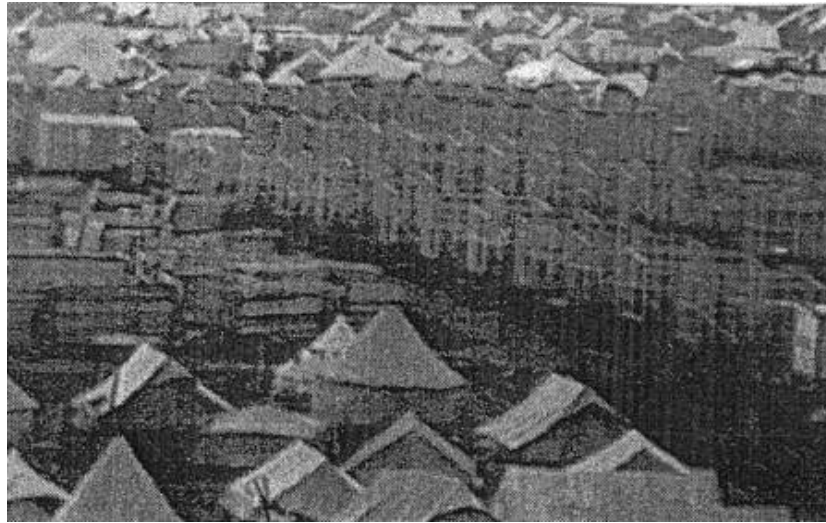
Refugee camps in Jordan had to be randomly situated on lands owned by the government of Jordan. They started with tents as shown in figure 2.14.

Figure 2.14: Baqa'a Camp 1950s

Source: UNRWA Archive

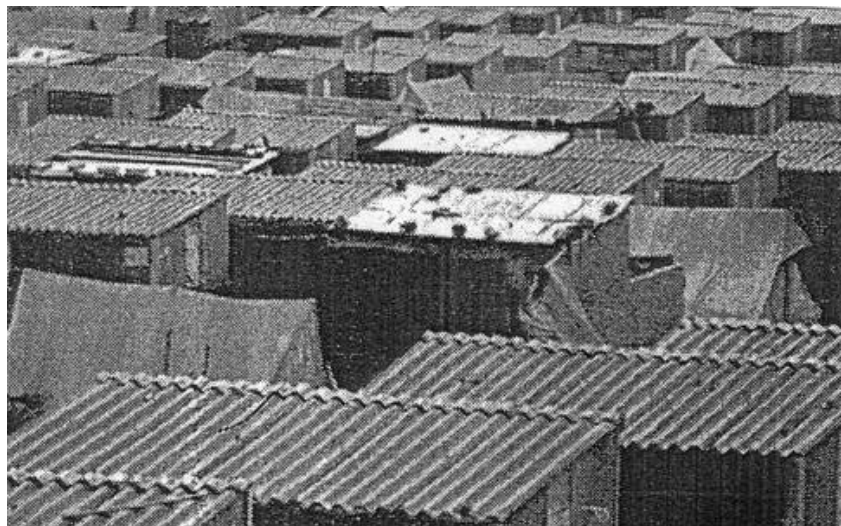
Few years later, in the 1960s - 1970s, the government of Jordan conferred these pieces of land to the UNRWA, who built shelters instead of the tents for the refugee to be more settled. See figures 2.15 and 2.16

Figure 2.15: Baqa'a Camp 1950s, 1960s



Source: UNRWA Archives

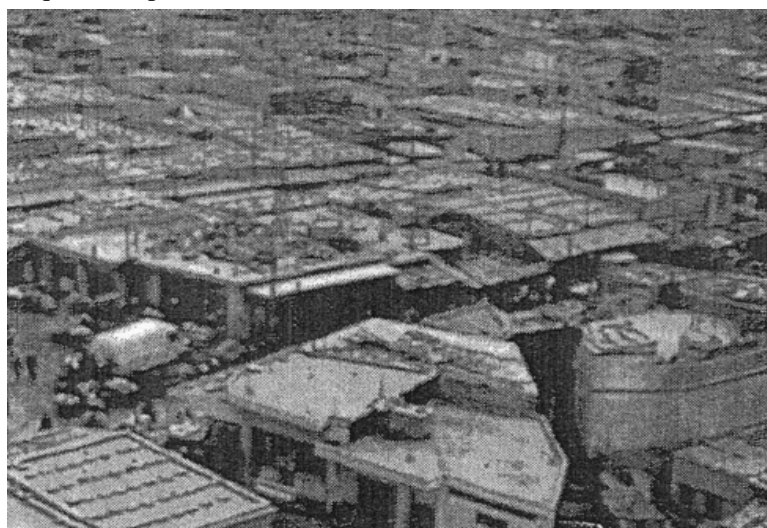
Figure 2.16: Baqa'a Camp 1960s - 1970s



Source: UNRWA Archives

This was constantly informally developed until the 1990s, where the World Bank and other aid organizations started to invest their aids in refugee camps. These projects were then launched by the government of Jordan as will be shown in chapter 3.

Figure 2.17: Baqa'a Camp 1980s



Source: UNRWA Archives

2.2.2 Authorities responsible of refugees in Jordan

Two main authorities are responsible for the camp development and upgrading physically and socially. Non governmental authority is represented in the UNRWA and the governmental are the DPA Department of Palestinian Affairs and the HUDC the Housing and Urban Development Corporation which is a department of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in Jordan.

2.2.2.1 Responsibilities and services done by UNRWA

As the Jordanian government took over the physical part in the upgrading process in the refugee camps, UNRWA was responsible for the social development of the refugees and tried with various social-upgrading ideas to promote the mentality, awareness and the self-esteem of the inhabitants in order to evoke the decision-making skills they could possess as well as creating independent people who are able to deal with their environmental challenges and eventually making use of their own potentials. These promoting actions yielded in creating women centres in the camps where the members and the employees are camp inhabitants. Women centres in the camps provided courses in sewing, beauty, computer, fitness and many others. In addition to that, they had offices for human rights and women rights in Jordanian law, where women can get advice concerning their individual cases.

At the woman centre, there were examples of ladies, married, divorced widows and singles that chose to create their own carriers by learning a profitable skill (sewing, knitting, beauty salon, computer skills and other woman related job preparation). What is interesting as well to know, that the members of the centre are volunteers in principle, they get an allowance or a rate as loan from the monthly paid fees for the courses, which are per person 5JD (ca. 5.50 EUR). Average incomes at the end for teachers who are committee members of the centre as well add up to 40 JD per month. These committees in turn make the needed interviews in order to select the best candidate for the post. For instance, the teachers for the nursery, where the other women at the centre or in the camp in general can put their children while working, are selected that way. Nevertheless, UNRWA representatives and social workers do support the committee by taking the right decision based on criteria and indicators, which are seen to be important for the

job or activity, still as attending some of these meetings and interviews, it was obvious that UNRWA's method in this regard, is to give the chance for those women to take their own decision upon the certain measurements and as mentioned before, indicators that are important for the job.

Moreover, UNRWA created for the same purpose many health and educational services and centres in the refugee camps in Jordan. With reference to the DPA annual report (2000), UNRWA has experienced a setback and a shortfall in the amount and quality of the educational services due to the reduction of the financial support of the donor countries in the last decade since the year 1993. In general the educational share of the annual budget for the refugee camps is amounted to 48.8% of the agency's annual budget. For instance, for the year 1998-1999, 325.2 million US dollars were allocated for the educational programs, whereas, only 192.663 millions in the year 1999-2000. The share of Jordan field of operation had amounted to 49.99 millions from the whole allocations for education in the UNRWA fields of operation in that year (DPA 2000). This reduction in allocations resulted in different aspects that affected the image and the value of the UNRWA education premises, to list some of these aspects (DPA 2000: 56):

- Shortage in the number of teachers
- Inappropriate school buildings where 54% of the schools are either built in the 1950s and 1960s or rented and are presently in unsatisfactory conditions
- Insufficient school equipment and supplies especially in labs and computers
- Double-shift teaching system¹⁰ in 93% of the schools
- Overcrowded classrooms with an average of 41 pupils in the classroom
- No maintenance of schools and educational installations since 1993
- No sufficient budget to supply training centres with the necessary equipment

The same shortcomings UNRWA experienced in the educational programs are shown as well in the health centres and facilities. According as well to the DPA figures and analytical studies of the year 2000, the health centres financed and supervised by the UNRWA suffer from insufficient medicines at the present time, insufficient staff doctors, insufficient number of sanitation labourers, freeze in the expenses for emergency treatment in private hospitals since 1996 and cut down of expenses in governmental hospitals, and not the least, freeze in maintenance for health facilities.

This decision for the reduction in financial support indicates that the international donors do not believe anymore in the explicit financial support for the refugee community after 50 years of the dilemma. It therefore should start developing and merging through other types and kinds of handling the problem and finding other types of solutions that are to be analysed and studied in this thesis. As discussed in the previous chapter, maintenance and further development as well as extension and enlarging the locally needed facilities could be preserved and achieved through participation, though, this should be still figured out and proved after the deduction and processing of the results of the field work that is to and will correspond to the reality the refugees are living.

¹⁰ Double-shift teaching system is having two school days in one day; the first shift begins at 7 am and ends at 12 and the second from 12 till 5. This kind of system is due to the lack of the school buildings and teaching rooms available in relation to the number of students attending.

2.2.2.2 Responsibilities and services done by DPA

The department of Palestinian Affairs is practically the official governmental body responsible for the refugee camps in Jordan. It belongs structurally to the Prime Ministry of Jordan and is in charge of the upgrading plans and processes in the refugee camps in Jordan. The DPA contribution is mainly represented in the physical infrastructure projects in the camps, it supervised and managed those projects including the whole water, electricity and telephone networks as well as sewage, streets and pavements as will be thoroughly described in the individual cases.

The department of Palestinian affairs provided in each camp a local body that is called "Camp Service Improvement Committee" CSIC that is in charge of inquiring and investigating the needs and the certain services of inhabitants. Those committees comprise 7-13 members representing various segments of their communities. The DPA allocates a certain budget every year for those offices as will be shown in table 2.1. In addition, the DPA has five official offices in the refugee camps from which it can supervise and coordinate the whole thirteen camps concerns and matters. These offices are:

- the capital and Madaba governorates office that supervises Wihdat camp, Al Hussein, Hay el Emir Hassan, Al Talibye and Madaba camps,
- the Zarqa governorate office that supervises Hittin, Zarqa and Sukneh camps,
- the Balka governorate office that supervises Al Baqa'a camp,
- the Jerash governorate office that supervises the camps Jerash (Gaza) and Suf
- and Irbid governorate office that supervises the camps of Azmi Al Mufti and Irbid.

Camp Committee	Funds in year 1999 (JD)
Al Wihdat	25000
Al Hussein	50000
Prince Hassan	25000
Al Talibye	37000
Madaba	30000
Hittin	40000
Zarqa	40000
Sukneh	25000
Baqa'a	57500
Jerash	42500
Suf	30000
Azmi Al Mufti	50000
Irbid	40000

Source: DPA 2000

The DPA is an entity of the Prime Ministry in Jordan and has the full responsibility and supervision of the refugee camps in Jordan as the main and only body of the government. The tasks and clear duties for the department of Palestinian affairs (DPA 2000) are:

- Ensure a better living situation for the refugee citizens in the camps by supporting developing projects.
- Ensure better environment by rehabilitating the physical infrastructure including water piping, electricity, sewage, and road maintenance.

-
- Empower the civil society of the camps through sustainable projects supported by the international donors and agencies.
 - When considering these main and not only tasks, many other more detailed services could be listed below such as:

The rent of land plots on which camps are constructed.

Implementation of infrastructure projects and the basic general services as mentioned above.

Maintaining security and order and establishing police and civil defence stations.

Maintaining sanitation services

Maintaining and monitoring shelters regulations for use of building and services in the camps, including land plots for poor families to build shelters in the camps and issuing rehabilitation expansion and shop-opening permits

Education and health services especially that the refugees in Jordan enjoy the Jordanian nationality and upon that benefit from the governmental health insurance and the chances of getting enrolled and hired as well in governmental schools, as a complementary system to the UNRWA provided facilities.

Financial and administrative support to all concerns of the refugees is always provided by the department.

The department implemented the royal recommendation to provide two hundred seats in the eight official universities in Jordan for the Palestinian refugee students of the thirteen camp dwellers. And this free of tuition fees seats is a scholarship similar to the one given to the children of the People working in the Jordanian military services (DPA 2000).

Although, one can find much overlapping between the tasks of the Department of Palestinian Affairs and the ones of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, they are still, complementary to each other. Physical infrastructure is the responsibility of the Department of Palestinian Affairs and social infrastructure is the one of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

3 The Issue of Refugees in Jordan

The status of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan is linked to political and socio-economic aspects. These have major influence on the future planning of the camps and the path this planning can take. This chapter will shed the light on the particular case of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan and try to come up with the possible upgrading manners resulting from the existing situation.

3.1 Paradoxical status of refugee camps: Temporal / Permanent

This issue is a crucial point in the discussion of the upgrading of the refugee camps in general. In the case of Jordan it is significant because of the type and length of their stay in the country; it makes it at most needy to develop certain guidelines to handle the case of the refugee camps in the future.

The Palestinian refugees reside in Jordan for about four generations now and still think of the residence as temporary and only as a passer phase. Some questions of the research arise in this part. They serve as an insight into the problem and can be further investigated depending on the discussion:

- In what sense are refugee camps considered as settlements and in what sense not?
- What are the options for a camp development within the present political discourse?
- How can a refugee camp be developed?

Those questions constitute the first set of queries to be investigated in the whole research as highlighted in the introduction chapter. They are directed to the investigation, whether the influential political and socio-economic aspects have a direct driving impact on the development of the camps or not, and to what extent. Specific questions to the paradox situation in this chapter also arise to lead the discussion, those are:

- What are the impacts, the paradox in the temporariness and permanence of the refugee camps' status has on the refugees' attitude and eventually their decision making process?
- What did cause such thinking and such an attitude?

The further discussion will, in spite of the differentiated aspects and perspectives, get partially overlapped. Nevertheless, it will highlight certain influential aspects on the status of the Palestinian refugees that can be rather categorized as political, economic or social perspectives.

3.1.1 Political aspects

The political aspects of the Palestinian refugees' status lies in the right of return that grants the refugees the hope of going back to their original state and allows them the freedom to live on their properties among their neighbours and relatives. The Palestinian right of return has been a central element of the Palestinian conflict and Diaspora that accompanied the refugees all along their lives. They were promised their right through several political achievements which, unfortunately, did not turn out to be of much success. According to several internet sites, an important and major resolution for the benefit of the Palestinian refugees was the General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) of December 1948 which declared that:

“Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest predictable date” http://www.palestine-un.org/res/2_194.html, cited on 29.12.2005.

Israel in turn, rejected this resolution and argued to no surprise that Israel bears little responsibility for the flight of Palestinians in 1948, and/or that de facto “population transfer” occurred as Israel accepted post-1948 Jewish refugees from Arab world.

Though, this right of return is differently perceived by different politicians. For instance, Abu Zayyad (1994) suggests:

“One must distinguish between, on the one hand, the right of return as a principle, and on the other hand, exercising that right by literally returning to Palestine as a national homeland and to the same home, piece of land, or grove which a certain Palestinian owned before 1948, as a private individual property” (Abu Zayyad 1994: 77).

Others emphasised the term “attainable” rather than “absolute” like the case with Khalidi. He added, justice suggests that:

“While it must be accepted that all Palestinian refugees and their descendents have a right to return to their homes in principle... it must be equally accepted that in practice, force majeure will prevent most of them from being able to exercise this right”(Khalidi 1994: 21-27).

To this part, I should explain that the idea behind listing and extending the political discussion in this regard, aims at reaching a starting point from which a practical upgrading approach can be adopted. It does not aim at discussing the political discourse itself, or come up with a certain declaration, whether the refugees are to return or settle. The research ultimately has a spatial planning question to answer, still based on political arena and socio-economic backgrounds to be derived from.

Further, the Palestinian right of return was further on discussed and elaborated. Many studies and political considerations and actions were directed to this issue. For instance, Shaml newsletter has published articles in this regard among which Shiblaq; its editor declared that:

“Return to Palestinian National Authority areas is not a substitute to the right of return of the refugees of 1948” (Shiblaq: www.shaml.org, 10.11.2005).

He also acknowledges that:

“It would be naïve to assume that political consideration and developments of the last fifty years will not have an impact on the way that this right might be implemented” (Shiblaq: www.shaml.org, 10.11.2005).

On the other side, the Israeli responsiveness to these different positions among others were tremendous. On the one hand, Likud spokespersons have rejected outright even a Palestinian return to the west bank and Gaza strip. From the view of Ariel Sharon:

“If these people find themselves resettled again in miserable refugee camps Judea, Samaria and Gaza, gazing out from them to their former villages, the tension and anger will be enormous ... the Palestinian refugee problem is a tragedy the Palestinians brought upon themselves. But one tragedy must not be replaced by another. If we want to continue living in this country, a solution to the refugee problem should be found elsewhere even if it goes against the Camp David Accords” (Sharon: <http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/MEPP/PRRN/prissues.html>, 28.12.2005).

Various attitudes from different Israeli officials were close to such rejection. Nevertheless, some other declarations showed that few officials were not that much against this natural right for the Palestinians. For instance, giving two examples on this attitude; Heller suggested that

“Giving the impossibility or undesirability of implementing any right of return to the refugees’ original homes within Israel proper, Palestinian refugees would instead be free to “return” to Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. This might be accompanied by the admission of some former Palestinian refugees to Israel on humanitarian grounds” (Heller

Such a compromise would have made a big change in the context. Others like Heller have as well made such constructive suggestions. For instance, Shlomo Gazit was someone who tried to move the boat towards a middle level, and was in that sense pro Palestinian refugees’ case. He suggested that the refugee issue should be resolved through:

“the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, and the establishment of a “Law of Return” under which every Palestinian in the Diaspora so wishes would receive a Palestinian citizenship, carry a Palestinian passport that grant him international recognition and rights, and if need be, the right to immigrate to the new state.”

These statements revolving around the issue of the refugee camps and the refugees’ right of return lead in the framework of this research to one main conclusion that serves this work. Camps will keep its temporary image as long as no final political solution is found. The refugees living in those camps will still get full of hope upon every trial pro or against their ever lasting right. Consequently, the research will set forth in a realistic manner that does not touch the critical political issues, but rather concentrates on the practical applicable topics that affects the present life of the refugees in those camps.

3.1.2 Economic aspects

Economical aspects in turn, consist of several subdivisions that have a great influence on the discussion, whether the camps are to be weighed as temporal or permanent settlements. They should be based on facts and statistics that can give us a clue how to decide realistically in this regard. As for the first aspect; the previous projects that are implemented in the refugee camps have much to tell.

The refugee camps in Jordan are now more or less perceived and considered as additional villages in the rural areas and additional neighbourhoods in the urban ones. This perception can be differently conceived; economically or socially. In this section the economic impacts on such a measurement will be detected. Social Productivity Program (SPP) is a guiding line in this sense. It is an initiative from the government of Jordan for combating poverty and generating job opportunities for the poor. It consisted of four groups that handled the issues; provision of assistance to the poor, generation of productive employment and provision and improvement of essential physical and social infrastructure to improve the living conditions of the poor. The projects will be further illustrated in section 3.2.2.

This section, however, will display the expenses and amounts of work invested in the Palestinian refugee camps in order to level up the degree, the camps are taken care of by the government of Jordan and the non-governmental organizations. These figures describing the implemented projects in the refugee camps are provided by the different documents collected in the first phase of the field survey from both, the Department of Palestinian Affairs and the Housing and Urban Development Corporation.

Based on the reports conducted by both the Department of Palestinian Affairs and the Housing and Urban Development Corporation, these projects were:

- Planned to improve the infrastructure of 27 sites; 13 refugee camps (all Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan) and 14 squatter settlements in Jordan. Which gives the hint

that the government of Jordan in such a major strategically approach served the needs of the normal poor settlements in the country and the refugee camps in one program, which means again that there is no difference between them, both of them lie under the category of squatter settlements regardless from the political aspects.

- Lasted for more than five years of planning and implementation. In 1997 the thought started to take shape, and it took about 2 years until the first phase got in action. In this phase many considerations were studied and verified and depending on such, priority settlements to start with were decided. For instance for the refugee camps:

Readiness status for implementation (amount of data available and studies made)

Comprehensiveness of the package of intervention (the more service to provide the better)

Present service level (the worse ranks higher on the list)

Investment per person for a comparable level of service (amount of investment per beneficiary: the lower investment the higher in the list)

Technical complexity: sites required more complex intervention than others ranked lower on the list (Zagha 1997: 35).

Priority settlements on the other hand for squatter settlements were based on another type of criteria mainly concerning the size of the settlement and its population. It was also dependant on the type of housing, if it is temporarily structured or not, if the services are well installed in the settlement and so on.

- The total costs estimated for the working groups divided in the whole considered settlements approach 332 million JD¹¹ divided as following:

Services	Physical infra.	Social infra.	Hospital and colleges	Housing	Total
Camps	50792	44716	36705	30022	162235
Upgrading	39570	13977		7950	61497
Local Authorities	22797	25340			48137
Total	113159	84033	36705	37972	331436

Source: DPA and HUDC / final report 1997

To the points illustrated and expanded to an extent in the previous lines, this big investment in money as well time and effort will not be addressed to settlements that are to be left over in the next coming years. So as a preliminary upshot, from an economical perspective and regardless from the emotional or political background, such undertakings within huge strategically thinking would aim at improving and upgrading the existing situation for durable solutions and not temporal ones. Emphasizing the point here, it was stated in the findings of the mission assessing the needs for the upgrading program that:

“Spatial planning of the communities was poor and was not intended for viable long term communities...poor delivery of infrastructure services such as water, sewage and roads” (Zagha 1997: 6).

This means that this case is carefully and deeply considered to function otherwise. It also means that such projects are concerned with the human rights represented in the right for a better life to those living in the upgrading sites or in the refugee camps on the

¹¹ 1 EUR equals approximately 0.8 JD

same level. In this specific question and area of looking into the case; the refugee camps is a durable problem that needs durable solutions and sustainable approaches.

Coming to the second aspect of the economical components; the land ownership. The land on which the refugee camps in Jordan are built is owned by the government. It is nevertheless, given in a sense to the UNRWA to provide the refugees the homes they are settled in. In a way the refugees in the refugee camps can own the units or houses after the informal development they experienced but still, do not own the land beneath them. They, on the other hand, have the right to buy and own any other properties outside the camp. This distinguishes the Palestinian refugees in Jordan from the ones residing in the other fields of operation; the Middle East countries where no ownership rights are available equivalent to the national citizens' ones but applied to different kind of laws as described in chapter two.

Ownership of land can give a clue or enforce the temporal status of the refugee camps in this discussion. Still, by way of contrast, the migration from refugee camps to cities and towns in Jordan is big evidence that most of the refugees already decided living as Jordanians is more appealing than staying in camps under these circumstances. As already mentioned before; 17% of refugees living in Jordan are literally camp residents. So, it could be as part thought of as a balanced contradiction or rather temporary in this case, still, by levelling both up, durable status and eventually finding durable solutions for the upgrading weighs more to the matter of economical aspects.

Not to forget, to the economical aspects, many other issues could be listed such as, employment, unemployment, investment in human resources in case of education and vocational training and so on and so fort. The discussion was restricted to these two points because of the legal power they imply at one side in the law of land ownership that already exists and in the major undertaking by the governments as one of its main projects that already exists and on going on the other hand. The other points and discussions areas are simply problems that have to be investigated in this research and not clear issues to be set for argumentation.

3.1.3 Social / inhabitant oriented aspects

In this section some reactions and assumptions of a refugee problem will be enlightened in order to experience how this temporariness feeling is perceived else where than in the Middle East and then some personal experiences and attitudes from individuals in Jordan, how they see and perceive the issue will be further portrayed. In this section, no actual and no concise statistics will be evident because of the type of information told here, which is rather personal and subjective than addressed to communal statistical work, therefore, this comparison with else where experiences will serve the function to shed some light on the basis and justifications of such attitude. From that we can see to what extent this is to be considered as temporal or permanent.

From another point of view, it is very difficult and almost impossible to decide whether refugees themselves and eventually any researcher in this particular field can know exactly if these refugees are willing to return or stay, and if at all their perception can be reflected in these few lines. Therefore, this section is not trying to give a verdict to the case but somehow highlight the emotional parts and differentiate them from the practical and applicable ones.

The first part that I noticed from different quotations of refugees either from Palestinians refugees in Jordan or elsewhere, was the dream and the memory of the best homeland that can never be replaced, which accompanied a refugee everywhere. The way refugees tell about their villages is the astonishing part that does not differ among

refugees. For instance, a Lao refugee in America, tells how rich they were and what a big house they possessed and that the father was working really well until the war broke and then everyone started fighting against the outsiders whether believed in fighting or not, some members of the family were killed, others were raped and so on until they arrived America and lived in the poor camps (Proudfoot 1990: 82-83). On the other side, if we look at Palestinian refugees' experience, one can notice the same kind of loss. Loss is the same everywhere, a house; a piece of land, living among relatives and neighbours or having the beautiful nature around, it is at the end a loss. This shows greatly in some examples of Palestinian refugees such as:

"We were the whole day in the field, we planted, harvested and dug the land, it was green it was very beautiful. We used to spend our time as well with the goats. So our life was in the field, we had relaxing country life in those days, much better than here" (Interview with 83 years old man, Feb. 2004).

Both types of refugees have memories of the lost homeland represented in different objects, but both as well think, the new home cannot replace or is not good enough as the former.

However, there are some differences; the language, the economical situation and the cultural background among other factors, which are totally various between a Lao refugee coming to America and a Palestinian refugee coming to Jordan. This comparable example is chosen to allow maximum benefit from other experiences. It allows in that, reflecting influence factors that can only be obvious if such different cases are put into comparison. Tackling each on its own; to the language and cultural backgrounds; the refugees elsewhere clash with this problem. They face another culture with another language and societal rules and norms.

"we talk more and eat food with our friends...we sing and dance...I will always miss Lao...crazy things happen to us here...sometimes my father is so unhappy here...he wants to work...he is not lazy...no job...his English isn't too hot" (Proudfoot 1990: 113).

They have to adapt drastically from one side to the total polar one. In the case of Palestinian refugees, this should not be the problem, the Palestinian refugees share with the Jordanians as well with the folk of the Middle East the same cultural backgrounds and nearly the same societal norms, and so, they are more likely to surmount their crises they faced before the refuge.

To the case of economical situation, it is on the contrary, it motivates rejection to the situation in Jordan rather than acceptance and easy adaptation. The refugees to industrial countries suppose to find better economical conditions in their host countries than in countries like Jordan. For instance, and again referring to Proudfoot 1990, many of these Laos refugees thought by going to America; the country where everyone finds a job, everything will be alright and the economical status will be better, but to a surprise and according to the same book, it was not really the case. By quoting some interviews done with various types of refugees in the USA such as:

"...I have been here two years now...we are poor, we try hard, we belong to the Christian church, we do not smoke or drink, I am worried for finding a work...a man should be able to support his family...they tell us times are hard here right now...that many Americans are out of work...we did not expect this...we thought everyone in the US has a job" (Proudfoot 1990: 69).

If this shows something; it shows that refugees are facing same destinies after all wherever they land; they have many similar cognitions of what is happening and the complexity of their feelings and attitudes is joining them along. Other examples of refugees

in the same settings, ones that want to adapt and want to integrate occur in this study as well. Many types of refugees and many nationalities seem to share the same experiences.

3.1.4 Concluding remarks

Concluding some of the points spread out in the previous discussion; refugees have in the nature of being refugees these complexities of adapting to a new life, no matter from where they originate and where they are settled. One cannot in any means try to change or simplify these complexities. They simply exist and have significant influences on the different attitudes of the refugees.

Consequently, planning approaches are to be able to provide the Palestinian refugees with some attachment to the space they are residing in. They should try to promote the status of the refugees to be considered and accepted as normal Jordanian citizens. The needed planning approaches, in this sense, are to make the best out of the present and future of the Palestinian refugees. Types of approaches and ways of addressing the refugees will be more clearly gone about in the next chapters.

In relevance to the discussion in this section, the temporal/permanent status of Palestinian refugees will consequently preserve its paradoxical status. The refugees are looking forward to better status in Jordan, still cannot confess this decision because of the emotional complexity they have. The political opinion and influence are also not clear. The paradoxical case of the refugees need political decisions to determine the shift of status, it cannot be determined within such a study. Therefore, the status quo of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan is to be the starting point for the research. The social influence will provide this research with the basis, on which further upgrading strategies can be developed. Its function is not to be underpinned for further social oriented findings. It will provide a means for developing certain strategies based on the real understanding of their situation.

These three levels of discussion tend to tell us that refugee camps are fully considered in the planning strategies in Jordan. In other words, these are settlements of the country to be there to get prospered and not to get desolated after the whole hassle. But on the other side, another reflection will be the respect for this one condition and one hope of return and not dealing with them absolutely as normal settlement in the sense of permanence.

This research will not contradict with this emotional conflict; it will deal with it as approaching communities according to their needs, trying to grasp their presence and dig in their ideas to come up with the best way of reaching a better status. This will be headed up from the status quo they have in the context.

3.2 Current status of the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan

After widening the discussion of what those camps are presenting, a temporal or permanent status; and after concluding that different factors influence the refugees in multitude angles and levels; the present situation as physical or social will be presented in this section. It will serve as a sequential phase for the process of finalizing the baseline for their upgrading and then determining the necessity of having an action plan or approach to guarantee at least really based process, analysis of the previous undertakings will be reviewed and further step will shape out this research.

In this section; several facets of the physical structure will be enlightened and illustrated. Many faces of the current status are already and will be in many places described in this research. What will be beneficial to the discussion in this section?

- The image of a refugee camp in Jordan, the status of the camps before and after upgrading along with some description on what has been done on a physical ground by the different authorities.
- Analysis of the previous projects to come up with a coarse result of what were the positive as well the negative impacts.
- Conclusion to the action plan or what the needed actions eventually are and this will be discussed in section 3.2.3; Necessity for a new type of planning.

3.2.1 The image of a refugee camp in Jordan

Until the late 1990s, the refugee camps had always the image of being dense with high population. The socio-economic conditions in them were generally poor cramped living conditions, unemployment and inadequate infrastructure such as roads and sewers. The existing situation can be looked at on a physical and a social level. The physical infrastructure includes the roads and pathways as already mentioned, in addition to the water network, surface drainage and the electrical works, as will be later on seen in the survey and the analysis of the different implemented projects; many have approached the camp development from this perspective. Whereas, when thinking of the infrastructure on a social level, it is dealing with the social facilities and non-physical basics of living, the parks, the social enclosures that are places where people can meet and interact instead of using the paths and streets, places where children can play instead of the narrow alleys which they find as playgrounds.

For instance, here are some shots made to camps that show the spatial context in its various potential. The photos were taken in the framework of the first field survey in 2004 by the researcher. Figure 3.1 and 3.2 show perspectives of Gaza camp in Jordan. Gaza camp represents a structure of a camp that is not yet upgraded but still in the plan of the community infrastructure programs run under the umbrella of the SPP social productivity programs referred to previously and as will be thoroughly discussed later on. It represents the in the first figure the kind of inadequate infrastructure the camp enjoys and for instance a perspective in a public space that is ignored and still can possess high potential when developing it as shown figure 3.2.

Figure 3.1: Image of Gaza camp in Jordan / inadequate infrastructure



Source: Tawil 2004

Figure 3.2: Image of Gaza camp in Jordan / potential public spaces



Source: Tawil 2004

Moreover to the second image 3.2, such spaces are seen all over the camps, spaces where some interactive functions can be created. Some brain storming notions were reflected to such areas within the field surveys; what can be done there and how one can win these left over spaces to the benefit of the camp inhabitants along with some provoking and motivating ideas from me as a researcher of how these spots could be furnished in order to function as part of the urban generation of the camp. Such reflections and such ideas will be clearly structured in the empirical part whose answers and reactions more than positive were.

Figure 3.3: Image of Gaza camp in Jordan / cramped building structures



Source: Tawil 2005

Figure 3.3, shows a more detailed level of the multi dimensional undertakings that could apply to a camp upgrading or development. It shows explicitly a very technical problem in the camps and that is the building structures of the units, the steel-sheet ceilings and the kind of foundation holding the structure in one piece. It shows how weak these structures are and how necessary it is to consider their improvements.

Furthermore, figures 3.4, 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7 show the types of upgrading of the camps. They show the status after the upgrading processes made by the government of Jordan.

Figure 3.4: Difference between before and after upgrading in refugee camps



Source: Tawil 2004

Figure 3.4, shows an example of the Community infrastructure program execution and improvement of the infrastructure services in Madaba refugee camp for instance which was carried out. Infrastructure works are otherwise, composed of rehabilitation and execution of most of the asphalt roads, passageways, concrete stairs and home entrances, as well as storm water drainage works and improvement of the electricity network and outdoor lighting. Figure 3.5 and 3.6 continue representing the image of the refugee camps after having them upgraded by the government of Jordan.

Figure 3.5: Image of Suf camp, paved roads



Source: Tawil 2004

Figure 3.5 shows the type of upgrading done in the camps represented in one of them; Suf camp. It is mainly addressed to the infrastructure problems; paving streets, sewage treatment and approaching a clean image of a settlement.

Figure 3.6: Renovation of stairs pedestrian paths as type of upgrading process



Source: Tawil 2004

Another face of upgrading is represented in figure 3.6 where old stairs creating accessibility to a cluster of units and houses on top of a hill, are renovated in order to refresh

their function. Such types of upgrading are very important, as they emphasize a certain type of urban design that corresponds to the Arabic style of Architecture; the human-scaled paths and alleys connecting clusters of different housing settings.

Figure 3.7: Adding elements as type of upgrading



Source: Tawil 2004

Finally, in this section, a third type of upgrading is shown and illustrated through figure 3.7 that gives an example of added elements in the camps. In Madaba camps for instance, a pedestrian bridge is installed between the two parts of the urban structure of the camp. The function was to particularly serve the children passing through the main street from their homes at one side to the school on the other side of the street. Such upgrading types were studied carefully by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation in order to achieve an integrated overall structure of the setting.

In this section, I tried to portray some puzzle pieces that can form nearly a complete image of the present situation of the refugee camps in Jordan as well as an image of them after being applied to the upgrading process within the framework of the Social Productivity Program and Community Infrastructure Projects.

Still, some photos of what was shown in the status before upgrading like the shape the units have, are not that much considered in the upgrading process. One can find and see these weak structures even in the mean time where it should be on much better level than before. This calls for other types or other directions of upgrading. What exactly should be undertaken will be shown in this study? As already said, this research will try to define the needs and the most actual relevant problems the inhabitants are facing and try to find ways of solving them with the inhabitants. In other words, this research will try to design planning with the inhabitants and not for them. According to the hypothesis; maintenance of development can be best achieved if beneficial persons carry out their own development, this could be a reason why many faces of the camp are not maintained or kept up the way they should be. This implies as well trying to avoid having the inhabitants being their as passive observers.

3.2.2 Analytical perspective on previous projects in refugee camps in Jordan

This section will be divided into three parts; an overview on the different approaches and undertakings done in the refugee camps in Jordan, a small discourse evolving around these projects, whether or not they satisfy criteria for an effective development and an own perspective what could complement to these processes and get integrated to

the accomplishments already done.

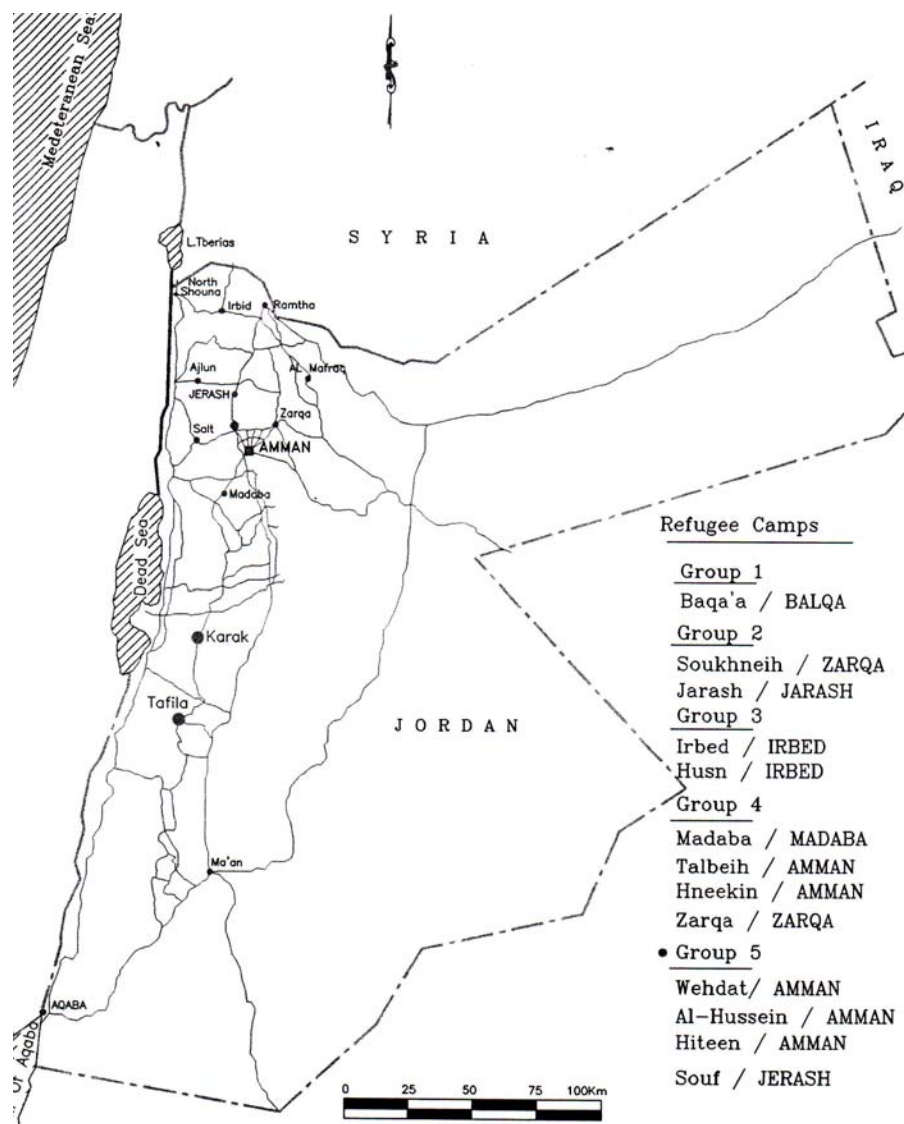
As already mentioned in section 3.1.2, the Social Productivity Programme is a national undertaking by the Government of Jordan supported and auspicated by the World Bank through its mission (the mission from the Infrastructure Development Group MNSID of the Middle East and North Africa Region) that visited Jordan from the 10-22.09.1997 to assist the Ministry of planning in launching the Community Infrastructure Project¹². As a result for this initiative, the community infrastructure project was assigned by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation, a Jordanian governmental body to a German-Jordanian Joint Venture comprising CES Consulting Engineers Salzgitter GmbH along with the IGIP Ingenieuresellschaft für Internationale Planungsaufgaben from the German side and the JCE Jordanian Consulting Engineer from the Jordanian side.

This programme aimed at improving the living conditions for the residents of crowded areas. For that aim, the German Government through its agency, the German Development Bank (KFW), contributed to and supported the programme with 10,000,000 EUR. So the programme was established by the Government of Jordan and was supported by different NGOs on top of them; the World Bank and the KFW.

This was a small background on the emergence of the programme that consisted of many phases and many groups of implementation. In this regard, I will mention an example of the target groups and that is a group of six settlements; four refugee camps: Suf, Wihdat, Al Hussein and Hitteen camps and two squatter areas; Safh Al Nuzha squatter area and Al Lawziyeh squatter area. The squatter areas are differentiated from the refugee camps, in the sense that their upgrading will be directly designed by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation's staff and not assigned to the joint venture. For this group of refugee camps (group 5 in figure 3.8), Suf camp was chosen as a pilot project in order to assess the impact of the upgrading process on the camp status. The camps considered are shown in figure 3.8, which comprises all the 13 refugee camps in Jordan.

¹²Source: DPA, copy from the draft memorandum of understandings for the project launching workshop for the CIP conducted during the World Bank Mission 1997.

Figure 3.8: camp groups within the Social Productivity program / Community Infrastructure Project



Source: HUDC Housing and Urban Development Corporation, April 1999

The phases of the project were systematic and efficient. They started with determining the aims of the project that is already illustrated. It was followed by a description on what measures should be done according to certain terms of reference such as the following cited in the inception report of the community infrastructure programme:

- Identification of site and tender boundaries
- Plotting and marking of existing constructions, facilities and systems such as above-ground water supply and sewerage pipelines, high pressure lines etc
- Marking all existing roads and pavements and identifying lengths and widths of paved areas as well as identifying existing fences around pavements and plot front-ages
- Identification of positions and levels of connection of roads, water pipelines, rain-water drainage, electricity and telephone poles and lines with main existing systems outside the site
- Establishment of monitoring points for centre lines intersections at street intersections and fixing other works on them

- Others listed in the inception report by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation

Some operational processes followed these measures, where inventory field surveys were conducted for the consultants to become able to establish a comprehensive assessment of the existing conditions of infrastructure in the camps and squatter areas. These surveys incorporated mainly infrastructural elements such as; the roads, paved or unpaved and checking the condition in order to calculate exactly what materials and quantities they need for reaching the required standards. They evaluated further, the water supply systems; potable water, waste water and sewage and storm water drainage systems. Another aspect of the assessment of infrastructure was the electrical supplies and telephone networks. By giving this small description of the survey work done by the consultants in this programme, one can easily notice the focus point of the programme; the infrastructure; everything said and implemented was evolved around infrastructural issues and assist infrastructural decisions. Regarding this type of upgrading, the implementation projects were done very sufficiently; they included through the different levels of survey and the different evaluation for action processes, many results according to the reports provided by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation, that were capable of lifting up the standards of the living conditions. Furthermore, these results helped in founding technically a new image of a refugee camps or squatter settlement, one with solid grounds. Nevertheless, these projects dealt as said strongly with the technical physical sides of infrastructure, but at the same time less regarded the social economical factors and potentials for upgrading.

Although, the socio-economic aspects were considered in the inception report of the Housing and Urban Development Corporation, and although the aim of this type of upgrading was to achieve a significant degree of participation of the beneficiaries in expressing and prioritizing their perceived needs to the technical infrastructure measures planned, still, it was more or less directed to the infrastructure measures as already said in the report. Participation and participatory appraisals towards socio-economic matters and problems shall be in my opinion, more dealing with behavioral analysis and more flexible in the kind of information obtained. Further, the inhabitant in the sense of participation will rather be active and responsible if he was given this task wholeheartedly. This leads further to the issue mentioned before; why do not those camps enjoy maintained upgrading? It is in my opinion and according to different authors like Tocqueville (1991), because they were not given the unconditional choice in deciding what and how. They were involved and invited to participate but guided to a certain direction and restricted to one topic. This leads to a hypothesis of the work and that is; by giving a big scope of participation where freedom of choice and determination of needs and solutions exist, inhabitants will become rather responsible and active and will therefore, try their best to keep this going. In this sense, Tocqueville (1976) argued: "the self governance in a community, the right of the inhabitants to practise different faces of unions and communities in order to meet, determine their problems and solve them, and the freedom of choice and opinion, these all create an active responsible member of a community. Through a role similar to juridical jury role, they are able to practise and apply these rights; they feel confided and taken seriously. Eventually, they get responsible of not loosing these rights" (Tocqueville 1976)¹³. This shape of responsibility creation and

13 The cited text in German: Die Selbstregierung in der Gemeinde, das Recht und die Praxis der Bürger, sich in Vereinen zusammenschliessen, um bestimmte Probleme zu lösen, die freien Parteien und die öffentliche Meinung machen die Bürger zu aktiven verantwortlichen Gesellschaftsgliedern. Durch die Geschworenengerichtsbarkeit wer-

its impact on the behaviour and decision making in a society will be localized and in depth dealt with in this study, where no certain governing path is to be set in the shaping of needs or ideas of the inhabitants. The trend in this study is to give the beneficiaries space for freely determining, perceiving and prioritizing their needs and then try to motivate them to participate in the process of overcoming those problems and trying to draw lines for future development that corresponds to their situation.

However, this study is not trying to contradict with the previous undertakings that are according to the resources I had in this regard, very valuable and ones that achieves creating a solid foundation for further developments. From the above described methods and approaches, this study should and will be a complementary step forward in the upgrading of the refugee camps in Jordan.

3.2.3 Necessity for a new type of planning: participatory planning

As a result of portraying the status of the refugee camps in Jordan in what shape they were drawn, and after giving some shots of how they were upgraded and in what means, a certain thought will occur followed by some questions. The camps are improved in many ways especially and mostly in their physical infrastructure. But why are they still shabby? And why didn't the concerned, presented in the inhabitants of those camps, take care of the status it should now possess? I would say on basis of some facts and observations done in the camps during the field surveys as well as on basis of some interviews; that the approach seemed to be not the optimal one in this case to meet the needs. This leads to figure out what options we have in this setting.

Why is participation decided as a main issue in the case of developing an action plan or in the case of needing other types of upgrading? In the first thoughts of deciding what should be done in this research, the same questions that are mentioned previously in this section kept on turning up in every sense; every initiative done in the refugee camps was meant to improve the living conditions of those refugees, so much capital was injected in the refugee camps and so many efforts were made to promote the living standards in them. It was indeed felicitous in the sense of physical upgrading and still not that much pleasant because it was not necessarily maintained.

Signifying the refugee camps, after the implementation of such various projects, with high rates of unemployment or at least not satisfactory socio-economic conditions for their inhabitants, stirs the need to dig out, where the gaps are and what missing points indicate in all those processes. Therefore, this research will practically define the certain needs of a refugee and lead him through the process where he finds and defines at the end his identity in the present environment. This research will aim at giving the refugees the motivation to contribute to the development of his setting. It will further engage him in the determination of what should be implemented in his camp although it can be counted as temporal. This contribution to the upgrading process will be shaped through various types of community participation.

My sole intent and role was to act as a recorder of their perceptions, as well as to attempt to understand. Rarely have we listened to what the refugees have to say about their experiences. The media have generally portrayed refugees in a collective sense as a faceless mass of statistics, a nameless sea of bodies descending the stairs of a modern aircraft to enter their new country, as recipients of American generosity (Proudfoot 1990: 62).

den sie in der Anwendung ihres Rechtes geübt, das sie als ihr Recht erfahren, das ihnen anvertraut ist und für dessen Anwendung sie verantwortlich sind

I will adopt those words, and continue in the role taken in this study by listening to and understanding the different perceptions of the refugees. But try as well to motivate the potential that is hidden in every person. Discuss the situation in a sense that allows the refugees to set the rules and open the path and direct it to reach their desired aims in their community. Furthermore, the planner in this case will act as a mediator and not as a decision maker, although, the decisions, in this case, are taken by the administrative bodies. Still, through balanced collaboration with such official authorities, decisions can be taken and decided by according to diverse discussions with the inhabitants. This leads to the necessity of applying the participatory approaches as a means for reaching the maximum potential of the community inhabitants. It is however, not to be foreseen, whether the collaboration between the local community and the administration will function.

Finally to this point, in spite of the general thinking of planners that building houses would restore the lost roots and self-respect, and this is true in normal overcrowded-compounds with deteriorated living conditions, the shelter is a fundamental human need. Still in the case of refugee camps, there are other integral and important conditions to fulfil in the urban regeneration. People need to gain back control in managing their lives as well as dignity and confidence from their accomplishments. Therefore, they need to be trained and supported in taking responsibility. This research suggests in this sense a different approach to such communities; an approach where they feel responsible for what they decide and not only that but try to maintain their success and try to yield more output in every step they take. This argument could also be applied on Jordanian citizens in Jordanian cities. The degree of the need to regain self confidence and motivation is the significant issue in this discussion, and not the concept itself. The Palestinian refugees perceive themselves as victims of war. This perception has been accompanying them the last five decades. Therefore, the investment in their motivation is much bigger than other Jordanian settlements.

Upon that, the next chapter will try investigating in the concept of participation and see about its applications and ways of implementation.

4 Participation as a Concept of Empowerment

“Tell me, I forget. Show me, I remember. Involve me, I understand” (Moore and Davis 1997, cited in Haward 1998:1).

From this citation, one concludes that the greater involvement in the planning process leads to greater understanding and acceptance of the plans, in which communities take a vital part for the disposition of their spaces.

The aim of this chapter is to come up with effective and applicable methods through which, the needs and potentials of the local community in the refugee setting can be leveled up and further used for the future development plans of the camps.

Generally, definitions and types of proper participatory appraisals will be discussed. Therefore, a framework of participatory planning concepts will be drawn towards the resolving of the research aims, developing planning guidelines for the upgrading of the refugee camps in Jordan, which will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 5. The various types of participation will be then elaborated in order to come up with an optimal method attuned to the case of the research on the one hand, and which can be more practical and conveying effective results in the Jordanian planning context on the other hand. Furthermore, this chapter will shed a light on the participatory appraisals in Jordan examining the Jordanian local definition of participation. Consequently, a new definition of participation in the Palestinian refugee camps will be then shaped as a reference for the analytical part of the study.

4.1 Participation in planning paradigms

This part will first, demonstrate how participatory planning paradigms were resulted from the inconveniences of the conservative technocratic planning. Then, it will highlight the diverse planning concepts that lead to an optimal participatory deployment in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. In that sense, communicative and collaborative planning, incremental planning, democratic planning as well as rational planning will create the needed foundation upon which participation will be further framed and better clarified to get localized in the setting of the refugee camps in Jordan.

Several questions will be used for examining participation in the planning paradigms such as: How is participation resembled as a concept of empowerment? Why should empowerment be of such an importance to refugee camps' settings? How can participation be a vital issue in the development of refugee camps in Jordan?

This can be justified through explaining how development was traditionally understood and implied, and what kind of inconveniences and unfulfilled accomplishments it managed. In this sense, many authors and planning leaders have referred to that; Friedmann, Forester and Chambers among others have criticized the conventional faces of development as well as the traditional scopes of field surveys. Robert Chambers summed up the disadvantages of conventional surveyed:

- *Preference is given to factual information over people-related information*
- *Poorer people are too easily overlooked*
- *The labour and expense involved are out of proportion when compared to the results obtained*
- *The necessary information is elicited, analysed and used almost exclusively by outsiders (Chambers 1991: 516-517).*

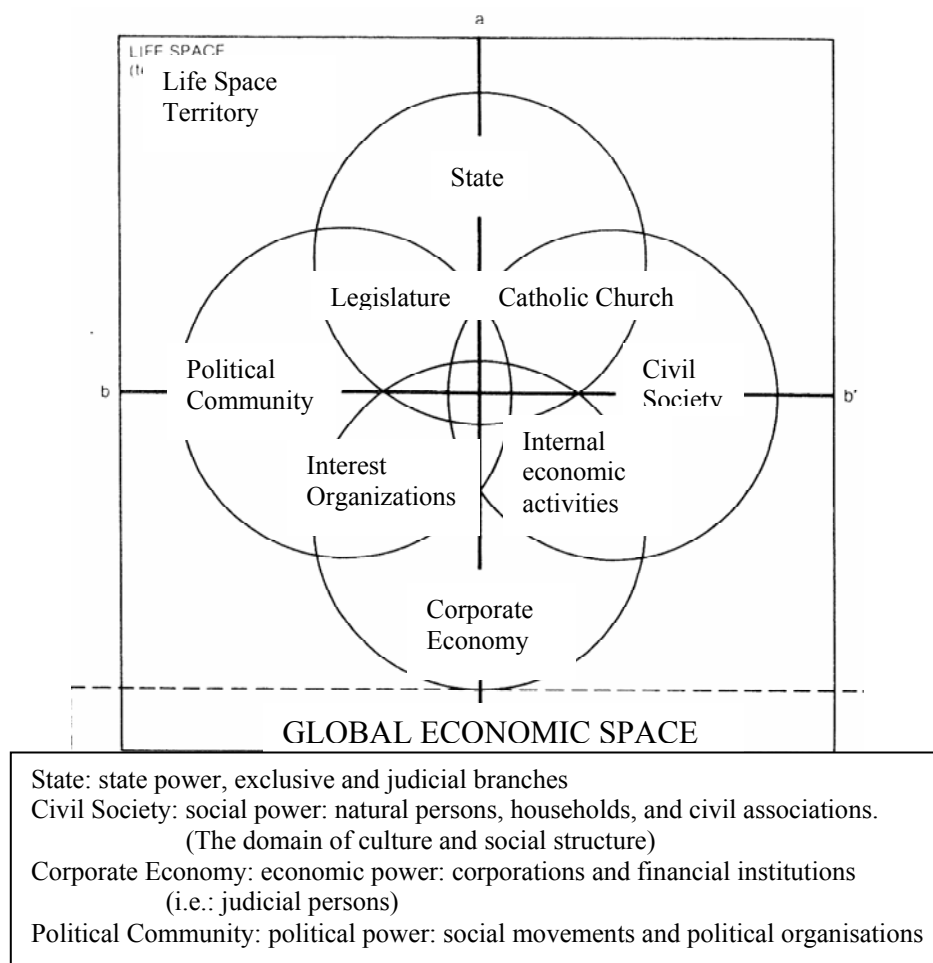
The call for new types of planning is resembled in an example of the living situation of a male refugee living in a well constructed house, working directly with the camp improvement committee and with direct contact to the Department of Palestinian Affairs or the United Nations Relief and Works Agency representatives in the camp, differs quite considerably from that of a widow, who is starving and sick, is eking out a miserable existence in a prefab, still, cannot heal from the raining drops through her steel sheet ceiling in a remote and inaccessible area and therefore, remains invisible to the expert. Subsequently, social surveys are not always giving the real picture of a settlement. Through such conventional surveys, the perceived needs and future development of the settlement by those less fortunate cannot get to surface. Therefore, planning networks inside the settlement will not be representative and successful.

Others like John Friedmann argued by observing final results of conventional developments. He says:

What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? ... if one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result development (Friedmann 1992: 1).

In this regard, he stimulated thoughts and justified in that other types of developments that should be considered in order to devolve more convenient results at the end. He pursued by pointing out the empowerment and the social impulse to state its desires and inputs into the development process. Friedmann argued and justified empowerment with being a capital of households in a way that illustrated how households as disposing over three kinds of power: social, political and psychological. He discusses how to perceive the alternative development as centered on people and their environment rather than production and profit (Friedmann 1992: 31). Shown by the diagram 4.1 below, Friedmann gave an abstract basis on which the relations of the spatial actors and spatial powers interact. It is obvious that every domain has its own autonomous core of institutions according to Friedmann but what constitutes the type of development required, is the concentration on one more than the other domain especially in the regard that these domains form these boundaries in a very schematic abstract way but in reality, they tend to merge and the boundaries tend to break down.

Figure 4.1: The four domains of social practice



Source: Friedmann 1992

The reason why such a structure has been shown here, is to consider it as a starting point for understanding the foundation on which the alternative development, in other words empowerment, was further yielded. By quoting John Friedmann:

“An alternative development involves a process of social and political empowerment whose long-term objectives is to rebalance the structure of power in society by making state action more accountable, strengthening the power of civil society in the management of its own affairs, and making corporate business more socially responsible...” (Friedmann 1992: 31).

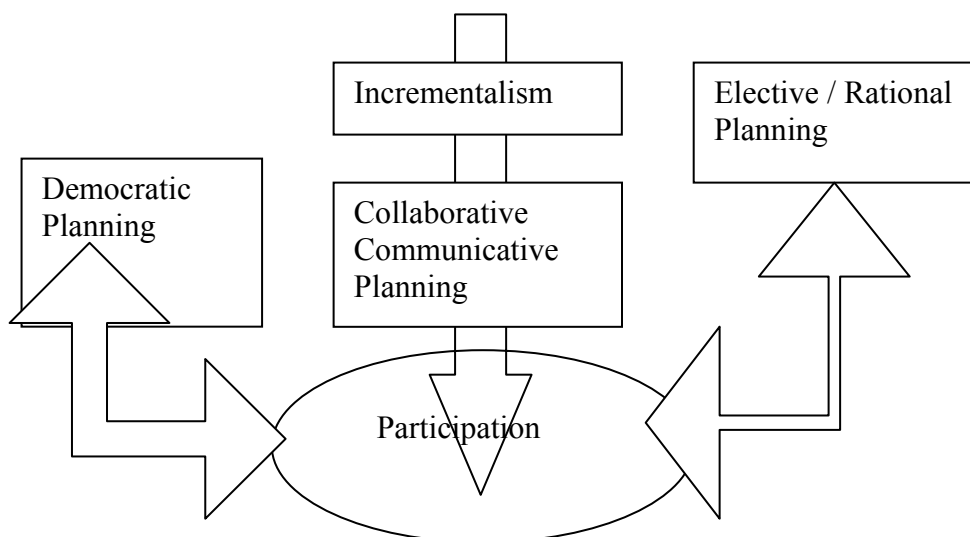
Furthermore, Friedmann emphasizes empowerment to be a core factor in including the local communities into the state governance, assuming that through exclusion, privileges can be abused and corruption can happen (Friedmann 1992: 20). This assumption is seen to be one of the main causes and motives to tend to adopt empowerment as a main theoretical instrument for processing the study. The more the camp residents are engaged in the planning process and the decision making process, the more responsible and loyal they would be to the success of the process.

Healey has also shed a light on the conventional planning. She describes the state that every field of venture has its richness on ideas, practices and traditional debates (Healey 1997: 7). This store of ideas and debates act as a background upon which it can be built. But the fear in his opinion is for these experiences and intellectual resources of the various types to act as a constraint on intellectual innovation. She goes further;

planning tradition has generally been trapped inside a modernist instrumental rationalism for many years and is only now beginning to escape.

Figure 4.2 shows the relations between various types of planning paradigms that are of importance for an excessive discussion of participation. These are seen as diverse components that end up with a well considered concept of participation that is feasible on different grounds.

Figure 4.2: Relation between theoretical concepts leading to optimal participation



Source: Discussion with Sebastian Mueller 2005

Planners in the different types of planning have diverse roles. Sometimes, they act as facilitators, in others, as advocates for the local community and sometimes contributors to the process of planning. The concepts to be discussed in the sections below are as mentioned, components resulting in a well considered participation concept. They are to define the needed role of the planner in every case, and upon the criteria of the different types, the decision of the optimal approach for the refugee community can be decided.

However, the above mentioned planning paradigms are not fully separated from each other. In other words, they tend to merge and get overlapped in many ways, still they have individual implications on the participatory concept to be used and therefore, they are discussed separately.

4.1.1 Communicative collaborative planning

The role of the planner in collaborative planning is shifted from an expert role toward a facilitator of a consensus-driven participatory approach to decision making (McCann 2003: 159-178, cited in Peterman 2004). The planner has in this regard, a neutral role with no alignment with any specific stakeholder viewpoint (Peterman 2004).

Collaborative planning suggests the coordination and cooperation between the different stakeholders in order to assure the contribution in opinion of the various groups belonging to the setting. This assumes a shared decision making that affects all concerned actors.

Healy (1997) suggested a range of attributes that should be satisfied by the systemic design of the governance processes. These conclude in a successful participative collaborative planning process:

-
- *It should recognise the range and variety of stakeholders concerned with changes to local and urban region environment, their social networks, the diversity of their cultural points of reference and their systems of meaning*
 - *It should acknowledge that much of the work of the governance occurs outside the formal agencies of government and should seek to spread power from government outside the agencies of the state but without creating new bastions of unequal power*
 - *It should open up opportunities for informal invention and for local initiatives. It should enable and facilitate encouraging diversity in routines and styles of organising rather than imposing simple ordering principles on the dynamics of social and economic life (Healey 1997:288).*

Those attributes from Healey have formed a foundation for better governance regarding collaborative planning particularly. Whereas, Margerum (1999, cited in Peterman 2004), identified the components of collaborative planning for an urban planning process:

- *The problem setting phase, which includes bringing stakeholders together, obtaining their commitments to work collaboratively and developing a structure to facilitate the collaborative process*
- *The direction setting phase, which includes stakeholders working together to identify problems, exchange information, resolve conflicts, determine common goals, achieve consensus and identify implementation actions*
- *The implementation phase, which includes stakeholders establishing a structure and approach for implementation, implementing actions and monitoring and measuring outcomes (Margerum 1999, cited in Peterman 2004: 271).*

Assuming that the broad concept of collaborative planning starts from the participative design of governance and the intention to outsource the power to the stakeholders, and that the process for a certain planning cycle acts according to the three levels of collaboration listed above, this research can then place its strengths on the collaborative process to yield better outcome in the refugee setting and then attempt for a deeper sense of collaboration on an institutional level. This concept could be an optimal one for the delivery of effective results in the setting of the refugee camps, seeing in that, its potential in including the local community in the planning process and converting its passive attitude into real engagement towards development of their environment.

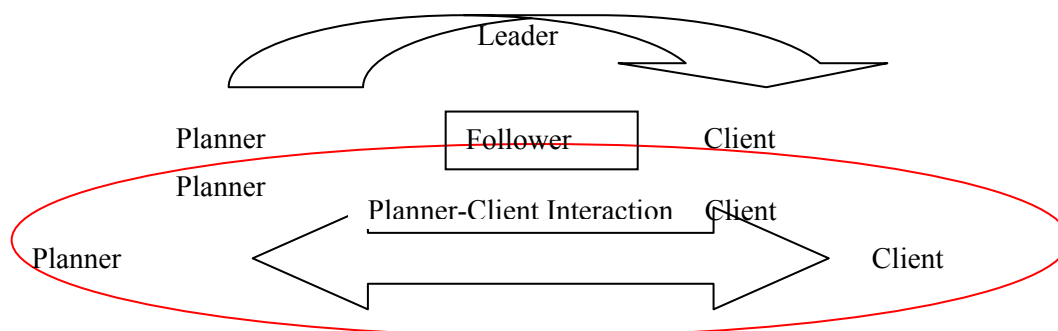
Unfortunately, collaborative planning alone cannot optimally fulfil the task of achieving effective planning in the setting. Based on the conclusion of Margerum (1999), collaborative efforts usually succeed in producing achievements, frequently succeed in producing products, but are nearly always unable to influence policies, programmes, decision making or the allocation of resources and funding. Therefore, parameters from other types of planning that affect these issues should be integrated to this concept.

Still, promoters of collaborative approach stick to the idea that this concept of planning is a strategy of dealing with conflict where other approaches failed (Innes and Booher 1999: 412, cited in Peterman 2004: 271). It is all about mediation of the interests of powerful groups, while promoting the interests of the less powerful (Julian 1994, cited in Peterman 2004: 271).

In this manner, planners win the role of a mediator and facilitator as also mentioned above. The role of that is underlined, as well, by Fagence (1977), where he stressed the importance of an interactive dialogue between planners and planned. He argues that this is the basis of public participation. This relation is shown in figure 4.3. The best relation between the planners and the planned is the combination between the role of a leader of

the process and the follower upon the desires of the planned. This is then the interactive relation, where both bodies can contribute to the process of upgrading.

Figure 4.3: Planner-client information flow



Source: Pocock & Hudson 1978

As a result, communicative collaborative planning will signify the basic approach for addressing the refugee settings. The fact that the refugee communities are packed with complexities resulting from the imposed changes in their lives and the less involvement and control they are allowed over their own affairs, put them in a position where their motives, attitudes and values contradict and conflict with each other. This is basically justified and clarified by the cognitive dissonance theory.

Cognitive dissonance is the perception of incompatibility between two cognitions, which can be defined as any element of knowledge; including attitude, emotion, belief or behaviour¹⁴. One of the principles of this theory is that it results, when an individual has to choose between attitudes and behaviours that are contradictory. This dissonance eliminates when the importance of this conflicting attitude and contradictory one is reduced (Festinger 1962). In the refugee setting, this dissonance is represented in the contradictory attitude of hoping to return on the one hand, and willing to integrate and develop in the hosting country on the other hand. This kind of contradictory aspirations and values of the space and time form an attractive status to get addressed with a collaborative approach. Thereby, the refugee community would be actively engaged, would confront each other with their problems and conflicts. With the right mediation and facilitation coming from the planner, they can also collaboratively get directed to practical solutions and future oriented strategies.

However, applying absolute concepts of collaboration is not to be unconditionally used. It should rather be supported by other types of planning concepts that can balance the final product. This will be clearer after discussing the other types of planning paradigms affecting the upgrading of the refugee settlements.

4.1.2 Incremental planning

Incremental planning is an action-based planning concept. It is the notion that public policy is usually brought about through small, piecemeal alterations. Incrementalism is said to be typical of pluralism, where the many veto groups make it difficult to enact major synoptic change¹⁵. It is a pragmatic concept that begins with incomplete initial

¹⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/cognitive_dissonance, cited on 5.07.2006

¹⁵ <http://www.politicalscience.utoledo.edu/faculty/lindeen/glos3260.htm> cited on the

data base, and is of consistent need for external communication during the planning process to improve information (Sager 1994). It is a process of learning and feedback all the way through the planning process.

Incremental planning suggests an action-directed theoretical base that is important for the planning in the Palestinian refugee settings. It is applicable in this setting because of the lack of long-term planning concepts that includes the local community and considers it as a main source of information. It is also optimal because of its perception of a society as an aggregate of individuals and not as homogenous, which fits in the concept of a refugee community. This is later reflected in chapter 5, where the refugee community is represented through different typologies and not as one entity.

Incremental planning means going for the first “good enough” solution (Sager 1994:11) that guarantees an effective result. Subsequently, the further results will vary and sequentially get developed. The ends of incremental planning are not taken as given throughout the process, therefore, instead of adjusting means to ends, that are not clarified, ends are chosen that are appropriate to available or nearly available means (Sager 1994: 10).

Small-steps procedure is justified through the wish to enhance agreement and the need to understand and survey the implications of proposed changes (Sager 2004). Therefore, the function of incremental planning or step-wise planning, in the case of refugee camps, has a democratic human dimension that promotes the passive attitude of the local community towards getting engaged and integrated in the new surroundings. Through this type of planning, the refugees are expected to gradually start abandoning the victim attitude they inherited over generations, and maybe start reacting as citizens belonging to their setting.

In the framework of pragmatism, this kind of planning was implemented and known as the concept of “disjointed Incrementalism” by (Braybrooke and Lindblom 1972) as well as “perspective Incrementalism” and “planning by projects” by (Ganser, Siebel and Sieverts 1993: 112-118). According to Lindblom and Braybrooke, the planning rules for incremental planning are summarised in¹⁶:

- The selection of a strategy based on minimal change
- Consideration of limited number of strategic alternatives
- Limitation of the number of studied alternatives in their consequences
- Mutual adaptation of aims and media
- Flexible determination of the problem
- Sequential analysis interpretation of data
- Concentration of strategies on the concrete failures
- A societal coordination of analysis is not necessarily required

14.02.06

¹⁶ The original planning rules in German are:

- 1- Auswahl einer Strategie aufgrund nur geringer Verbesserungen
- 2- Nur eine begrenzte Anzahl von Strategischen Alternativen in Betracht ziehen
- 3- Nur eine beschränkte Anzahl von Alternativen in ihren Konsequenzen untersuchen
- 4- Gegenseitige Anpassung von Zielen und Mitteln
- 5- Problembereich nur vage abgrenzen
- 6- Analyse und Bewertung erfolgen sequentiell
- 7- Strategien werden auf die Beseitigung von konkreten Missständen konzentriert
- 8- eine gesellschaftliche Koordination von Analyse und Bewertung ist unnötig

The lack of perfect information assessed for the refugee settlements and the lack of an organized systemic planning base in the Palestinian refugee camps, makes incremental planning significant in the setting. It is therefore, encouraged to integrate this type of planning to the collaborative planning concept discussed in section 4.1.2 and maybe to other modes of planning for the promotion of the living standards in the refugee camps in Jordan. Sequential and gradual steps are more likely to convey tailor-made solutions in the case of the study.

4.1.3 Democratic Planning

Mentioning democratic planning leads us to the central tenet of participatory democracy written by (Pateman 1970: 22-44) and (Pitkin & Shumer 1982) that:

“People should have substantial and equal opportunities to participate directly in decisions that affect them” (Fung 2004:4).

Local ordinary individuals are to be given the authority to take part in crucial governance decisions about the goals, priorities and strategies of matters concerning their lives and their neighbourhoods. This approach was proven to be of good results by Fung (2004) through various examples in public agencies. Fung also states that such kind of empowerment liberates simple residents to implement their ideas. He extends that devolving extensive powers from the head quarters out to the neighbourhood leads to the transformation of local entities into participatory democratic public organisations (Fung 2004: 3-8).

Participatory democratic directions and devolutions have proven in this case to result in responsive, fair, innovative and effective systems. Might as well improve the quality of public action compared to the centralized agencies. He adds that centralization may be effective in some places under some circumstances but not others, whereas; decentralization allows localities to formulate solutions tailored to their particular needs or preferences (Tiebout 1956 cited in Fung 2004: 4).

By transferring extensive power to the locals, according to participatory democratic planning, the local community in the refugee camps will win back their belief and trust of being able to cause changes in the system affecting them. Because of the complexities and ambivalence, the refugee community has been characterized with; the planning decisions are significantly dependent on the belief and emotions systems correlating in the setting. Therefore, it is important to start with an extreme democratic devolution in the Palestinian refugee camps in order to raise the local community up to the level of self confidence and allow them to decide what is best for their setting. However, they do not possess the needed technical knowledge for directing development. Therefore, the need for a balancing planning mode is also significant. This will be further discussed in the rational planning concept.

4.1.4 Rational Planning

Further to (Fung 2004), giving the ordinary residents the absolute autonomy is not what is meant here, but giving it still to them along with what he called ad hoc forms of support for local autonomy where central authorities organize themselves to provide systemic forms of assistance for local planning and problem solving. This leads to a more proper name for the process rather than democratic planning, which is, democratically inspired strategies. Democratically inspired strategies can offer decisive advantages to the result at the end and yield the largest improvement in the public performance

through including training for participating residents, the providing of technical assistance and through the follow up of the progress by central authorities.

The rational mode of planning is mainly distinguished through product-oriented processes and accomplishment-oriented processes. It is a rather technocratic theory that shows less attention to the fairness towards the local community and less social deduction in its process. Consequently, it underpins the differentiation between the rational use of means to achieve given ends and the rational deduction of the goals themselves (Sager 1994: 43).

Rational planning sets forwards from the argument that incremental and democratic planning are correspondent methods to high uncertainty, ignorance and distorted communication (Sager 1994). This seems to be very risky for the rationalists, for they go for means-end processes, where the ends are mostly defined and acted upon. However, the rational planning concept seems to possess much less consideration to the attitudes and behaviours of individuals in a setting, and to their growing perception and cognition of their setting. In this excessive meaning of the mode, planning in Palestinian refugee camps cannot be approached. As previously illustrated, refugee camps are rather be approached with more insightful modes that takes into account the incremental progress of the process. Still, technocratic or rational planning is needed to balance the process with some formal regulations and instructions that direct the process to a certain end. Regarding that the local community needs planners and experts to promote the development as additionally argued by (Fung 2004):

“Liabilities such as parochialism, lack of expertise and resources constraints may impair the problem-solving and administrative capabilities of local organizations relative to centralized forms” (Fung 2004:5-6).

4.1.5 Concluded participatory framework

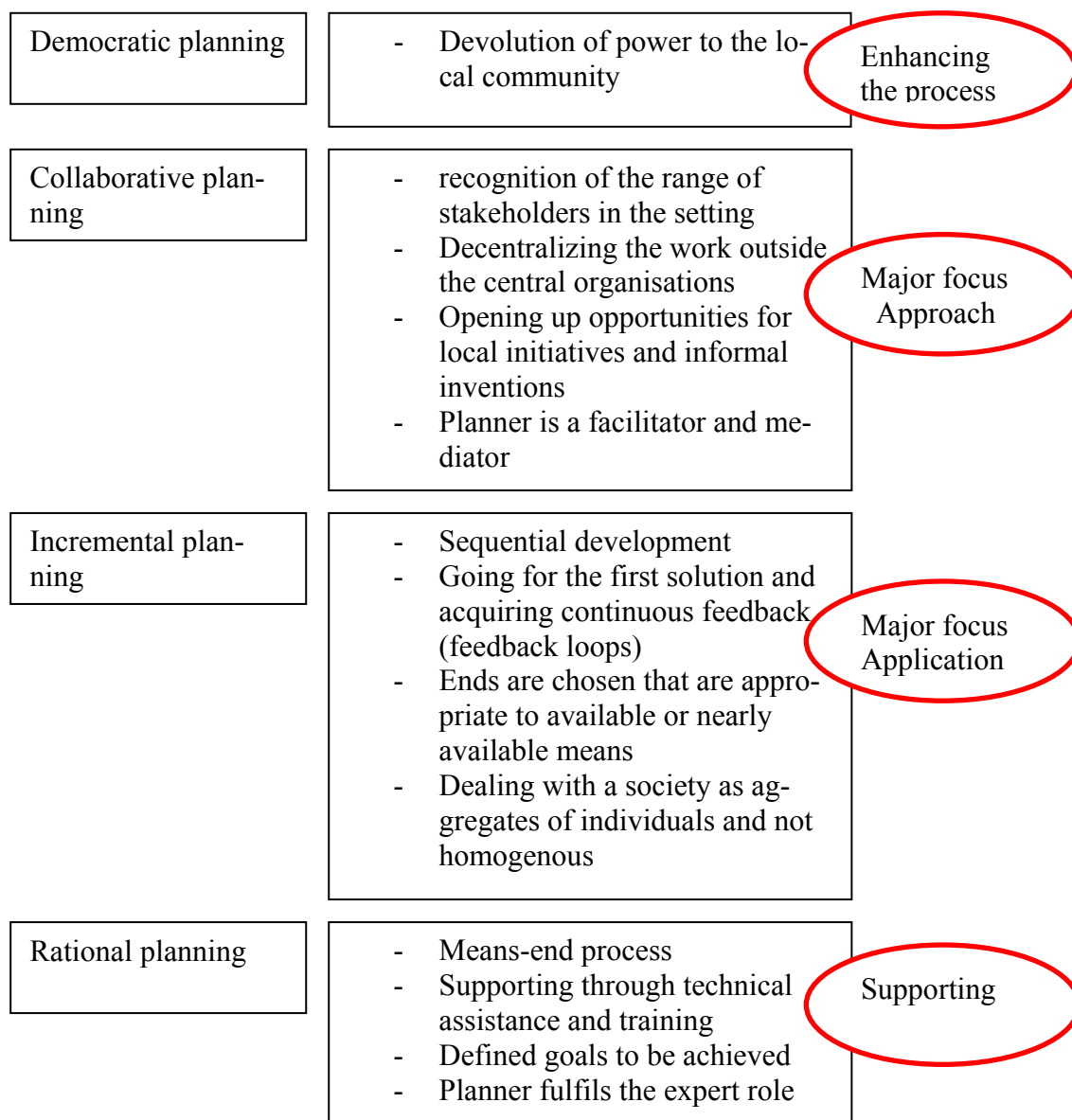
Participation was detected and examined through the various modes of planning illustrated above. The next step is, on the one hand, to conclude, which modes are more appropriate to the Palestinian refugee settlements, and according to which criteria on the other hand.

Some local level planning questions, which were raised by Dalal Clayton & Dent (1993: 15) are determinant questions of what planning on the local level needs to be effectively achieved. Such questions can contribute greatly to the elaboration of the framework of participatory planning resulting from the discussed planning paradigms:

- Do local people want any help, bearing in mind that particular groups within the community may hold different views? If so, how can we help them to improve what they are already doing? How can we help them to identify gaps in their information gathering / analysis process and how can we help to plug these gaps. Are approaches or methods from outside useful and appropriate?
- What external services (government, private sectors, NGO) are needed by local people to assist in the process, technical assistance, finance, etc?
- How can the interests of less-powerful people be protected in the planning process?

(Zazueta 1994) pointed out, “Whether through formal or informal organisations, autocratic or participatory means, people at the grassroots level use vernacular planning processes to define their needs and to take steps necessary to implement them”. The aim in this study is to enable the refugee community to take initiatives and direct them through the needed strategies and methods, that corresponds to their needs and perspectives, to realize those ideas of their.

Figure 4.4: Participatory theoretical framework for the upgrading in the refugee camps in Jordan



Source: Tawil 2006

According to the concluded framework in figure 4.4, collaborative planning and incremental planning signify the main concepts to be applied in this research. This choice is stirred by the reasons:

- Most concepts conveying effective results towards the development of the settlements
- Effective concepts in view of the particular complexity of the refugee communities (cognitive dissonance)

Democratic planning is seen as an inception for motivating the refugee community and bringing them to get actively engaged and involved in the process. This is considered to be of great importance for the conquering of the passive attitude of the refugees that is deeply grown in the residents and cannot be reduced or converted with technocratic or conventional planning methods.

Rational planning will be considered as a supportive mode of planning. Its product- and accomplishment-ended process is of significance to the upgrading process in the refugee camps in Jordan. Planning needs to pursue concrete ends, thereby, the upgrading process will be refined and polished by systematic end-oriented rules.

This is also backed by the conceptual framework of the critical theory of Habermas and Forester. People do not get engaged and participate if no defined tangible end products are strived. Rationality is required to guide reasoning within the competing modes of problem-solving used (Sager 1994).

4.2 Participation in the local context of Jordan

What is the definition of participation in the context of Jordanian cities? Do participatory appraisals exist in the Jordanian context? If they do, how are they applied and what are the local impacts of participatory approaches on the citizen motivation and engagement and eventually the development of the refugee settlements? The definition of participation in the context of the Palestinian refugee camps will be formulated and illustrated in section 7.3, within the results.

Jordan, in its development process, is trying to catch up with the modern development movements, particularly with participation. Participation as a condition for implementing planning proposals seems to be included in most of the latest development plans and projects in the Jordanian context.

Regarding the focus areas and priority fields in Jordan as a third world country, development projects are pointed out at both, women affairs and their involvement in the economic and political life in Jordan, and water sector and the scarcity of water resources in the country.

NGOs render good examples where community empowerment and participatory approaches are well considered and practised. For instance, the Quality of Life Project¹⁷, has reached 20 villages in Jordan. It supported the fact that local residents are to be trained and supported in the planning, management and evaluation of the projects made for their environment. The project had a result in accelerating the process of need identification, democratic community participation and social cohesion. The Quality of Life Project regards the Loan Program as a fundamental component in alleviating poverty. It established four revolving local credit funds in the villages to assist families in initiating micro-enterprises and promoting self-reliance. This project enabled the beneficiaries to start up income-generating projects in the areas of agriculture, nutrition, cottage industries, handicrafts, and services.

This example shows the keenness of the Jordanian government on applying the idea of engaging the communities in the development of their own environment. Such successful examples fortify that the Jordanian undertakings, whether governmental or non governmental, are considering participatory approaches.

However, certain contextual effects may hinder an efficient implementation of participatory approaches in Jordan. Participation in Jordan is still not integrated to the planning law as experienced in the other countries like Germany or other European countries, where public participation in spatial planning processes is regulated by law. Public participation is still on the level of being encouraged by mainly funding organi-

¹⁷ Quality of Life Project initiated in the year 1989 under the directory of Queen Nur el Hussein. It was supported from the WHO as a pioneering model for comprehensive human development to improve the quality of life for the underprivileged communities in Jordan. <http://www.noor.gov.jo/nhf2.htm>, cited on the 20.11.2004

sations for implementing the different projects. Therefore, a proper function of the administrative systems and hierarchal scales are important for a smooth utility of the concept. Thereby, participation can contribute more effectively to the sustainable approach adopted in Jordan. Further, participation can achieve more effective results in the Palestinian refugee context.

The Palestinian refugee camps are settlements of special needs. They are not considered as Jordanian settlements on the basis of the political discourse illustrated in chapter three, still they act in accordance with the Jordanian context. The special image of a refugee camp and its special political situation makes the strategic process for the camp development very unique. Participation, to be utmost efficient in such a setting, should be incorporated with the planning paradigm suggested above. It should radiate through collaborative and incremental planning, get supported by rational elements of planning that moderate the rational mode to fit with the participative logic applied. Section 7.3 will describe then, how participation gained a new image in the refugee camps in Jordan.

4.3 Participation in spatial upgrading approaches

Participation has various models of application in spatial planning processes. It can be on a voting level for elections, it can also be on ethical issues level, like democratic ethics, citizen's ethics, citizen's rights and duties or mutual respect and help. Participatory models can further focus on the social capital issue, considering citizens to be the social capital. However, participation in the spatial process is not about preference, which method or model to be applied, but rather, which method matches with the situation to be investigated.

The first part of this section will be with reference to conventional planning techniques and the results they convey in the context of the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. Consequently, the need and importance for new types of planning will be emphasized to be applied in the setting. Some ideas on the manner, how participation is thought will be introduced to get examined along the research.

Spatial planners always thought that through the upgrading and promotion of the infrastructure, the socio-economic status of the livings will vary. This may be true in some cases. It is still not enough for the refugee settlements of Jordan. Various reasons, justifying the particular case of the refugees' situation in the camps of Jordan were already illustrated in the previous parts of the research. Nevertheless, the high dissonant status, in which the refugees are situated, makes it difficult for them to respond to conservative modes of planning, much more difficult to sustain their improvement in the camps.

The idea behind the projects implemented in the refugee camps by the government of Jordan was to enable the Palestinian refugees to move on in their lives in healthy and less deteriorated environments. It is therefore, intended in this research, to pursue this track but in a way that emphasizes the role of the community. The potential in such approach is to enjoy real engagement and responsibility from the residents' side in the refugee camps. It will further reflect on the identity of the space if the refugees had a contribution to its image. When local perspectives are seriously elevated and developed into planning strategies, local community will have more confidence in his abilities and will be, therefore, more motivated and more active in the upgrading process.

As demonstrated in chapter three, how the previous projects were implemented in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, they had a big effect on the lives of the refugees in those camps. Still, the asphalted streets and the paved roads on the one hand, and the

modifications to the different deteriorated details in building structures, were not kept maintained. Some examples are shown in figures 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 that provide with a picture of the refugee camps in Jordan after implementing the various infrastructure projects.

Figure 4.5: Upgrading in Suf camp – potential for public spaces



Source: Tawil 2004

Figure 4.6: Upgrading in Suf camp – still deteriorated conditions



Source: Tawil 2004

Figure 4.7: Upgrading in Suf camp – little effect on building conditions



Source: Tawil 2004

Different styles and grades of the urban context in the refugee camps are shown in these figures. They emphasize the insufficient approach gone through in the camps. Therefore, upgrading based on more collaborative planning concepts is requested. Types of development actions other than traditional modifications and improving infrastructure are needed.

The theme of the process is the pressing need for development and upgrading, which seeks the identification of the perceptions of the residents. Therefore, encouraged active public involvement is seen as a major prerequisite in steering emphasis away from western style planning to appropriate frameworks that match the local needs. This has to be directed away from purely technical solutions to what are essentially complex social problems (Potter 1985: 149).

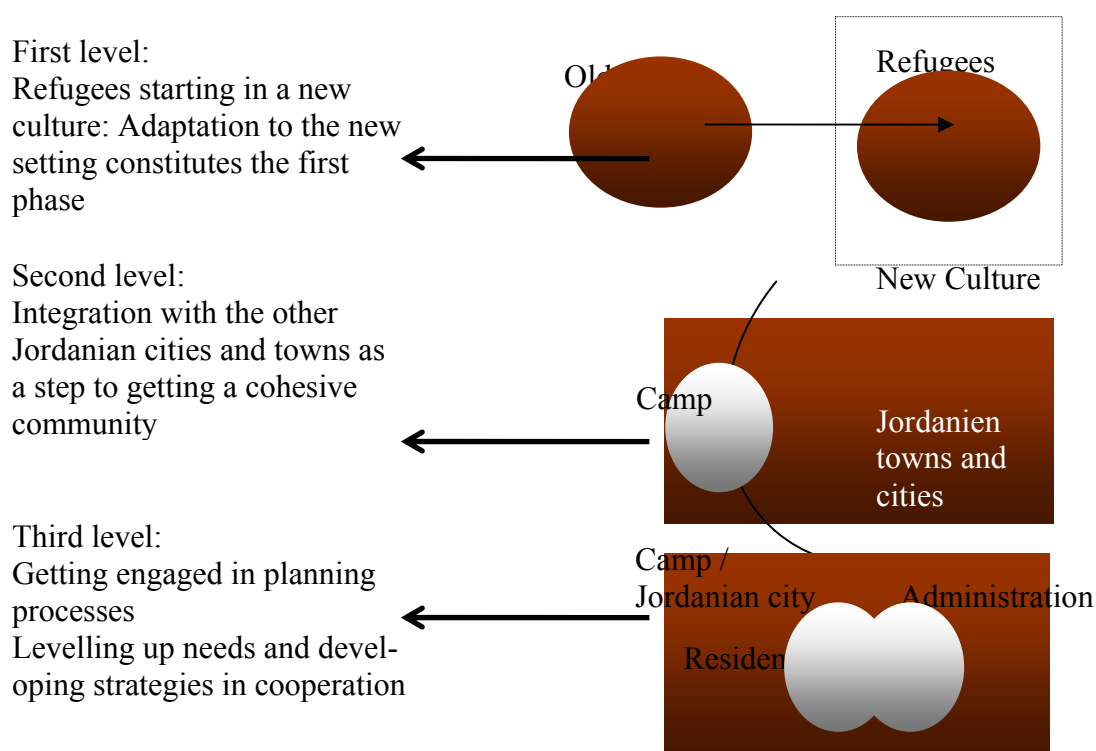
Refugee camps in Jordan enjoy three levels of participation as shown in figure 4.8. In order to achieve participatory approaches for the refugees in Jordanian cities, some significance ought to be first given to the fact that refugees had a relatively old culture and were forced to live in a new one. According to Norbert Elias and John Scotson (1965), the older society would have power on the new comers and the new comers would not feel belonging to the setting because they are considered to be the strangers or the temporal guests and that is the case in the refugee camps. Public participation is accordingly, considered as a means of giving the refugees the feeling of belonging what they miss. Public participation serves three important aims according to Conyers (1982):

- It acts as a means of gaining insights into local conditions and the needs of local people, which is the pragmatic rationale for public involvement. Plans are not likely to be successful without such basic information to help identify public preferences correctly (Sewell and Coppock 1977)
- It is logical that individuals are more likely to be committed to plans if they are involved in their preparation.
- Sewell and Coppock (1977) argue that planning is for people. It is a basic democratic right, that people should be involved in their own development.

Refugee camps still, do not have that connection to the neighbouring cities unless for job opportunities in some cases, or governmental formalities, knowing that refugee camps are responsible from the governmental office of the district in which they are located. This should be a second level of participation to be allowed and encouraged in the refugee community, the integration with the neighbouring cities.

The third level of participation is directed to the models and manners, how to apply participatory approaches for assessing the actual needs and aspirations of the residents. This should serve further, for a collaborative base, on which future strategies can be set forth. This will be illustrated in the methods of participation section.

Figure 4.8: Abstract refugees-citizens relation / levels of participation



Source: Tawil 2005

4.4 Methods of Participation

This section will highlight the different faces of participation. It will further, enlightened by the third level of participation discussed above, suggest the methods that are expected to convey effective results in the refugee camps of Jordan.

The perception of participation varies significantly in the different settings. It can be seen as taking the opinion of the local community. Can also be seen as filling out certain questionnaires, can be considered as any kind of action that contributes to the process of making a certain decision. Pretty (1995: 24) demonstrates the various faces of participation resulted in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Methods of participation	
Type of Participation	Description
Manipulative participation	Participation is simply pretence, with people's representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.

Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or what has already happened.
Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or answering questions. Such a consultation process does not concede any share in decision making and professionals are under no obligation to seriously consider local views and opinions.
Participation for material incentives	Participating by contributing resources, example: labour in return for food or cash. They contribute to the implementation process but
Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals especially reduced costs. People can participate in group meetings to discuss predetermined project objectives. Such involvement tends to arise only after major decisions are already made by external agents.
Interactive participation	Participating in joint analysis, development of action plans. Participation is seen as a right and not as a means to achieve certain goals. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
Self-mobilization	People Participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they can need but retain control over how resources are used.

Source: Pretty 1995

In order to reach a level where the Palestinian refugee finds his identity in his space, and begins cooperating and collaborating to finally get integrated in the Jordanian context, interactive participation is considered to be the optimal method.

The last three types of participation; functional, interactive and self mobilization are in general effective types that can be assessed and applied to reach efficient results. They call for real engagement of the residents towards the development of their affairs. However, functional participation lies on the lower level from the three, where it calls for participation in already decided projects and decisions. This is a face of participation, but in the case of the refugee settings, the residents should have a certain weight in the decision making process itself.

The last face of participation, self mobilization, is in fact, the most democratic type that can be applied. Yet, the residents of the refugee camps are not entitled to manage the whole process alone; starting from the initiatives and ending with implementation actions. They still need support from the local authorities as well as from the central authorities. Therefore, this type of participation is a step too early to apply for the case.

Interactive participation is the expected to achieve the level of collaboration and interaction required for the motivation of the refugees in the Palestinian refugee camps. Applying such a face will enable effective discussions between the residents and the officials on the one hand, and promote the optimal potential of the refugees on the other hand.

Interactive participation will be considered as a main instrument to investigate the questions of research in field survey. The manner, in which this will be conducted, will be thoroughly illustrated in chapter five.

5 Research Focus and Methodology

After having a broad look on the situation of the refugee camps in Jordan, a historical background and a glance upon the theoretical opinion in processing upgrading and efficient planning paradigms, this chapter will clarify the set of aims and the methodological approach in reaching them. Furthermore, it will highlight the linkages between the theoretical formulation of the approaches and the realization of the goals in the Palestinian refugee camps.

5.1 Aims and gaps

Learning about value, not about values but about what matters and what's at stake (Forester 2004: 9).

This is the deeper purpose of the research. People, as experienced in the field survey, tend to give the researcher the kind of information about their lives (their sufferings and present problems) that the researcher wants to hear. But behind that lies the real state of their lives and the real needs and tendencies that ought to be, in my opinion, interpreted and dug out.

A set of aims will be highlighted in this section. Investigating the actual needs of the inhabitants will be the basis, on which ideas and goals are constructed and further investigated. This is considered as a factual aim, from which planning guidelines can be drawn. A typology of the inhabitants in refugee camps is seen as a methodological aim for achieving the former. Thereby, tailor-made strategies can be formed for the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan.

However, the factual and methodological aims are together significant steps to reach the major aims of the study:

- Development of planning guidelines for handling a refugee settlement within the unclear political situation in Jordan. A strategic plan branded by a strong participatory manner with the locals is, thereby, strived for. In other words, planning with the inhabitants and not for them. This will be managed through analysing what their perceived needs are in the first place. Furthermore, it is elaborated through the methodology, how these findings will or are supposed to take us from this stage further, towards reaching final potentials and strategies.
- The notion of considering locals as major stakeholders is a significant conception at which the whole survey is retaining. With that conception in mind, a more democratic participatory planning can be achieved on various levels:

Settlement level: the camp would enjoy a more vital development atmosphere. It is expected that the inhabitants would feel as part of the development and not as passive observers. The aim, in this regard, is to gain most possible results through participatory appraisals. This is seen to be achieved by motivating the locals to give actual contribution to the upgrading process that can take place in their community and that will have the most positive effect on the long run for the settlement itself.

Human level; it is expected that the inhabitants will believe that they are taken seriously and that their opinions are of certain weight, and therefore, they will behave more freely than before. Subsequently, they will get involved and indulge themselves in the different processes of development that are figured out and stated through their contribution. This incorporates the model and the approach for upgrading considered in this study.

- A model of upgrading a Palestinian refugee camp in the area. It is therefore, aimed at developing a strategic thinking in one of the camps to initiate transferable strategies to other similar settlements.

In order to move on to the research design and the methodological approaches, certain breeches between theory and aims have to be cleared out. These breeches serve as a linkage between literature and praxis regarding the upgrading in the refugee camps.

Table 5.1: Gaps to be investigated			
In theory	Aims	Gaps	How?
Communicative collaborative planning is a trigger for effective planning	Strategic plan stemmed from the locals	Prove empirically through more than one method	Participatory approaches
Empowerment is a vital factor in development	Achieving a realistic plan that corresponds to local needs	Perceiving the real needs and acting accordingly	Motivating participation and participatory approaches
Planning and development should be centered on people	A refugee camp as a special need community should be envisaged through serious awareness of its potentials	Empirically find out their potentials and try to develop adjacent strategies accordingly	Activating interviews and a future workshop
Community empowerment	Creating a solid base of development retaining on self maintenance and self confidence	Linking local community with administration and final decision making	Joint decisions through future workshop / round table discussion and satisfactory results for all parties
Integrative approaches to new citizens are vital for the development of the city as whole	Creating a collaborative base of dealing with immigrated communities	No real action plan embracing the merging of new citizens	Involving them in the planning and development process of the larger area, e.g. Jerash, district development
Incremental planning leads to rapid results that causes and encourages motivation	Achieving a realistic doable step into promoting the refugee camps	No piecemeal approaches were implemented, therefore, no real progress on different levels	Action plan what and when can be implemented according to locals' priorities, starting with small projects that convey immediate results

Source: Tawil 2006

5.2 Research Design: Statements and Hypotheses

In this part, statements and preliminary hypotheses will be highlighted and accordingly, the research will be further constructed. On the broader scale of the research, the scope will revolve around:

-
- Finding out about the political situation in the host country of the camps and emphasis on the socio-cultural situation in the studied area.
 - Analysis and reconstruction of the regional refugee system as well as the power and control structure in the studied area.
 - Analysis of the existing and possible participatory discourse between camps' administration and inhabitants.
 - Discovering and stating how camp inhabitants perceive and assess the camp, the regulatory system, their daily activities and the perspectives of their future.
 - How the inhabitants, with their skills and investigated potentials, can contribute to the upgrading of the camp.

The research has been revolving around these topics starting from chapter three. The first two points were discussed in depth along with the other factors that affect the legal, socio-economic and physical situation of the refugee camps in Jordan. The three other points listed above will be translated into methodological procedures that, at the end, meet the aims and goals of the research. Further, they will be elaborated by the gaps that resulted from the theoretical paradigm and discussion in chapter four.

This leads to the conclusion of some hypotheses developed within the scope of the research. These hypotheses can heave the work into a new direction reaching an action plan that meets the aims of the research. According to many theories, that can be best done through actual participation in every deal, i.e. in the decision making phase, determination phase and implementation phase. This is also going to be evaluated in the next chapters; how participation can function, and how to localize concepts of participation in the local setting.

The following main statements serve as a general hypothesis for the research:

Through participation, more efficient and need-oriented development will be achieved. Through participation, refugees will develop an identity to the space, where they live.

On the basis of the general statements above, the next sub-hypotheses can be derived level:

- Development can better take place, if the refugees decide what to be changed and developed
- Development can better serve the needs and aspirations of refugees, if they were fully involved in the upgrading process
- Self maintenance in a camp can only be achieved if the work was done by the residents, which will create felt ownership

The research will adopt a case study method to come up with an in-depth case study. It will enable statements and hypothesis to get tested and other subjective ones to get included and integrated in the empirical process. The case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied (Lincoln and Denzin 1994: 236, cited in Yeboah 2003: 95). Therefore, the methodological instruments illustrated in this section will be applied to the in-depth study selected in chapter six. Formulating a participatory approach in the planning, decision making and implementation phase in the in-depth study is thought to enhance the sense of responsibility by the inhabitants. The right to their own made decisions will enforce the power of defending those structures developed by them and implemented also by them.

5.3 Research Methodology

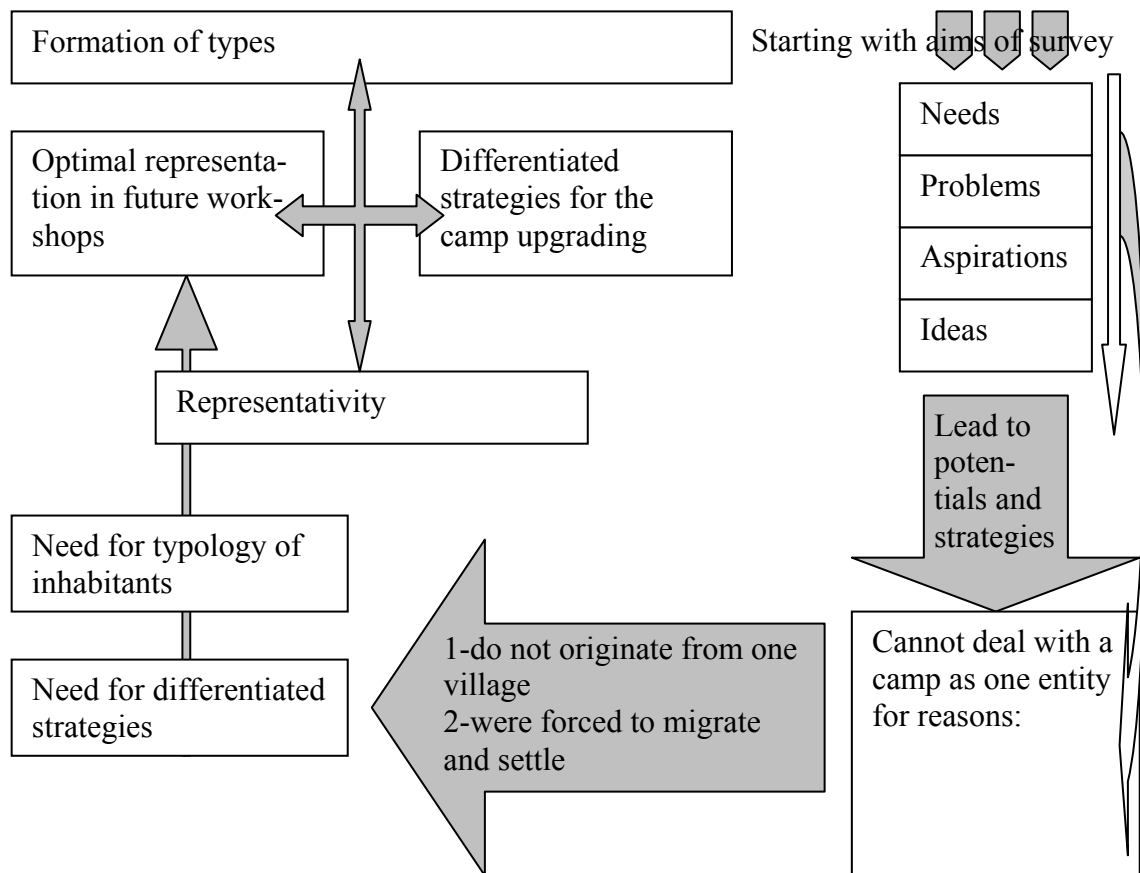
The refugee community has been always used to negotiating about return matters and political achievements. But they were not used to say loud or even to think about what their present and alternative interests are, or what their tangible needs are. So once they are questioned what they need, many answers arise that can be later on proven in the empirical results, but through sensing the underlying matters that really interest these people, one can get to totally different conclusions and different settings of solving problems and improving their present individual situations.

Therefore, more attention should be given to the refugees how they deal with space and weave their own urban fabric, showing their great urban potential, the outsider cannot see. Hence, a theoretical and operational approach will be carried out in this study by linking the urban with the socio-economic and political aspects. Consequently, the societal structures are to be investigated and analysed. Thus, the approaches considered in this research will stick to being realistic and partially subjective in order to reach an objective insight into the moving problems and eventually solutions of the community. The best way of creating the optimal atmosphere for a person is by letting this person set the rules of planning and not by imposing them and forcing people to live with them. "When we say that something grows as a whole, we mean that its own wholeness is the birthplace, the origin and the continuous creator of its ongoing growth. Its new growth emerges from the specific, peculiar structural nature of its past. That is autonomous whole, governs what comes next (Alexander, Neis, Anninou, King 1987: 10)".

Important, is to develop certain concerns; needs, aspirations and own ideas of the inhabitants themselves and not only testing already formulated hypothesis. Therefore, the grounded theory is very appealing to be selected as an optimal theory where the methodology can be based on. This narrows the discussion down to the issue of, what kind of community we are dealing with.

A refugee community was forced to live and get adapted to certain circumstances and certain regulations in a strange environment. This community was not living together as in a normal village where people grow up together and are linked with natural relative relation or certain social norms. Therefore, the typology of inhabitants as shown in figure 5.1 is the first step to begin the empirical research.

Figure 5.1: Justification of typology

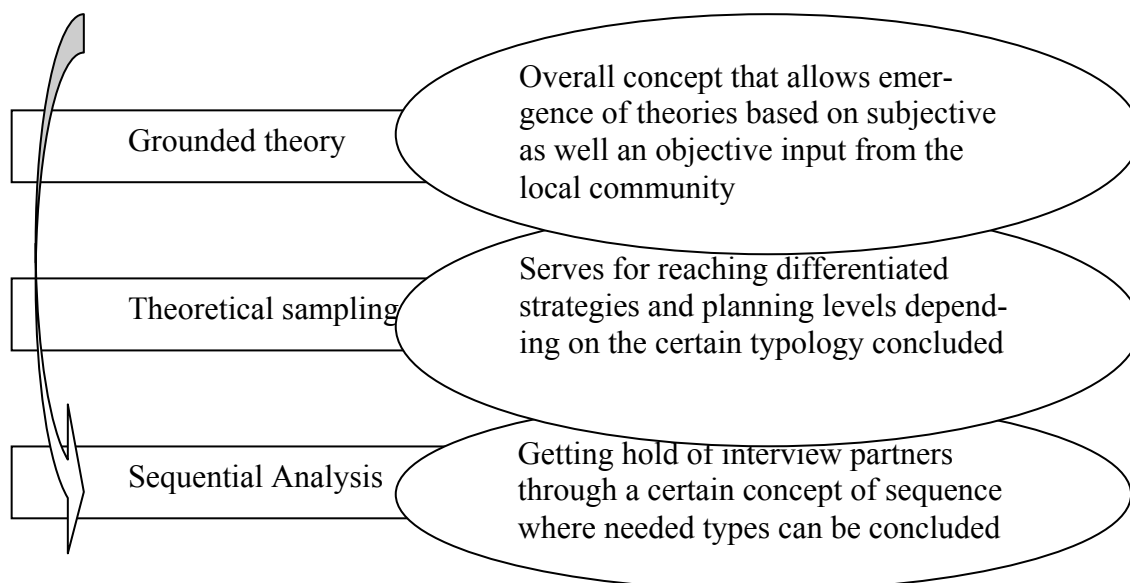


Source: Tawil 2005

As shown in the diagram 5.1, the arrow starts from the basic aims of the work, investigating the needs, problem and aspirations of the inhabitants. It goes further to achieve certain strategies based on these keywords. But it faces the fact that such keywords cannot be simply detected through normal empirical survey, because of the nature of the refugee camps as a special need settlement that cannot be dealt with as one entity, hence, differentiated strategies are needed to get generalized at the end. As a result, a certain typology is needed.

Grounded theory will be used to carry out this process. This will be further set on a narrower level, where distinguished methods in dealing with such a settlement are needed. Therefore, theoretical sampling was chosen for the role, to get solutions for each type and then set them together for moving on broader and come up with solutions for the whole community. Choosing the sample choices lies on the narrower level in this hierarchy. It requires a certain method of selecting interview partners dependent on each others' interviews to gather as far as possible types concerning the community and that will be obtained through sequential analysis. The diagram 5.2 shows the levelling of these surveys and their hierarchy to achieve as much accurate and realistic results as possible.

Figure 5.2: Hierarchy of empirical methods needed for the research



Source: Tawil 2005

Further, in the next sections of this chapter, the general approach of the research will be discussed. Whether the survey should take the qualitative or quantitative approach, and which exact methods the data are best acquired.

5.3.1 Qualitative vs. quantitative

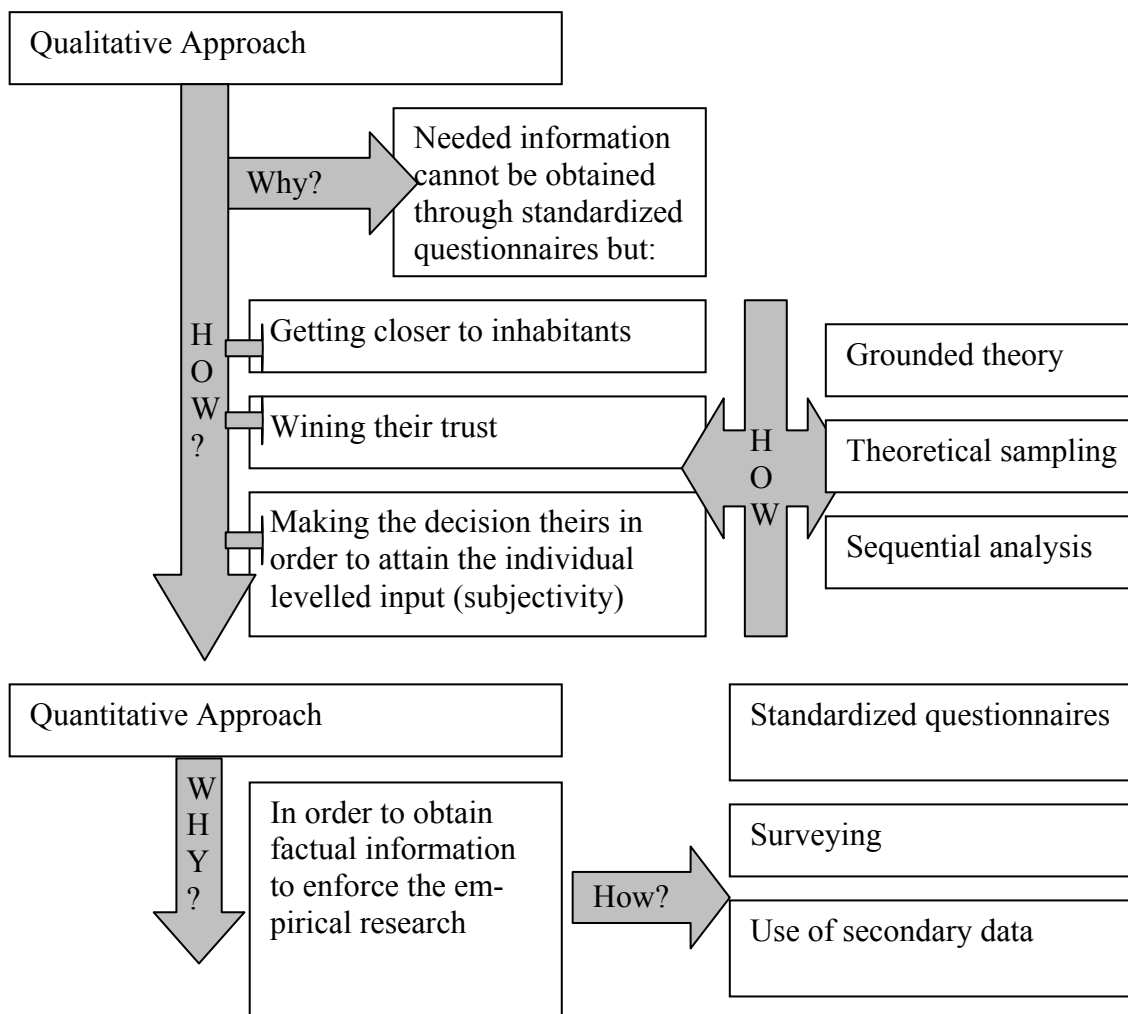
If the overall approach of the research is going to be drawn nearer to qualitative or quantitative approaches, this is to be decided according to kind of results this type of research is striving for, and will be dependent on the type of community the research is dealing with. The discussion of qualitative or quantitative methods is investigated and analysed by many researchers that can contribute to the study as the following: “the terms qualitative research and quantitative research are widely used and understood within the realms of social research as signposts to the kind of assumptions being used by the researchers and the nature of the research being undertaken” (Denscombe 2003 pp 231). Each term implies a commitment to a particular set of assumptions about the nature of the social world being investigated and the appropriate way to investigate it. This research is going to investigate an approach of dealing with a special society with special needs. It is trying to achieve community based strategies that correspond and meet with the real actual needs of this community and try to derive from the same community the planning strategies constituting an improving upgrading step.

Many researchers believe that qualitative research is perceived as a distinct from quantitative research and emphasised the importance of qualitative technique in exploring individuals’ attitudes, behaviours, and beliefs; (Denscombe, 2003; Adler and Clark, 2003; Rudestam and Newton, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Fitzpatrick, Secrist, and Wright, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Adler and Clark argue that quantitative approach can limit the researcher’s ability to obtain in-depth information on any given issue. They add, “For researchers less interested in measuring variables and more interested in understanding how individuals subjectively see the world and how they make sense of their lives, less structured approaches (...) are quite useful” (Adler and Clark 2003 pp 281). This is also found in the work of Walker who argues that “Because

qualitative techniques are not concerned with measurement they tend to be less structured than quantitative ones and can therefore be made more responsive to the needs of respondents and to the nature of the subject matter” (Walker 1993 pp 3). In addition, Robson and Foster (1989) show that qualitative research seeks to explain consumer behaviour and details about their usage of, attitudes, feelings, values, beliefs and motives related to a particular market or in a particular setting. These contributions from different researchers and authors emphasize the idea in this research; that qualitative approaches are rather to be used if the aim is to seek the attitudes and needs of the local community. Although some researchers believe that quantitative approach has limitations; as it does not differentiate between truth and falsity, it does not distinguish rationalisation, defences and genuinely felt feelings, and it does not give meaning or structure to the data (Robson and Foster 1989), still, that does not exclude the importance of those techniques that has in other dimensions other beneficial impact on the research. In that sense, (Guba and Lincoln 1998) consider qualitative approach as soft, non-scientific approach to study social life and it is only useful when accompanied by quantitative techniques. Therefore, it is tried in this research to achieve kind of a combination of both techniques, but still weighing more through qualitative ones because they lead us efficiently to the main aims to be achieved and matched. Thus, it is important to distinguish which parts are to act qualitatively and which are to have a quantitative significance as shown in figure 5.3.

The above mentioned quoted opinions from the different social researchers match exactly the goal of this research; to probe deep into refugees’ behaviours and attitudes and establish a typology, as this research is seeking individual perceptions and subjective contribution toward the future of the camp. This research is also trying to point out the different variables of promoting the environment of the target group through the target group itself and that requires certain interpretations of the input of those interviewed. Quantitative methods in comparison, seek the determination of tangible input like numbers and statistics. that are in turn already there and were collected and presented in different sections of the research as secondary data that will help selecting the case study and determining on what basis the selection will be. Furthermore, this slight combination of both methods is going to be shown in the types of instruments used for the empirical part, as in some cases the need for a standardized questionnaire was required and in the most other cases the activating interviews resembled in narrative and biographical ones. As said previously, figure 5.3 illustrates why and how those methods are to be used.

Figure 5.3: Combining qualitative and quantitative techniques



Source: Tawil 2005

5.3.2 Grounded theory

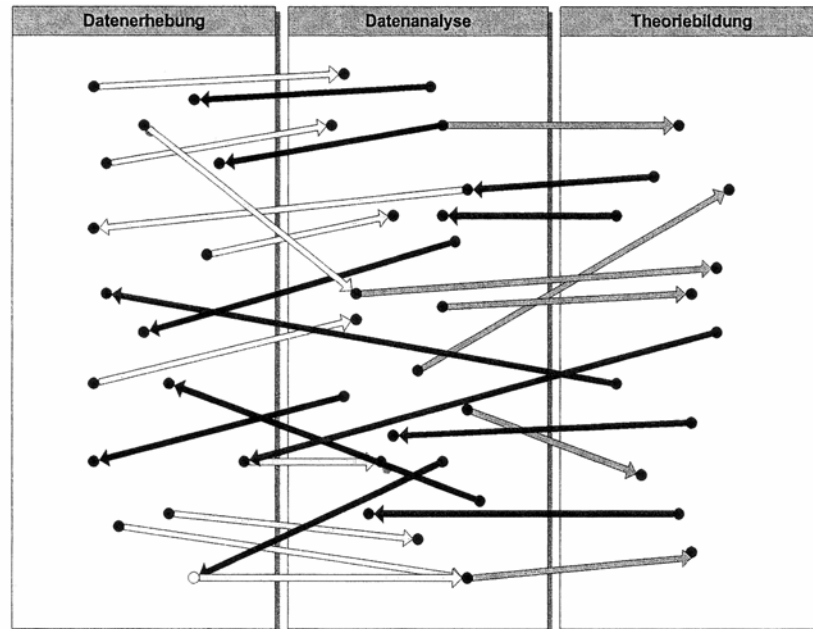
Grounded theory is according to Anselm Strauss and Julia Corbin 1996, a qualitative research method that uses a systematic serial of procedures which result in an inductive derived case-oriented theory aiming at a development of a certain phenomenon. Further argued by the same author, the grounded theory is important for cases that acquire:

- The necessity to go into the field in order to understand what goes on in the setting to be studied.
- Reality-derived theories and the emergence of such theories that serve the development of a certain scientific discipline in this regard.
- An operational and a Know-How nature that can adapt to cases of constant changes and developments.

Grounded theory depends on permanent comparison between the interpreted data and the coming new data. It is based on inducting new understandings and statements that can be achieved and installed from the empirical process. The grounded theory emphasizes the time parallelism and the changing function-dependency of the data collection, data analysis and the emergence of theories resulting from the analysis (Strauss 1991 pp

46). It is in this case described as a constant change between action and reflection on data and their analysis. Figure 5.4 shows a diagram illustrating this interactive development of the new hypothesis and theories.

Figure 5.4: Parallelism in the data processing of the grounded theory



Source: Strauss 1991: 46

So the grounded theory aims at constructing theories and hypothesis from the site and back to the site. Hence, the main purpose of the field survey is of personal interest and brings out the particular points that highlight and form the different potentials in the community. The various problems and needs that were not addressed directly will be an output in this process. This will eventually, in a certain interactive network depending on a certain coding system between the various outputs from the interviews and other instruments, result in pointing out the sub-hypotheses and theories that in turn will result in a data-oriented emergence of theories.

In order to properly apply the grounded theory, coding, theoretical sampling and sequential analysis will be used to allow the breaking down and better use of raw data.

5.3.2.1 Coding

According to Strauss & Glazer 1998 (Strübing 2004: 19), the coding process has two alternatives. The first, aims at testing a hypothesis or a theory. Subsequently, the data will be coded first and then analysed according to the different hypotheses, which clearly are to be set before. The second alternative, which corresponds to and matches the needs of this research in processing the resulting data of the field survey, can be applied when the theoretical framework is not completely clear. This is especially true, in cases where the concepts and characters of the development models are not clearly connected and set together, to be afterwards only exposed to the empirical process. Moreover, the field material and the eventual processing and analysis of these data will develop the theories along the process.

Furthermore, the grounded theory insists on coding the material directly. In that case, the coding should nevertheless, be based on certain theoretical concepts and categories that can, through the process, get further investigated. The steps through which the analysis will go are the famous three levels of coding:

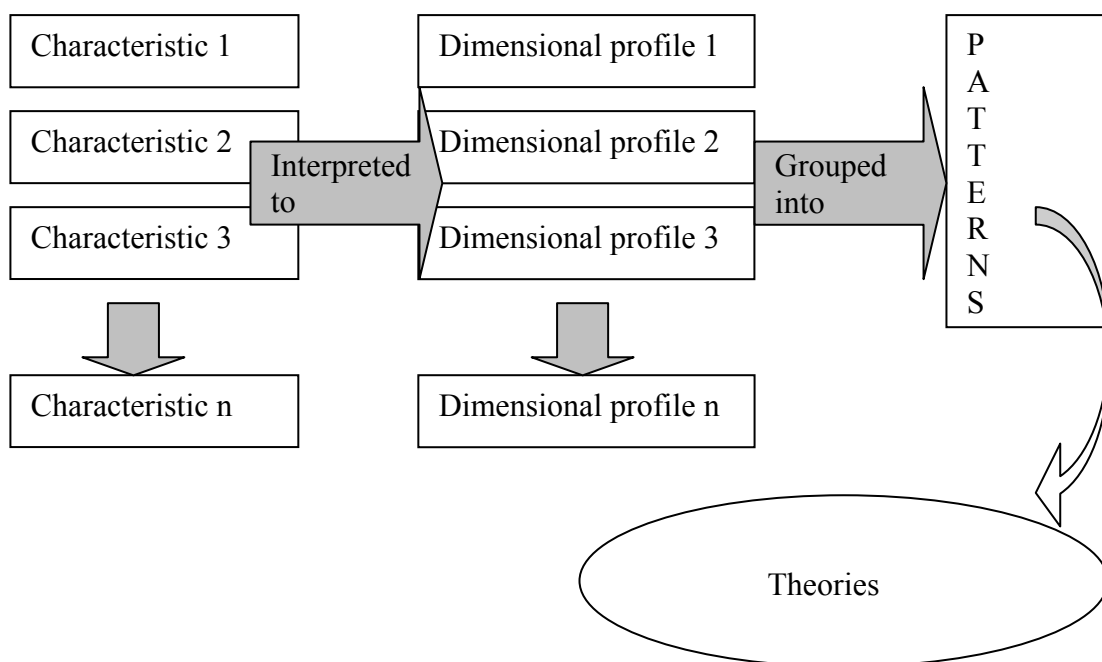
- Open coding that aims at opening out the data through an analytical dissection of the phenomena and characteristics of the study.
- Axial coding which in turn aims at the formulation of certain phenomena-related models that can result in constructing one or two concepts, which could further be translated into theories.
- Selective coding which is a kind of documentation of the analysed material in order to attain the needed relations between the categories and the concepts resulted from the previous stage and therewith, a final statement or statements can be adopted.

Coding should at the end of the process result in creating and sub-hypotheses that lead in turn to a final stage of coding and theoretical sampling of theories adjacent to the aims of the research. The analysis in this sense will aim at getting tangent to:

- Ways of thinking of the refugees
- Their priorities in their lives
- Domains of their ideas, aspirations and plans for the future
- Needs and problems constricting their development

Therefore, before starting with the analysis and getting further to the enforcing methods enabling this reality-escorted process, figure 5.4 will illustrate the process of coding.

Figure 5.5: Coding as a step toward the emergence of theories



Source: Strauss & Corbin 1996: 5, cited in Strübing 2004 (adapted by author 2005)

According to this diagram, coding will lead to applicable theories to the research and the case studied. But as mentioned before, coding alone is not enough; it needs other types of empirical methods to sum up the deeper direction of the survey conducted.

5.3.2.2 Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling "... is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects codes and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges" (Glaser and

Strauss 1998: 53)¹⁸. The idea of the theoretical sampling is the capability of conceptualization in the different steps of the work. It is very important and useful in the process of type formation. It is as well a comparable process between the different data in order to find out the certain patterns that are of effect on the societal behaviour and the different rates of the different variables of these patterns.

Theoretical sampling is the approach used in this study in order to attain maximum quality results from the field survey. It is used to discover potentially useful participants or new stakeholders as the study unfolds. It also allows various active involvements of informants in the process of investigation. In other words, it depends on the active input of every figure in the setting in order to achieve the needed differentiated strategies.

Representativity will to a certain degree be assured in this approach. Theoretical sampling, in this sense, strives for attaining conceptual representativity rather than representativity through statistical sampling. That means that this kind of approach will try to gather all kinds of sample-oriented theories-relevant concepts that serve the aim of the work (Strauss & Corbin 1996).

5.3.2.3 *Sequential analysis*

The sequential analysis is considered as the pedestal method that realizes the first step towards theoretical sampling. In order to select the right interview partners that lead to the typology of inhabitants, a concept of sequence has to be properly set. The concept of sequence will be based on the indicators that distinguish the different attitudes and future perspectives of the refugee community.

First interview is to be conducted, analyzed and then upon the results of the first, the second interview partner will be selected, and so on until no more new issues are raised or hypotheses to be emerged.

Some obstacles, facing this type of method, have to be revealed before setting forth in the discussion. Because of the distance to the field, where the survey is taking place, some pre indicators could be beneficial for the selection of the interview partners. That means, according to these pre indicators, several interviews can be conducted without having each interview analysed in order to pick the next interview partner:

- Age is to be considered while searching for interview partners (all possible age intervals)
- Gender is also very important in the discussion, as it is often the case that men come into consideration more than women in such community. So the number of female interview partners should be the same of the male number
- Address and location in the camp. This allows each person to have equal chances in generating his/her ideas whether he lives in the center of the camp or at the edge. (locals living in the center of the camp are more likely to get involved in the activities concerning the camp, or even get to know what is new on the ground)

Through these indicators, much falsity in choosing the needed samples for the research will be avoided. Moreover, to make this selection more comprehensive, the concept of maximum-minimum contrast will be adopted in this regard. That means, when the sur-

¹⁸ Translated from the German: “Theoretisches Sampling meint den auf die Generierung von Theorie zielenden Prozeß der Datenerhebung, währenddessen der Forscher seine Daten erhebt, kodiert und analysiert sowie darüber entscheidet, welche Daten als nächste erhoben werden sollen und wo sie zu finden sind. Dieser Prozeß der Datenerhebung wird durch die im Entstehen begriffene - Materiale oder Formale – Theorie kontrolliert“.

vey moves towards taking a certain age, gender or location into consideration, minimum contrast will be applied. In other words, it will keep on searching in this domain until no more new information is found. Subsequently, it will jump to the maximum contrast and try again. This procedure will repeat this cyclic concept until the perceived information is satisfactory.

5.4 Field survey and data collection

In order to combine every step illustrated above, the field survey was carried out on several levels:

- Acquirement of the needed information that provide an insight into the actual situation of the refugees and the refugee camps. This will be investigated through the secondary data.
- Shaping the perceived image of the camp, represented in the needs, problems, aspirations and ideas of the local community. As a first step, this will be acquired through diverse interviews, observations and metal maps
- Analysis of previous results and further acquirement of new information encompassing certain gaps or leading to new results needed as the research unfolds.

5.4.1 Preliminary site assessment

In order to get acquainted with the site and to get familiar with the development of the situation in the refugee camps in Jordan, it was necessary in the first stages of the field survey, to gain much information as possible about communal statistics, about behavioural norms of the society and about the different relations between authorities and the camp communities affecting the camp image. In this stage various methods aiming at obtaining this different information were used:

- Data collection of all information that can be gathered without any specific preference
- Visits to the different authorities responsible for the camp improvement; directly or indirectly
- Interviews with various experts in the refugees' affairs departments and with social workers dealing with the camp community on daily basis

To begin with the data collection phase; many relevant documents to the camp improvement and upgrading were successfully collected. Those documents contained: the projects implemented in the refugee camps and the agreements on different undertakings concerned with the well being of the refugees in the refugee camps. Further, they helped winning an insight to the understanding, how well the camp affairs are taken care of. These projects and agreements towards the camp improvement in Jordan were illustrated and analysed in section 3.2. It was mentioned in the elementary parts of this research because of its importance to create an understanding, how the refugee camps are developed and in which direction. This phase of the field survey was taken in the very beginning of conducting this research.

The second step is represented in the visits to the different authorities responsible for the camp affairs. They served, along with the insight to the camp situations, a vision of the camp future from a perspective of decision makers. The two main departments responsible for the refugee camps in Jordan are: the Department of Palestinian Affairs DPA and the United Nations Refuge and Works Agency UNRWA. They are considered

as main stakeholders in the context of this research and, in general, in the plans and future visions of the refugee camps.

The third step in this section is represented in the direct formal or informal interviews conducted with various stakeholders. By visiting the DPA and the UNRWA main offices and by visiting their branches and smaller offices on the site, different interviews were conducted with employers, social workers or even with external experts working with them. A snowball effect was resulted, in the sense that each interview hinted out further information that led to conducting an interview with other person in the field, or carrying out an external informal talk. In this phase, many interviews or small talks were carried out informally because of the absence of an official permission for official surveys that was not provided at the moment. It was later on provided for the other two phases of the field survey. However, these informal interviews had the great effect on being able to establish a concrete start from a well defined point. They allowed the research more depth in its two further phases, to shape the results as aimed at in the first place in the scope and questions of research. These interviews also contributed to the case study selection process.

5.4.2 Primary data: Observations / interviews / mental maps

The field survey started officially with diverse instruments: Observations, narrative and biographical interviews, open ended questionnaires and mental maps. It aimed at shaping the image of the camp, and the future of the camp through the inhabitants. In other words, it aimed at the inhabitants' perception of the camp. Because of the special need character, such type of community possesses, as reflected in the theoretical paradigm and later in the aims and gaps section, many visits to the site, and much personal contact to the inhabitants was established. This was done to win the trust of the future interview partners and to allow the research a realistic base depending on deeper input and eventually more valid outcome.

Starting with the interviews; perceived needs are obtained in different ways; by carrying out activating interviews with different topics in order to overpass the emotional answers, which will always deflect the flow of the interview, and distract the path towards the factual results. This answer is always noticed to be the return to homeland. The aim is to reach a more practical level of reality-oriented needs and problems and eventual solutions.

Issues do distract the attention from and obscure interests. Issues do not always need to be resolved in order to address the deeper meaning but issues if taken explicitly can risk solving the wrong problems, and jumping to wrong conclusion about what real hopes are to satisfy (Forester 2004). Therefore, this survey should reach the level of the deep perception of the spatial context in the camp. In other words, it should level up the understanding of the spatial tendency of the inhabitants; socially, economically as much as politically.

The interviews along with the other instruments of survey are done to have a multitude perspective on this community but bounded to few main categories of indicators that can lay the path for the analysis process. The indicators, in general, are first to reflect the main aims of the study referred to in section 5.1. They can be summed up to, integration, problems, ideas and willing to participate.

These components are to be investigated in order to find the suitable strategies for the development actions for the settlement. The sequential analysis method illustrated in section 5.3.2.3 will attain the certain types of inhabitants so as to have a base of representatives that cover as much as possible of camps' inhabitants, and afterwards set fur-

ther to the group discussions and the future workshop, which will be then conducted in the in-depth case study that will be determined in chapter six.

An example of the management of the interviews conducted in this research, an elder man will be interviewed, representing the first generation of the local community for instance. As a first step, the interview is transformed into a transcript (see appendix 1). It is then opened up to fill in the categories of the open coding determined previously as shown in table 5.2.

Needs/problems	Aspirations	Ideas	Integration	Participation
Density	Space, more of it so as for the family to build next to each other and not have to leave the settlement, village of Jerash	Vertical extension		Through motivating the younger generation, who can still do something in the camp. The older generation time is through.
Space				
In boxes	Back to homeland	Motivation of young generation, active youth		
Missing family				
Lost of properties				

Source: Tawil 2005

Table 5.3 in turn, continues on one hand with the open coding phase, on the other hand, it deals further with the new interpreted codes that are derived from the survey itself. This is the stage, where this mode of field survey is quite fascinating, as it investigates new ideas occurring to the researcher while conducting the survey and that were not accompanying the researcher before going to the field.

Identity issues	Spatial aspects	Family	Work
Only homeland. Planted, harvested. Farmers.	Market is optimally located in the centre of the camp like in homeland	Sons and daughters got married and moved out from the camp.	Normal relation to work, had to feed the family, therefore went to work although he is a farmer
Description of home: Green, hilly, forestry, mountains, very beautiful, relaxing country life, eat drink from field, milk, cheese and eggs. Farmers. Construction; stone and mud. Instalment of shapes or arches and vaults.	The camp is dense, no space.	Second cousins took refuge in Gaza; refugees had the choice where to take refuge.	

Source: Tawil 2005

According to the dimensional profile diagram in figure 5.5, those codes resulted from the first phase of the interpretation of the interviews, will be interpreted to develop cer-

tain patterns and categories of the community. This will be shown in chapter seven.

According to this analysis, the first generation can tell and form a certain type within the community of the refugees living in the selected camp. The interview was planned to take the path of a biographical interview which was with hindsight, a bit converted into a guideline interview. The reason for that is referred to the political background of the refugees. In spite of the many preliminary talks commenced before hand, in order to win the trust of the refugees, still, long talks and narrations was not the strength of this community. However, this dimensional profile, or the patterns resulted from this interview can be shown in table 5.4.

Paraphrase / quotation	Interpretation / Dimensional profile
The only problem in the camp is the scarcity of space and the density. Apart from that, the camp is fine and lacks nothing if one is honest enough. <i>“One has to be honest and realistic; the situation in this camp, Suf camp is very good. We cannot do and do not have the right to complain...”</i>	The first point in the discussion to prove through the community itself and identify exactly what the problems of the refugee camps are. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problems in Suf camp are confined to lack of space and density • Type of housing like boxes and not open.
The kind of perception of the homeland. The description takes the shape of paradise description, the illusionary homeland that can never be replaced or compensated. <i>“...we planted, harvested and dug the land, it was green it was very beautiful...we had relaxing country life...much better than here...we used to eat and drink from the field, the milk, the cheese and the eggs, everything was natural. We are farmers and here we had to live in boxes...we used to build our houses from stone and mud together...install the shapes of arches and vaults into the external form of the houses...we had one kitchen and one living room and cooked for the whole family...”</i>	The first generation represented in this 83 years old man, has the hardest attempt to get integrated or get adapted to the new situation or seeing it as positive as the younger maybe will (will be later on seen and tested). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First generation refugees are more homeland-oriented. • Homeland is more like a paradise that can never be created again no matter what. • Types of habitual living can be concluded from this description; types of building material, shapes of elevations and the interior spaces the introverted design. • The affinity to have extended families living in one house is distinctive by the older generations.
As the question arises how do you find the camp and the changes along the years, came the answer: <i>“...developing...new generations are very active...our land in Beit Jibrin was hilly and green it had much forestry...full of mountains and green areas and it was a beautiful homeland.”</i>	The emphasis on the continuity to describe the lost homeland even if the question was aiming at another purpose gives the strong hint that the interviewed has only this image in mind and all his ideas turn around the homeland and the lost property and for him it is apparently too late to start all over again so he will keep on missing the lost land and mourn it. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First generation inhabitants have no future aspirations in the present settlement but thinking of returning. • More characters of the lost paradise; hilly, forestry and green beautiful areas.
Spatial aspects reflected from the interview were represented in the aspect that market is optimally located in the camp, centralized like in the lost homeland. <i>“The market was the same as here. It was next to our house their”. The other aspect is the emphasis on the density of the</i>	In this part some statements can be reflected and put in bold type to compare later on with other interviews and other categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The market is optimally placed in the refugee camp, centralized and reachable for all inhabitants.

<p><i>camp and the need for camp extension”.</i> <i>“The only thing is the space. The camp is dense and in my opinion, the extension in living quarters has to go vertically in order to lighten this density and reduce it”.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The camp is dense and should be further extended. Call for needed strategies to spatial upgrading and enlargement. • Local community ideas to move vertically in the camp in order to lighten up the density.
<p>In spite of the attitude of the interviewed regarding the future planning of the camp which can be as “negative” described, still it is not that way, because of the constant motivation of the elder to the young seeing the active new development generation in them. <i>“...the new generations are very active and they want to change and let God be with them, they are the best young men I ever saw or lived. “Again “...I cannot think about anyway, I am old and have my memories and the new generations can think about the future...”</i></p>	<p>The positive atmosphere what the elder spread out gives the motivation to upgrade the present situation although for them it is through and according to them their lifetime is up.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First generation motivates and encourages the younger to start something and upgrade their settings. • Need for having the sons and daughters live aside from the elder results in: • Importance of having more space in the camp so as to build next to each other rather than moving out from the camp as the case now. • The existing motivation to upgrade and improve the camp as for the elder this is the place where they want their children to stay and therefore, make it a better place.
<p>Relation to work was the normal relation where fathers had to go working in order to feed their families. <i>“we are farmers and here we had to live in boxes...one had to work here and there in order to feed the children one had...this camp is like a village of Jerash, the same situation; you earn more money you immigrate to the city. The reason is because of the density of the camp. You cannot build a house if you want to you cannot buy a piece of land if you have got the money for that and therefore cannot build a house in the camp, because of the scarcity of space...the camp is too small so you go out.”</i></p>	<p>It is clear that the original inhabitants of the village in Palestine Beit Jibrin are farmers and had to work other types of jobs because of the money needed for living so.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offering the possibility to get engaged in farmer jobs and contracts where the inhabitants mostly feel familiar with and know best. • Need for older generations is to stop the moving out of the younger from the camp. Therefore, space provision is the biggest problem and therefore need of the camp inhabitants “the older generation”.

Source: Tawil 2005

The points resulted in the dimensional profile column, will be further categorized and networked in chapter seven to result in tailor-made strategies.

Through the open-ended questionnaires (see appendix 4 and 5), the maximum-minimum contrast concept was realized and taken into consideration. It was important to investigate on a vertical as well as on a horizontal access, what new kinds of ideas and information could be gathered. This means, location of residence, age and gender are to be directing this intermediate phase between every two biographical or activating interviews. If we move horizontally, interview partners, in the same age interval (minimum contrast), but residing else where in the camp (centered or marginal), will be considered. Again, taking two other indicators through minimum contrast; if a man was interviewed then a woman will be the next interview partner to be considered. All these surveys will take turn within the same category of age for instance. Afterwards, continuing with the concept of sequence, a totally different category of target groups will be considered; a middle aged man, active, with a certain job and so on.

The third instrument in this phase is the mental maps. This type of investigation aimed at perceiving the need of certain facilities that could be felt but not expressed, because of its complexity. Through mental maps, the need for public spaces or a certain clustering of the camp urban structure is mainly shown. Such a method could show much benefit in the stages, where strategies and action plans is designed.

5.4.3 Primary data: Interviews / future workshop

The second field work study aims at two points:

- Emphasizing the results and typologies of the first stage of the primary data.
- Filling certain gaps or findings that are not investigated by the first stage of the field survey. These gaps were, as hinted out before, possible because of the distance to the field in the case of the researcher and therefore, could be manifested through the analysis. This was achieved through further interviews.
- Moving forward towards derived plans and strategies from the inhabitants. This part of the expected results will be best realized through a future workshop (see appendix 2).

The field survey included: around 20 interviews, 30 questionnaires and around 5 mental maps, whereas, the future workshop was made with 30 attendants. The results of these approaches and conducted types of survey will be illustrated and presented in chapter seven.

6 Case Study Selection Process

6.1 Refugee camps in Jordan

Camp demographic, social, economical and spatial descriptions will be presented and discussed under this title. Upon this discussion and description, spatial and social forms are going to be classified in order to find out at the end which camp and type of refugees are to be taken as the case study for this work and according to which indicators.

As a result of the unorganized two forced migration waves of the Palestinian refugees, swift and random choice of camp sites was made. In addition, the country was not prepared to such a movement and in all cases, was not ready to face and absorb such numbers of refugees. There was no standard pattern for camp concept; therefore, some camps were set up in the same location where the refugees first settled in upon arrival in Jordan, others were constructed years after the arrival of the refugees until the government offered the land plots to UNRWA that built the shelters and handed them over to the refugees.

6.2 Selection criteria

In this part, the camps will be classified and put in categories in order to be able to concentrate on few, from which, one main case study will be chosen. Moreover, these few camps will be taken apart according to preliminary indicators. Then, they will be analysed and studied according to socio-economic and urban aspects.

This chapter will conduct three levels of camp selection:

- First level: reducing the number of camps from thirteen to five camps
- Second level: choosing 3 camps from those five according to the statistical information collection from the secondary data, which comprise the reports of the previous projects implemented in the refugee camps
- Third level: the selection of the in depth case study that can have most ability to get generalized

The first classification of the refugee camps in Jordan will be whether they are urban or rural, in order to reduce the scope of the choice and eventually start with the intensive part of the study, dealing with the in depth case study that has potential to represent the thirteen Palestinian camps in the country.

According to the statistical reports of the Ministry of Occupied Territories, the camps in Jordan are urban or rural as shown in the table below. This is to be considered as the first indicator to categorize the camps in Jordan.

Table 6.1: classification of the refugee camps in Jordan whether rural or urban	
Urban camps	Rural camps
Baqa'a	Hitteen
Irbid	Husn
Nasser	Gaza
Wihdat	Madaba

Zarqa	Sukhneh
Hussein	Suf
	Talbiyeh

Source: Ministry of Occupied Territories Affairs, 1985 unpublished data (Abu Helwa 1990)

The second indicator will be choosing camps from different geographical locations in Jordan. Few camps of north, middle and southern parts of the kingdom will be taken in the case study evaluation in order to scan the maximum possibility of having potential case studies.

After this small discussion, some of the camps that are relatively representative for the whole thirteen camps will be thoroughly discussed through their land use patterns and other characteristics which hint out the direction of the study. Thereafter, the following indicators will be tested:

- Patterns of Land Use Plans
- Origin and Identity Matters
- Population
- Degrees of Development: Previous Projects
- Extent of Local Participation Level
- Degrees of Settlement/Integration
- Distance to the Nearest City Urban Structure

The following five camps are the ones who will be according to this first general selection taken into account. Baqa'a Camp, Hussein Camp, Madaba Camp, Jerash camp and Suf Camp will be therefore discussed in the following pages.

6.2.1 Baqa'a Camp

Baqa'a Camp is the biggest camp in Jordan, established in the year 1968 on an area of 1896,626 Dunums¹⁹. It has a population of 83127 inhabitants that come from different origins such as the villages; Ajjour/Beit, Mahseer, Jericho, Abbasiya, Beir Sheba, Faloujeh and Al Jaftelek. Since the inhabitants of Baqa'a camp come from different kind of villages and cities from Palestine, it can be clearly stated that there is no certain social identity for the camp. From an industrial and economic point of view, Baqa'a camp is very economically active; its main streets are full of shops and stations of all kind of industrial and commercial activities. The inhabitants are either unskilled, skilled or multi skilled, still they occupy all the professions that a neighbourhood or a small city needs. Nevertheless, the unemployment is still very high. The unemployment in the refugee camps in Jordan ranges between 18-24% (Shaml 1997)²⁰.

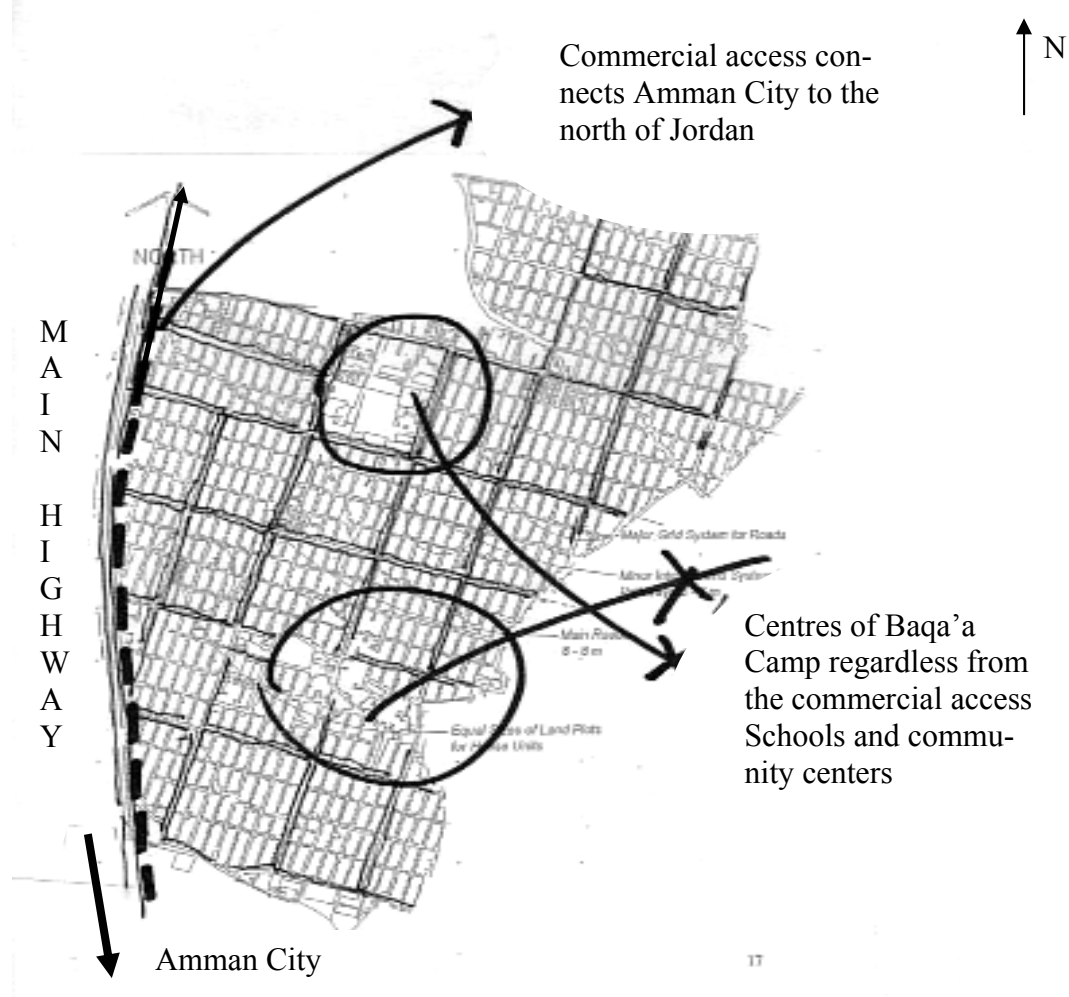
Regarding the social structure in Baqa'a camp, the average number of a family living in one unit is 7-8 members. The extended family structure is much noticed in the refugee camps in general, according to HUDC statistics, around 37% of the families in Baqa'a camp are extended families. Few families from the new generation managed to

¹⁹ One Dunum is equivalent to 1000 sqm. This kind of area measurement is widely used in Jordan for land areas.

²⁰ http://www.shaml.org/ground/rafah/cd/SDC%20-%20NGO%20Survey%20Jordan%202001/SDC_%20NGO%20Survey%20Jordan%202001.htm, cited on 26.04.2005

live independently from their parents units. The families are mostly getting engaged to each other; one can find the daughter and the cousin in the same house as sisters in law.

Figure 6.1: Patterns of land use plans in Baqa'a camp



Source: HUDC 1999, drafted by Tawil 2005

The camp is set on a main street that links Amman with the north part of Jordan. This high way creates the commercial heart of the camp where the shops, the handicrafts, the garages for car repair and different kinds of skills entities are located for the camps inhabitants as well as for the passing by travellers.

The camp is then divided into streets and paths. The main streets penetrate the whole camp as shown in figure 6.1. They pass by the two main centers for schools and community centers. The paths are then flown from those main streets to feed the whole plots in the camp which represent mainly the housing areas.

With reference to the study carried out by the HUDC in the refugee camps and the poor settlements in the kingdom, many figures and statistics that will be beneficial to cite the status of the refugee population and family social and economical structures, are going to be presented in the following pages. They will in addition, be considered and valid as quantitative research information that form a base for the further qualitative social research that aim at achieving the goals and the findings and solutions for the research questions and that will be conducted and analysed in the coming chapters.

Those data and figures will be set in a layer for every camp that come later in order to get evaluated all together and then specified in one camps the main case study for this work. The data will be listed under many items:

- Age and gender: in this table below, the distribution of the age intervals with population are figured out from the HUDC infrastructure project and specifically in the Baqa'a camp with more detailed distribution between males and females.

Age intervals	Baqa'a Camp ²¹			Balka Governorate ²²
	Male	Female	Total	
1-14	19.9	20.8	40.7	41.4
15-64	27.5	27.6	55.1	55.8
65 and more	2.1	2	4.1	2.8
Total	49.5	50.5	100	100

Source: HUDC Housing and Urban Development Corporation 1999

What is needed from this table is following: 55% of the whole population of the camps are in an active age and productive one, this rate is almost the same as the population and the rate of the same age interval in the governorate where the camp is located.

- Education: the table below describes the relative distribution of the Baqa'a camp population with the educational degree and that is for the ages above 15 years old.

Educational status	%		%
	Male	Female	
Analphabetic	4.2	11.1	15.3
Reads & Writes	.9	.6	1.5
Elementary	22.2	17.5	39.7
Secondary	13.5	13.3	26.8
College	6.9	6.6	13.5
University	2.3	.8	3.1
Total	50	50	100

Source: HUDC Housing and Urban Development Corporation 1999: Infrastructure project, base-line study

Further more, according to the studies, it was noticed and figured out that although the rate of the females' alphabetic reaches about 3 times the males, but still as total it is less than the rate in Balka governorate where the camp is located.

- In the project implemented by the HUDC, the active group for economical purposes consists of the inhabitants of ages 15 and above and therefore, the conducted survey could succeed in showing those figures in the table below.

Economically active	Baqa'a camp			Balka governorate		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total

²¹ Infrastructure Improvement project 2000. Base Line Survey. HUDC Housing and Urban Development Corporation.

²² Employment and deployment survey 1998 (first round). General statistics department.

Employed	67.6	7	74.6	70.2	14.2	84.4
Unemployed	23.2	2.2	25.4	10.8	4.8	15.6
Total	90.8	9.2	100	80.9	19	100

Source: HUDC Housing and Urban Development Corporation 1999: Infrastructure project, base-line study

Table 6.4 shows the percentages of the demographically economic active groups in Baqa'a Camp and the governorate, in which it is located. This study will benefit from such statistics but further apply qualitative approaches to figure out, how active those groups can be and how to increase their motivation in order to achieve higher degrees of participation.

- Income statistics of the inhabitants in Baqa'a camp show that about 69.5% of the families have an income of 200 JD per month or less whereas, 27.5% of those families' monthly income does not reach the 100 JD.
- Provision of health insurance services is a big topic in the refugee camps. From the same statistics of the HUDC implementation projects, one can see that almost half of the inhabitants of Baqa'a camp are insured through UNRWA, whereas, about 40% through the government of Jordan (through governmental jobs). The last 10 % are distributed between Military forces (which means that refugees are allowed even to apply for the Jordanian army), private sector and other providers of health insurance.

6.2.2 Gaza Camp (Jerash Camp)

Gaza camp is located 5 km from the centre of Jerash city in the north of Jordan. The camp therefore, follows administratively Jerash governorate. The estimation of the population in Gaza camp reaches 26,000 inhabitants that are mostly originated from Gaza and Toulkarem whereas, the rest come from other villages evicted after the 1967 war like, Deir Dibban, Abbasiya, Beir Sheba and Al Dawaymeh.

The average number of family living in one unit is from 7-8 members. As in the previous talk, extended families are widespread in the communities of the refugee camps. But in this camp a certain identity can be well developed and in the first place noticed because of the common origin for the most inhabitants of this camp.

The dwellings in Gaza camp are the most of all cracked and open for rain and other weather negative effects. They are covered with old steel sheets that have no good connection to the vertical construction of the units. The streets of Gaza camp are not paved and one can notice the waste water channels that are decorating the whole paths of the camp. The government of Jordan represented in DPA and HUDC has not yet included Gaza camp in the priority list of the implemented infrastructure projects. Apparently, this is because of their temporal status through the possession of another form of Jordanian Nationality²³, whereas, according to the director of the project department in the department of Palestinian affairs, Gaza camp is in the plan for the next group and according to the director of the Jerash governorate office that supervises both Gaza and Suf camps, the infrastructure works in Gaza camps will be done after facilitating the infrastructural networks in the area where the camp is located.

The Gaza camp lacks playing grounds for the kids, where according to observations; children were playing in every place they could find, on the main street where the big

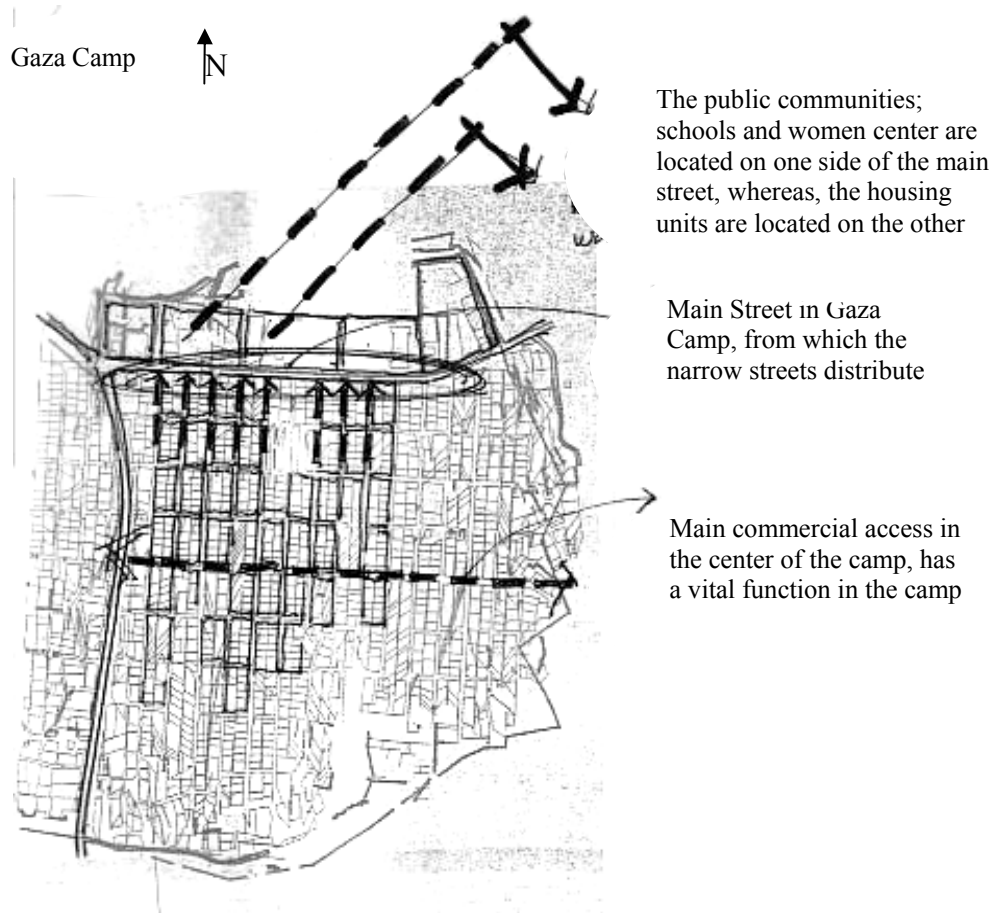
²³ Gaza camp inhabitants are the only Palestinian refugees in Jordan who do not possess a complete form of Jordanian nationality. They possess a 2 year passport that does not allow them to close permanent job contracts such as get hired in normal governmental positions

vehicles moved as well as on the paths and alleys connecting the different plots of the camp together.

The layout of Gaza camp is more likely to be described as a grid form. Two main active streets go through the camp; one is the main transport street that connect Jerash city with the camp and split the camp into two parts on two higher located hills. The other one is sited perpendicular on the main street and segregates the residential area from the public facilities such as the schools, the women centre and the health centre. Another street that does not share the others with the common understanding of a main commercial access; this street is the one that penetrates the camp in the centre and creates the (bazaar) the main market line.

The streets leading to the units are narrow and dirty due to the waste water canals that are still to be seen as will be later on discussed.

Figure 6.2: Patterns of land use plans in Gaza camp



Source: HUDC 1999, drafted by Tawil 2005

Regarding the industrial and economical status in the camp, one can find a real Arabic type of a market street (bazaar) full of shops and carts of goods on both sides of the street. Women have the largest share in the economic life of this camp, since men are not allowed to go to normal permanent jobs as the case for the rest of the refugees in the other camps in Jordan.

Since similar infrastructure projects to the other camps and eventually needed site and social surveys were not implemented and carried out in the Gaza refugee camp or still not, many statistics and data concerning the socio-economic status of the inhabi-

tants are not available. Therefore, many of the data and interpretations concerning this camp will be traced on basis of self observations, interviews and documentations and will contribute to the selection of the proper case study.

6.2.3 Madaba Camp

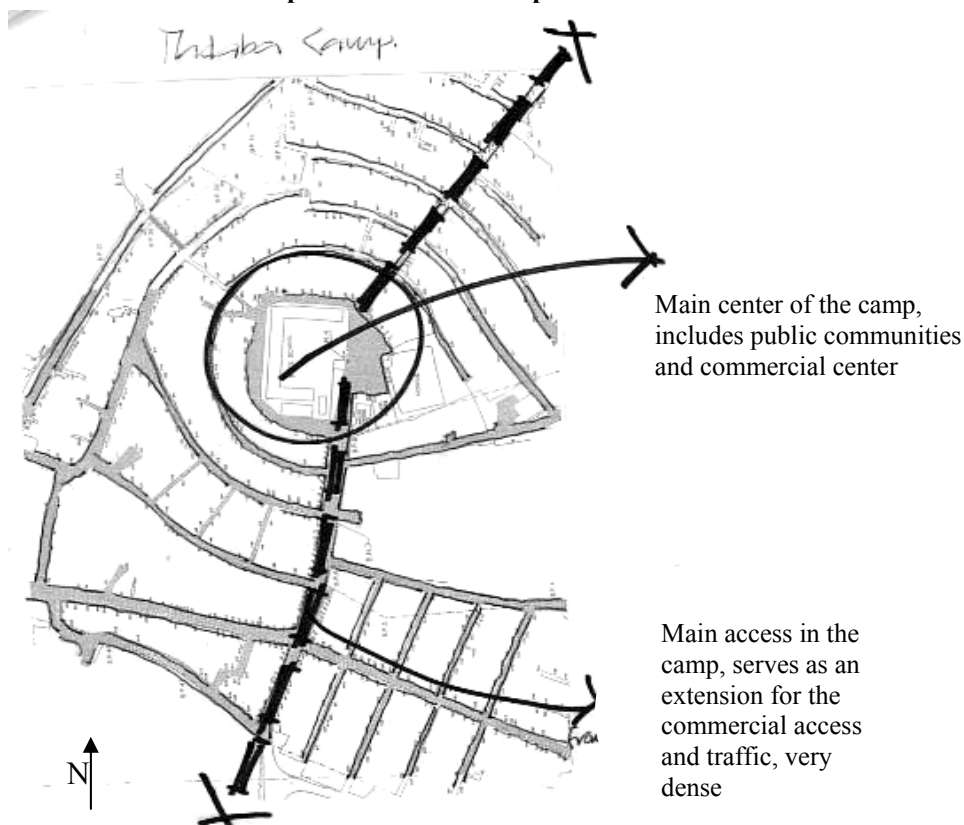
Madaba camp is the smallest camp in Jordan; it consists of about 5,500 inhabitants. It is located 0.5 km from Madaba city centre on an area of almost 112.500 Dunum²⁴. This camp is one of the camps that are officially not recognized by the UNRWA; but one can find many UNRWA entities in the camp.

The average number of family living in one unit is from 6-7 members. Extended families are to be widely noticed as already mentioned in the previous selected camps. They reach in this case 22.5% of the overall number of families in the camp which is a small percentage when compared to others. Regarding identity issues, Madaba camp dwellers come mostly from 2-3 villages in Palestine; Deirban, Artuf and Beir Sheba, which are neighbouring villages in Palestine. Consequently, the possibility of finding a common identity or developing such an identity is relatively high in comparison with other refugee camps.

The layout of Madaba camp is centralized, in contrast to the other previous camps where the rigid anti organic grid shape is very clear and dominant. Housing units are located in circles around the centre where the schools, health centre and other facilities are. Because of its semi organic shape, Madaba camp has a big spatial potential for meeting the local spatial needs, for it is flexible in attaining new urban images like the one after constructing the pedestrian bridge on the edge of the camp. This was an achievement by the government of Jordan to overcome the problem of reaching the schools on the other side of the main street.

²⁴ One Dunum is equivalent to 1000 sqm. This kind of area measurement is widely used in Jordan for land areas.

Figure 6.3: Patterns of land use plans in Madaba camp



Source: HUDC 1999, drafted by Tawil 2005

The inhabitants of Madaba camp are not as in other selected camps, motivated to start independent lives and build their own carriers even with basic simple skills. They are rather passive and somehow, selfish or not ready to share certain community oriented planning with own community members. This was an observation or a result that could generally be figured out from the field survey done by myself which will be more and thoroughly discussed in the empirical part in the next chapter.

Regarding the potential for development segment in the discussion of Madaba camp, it could be noted, that this camp has more potential for development than the bigger camps like Baqa'a, Hussein and Wihdat because of its population and its geographic location near Madaba city but still enjoys a high degree of independence. The governmental implementation projects had more dimensions in this camp than others; they achieved building the pedestrian bridge that connects the camp with the schools and other various facilities that are important for the daily life of the camp.

Coming to the comparison between the camps according to age, gender, education, employment, income and health insurance and eventually the evaluation process in order to select one case study; the same reference of the HUDC infrastructure projects figures will be taken into consideration.

Concerning the age and gender; it was proven in the HUDC survey done in this area, that the numbers of different structures of populations in Madaba refugee camp are similar to the ones in Madaba city itself. Almost 40% of the population are under 15 years old which constitutes the unproductive group of the community, whereas, 56% of the population are defined to be the productive group²⁵ and only 3.6% in Madaba city

²⁵ Productive group contains the population of ages between 15 and 65 years old. Ac-

and 4.1% in Madaba camp are over 65 years old which are again considered to be unproductive group.

Educational degree is in this regard a main indicator to measure the social and cultural standard of the community of the study field. Therefore, it was given a vital importance while doing these social surveys. The results show that:

- The rate of the female analphabetic population is twice the males’.
- University degree rates in males’ population is about two times the females’.
- The other stages of education are similar between males and females.
- The analphabetic rate in the study area is 12% less than the rate in Madaba Governorate which reached 14.7% in the year 1998²⁶

It is very interesting and beneficial for the study to mention the rates of the workers in Madaba camp according to the survey done by the HUDC (base line survey 1999); 24% of the employed are active in the governmental sector, whereas, 48% are working in the private sector. 22.2% are working in their own industries and premises and only 1.4% are enrolled and employed at the UNRWA.

Regarding health insurance issues, 74% of the inhabitants in Madaba camp have governmental health insurance, whereas, only 3.7% through UNRWA, 3.7% possess a private insurance and 13% of the inhabitant are insured through the military forces.

6.2.4 Suf Camp

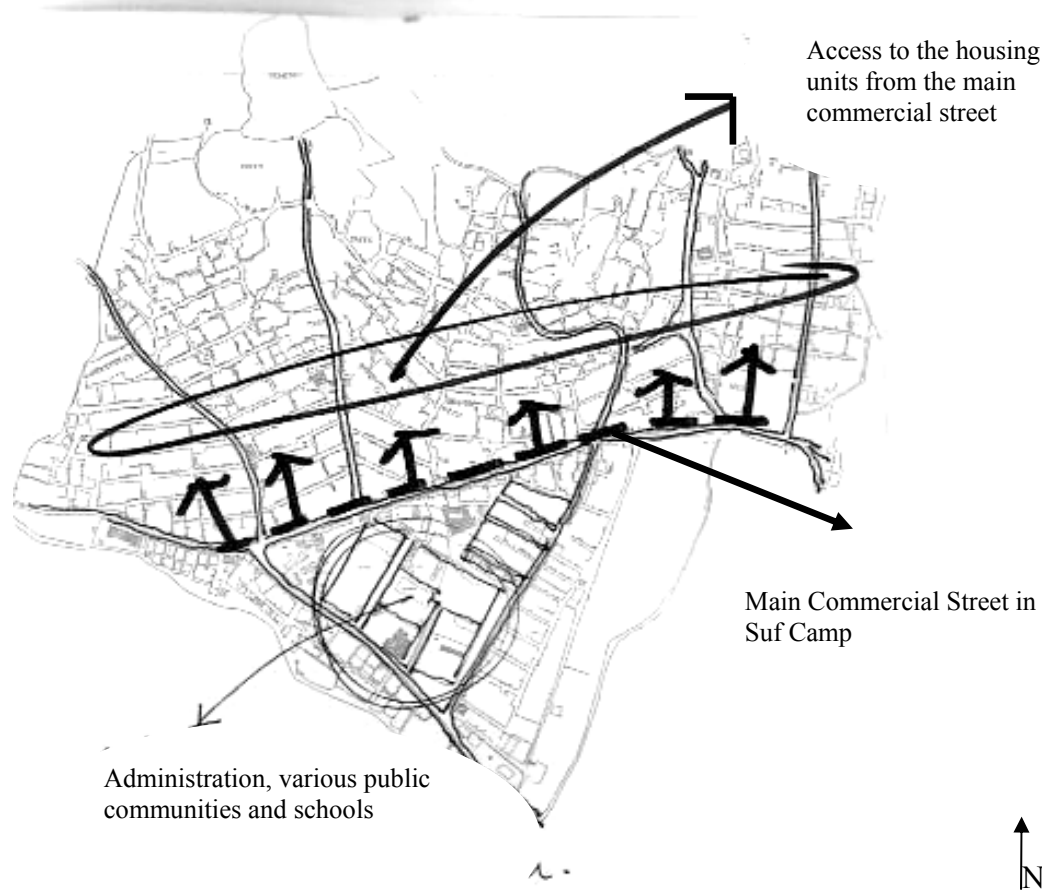
Suf camp is located 3 km from the centre of Jerash city in the north of Jordan. The camp therefore, follows administratively Jerash governorate. The estimation of the population in Suf camp reaches 15,000 inhabitants that are mostly originated from Ajjour, Beit Jibrin, Iraq Al Manshia and other neighbouring villages evicted after the 1967 war.

Average number of family members in Suf camp is about 7 members. The reason in that lies in the fact of having a big rate of extended families all over the camps, for instance, in Suf camp it reaches 30.6% from the whole numbers of families.

Patterns of land use plans are considered as an indicator that differentiates the selected camps in this study. As shown in figure 4.4, the layout of Suf camp takes still the shape and form of a grid but much more flexible than other camps like Baqa’a camp for instance. The centre of Suf camp as sketched on the plan aside is located at the beginning of the camp when driving from Jerash city. Afterwards, the main street in the camp with the commercial activities creates the vane where the smaller streets and alleys flow from. The northern side of the camp is almost accompanied with wide areas of land that could be developed in green areas or in an expansion of the plots themselves and eventually the reduction of the density in the camp. The camp has a major amount of potential for development.

ording to the infrastructure improvement project of HUDC 1999, Base line survey
²⁶ Employment and unemployment survey, first round 1998. Department of general statistics

Figure 6.4: Patterns of land use plans in Suf camp



Source: HUDC 1999, drafted by Tawil 2005

Further, to continue on the aspects that distinguish one camp from another; the analphabetic rate in Suf camp reaches 14.7% from the inhabitants' number who passed the age of 15 according to the base line study (HUDC 1999). From this percentage, it is important to know that the female analphabetic amount around half of the number of the whole analphabetic in the camp which is less than the rate in the other camps described previously where the female amount reached three or four times the male percentage.

Regarding the economically active groups²⁷ in Suf camp, it is noticed that female percentage is much less than the male's one which reaches 85% from the active inhabitants. Two points are as well interesting and of use for the study to know, on the one hand, the female involvement in the active group is higher than the involvement of the females active group in Jerash governorate, and on the other hand, the unemployed in the camp reach the percentage of 30% whereas, in Jerash governorate only 14% which emphasizes the potential for development that lies in Suf camp represented in creating and planning the appropriate and suitable development that match the needs of the inhabitants and that can come up with projects and ideas that reduces such unemployment among other aims.

²⁷ The group of inhabitants of ages above 15 years, considered to be economically active. They could be employed and unemployed; the term does not distinguish their work status.

It is as well very interesting and beneficial for the study to mention the rates of the workers in Suf camp according to the survey done by the HUDC (base line survey 1999); 36% of the employed are active in the governmental sector, whereas, 29.3% are working in the private sector. 27.6% are working in their own industries and premises and only 2.1% are enrolled and employed at the UNRWA. Opposite to the Gaza camp, Suf camp enjoys the full attention of the government, the infrastructure projects, the income generation programs, the different human non-academic centres and particularly, the NGO's' main attention like German Development Bank who considered the camp as a pilot project for the settlement type.

The average income of the families in Suf camp reaches about 189, 00 JD per month whereas, 333, 00 JD in Jerash governorate which indicates the big difference between two places that are only 2 km apart. This is again indicating a great potential for development. To get more acquainted with the accurate information concerning the income rate, 72% of the families have an income of 200, 00 JD per month.

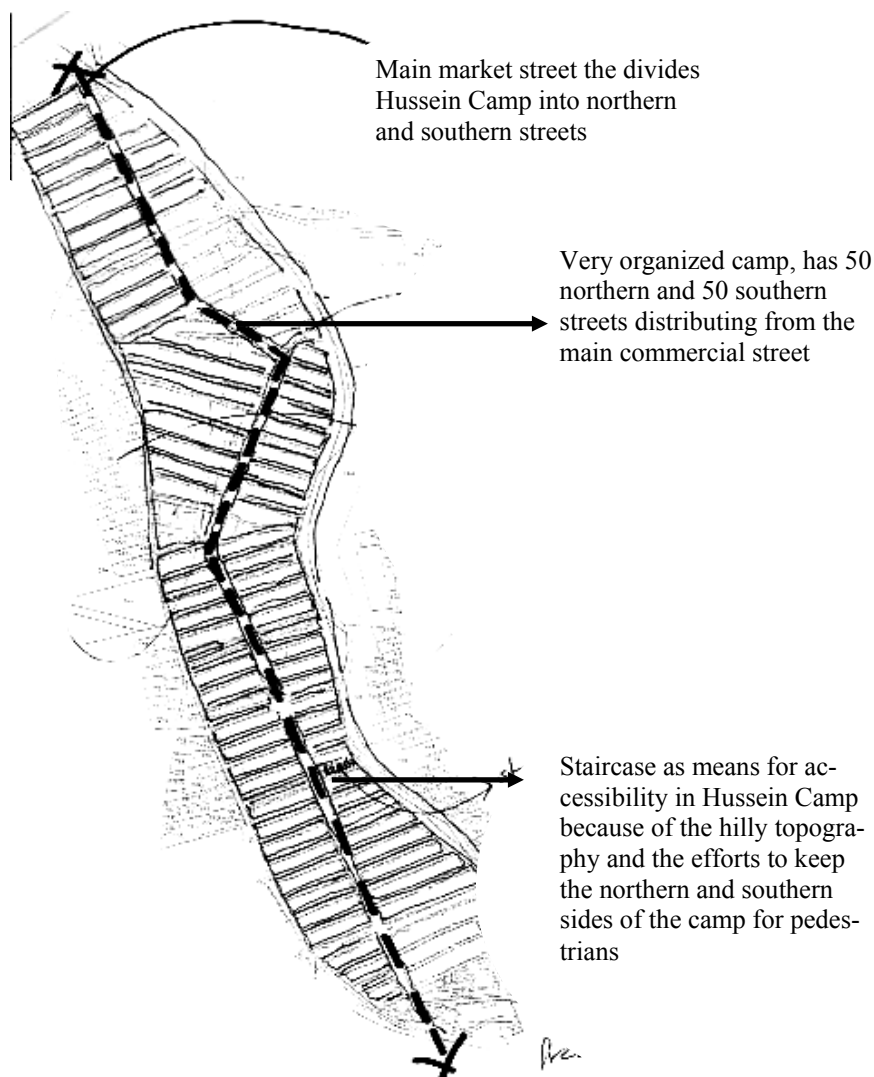
Further statistical information could entitle the health insurance rates, which are to approximate half of the inhabitants 51% insured by the UNRWA, 37% by the government of Jordan, around 6% by the military forces and only 3.7% through private firms. What is as well interesting to know is that 99.3% of the children in Suf camp have punctual vaccinations against all kinds of diseases.

6.2.5 Hussein Camp

One of the oldest camps established in Jordan, it was established in the year 1952 on an area of about 421 Dunum 3 km from the centre of Amman, the capital city in Jordan. Its population reaches approximately 28,000 refugees constituting about 4000 families. Most of the Hussein camp inhabitants come from Lod, Ramleh, Safriyeh, Beit Dajan and other villages evicted after the 1948 war therefore, it can be clearly stated that there is no certain identity for the camp because of the different and many origins of the camp dwellers.

The Hussein camp is economically very active. Its main street between the 50 northern and southern sub-streets is full of shops and all kind of commercial activities. The inhabitants of the camp are varied in their skills. They occupy all the professions that a neighbourhood or a small city needs. The inhabitants do not need any worker or do not need to buy anything outside the camp. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate is still very high.

Figure 6.5: Patterns of land use plans in Hussein camp



Source: HUDC 1999, drafted by Tawil 2005

Contrariwise, Al Hussein camp has a very organized layout. A main street divides the camp into north and south sides which in turn shape the whole camp. Hussein camp is more considered to be a neighbourhood in the city Amman, organized and planned. It is as well part of the planning of the link between Amman and the north of Jordan, as it creates the start point of the main high way from Amman to the north of the country. The main street in Hussein camp creates the main shopping and industrial street for the dwellers and outsiders because of its variety of products and its cheap offers.

6.3 Case Study Selection

6.3.1 Validity description of Factors and indicators

This section will include the factors that determine the evaluation and selection of the most appropriate three camp settlements that well apply to the upgrading process foreseen in this research.

Patterns of layout are the major indicator in this regard. Since Islam began in the region from the seventh century, the Arab city began to form a certain shape that could be

described through the following points below. The shape of this Arab city has also reflected the needs of climate requirements:

- The fabric of residential complexes is more likely to be clustered and compact but still in the individual case introverted where the housing units open up to an inner courtyard (patio) that allows total degree of privacy for the household members, especially the women. The rooms in turn are laid out in a way to create two main zones in the house, a public and a private zone as well to allow the degrees of private circulation within the one unit.
- The patterns of streets in the local traditional Arab city are irregular. The reasons behind this irregularity are the natural respond to climate, to achieve and attain maximum shade and coming again to the privacy issue within a plot or street, where neighbours cannot have a visual access to their other neighbours who share the same street.
- The bazaar or suq is a key element of the local Arab/Islamic city. The suq is usually traditionally covered with vaults or domes and comprises many complementary trades and a variety of handicrafts and small industries.
- The city has a major mosque usually located in the city main public place and other minor ones that feed the city relatively taking into consideration the population of the city or settlement.

This kind of complex layout matches the traditional context of the old Arab villages or the ones evicted through the Arab Israeli War, from which, most of the refugees originate. Therefore, the trend of the evaluation process will favour the camps that are more organically laid out and those who have potential of forming such a city in the sense of a traditional layout. The selection will avoid selecting grid layouts that possess a different language than our aim city.

The second point of relevance to the selection indicators is the origin issue. Based on that, it will elevate the grade of having a certain identity for the settlement dwellers. In this regard, camps are to be selected in accordance to the varied types of villages they are flown from. In this concern, first parameter will be the number of origins in this camp, how many origins came together to form the camp community, and the other parameter that is based on the first; is the types of those villages, if they were neighbour communities, or if they have relatively different cultures.

Degrees of development are also a major point in this regard. The selection will be laid out on the camps that have experienced relatively intensive upgrading and developing implementations and initiatives. The aim of such a study is to achieve a step forward in the upgrading of the refugee settlement and not repeating already implemented processes. In addition, this study will benefit a lot from the previous actions undertaken for the development of the refugee camps in Jordan.

Other points that will be taken into consideration for the selection process are area and population. The smaller camp area and the less population the camp has, the more preferable in order to maximize the control factor and the representation factor in those settlements.

Moreover, the location and the socio-economic status of those communities are to be considered and taken into that selection process. From the location point of view, the nearer to a city centre in the governorate, will be rather selected.

Social structure contains the possibilities of selecting settlements that imply the highest rates of extended families at one side, and the role of the family members including the females on the other.

As for the economic status of the camp inhabitants, the low unemployment rates and the salary average will be included in the selection sheet as critical parts that determine

the three case studies to be selected. It will be preferable to have rates of maximum unemployment in order to enlarge the domain of the problem and try to deal with the relatively extreme cases in job generation. This factor will be optimal for finding out the potentials of such information. It will be then detected which kind of jobs and how they are obtained. Accordingly, the strategies for upgrading of the Palestinian refugee camps will be concluded, if the base of unemployment was high enough.

The previous discussion was meant to be an introduction for the sheet that will be created below. It will contain the selection criteria, grades of emphasis and an abstract grading scale that hints out the most applicable three camps to the survey.

6.3.2 Selection process for the second level of the case studies

In order to be able to narrow down the selection to the three camps, the selected criteria discussed above, will be translated into a scale from 1-10. The level it reaches in this scale is dependent on the measuring determined above. For instance, the desired area of the selected camps is the smaller in comparison to the other camps, therefore, the smaller area the camp is located on, the higher grade it reaches in the scale and so on. Table 6.6 measures the criteria:

- Patterns of layout: the more organic the camp is, the higher grade it reaches in the scale
- Rural or urban: the more distanced the camp is from the major cities, and mainly from the City of Amman, the higher ranking it gains
- Origin: potential for identity development is measured in this scale, the less diversity of origins the higher it ranks in the scale
- Degrees of development: the more developed camp will rank a higher position in the scale
- Area: as described above, the smaller the camp is, the higher it ranks in the scale
- Population: the less population in the camp compared to the others, the higher it ranks in the scale
- Social status: the higher rate of extended families in the camp, the higher this camp will rank in the scale
- Unemployment: the higher the rate of unemployment is in the camps, the higher it ranks in the scale
- Insurance: the higher rate of governmental health insurance the camps has, the higher it ranks in the scale considered as a sign of integration
- Average salary: the bigger difference in the average salary between the camp and the governorate, in which it is located, the higher it ranks in the scale

Those measures will be summed up to present a ranking grade out of 100. The selected camps will be the first three camps in this ranking. They will be qualitatively examined within the first field survey in order to come up with the in-depth case study. This in-depth case study will be analysed within both, first and second field surveys.

Table 6.5: Camp selection matrix												
Camp	Patterns of layout	Rural / urban	Origin	Degrees of development	Area	Population	Social status	Unemployment	Governmental health insurance	Average salary	Total	
Baq'a Camp	Grid ranks: 3	Urban, ranks: 0	2	8	1890 D ranks: 1	83127 ranks: 1	37% ranks: 8	23% ranks: 6	39% ranks: 7	191 /396 ranks: 7	43%	
Gaza Camp	Semi, ranks: 6	Rural, ranks: 9	10	3	507 D ranks: 7	26000 ranks: 4	35% ranks: 7	25% ranks: 6	Minimal rate ranks: 1	Big differ- ence ranks: 6	59%	
Madaba Camp	Centered or- ganic, ranks: 9	Rural, ranks: 8	7	8	112 D ranks: 9	5500 ranks: 10	22.5% ranks: 4	33.5% ranks: 9	74% ranks: 9	177 /399 ranks: 8	81%	
Suf Camp	Flexible, ranks: 8	Rural, ranks: 9	9	9	596 D ranks: 6	15000 ranks: 9	30.6% ranks: 7	30% ranks: 8	37% ranks: 7	189 /333 ranks: 5	77%	
Hussein Camp	Grid, ranks: 3	Urban, ranks: 0	3	8	338 D ranks: 8	27891 ranks: 3	25% ranks: 5	High ranks: 6	Low ranks: 7	Big differ- ence Ranks: 6	49%	

Source: Tawil 2005 (based on statistical information, HUDC 1999, 2000)

This matrix leads us to the case study selection based on quantitative approach that is resulted from collecting needed data. These are, to a great extent, based on previous quantitative social studies carried out by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation. The three camps that are selected are: Suf Camp, Madaba Camp and Gaza Camp.

6.3.3 Selection of the in-depth case study, third selective process

The in-depth case study is selected upon the results of the first field survey illustrated in chapter 5. This survey distinguished two points:

- Testing where the inhabitants stood in the context of the research questions and the approaches considered for the process of development.

Gaza Camp had shown a great tendency to participate and cooperate in the upgrading process. It was very active

Madaba Camp had a certain degree of passiveness; the local community showed relatively little motivation, agreement or disagreement to any course of actions

Suf Camp was active and had shown much tendency to cooperate

- The potential of generalization and the transferability of resulting planning guidelines in the selected camp.

Gaza Camp is considered to be an extreme case because of the unique status of nationality of its inhabitants. Any developed strategies for this camp will be on one hand very needed and vital, but on the other hand, they cannot be negotiable for the development of the other camp settlements in the kingdom, therefore, Gaza Camp cannot be taken as the in-depth site for the study

Madaba Camp: possible integrated strategies in Madaba Camp can adaptable by others because of its normal situation; a camp that has experienced lots of projects with refugees granted the Jordanian nationality

Suf Camp is adaptable as well. In fact, it was taken as a pilot project for other implementations of projects.

Consequently, Suf Camp is to be considered for the in-depth study, as it corresponds to both criteria accountable for the selection. On the one hand, it should be far as possible “normal”, to enable generalizing its results, and on the other hand, its local community are perceived as active and willing to cooperate to produce effective results.

6.4 In-depth case study “Suf camp”

Suf camp as already mentioned in the case study discussion is located 3 Km North West from Jerash city centre as shown in figure 6.6.

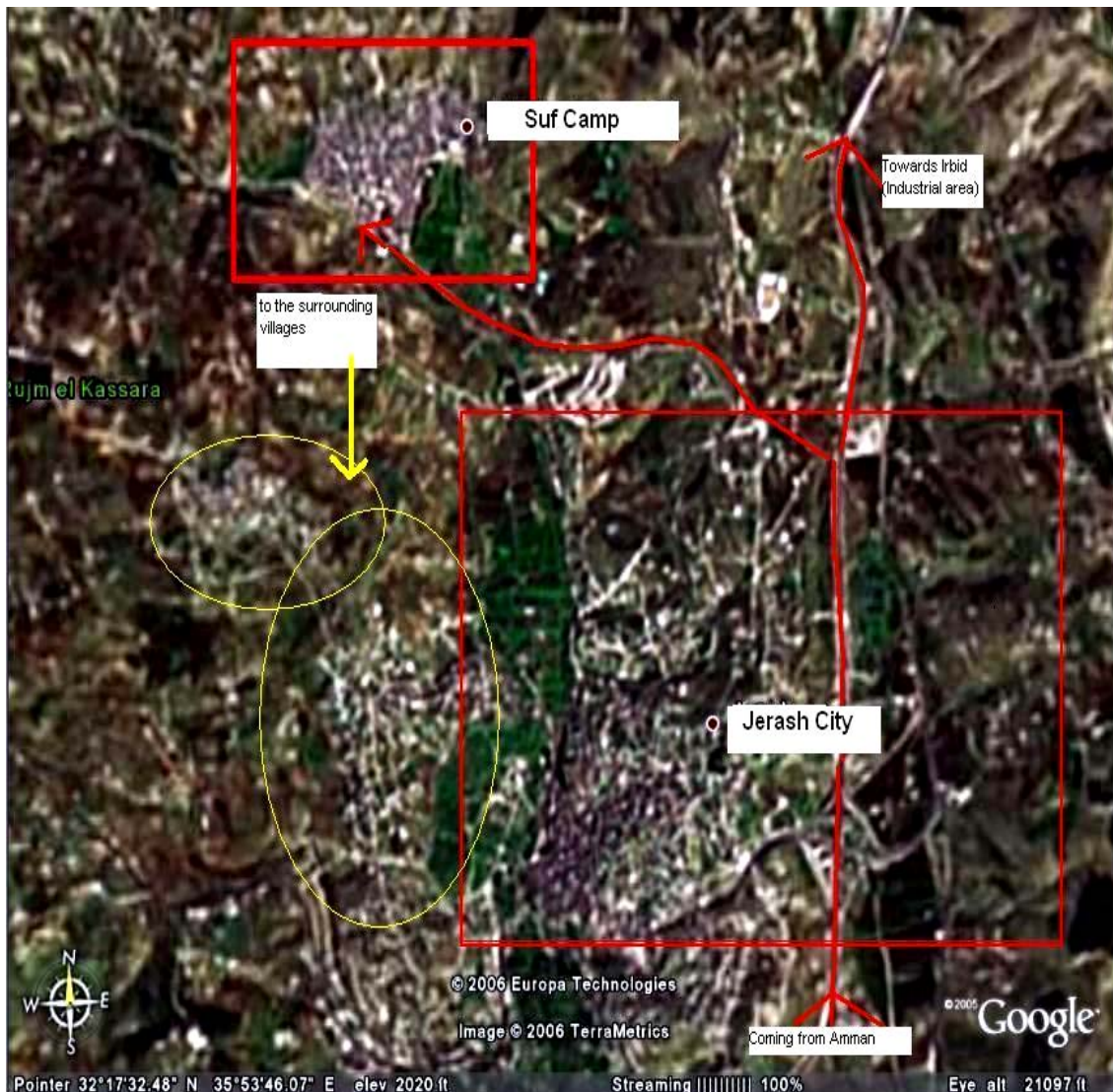
Historically, Suf Camp’s inhabitants originate mainly from Hebron and surrounding villages like Beit Jibrin. They settled in the camp in the year 1967. Their lives got developed along the years, from living in tents, through different phases of informal developments until the present time.

The field work in this specific camp will begin aiming at answering the research questions brought out in previous parts of the study:

- The approach with which these aims will be fulfilled will take the type of qualitative approach through biographical interviews that can determine what kind of typologies this community constitutes and which needs and aspirations it has. Based on that, it will further investigate how the community perceive its future and in what ways it can accomplish its perspectives

- Theoretical sampling which indicates finding and forming as different types as the survey allows in order to able to reach a qualitative representative results that correspond to the different groups of the community
- The method of sequential analysis will help elevating these typologies

Figure 6.6: location of the Suf Camp within the governorate of Jerash



Source: Google Earth 2006, edited by the author

It is located in a very green landscape of the country as shown in the figures 6.7 and 6.8.

Figure 6.7: Suf Camp, surrounding image 1



Source: Tawil 2005

Figure 6.8: Suf Camp, surrounding image 2



Source: Tawil 2005

Figures 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11 introduce the camp from its various faces.

Figure 6.9: Suf Camp, Paths leading to dwelling units



Source: Tawil 2005

Figure 6.10: Suf Camp, layout of units in a green environment



Source: Tawil 2005

Figure 6.11: Suf Camp, urban layout image



Source: Tawil 2005

7 Inhabitants' Perception of their Camp

Various types of instruments have contributed to the collection and the analysis of the data. Observations, interviews, questionnaires and a future workshop were all directed to the figuring out of the real needs, actual problems, aspirations and future perspectives and finally, practical solutions and potential ideas that lead to reality-derived strategies that are capable of promoting the present situation of the camps.

In this chapter, this various outputs will be displayed. It is thought to weave the image of the camp perceived by its inhabitants. The chapter will move throughout the coming steps towards reaching the concluded strategies that will serve as a base for the further upgrading:

- Typology of the inhabitants
- A wide platform of the perceived needs of inhabitants and experts accompanied by the correspondent quotations from the field
- Perceived needs classified according to the typology of inhabitants
- A wide platform of the aspirations and the ideas of the inhabitants to solve their problems and to fill up the deficits they state as evident
- Perceived aspirations and ideas classified according to the typology of inhabitants
- Categorisation and prioritisation of the resulted set of needs and aspirations

7.1 Typology of inhabitants

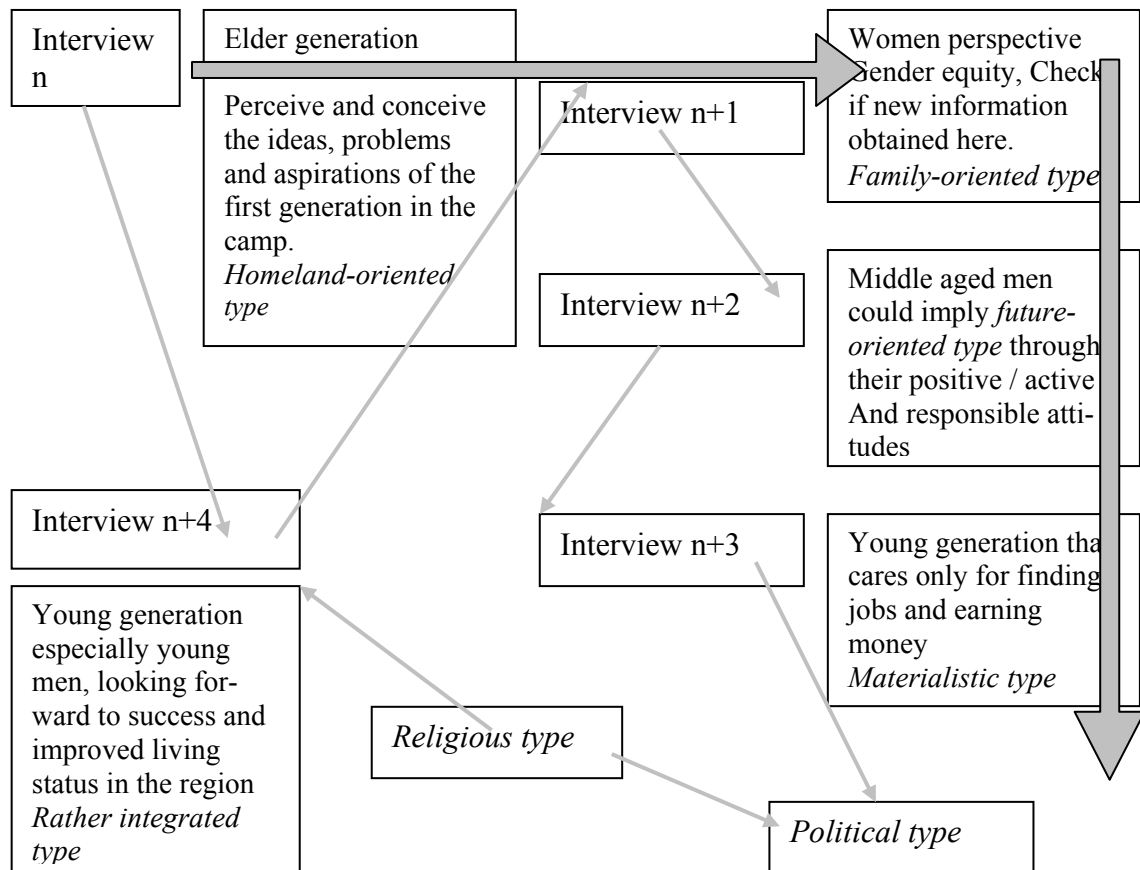
In reference to chapter five, the typologies in Suf Camp are going to be created according to two categories of indicators. The first category consists of the predominated codes; needs and problems, aspirations, ideas, integration possibilities and willingness to participation. The second category consists of the generated codes from the subjective perspective. They include; identity issues, spatial aspects, family considerations and work status.

The determination and construction of the various types of inhabitants in Suf refugee camp is, subsequently, based on the future oriented perspectives and tendencies of the inhabitants and not on the demographical characteristics of the inhabitants. The one demographical category of the inhabitants could have similar tendencies in some cases, whereas, in other cases, they could vary a great deal. This was illustrated in chapter five in the maximum-minimum contrast concept. Nevertheless, the demographical characteristics of the inhabitants have played a guiding role in the determination of the interview partners.

The interviews were interpreted as shown in section 5.4.2 in the illustrated example of processing the interviews. The dimensional profile column contained the directions of the different attitudes of the interviewed. Upon the different categorized interpreted statements, it could be figured out that the one interviewee was rather looking up to his or her future and trying to figure out ways of achieving future improvements, and the other group of interviewed thinking explicitly of their lost homeland and hindering any positive future solution other than returning to homeland. In other cases, the interviewed were rather flexible and accepting the ideas of engagement and involvement in upgrading the refugee camps, but unfortunately controlled by others of traditional conservative mentalities, which hinder them to cooperate.

As referred to in section 5.3.2.3, the sequential analysis, the flow of interviews and the selection of the interview partners has also a measurable effect on the resulted types to be considered for the Suf refugee camp. figure 7.1 shows a concept of sequence that created a logical interpretation of the different interviews resulting in determining the various types that could be figured out in the field survey.

Figure 7.1: Concept of sequence



Source: Tawil 2005

From figure 7.1, the typologies, homeland-oriented type, family-oriented type, future-oriented type, materialistic and rather integrated type constituted the major categories of the inhabitants. Whereas, political and religious type were less concrete and had less weight and significance as the interviews were conducted. However, they few limited represented attitudes can be summed up into a common type that can be called, the traditional type. It will include the inhabitants that are either extreme in their societal norms or conservative regarding women engagement and involvement in the upgrading process of the camp.

7.2 Needs as deficits

During the different periods of field survey, an assortment of input has flown in the discussion. It was directed and planned to match the aims of the research. The groups of stakeholders through whom the research has functioned are:

- The local community represented in the inhabitants

- The experts and administration of the camp. Considered by conducted semi structured interviews along with the open discussion in the future workshop.

7.2.1 Return to Homeland

The first topic that was in common between all types of inhabitants was the return issue. The first reaction to any sign of survey was always reflected with the need to return to the homeland. It was interesting to see that even the inhabitants who have never seen their origin villages had this type of reaction in the first beginning. This can be shown through:

I want to go back to the sand of homeland even if I had to live underneath a plastic bag (interview: 17 years old boy, Feb 2004)

Another reflection by someone who has a shop in the camp and gives the impression to be settled was raised as:

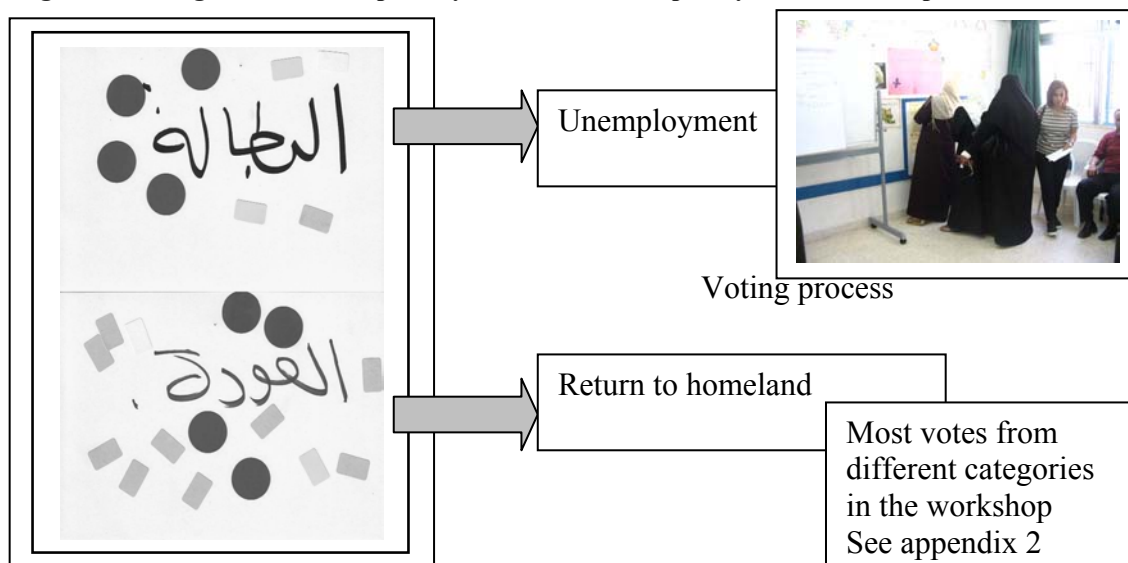
This is not patriotism, even our children; as we were, are taught and raised to think that way (interview: 46 years old man, Feb 2004)

Nevertheless, this need has vanished as soon as the interview went further to realistic matters. Such kind of need occurred also in the future workshop, where it had the most votes as the priorities were set, see figure 7.2 But as the discussion began to try figuring out, how to solve the various problems, the right of return was never addressed by the attendees, whether inhabitants or officials. Still, as a moderator and in order to test and sense the importance and the strength of this issue, I pointed it out to be discussed and it was closed in one answer that, this is out of their control and there would never be any ideas for solving that problem. It is emotional and cannot be based on any practical factors. However, this need was enforced by one type of the interview partners, and that is by the older ones that constitute the first generation in the refugee camps:

You know what; I would rather eat sand there as living here (interview: 83 years old man, Feb 2004)

The missing of the family, the lost of property and the flee leaving behind the beloved. This alone can never be compensated (Interview: 75 years old man, Feb 2004)

Figure 7.2: Right of return as priority: Future Workshop, July 2005, Suf Camp



7.2.2 Urban layout Problems

Structural and physical issues were heavily objected and criticised. The density and the deteriorated structures of the units in the refugee camps, the materials used for the ceilings and the construction of these units, the layout of the camp and the lack of green areas and public spaces. Those and many other physical and urban related issues were resented during the interviews:

The facilities should be improved, the youth club, stations for the public transport and facilities for the people. No technical maintenance, lamps stay two months till they get repaired, cars are burned (Interview 46 years old man, Feb 2004)

Yes, this room where you sit now came over my daughters, god has saved them from a horrible death ...the neighbours offered bringing them to their house, but I refused, how can I get my daughters to a stranger house?... then the government came and checked it finally and decided it needs renovation (interview: 53 years old house wife, Feb 2004)

We are farmers and here we had to live in boxes (interview: 60 years old lady, Feb 2004)

This indication was emphasized by the elder inhabitants who experienced other settlements before moving into the camp. For instance, they reflected the idea of having a green garden for the unit. This was described as:

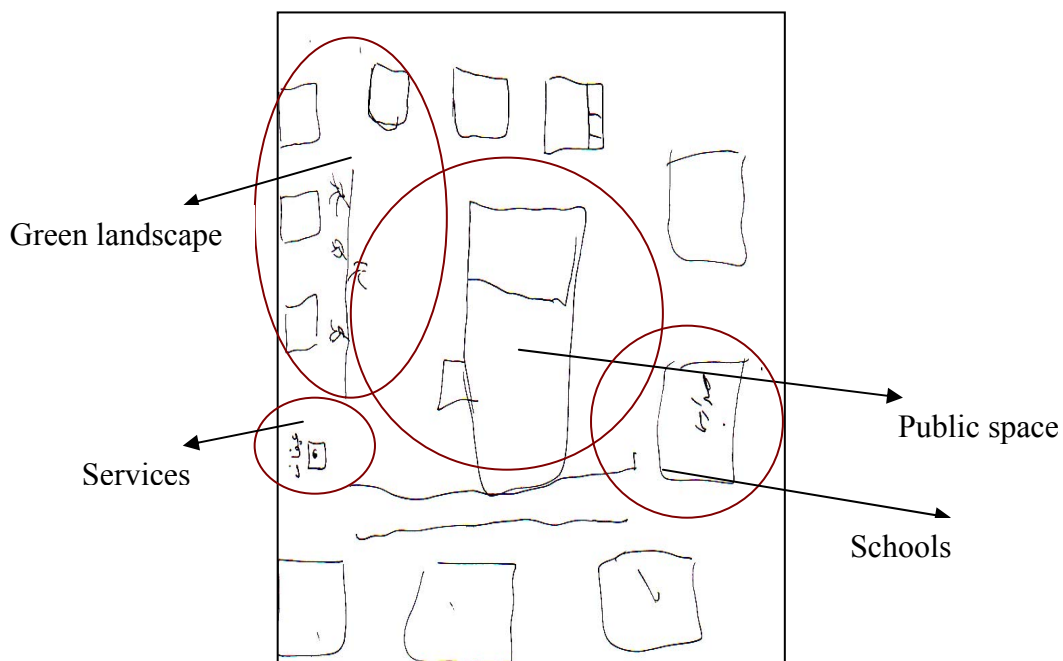
I want to have my own garden and plant my own vegetables. I love planting. Our whole life before was depending on the harvest (interview: 53 years old house wife, Feb 2004)

It was also raised as a need for having playgrounds for children to play in. this was rather reflected by family-oriented type, women, whose children have to play in the narrow streets and alleys of the camp:

Where should I go with him to the edge of the world for him to play in playground constructed by the government ... there is a nearby piece of land owned by the government, they should make a park there ... they play on the streets, so many accidents went with our children but what can we do, the streets are one next to the other, very narrow (interview: 40 years old house wife, Feb 2004)

Mental maps were used as an additional instrument for the field survey. They show a clear direction of the way, the layout should be as shown in figure 7.3. They also reflect the action-needed areas in the camp by sketching a better layout.

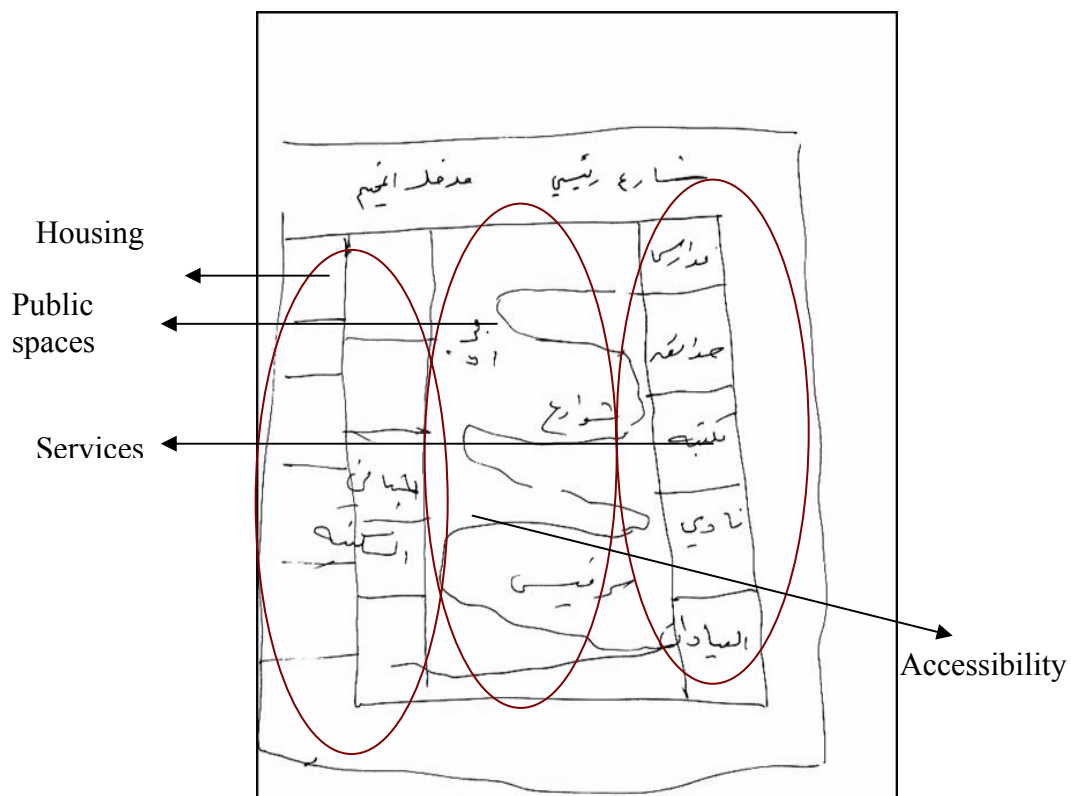
Figure 7.3 Mental map showing the urban need perceived by inhabitants



Source: Tawil 2004

Accessibility for emergencies was evident as a main problem in Suf Camp. It was an additional point raised within the urban renewal aspects. It was evident through the mental maps and the future workshop, where the inhabitants laid much emphasis that the streets at the edge of the camp are very narrow. This need was also reflected in the mental maps as shown in figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4: Mental map showing the urban renewal needs perceived by inhabitants



| Source: Tawil 2004 |

On a parallel access, it was evident that improving the housing units in the camp was of great interest to the officials rather than the inhabitants. As, in the future workshop, only one woman and one man out of 20 local community members voted for that issue, whereas, three officials out of 10 which is a larger percentage in comparison, did that. See table 7.1.

Consequently, this need can be practically seen as a first priority that needs effective planning in the coming phases. Again, this can be interpreted in a way that the local community are much busy thinking about their individual or more personal matters that affect their present living standards based on the financial issues than the undertakings towards the camp improvement as whole. Based on Fung (2004), it is important in some cases to consider the assessment done by the experts and authorities responsible for the camp, and to integrate both paths into one aim for the whole process:

“Giving the ordinary residents the absolute autonomy is not what is meant here, but giving it still to them along with what he called ad hoc forms of support for local autonomy” (Fung 2004:4).

7.2.3 Unemployment and poverty

Unemployment was an intense need that was raised by almost all types of inhabitants. It was a top priority for young inhabitants looking forward to their future:

There is no chance, we hope someone will hear us, how can we think about anything if we know it will be nothing (interview: 21 years old boy, Feb 2004)

The rate of unemployed in the camp is incredible, the rate of the educated is very large, it is our wish that the governorate of Jerash will establish large concerns like an industrial area to enrol the educated youth here... not only for the camp but also the villages around us... it will serve the demand of the market on one side and alleviate the unemployment or reduce it on the other (interview: 22 years old girl, Feb 2004)

Implication of both needs and ideas for the future of the camp can be dragged from such an interview. To the status of job market in this community for instance, some reflections were drawn:

My son for example, when he works from before sunrise prayer, 4am and doesn't go back home before the evening prayers is ended, around 9 or 10pm, and earns 5 JD (6,-EUR) in that day ... this is the monopoly of the employer ... he is just like an unemployed (interview: 50 years old woman, March 2004)

This was addressed by a family-oriented type. It was again addressed by future-oriented type through a man who was settled in the camp and possessed good visions for the future. He commented on the topic as:

Of course I will participate, if any approach was done for the camp, I will be there. 25% from the camp are unemployed. So if they made any places for industrial courses, for computers and other skill, this will absorb a lot (interview: 46 years old man, Feb 2004)

It was noticed that the local community, on its different types, addressed this topic. In the future workshop, it gained the most votes after the return issue as shown in table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Priorities of needs by attendees in the future workshop				
Need priorities	F/Community	F/Officials	M/Community	M/Officials

24h Health centre	1 inhabitant	1 official		
Electricity	3 inhabitants			
Building licence	2 inhabitants			
Number of Students in class	2 inhabitants			
Improving units	1 inhabitant		1 inhabitant	3 officials
Insurance	1 inhabitant	2 officials	3 inhabitants	
Returning	4 inhabitants	1 official	9 inhabitants	1 official
Unemployment	4 inhabitants	2 officials	1 inhabitant	1 official
Scholarships			5 inhabitants	
Horizontal expansion			2 inhabitants	

Source: Tawil 2005

Table 7.1, shows that “unemployment” (8 votes) ranked the most votes after “returning” (15 votes). It also showed that the younger male generation voted mostly for scholarship (5 votes) to guarantee a better future rather than voting for unemployment, although, it was their predominant concern during the interviews. However, this priority leads to the other, if we tried to see that from their perspective. The younger and the women generally complained about shortage of jobs and lack of opportunities. What is seen in the future workshop is simply a step further; how to get a better job and that is by having an opportunity to study. This conclusion was derived from the discussion, as it showed how the younger among others from the attendance thought about solving this problem.

The attendance of the future workshop was scheduled to amount up to about 20 persons from the local community. Those will shape and represent the various types of inhabitants the first survey resulted in. In more detailed sense, the attendance from the community will include two persons above 70 years old, 2 persons who are middle aged and have a big family which they have to take care of, they have as well some openness in their future plans, other 2 just finished their high school and are planned to integrate the young motivated vision into the discussion, and others who can be below that age or in the beginning of their career and just deciding which direction to take.

The attendance was chosen to have equal amounts of women as the case of men. In general, the attendees will represent the categories of both genders, all groups of ages interviewed, all geographical locations (centre, edge and so on) and employed and not employed. It will further include about 10 persons from different authorities who can help coming up with the needed approaches and ways of dealing with problems and ideas that are particularly based on the community itself, and then discussed with the experts and decision makers. Mainly, those experts and decision makers are to include representatives from the DPA, the Camp Improvement Committee, the UNRWA and others who are believed to be of beneficial experience to the topic and can give a constructive opinion to the process.

7.2.4 Gender constraints

Suffering from the traditional scope of thinking was addressed by mainly the younger generation of women, who were not allowed to practice jobs unless it had a certain framework. This was thoroughly explained by a college graduate married young woman:

Working?” no, my parents in law do not believe in a working wife. She has to stay at home and raise the children, so I am spending most of the time at my parents’ until my husband comes from work. This is the only place that is not forbidden to me...If I should get a respectable job at the government or so then it will be worth

a while for my family, but here and there, it will look as if I am not doing anything not earning any money but going and coming and that is not within their understanding limits... In my house, doing things like cooking and selling or baking or sewing, yes, I am ready and no one will say no to earning money but how, that is the problem. Even these activities, they have to be within a certain circle of people that we know in order to be acceptable (interview: 30 years old house wife, March 2004)

It was also addressed by elder women who have to allow such gender discrimination but are not happy about it:

Should I allow my girls and daughters in law to stand in the shop and sell?! I won't be finished with my sons. They will not keep the boat going, I can't, girls are to raise their children and stay basically at home. Everything they need can be brought to them by their husbands (interview: 63 years old women, March 2004)

Such a statement calls for awareness and motivation to various kinds of projects that can absorb different types of thinking.

These are the main performed results concerning the needs and problems from the survey. Further, Table 7.2 classifies these needs according to the different resulted typologies of the inhabitants in the Suf camp community.

Table 7.2: Needs of inhabitants	
Typology	Needs / problems
(1) Homeland-oriented type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Problems are confined to lack of space and density ▪ Type of housing like boxes ▪ Return to homeland ▪ Regeneration of a Palestinian village spatial identity ▪ Affinity to common space for extended families ▪ Provision of green spaces for interaction ▪ Provision of a central market space
(2) Future-oriented type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Unemployment ▪ Central and clustered camp ▪ Spatial upgrading and defined spaces; market, health, schools, etc ▪ Landscaping elements ▪ Enforcing family ties and making the camp more attractive to live in ▪ Accessibility to periphery areas in the camp ▪ Camp Improvement Committee does everything they can do, but they have no much influence on major stuff
(3) Family-oriented type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Creating more public spaces and small playgrounds nearby the units ▪ A defined market place with public facilities for interaction ▪ Safer place for the children ▪ Unemployment ▪ Attractive place in order to stay ▪ Improving health facilities, especially emergency calls ▪ widening school capacity and improving educational spaces ▪ poverty ▪ supporting women business ▪ creating sustainable solutions to services, like the constant cut in electrical networks

(4) Materialistic type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Unemployment ▪ Discrimination in finding jobs ▪ Lower salaries for refugees ▪ No business market
(5) Rather integrated type (future generation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No jobs ▪ No motivation by parents (in case of girls) ▪ No matching training programs to market demands ▪ Have to move to fulfil dreams of future ▪ No future perspectives ▪ No proper transport system ▪ Many restrictions by administration and camp committee
(6) Traditional type (religious / political)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Girls have to stay at home, unless working among women ▪ Temporal phase before returning ▪ No enough support from government for a better life ▪ No integration tendency

Source: Tawil 2005

Subsequently, the discussion on the level of officials and administration will be set forth. The conducted guideline interviews with the administrative bodies and experts have served the scope of the research in the analysis of the existing and possible participatory discourse between camp administration and inhabitants. It tried to reflect the camp needs and future perspectives perceived by administrative bodies in order to have a comparative ground, on which conclusions can be built.

The experts and officials were approached as a second stakeholder in the setting. They were addressed through different issues other than the needs and the problems of the camp. The flow of the interview was dependent on the type of experts or officials being interviewed. Table 7.3 will show the various positions of the interviewed and their reactions on the issue of needs and problems.

Table 7.3: Needs and problems of the camp from an administrative bodies perspective		
Type of experts / administration	Reaction on Needs / problems	Interpretation of author
Head of Camp Improvement Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Training programs are suitably organised for the interested inhabitants. The problem is that no one registers although they are for free. ▪ The committee made so many projects for the camp. ▪ No interaction and enrolment enough from the community side ▪ No proper cooperation with the administration ▪ The projects are stimulated by the local needs into proposals and then raised to the DPA for permission. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Considers the administration as part of the community ▪ Proud of his deeds to the camp ▪ Indirect impression of feeling superior to locals. ▪ No serious consideration of locals potential ▪ Lack of long term vision ▪ No desire of losing the privileged position ▪ Still centralized system that allows less shared decision making processes
Members of Camp Improvement Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Same input as the head of committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Same memos done for the head of committee
Director of Jerash Of-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The duties of the Jerash Office are 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No constant contact to in-

<p>Office, DPA</p>	<p>consist of:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. giving licence to building requests 2. restoration works in public area of the camp 3. collection of taxes and rents 4. repairing and renovating street furniture 5. controlling all the construction works in the camp <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The DPA is cooperative and ready to accept new ideas and approaches ▪ The camp lacks initiatives from the inhabitants. ▪ Many requests from inhabitants are satisfied like a playground. ▪ Some problems are there and cannot be solved like the density. ▪ Affinity to complaint without real reason ▪ Readiness to try other approaches in assessment of needs 	<p>inhabitants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Satisfying this need to complain by seriously listening to locals ▪ Practical perspective ▪ Tendency for communication and cooperation is there ▪ None of the duties is concerned with deciding on certain schemes or projects for the camp. The duties are restricted to amendments or reparations works
<p>Director of DPA</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DPA always considers local needs ▪ Public gatherings with inhabitants is an already implemented issue ▪ Certain issues are not to be discussed because of its political restriction ▪ The camp is not a normal settlement and its needs are to be dealt with differently 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stating the restrictions on camp development as: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. no extension of camp borders is accepted 2. keeping the image of a camp 3. preserving the right of return in all means 4. carefully stick to the conception of dealing with a refugee community and not a normal settlement
<p>Project Department Manager, DPA</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participation is considered in every upgrading step ▪ 50% of workers hired for the infrastructure projects were from refugees' community ▪ the projects implemented were based on good assessment of needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Some initiatives for participatory attempts exist ▪ Still, the participatory mode applied in this case is for material incentives according to ch.4. It practices participation only in the implementation process, which is a trivial method of participation conveying no effective engagement
<p>Social Affairs Department Director UNRWA</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ We encourage every participative initiative and action in the community ▪ There are unfulfilled needs but the UNRWA does everything they can and has its own priority scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Good potential for cooperation as also noticed through the interest in attending the future workshop
<p>Operational Manager of UNRWA Amman</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No extra financial resources like other UN organizations ▪ Little capacity for new projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Encouragement of initiatives ▪ This indicates call for more implementable programs

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Impossible to satisfy all needs ▪ Chief departments determine the priorities of needs ▪ Encourage local initiatives ▪ Ready to support but no initiatives 	that are discussed within the local community and raised to the chief departments of UNRWA. Indicates accepting proposals rather than complaints and needs
Small and medium enterprises studies office director, governmental entity, Jerash	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Provision of awareness sessions ▪ Giving ideas on how with small capital, big promising results can be achieved. ▪ Poverty alleviation can be contributed to. 	▪ Effective localized ideas that can be much beneficial to the case

Source: Tawil 2005

7.3 Aspirations and ideas

The second part of the results will revolve around the derived ideas and aspirations of the inhabitants. To the experts' attitude, certain opinions and reactions are going to be interpreted in order to find the relations between administration and local community and find ways of improving them to reach appropriate solutions.

Future aspirations varied from one type of inhabitants to another.

7.3.1 Tendency to integration and participation

A young lady with three children had reflected her and her husband's perspective:

I work at the women center and my husband is working as an employer in a governmental institute, in three years we will pay our debt and look for a house in the camp or outside ... the one of us wants to get developed and get forward in his life ... we won't stay forever in the camp (interview: 33 years old woman, Feb 2004)

Another reflection from a man who owns a shop and a house in the camp:

My brother, he lives in Amman, is settled and works there. I am settled here, camp or outside, it is our choice. Wherever your job is located you move there, my brother is settled and I am settled (interview: 46 years old man, Feb 2004)

Such a future perspective can be relevant to both types of inhabitants; future oriented type and family oriented type. Homeland-oriented types, although they have their illusionary image of the old lost villages and call for return rights, they face the fact that they are in this country and will have apparently to stay here if the circumstances did not change:

We spent our lives hoping, tomorrow, next year and so on. We lived all our lives hearing that we will be compensated, that was a day and today is a day, nothing changed. But the hope is still there, we hope from God to return someday. But if we want to see the facts and the reality as it is, we became weak and our enemy is become powerful. This country is kind and generous to the people here. This country hired our daughters and sons; they should further see to their lives here and not spend it dreaming. We, our graves are open and waiting. What is Palestine, it's gone, and the new generations have to continue here, what shall I tell you more (interview: 91 years old man, March 2004)

In addition to the interviews, the discussion in the future workshop raised various issues related to ideas and processes how to realize certain projects (see appendix 4). It reflected great motivation to create a better place of the camp, and a better future to look

forward to within the circumstances. The attendance was eager to find ways of improving the situation and to create better opportunities in the camp. It was evident that camp inhabitants represented in the attendance of the workshop were thinking practically and were willing to stay in this place.

7.3.2 Urban renewal

Aspirations and ideas related to urban renewal concepts were evident among all types of inhabitants. The first generation represented in the homeland-oriented type described the future of the camp in relevance to their old village:

We used to build our houses from stone and mud together...install the shapes of arches and vaults into the external elevation of the house...we had one kitchen and one living room and cooked for the whole family (interview: 83 years old man, Feb 2004)

Such aspiration has eventually developed into layouts and building ideas. It was reflected when he was asked for the second time about his opinion in a future camp, where he unintentionally continued to bring elements of the old left village:

The camp is developing...the new generations are very active...our land in Beit Jibrin was hilly and green, it had much forestry...full of mountains and green areas, it was a beautiful homeland (interview: 83 years old man, Feb 2004)

This emphasises the main aspiration of the first type of inhabitants; the homeland-oriented type; Restoring the lost homeland through the urban fabric and the structure of the camp.

The enlargement of the camp was another important aspect that was mainly raised by future-oriented type:

The idea is to stay in the camp, make it wider and more human...in the camp everyone knows everyone and even if you were away for weeks or months, when you come back, your brothers and family will still be here. If you get ill, everyone asks about you and passes by to check how you are doing or ask, why not having seen you in that day...here if you asked where is the house of x or y, everyone can get you to the person, all of us know each other like a big family (interview: 46 years old man, Feb 2004)

The enlargement of the camp has also a future perspective in improving the needed physical conditions. Its purpose is to comply with the already existing social atmosphere in order to create a caring realm for its inhabitants. This was also emphasized by family-oriented type as reflected by a 49 years old woman who raised the issue of the playground for children:

“Where should my children play, of course on the streets, do we have another choice? If they make playgrounds or at least prevent the cars from getting to the narrowest paths where our children spend their time after school” (interview: 49 years old woman, March 2004)

This reflection by family-oriented type indicates making use of the small spaces in Suf camp for small playgrounds that provides the children with some security. A further indication through this interview is the call for a longer term step in urban renewal schemes and that is shifting the function of the narrowest paths to the housing units into pedestrian zones. This project idea is also indicated through the mental map in figure 7.3, where the main central zone of the camp is thought to be reshaped and rehabilitated for the pedestrians.

7.3.3 Reduction of unemployment and alleviating poverty

Reduction of unemployment rates and the alleviation of poverty were mainly addressed by future oriented type and integrated type. It was of great importance for them to figure out, how their lives can proceed in a better way. Through the interviews, ideas like, developing training programs that matches the needs of the new generation and the local market have occurred:

So if they made any places for industrial courses, for computers and other skills, this will absorb a lot (interview: 46 years old man, Feb 2004)

It was noticed that during the interviews and questionnaires, less ideas were yielded. The discussion was much more creative and innovative as the inhabitants gathered and discussed their matters in one round session in the future workshop. More identified solutions were resulted from this workshop such as, marketing the human resources in the camp and developing a base ground for training programs that promote the inhabitants in more correspondent fields to the market demands of Jerash governorate and not only the camp. The future workshop had a fruitful discussion including all distinguished types of inhabitants. The ideas of the inhabitants where directly classified into three fields of upgrading according to the priorities of their needs and problems, which are:

- Housing and urban structure
- Socio-economic solutions
- Cultural and recreational subjects

They suggested, along with the officials, main streams of approaching the camp for upgrading. The enlargement of the camp, addressing decentralization issues regarding the camp improvement committee and other topics were all results of this open discussion, see figures 7.7, 7.8.

7.3.4 Alternative activities

Different occupations and business ideas were resulted from the inhabitants according to their different backgrounds and different social status. Farming jobs for instance was an idea raised by homeland-oriented type:

We planted harvested and dug the land...we had a relaxing country life...much better than here...we used to eat and drink from the field, the cheese, the eggs and the milk, everything was natural...we are farmers and here we had to live in boxes (interview: 83 years old man, Feb 2004)

It is important to consider the individual potential of the different types of inhabitants. Accordingly, certain jobs and the activities can be provided for those inhabitants to get enrolled in.

In other interviews, it was shown that the traditional type of inhabitants tend to restrict their female dependants from various opportunities just because of the traditional fear of getting among their male colleagues or having the chance of dealing with male partners. Therefore, suggestions were made of developing special schemes where only women are enrolled such as home productions that can be later on promoted and marketed by others, or motivating bazaars that take place in special secured places like the women center. This was apparent through different interviews done with elder parents of young educated women such as:

We are a conservative community, for us the wife should not go and do anything outside her house. In Gaza camp they are different (interview: 63 years old man, March 2004)

It was also evident during the interviews with different women who addressed this issue as the only reason for not cooperating and taking part in different activities and projects:

I would love to earn money and be a productive member of the family, but they should respect that we cannot go and come...doing things at home and selling them is a good idea I think (interview: 33 years old woman, March 2004)

Another reflection by a young lady who was working at the Hassan Industrial City in Irbid:

I had to leave my work because I was travelling from 6am till 7pm everyday...my brothers and family didn't accept that, and that was all for 80 JD coming home after it is dark...if we had a factory in this region it will be much easier (interview: 19 years old lady, Feb 2004)

Those were the different future perspectives of the different types of inhabitants in Suf Camp. Table 7.3 presents the different inputs, classified according to the different types of inhabitants.

Table 7.4: Ideas of inhabitants and future perspectives	
Typology	Aspirations and ideas
(1) Homeland-oriented type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shaping the urban structure as it was in their old villages: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. type of building materials 2. introverted design in their living spaces 3. planting the roads and spaces 4. market in the center 5. making use of the ignored spaces ▪ Spatial enlargement for the camp. It is because of the desire of the elder to have their extended families around them rather than moving out of the camp ▪ Moving vertically in the camp ▪ Creating farming jobs, as this profession fits to the skills of refugees
(2) Future-oriented type (Realistic and practical)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Development of industrial commercial enterprises ▪ Development of suitable training and educational programs that corresponds with the demand of the market ▪ Urban layout and structure. To be more central and clustered <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. to enforce the identity through urban elements 2. enforcing the familial ties through urban design elements ▪ Encouraging small-scale jobs and enterprises, since the community feels safe and secure within itself ▪ Horizontal expansion of the camp
(3) Family-oriented type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Creating an industrial area in Jerash to absorb the labour in this region ▪ Creating a program that encourages the skills of the younger to get enrolled in good jobs and have a good living ▪ Left over places like the stream at the edge of the camp is an example of potential areas that can be developed ▪ Urban renewal in matters of children friendly ambiances

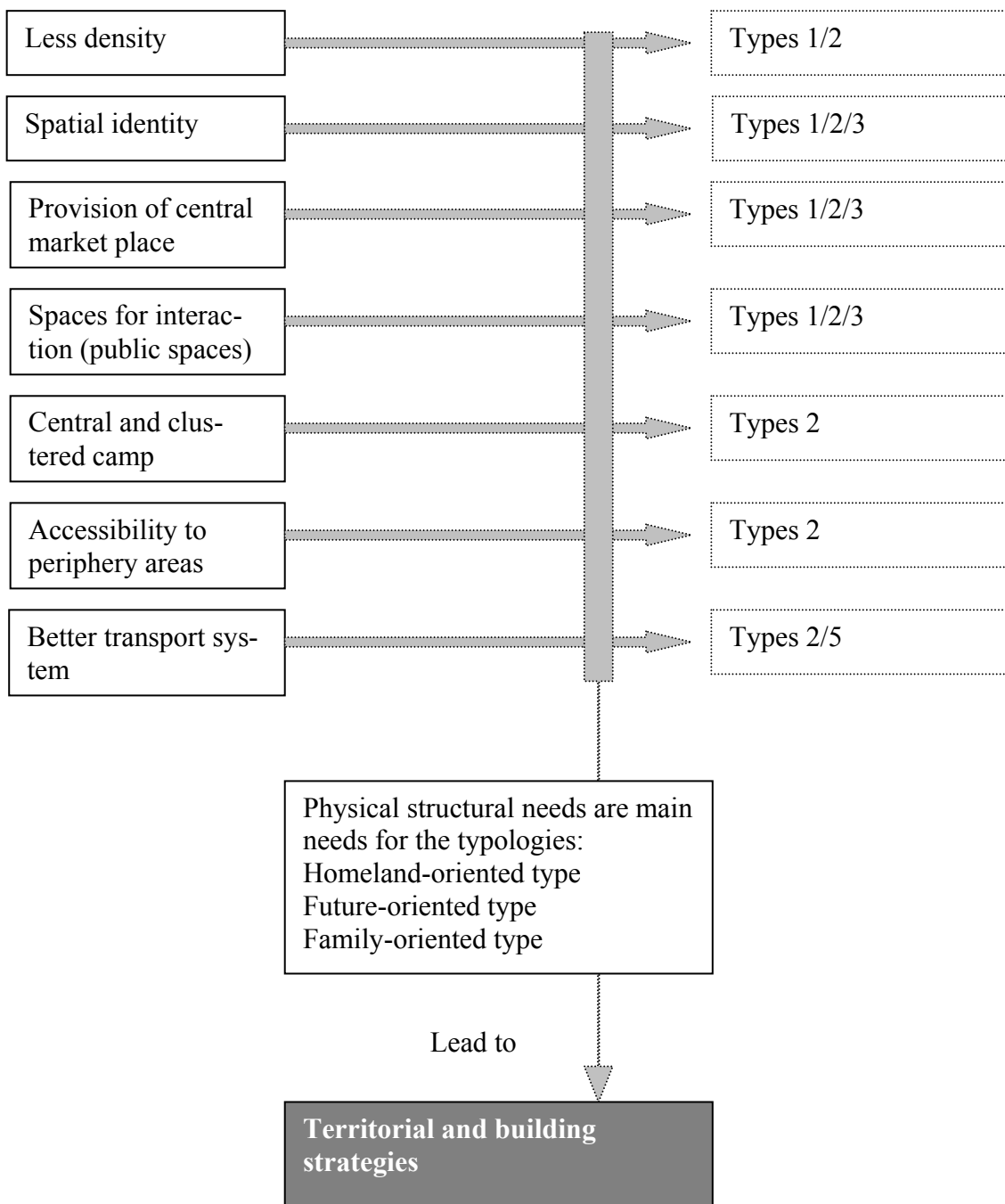
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Urban renewal in matters of considering safe accessibility to school (for instance: the main street after the school and not having to cross it by children in order to reach the school)
(4) Materialistic type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Job generation ▪ Developing schemes to enrol the most part of the unemployed youth ▪ Money generative investments in the camp
(5) Rather integrated type (future generation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Directing the training programs to the market demands in order to yield most benefit from such courses ▪ Developing schemes that can enrol the ones looking for a job ▪ Facilitating the opportunities and marketing the human resources in the camp ▪ Motivating investments in the Jerash governorate and not restraining them into Amman
(6) Traditional type (religious / political)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enrolment of women in Hassan Industrial City, giving them the chance to work from their homes ▪ Developing small enterprises with a women's network ▪ Facilitating bazaars and markets selling house made products ▪ Expansion and enlargement of the camp

Source: Tawil 2005

7.4 Triangulation and networks of interpreted data

This section will abstractly illustrate the previous inputs, categorize them, refer them to the matching typologies and then define the course of action-oriented strategies to be considered. Figures 7.5, 7.6 and 7.7 show this classification and leading issues in the case of the presented needs previously in section 7.1.1. These figures try to act according to the needs of the inhabitants. Through the needs and the typologies, patterns of problems will be defined and upon that, courses of action can be resulted.

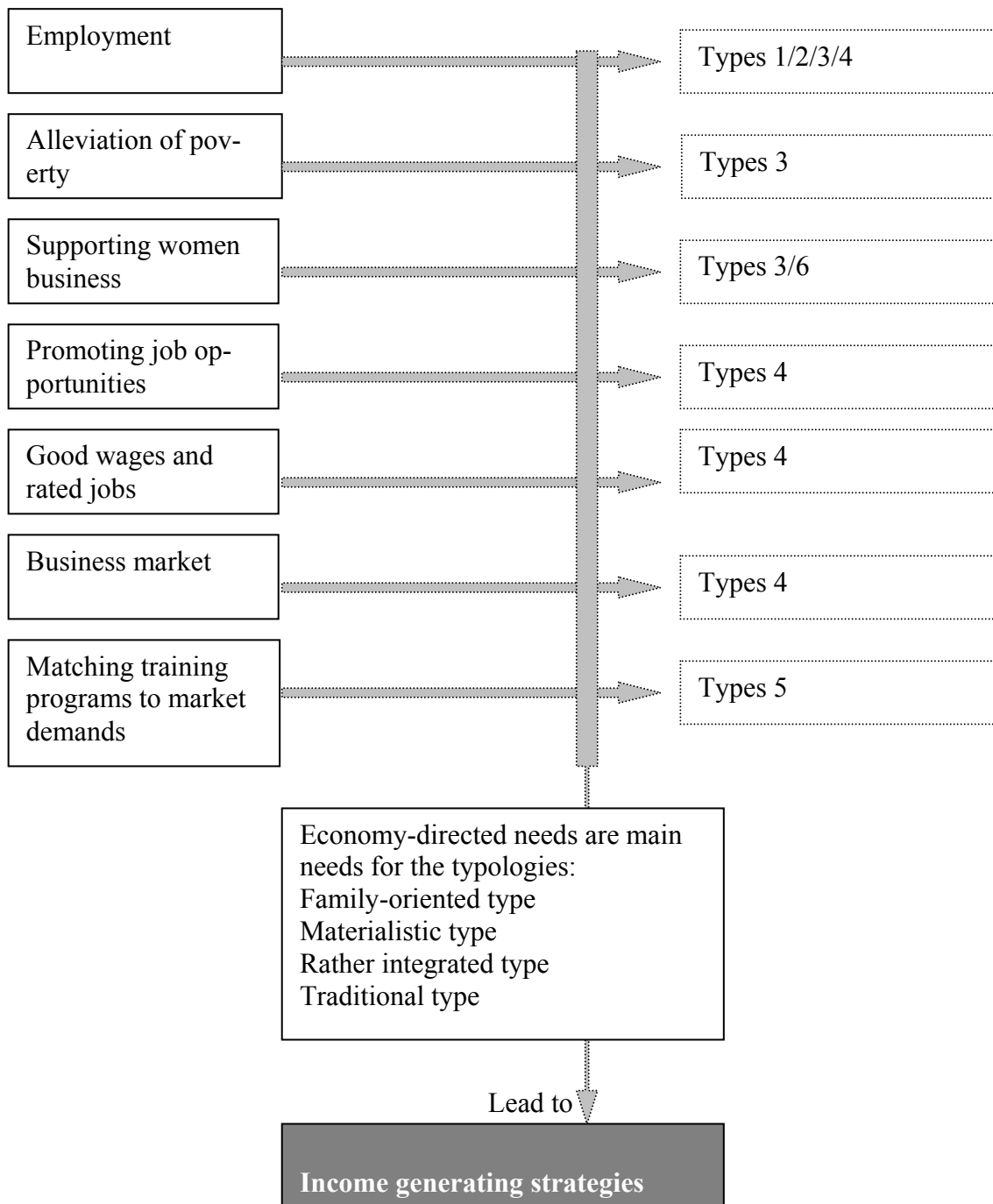
Figure 7.5: First categorization of the local community needs according to the different typologies



Legend

- Concluded by researcher
- Input by local community

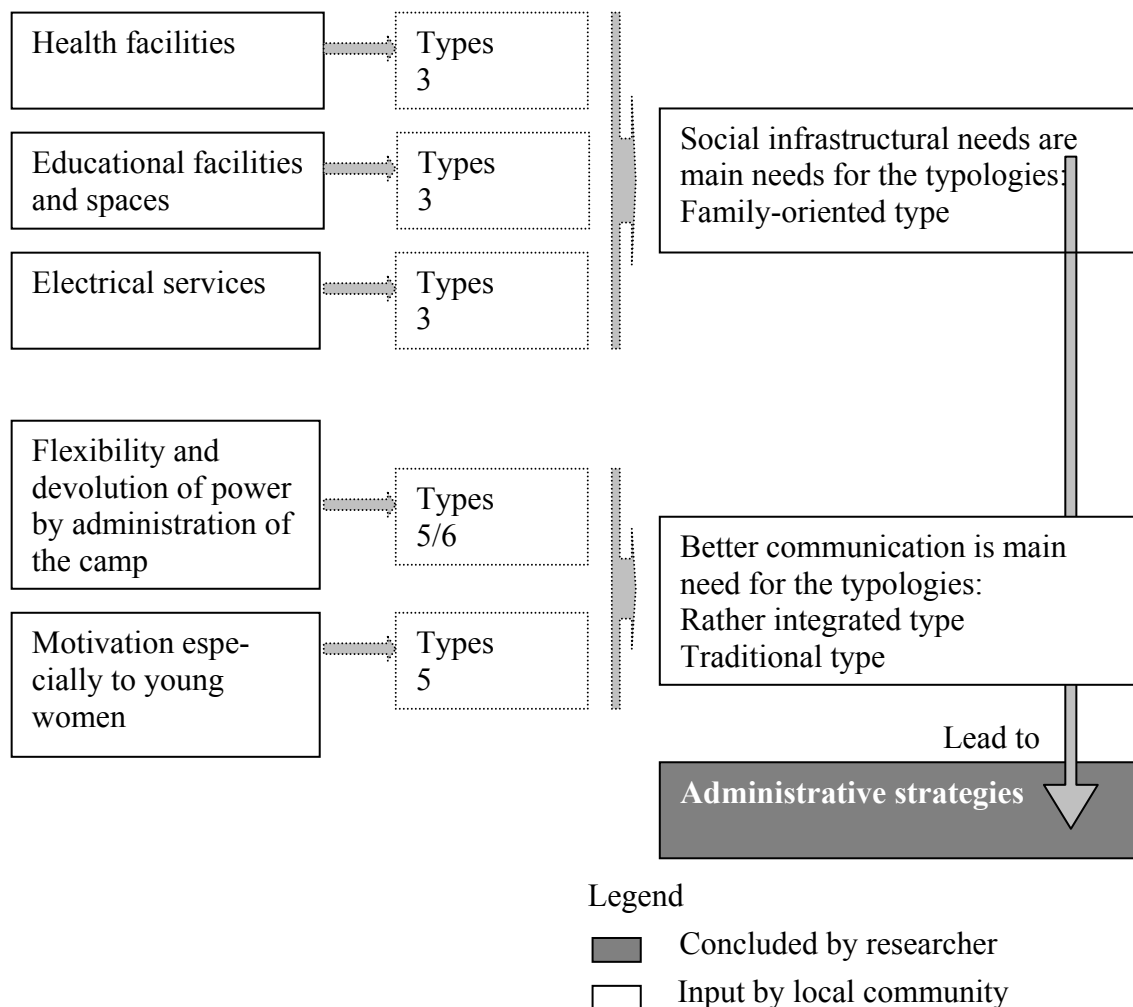
Figure 7.6: Second categorization of the local community needs according to the different typologies



Legend

- Concluded by researcher
- Input by local community

Figure 7.7: Third categorization of the local needs according to the different typologies



Source: Tawil 2006

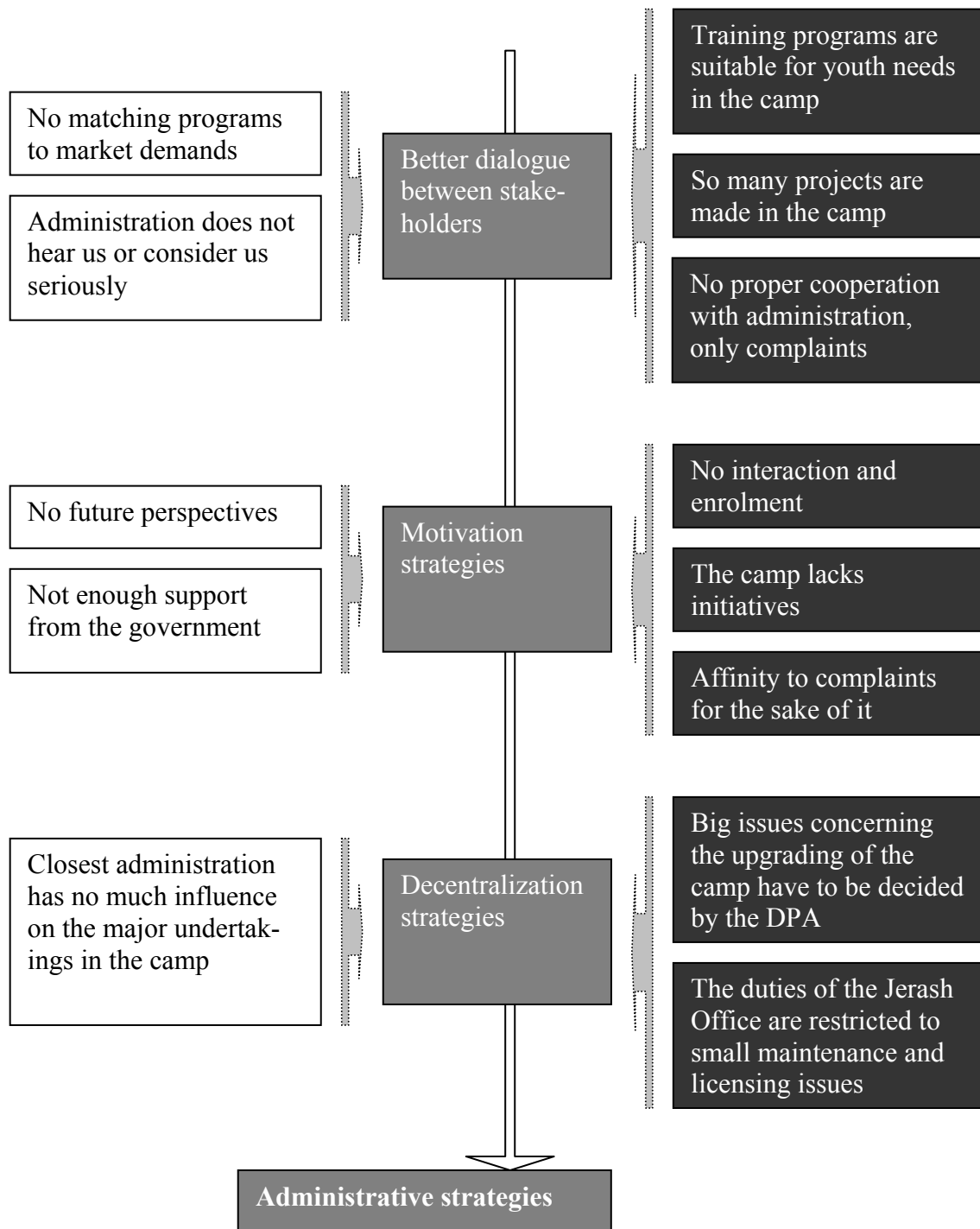
The needs highlighted in figures, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7 lead to different ways of handling the needs and problems perceived by the local community. The resulted typologies of local community problems are: physical structural problems, economic problems and shortcomings, social infrastructure problems and finally the communication deficits between community and administration. According to the same diagrams, the strategies to be concluded are directed into main three categories:

- Territorial and building strategies
- Income generating strategies
- Administrative strategies

This will be taken over in chapter 8 and deducted in way to find out which undertakings on the ground can help getting up with the camp through these categories.

The next step will be detecting the problems and the resulting strategies from the official perspective and the correlation between theirs and the ones from the local community. The policies and strategies in this sense are highlighted in figure 7.8.

Figure 7.8: Correlations between local needs and correspondent official perspectives



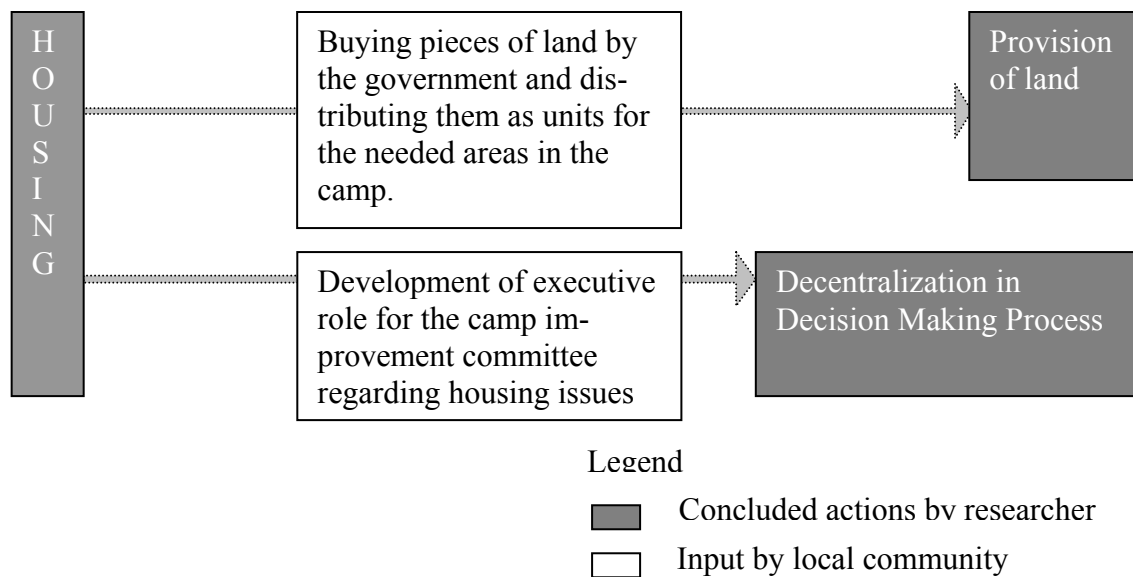
Legend

- Concluded by researcher
- Input by local community
- Input by official administration

Figure 7.8 is still dealing with the needs and deficits of the camp inhabitants but, as previously said, perceived by the officials on one side and interrelated with the correspondent ones perceived by the local community. It is through those diagrams, apparent that the action-oriented solutions and strategies are all revolved around administrative strategies category that was evident in the previous step but broken down to several sub-strategies: Motivation, better dialogue and finally decentralization issues; good governance aspects.

The final step in this chapter will be the establishment of the strategies through the perception of the local community of their future. It was mainly directed to housing strategies and economic income generative strategies as shown in figures 7.9 and 7.10.

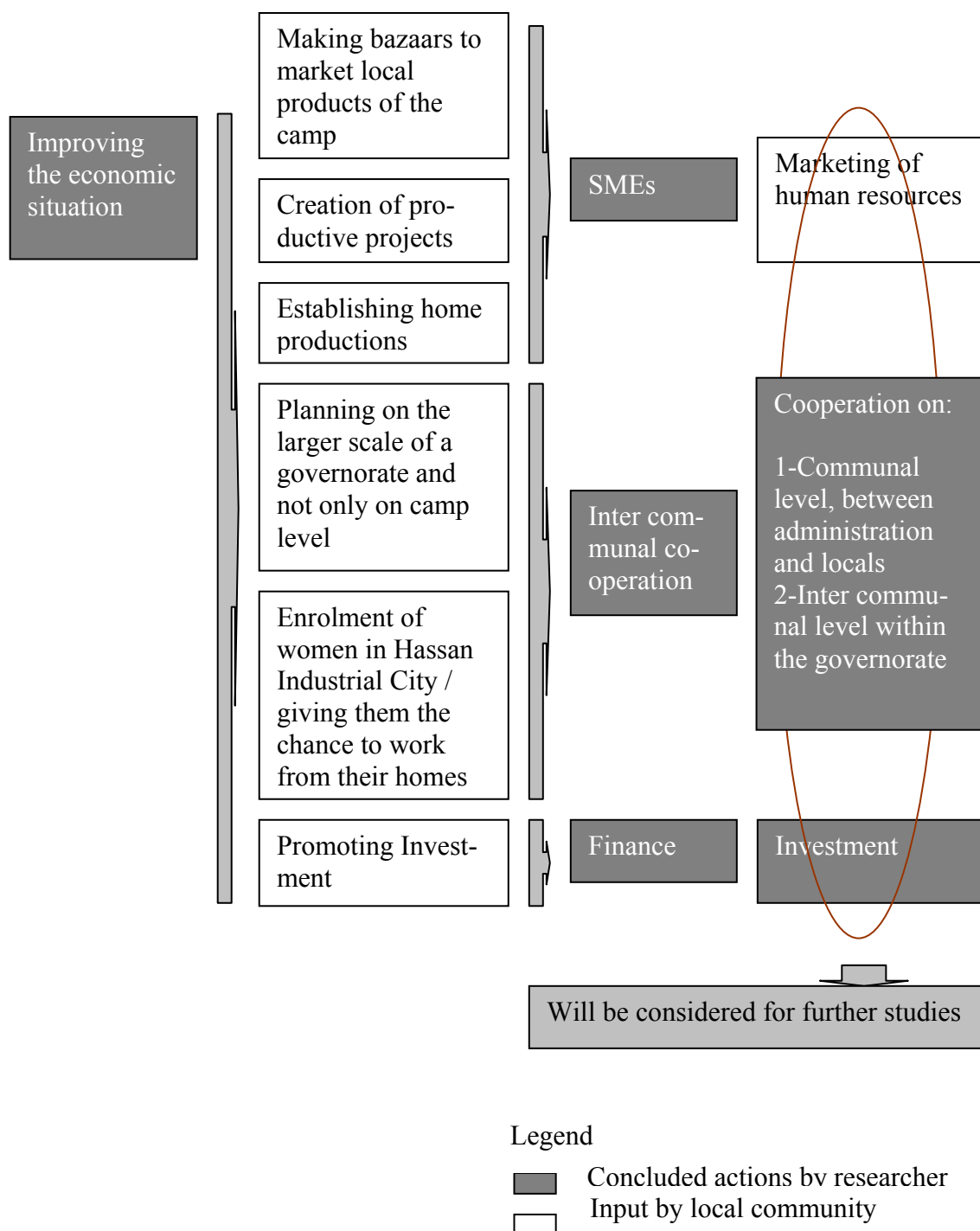
Figure 7.9: Housing strategies derived from the local community



Source: Tawil 2005

Some needs in figure 7.6 indicate certain strategies along with the identified ones in figures 7.9 and 7.10. For instance, it is noticed that some typologies like the materialistic type, in figure 7.6, mostly raised the need for better jobs although, in comparison to other typologies, it already possesses such jobs. This can be interpreted through the fact that materialistic type is always looking for better jobs. Therefore, strategies can be figured out to enable on going small projects the whole time. This will absorb the unemployment rates and will give the needed chances for the residents to get promoted through different experiences. Further ideas and proposals of the inhabitants concerning their future and the enabling strategies towards their future will be shown in figure 7.10.

Figure 7.10: Economic strategies derived from the local community



Source: Tawil 2005

7.5 Participation in the refugee camps

It was distinguished through this work that participation in a refugee camp setting varies a great deal from that in a normal settlement. Considering that the inhabitants of a refugee camp have much less belonging attitude and feeling to their settlement as others of a settlement in their homeland, the types of participation will consequentially vary. The significance of refugee camps lies in the fact that refugees do not tend to participate in the normal sense of the word, because of reasons like; they are not used to such methods

(lack of experience), they are eager to leave this settlement and return to homeland so they do not see the necessity and the importance of participation. They also do not believe that they could be seriously considered or their voices could be heard and acted upon. Cognitive dissonance is another significant point, in which the Palestinian refugees in Jordan cannot conceive development. They undertake small developments in their present lives and at the same time do not approach long term visions. This contradictory status the Palestinian refugee communities occupy makes it difficult to approach them through normal modes. They need a motivation push that ought to be sustained afterwards in order to gradually get engaged as normal citizens.

Because of these reasons, participation won a different meaning in the light of these arguments and in light of the process gone through in this research. According to chapter 4, there are many faces of participation; tokenism, empowerment and passive participation among others. The face of participation that yields better results in this regard is the empowerment and the interactive participation that allows the inhabitants to jointly analyse and set action plans for the development of their matters. Their participation in this action is to be seen as a natural right and not a given role for achieving certain goals of certain projects determined by the higher authorities. Nonetheless, the responsible authorities should have a great weight in such decision making processes referring also to the chapter 4, where they are still granting the inhabitants this right but along with what is called ad hoc forms of support for local autonomy, where central authorities organize themselves to provide systemic forms of assistance for local planning and problem solving, (Fung 2004). Participation in this setting is basically filling the inhabitants with a relative satisfactory warmth through which, they can start believing in the system guiding them and in the regulations presented in the administrative ladder governing their living. This is important for the strategies most affecting their wellbeing described and illustrated in section 8.3 and that is reaching a level of cooperation on different planes of interaction.

Participation in the refugee camps has shown through the case study, Suf Camp that the inhabitants do encompass a vast amount of positive willing to cooperation and communication towards their own benefit. It was, however, varied in the strength of willingness from one type to the other. For instance, the first type; homeland-oriented type was less concerned with the initiative and was more possessed with the faith of returning, whereas, other types like the open-minded and future oriented one and the rather integrated one where much interested in the notion of changing something. It is then not properly to deal with the refugee camp as one entity seeing how differentiated it is.

Subsequently, as a first guideline for upgrading of refugee camps, the approach of addressing a camp should be much considerate to the different levels, norms and entities it encompasses. It should motivate the inhabitants to get involved and take part in the actions and inputs and decisions affecting their life. The inhabitants are not to be taken for granted that they will automatically express what they need and that they will fit into the role of normal settlers of a community offered an upgrading initiative, they should be enlightened and cleared up to issues like developing their own identity in their setting in spite of its temporariness, to grasp initiatives for important and poignant matters that cannot be picked up or perceived by outsiders even by planners. This guideline emphasizes the significance and the uniqueness of the refugee setting and upon that, the special manner of treatment in solving the diverse problems it possesses. This guideline in turn, is mainly highlighted by the methodology applied in this research that yielded a great deal of engagement and cooperation from the inhabitants' side.

Participation, according to chapter 4, is a face of democratic collaborative planning that prospers eventually the development in a country. In a refugee community, participation is the means to give back the feeling of belonging to a place and resulting from that, filling the gap of motivation to start over again. It leads at the end to the same results; by planning a site on a right basis, an overall atmosphere and a transferable statement of upgrading can get injected elsewhere, but the merit of participation in the refugee communities lay specifically in the basic stage, where the community starts to act and take initiatives for the sake of their place. In the further sections, it will be thoroughly described and illustrated how participation can take place and in which cases it is requested or expected for the development of the camp and in which, rather institutional management and implementation is to be called for and less participation is needed.

8 Transformation of Inhabitants' Aspirations and Proposals into a Planning Framework

Design recommendations and strategies are going to be formulated in this chapter. They will act in favour of the main stakeholder in this framework, the inhabitants of the camp, and in correlation with the administrative and official bodies responsible for the camp affairs. Those resemble the second actor in the framework.

8.1 Synthesis of ideas of inhabitants

This section is a synthesis of the perceptions of the inhabitants of the camp. It will further form a base for the conceptions of the researcher, how the camp should be redeveloped.

A solid ground for a reconstruction of planning frameworks will be set through the results of chapter 7. These results hint out the need for:

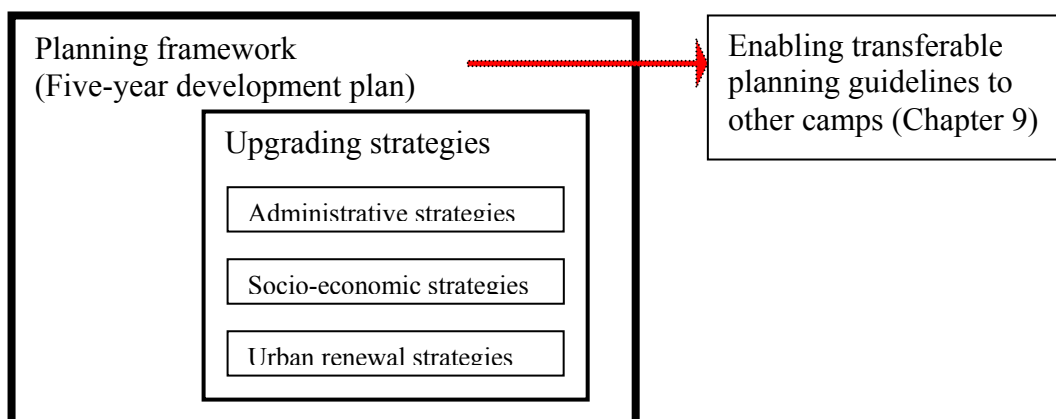
- Territorial and building strategies (physical development)
- Administrative strategies that incorporate:
 - Better dialogue between the local community and administration (the stakeholders)
 - Motivation strategies
 - Decentralization initiatives
- Socio-economic strategies that incorporate
 - Inter-municipal cooperation
 - Poverty and unemployment alleviation
 - Marketing and investment

As brought about by the different steps of this research and through noticing the course of action this research has embarked, it is manifested that participation is the needed soul for the general upgrading of this camp. It breaks through every step that was concluded from the previous discussion, whether in matters of a better dialogue or a communal cooperation or even in marketing the expertise and the skills of the local community, participation is seen to be of major effect on every single level for the upgrading and redevelopment process. Therefore, it will play a major role in the projects, which will try to break down the various strategies above.

8.2 Strategies of dealing with problems and realizing ideas

The strategies resulted from chapter seven will be developed within a framework of a development plan for Suf Camp that can be allocated for a five-year implementation program. The upgrading strategies for Suf Camp, because of their particularity for the certain setting, will be embedded in this development plan, which will shape the planning guidelines for the dealing and the handling of a refugee camp. Figure 8.1 shows the levels of conceptualising and presenting the upgrading strategies.

Figure 8.1: Levels of presenting the upgrading strategies



Source: Tawil 2006

The upgrading strategies illustrated within this development plan will act directly upon the resulted information of the empirical research. Therefore, they are rather pragmatic and deal exactly with the deficits and action-needed areas without approaching the political legal system on one side, and without requiring massive political debate for realising the framework of strategies. The effort was made to construct a framework that was rather transparent, easy understandable and manageable in order to enable a reasonable feasible implementation.

Motivation of the local community was seen as a major gap between planning development in the refugee camps and implementing it and eventually a major potential. Therefore, the basic part of the work embedded in this framework will be directed to activate the inhabitants and to motivate them to get engaged and work together with their local administration to improve their setting.

Furthermore, these strategies will be developed in a certain manner, whereby diverse realistic undertakings can take turn for implementation according to a set of priorities that will be determined not only through the prioritisation decided by the inhabitants, but also according to:

- Set of priorities by the local community
- Evaluation and filtration of the constraints of the individual undertakings to have a second hierarchy of the prioritizations, whether the single project is politically and economically feasible or not
- Preparation and performance phase, whether it will consume much time and effort before it can be implemented or if this project or undertaking is simply implementable
- Finally, according to the financial constraints, whether the project needs fund raising or if it can be initiated with minimal resources

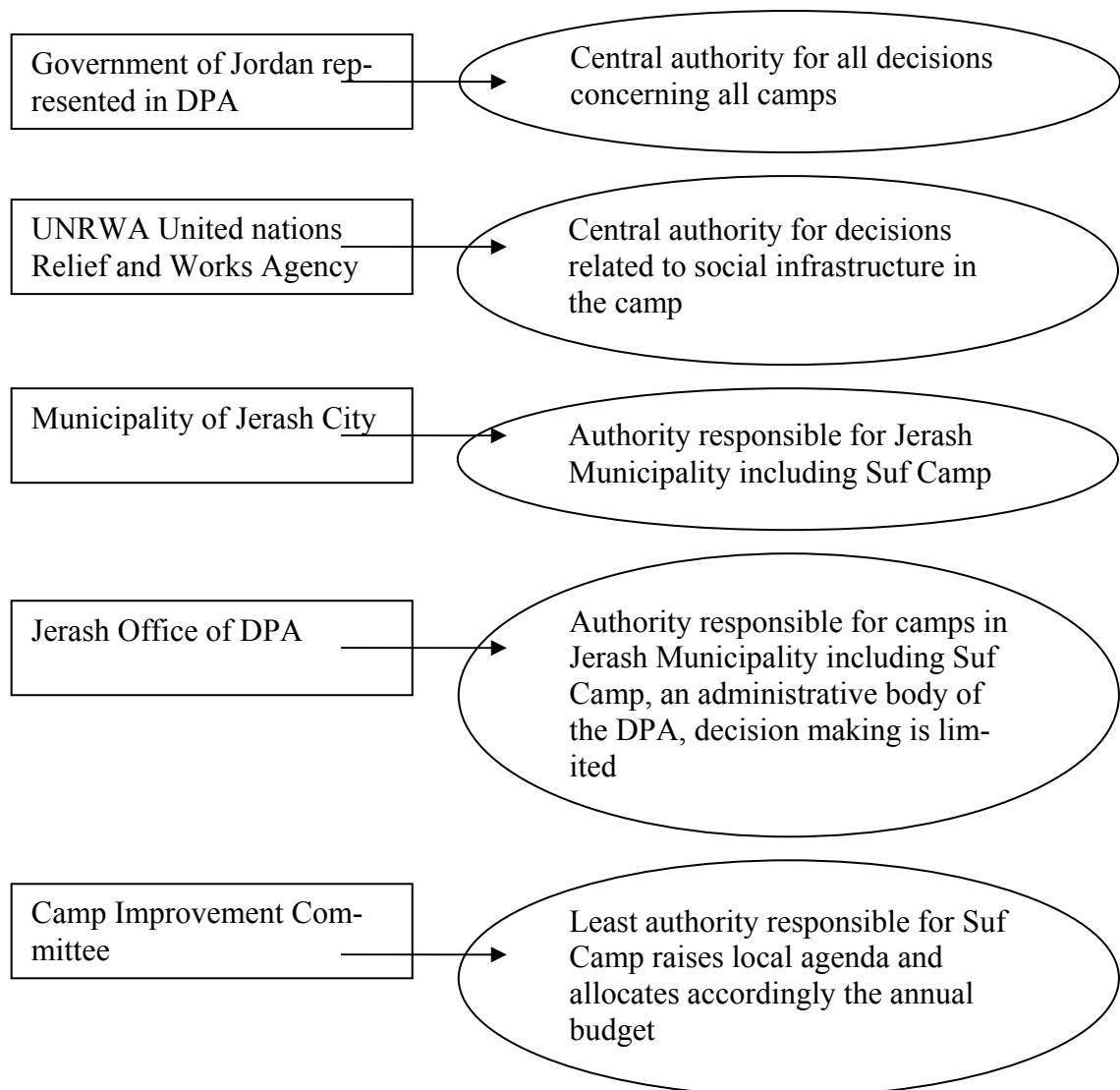
The formulated strategies will mainly portray guidelines for addressing a refugee camp and eventually upgrading it. These strategies will serve the development on a local level by particularly improving the situation in Suf camp within the planning framework on the one hand, and then form the general guidelines within the planning framework on a more abstract level, through which usable strategies for similar settlements can be developed on the other hand.

Cooperation and dialogue between the stakeholders, the inhabitants and the direct administration, on one side, and between the camp as an entity and the other surrounding communities on the other, seem to catch the main attention and to create the main obstacle in realizing the diverse faces of development resulted for the camp. Figure 8.2

shows the degrees of authority affecting Suf Camp according to the institutional hierarchal scale. Local community, as shown in the diagram, has no authority in this hierarchy. It can utmost express its fears and problems to the higher institutional body, right above it, and waits until the decision is made. It is not even guaranteed that its voice is going to be heard or weighed. Participation is to have a better definition in this regard, if the situation ought to be improved.

However, the solution is not to give the internal autonomy the absolute right of decision making, but to involve them in the process in a way that they can have the right to determine what's at stake for the change in their setting. The next sections will show how this can function without affecting the hierarchal structure. The aim is not to shift the governance power to the individuals or to change the institutional structure, the aim in this specific regard to suggest how it can function better and how it can yield more practical, realistic and local needs-oriented results.

Figure 8.2: Institutional hierarchy responsible for the upgrading of Suf camp



Source: Tawil 2006

In consequence, there is a vertical hierarchy for the decision making ladder that is expected to function properly according to the image it gives in figure 8.1. The breach, however, lies between both stakeholders on the local level that should be filled and en-

forced through this section. This enforcement will be developed in different stages towards a proper development plan that will take the sequence of:

- Enforcement of communication structure (better dialogue)
- Cooperation in joint planning (recommendations for small scale projects)
- Cooperation in implementation and monitoring the projects and setting priorities
- Cooperation in running and maintaining the projects
- Improving enabling institutional administrative environment

This planning cycle is to serve for a plan that is rather realistic, more assessing the actual needs and aspirations of the local community, and implementable in a way that considers the political and economical restraints of the setting in Suf Camp. Through the development of such a broad plan, some other breaches that are maybe less significant will occur, such as the communication and cooperation between the higher institutional levels shown in figure 8.1. Therefore, this process will try to shed the light on the missing functions or the less properly functioning ones and try then to suggest how to avoid misuses of these functions, ones that affect the development of the camp, or suggest a better use of it in this regard.

8.2.1 Institutional development on local level (better dialogue)

A proper cooperation between the local community and the administration of the camp, resembled in the Camp Improvement Committee, is seen as a focus point for the redevelopment process. The survey has shown, how diverse the statements of both sides have been, and how miscommunication has led to non convenient situation. Communication and a good dialogue, is therefore, a major step for a more effective planning in the Palestinian refugee camps.

A dialogue is based on communication entities from two or more sides. So the aim is not to criticise the administration and incite them to sacrificing their rights and position's privileges, but rather to encourage them to meet with the local needs and local community requests. The local community is also encouraged and entitled, in this regard, to meet halfway with the administration and to cooperate for the best of the camp.

The success in delivering a real assessment of the situation of the camp is substantial for the level of cooperation and dialogue between the administration of the Camp Improvement Committee and the higher institutional hierarchies. Therefore, the reflection on the local needs, to raise an accurate status further in the ladder is going to be emphasised.

This responsibility is the focus point in improving the function of the position the local administration is ranking in this institutional hierarchy. Therefore, the enforcement of the cooperation and the dialogue on the local level between local administration and the residents is a fundamental module for the higher one. If the institutional structure is to function well, then the lowest level of this structure should be more effectively made use of.

Some suggestions for promoting the role of the local community and eventually the engagement in the different projects can be achieved through expanding the capacity of the fields of operation of the Camp Improvement Committee within its available structure. These additional tasks are suggested for a better insight in the camp affairs and eventually for a more local-oriented implementation. They are also thought to sharpen up the activities and the responsibilities of the Camp Improvement Committee and not to point out their inefficiency.

8.2.1.1 Administrative recommendations

Advisory board

Development of an advisory board to be responsible of the tasks concerning the constant needs occurring in the camp. This board can include one or two official members of the Camp Improvement Committee with a number of residents that represent the typologies of the community.

This board should have regular meetings, every three months for instance, where the actual needs, problems and ideas of the inhabitants can be elevated and discussed. These meetings are to be public and open for the local community. Finally, the results of the meetings should be seriously considered according to the prioritization scale described in section 8.2.

Annual assessment measures

In order to control that the communication on the local level is improved, it is encouraged that a questionnaire should be annually distributed in the camp to elevate missing issues. Upon the questionnaire, a call for a meeting can be set to discuss such issues. This meeting, however, should be announced in every means in the camp and not only in the central public centers in order to prevent the absence of the settlers in periphery areas of the camp.

8.2.1.2 Recommendations for socio-economic development

Training employment program

Launching a program, counselled by a member of the Camp Improvement Committee, that investigates the needed skills in the market and decides accordingly on the needed training courses to be taught in the camp. This program should additionally, try to communicate with various industrial or commercial enterprises and come up with an agreement of employment for training, where the trainees can have a fair chance to show their potentials through few months enrolment.

Small business development unit

Promoting Small-medium enterprises is a foundation for small business in the camp. It should be however, further enforced through a proper marketing scheme that can be developed within the annual tasks of the local administration of the camp, where the products can find their way into the local market.

Encouraging women empowerment program

Initiating an awareness program for promoting the role of women in the community is of great importance for equal engagement in the camp. It should cover issues related to career opportunity of women and their positive influence on her life and the one of her family. Empowerment of women should involve ideas and possibilities of the equal enrolment of women in community jobs.

8.2.1.3 Recommendations for urban renewal

Joint-development committee

Initiating of a joint-development committee is recommended to draft plans and future visions based on the local-oriented ideas. This committee should be also an extension of

the Camp Improvement Committee, however, including experts and educated members from the local community. Its significance lies in the ability to formulate plans and projects for future implementation. Such implementations will be illustrated in section 8.2.2.

Municipal coordination unit

Municipal cooperation streams in every field of operation. It is necessary for managing, realizing, financing and organizing different projects drawn and planned by the joint development committee. The municipal coordination unit is to be responsible for developing planning and the coordination of all development activities in Jerash municipality.

It shall include members from the camp along with experts from outside the camp, from Jerash City in order to organise allocations and prioritisations on a municipality scale. This committee can hold its meetings upon recent developments or planned issues of the joint development committee.

The acceptance of the Jerash municipality to work with the refugee community on one level and to involve them in the development planning of the municipality is a constraint in itself. This process of inter-communal cooperation can only get realized if the Jordanian citizens are willing to accept the refugee community as part of the Jordanian community and to evenly cooperate with them. This condition however, cannot be assessed through the field survey. It has to be encouraged by the governmental bodies coordinating such a process.

Former examples of institutional structures have shown that the more bureaucratic the work is done, the less efficient it becomes to be, therefore, these tasks and programs are indicated as part of the Camp Improvement Committee's agenda and not as independent institutional bodies. It should also be relevant to the legal system regulating the camp. Hence, can be suggested to the DPA and evaluated if such a local informal institutional adjustment can be implemented.

8.2.2 Recommendations for small scale projects and future visions (cooperation in joint planning)

Development of planning guidelines for dealing with refugee camps is the main aim of this section. This can be presented through various types of projects according to the resulted needs and ideas based on the first round of strategies in section 8.2.1. Piece-meal processes will be adopted in this regard to ensure the implementation and the capability of realising the projects. It will be managed through modular systems so as to guarantee the flexibility in implementing the individual modules within a broader framework.

8.2.2.1 Urban renewal projects

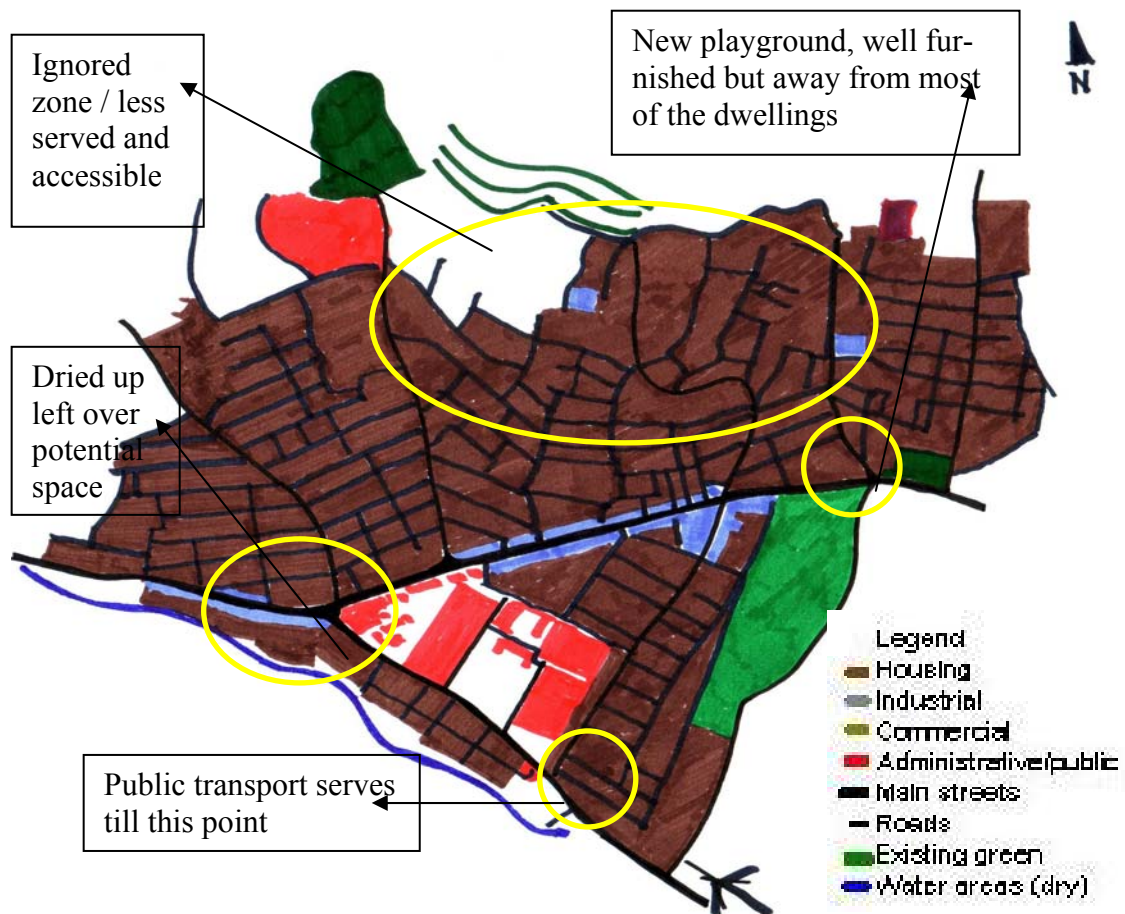
A development of a land use map is essential in this phase to show the areas of deficits in Suf Camp. Based on the field surveys conducted in the camp, figure 8.3 shows the action-needed zones for urban renewal applications. These zones of deficits were interpreted in means of the diverse instruments used for the field survey. Some were investigated through mental maps as shown in chapter seven and others through the interviews and the group discussion represented in the future workshop, see appendix 2.

Such insufficiencies are for instance:

- The inadequate green the camp possesses

- The dry stream on the edge of the camp that incorporates the potential for a municipal if not regional recreational cultural impulse
- The problem of accessibility that calls for a better street and path network in the camp and consequently, a better transportation network
- The concentrated public/administrative sector in the first zone of the camp, which indicates a central clustering next to the market and industrial space. The problem in that is the negligence of the other zones of the camp that are generally housing zones. They are less taken care of and less provided with the needed living conditions such as shopping, playing, accessing by a car or an emergency case and other aspects that serve a better living atmosphere.

Figure 8.3: Setting up a land use map of Suf Camp, Jerash

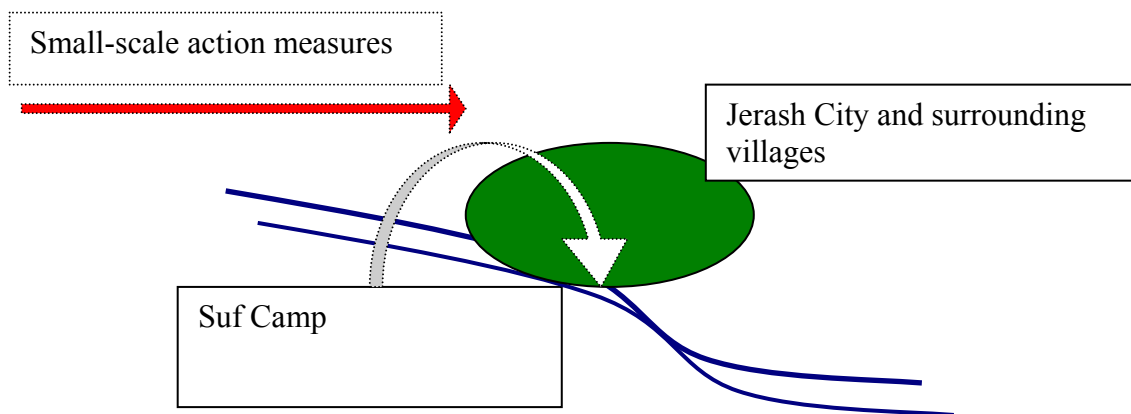


Source: Drawn by author on basis of original map provided by HUDC 2004

Dry stream zone

The dry stream area that edges the camp towards the other entities in Jerash Governorate will be approached as an illustration for a modular system project. Through incremental piecemeal planning and participatory planning, such an urban renewal scheme can be implemented. As a first step, an abstraction of the case is shown in figure 8.4.

Figure 8.4: Abstraction for an urban renewal project

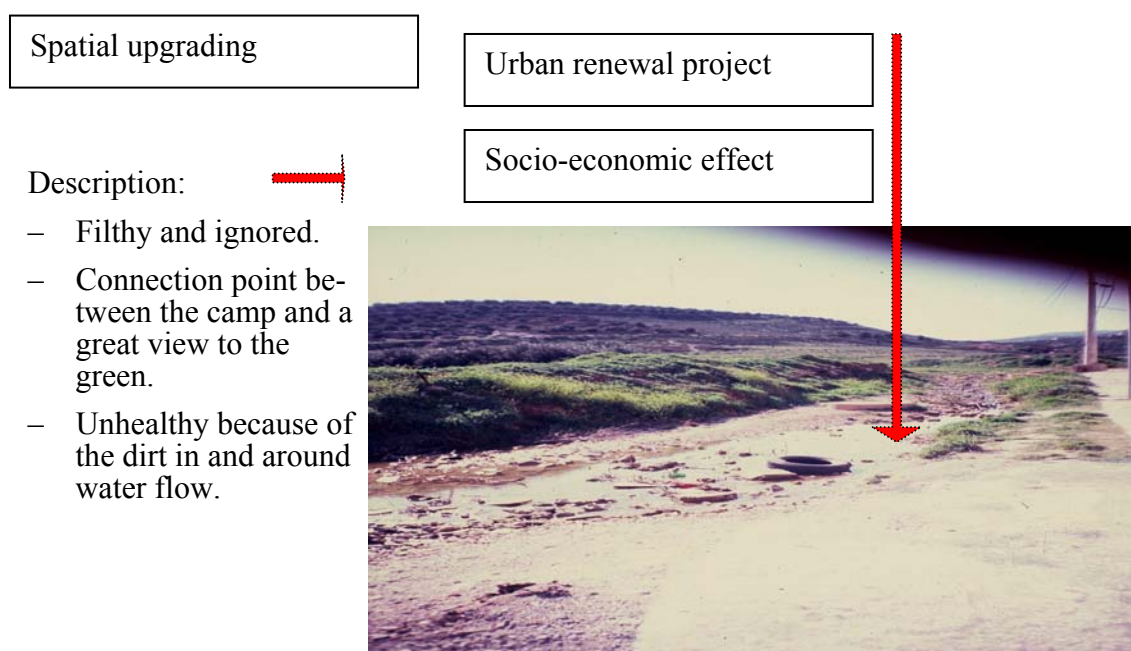


Source: Tawil 2006

A demonstration of the different phases for such a project that can lead to a regional impulse in the area will highlight the second step for its planning. Suf camp is a spot in green hilly landscape surrounded by the different villages and the Jerash city. If the dry stream area shown in figure 8.5 is properly considered as a potential project and maybe a pilot one, an active node can be created with slight affordable changes to the present situation.

Figure 8.6 shows the potential of this project. It involves more than local planning within the borders of the camp. It starts with local engagement and benefit for the camp residents, but exceed beyond that to provide the whole region with a cultural interactive space. This kind of project is again dependent on the effective cooperation on a municipal level. It is only then viable, if the municipality of Jerash agreed on the importance and potential in reinforcing the recreation in the region through such a node. However, the project is made feasible through the modular system designed. It is still conveying results to the camp if it is implemented on a local level with the first modules.

Figure 8.5: Upgrading of a dry stream area in with perspective for a future regional space

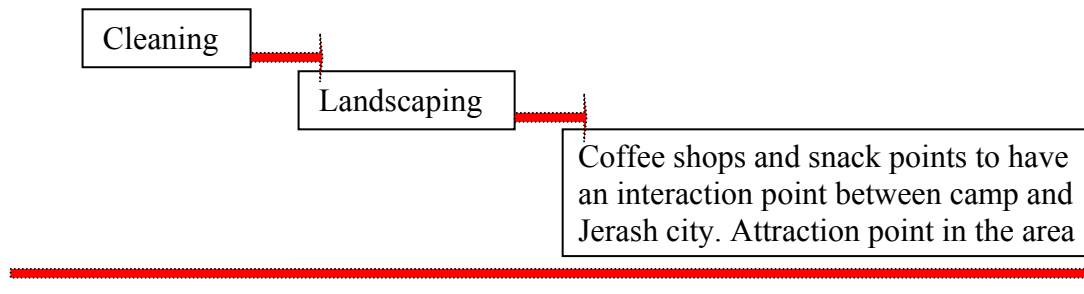


Source: Tawil 2006

Participatory planning can be enforced by giving the chance for the local community to contribute to this project with expected results:

- Contributors to the process can earn money upon hours of work
- The end product will be, healthy clean atmosphere as well as creating a place where local community can interact
- The process will take the shape of a modular system with a time line that shifts the importance of the area from a local interest to a municipal regional one

Figure 8.6: small-scale action measures for the renewal of the stream area of Suf camp



Source: Tawil 2006

The citizens of Suf camp are seen as a major contributor to the process by getting enrolled in these small jobs. The types, rather integrated type, materialistic type and family oriented type have addressed issues such as the urban renewal improvements and unemployment. Therefore, they can be targeted in the enrolment and the engagement in such a process. Still, the decision making to fund such a project should be approved and directed by the governmental bodies, both the department of Palestinian Affairs and the municipality of Jerash.

Such schemes should be highly ranked in the priority scale because of its cyclic conception. They are hardly limited to one face of spatial planning, but rather to two or more disciplines as shown in figure 8.5. It realizes an urban design issue but exceeds that to solve other economic problems such as the unemployment rates among the local community. It contributes to the deployment of resources of the camp towards the reduction of unemployment rates and eventually the alleviation of poverty.

Employment on project basis

Another direction for implementing small scale projects is seen by applying democratically inspired strategies as referred to in chapter four, where the citizens are invited to take part and initiate small scale projects. They are provided with training for the certain topics, the needed technical assistance and finally followed up by the central authorities to measure the progress and maybe reorient it if needed. This type of joint planning cooperation will be mainly directed to the inhabitants' types that are rather integrated and willing to participate in order to yield maximum benefit from the process.

This can be applied through the use of the lists and agendas resulting from the advisory board. The further use can be legislated by preparing forms for taking over responsibility of small achievements by skilled inhabitants. Various tasks can be assigned to the inhabitants like; repairing a particular electrical network, sealing a particular leak, or any other small task whose remuneration does not exceed a certain limit, 200 JD for instance. As a monitoring stage that the process is functioning well, the Camp Improvement Committee can receive reports prepared by the contractors (the residents)

describing the task and the expenses and ahead on that they get their remunerations. Thereby, the issue will be on the done list. The idea is to accompany the small tasks with less bureaucracy and therewith, more flexibility and rapid yield of results.

Nevertheless, such democratic less bureaucratic processes can cause kinds of corruption; therefore, an administrative control should be organised, technical and financial. This can be achieved through the Department of Palestinian Affairs to inspect such small projects. Further, the spots improved and closed will be deducted from the lists and new ones can be then scheduled.

Urban improvements

Urban fabric alterations can be assigned to the local community according to certain legitimacy. Plans for planting and furnishing left over spaces, cleaning the camp, elevating the built up and the non built areas for future extension, and other tasks can be studied and evaluated and set forward into action.

This focus exceeds beyond the small scale projects. On the one hand, it can be implemented on that scale and be set forth through these small assignments that can be given to the camp residents. These assignments will, in this regard, enjoy a great deal of participatory consideration. However, it can be further seen on another hand, where massive effort and planning is to be expected in issues like, how to enhance the center of the camp and donate it a certain identity that realizes the mental maps resulting from the field survey for instance. This is a project that cannot be ad hoc handled; it should be studied and planned through a series of phases. It can be suggested as a modular approach for a future master plan for Suf Camp. Such a project needs feasibility studies, preparation, management, tender proposals and other preconditions that need to be done before starting up.

8.2.2.2 Socio-economic projects

A similar project direction that needs such preconditions and studies for the implementation as the urban renewal one above is a socio-economic oriented venture that aims at the reduction of unemployment rates in the camp and the alleviation of poverty. The scheme is to develop an industrial area in the Jerash Governorate instead of doing that on the scale of the camp, putting into consideration that Suf Camp has no such big market to generate profit from such a huge option by its own. Also, such venture needs huge financial and investment capabilities that cannot be deduced from the camp regarding its low resources. Therefore, such a venture should be done on a bigger scale, which implies a potential for an inter-communal deployment.

Networking

The main industrial zones in Jordan are located in the capital city of Amman and northern from Jerash municipality, in Irbid City. Establishing a network between those industrial areas is, therefore, fundamental for creating an industrial link from those, to which citizens of Jerash municipality and Suf Camp can have easier access. In that sense, the industrial zone will not have to be established from scratch, it will be an extension from already existing ones.

This kind of networking can yield better results for the investors and for the unemployed in Jerash municipality. It is addressing the traditional and family oriented types, which have difficulties allowing and exercising jobs that are associated with far destinations.

Capacity building

Building capacities for diverse branches that match the needs of the local market in Jerash Governorate, in relevance to the detected ones in Suf Camp is of importance to a proper planned industrial zone. Different professions should be installed within this scheme with consideration to the gender issue. The process should serve to stabilize the inequity of genders by encouraging female-suitable professions. In the preliminary stages, tasks could be outsourced and done separately in private quarters.

Market demand assessment

The highlighted professions resulting from the field survey can be considered as a priority for such an industrial zone, signified through small shops. Those are, however, pre-conditioned by an efficient demand assessment study for the local market in order to come up with a realistic figure on expected market requirement for which professions. Upon the market demands, further plans of important professional modules can be conducted.

Employment priorities

Employment should be decided with preference to the residents of Jerash governorate including the residents of Suf Camp. In order to keep up with the needed qualifications for the needed market demands, sorts of training can be installed. This matches with the training program on a procedural level in section 8.2.1.

The recommended strategies above are mainly constructed upon the result; that the residents of Suf Camp are willing to participate and contribute to the development of their setting, on a camp level or municipality level. Still, this is not enough to achieve development. They are to literally contribute to the process. However, this step cannot be assessed through the field survey. This can only be encouraged and motivated to get realized. Therefore, the motivating interactive meetings and collective decision making is seen as an important activating factor in involving the residents in the upgrading process.

8.2.3 Cooperation in implementation and monitoring the projects

This phase of conceptual process will directly deal with the recommended strategies and the concrete operational transformation of the ideas resulted in chapter 7 and illustrated in the sections above. It will move forward to test the implementation inclination, necessity and the prerequisites in order to be able to draft the future development plan.

Cooperation in the implementation of the projects is seen on a local scale and on a municipal scale. On the local one, the cooperation between the inhabitants and the local administration is a crucial and fundamental step for the further development in the camp and could be managed through the recommendations in section 8.2.1, which are encouraged to be set forth for implementation. It is the level of cooperation that embodies vast participation by the local community, and this is to be encouraged by the local administration to reach the optimum desired results. The cooperation on the municipal and eventually on the regional level can be handled and argued through inter-municipal cooperation. It is less anticipating that deal of participation and more concentrated on institutional efficiencies and readiness to coop.

Inter-municipal cooperation can be an efficient strategy, whose trails can be found in many examples. It incorporates institutional decentralization, and according to (Bunzel,

Reitzig and Sander 2002: 21), its scope of duties is reaching every discipline and is described as a framework of:

- Regional planning
- Public spaces and climate protection
- Settlement development and land policy
- Development of transportation system
- Regional site-marketing
- Culture promotion

Consequently, inter-municipal cooperation seems to correspond to different issues above. It matches issues related to territorial building regulations, to socio-economic matters and to marketing of skills and culture of the camp. Suf Camp, in many faces, does not function as an entity in its own; it is guided by the regulations of the municipality and benefits from the region as whole.

Inter-municipal cooperation is simply a teamwork and collaboration between cities, towns and villages in the framework of one spatial planning theme on common project basis. One way to do that in the case of Suf Camp is the establishment and the development of land use plans and building regulation plans for the whole region instead of doing that for each town or village. The advantage of such a step is to hinder repetition of creating industrial, commercial or recreational major spaces and thereby, the bigger amounts of investment in such spaces that will be correspondently injected. Instead, such spaces can be developed for the benefit of the whole region. These in turn, will serve for a more economic effect on one side, and give greater chance for future assimilation and integration of *strangers* (camp inhabitants) and rural settlers into the urban context of Jerash Governorate on the other side.

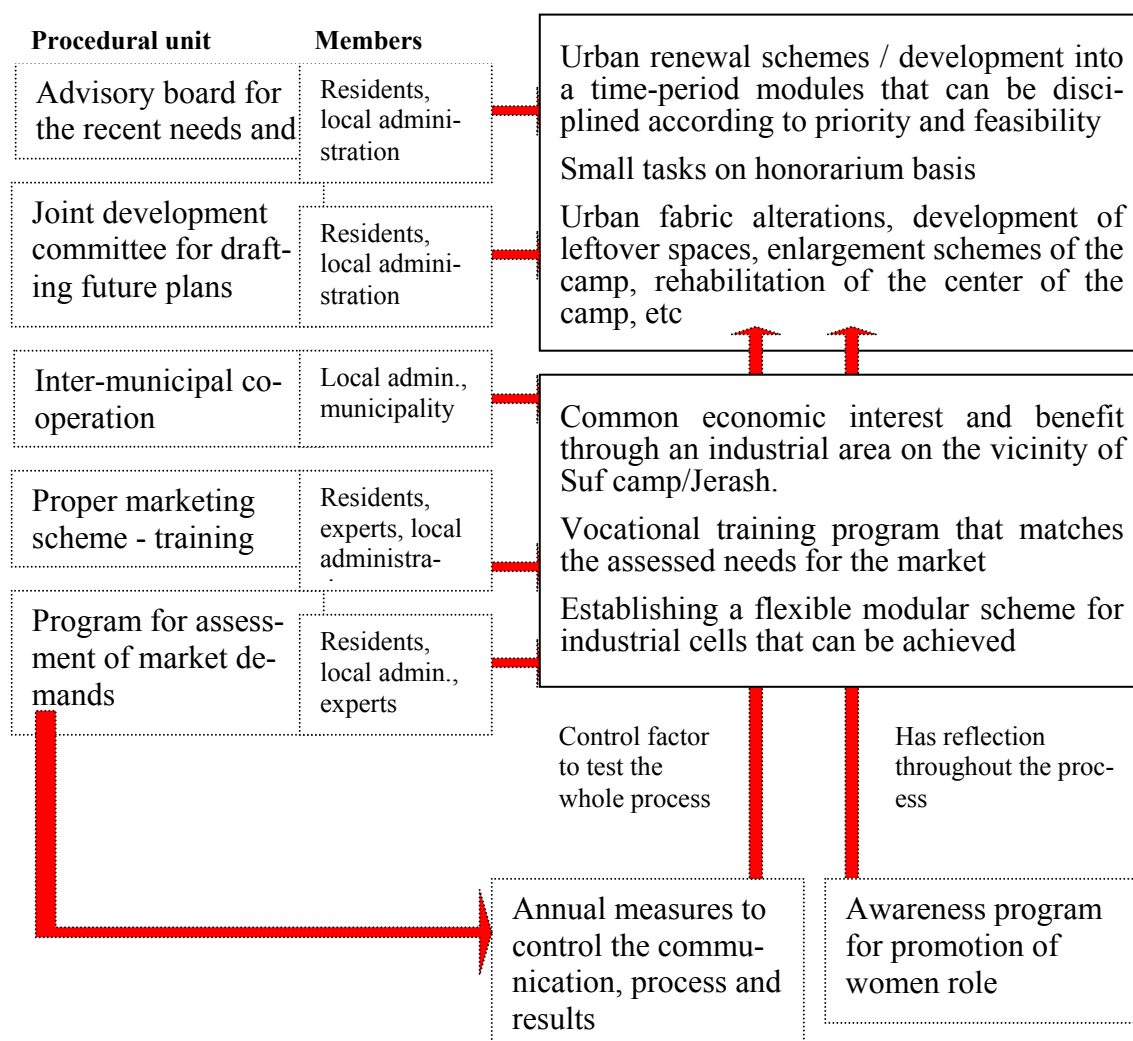
Moreover, through the land use plans and the building regulation plans, the significance of the needed levels of action will get the central attention and properly conceived. However, these plans have to be constructed in a manner that reflects the major results of the survey and be directed to the issues that concern the local-oriented needs in order to combine the two levels; local and municipal, in one course of action. The differentiation in that regard will be the differentiation in the use of land use plans or building regulation plans. As an example for a proposed segregation between project and regional planning, achieved by the Academy of spatial research and land planning 1998, the regional administration and planning structures in the metropolitan regions²⁸ (Forschungs- und Sitzungsberichte, Bd. 204), the building regulations plan serves the instrumental implementation of concrete projects and therewith, project-oriented cooperation. The land use plan, nonetheless, serves for regional-oriented cooperation.

Setting the priorities for all the initiatives discussed in this chapter will be dependent on the local community request as the most important factor. Nevertheless, there are other factors that influence this prioritization stage, when it comes to the implementation and the feasibility of such projects and initiatives as mentioned in section 8.2.

For instance, the measures set for the enforcement of the dialogue between the stakeholders in the camp are seen as a first priority and most important start for the plan. These serve for a base on which the diverse directions of development can get settled and further flourished as shown in figure 8.7.

²⁸ Translation from the German: Akademie fuer Raumforschung und Landesplanung 1998, regionale Verwaltung- und Planungsstrukturen in Grosstadtregionen.

Figure 8.7: Synopsis of the different levels of development



Source: Tawil 2006

Furthermore, the prioritization of the projects foreseen for implementation will be determined according to the preparation phases they need. In principle, all are of first priority for the different fields that are raised as needs from the local community. They vary however in their feasibility grades. The industrial common site for instance, is an undertaking that needs excessive work of feasibility studies to determine the kind of professions to be adopted, establishing the network between the different industrial areas and detecting the profit and the advantage of such a network, raising funds for the building phases of such an area and shaping the most profitable modules that can start generating revenue. Therefore, such implementations are not considered as a first priority, rather developed over the duration period of the plan. Its preparation stages can be nevertheless, put in the first years of development in order to absorb the duration for the realization of the final project.

The urban renewal projects are rather implementable along the whole plan. Through the illustrated example of these urban renewal projects, the development of the dry stream area, it is distinguished that through the modular progress of the project, the simple tasks that are part of the project, are recommended to be implemented directly. Those do not need much financial resources and can be achieved through self organization. The small tasks highlighted later on are also a manageable action that can yield results in a relative near future expectations and contribute to the development process

of the camp from a maintenance point of view and efficient finalization of the small tasks, leaving the space and the planning for the bigger ones. Such small manageable tasks are encouraging the process by fast beneficial results.

The process of setting priorities for the different undertakings will be further shaped to form the development plan recommended for Suf Camp.

8.2.4 Cooperation in running and maintaining the projects

It is important in this setting to exceed the conception of cooperation beyond the planning and implementation phases. It should further reach the follow up of the different recommended projects and the maintenance of these.

It is expected that the inhabitants are rather maintaining the development and the implementation of the projects decided and relatively progressed by them, than the ones imposed on them, even if they were of great benefit. This was shown in the different sites where infrastructure projects were implemented, and few years later it was less taken care of and some functions had rapid shortcoming.

It is not possible to actually elevate the degree of maintenance; the inhabitants can contribute to in the recommended developments, because it simply needs more time to allow the progress to yield its results. It is, however, possible to state the active attitude the inhabitants have shown as they have seriously tried to get involved in the core discussion, what and how development can take place. It was growingly shown, as the field survey unfolded, that the inhabitants had more interest and more motivation to come up with suitable solutions to their situation. This can be considered as a sign of responsibility flagged by them.

However, the willingness and the enormous wish by the residents of Suf Camp as resulted from the field survey does not necessarily assure the literal and financial cooperation and participation of the camp's residents in the process. Such a step will stay as a risk, as it needs to go through the experience to proof its viability. Furthermore, the inhabitants alone are not sufficient for the running and the maintenance of the projects recommended. This calls again for this further stage of cooperation that is linked in a cyclic process with the dialogue-based committees and tasks recommended in section 8.2.1. The inhabitants with the local administration, in this regard, are main elements in the process of controlling the upgrading process. This can be assured through constant reports that have to be raised to the committees informing about the recent status of the projects or undertakings, and upon that, measurements for better future status can be further planned.

8.3 Five-year development plan for Suf camp

This section will draft the plan illustrated in the previous sections. It will adopt the relevant priority scale for the undertakings and the single achievements and try to classify them into a timeline progress through which the results can be systemised and controlled.

Figure 8.8: Development plan for Suf Camp

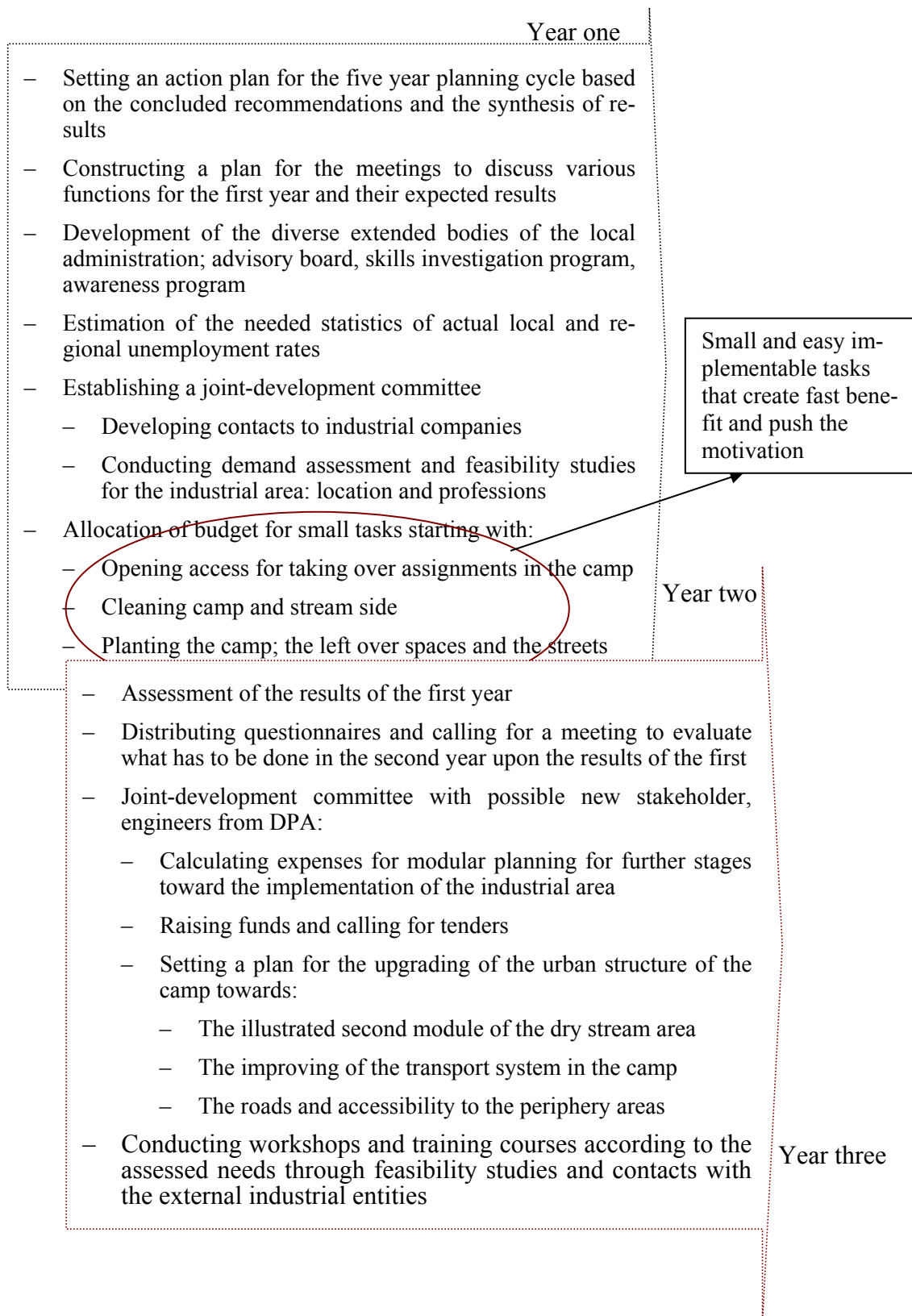
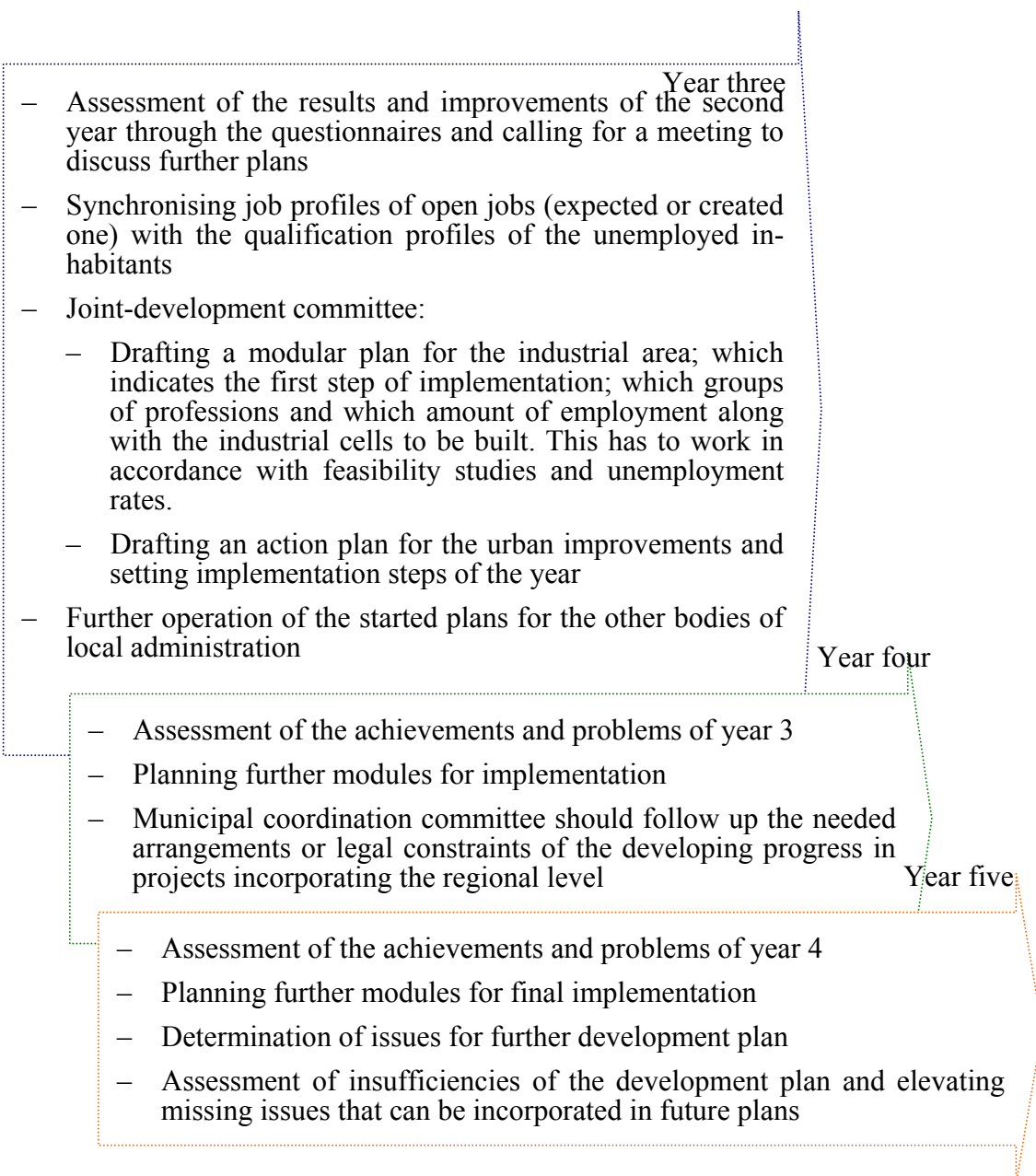


Figure 8.9: Cont. Development plan for Suf Camp



9 The Future of Refugee Camps

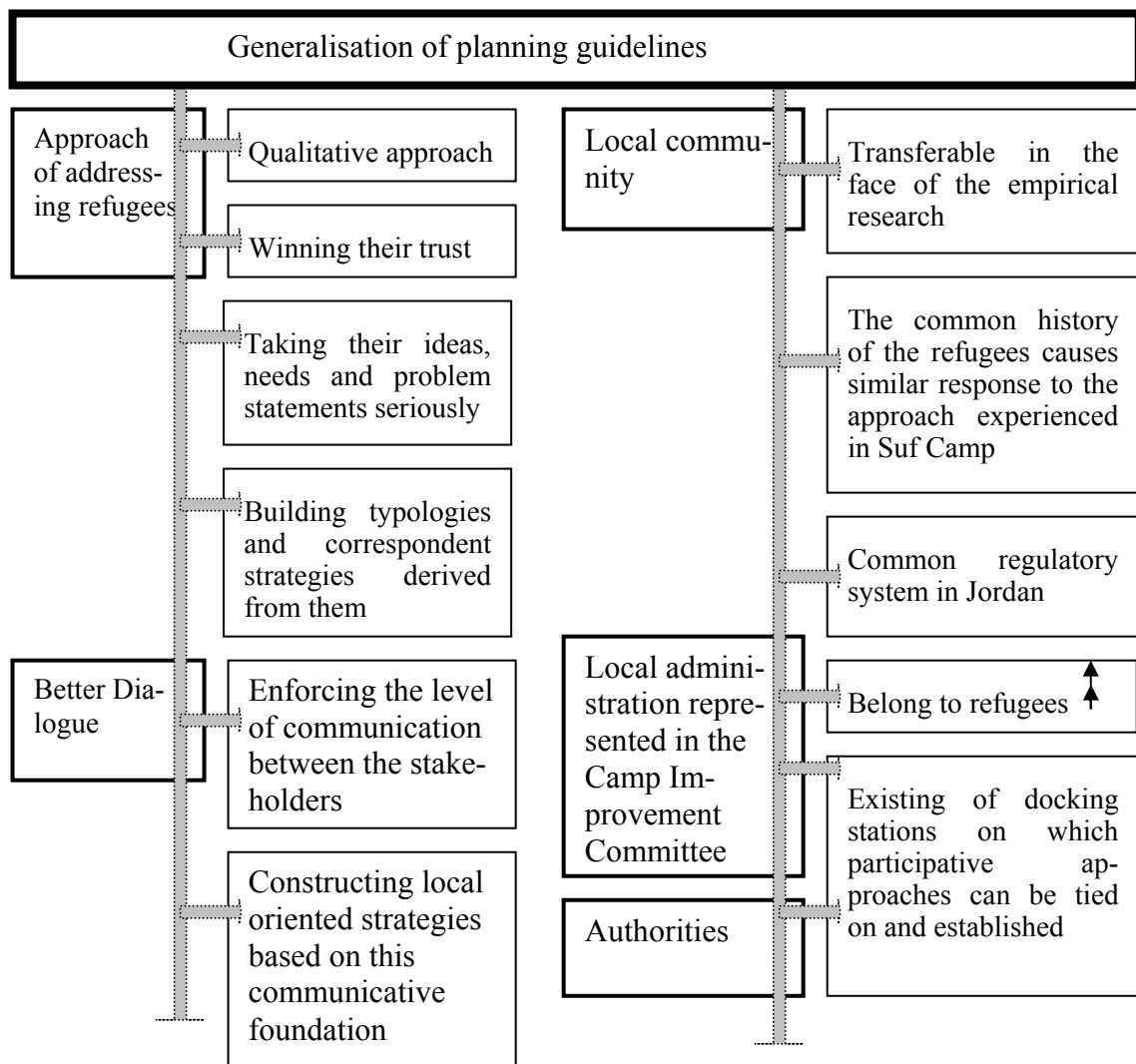
9.1 Dealing with Refugee camps in Jordan

Transferability of approaches and strategies in Suf Camp to the other refugee camps in Jordan is a relatively problematical task. The generalization of solutions of any settlement to others is a general inadequate process because of the subjectivity and the particularity of every case. This is not different in the refugee camps although they have common backgrounds, common causes of their emergence and common informal development over the years of their existence.

The focus will be on “how” to improve the Palestinian refugee camps and not on the projects, “what”. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter will cover two points:

- The planning guidelines and the issues that can be transferable to other refugee camps in Jordan
- The position of the stakeholders regarding the generalization of these guidelines. This can be evaluated through the field survey along with the information based on the previous projects, see figure 9.1

Figure 9.1: Framework of applying planning guidelines



Source: Tawil 2006

9.1.1 Planning guidelines for dealing with refugee camps

9.1.1.1 Approaching refugee camps

With reference to figure 8.1, the overall framework of dealing with Suf Camp encompasses the various strategies reflected and analysed out of the field survey. They are basically a reformulation of the needs and ideas of the inhabitants in Suf Camp. They were to a further extent, categorized strategies from the ones addressed by the different typologies in Suf Camp. Hence, they are characterised to be subjective and mainly tailor-made for the local community of Suf Camp on its different typologies.

This framework that enables such strategies is the core issue in this regard. It is the manner, the refugee camps are approached that is considered and not the resulted needs-oriented strategies.

Refugee camps, in spite of their diverse origins and particular urban and socio-economic settings, conform to certain rules and set of common norms that were investigated and found out through this research. The variety of factors affecting the status of

refugee camps, and framing them within a complex situation, determines the common foundation that unifies them and differentiates them from other settlements.

The approach of handling and addressing the refugees in refugee camps has the main influence on the success in achieving upgrading and development in these settlements. It is therefore, recommended:

- To seriously deal with the refugees as major stakeholder and to consider their reflections and statements regarding the development of their setting. these should be given the most weight in formulating conclusions
- To apply qualitative research methods, whereby, their attitudes, behavioural norms and multitude dimensions can get to the surface and then get processed and interpreted
- To motivate the local community through different kinds of instruments until they get engaged and contribute effectively to the aims of the venture

In addition to that, it is realized that typologies in a refugee community has a great effect on breaking down the complexity and differentiating the potentials of the community. It serves for determining more precise and correspondent strategies for the various groups in the community. This has been thoroughly explained in chapter 5.

9.1.1.2 Good dialogue between stakeholders

Passiveness of the inhabitants in refugee camps, and the missing communication between those and their local administration is, as referred to in various parts of this work, a major obstacle in properly contributing to development and prosperity. Therefore, enforcing this foundation in order to be able to build upon the various correspondent strategies is the most significant step for the upgrading of the refugee camps.

Dialogue and cooperation between the local community and the local administration is therefore, a foundation that can be generalized on the refugee camps in Jordan and maybe in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the various institutional elements on the local level that create and enforce this cooperation are still dependent on the type of problems and needs of the particular community. These are investigated and elaborated through the approach described above and could result in different types of institutions; vary from one camp to the other.

9.1.2 Tendency of stakeholders to adopt the resulted planning guidelines

Whether planning guidelines, resulted from this research, can be generalised or not, is also dependent on the type of stakeholders contributing to the process of upgrading. This is shown in figure 9.1.

The local community as a major stakeholder in the setting has obvious tendency towards participation and cooperation. As the refugees in Jordan harmonize in many aspects relevant to their sufferings and inconveniences over the years of their settlement, it can be stated that the refugees need this kind of motivating approach for them to participate. At this point, where this condition has been satisfied in the field survey, they became eager to think and act with the process.

The local administration represented in the Camp Improvement Committee moves in two different directions. On the one side, the members of the Camp Improvement Committee are refugees and part of the local community and therefore, the same rules applying to the local community, do also apply to them. On the other side, they are in decision making positions and therefore, they comply with the rules and regulations

maintained by the higher administrations represented in the Department of Palestinian Affairs (DPA) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

The planning guidelines resulted from the research are principally based on participation, regarding it as an optimal means for a better upgrading. Participation is a concept and a method that has been considered and used in many projects, whether in refugee camps or in other major undertakings by the government of Jordan. Therefore, these projects are marked as docking stations for further use of such approach.

Moreover, the type of institutional development on the local level can be relatively regarded as an informal adjustment to the existing structure in the camp. It aims at enhancing the function of the present structure and not colliding with it or with the existing regulatory system ruling the camp affairs.

In this regard, the generalization of the mentioned approaches and guidelines does not conflict with the ongoing approach in the camps. It is rather a supplementary result that can be integrated to the overall process applied in Jordan.

9.2 Dealing with refugees in the Middle East

In reference to chapter 2, the political discourse and regulatory system affecting the refugee issue in the other countries of the Middle East vary a lot from the one in Jordan. Therefore, the idea of generalisation of the results to the different refugee camps in the Middle East is to a great extent, in the actual situation, not possible.

However, if an attempt to initiate such perspectives is to be considered, in light of the potential of participatory approaches investigated in this research, a necessity of a strong foundation of rights and attitudes towards the refugees should be managed.

Generalization can only then be applied, if the circumstances influencing the status of the refugees are adaptable.

This research investigated a small part of the potential and the options for redevelopment in the refugee camps. It was based on many previous projects and great undertakings regarding the upgrading of the refugee camps, and will serve as a module, among others, for further attempts and studies in the refugee upgrading process.

References

- Abu Hilwa, M. 1990: An investigation of Palestinian refugees and their housing in Amman, Jordan, University of Southampton, England*
- Abu Zayyad, Z. 1994. The Palestinian Right of Return: A Realistic Approach, Palestine-Israel Journal 2 (Spring 1994: 77)*
- Adler, E. S. and Clark, R. 2003, How It's Done: an invitation to social research, Belmont, CA, Thomson Learning*
- Alexander, C., Neis, H., Anninon, A., King, I. 1987 A New Theory of Urban Design. New York. Oxford, Oxford University Press*
- Allen, T. Morsink, H. 1980: When refugees go home African experiences, UNRISD United nations Research Institute for social development in association with James Currey London and Africa World Press.*
- Alterman, R. 2001. National-Level Planning in Democratic Countries: An International Comparison of City and Regional Policy-Making. Town planning review special study no. 4. Liverpool University Press*
- Altrock, U. / Günter, S. / Huning, S. / Peters, D. 2004. Perspektiven der Planungstheorie, Mueller, S. (124-134)*
- Arneberg, M. 1997: Living conditions among Palestinian refugees and displaced in Jordan, FAFO report 237, Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science, Centraltrykkeriet A/S, Norway*
- Badil resource centre 2002: Survey of Palestinian Refugees and Internally displaced Persons. Badil is a member of the global coalition for the Palestinian right of return*
- Bass, S., Dalal-Clayton and Pretty 1995: Participation in Strategies for Sustainable Planning, Environmental Planning Issues No. 7 May 1995*
- Bawfo, C. A. 1991: Guidelines for Participation in District Development Planning and Management, a case study of Mpraeso (Kwahu South district), University Fachbereich Raumplanung, Dortmund*
- Braybrooke, D. / Lindblom, C. 1972: Zur Strategien der unkoordinierten kleinen Schritte (Disjointed Incrementalism, in: Fehl, Gerhard / Fester, Mark / Kuhnert, Nikolaus (Hg.): Planung und Information, Bertelsmann, Guetersloh, 139-168*
- Brody, E. 1970: Behaviour in New Environments: Adaptation of migration populations, California*
- CERMOC, French Center for Middle Eastern Research, Amman – Jordan*
- Chambers, R. 1991: Shortcut and Participatory Methods for Gaining Social Information for Projects, In M. M. Cernea (ed.) Putting People First, Sociological Variables in Rural Development, Second Edition. New York: The World Bank*
- Conyers, L. and Hills, P. 1990: An introduction to development planning in the Third World, Wiley series on public administration in developing countries, Wiley Press, Chichester*
- Custer, W. 1974: Urbanisation in Entwicklungslaendern, Verlag der Fachvereine an der Eidg. Technischen Hochschule/ Zuerich*
- Denscombe, M. 2003: The good research guide, Berkshire, England, Open University Press,*

- Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. 1998: *The landscape of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- DPA, Department of Palestinian Affairs, affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Amman – Jordan www.dpa.gov.jo
- Edding, F. 1951: *The refugees as a burden, a stimulus and a challenge to the West German economy*, University of Basle, The Hague
- Norbert, E. and Scotson, J.L. 1965: *The established and the outsiders*. London
- Fagence, M. 1977: *Citizen Participation in Planning*, urban and regional planning series, Oxford
- Festinger, L. 1962: *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Fischer-Rosenthal, W. 1995: *Biographische Methoden in der Soziologie*. In: Flick, U., von Kardoff, E., Keupp, H., von Rosenstiel, L, Wolff, S. (Hrsg.), *Qualitative Sozialforschung, Handbuch*, Weinheim
- Fitzpatrick, J. Secrist, J. and Wright, D. (1998): *Secrets for a successful dissertation*, London, Sage Publications Ltd.
- Forester, J. 2004: *Paper on Planning and Mediation, Participation and Posturing: What's a Deliberative Practitioner to Do?* Cornell University, Prepared for Opening Address of Conflict Resolution Network, Canada: 9
- Forester, J. 1993: *Critical theory, public policy and planning practice, toward a critical pragmatism*, State University of New York
- Forester, J. 2005: *Making Participation work when interest conflict: from fostering dialogue and moderating debate to mediating disputes*. Paper, Cornell University
- Friedmann, J. 1992. *Empowerment: the Politics of Alternative Development*. Blackwell, Cambridge MA and Oxford UK
- Friedmann, J. 1981. *Planning as Social Learning*, Working paper 343, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California
- Friedmann, J. 1987. *Planning in the Public Domain: from knowledge to action*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. New Jersey
- Friedmann, J. 1981. *Regional Planning for Rural Mobilization in Africa*, Working paper 339, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California
- Friedmann, J. 1988: *The Dialectic of Reason*, Working paper 68, Institut für Raumplanung, University of Dortmund, Germany
- Fung, A. 2004: *Empowered participation, reinventing urban democracy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton [u.a.]
- Ganser, K / Siebel, W /Sieverts, T. 1993: *Die Planungsstrategie der IBA Emscherpark*, in: *Raumplanung* 61: 112-118
- Garcia-Zamor, J. C. 1985: *Public Participation in Development and Management, cases from Africa and Asia*, Westview Press, Boulder [u.a.]
- Giddens, A. 1984: *The Constitution of Society, Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Polity Press
- Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. (1998), *Competing paradigms in qualitative research*, In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.): *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

- Haward, D. 1998: *A paper prepared by the project: Varenius Specialist Meeting on Empowerment, Marginalization and Public Participation GIS*, Department of Geography. State University of New York at Buffalo
- Habermas, J. 1977: *Towards a rational society*, Heinemann, London
- Healey, P. 1997. *Collaborative planning: shaping places in fragmented societies*. University of Newcastle
- Hereth, M. 1991: *Tocqueville zur Einführung, zur Einführung; 69, Junius, Hamburg*
- Hetherington, K. 1998: *Expressions of Identity: space, performance and politics*, Sage Publications, London
- HUDC 1999: *Community Infrastructure Program, Housing and Urban Development Corporation, Jordan* www.hudc.gov.jo
- Karmi, G and Cotran, E. 2000, London, Ithaca press, page 94, Cited in Nur Masalha, "The 1967 Exodus" *The Palestinian exodus 1948-1998*, Reported in the Guardian, 14 June 1967 and in the London Times, 22, June 1967, Cited in the Badil resource centre 2000
- Kenya/National Environment Secretariat 1990, *Participatory Rural Appraisal Handbook*. Centre for International Development and Environment of the World Resources Institute
- Kromrey, H. 2000: *Empirische Sozialforschung, Modelle und Methoden der Standardisierten Datenerhebung und Datenauswertung, 9. Auflage, Verlag Leske + Budrich, Opladen*
- Kumar, S. 2002: *Methods for Community Participation, a complete guide for practitioners*, Vistaar Publ., New Delhi
- Lamnek, S. 1988: *Qualitative Sozialforschung Bd. 1: Methodologie*. Muenchen / Weinheim: Psychologie Verlags Union
- Lindblom, C. 1965: *The Intelligence of Democracy, decision making through mutual adjustment*, Free Pr. [u.a.], New York
- Lynch, K. 1981: *A theory of a good city form: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass u.a*
- Margerum, R. D. 1999: *Getting past yes: From capital creation to action*, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 65, 181-192
- Mayring, Philip 2000: *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag
- Oakley, P. and Marsden, D. 1989: *Approaches to Participation in Rural Development*, International Labour Office, Geneva
- Oakley, P. 1991: *Projects with People, The practice of participation in rural development*, International Labour Office, Geneva
- Orrskog, L. 1995. *Adjusting Cities to the Demand for Sustainability: How and by whom: Working paper/ Royal Institute for Planning Dept. / Sweden*
- Peterman, W. 2004: *Advocacy vs. Collaboration: Comparing inclusionary community planning models*, *community development journal Vol. 39 No 3*, Oxford University Press and Community Development Journal
- Pocock & Hudson 1978: *Images of the urban environment*. London: Macmillan
- Popenoe, D. 1965. *Costs and benefits in urban renewal decision: a study of the theory or rational planning in the public sector*. University of Pennsylvania, PHD 1963

- Potter, R. B. 1985: *Urbanisation and Planning in the 3rd World, Spatial perceptions and public participations*, Croom Helm, London
- Proudfoot, R. 1990: *Even the birds don't sound the same here. The Laotian refugees' search for heart in American culture*, Peter Lang
- Public record office: London WO 261-297 "1st Battalion Cold stream Guards 16:30h, 22 April 1948" cited in Morris (1987): 86, Cited in Badil resource centre 2000: 16
- Pugh, C. 2000: *Sustainable cities in developing countries, Theory and practice at the Millennium*, Earthscan Publications Ltd, London and Sterling, VA
- Rapoport, A. 1969: *House, form and culture*, University College London, UK
- Rapoport, A. 1977: *Human Aspects of Urban Form*. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
- Robson, S. and Foster, A. (1989): *Qualitative research in action*, London, Hodder and Stoughton
- Rudestam, K. E. and Newton, R. R. (2001): *Surviving your dissertation: A comprehensive guide to content and process*, London, Sage Publications Ltd
- Sager, T. 1994: *Communicative planning Theory*. Norwegian Institute of Technology, University of Trondheim, Averbury
- Schmals, K. 2002: *Ortserkundungen, Ein Arbeitsbuch fuer RaumplanerInnen*, University of Dortmund
- Schönhuth, M., Kievelitz, U. 1993: *Participatory Learning Approaches, An introductory guide*, Wiesbaden. Schriftenreihe der GTZ, Nr. 248
- Selle, K. 1994: *Was ist bloß mit der Planung los? Erkundungen auf dem Weg zum kooperativen Handeln; ein Werkbuch*, IRPUD, Dortmund
- Sewell and Cop peck 1977: *A Perspective on Public Participation in Planning*, London: John Wiley and Sons
- Sharaf, F. 2000: *The Challenge for Sustainable Upgrading, the case of refugee camps in Jordan*. School of Planning, Oxford Brooks University, Oxford
- Spencer, S. 1994: *Strangers and Citizens, A positive approach to migrants and refugees*, IPPR/Rivers Oram, London
- Strauss, A. 1991: *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung, Datenanalyse und Theoriebildung in der empirischen soziologischen Forschung*, Fink, München
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. 1996: *Grounded Theory, Basics of qualitative research*, Beltz, Psychologie-Verl.-Union, Weinheim
- Strübing, J. 2004: *Grounded Theory, Zur sozialtheoretischen und epistemologischen fundierung des verfahrens der empirisch begründeten Theoriebildung*, VS Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften
- Takkenberg, L. 1998: *The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law*. Clarendon Press, Oxford
- Tocqueville, A. 1976: *Über die Demokratie in Amerika*, Muenchen Vgl, auch M. Heerth, 1991: *Tocqueville zur Einführung*, Hamburg
- UNRWA, Head Quarters, Gaza – Palestine www.unrwa.org
- Walker, R. 1993: *Applied Qualitative Research*, Aldershot, Gower
- Zagha, H. 1997: *Social Productivity Program, final report*, Housing and Urban Development Corporation, Jordan
- Yeboah, Y. 2003: *Partnership in Health Service Planning and Provision, Prospects and challenges in Ghana*, SPRING Center, Faculty of Spatial Planning, University of Dortmund, Germany

Yin, R. 1993: Application of Case Study Research, Sage Publications, Newbury Park u.a.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview 1 with 83 years old man, Feb 2004

- How do you see the camp?
- One has to be honest and realistic; the situation in this camp, Suf camp is very good. We cannot and do not have the right to claim. The only thing is the space. The camp is dense and in my opinion, the extension in living quarters has to go vertically in order to lighten this density and reduce it.

- How old are you Abu? Abu Saeed. How old are you Abu Saeed?
- 83 years old. I come from Beit Jibril, Hebron.

- Were you first somewhere in between displaced or did you come directly to Suf camp after the war?
- No, directly, we, I and the whole family came from Hebron directly to Suf. Okay we first were displaced to Hebron from Beit Jibril but that is the main city nearby.

- How old were you as you left your homeland?
- I was 18 or 19 years old. Are you sure that you were in this age? Yes, I was young and my sister was few years older than me, she is sitting here and we left our village together.

- What kind of memories do you still have from your village?
- We were the whole day in the field, we planted, harvested and dug the land, it was green it was very beautiful. We used to spend our time as well with the goats. So our life was in the field, we had relaxing country life in those days, much better than here. Switching to his sister with the same question:
- Much better than today were those days. We used to eat and drink from the field, the milk, the cheese and the eggs, everything was natural. We are farmers and here we had to live in boxes. The days are getting worse and worse, every day passes is better the one coming.

- How were your houses at the time?
- We used to build our houses from stone and mud together. We used to install the shapes of arches and vaults into the external form of the houses. The whole family lived in the house; me, my sisters and brother and my parents and of course the extending families from us. We used to gather everyday at the different mealtimes. We had one kitchen and one living room and we cooked for the whole family, we all sat together in a circle and ate together everyday.

- How was the city centre?
- The market was the same as here. It was next to our house there, suddenly the war happened and we had to move we had to flee. We came to Suf in 1967, before we

went to Hebron as first displacement. “So you had two displacements?” Yes, actually three; the first from Beit Jibril to Fauar Hebron, near Hebron and the second time to Hebron itself where we spent the first 10 years after our village and then the cross river refuge to Suf camp in Jordan.

- Do you still have any relatives there?
- Yes, many of our uncles and aunts went to Gaza as we went to Jordan after Hebron, they did not want to leave Palestine. We chose Jordan; it was our choice to go here or there.
- And how do you find the camp and the changes along the years from 1967?
- The camp is developing the whole time. The new generations are very active and they want to change and let god be with them, they are the best young men I ever saw or lived. Our land in Beit Jibril was hilly and green it had much forestry whereas, the neighbouring cities and villages were flat and to the south more desert arid area. Our land was full of mountains and green areas and it was a beautiful homeland.
- How did you see the difference? Your village was hilly and green and here you came to a similar area and topography?
- You know what; I would rather eat sand there as living here.
- But what has differed in your opinion here?
- The missing of the family the lost of property and the flee leaving behind the beloved. This alone can never be compensated.
- *This is natural and understandable and god brings you together again... Amen....*
- But what are the differences between the two areas and villages according to you, where do these two parts vary and in what senses?
- We came here, we lived in tents at the beginning, and it lasted for 2-3 years until we had the steel sheet units for every family. Then one had to work here and there in order to be able to feed the children one had. “How many children do you have?” I have 10; 6 girls and 4 boys. All of them are married and live in the city; I stayed in this house alone as you see. All of them had jobs here and there and accordingly they lived near their jobs in the city. This camp is like a village of Jerash, the same situation; you earn more money you immigrate to the city. The reason is because of the density of the camp. You cannot build a house if you want to, you cannot buy a piece of land if you have got the enough money for that and therefore cannot build a house in the camp, because of the scarcity of the space. And the borders of the camp are defined and you cannot go beyond them. The camp is too small so you go out.
- You were around the 20 years old when you left your home, so you were old enough to have had an image of the previous place of living, how could you think about developing this camp to be similar to your own village, would you think of any ways of improving the image of the camp to get closer to the beautiful image you have in mind of your old village?

-
- Nothing, not with parks, not with playgrounds, nothing can return the image of our lost land. “But, supposedly we can, how would you think?” this is something for the younger generation, I cannot think about any way, I am old I have my memories and the new generations can think about the future.

Appendix 2: Report of the Future Workshop in Suf Camp, Jul. 2005

Introduction to Future Workshop

This field trip done to Jordan is seen to continue and finalize the field survey from the year 2004, the first field study. It is based on the end results of the first survey where all the qualitative interviews and observations were done and carry out on the site. This survey served for obtaining the methodical concepts for the analysis of the data and the different documents from the secondary research. It further made it possible to break down the refugee community into certain types that form again and reconstruct again the community of Suf camp. This led to figure out and discover the various types of relations; between camp inhabitants and administration, between camp inhabitants themselves and between camp and non camp inhabitants. Those findings of previous steps were very important to build upon the rules of the next step which is the future workshop.

This second field survey will put all these reflections of the previous analysis in a community-administration open discussion within a certain framework that will be illustrated below.

The general aims of the work are mainly:

- To serve the upgrading of the refugee camps in Jordan within the framework of the Jordanian policies and respect for the right of return. This will be represented in the final shaping of the recommendations and strategies.
- To come up with certain strategies derived from the reality of the camp life and the political situation of the refugees that guide all stimulated policies and eventual strategies.

These questions also serve the investigating whether the participatory approaches can be implemented in this case, and if so, to what extent and how.

The future workshop is a result oriented conference that seeks steps to action plans for defined problems within the workshop. This type of workshops is kind of a solution to different typical problems of traditional meetings and workshops²⁹:

- Long monologue
- Unclear definition of problems to be dealt with
- Endless discussions without end product
- The dominance of part of the attendees
- Others

Therefore, this workshop will try to:

- Define and document the problems of discussion very clearly.
- Set the priorities of defined problems.
- Discuss them and then come up with agreed upon strategies and work plans.

²⁹ Source: Future workshop report. Moderation: Prof. Günter Kroes

This workshop is simply going to shape the final stage of the field survey done in Suf camp. It will on one hand, emphasize results from the first field survey, or change some of the directions and lines of upgrading already began to get formed, and take a step forward on the other hand in the type of upgrading, more detailed level, what exactly can be done to resolve the situation and to improve the standards.

Attendance selection process

Many visits were made to the camp in order to find out whom and how will attend the workshop. In the previous parts of the field survey, many types of community inhabitants were concluded and laid out creating a basis on which the selection of the attendance of the inhabitants will depend. Therefore, as a first step, a search for the correspondent candidates was made, and then interviews with each of them were done until two of each type worked out. The preparatory phase had to be longer than expected because of the many causes of absence or unsuitability of the inhabitants for the purpose of the workshop; either because they couldn't attend or because of their fear or hesitance of speaking in front of a group of people, especially women in case of speaking in front of men who could be relatives or acquaintance of their family. Other causes were generated in the sense of finding local inhabitants that match the types concluded before and that within a small interview.

The attendance was set at the end in a way that is most representative for the whole community and was listed as following:

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--|-------------------|
| – Mr. Adel Barqawi | DPA / Director of Jerash Office | Official (Male) |
| – Mr. Darweesh Hassan | Camp Improvement Committee / Head | Official (Male) |
| – Mr. Hassan Bahjat | UNRWA / director of social services | Official |
| | (Male) | |
| – Mrs. Suzan El Salhi | UNRWA / Social researcher | Official (Female) |
| – Ms. Nuha | Woman Centre / Director | Official (Female) |
| – Najah Al Azzeh | Woman Centre | Official (Female) |
| – Mr. Azmi Banat | Camp Improvement Committee | Official (Male) |
| – Future oriented | | |
| – Dr. Muhammad Teeti | Camp Improvement committee | Official (Male) |
| – Open Minded / Integrated | | |
| – Mr. N. Al Azzeh | Mukhtar ³⁰ Suf camp / pragmatic | Inhabitant Male |
| – Mr. Abdul M. Banat | Mukhtar Suf camp / Tradesman | Inhabitant Male |
| – Mukhtar Gaza camp | Mukhtar Gaza camp / Future oriented | Inhabitant Male |
| – Mr. H. Shawabkeh | 18 years old / Future oriented | Inhabitant Male |
| – Mr. H. Al Qaissi | 19 years old / Student | Inhabitant Male |
| – Mr. D. Ghatasha | 19 years old / Future oriented | Inhabitant Male |
| – Mr. M. Salahat | 63 years old / Homeland oriented | Inhabitant Male |

³⁰ The Mukhtar of a camp is an older man who is known in his wisdom and who is considered as a leader and big mind in the camp. Such a Mukhtar has an enormous influence in his community and others if he is known as a Mukhtar.

– Mrs. Um Samer	50 years / Family oriented	Inhabitant Female
– Ms. E. Balati	22 years / Student / future oriented	Inhabitant Female
– Mrs. K. Raoush Female	32 years old / quality seeker / teacher	Inhabitant
– Mrs. S. Kannas Female	37 years old / Family oriented	Inhabitant
– Mrs. Um Mahmoud	63 years old / Family oriented	Inhabitant Female
– Mrs. Um Muhammad	45 years old / Interest gainer type	Inhabitant Female
– Ms. R. Ajjouri	23 years old / interest gainer / teacher	Inhabitant Female
– Ms. L. Ataya	Woman centre / Future oriented	Inhabitant Female
– Mr. M. Abu Thabet	Middle aged / Observer	Inhabitant Male
– Mr. Abdul H. Ayesh	Middle aged / open minded	Inhabitant Male
– Mr. A. Najjar tant Male	35 years / future oriented / Integrated	Inhabi-
– Mrs. Um Ala’	40 years / family oriented	Inhabitant Female
– young girl	14 years old / hoping	Inhabitant Female

It was noticed that the workshop stimulated big interest from the inhabitants as well as the attention of the officials of the non governmental organizations (NGOs) and others. Many Interviews with such were made to figure out what kind of input or feedback to the ideas they can give and such interviews were very helpful to grasp the ideas and aspirations the refugees had as well as the know how, with which one can deal with them in order to step forward. Anyhow, many of these NGO representatives were not able to attend the workshop because of the unofficial role it plays as a PhD research. Still the already conducted interviews with them were beneficial to the work and enriched the discussion in an indirect way.

Other attention was noticed by some inhabitants who participated in the workshop without being invited such as the Mukhtar of Gaza camp who heard of the activity, attended and participated very actively. Such participation was very beneficial to the workshop in two views; on the one hand, it gave a clue that these communities are very eager to talk and discuss problems and solutions which emphasizes and underlines the type of community we are dealing with and it stressed the need for those communities to participate in such events and confront officials on the other hand.

Implication of the future workshop sequence of event

Workshops normally take place along a whole day, brain storming and warming up. In the first phase and discussions and results in the second phase (the afternoon phase). In the case of Suf camp, it will vary a bit. Because of the type of community this research is dealing with, where most of the women have to be before noon time in their houses and others like officials or normal men who would never leave their small shops for an unpaid activity. Still it was tried through the preparatory time to give a good impression of the scheme of the work in order to have those attendance stay for the half of the day in order to manage reaching few results.

Figure 10.1: View of the women attendants in the future workshop



Source: Tawil 2005

The attendance was scheduled to amount up to about 20 persons from the local community. Those will shape and represent the various types of inhabitants the first survey resulted in. In more detailed sense, the attendance from the community will include two persons above 70 years old, 2 persons who are middle aged and have a big family which they have to take care of, they have as well some openness in their future plans, other 2 just finished their high school and are planned to integrate the young vision the motivated one into the discussion and others who can be below that age or in the beginning of their career and just deciding which direction to take. The attendance is equally chosen to have the same amount of women as the case of men. In general, the attendees will represent the categories of both genders, all groups of ages interviewed, all geographical locations (centre, edge and so on) and employed and not employed. It will further include about 10 persons from different authorities who can help coming up with the needed approaches and ways of dealing with problems and ideas that are particularly based on the community itself and then discussed with the experts and decision makers. Mainly, those experts and decision makers are to include representatives from the DPA, the Camp Improvement Committee, the UNRWA and others who are believed to be of beneficial experience to the topic and can give a constructive opinion to the process.

Figure 10.2: View of the men attendants in the future workshop



Source: Tawil 2005

The proposed program of the workshop was as following:

- 09:30 – 10:00 Registration and welcoming session
- 10:00 – 10:15 Illustration of the aims of the workshop and steps of process
- 10:15 – 11:15 warming up phase (brain storming),
 - Needs of community and inhabitants (only inhabitants are entitled)
 - Reflections of officials (authorities are entitled)
 - Setting the priorities (all attendees are entitled)
- 11:15 – 11:30 Coffee break
- 11:30 – 11:45 Categorization of the need priorities
- 11:45 – 13:00 Main discussion session
 - Ideas, Projects, undertakings that can be considered
 - Reflections of all sides together
- 13:00 – 14:00 Lunch break
- Informal comments

As an introduction, and before getting to the main phases of the workshop, the attendees were introduced to several points:

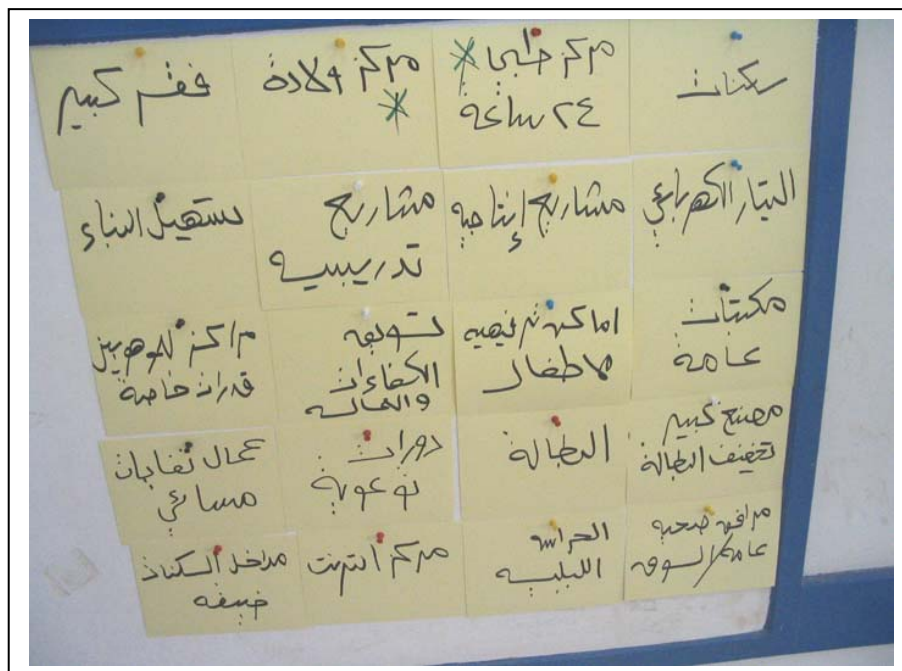
- To the definition of a future workshop.
- To the aims of the work in general and respectively, the aims of the present gathering.
- To the different courses of actions to be undertaken in the workshop. Regarding the needs session, an explanation was given what kind of needs they should distinguish and emphasize on; the ones concerning the camp in general and trying to avoid personal and individual problems.

- To the type of study and approach I am doing, in the sense that these ideas and procedures do not mean that something will be done and improved, they are for the purpose of the study in order not to raise any hopes. Still try to be direct and accurate as possible in order to arrange for a model of upgrading in case it will be used or needed.

Phase 1: Needs / Reflections and priorities

The first phase of the workshop as scheduled in the program was planned to provide a wide list of all the needs that are found and complained about in the camp. The local community attendees were mainly asked to participate in this step, camp administration was entitled to participate if they thought it is important to add few points what were not mentioned or noticed. The attendance were very enthusiastic in this brain storming moment and came up with endless kinds of needs that were in turn listed on cards on the wall as shown in the photo below. The needs resulted in the discussion were the following:

Figure 10.3: One set of needs of inhabitants on cards



Source: Tawil 2005

Housing / recreation facilities for children / [maternity ward](#) / accessibility to housing units / awareness courses / Guarding the woman centre / training projects / low grades at schools / financing education / supporting local organisations / easy loaning system / supporting medical days / concentrating on woman and child / emergency [physician](#) and [gynaecologist](#) / discretion in distribution goods to hardship cases / enormous poverty / more garbage collectors / public sanitation / night guards for the camp / decentralization in the civil organisations / special school for handicaps / dentistry insurance / the cut of the food support of a slice of the community / big factory for solving unemployment / public library / electricity is constantly cut / corruption in schools among students / returning to homeland / unfair treatment between the refugees and the displaced / horizontal expansion of the camp / education scholarship for the camp graduates / unemployment / medical insurance / improving the housing units / big number of students in the

classrooms / simplifying the building and construction of units or additional parts / electricity / 24 hours health centre / internet café / centre for special talents / Marketing of the camp culture.

This step was planned to be very spontaneous without any consideration what should be said and what not, whereas, the second step in this phase, was given to the authorities to filter out those needs according to the points:

- Ideas and needs are already met and realized
- Impossible ideas that no one from the presence can influence or change
- Giving some kind of feedback and reflection to the mentioned

Figure 10.4: Attendance setting priorities of needs



Source: Tawil 2005

Figure 10.5: Examples of needs' priorities



Source: Tawil 2005

Another discussion was resulted from this step, and this is a point where one should point out the very interactive atmosphere the camp is enjoying. The inhabitants are always willing to discuss some matters and ask about others and see what and how the officials do react which leads eventually to free democratic discussions. Still in this case where the time is limited and the attendance is lasting too short, the direction of the discussion was determined by the researcher (the moderator) in order to reach the needed points of the workshop with the least time possible.

The final step of this phase was dedicated to the inhabitants where they were entitled along with the officials to determine which priorities they would really choose from the various list of the needs given on the boards. As a tool of determining those priorities, different stickers were given to the attendance; Red circles to the women of the community, red rectangles to the female officials, green rectangles to the men of the community and finally, orange rectangles to the male officials. It was very interesting to sense the kind of differentiations between the different categories of the inhabitants and the officials. This kind of variation can be shown in the matrix below as a classification of the need priorities according to the different categories.

As shown in the examples to the left side, some needs were signed as priority for all kinds of categories that we have, others signified as men's needs, others as women's and finally, there are some needs that were specially interesting for officials and others for common inhabitants of the camp.

Phase 2: Categorizations of the need priorities / Analysis

In this matrix below, the detailed distribution of the different priorities according to the different categories is shown:

Need priorities	F/Community	F/Officials	M/Community	M/Officials
24h Health centre	1 inhabitant	1 official		
Electricity	3 inhabitants			
Building licence	2 inhabitants			
Number of Students in class	2 inhabitants			
Improving units	1 inhabitant		1 inhabitant	3 officials
Insurance	1 inhabitant	2 officials	3 inhabitants	
Returning	4 inhabitants	1 official	9 inhabitants	1 official
Unemployment	4 inhabitants	2 officials	1 inhabitant	1 official
Scholarships			5 inhabitants	
Horizontal expansion			2 inhabitants	

The following step will be breaking down the needs added up through the previous discussion and evaluating what groups have what preferences and in which percentages and weights they are presented.

- The needs, 24 hours health centre, better electric service, simplifying the building license and the complaint about the number of students in the class room are needs raised and prioritized mainly and only by women. They go back when generalizing the areas to the topics; health, education and services. It is justifiable that women in this community care utmost about their families and their wellbeing, “...to be attended by a doctor at any time, to guarantee that our children get a decent education in a healthy environment, electricity should be linked to Jerash and not further

*the next city Ajloun...*³¹ and so on. These concerns and needs match the ones as well resulted in the previous field survey in the family oriented type. Those were concluded from the interviews with manly women, so in this case we can signify the needs of this type as they were reflected in two different approaches and survey.

- Scholarships for high school graduates and horizontal expansion are in turn, needs that are raised only by men. This goes as well when generalizing the ideas into specific topics; the financial support and the living standards in the sense of the physical expansion of the camp. They want to improve the living standards of the family and try to upgrade the living conditions of the family through looking to future and thinking of ways of improvement. These match the ones leading in the previous field survey to the types, family oriented type and future oriented type. In this case, those two typed can overlap and yield inter-correlated results.
- The need “returning” is logically the most voted need, but in the discussion of what and how, it was never addressed by the attendees, whether inhabitants or officials. Still, as a moderator and in order to test and sense the importance and the strength of this issue, I pointed it out to be discussed and it was closed in one answer that this is out of their control and there would never be any ideas for solving that problem. It is emotional and cannot be based on any practical factors.
- Improving the housing units in the camp were noticed to be of great interest to the officials rather than the inhabitants, where only one woman and one man out of 20 local community members voted for that issue and three officials out of 10 which is a much larger percentage in comparison did that. Therefore, this need can be practically seen as a first priority that needs certain planning in the coming phases. Again, this can be justified and interpreted in a way that the local community are much busy thinking about their individual or more personal matters that affect their present living standards based on the financial issues, therefore, the raised interests are compiled in the matters of scholarships, health matters like insurance and emergency and the different services through which they get more financial aids. As mentioned in the participation chapter, discussed by Fung 2004, “...giving the ordinary residents the absolute autonomy is not what is meant here, but giving it still to them along with what he called ad hoc forms of support for local autonomy ...”, sometimes it is important to see what the experts and central authorities responsible for the camp think and to integrate both lines into one aim of the whole process.
- Unemployment is one main need that was raised by all participants of the workshop and when putting the returning issue aside, it is the most voted need in the session. This point will drag intensive discussions in the coming phase where the inhabitants themselves along with the officials try to come up with solutions and ideas to overcome the problems and eventual strategies to match this and other needs.

Phase 3: Ideas / Projects / Undertakings

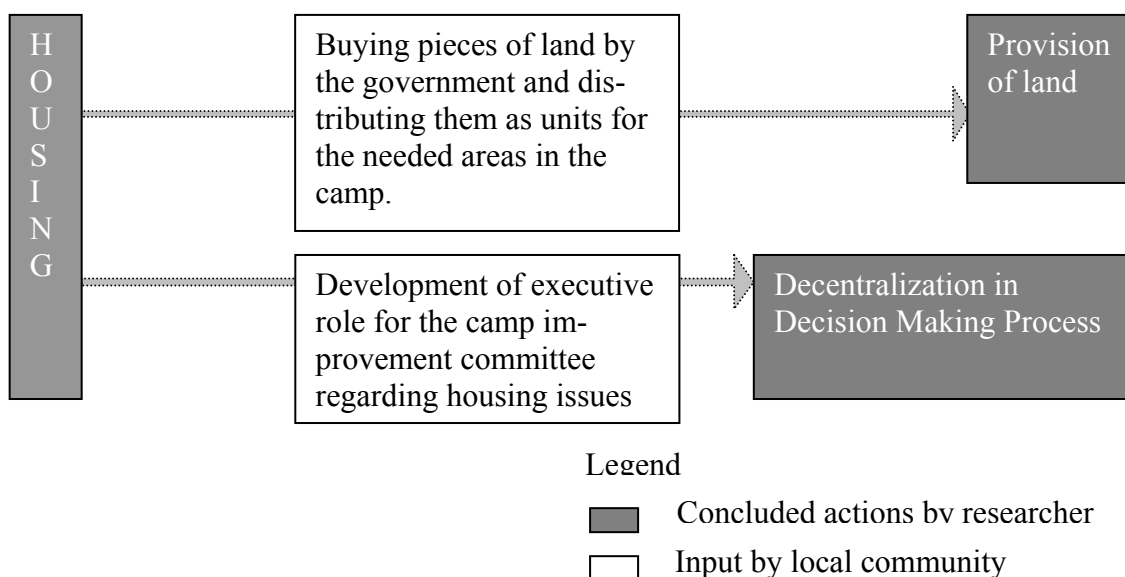
The coffee breaks in between that follow before this stage, serve the aim of having informal comments on the discussion. Needs where stress was not laid upon or those which were not considered properly get the chance to come to the top in these periods. Unofficial feedback that was not possible because of political or social restrictions³²

³¹ These were direct comments from the women while discussing the issues in the workshop. They have been translated from the flip chart used as a tool to document the side feedbacks and interactions raised in the meeting.

³² In the case of women, many of them would have the apprehension to express their opinions properly because of the existence of certain men who can be of relation to them. Therefore, these moments are as well important for such purposes to express a certain opinion without really officially having to say it in public.

could be feasible through these breaks.

Figure 10.6: Housing strategies derived from the local community



Source: Tawil 2005

This diagram above illustrates the first findings of the third phase of the workshop. The first topic that was categorized and put on as a leading point for the further discussion and findings was the housing issue. As described above in the table, some officials had assigned the improvement of units as a priority of needs, in some other cases where housing was mentioned was the license for construction which was mostly emphasized by women of the local community and finally the horizontal expansion was pointed out mainly by the males in the local community. This all lead to the necessity of reconstructing ways and possibilities of dealing with this issue, therefore, it was listed as a title on the other pin board in order to see what can be done and to think interactively in one circle. Shortly said, according to the inhabitants, it is as shown in the diagram above; the provision of more land for the camp and eventually the distribution of it to the needed cases and the more decentralized role of the camp improvement committee in deciding construction jobs or expanding units are the main ideas to solve the housing needs and problems.

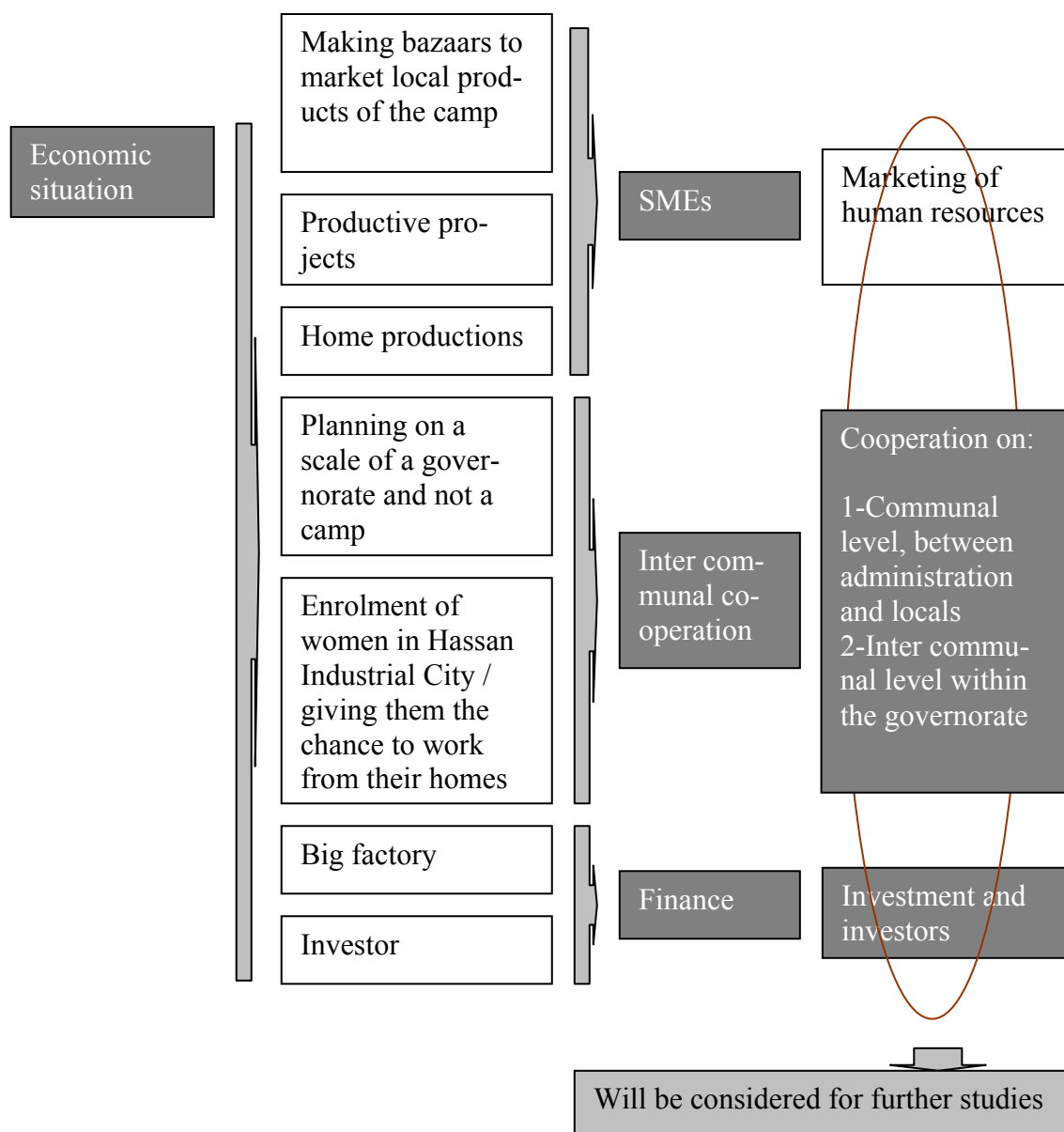
As a parallel memo, the flip chart served the aim of documenting the different reflections before coming to the end result which is in turn stated below the title card. In this case the only reflection from the inhabitants was the suggestion to the department of Palestinian affairs to buy pieces of land from the private owners around the camp and to expand the camp in that direction. Though, such a suggestion was declined in a separate interview with the director of the department where he stated that the camps in general in Jordan should keep their urban structure including the image of the density of the camp and that any urban expansion will be at least for the moment rejected. Therefore, in order to accept and respect this political issue and at the same time to consider the results of a democratic approach, plans and strategies for such an aim should still be considered. Such an urban development of the camp in this direction should be well planned and maybe then put aside as a less priority or possible action but then doable if the time comes to realize such a step.

The next³³ important point that was emphasized and highlighted in the discussion is the economic situation. It is a categorization of the points; unemployment and other relevant needs that were not prioritized³⁴. As already mentioned before, the flip chart was another tool on which the discussions were documented and where opinions and procedures were developed and flown in the discussion. The diagram below shows the direction of the inhabitants' solutions along with some comments and conclusive results to the certain points coined by them.

³³ Next does not mean next in priority, but the next point to be discussed.

³⁴ Having the voting to the maximum for unemployment makes it a main issue for further development although it was not accompanied by other relevant issues in the prioritization phase such as; supporting local organizations, easy loaning system, enormous poverty and big factory for solving unemployment which were mentioned in the brain storming phase. The inhabitants did not want to scatter the ideas because they all evolve around the issue of unemployment.

Figure 10.7: Fiscal strategies derived from the local community



Legend

- Concluded actions by researcher
- Input by local community

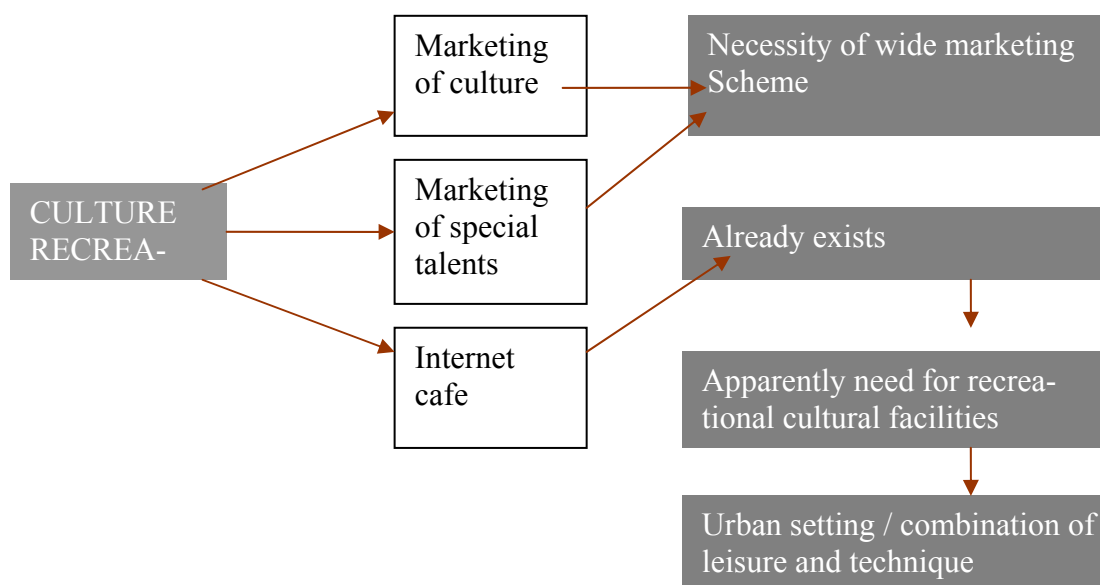
Source: Tawil 2005

The diagram begins with the title 'economic situation' which is a categorization of the previous relevant prioritized needs. It also shows the different ideas, approaches and the projects suggested by the local community. Based on these ideas, other categorizations are then set and tried to be directed to certain strategies that will be later on further discussed and investigated. The ideas of the local community came as a pile of projects restricted to the given topics in the session, classified together in few groups and then dealt with as one entity for further developed ideas. For instance, the ideas; bazaars, productive projects and home productions are here piled up together into small and medium enterprises SME and then tried to get marketed. Coming to such a conclusion and

argumentation is based on the notes and memos during the workshop, that SMEs are basically there and courses are basically given to the community but getting employed afterwards or creating successful enterprises, that is the problem. So, in this workshop and in this particular part, the gap was identified. The officials had the argument, they created many chances for the young generation in the camp to get enrolled in different courses and get many skills. This was through the moderator very concentrated upon, why then the unemployment which turned out to be caused by lack of marketing, lack of communication with the outer world around them and not because of lack of skills and education. Therefore, more discussions were invested in this particular gap rather than discussion around the problem, so the marketing point was set then in the conclusion part; although it was suggested by the inhabitants. This was one example of the categorization of the different ideas of the inhabitants and the accompanying discussions and in some cases conclusions.

A third and last point of the inhabitants that was raised and emphasized on was the culture and recreation point. It included less prioritized needs³⁵ such as, centres for the special talents, internet café and the marketing of the camp culture. The first and second need were voted by a woman of the local community whereas, the third one by a woman from the officials. The diagram below shows the development of those needs.

Figure 10.8: Culture/recreation strategies derived from the local community



Source: Tawil 2005

This last diagram of the ones that illustrate the workshop's third session, point out two main needs of the inhabitants; marketing and a proper public space that allows cultural technical activities in addition to leisure.

The marketing issue pops up in every stage which means that the camp has a great need for that which will be further investigated in later stages. About the internet café, it was noticed through the discussions that the inhabitants came up with that point because they already know the term from the camp. The camp administration announced that they constructed a building next to the camp improvement committee building including a public library and an internet research centre. The felt need for such a centre (café) indicates therefore, the inclination to having an atmospheric place with technical ser-

³⁵ Therefore, they were not included in the table describing the classification of votes.

vices and not necessarily the literal meaning of the word. It could still be that way expressed because of the lack of vocabulary they could possibly possess and internet café is there, exists, so it is more likely to get mentioned for similar urban settings. The spatial issues that can be again categorized through the various types of surveys done in the camp will be also thoroughly investigated.

Appendix 3: Structure of the narrative interview in Suf Camp

Questions to be asked:

- Tell me about your life? This question could be supported by:
 - Where do you come from?
 - How was the life there?
 - Is it easier here or more complicated? How?
 - What kind of dreams do you have?

- How could your life go on? How would you want it to go on?
- What do you want to reach?

Appendix 4: Topics for the semis structured questionnaire

Refugee Camps in Jordan: Options for Redevelopment

1. What do you think of the present situation in the camp?
2. Questions regarding hypotheses and research questions.

A. ORIGIN

- Where do you come from originally? City/Village?
- In what year you left your city/village?
- For how many years do you live in this camp?
- For how many years do you live in this unit(s)?

B. SOCIAL STATUS

- Are you married / single / divorced / widow?
- Wife? Was a relative / camp resident / homeland resident?
- How many kids?
- Who lives together in the same unit(s)?
- Where do your relatives live?
- Still have family members in your homeland?

C. PROBLEM DEFINITION

- Your opinion in Infrastructure projects implemented? Streets / networks / wastewater canals / organization?
- Your opinion in housing units? Especially yours, cracks / too small / too dense / isolation / what for problems do you think?
- Accessibility?
 1. To work: where do you work? Distance and time to work?
 2. To school?
 3. To park if there is any?
 4. To market?
 5. To hospital / health center?
- Financial aspect?

D. FUTURE ORIENTED PERSPECTIVE

- What do you wish or plan in the future?
 1. Stay in host country (Jordan)
 2. Return to homeland?
 3. Immigrate to somewhere else?
- If the answer is to stay:
 1. Why?
 2. What kind of future plans do you have regarding:
 - Job
 - Housing unit
 - Education
 - In camp or outside
- If the answer is to return to homeland:
 1. Why?
 2. When do you think this can happen?
 3. What are you doing in the mean while?
 4. What do you plan after returning?
- If the answer is somewhere else:
 1. Why?
 2. How?
 3. When and with who are you intending so?

3. Questions regarding the aims and process of the study.

A. PARTICIPATION

- What do you understand under participation?
- In what ways you think you can contribute to the upgrading of the camp?
- What would you participate in:
 1. Upgrading your unit? How?
 2. Upgrading the camp? How?
- What can you have for new ideas?
- How do you think these ideas can be realized?
- Are you okay with participating in sessions and community gatherings?
- Do you think they can make a difference? How?

4. Implementation actions and collection of results.

Could be distributed to fewer amounts of people, who take part in gatherings

It can be very randomly distributed, for who is willing to be active. Then part of the results will show to which groups' active people belong

The needs of the inhabitants will be more specific / listing them / presenting them again for evaluation.

5. Questions regarding personal information

- With whom do you live in this unit?
 1. Alone?
 2. With wife?
 3. With children / how many?
 4. With brothers and sisters?
 5. With parents?
 6. With relatives / how many?
 7. Others? Who?
- Together, how many people are you in the unit?
- Area of the unit(s) for your family?
- How many rooms are there in the unit?
- What functions do rooms in your unit(s) have?
- Is your unit(s) rented or private ownership?
- How much do you pay for rent?
- Who is working in your family?
- How much do you earn/month and how much the total income/family/unit(s)/month?
- What do you like / dislike in your unit(s)?
 1. Number of rooms?
 2. Area of unit(s)?
 3. Plan and distribution of rooms?
 4. Others define?

Appendix 5: Semis structured questionnaire

- What do you think of the present situation?

- Where do you come from?

- When did you leave your origin city/village?

- Since when do you live in the camp?

- Since when do you live in this house (unit)?

- What is your social status?

Married

Single

Divorced

Widow

- My wife:

Is a cousin of mine?

Was a camp resident before marriage?

Was a resident in homeland before marriage?

Others _____

- How many children do you have?

- Please list family members living with you in the unit(s)

- My relatives live in:

In homeland

In the camp

In the same plot

In the same street

Others _____

-
- Your opinion in infrastructure projects

Streets _____

Wastewater _____

Networks _____

Canals _____

Organization _____

Others _____

- Your opinion in your housing units

Cracks _____

Size _____

Insulation _____

Others _____

- Accessibility to:

Work _____

School _____

Park _____

Market _____

Hospital (health center) _____

Other _____

- What do you plan for the future

Stay in host country (Jordan)

Return to homeland

Immigrate to somewhere else

Others _____

- If the answer is to stay:

Why? _____

- What kind of future plans do you have regarding

Job _____

Housing unit _____

Education _____

Oters _____

- If the answer to return to homeland:

Why? _____

When do you think this will happen? _____

- What are you doing meanwhile? _____

- What are you planning after returning? _____

-
- If the answer is somewhere else:
Why? _____
How? _____
When? _____
With whom are you intending? _____

 - What do think of sharing and team work? _____
 - Would you consider contributing and joining groups in working for the camp?

 - In what ways you think you can contribute? _____
 - What could make your life here better? _____
 - Would you support participating in:
Courses for construction? _____
Meetings? _____
Committees? _____
Bazaars? _____
Other ideas _____
Upgrading your unit? _____
Upgrading your camp? _____
 - New ideas, things you can do and can be beneficial? _____
 - In your opinion, how can they be realized? _____
 - Do you think your contribution can make a difference? How? _____
 - Personal Information
 - What is the area of the unit(s) you and your family live in? _____
 - How many rooms does the unit have? _____
 - What kind of rooms and how they are used:
Guest room , other uses _____
Bedroom () other uses _____
Bathroom ()
Kitchen () other uses _____
Living room , other uses _____
Patio, other uses _____
 - What do you like dislike in your unit(s)?
 - Number of rooms? _____
 - Area of unit(s)? _____
 - Plan and distribution of unit? _____
 - Others _____
 - Is your unit rented or private ownership? _____
 - How much do you pay for rent? _____

-
- Who works in the family?
 - Father range of income ()
 - Mother range of income ()
 - Son(s) _____ range of income ()
 - Daughter(s) _____ range of income ()
 - Others _____
 - Total monthly income _____