BETWEEN TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT, A CONTRADICTORY IDEA?
Exploratory case study of Baqa’a and Za’atari refugee camps, Jordan

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ABSTRACT

Refugee camps are meant as temporal solutions. Nevertheless, all over the world, camps are developing into urban spaces. This thesis tries to elucidate the discordance on the experience of urbanization and exposes dilemmas inhabitants of urbanizing camps struggle with. The thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of the tensions between temporal establishment in a camp and the urbanization of a camp. In this thesis the different perspectives of the inhabitants of the camps and organizations working inside of the camps were examined on the urbanization of camps. This is done through an exploratory qualitative research of two case studies: Baqa’a and Za’atari refugee camps in Jordan. Baqa’a and Za’atari expose the dilemmas and tensions between the conventional notion of a camp as being a temporary solution, and the reality in which the camps develop a more permanent condition. It finds that the downside of this development is that the inhabitants feel like they live in an intermediate phase, being called ‘liminal’. What emerges in both camps is a contradictory space. Even though the place they inhabit looks or feels like a city, the inhabitants ‘long’ for another place. It is that sense of belonging somewhere else, that gives them the feeling of being in a liminal state.
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Shukran kteer (thanks a lot) and enjoy reading!
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'Za’atari refugee camp: The ‘temporary’ shelter that’s become Jordan’s fourth largest city'

- ABC news (2017)

'Stories from Baqa’a, a Palestinian refugee city'

- Resource WUR (2017)

'Oasis of resilience, healing and empowering Syrian children in Za’atari refugee camp'

- ISSUU (2014)

'Palestinians have built their own city in the area that the camp was first established'

- ARDD (2015)

'The shift towards longer-term, sustainable WASH programming has been successful through the construction of a waste water network and private infrastructure that has covered the camp comprehensively and been positively perceived by beneficiaries'

- Reliefweb (2017)

'Life in Za’atari refugee camp, Jordan’s fourth biggest city'

- OXFAM international (2018)
1. INTRODUCTION

“Refugee camps are per definition temporary solutions. And that is how they are planned” (De La Chaux & Haugh, 2018).

A refugee camp is planned as temporary accommodation for people who have been forced to flee their home because of violence and persecution (UNHCR, 2018). Although refugee camps are intended as temporary accommodation, reality shows otherwise. Agier (2008) describes how refugee camps are urbanizing, all over the world. In Jordan, two refugee camps show the phenomenon of urbanization to a greater extent than other camps: Baqa’a and Za’atari. Baqa’a exists since 1968 and is the biggest Palestinian refugee camp in the Middle East. In 1968 the inhabitants lived in tents, but through the years they started to build their own houses without regulation. Fifty years later, the camp consists of concrete houses, roads, schools, shops and mosques (UNRWA, 2018). Za’atari is the largest Syrian refugee camp in the world. In six years this camp grew into an informal city with neighbourhoods, a growing economy and a lot of shops (De Boer, Muggah & Patel, 2016). According to Gillespie (2015), it is likely that Za’atari will develop in the same way as Baqa’a.

The urbanization of refugee camps is seen as a positive development by several researchers and international media sources because it is often accompanied by a better infrastructure and living environment (Agier, 2008; Herz, 2008; Jansen, 2009; ISSUU, 2014; ARDD, 2015; Reliefweb, 2017; ABC news, 2017). Nevertheless, the urbanization of a camp is ambiguous (Dalal, 2015). While a camp develops into a city, the inhabitants ‘long’ to another place. Even if a camp looks like a city, the camp can still feel as a temporal solution in the experience of inhabitants (Dalal, 2015). Staying in one place, while they feel they belong to another, can lead to a state of being ‘in between’ their previous life and a new one. This temporary phase of ‘inbetweenness’, is called a ‘liminal phase’ (Esschoten, 2018). Baqa’a and Za’atari expose the dilemmas and tensions between the conventional notion of a camp as being a temporary, interim solution, and the reality in which the camp develops a more permanent condition. The urbanization of a refugee camp involves many stakeholders, with competing interests (Miller & Glassner, 1997). In this thesis, the permanence and impermanence of refugee camps will be examined, in the perspective of a selection of relevant stakeholders, namely the inhabitants of the camps and several organizations working inside of the camps. This will be done through an exploratory qualitative research. The cases of Baqa’a and Za’atari will be compared. Both camps are developing into an urban space in a different way.

The thesis will expose how the idea of ‘liminality’ or ‘inbetweenness’ becomes visible
in the expressed perception of the relevant stakeholders and aims to elucidate the discordance on the experience of urbanization. In order to examine this, the research question that will be answered is: What is the role of liminality in the perspectives of relevant stakeholders on the urbanization of Za’atari and how does this development relate to the urbanization case of Baqa’a?

To answer this question, three sub-questions are devised:
1. Who are the relevant stakeholders and what is their interest in both refugee camps?
2. What does urbanization of a refugee camp mean to the relevant stakeholders and are both camps urbanizing, according to them?
3. What is the role of liminality in the urbanization of a refugee camp?

Relevance
This thesis aims to contribute to a theoretically grounded understanding on the role of liminality in the urbanization of refugee camps and fills the gap of knowledge. In the past few years, architects, urban planners, anthropologists and geographers have investigated refugee camps and increasingly associated the development of long term refugee camps with urbanization (Agier, 2008; Herz, 2008, 2012; Jansen, 2009, 2011; Dalal, 2015). They state that the camp as an urban space has many advantages, like better living conditions inside of the camp. However, they have not highlighted the consequences or dilemmas related to the urbanization of a camp. This thesis exposes the dilemmas and downsides that inhabitants of urbanizing camps struggle with.

One of the downsides is the sense of belonging somewhere else that inhabitants of camps might have. This feeling can lead to a state of liminality (Esschoten, 2018). The concept of ‘liminality’ has been investigated by anthropologist such as Van Gennep (1960), Turner (1969) and Thomassen (2013). Ramadan (2013) has applied the spatial concept of liminality on a Palestinian refugee camp. However, no research has been done yet on the role of liminality in the urbanization of refugee camps. As a consequence, the link between liminality and urbanization is left untheorized.

The relevance of this thesis is twofold, it will aim to provide various insides, theoretically and for the society. The various insights of this research will create awareness about the different perspectives and experiences of stakeholders. It creates a realization of the feeling of living in an intermediate phase and the sense of belonging somewhere else. The results of the research will provide a better understanding of the tensions between temporal establishment in a refugee camp and the urbanization of a camp in multiple camps around the world. This, in its turn, will aid the management of camps in the future.
Thesis outline

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides a general overview of the historical background of Jordan and the case study of Baqa’a and Za’atari. The chapter ends with a description of the relevant stakeholders of both camps. In Chapter 3, the theoretical framework and main concepts of this thesis will be discussed. Chapter 4 describes the methods of the research. The results of the research will be given in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 contains a discussion of the study. In the last Chapter 7, the research question will be answered and an interpretation of the results and suggestions for future work will be given.
2. JORDAN AND ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand the situation of Baqa’a and Za’atari, some background information on Jordan, as well as its relationship with Palestine and Syria is given. The chapter starts with a short overview of the history of Jordan, followed by a brief description of the relationship of Jordan towards its neighbouring countries.

2.1 A short contemporary history of Jordan

The lands of Jordan and Palestine have been home to some of humankind’s earliest settlements. For ages, these lands have served as a strategic nexus connecting Africa, Asia and Europe as one country (Salibi, 1998). According to Robins (2004), four broad phases can be distinguished in the development of Jordan as a modern state. Appendix I demonstrates a map of Jordan.

The first phase spans the period from the post First World War settlement to the post-Second World War settlement. In the 20th century, the League of Nations assumed a mandate over its Middle Eastern territories. As those in power of this area, Britain and France, agreed to divide the region. France took Syria and Lebanon. Britain took Palestine, including the eastern part of the West Bank, called Transjordan. In 1922, a Hashemite lord, Abdullah, was assigned by the British to govern Transjordan (Robins, 2004).

The second phase spans from the end of the 1940s to the beginning of the 70s. This period was turbulent. In 1946, the United Nations (UN) abolished the mandate for Transjordan, thereby enhancing the foundation of the independent Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan. Transjordan officially opposed the partition of Palestine and creation of Israel two years later (Salibi, 1998). Jordan acquired the West Bank in the aftermath of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. During this war, Jordan’s Arab Legion conquered the old city of Jerusalem and took control of the territory on the western side of the Jordan River. At the end of the hostilities, in 1950, Jordan was in complete control of the West Bank. When Jordan transferred its full citizenship rights to the residents of the West Bank, the population of Jordan more than doubled. In the Six-day War with Israel in 1967, Jordan lost the West Bank (Robins, 2004). The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan became one country: the territory of the East Bank. At this moment, the territory has a total area of around 90 square kilometers and is almost landlocked. The land is adjacent to Saudi Arabia, Israel, the Palestinian West-bank, Syria and Iraq. The coastline stretches barely 26 kilometers. Transjordan became the central base of the Palestine Liberation Organization.
(PLO) in its struggle against Israel. The second of several waves of Palestinian refugees moved into Jordan at this time (Salibi, 1998).

The third phase spans the early 70s to the late 80s, known as the era of oil (Robins, 2004). In 1970, the Jordanian military launched an attack on Palestinian militants, who are called fedayeen. Syrian tanks invaded northern Jordan in support of the fedayeen. One year later the Jordanians defeated the Syrians and fedayeen and drove them back across the border. In 1973 Jordan sent an army brigade to Syria to help fend off the Israeli counteroffensive in the Yom Kippur War. In 1988, Jordan formally gave up its claim to the West Bank and announced its support for the Palestinians in their first Intifada against Israel (Salibi, 1998).

According to Robins (2004), the last phase of the state-building project of Jordan is a period of liberalization and democratic reform. This phase spans the period from 1990 until today. Under King Hussein, Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel, ending almost 50 years of the declared war, in 1994. In 1999, King Hussein died of lymphatic cancer and was succeeded by his eldest son, who became King Abdullah II. Under Abdullah, Jordan has followed a policy of non-entanglement with its volatile neighbours and endured further influxes of refugees.

### 2.2 Jordan and Palestine

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Palestine have strong, historical relations, as they formed one country until 1967 (Robins, 2004). With the creation of Israel, the heartland of Palestine was lost. The Palestinian society was shattered and displaced. Many Palestinians were expelled from their homes and fled. In total, more than 4.9 million Palestinian refugees are registered with United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Almost half of them live in Jordan. Among the many Arab countries, Jordan exclusively allows Palestinians to become citizens. Many Palestinian refugees have a Jordanian passport. However, a clear social differentiation remains in Jordan society. The Palestinian refugees do not have exactly the same rights Jordanian citizens have (Robins, 2004). Palestinian refugees are protected under the mandate of the UNRWA (Ramadan, 2013). Recently, in August 2018, the United States announced that it would no longer provide additional funding to UNRWA. Which means that the existence of UNWRA becomes uncertain in the future (UNRWA-b, 2018).

### 2.3 Jordan and Syria

The relationship between Jordan and Syria differs from the relationship between Jordan and Palestine. The three countries used to be a part of the Ottoman Empire. For ages, they have
served as a strategic nexus connecting Africa, Asia and Europa. With open borders and a liberal trade policy, the economy of the countries flourished. The countries functioned as resource distributor and arterial security. In 1916, the Ottoman Empire collapsed (Salibi, 1998). After the First World War, the French and Britain got control over the region. The controlling powers were left free to determine state boundaries within their areas. France got control of south-eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. Britain got control over Jordan, Palestine and southern Iraq. Soon, differences between Jordan and Syria started to arise. In the late 1960s, tensions arose between Jordan and Syria. Thirty years later, after the first Gulf War, relations between Jordan and Syria improved (Mayer, 2016).

In 2011, the Syrian Civil War started; a multi-sided armed conflict between the Ba’athist Syrian Arab Republic, led by President Assad and his allies, and various forces opposing both the government and each other in various combinations. The prolonged conflict in Syria has growing domestic, regional, and international consequences. This conflict, which is in its seventh year, consists of insecurities and violence. Persecutions continued to force the people of Syria to seek safety elsewhere (Guterres, 2014). Syrian refugees are protected under the mandate of UNHCR, the UN refugee agency for all refugees, except Palestinian refugees (UNHCR, 2018). In October 2018, the border between Jordan and Syria re-opened. The number of refugees that return to Syria increases slowly. Because of several reasons, not everyone can return to Syria yet (UNHCR, 2019).

With the background information of the relationship between Jordan, Palestine, and Syria, the cases of Baqa’a and Za’atari can be better understood. In the next sub-chapter, a short overview is given of both camps.

2.4 Baqa’a and Za’atari refugee camp

Baqa’a refugee camp

Baqa’a refugee camp is one of the six emergency refugee camps established in 1968 to accommodate Palestinian refugees as a result of the 1967 Arab-Isreali war. The other emergency camps established in 1968 are Martyr Azmi el-Mufti camp, Irbid camp, Jerash camp, Marka camp, and Talbieh camp. Baqa’a is the largest refugee camp in Jordan. The camp started with 5000 tents for 26000 refugees and lies twenty kilometres north of Amman. In 1969 UNRWA replaced the tents with 8000 prefabricated shelters. From that moment on inhabitants started to build concrete shelters, without regulation. Right now, Baqa’a is home to around
120,000 registered Palestinian refugees. The camp consists of concrete houses, schools, shops, and mosques. UNRWA runs sixteen schools and two health centers, located in or at the borders of the camp (UNRWA, 2018).

Za’atari refugee camp
Za’atari refugee camp is established in 2012 to accommodate Syrian refugees as a result of the Syrian Civil War in 2011. Za’atari is officially the second biggest camp in Jordan and lies close to Jordan’s northern border with Syria. Since the opening of the camp, the camp saw a dramatic increase in its population. Right now, around 80,000 refugees live in the camp, of whom twenty percent are under five years old. The camp has eleven schools, two hospitals, nine health care centers and twentyseven community centers, run by UNHCR and several NGOs. Additionally, the camp has approximately 3000 informal shops and businesses (UNHCR-2, 2018).

2.5 Stakeholders and their perspectives

Different stakeholder groups and interests play a role in the urbanization of a refugee camp (Miller & Glassner, 1997). In this thesis, four different parties are elucidated. Within these groups, opinions and interest differ as well. The first stakeholder group is the largest and comprises the camp inhabitants, the refugees (UNHCR, 2017).

The second stakeholder group consists of organizations working with - or in the refugee camps, including UNRWA, UNHCR, various NGOs and other organizations, projects and foundations. UNRWA deals specifically with Palestine refugees and is active in Baqa’a. UNHCR is the organization that is active in Za’atari. Both, UNRWA and UNHCR coordinate the refugee response under the leadership of the Government of Jordan, in a collaborative effort between UN agencies, international and national NGOs, community-based organizations, host communities and the refugees themselves. In Za’atari, UNHCR co-chairs several sectors and their working groups. These sectors provide information, advice and advocacy to the Government of Jordan (UNHCR, 2018).

The third stakeholder group is the host community. The host community refers to the country of asylum and the local, regional and national governmental, social and economic structures within the refugees live. In the context of refugee camps, the host community surrounds the camp, has interaction with the camp and is impacted by the refugees that live inside of the camp (UNHCR, 2011).
The last stakeholder group is the Jordanian Government. The government has the overall control over the refugee camps. Because of the influx of refugees, the host communities’ resources, jobs, infrastructure and social services are getting overstretched. This might lead to tensions between the refugees and members of the host community. Stability is the number one priority of the government. Because of possible tensions between the Syrian refugees and the members of the host community, the government sticks to humanitarian aid for and likes to perceive refugee camps as temporary spaces. In the case of Za’atari, humanitarian aid is material or logistical assistance designed to save lives and alleviate suffering in the aftermath of the war. (European Commission, 2017).

Even though the different perspectives of the stakeholders seem obvious, they are more complex than they seem. In a TED speech, the former UNHCR camp manager of Za’atari, Killian Kleinschmidt said: ‘We were building a camp, they were building a city’ (TED speech 2014). The refugees show a natural way of behaving and rebuilding a new life, according to Kleinschmidt (2014). By contrast, when Herz (2013) asked inhabitants of an urbanizing camp if they were building a city, the refugees responded that nothing would justify calling a camp a city.

In this thesis, the permanence and impermanence of refugee camps will be examined, in the perspective of relevant stakeholders. This thesis focusses on the first two stakeholder groups, the inhabitants of the camps and the organizations working inside of the camps. In order to examine the perspectives of stakeholders on the role of liminality in the urbanization of Baqa’a and Za’atari, these two groups are the most relevant stakeholder groups because they live inside of the camps or they experience the development of the camps from being close to the refugees. The theoretical concepts used in this research, will be explained in the next chapter.
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter starts with the definition of refugees and refugee camps. The concepts of urbanization, sense-of belonging, liminality, and communitas will be elaborated on after that. The chapter ends with an elucidation on the possible contradictory idea between the concepts of liminality and urbanization.

3.1 Refugee camps

Definition of refugee and refugee camp
Since the dawn of time, people have been fleeing from conflict or natural disasters (Herz, 2013). Someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence, is called a refugee, according to the UNHCR (2018).

Refugee camps are defined along two dimensions: temporally and spatially, asserts Turner (2016). The term ‘camp’ comes from the Latin term ‘campus’, which means open field or space. Spatially, this term is defined as a field that is set apart from other space. Camps always have boundaries, while in practice refugees and locals may cross these boundaries for employment or to trade. Temporarily, a camp is meant to be temporary (Turner, 2016). Likewise, UNHCR (2018) states that a refugee camp is intended as temporary accommodation for people who have been forced to flee their home because of violence and persecution. In 1982, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) created an official handbook that described how refugee camps should be built. The Handbook for Emergencies is a guideline for designing and constructing camps. It addresses the needs and requirements of a complete response in an emergency situation (UNHCR, 2007).

However UNHCR (2018) states that a refugee camp is intended as a temporal accommodation, camps are not always perceived as a temporal space. Jansen (2008; 2009; 2011; 2015) perceives refugee camps as more permanent, urban environments. He claims that refugees actively shape their life inside of a camp. A camp already becomes an urban space when implementing partners, like NGOs, start to develop the infrastructure of a camp (Jansen, 2011). Similarly, Turner (2016) states that camps are meant to be temporary, while in practice the temporariness often becomes permanent.
3.2 Urbanization

What is a city?
A variety of definitions is given for the concept of ‘a city’. Looking at the etymology of city, the term originally comes from the Latin nouns *civitas* (community) or *civis* (citizen) (Harper, 2001). Kuper and Kuper (1996) think of a city as a large human settlement. In general, cities have extensive systems for housing, transportation, sanitation, utilities, land use, and communication, according to them. In contrast, the urban historian Lewis Mumford (1937) thought of a city as more than being a physical fact of buildings and infrastructure. He began to think of the city as social institution. ‘The essential physical means of a city’s existence are the fixed site, the durable shelter, the permanent facilities for assembly, interchange and storage; the essential social means and the social division of labor, which serves not merely the economic life, but the cultural processes’ (Mumford, 1937, pp. 94). Likewise, Wirth (1938) dismisses the conventional quantitative factors that are often used to define a city, such as size, number of inhabitants, and population density. Instead, he points out the specific way of life that can be characterized as being urban. It is a life based on the abundance and multiplicities of exchange and connection between people. UN-Habitat (2012) defines the character of a city also by its public space. Additionally, Bridge and Watson (2010) define the character of a city by its public and private space. They describe that the city is an expression of the human experiences it embodies, including all personal history. Similarly, when Herz (2013) thinks of a city, he mentions qualities such as heterogeneity, openness, and empowerment. In the modern world, cities are locations where knowledge, capital, and infrastructure come together, allowing for creativity and richness in daily experience (Herz, 2013).

The concept of urbanization
Urban means belonging to, or, relating to a town or city. Urbanization is the process of migration from rural into urban areas, driven by various political, economic and cultural factors (Frey & Zimmer, 2001). In addition, Britannica (1965) defines urbanization as the process by which large numbers of people become *permanently* concentrated in relatively small areas, forming cities. According to UN-Habitat (2012), urbanization is occurring most rapidly in locations with the greatest lack of planning for urbanization. Alternatively, Brenner (2013) perceives the urban as a theoretical construct, instead of a pre-given space. His idea of urbanization challenges inherited conceptions of the urban as a fixed, bounded and universal settlement type (Brenner, 2015).
Urban planning

Urban planning is a notion that encompasses the whole set of social activities aimed at anticipating, representing and regulating the development of an urban or regional area. It can be described as a technical and political process concerned with the welfare of people, control of the use of land, design of the urban environment, including infrastructure programming, and protection of the natural environment (Pinson, 2007).

Transition from a refugee camp to an urban space

Common sense is that refugee camps should be temporary (Herz, 2008). Likewise, De La Chaux and Haugh (2018) state that refugee camps are per definition temporary solutions. Refugee camps are often perceived as representing extraterritorial zones, tied into a network of places that are disconnected from the immediate context. Therefore, camps are often seen as the antithesis of cities (Herz, 2008).

In contrast to De La Chaux and Haugh (2018), Herz (2008) thinks that this view ignores the social, legal and economic relations that exist in the immediate physical context that refugee camps are located within. The UNHCR Handbook for Emergencies (2007) reveals that most refugee operations last much longer than initially anticipated. Unlike ordinary cities, refugee camps have an extremely high pace in development and population growth (Jansen, 2011). The urbanization of a camp is a fact that will grow instantly after the required ‘temporary’ settlement has been built, states Agier (2008).

The term urbanization in itself presupposes a certain degree of permanence (Britannica, 1965). Agamben sees a refugee camp as being the spatial manifestation of a state of exception that has become permanent (Ek, 2016). As the refugee situation becomes prolonged, the urbanization of a camp evolves progressively (Agier, 2008). In line with Agier (2008), Taleb (2007) writes about the impact of the highly improbable. According to Taleb (2007), the world is more complicated than we realize. The human mind suffers from the pathology of thinking the world in which we live is more understandable, more explainable, and therefore more predictable than it actually is. An example Taleb (2007) uses to explain this pathology is about Palestinians who fled to Lebanon. The Palestinian refugees considered staying in Lebanon a very temporary solution, but most of them are still living there, six decades later. According to Taleb (2007), this ‘duration blindness’ is a widespread disease. The same happened with Cuban refugees in 1960 and Iranian refugees in 1979. It is not uncommon that refugees wait for more than 25 years to return to their homeland (Taleb, 2007).
Although refugee camps are commonly seen as places of desperation, some camps unfold as an environment of self-administered daily life (Herz, 2013). Herz (2013) asserts that we can undoubtly perceive the existence of urban qualities when we look at the camp through the lenses of inhabitants: how they make use of the environment and how local culture develops within the space of a refugee camp. However, when Herz (2013) asked inhabitants of the El Aaiún refugee camp in Algeria if they would use the term city when describing the camp, they rejected the word immediately. Nothing would justify calling the camp a city, was their response. In addition, Jansen (2011) points out that a camp, evolving into a city, has been built on an improvised structure. Therefore, Jansen (2011) calls urbanizing camps ‘accidental cities’. A refugee camp is ‘a temporary place that slowly shakes it features of temporality through processes of urban planning that are similar to forms of urbanization, with no end in sight as of yet’, clarifies Jansen (2009, pp. 12).

**Infrastructural development and resilience as part of a camp as urban space**

The infrastructure established in refugee camps is an obvious factor of urbanization, according to Montclos and Kagwanja (2000). The existence of facilities and infrastructure, such as roads, hospitals, schools, buildings, sanitation, and electricity, give the camp an urban aspect. It can be valuable for economic development and benefit both refugee and indigenous populations (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000).

Besides the development of infrastructure, a social factor might be important as well. Coaffee, Wood and Rogers (2009) call this factor ‘resilience’. Resilience helps the refugees in a camp to feel human (UNHCR, 2018-2). To Patel and Nosal (2016, pp.6), resilience is ‘the ability to activate protective qualities and processes at the individual, communal, institutional and systems level to engage with hazards or stressors and cooperate with each other in order to maintain or recover functionality and prosper while adapting to a new equilibrium and minimizing the accumulation of pre-existing or additional risks and vulnerabilities’. It relates to the multi-dimensional relationship between people and their environment, according to Coaffee et al. (2009). Additionally, resilience implies that the community is engaged in meaningful participation in all aspects of the program that affect them, to strengthen community leading role and driving force (UNHCR, 2018-2).

**Inhabitant or citizen**

As said before, the term city comes from the Latin words *civitas* (community) or *civitas* (citizen) (Harper, 2001). An inhabitant is a person that lives in, or that occupies, a place. A citizen is an
inhabitant of an area and a legally recognized subject of a state, either native or naturalized. The difference is that he or she is always entitled to its privileges, whereas an inhabitant does not always have privileges (Simpson & Weiner, 2008). The inhabitants of refugee camps are rarely called citizens. Can a refugee camp be called a city, when the inhabitants living in it are not considered citizens?

3.3 Temporality and spatiality

**Sense-of-belonging**

Refugees are defined not as a group of people exhibiting any specific psychological condition, but merely as people who have lost their homes (Papadopoulos, 2018). But, what does ‘home’ mean for a refugee? Home is the place where we feel we belong, territorially, existentially, and culturally, explain Hedetoft and Hjort (2002). We belong to the place where we can identify our roots and where we long to return to when we are elsewhere in the world. The word ‘belonging’ separates into two parts: ‘being’ in one place and ‘longing’ for another place (Hedetoft & Hjort, 2002). The people and places where we feel we belong, are not organically produced and static, asserts Esschoten (2018). Attachment to people or places are created in a social process of meaning making. This process reflects a sense of self and connection to people and places, which relates to the perception of one’s belonging (Esschoten, 2018).

Inhabitants living in an urbanizing camp, do not necessarily feel like they belong there. Staying in a place, while you feel you belong in another place, can lead to a state of being ‘in between’ their previous life and a new one, describes Esschoten (2018). This temporary phase of ‘inbetweenness’, can be called a ‘liminal phase’ (Esschoten, 2018).

**The concept of liminality**

The anthropologist Van Gennep (1960) used the term liminality in his book *The Rites of Passage*, a work that explores and develops the concept of liminality in the context of rites in small-scale societies. The liminal phase is a phase of ambiguity or disorientation that occurs in the middle stage of rites, when participants no longer hold their pre-ritual status, but have not yet begun the transition to the status after the rite. During this liminal stage, the participant stands at a threshold (Van Gennep, 1960). A few years later, Turner stumbled upon this book when he was in a liminal state himself. According to Turner (1969), the attributes of liminality are necessarily ambiguous, since these conditions and these persons elude through a network of classifications that usually locate states in a cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here
nor there; they are ‘in between’ the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial. In Turner’s own words, liminality refers to any ‘betwixt and between’ situation or object (Turner, 1969: 359). With ‘betwixt and between’, Turner means that someone or something is in between two states. A liminal entity can be in an intermediate state of confusion or disorientation. Liminal entities may be disguised as ‘monsters’ to demonstrate that as liminal beings they have no status, property, insignia, secular clothing, indicating rank or role. Their behaviour is usually passive or humble; they must obey their instructors implicitly, and accept arbitrary punishment without complaint (Turner, 1969). Social actors may find themselves to be in a liminal stage when they are in-between who they used to be and who they might become (Ybema, Beech & Ellis, 2011).

**Liminality applied to a refugee camp**

Thomassen (2009) states that the concept of liminality circulates in a variety of disciplines. Liminality applies to space and time. The temporal dimension can relate to single moments or longer periods. The spatial dimension can relate to specific places, areas or larger regions. Liminality becomes a permanent condition, when any of the phases becomes frozen (Thomassen, 2009). Vogt (2005) amplifies that liminality may remain the dominant phase for a long time. Moreover, it is not always clear who is in the stage of liminality and who is not. ‘Liminality is inherently ambivalent’, states Bauman (2013).

Liminality can also be applied to single individuals or to larger groups (Thomassen, 2014). An individual or group can live in a liminal temporal or spatial phase. For Thomassen (2014) liminality is about how human beings experience and react to change and how they feel in a liminal period or space. Liminality can be experienced as an unsettling situation in which nothing really matters, in which hierarchies and standing norms disappear, and in which authority in any form is questioned (Thomassen, 2014).

Ramadan (2013) applies the spatial concept of liminality on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. On one side, the camp itself can be a liminal space. Foucault (1986) calls the camp, as a space ‘in between’ and ‘outside of other’ places, ‘heterotopia’. Urban spaces, like camps, are outside of the real city. They are physically disconnected (Foucault, 1986). On the other side, the inhabitants of the camp can experience living in a liminal period. The refugee camp is a temporary space, a heterotopia, in which refugees may receive humanitarian relief and protection, until a durable solution can be found for their situation (Ramadan, 2013). The camps exist, in Agamben’s (1998) eyes, in a ‘zone of distinction’ between permanence and transience. The camp is a time-space of dislocation: a space of displacement and exile, and a time of
interruption, waiting, stasis. The space of the camp is intimately bound up with a temporality of liminality and enduring temporariness (Ramadan, 2013). The inhabitants of a camp can experience liminal ‘inbetweenness’ as well. The refugee status has become a permanent-temporary reality for millions of refugees (Ramadan, 2013). Ramadan (2013) states that space and time must be thought together; they are implicated in each other.

Communitas
What is interesting about liminal or ‘liminal like’ entities, is the blend they offer between loneliness, and sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship, according to Turner (1969). Liminal entities tend to develop an intense comradeship. Turner (1969) connects this comradeship with the forming of a community. Secular distinctions of rank and status disappear or are homogenized. It reveals some recognition of a strong social bond (Turner, 1969).

3.4 Between temporary and permanent – a contradictory idea?

A distinction can be made between the liminal space of a camp, the camp as heterotopia, and the feeling of liminality that inhabitants of a camp can experience.

Liminality in an urbanizing camp
Refugee camps are built as a temporary emergency structure. However, taking a closer look at any of the refugee camps in the world, a complex reality can be seen (Howayek, 2015). Over time, the short-term tents grid is overtaken with streets, markets, shops and public areas. Despite the NGO’s flags and international organization’s logos, it is possible to find an ambiguous space, somewhere between emergency camp and city, explains Howayek (2015). What emerges is a contradictory space: the camp as temporary liminal space on one hand, and the more permanent, urban space on the other hand. Urbanized refugee camps expose the dilemmas and tensions between the conventional notion of camps as being a temporary, interim solution, and the reality that often develops a quasi-permanent condition; suspended in a life that is neither here or there (Herz, 2013). Permanence of a camp cannot merely be regarded an unfortunate outcome of development gone awry. It seems to be inscribed into the whole process of building a refugee camp. Just as permanence is not merely an unfortunate or unintended consequence, temporality is not merely a technical dimension (Herz, 2013). The temporal nature of the camp remains undecided in the sense that neither those in charge of establishing the camp, nor those who inhabit the camp, know how for long the camp will remain (Turner, 2016). Refugee camps
are in other words meant to be temporary measures until another solution is found. Meanwhile, the length of this temporary stay is unknown. Turner (2016) calls this ‘indeterminate temporariness’. These, ‘accidental cities’, like Jansen (2011) calls them, are characterized by the proliferation of a temporary permanence, or permanent temporariness. Notions that come to terms with the ambivalence, and the limits, of the urbanizing camp (Jansen, 2011).

The liminal phase experienced by inhabitants

Besides the space of the camp, refugees can be ‘matter out of place’ as well (Turner, 2016). Refugees belong neither here or there. Living in a refugee camp, refugees might find themselves in a doubly paradoxical situation. They can be in one place, and ‘long’ for another place (Hedetoft & Hjort, 2002). Having the sense of belonging somewhere else can lead to a liminal state of being ‘in between’ previous life and a new one, according to Esschoten (2018). Refugees living in a camp might experience living in a time pocket where time grinds to a halt inside the camp while normal time continues outside the camp, explains Turner (2016). Not only is the limbo that they live in, a time pocket in relation to lives that are lived outside the camps; it is also a limbo with no promise of an ending (Turner, 2016).
4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The following chapter discusses the methods applied in this thesis, starting with the context of the study and followed by the design of the research, the data collection methods and the method for data analysis.

4.1 Research context

The exploratory qualitative case study is based on the Palestinian refugee camp Baqa’a and the Syrian refugee camp Al Za’atari. Both are camps with an urban-planning context. In this thesis the different perspectives of stakeholders, like the inhabitants of the camps and organizations working inside of the camps, on living temporarily in a camp and permanence of the camp were examined. In the result chapter, both cases are compared. However, the background and development of both cases is completely different. The research question that was used to examine the perceptions on the idea of temporality in the urbanization of a camp is: What is the role of liminality in the perspectives of relevant stakeholders on the urbanization of Za’atari and how does this development relate to the urbanization case of Baqa’a?

To answer this question, three sub-questions are devised:
1. Who are the relevant stakeholders and what is their interest in both refugee camps?
2. What does urbanization of a refugee camp mean to the relevant stakeholders and are both camps urbanizing, according to them?
3. What is the role of liminality in the urbanization of a refugee camp?

4.2 Research design

In order to answer the research question, an exploratory qualitative study was conducted. Qualitative research provides in-depth descriptions of a complex phenomenon, within its context (Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls and Ormstrong, 2014). In this research the perspectives and accounts of the research participants were taken as a starting point. By using a qualitative interpretative research approach, different perspectives on the urbanization of refugee camps could be examined. This thesis aims to expose how the concept of liminality becomes visible in the expressed perception of the ones involved. In order to properly analyse the different perspectives on the idea of temporary or permanent establishment in the
Palestinian refugee camp Baqa’a and the Syrian refugee camp Za’atari, an in-depth case study of the two refugee camps was done. The method used during the research is called ‘grounded theory’ (Ritchie et al., 2014). Grounded theory is a method that operates inductively. The purpose of the method is to generate new theory through the processes of collecting data, finding themes, creating codes from it, clustering codes into categories and searching for a relationship between those categories (Kendall, 1999). The data collection, data analysis and the theory of this research, are closely related to each other. For instance, the topic list of this research was checked, and modified if necessary, after every interview. ‘Sense of belonging’ is one of the concepts added after conducting most interviews.

In this thesis, interviews and observations were combined to form the core of the data collection. The in-depth interviews give insight into the life of participants and provide an opportunity for detailed investigation of each person’s perspective (Ritchie et al., 2014). The relevant stakeholders interviewed were inhabitants of the camps and respondents that work for NGOs or governmental organizations inside of one of the camps. In these in-depth interviews, inhabitants of both camps were asked how the camp developed, to what extent the camp is a city to them and whether they live in a liminal phase. Similar questions have been asked to the respondents that work for NGOs or governmental organizations in one of the camps. While interviewing, the interviewer used a semi-structured topic list to ensure all themes are touched upon. Appendix II shows the topic lists. During the research process, topics are added and deleted. The final topics that were used are: stakeholders, urbanization, infrastructure, resilience, temporality, sense of belonging, liminality, community, and contradiction. In addition to in-depth interviews, observational data was used to provide a greater understanding of the research topics (Ritchie et al., 2014). The observations were held in Baqa’a refugee camp and Za’atari refugee camp. The main sites for these observations were the bus station in Baqa’a, the entrance of Za’atari and markets and streets in both camps.

By using a grounded theory method, the ecological validity, or the extent to which research findings accurately represent real-world settings, is guaranteed (Kendall, 1999).

4.3 Data collection

Sampling method
Respondents were selected through both purposive and convenience sampling (Ritchie et al., 2014). Purposive sampling is used to find respondents working in organizations that are active in Baqa’a or Za’atari. In the purposive sample, respondent-selection was based on the type of organization the respondents are working for and how often the respondents have been in one
of the camps. Interviewing respondents of different organizations allows for a more detailed exploration and better understanding of the situation in the refugee camps. The aim of this approach is ensuring that the researcher spoke to relevant stakeholders with a different perspective (Bryman, 2012). For example, a respondent working for Za’atari’s camp management might have a different perspective than a respondent working for a NGO that is building a sustainable infrastructure in Za’atari. Personal contact was made to gain access to networks of organizations. This was done by talking to everyone who might know someone; from attending network drinks of an NGO, to asking taxi drivers. Some of the inhabitants of the camps were found by purposive sampling as well.

The perspectives of all refugees inside of Baqa’a and Za’atari are relevant for the research. In addition to purposive sampling, convenience sampling was used inside of the camps. With convenience sampling a selection of respondents was purely made on the basis of who is available (Bryman, 2012). These samples were generated by approaching people inside of the camps. In order to ensure that the sample is diverse, attention was paid to the age and gender of the respondents (Ritchie et al., 2014).

**Sample size and research population**

For this research 36 interviews were conducted, of which ten inhabitants of Baqa’a, six inhabitants of Za’atari, eight employees of organizations or foundations connected with Baqa’a and twelve employees of organizations connected to Za’atari. The respondents differ in age and gender. Table 1 and 2 show an elaborate description of the participants.

The first sub-question points out the relevant stakeholders and their interest in both refugee camps. Considering the lack of organizations active in Baqa’a, relatively more inhabitants of Baqa’a were interviewed. In addition to the respondents that work in an organization in Baqa’a, two respondents were interviewed who own a foundation in Baqa’a, one of them a journalist who writes about projects in Baqa’a. In alphabetical order, the organizations active in Baqa’a and Za’atari that the respondents work for are: ACTED (2), Arabian Medical Relief, BORDA, the Champ Camp, the Dutch Embassy in Jordan, Intersos, JHAS, Oxfam, Relief International, Save the Children, UNHCR (2), UNICEF and UNRWA.

**Objective research and ethical guidelines**

In order to investigate the complexity of the meanings of individuals as reliable as possible, the researcher conducted the study with as few preconceptions as possible from previous investigations. The ethical considerations taken are voluntary participation, informed consent, and confidentiality and anonymity of the subjects. Every respondent was informed about the
purposes of the research before the interview took place, they were asked if the interview could be recorded and all the respondents are anonymous (Ritchie et al., 2014).

Table 1: List of respondents Baqa’a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Inhabitants Baqa’a</th>
<th>Organizations Baqa’a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IB1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IB2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>IB3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>IB7</td>
<td>Palestinian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>IB8</td>
<td>Palestinian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>IB9</td>
<td>Palestinian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IB10</td>
<td>US</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 2: List of respondents Za’atari

<table>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Code</td>
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<td>Age</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>IZ2</td>
<td>Syrian</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>IZ3</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>Syrian</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>IZ5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>IZ6</td>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations Za’atari</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Job/organization description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>NGZ3</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>NGZ12</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Data analysis

The aim of the data analysis is to explore, unravel and explain the complexity of the findings. Data obtained from the interviews and observations were analysed in a thematical way, which involved discovering, interpreting and reporting patterns of meaning within the data. The data analysis was based on the grounded theory method of Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2013). They constructed a holistic approach to be able to inductively develop concepts and themes to link
empirical findings with theory as a result of different stages of data analysis. The method is designed to acquire rigor in qualitative data analysis (Gioia et al., 2013).

The stages of Gioia et al. (2013) were applied in this research. The first stage of data analysis concerns a first-order analysis of data. In this first-order analysis, several invivo codes emerged from the transcribed interviews. These codes are parts of phrases used by the respondents themselves. The researcher made the conscious choice not to distil any categories yet, in order to keep pre-existing concepts to a minimum. The first-order analysis is done by marking text of the interview transcripts in Word. For example, ‘it is not a community’ and ‘all needs available’, were first-order codes. Among the many invivo-codes, similarities and differences were sought to reduce the codes to a more manageable number. The second-order analysis was based on axial coding, which means that the researcher tried to reassemble the concepts into a new pattern. From now on, she used the computer program Atlas.TI, a program commonly used for coding and categorization of data. With the axial codes, like ‘infrastructure’ and ‘sense of belonging’, a first coherent framework was constructed. This framework linked concepts and themes drawn from the data with theoretical concepts (Ritchie et al., 2014). Once a workable set of themes and concepts was found, second order themes were distilled into second-order ‘aggregate dimensions’. The concepts of the aggregate dimensions are inhabitants as relevant stakeholdergroup, organizations as relevant stakeholdergroup, the urbanization of a camp, liminality of the camp, liminality as feeling of inhabitants, and paradoxes in the urbanization of a camp. A visual data structure, or Goia scheme, is built from the first-order, second-order and aggregate dimensions. This scheme shows how raw data turned into theoretical terms and themes through first and second analysis of the data (Gioia et al., 2013). Appendix III demonstrates the Gioia coding scheme of this research.

After the process of coding, the analysed data was used to formulate an answer on the three sub-questions. The results provide the different perspectives of the respondents on the role of liminality in the urbanization of refugee camps Baqa’a and Za’atari. It provides an in-depth analysis that enriches the understanding of a particular phenomenon. As a result, this thesis can contribute to existing theory and provides new insights into the topic of liminality and urbanization of refugee camps. In the next chapter, the findings will be presented.
5. RESEARCH RESULTS

The following chapter represents the data analysis of the thesis. This chapter is divided into five sections. In the first section, the political background of both camps is elucidated. In the following sections, two, three and four, the results on the sub-questions of the research question ‘What is the role of liminality in the perspectives of relevant stakeholders on the urbanization of Za’atari and how does this development relate to the urbanization case of Baqa’a?’ are presented. Within these sections, the findings of the inhabitants of Baqa’a and the ones working for organizations in Baqa’a are reported first. The findings of the inhabitants of Za’atari and the ones working for organizations in Za’atari are reported, after that. In the end, a short analysis is made in which the findings of Baqa’a and Za’atari are compared. In section three, an observation of the urban area of Baqa’a and Za’atari refugee camps is added. The last part exposes what respondents think of the possible contradictory idea between temporal and permanent establishment of a camp.

Before starting with the first section of the results, the researcher would like to emphasize that both of the refugee camps are very distinct from each other. The camps differ in legal, historical and socio-cultural terms. For instance, Baqa’a exists already for fifty years, while Za’atari exists for seven years. The political solutions for both cases differ as well. Respondents explain a couple of these differences in section one.

5.1 Political background of the refugee camps

Some respondents explained the political situation and background of Baqa’a and Za’atari. Having a clearer understanding of the political background might be helpful to understand the other sections of the results.

At first, NGZ7 notes that Jordan has, geologically seen, always been a transit country. The Jordanian government decided that Jordan is not a final destination for any refugee, except for Palestinian refugees. She describes that once the refugee status is determined and the immediate protection needs are addressed, refugees may need support to find long-term solutions. The UNHCR promotes three durable solutions as a part of their core mandate. The first solution is called ‘local integration’, which means that the refugees become citizens of the country of asylum. In Jordan, this is only possible for Palestinian refugees. The second solution is voluntarily going back to the country the refugee came from with assistance of UNHCR. The last one is resettlement in a third country. In many of the circumstances, resettlement is not possible, explains NGZ7. For Palestinian refugees, Jordan is considered as an alternative
homeland in practice. ‘It means that the Syrian refugees are not getting citizenship unless the refugee is a female that marries a Jordanian, while most Palestinian refugees do have a Jordanian citizenship’ (NGZ7).

Secondly, NGB2 describes that many organizations are helping with the development of Za’atari. Contrary to Za’atari, inhabitants of Baqa’a have the feeling that only UNRWA is helping. ‘There is definitely a difference between how people and organizations try to make life in Za’atari better. Za’atari becomes a sustainable refugee camp. Baqa’a does not have that. There is a huge contrast’, states NGB2. UNRWA relies almost entirely on voluntary contributions from governments, especially from the US government. Last August 2018, the Government of the United States decided to withdraw the funding for UNRWA (NGB2). According to NGB2, this might have many consequences for Palestinian refugees. ‘When it comes to taking care of infrastructure, it is all related to UNRWA […]. If UNRWA is gone, many problems will occur’ (IB9). NGZ5 speculates about this, ‘The US stopped the funding for Baqa’a because it might be a push for Palestinian refugees to integrate completely into the Jordanian society’. NGB5 explains that the difference between the Jordanians, and the Palestinians with a Jordanian passport, is that some of these Palestinians are living in a refugee camp under the shadow of UNRWA. Palestinian refugees, living in Palestinian camps, have the right to return to Palestine, even if they have a Jordanian nationality. NGB6 is afraid that the US Government wants to get rid of the Palestinian refugee status. For him, withdrawing the funding feels like an attack on the rights of Palestinian refugees. ‘Politically it is complex; many parties play the political game. UNRWA is only for Palestinian refugees. America starts questioning the legitimacy of the agency itself. If there is no UNRWA, there are ‘no Palestinian refugees” (NGB6).

To put it briefly, besides the dissimilarity in years that both camps exist, the political situation distinguishes both camps from each other as well.

5.2 Sub-question 1: Who are the relevant stakeholders and what is their interest in both refugee camps?

In this section, the results of the first sub-question are revealed. Questions like ‘which parties are involved?’, ‘who are the relevant stakeholders?’, ‘are there (other) parties working inside of the camp?’ and ‘what is the interest of the different parties?’, were asked to the respondents.

Inhabitants of Baqa’a

The inhabitants of Baqa’a have the feeling that, besides themselves, only UNRWA is a
stakeholder. IB1, IB6, and IB10 describe that they have never seen another organization in the camp. IB1 elaborates that UNRWA tries to support the people, but the organization cannot cover all the services and develop the infrastructure of the camp. They do not have enough funding to cover these services. ‘Because of that, life is poor in the camp’, says IB6. Nevertheless, ‘they take care of education and healthcare as good as possible’ (IB6).

According to IB8, the government might be a stakeholder as well. Although the inhabitants do not have the feeling that the government cares about them. IB9 mentions that he has heard of the existence of other organizations as well. ‘Some NGOs are working in Baqa’a, but I have never seen them, and I do not know what they are doing’ (IB9).

NGOs and governmental organizations Baqa’a

However inhabitants have the feeling that only UNRWA is active in Baqa’a, the researcher has found other organizations or foundations that are active in Baqa’a as well. For example, NGB1 brings foods, medicines, and gasoline heaters to inhabitants of Baqa’a, NGB6 tries to create a safe space for the children by practicing sports with them, and, NGB7 explains that he helps parents to raise the children educationally.

Nevertheless, asking these respondents who the relevant stakeholders are, they answered that Baqa’a does not have many stakeholders. NGB1, NGB2, NGB3, and NGB6 point out that they have the feeling that nobody is responsible for the inhabitants of Baqa’a. Other than UNRWA, not many organizations help the inhabitants. ‘UNRWA tries to help the people, one by one’, states NGB3, ‘but it is not enough. They cannot cover all the services’. UNRWA can only take care of the trash, healthcare, and teaching, says NGB1. According to NGB6, many organizations avoid working in Baqa’a. Camps like Baqa'a have always been seen as critical places, tells NGB2. NGB3 thinks it has something to do with the political situation. ‘It is hard for pro-Israeli countries or even countries that do not want to choose sides, to support a Palestinian refugee camp’ (NGB3). In addition, NGB8 says that most of the work in Baqa’a is done as charity. There are no long-term development projects and no organizations helping to improve the infrastructure of the camp, according to him.

To sum up, the relevant stakeholders are the inhabitants themselves, UNRWA and the few other organizations and foundations that are active in Baqa’a.

Inhabitants of Za’atari

The case of Za’atari is different. On the question ‘who are the different stakeholders in Za’atari?’, the inhabitants of Za’atari mentioned several stakeholders. The living conditions inside of the camps are getting better every year, according to the respondents. Two years ago,
several NGOs started to develop the streets and sanitation in cooperation with the UNHCR, tells IZ3. He describes how NGOs improve the infrastructure of the camp and the social life of the refugees. ‘NGOs come to visit our kids and us. If one of my kids has something, they treat the kid directly. They register the kids in activities and take them to these activities.’ (IZ3). According to IZ6, all the services they need are provided in the camp. She sums up that they have a good water system, healthcare, and schools for the children. All these aspects are done by different NGOs, explains IZ6. Additionally, IZ2 describes that countries are helping with the development of the camp as well. Several countries send aid to the inhabitants of the camp or funding to NGOs. Because of the funding from countries, the infrastructure could develop in the past years. Besides the help of different organizations, she emphasizes that the inhabitants have made a great effort as well. ‘The Syrian refugees have built many things out of simple materials. Because of that, we have local shops and markets in the camp’ (IZ2).

By contrast to the other respondents, IZ4 shares that there are indeed many NGOs working inside of the camp. Nevertheless, he is at home every day. Besides a ‘cash for work’ program, there is nothing to do for him.

NGOs and governmental organizations in Za’atari
Similarly to the inhabitants of Za’atari, according to respondents working for NGOs or governmental organizations inside of the camp, several stakeholders are active in Za’atari. First of all, the most relevant stakeholder is the refugee itself, assert NGZ2, NGZ9, and NGZ11. They are the center of everything and the reason that the organizations are in Za’atari. Besides the inhabitants, NGZ1, NGZ9, and NGZ11 mention other stakeholders: UNHCR, the camp management, international and local NGOs, the Jordanian Government, the host community, and several donors, like countries. According to NGZ2, several organizations are involved, depending on the needs of the inhabitants. She gives an example, ‘In the beginning, many NGOs started with emergency projects, like hygiene promotion and water purification. Right now, the focus shifted to resilience projects and projects to get people a job’. In cooperation with the Jordanian Government, the UNHCR has the final saying (NGZ8). NGZ8 explains that if his NGO wants to start a new project inside of the camp, they need approval from the Ministry of Social Development first.

NGZ9 explains that the stakeholder groups have different interests. ‘Every stakeholder needs something else and wants something else. Sometimes our NGO faced problems with the host community, sometimes with the government, sometimes even with the Syrian government’. Similarly, NG8 states that NGOs are under pressure of the government and several donors. He
explains that it is difficult to build a sustainable solution when all the stakeholders want something else. NGZ3 points out that the interest of the inhabitants is that they like to have safety and support. The Jordanian government cares about the refugees, but they care about Jordanian citizens as well. Their interest might be contradictory, according to NGZ3.

In short, the stakeholders in Za’atari are the inhabitants themselves, UNHCR, the Jordanian Government, different countries, and especially all the different NGOs and organizations that are active in Za’atari. Their interest might be contradictory.

Baq'a and Za’atari compared
As previously stated, it seems that not many organizations are active in Baqa’a, next to UNRWA. The organizations that are helping people in Baqa’a are mostly improving the resilience of the inhabitants and not the infrastructure of the camp. To answer the question, ‘Who are the relevant stakeholders and what is their interest in both refugee camps?’, the relevant stakeholders in Baqa'a are inhabitants and organizations or foundations working in Baqa'a, including UNRWA. In Za'atari more parties are involved. Za'atari is a more recent camp with a lot of active NGOs inside of the camp. The inhabitants themselves, UNHCR, the government, different countries, and the different NGOs and organizations that are active in Za’atari might be relevant stakeholders of Za’atari.

5.3 Sub-question 2: What does the urbanization of a refugee camp mean to the relevant stakeholders and are Baqa'a and Za'atari urbanizing, according to them?

In this section, the results on the second sub-question are illustrated. Questions like ‘do you think Baqa'a or Za’atari is urbanizing?’, ‘what is a city to you? and ‘how did the camp develop?’, were asked the respondents.

Inhabitants of Baqa’a
Through the years, Baqa’a developed in a space that looks like a city. In 1968, when the camp is established, the camp had no infrastructure at all. The water supply was public, which means that inhabitants had to walk to a public spot to get water. The camp had no toilets, water system, roads, electricity, buildings, and schools, says IB6. She explains that if an inhabitant needed a hospital, they had to travel to Amman. Right now, the camp consists of UNRWA-schools, health centers, a woman-center, roads, shops, electricity, and a water system.

According to three of the ten respondents, Baqa'a might be or become a city, because of the development of the camp. For IB3, IB6, and IB7 the camp feels like a city. IB3 explains
that this feeling is the result of the rich social life inside of Baqa’a. ‘The social city is more amazing than the actual city. There is a great social life. In rich areas of Amman, there is no one talking, no one on the street’ (IB3).

Even though Baqa’a might look like a city, seven of the ten respondents do not consider Baqa’a as a city or as a place that is turning into a city. ‘A city is a place for everyone, this is not such a place’, says IB4. Likewise, IB1 states that ‘this is not a place where you can live in’. According to IB5 and IB8, Baqa’a cannot be called a city, because people are poor. A city is better than this camp, says IB8. A fourteen-year-old boy, born inside of the camp, screamed ‘This camp will never be a city!’ (IB2). IB6 told me that Baqa’a is established as a refugee camp for Palestinian people. The government will never allow people to call it a city, according to him.

The majority of the respondents do not want to call Baqa’a a city. One of the reasons why inhabitants do not want to call Baqa’a a city is because of the ‘right to return’. ‘I am afraid that if we call it a city our right to return will go away’, states IB9, ‘Otherwise, we cannot return to Palestine’. He explains that it is mainly the psychological factor of living in Baqa’a. ‘When living in a camp, we know that we can go back to our country one day. This is not my land, this is not where I belong ’ (IB9).

Box 1. Fragment Field notes Thursday 08-11-2018 (pictures are added in appendix IV):

Mai* brought me to her family in Baqa’a, today. It is 9:12 am. We took a bus from Amman to the bus station in Baqa’a. We paid the bus driver 1 JD for both of us. Eight different minibusses are waiting for their departure time. Thirty people walk around the bus station. We continue to the market. The market starts inside with a few vegetable and clothing shops. They are decorated with large metal signs with Arabic letters on them, hanging on top on the shops. Between the shops, blue tiles with mosaic appear. We pass these shops and walk through an opening, illuminated by light. I smell spices, and I hear many voices. Next to me, two girls with a colorful hijab are talking to each other in Arabic. On both sides, stalls can be seen with cloths hanging above them. Mai shows me a second-hand store where she buys clothes for her nephews. Men behind the stalls scream ‘dinaren, dinaren’. Next, to the market I see small streets with concrete buildings. The houses look like stacked blocks with plastered beige walls. Most houses are two blocks high. Occasionally the plastered parts of the wall change into concrete. The bottom of the buildings looks blackened. Arabic words are written with graffiti paint on some of the walls.

*This is not her actual name
NGOs and governmental organizations in Baqa’a

The respondents working for organizations in Baqa’a are less consentient than inhabitants of Baqa’a. Three of the eight respondents consider Baqa’a a city. According to NGB1, NGB7 and NGB8, Baqa’a might be a city because the place is densely populated, the inhabitants of the camp are citizens with a Jordanian passport, and they have the freedom to enter and leave the camp when they want to. Additionally, NGB7 explains that the availability of services counts as well. The camp consists of shops, schools, and transportation to other areas outside of Baqa’a, according to him. To NGB8, Baqa’a might be a city, because it lies on the highway to the north of Jordan. ‘Baqa’a is an urban camp, benefitting from being close to a big city. The shops on the main streets used to offer many services for people who are living in north Amman.’ For instance, ‘if you have any problem with your car, you would go to Baqa’a’ (NGB8). NGB2 points out that there are different levels of cities. Compared to Amman, Baqa’a is not a city. Nevertheless, to him, it does look like a city. ‘But, the people from Baqa’a are from Baqa’a. They have their lives organized [...] They have everything: schools, a women-center, a main bus station, streets that look like streets in Amman. But there are still places that look like no one cares about it; unpaved streets, trash and you see much paint on the walls. However, you can say that it is a city in itself. It has grown over the years to what it is now, and it is bigger than many cities in Jordan’ (NGB2).

In contrast to them, the other respondents would not call Baqa’a a city, even though the place looks like a city. According to NGB6, Baqa’a is more a poor neighbourhood than a refugee camp. However, in terms of what the inhabitants seek in life, where they go through and the obstacles they face, NGB6 cannot call Baqa’a a city. ‘It has the exterior appearance of a poor city, but deep down it is still a refugee camp, and it has always been’ (NGB6). In addition, NGB5 states that if the inhabitants want to call it a city, they have to be convinced that Baqa’a is their land first. It is a camp because the inhabitants and the government still consider it as a temporary place, explains NGB8. She gives an example from the early 1980s. ‘The government tried to conduct development projects inside of the camp to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants. The inhabitants of Baqa’a rejected this project because they did not want permanent Palestinian settlements in Jordan. Jordan is not their home’ (NGB8). One of the reasons that the inhabitants do not want to leave Baqa’a, is because of the right of return, says NGB6. He shares that his grandmother wears the key to her house in Palestine on her necklace. The key became a symbol ‘the key of return’. ‘She holds on to her key so that she can hold on to her rights. If Baqa’a becomes a permanent city, the inhabitants are afraid they will lose their right to return to Palestine’ (NGB6).
The respondents elucidated the concept of an urbanized camp, by talking about the infrastructure and resilience in Baq'a’a. NGB8 distinguishes two different terms for infrastructure, social infrastructure and physical infrastructure. The social infrastructure includes education, health services, and resilience projects, like a women-center providing cultural project. The physical infrastructure includes water networks, roads, and buildings. The social and physical infrastructure in Baq'a’a is poor. People in Baq'a’a are extremely vulnerable, and health-services are very limited, according to NGB8. ‘Resilience is a way of facing diversity. If you are not resilient over there, you cannot go far in life. Resilience is discovering your way and overcoming it. If you are resilient, you can keep going’ (NGB6). NGB6 explains that the social infrastructure, the aspect of resilience, needs attention in Baq'a’a. With his foundation, he tries to build resilience by organizing sports events for children.

Not only the social infrastructure in Baq'a’a needs attention, but also the physical infrastructure needs an upgrade, according to NGB8. ‘Many areas and streets in the camp are too small and not good enough. Emergency vehicles, like ambulance and fire workers, do not have access to many areas. I have seen situations where there was a fire and people were using buckets. All the neighbours helped’ (NGB8). NGB1 uses another example to elucidate the poor infrastructure of Baq’a’a ‘Baq’a’a has a water network. […] The problem is the connection with the houses. They get water once or twice a week and sometimes you can see much water on the streets on these days, because of the leakages.’

In summary, there is a distinction between being a city and an urbanized camp. Baq'a’a is sometimes perceived as a city because it has the exterior appearance of a poor city. Baq'a'a is densely populated and has the availability of services. The camp consists of paved streets, hospitals, schools, a market, shops, infrastructure, like electricity, a water system, and a vibrant social life. Inhabitants of Baq’a’a can take a bus to areas outside of Baq'a’a, and they have the freedom to do so. They are citizens with a Jordanian passport. On the other hand, Baq'a’a does not feel like a city to most of the respondents. The social and physical infrastructure in Baq'a'a is poor, and the inhabitants do not have the feeling that they belong in Baq'a’a. Baqa'a might be urbanized, but it is still called a camp because the inhabitants still consider it a temporary place.

Inhabitants of Za’atari
In a different way, Za’atari seems to be developing in an urban area as well. In seven years, the camp developed into a ‘five-star camp’, says IZ1. Several NGOs use urban-planning techniques to build an advanced and sustainable infrastructure (IZ1). Nevertheless, IZ1 does not consider Za’atari a city. He lives in Za’atari since the camp established. He explains that he feels the
difference in life when he visits his relatives outside of the camp. ‘Za’atari is and stays a camp’, emphasizes IZ1.

By way of contrast, the other inhabitants think that Za’atari is developing into an urban area. According to IZ3, IZ4, and IZ5, Za’atari is almost a city, because all their needs are available inside of the camp. ‘We have paved streets, hospitals, water tanks, schools etcetera. It really becomes an urban area. There is everything’ (IZ4). IZ5 calls Za'atari a city because he feels very comfortable and safe in Za'atari. For IZ6, life in Za'atari is even better than her life in Syria. ‘Here we have all the services, and we have schools for the kids, and it is not expensive. In Syria, our life was harder. So, it is a really good city’, explains IZ6.

Nevertheless, IZ4 does not think of Za'atari as a real city yet. According to him, concrete houses are still missing. In addition, IZ2 states that Za'atari will be a city if the inhabitants are called citizens. As long as they still have refugee status, Za'atari is not a city (IZ2). ‘Above all..’, says IZ2, ‘...we need to go out and in an easier way, without entry and exit permits. Moreover, Za’atari is not connected to other cities around the camp’. She adds that the future is unknown to all the refugees. She wants to return to Syria when it is safe in Syria. Not knowing when this moment will take place, makes life in the camp hard (IZ2).

**Box 2. Fragment Field notes Thursday 02-12-2018 (pictures are added in appendix IV):**

I arrive at the gates of Za'atari with my translator Omar*. It is 9:45 am. We are only twenty kilometers away from the border with Syria. Before we enter the camp, a police officer has to join us. Omar arranges everything at the entrance. Ten minutes later, we pass the gates. On my right side, I see a fifty meter long illustrated wall. Omar tells me there are more. ‘Some are painting projects from NGOs to make the refugees feel more at home’. We drive around the camp. We have to drive slower every hundred meters, because of the speedbumps that keep showing up. It looks like there is nothing, except for sand, around Za'atari. After a few minutes, we turn right, into a big street. There are shops in caravans on the left and right sides. Thirty people walk down the street, even more are driving around on bicycles. Some children walk around with a blue Unicef schoolbag. Omar tells me that we have entered the market. Not all the shops are open yet. We stop at 'the best falafel place' of Za'atari, according to Omar. The falafel place is inside of a caravan. It looks like a temporary building, but there is a kitchen inside, and the floor is made of concrete tiles. We drive to the house of Omar's friend. We pass a lot of smaller streets. White water tanks block some of these streets. The caravan of Omar's friend is located on a hill, from here I can see the many caravans and streets of the camp...

*This is not his actual name.
NGOs and governmental organizations of Za’atari

All the respondents working for organizations in Za’atari think that Za’atari is developing into an urban space, except for one respondent. According to NGZ10, Za’atari stays a refugee camp. ‘The camp is disconnected from the rest of Jordan and the roads and buildings in Za’atari look like the place is a camp’, explains NGZ10.

The other respondents agree with each other: Za’atari might be urbanizing. Za’atari evolves gradually into a permanent settlement, states NGZ3. ‘It is turning into a city right now. All the people started to work, study and live their life and all the needs are in their hands’ (NGZ3). NGZ2, NGZ4, NGZ8, and NGZ10 think that Za’atari needs concrete houses to be a city. ‘Among other camps, Za’atari is a paradise. Except for concrete houses, everything is here’ (NGZ10). In addition to that, NGZ4 says that inhabitants should have the possibility to walk in and out of the camp freely. According to NGZ1, NGZ5, and NGZ6, Za’atari starts to look and feel like a city. ‘When you walk around.. it is alive!’ (NGZ5). In contrast, to NGZ8 and NGZ9 Za’atari only feels like a city. To them, the space does not look like a city. ‘It will be a real city if people would have concrete, permanent shelters and if people could choose how to live’ (NGZ8). Therefore, Za’atari is a city under the ground, not above the ground, states NGZ8.

Through the years the camp developed with the help of urban-planning projects of NGOs and the UNHCR. According to NGZ10, the situation in Za’atari was awful when the camp is established, in 2012. NGZ2 explains that during the time she worked in the camp, she witnessed a huge change. ‘Roughly scattered tents became organized tents, and they became caravans. The muddy roads became asphalted roads. There were communal water tanks [...]. Now you can see that each household has its private toilet and water tank. [...] and not only the infrastructure improved. The refugees started their own business with small shops in the camp. [...] now you can find everything you can think of in the camp’. Za’atari developed from an emergency camp into something called a ‘five-star camp’, according to NGZ10. He states that these kind of infrastructures are uncommon in refugee camps. Even Amman does not have an infrastructure like this, elucidates NGZ10, it makes Za’atari unique. An infrastructure like that improves the resilience of inhabitants as well, states NGZ11. Right now, the camp has schools, health facilities, hospitals, a sufficient flow of water, sewage, electricity, markets, job opportunities, a cinema, and the streets have names (NGZ7). Because of that, Za’atari feels like a city, to NGZ7. ‘The camp is sustainable and very advanced’, tells NGZ5. She calls Za’atari a playground for innovation because people within organizations invent creative solutions to improve life inside of the camp. Nevertheless, NGZ2 states that even if Za’atari itself is
becoming a permanent space, most inhabitants are waiting until they can return to Syria.

Given these points, Za'atari is urbanizing. All services are available in the camp, and the infrastructure is sustainable and advanced. The camp has, for example, paved streets, hospitals, a water system, a sewage system, speedbumps, schools, job opportunities, a cinema, and the streets have names. Only concrete buildings are missing, according to the respondents. Za’atari feels like a city. Nevertheless, it is not a city yet. The inhabitants do not have the freedom to go in and out without permission, and the camp is not connected to the cities relatively close to the camp. Besides that, inhabitants are waiting till it is safe to return to Syria.

Baq'a and Za’atari compared

All things considered, Baqa'a is already an urban area, and Za’atari is urbanizing. According to the respondents, the urbanization of the camp means that all needs are available: a social and physical infrastructure, like health care, education, shops, a market, social activities shelter, a water and sewage network and electricity. The respondents point out that the camp should look and feel like a city as well. The two main differences between the camps are about the infrastructure and the freedom of the inhabitants. The social and physical infrastructure in Baqa'a is poor, while the social and physical infrastructure of Za'atari is sustainable and advanced. However, Baqa'a looks like a poor city, while inhabitants of Za'atari still live in caravans. Another difference between the two camps is that people in Baqa'a have the freedom to go wherever they want. The camp is connected to other cities and villages in Jordan. Za'atari is not connected to other cities and villages and has a gate. Inhabitants are not free to go where they want without a permit.

5.4 Sub-question 3: What is the role of liminality in the urbanization of a refugee camp?

From section 5.3, we can conclude that Baqa’a and Za’atari are developing into an urban area. In this part, the results on the third sub-question are illustrated. Several questions have been asked to figure out what the perspective is of the refugees living in Baqa'a or Za'atari. For instance, the inhabitants were asked: ‘do you have the feeling that you live in a temporal, in-between phase?’, ‘Does Baqa'a/Za'atari feel like home to you?’, ‘do you feel like a refugee?’.

Inhabitants of Baqa’a

Even though Baqa'a already exists since 1968, most inhabitants still have the feeling that they
live in an intermediate phase. They describe that they might feel like that because they do not belong in Baqa'a. They have a sense of belonging somewhere else.

IB1 explains that her life in Baqa’a is fine, after fifty years of living there. ‘But...’, she adds, ‘what are we going to do. It is not my land, it is not my country, and I am just a refugee here. I want to go back to my land, and if not me, my kids or their children are going back’. IB2, IB4, IB5, and IB7 concur with her. Palestine is their homeland. They all state that living in Baqa'a is temporal. The same question has been asked to a group of children around twelve years old, who grew up in Baqa’a. They screamed ‘We will go back to Palestine one day, this is not our home’ (IB2). IB9 mentioned the concept of ‘right of return’. He explained that his father chose to live in Baqa'a because he is afraid to lose his right to return if he moves to another place.

All the refugees’ dream of going back to Palestine. They feel like they belong there. However, for IB6 it is not realistic to dream of going back. He lost the hope of going back to Palestine. He and his wife live in Baqa'a for 48 years. The establishment in Baqa'a became something permanent to him. IB3 feels settled in Baqa'a as well. He tries to accept the situation until there is a possibility to return to Palestine. IB3 explains ‘I live in an intermediate phase in the sense that I would like to move to another place, but it is not temporal anymore. I can only think about the future here’.

Living in an intermediate phase tend to bring people closer together and create a feeling of living in a close community. All the inhabitants pointed out that they are indeed a close community. In line with this thought, IB6 mentioned that the relationship between the inhabitants of the camp is very good. As an example, he described how he slept, with his whole family, in the house of the neighbours during a storm because their house was not water-resistant. ‘The experience of living here is nice, even though it is hard’, confirms IB5, ‘Living here is hard, but the people all know each other. They are very social and humble. Everyone knows everyone’. According to IB8 and IB9, Baqa'a is one big family. They describe how they walk into each other's house without knocking because they trust and help each other.

NGOs and governmental organizations in Baqa’a

The idea that the inhabitants of Baqa’a live in a liminal phase is perceived differently by some respondents that work in Baqa’a. The camp is not a temporary solution anymore, according to them. All the inhabitants are settled in the camp. Nevertheless, in their mind, they might long to Palestine. NGB1 explains that all the inhabitants think of going back. ‘They keep studying and living their life. But they still know they go back. It is planted in their consciousness. Maybe
they forget for a short time, because of the pressure of life conditions, but the vision of going back is there, also for the people with successful stories’ (NGB1). You can find a lot of sayings and poets about returning to Palestine on the walls of buildings in Baqa’a, says NGB1. NGB8 states that even though everyone perceives Baqa’a as a permanent place, the inhabitants still consider it as a temporary place. A few years ago, she tried to start a campaign, but the locals rejected it. They do not want a Palestinian permanent settlement in Jordan, explains NGB8. ‘If the camp develops, the inhabitants are afraid to lose their right to return. The camp will always remain a temporary space, is what they said’ (NGB8). Regardless the change that inhabitants can return to Palestine soon, NGB1 describes that the inhabitants do not sell their land. They believe that they will return, one day. The concept is fixed and planted in their minds (NGB1).

NGB4 and NGB6 have another way of looking at the concept of liminality. According to NGB4, the refugees act like the camp is permanent. ‘This is life. In terms of nostalgia, belonging, hopes and dreams and aspiration, there might be a more temporary status. But that dream is so far away. A lot of those dreams have been long gone. Liminality seems to be changed in something more permanent’. NGB6 explains that the inhabitants of Baqa’a might be in an intermediate phase in terms of their identity. A lot of them feel like they do not exist in a sense because their land does not exist anymore. ‘I am in a long term place and still a refugee, what am I? They do not feel like they belong anywhere. It is a lack of a sense of belonging, more than feeling that Baqa’a is a temporary stop. However, the location itself is not liminal or temporal anymore’. NGB6 gives an example of why Baqa’a is seen as a permanent establishment. ‘Baqa’a is a very densely populated place, but on top of the houses, you will find pillars made of zinc... This example is an indicator that shows that this place is permanent. A lot of the inhabitants have kids, they know that their kids probably cannot afford to buy a house later, so they put these steel pipes on top of their house so that their kids can afford to build on top of them. If they would be here for a short time, they would not even bother doing that. The moment they built these pillars, that is the moment things shifted, from the feeling of being here for a temporary time to something more permanent’. Another reason why Baqa’a is seen as a permanent establishment is that the government decided to give the Palestinians a Jordanian passport. This makes them Jordanian citizens, states NGB2.

The community in Baqa’a is very close to each other. NGB8 explains that inhabitants act like one family. They all help each other. She gives an example of a fire she has seen in Baqa’a. In a small street, one of the houses had caught fire. ‘Everyone helped with buckets and other things. And afterwards, many people helped the family, because their house was burnt’.

In summary, even though Baqa’a already exists since 1968, most inhabitants still feel
like they belong in Palestine. The role of liminality in the urbanization of Baqa'a is that the refugees perceive Palestine as their homeland. They live a refugee life, even though they have a Jordanian passport. Some of these refugees are born in Baqa'a. Nevertheless, they have the feeling that Palestine is their home and they like to go back. The Palestinian refugees hold on to their right of return. Nonetheless, the camp itself is not a temporary solution anymore. The inhabitants are settled, but they dream of another land. Inside of Baqa'a, the community is very close. The inhabitants feel like they are one big family.

Inhabitants of Za’atari

The situation in Za'atari is different, compared to the situation in Baqa'a. Za'atari is established seven years ago instead of 60 years ago, and the inhabitants of Za’atari are refugees and not citizens. All the inhabitants perceive their time in Za’atari as something temporal.

IZ2 is a 19-year-old girl from Daraa in Syria. She is living in Za'atari for six years, and she is learning English inside of the camp. She explains that her period in Za'atari is temporal because she does not have the right to stay in Jordan when the situation in Syria is improving. When the crisis in Syria ends, she wants to go back to Syria. ‘For me, it feels like I live in an intermediate phase. This feeling is generated by forced displacement... I have the feeling that I belong to more than one land, sometimes.. or to nowhere..' (IZ2). In line with IZ2, IZ3 states that he can go back when the UN decides it. It depends on them and the situation in Syria. He explains that he is waiting until he can go back to his life in Syria. Until that time it is safe in the camp, but he will always have in his mind to go back. IZ3 gives an example of discussions he has with his wife, ‘I have discussions with my wife when we need something. In the end, we decide that we do not need it, because we might go back’. Likewise, IZ4, IZ5, and IZ6 state that they will return when it is safe in Syria. IZ6 describes why he is not returning to Syria yet, although he feels like he belongs there. If he goes back, he states, he needs to go into the Syrian military. ‘But, if it is safe in Syria, I would return. Here in the camp is your mind not in the camp. Your mind is in Syria. Even when I go to work. My mind is still with my daughters and my wife who are still in the house’ (IZ6).

According to IZ6, the inhabitants all lived by themselves in the beginning. Right now, it starts to feel like one community. For example, IZ1 describes that different background are closer to each other inside of the camp than they would be in Syria. ‘My wife and I, are from different areas in Syria living in the same camp. We do not differentiate from which town in Syria we are anymore. In this camp, we live as one family’ (IZ1).
NGOs and governmental organizations Za’atari

A distinction can be made between the camp as temporary, liminal space, and the refugees themselves that might live in an intermediate phase. The respondents working for organizations in Za’atari think it is a temporary solution for most Syrian refugees in Za’atari as well. Even though the camp might become a more permanent place.

Globally, refugee camps are not as temporal as many people think they are, claims NGZ6. NGZ1 agrees with NGZ6, it is unlikely that a camp is truly temporary. For NGZ1 is it her job to build a solid infrastructure in and around Za’atari. It is her job to make Za’atari a permanent place, explains NGZ1. ‘It is not the case that we can build temporary structures anymore. It has been seven years, so it is not temporary. And nothing temporary can be convenient’ (NGZ1). NGZ8 explains that inhabitants of a camp will always have the feeling that it is temporary in the beginning. Eventually, concrete houses will be built. The camp will become a city and people will not have the feeling that it is temporary anymore. ‘People already started to find a job, marry, get children, let their children study. So, are already completing their lives here’ (NGZ3).

Nevertheless, NGZ7 thinks that all the Syrian refugees in Za’atari live in an intermediate phase. The refugees come to Za’atari with the hope to go back later. The ones that decide to stay are the ones that appreciate what they have. It all depends on the personal circumstances of the refugee. However, staying does not necessarily mean that they do not live in an intermediate phase anymore, states NGZ7. Even when the refugees like to stay, for now, they do not feel they belong in Za’atari, explains NGZ7. To NGZ8, liminality is a part of the refugee status concept. ‘If you are a refugee, you do not know where you will end. Some have the idea that they are going to live here for a longer time, but they still feel like a refugee, they are still not home, where they belong’ (NGB8). The hope of going back is in their subconscious mind daily, says NGZ2. NGZ3 describes that refugees who go to Amman, tell her ‘we go to Jordan’. ‘Can you imagine that? They still have the feeling that they are in Syria’, says NGZ3.

The situation of living in a refugee camp can bring the inhabitants together and improve the relations between them, according to NGZ2. NGZ2, NGZ3, and NGZ8 see this in Za’atari. The inhabitants are very close to each other, according to them. ‘They share the same condition or situations. It makes sense that they are more close to each other than they would be in Syria’ (NGZ9). NGZ11 nuances the concept of ‘communitas’ in Za’atari. ‘As a social being, we can identify ourselves with others. But, I think many other reasons can bring people together. It might be more about how much they need each other’.

To sum up, all the Syrian refugees have the feeling that they live in an intermediate or
temporal phase. This feeling is generated by the forced displacement, explains a respondent. The inhabitants do not have the right to stay in Jordan when it is safe in Syria again, and when they have the chance, they like to go back to Syria as well. Some of the respondents live from day to day. Nevertheless, even if they live their lives here, their mind is in Syria. In Za'atari, refugees from different backgrounds, cities, and villages are gathered in one camp. Together they create a community because they share the same condition or situation.

Comparison between Baq’a and Za’atari

In summary, the Palestinian and Syrian refugees both have the feeling that they live in a liminal phase. The forced displacement of the refugees generates this feeling. However, the meaning of this phase differs between the Palestinian and Syrian refugees. The Syrian refugees are not citizens of Jordan. They do not have the same rights as the Jordanians or the Palestinian refugees with a Jordanian passport. Living in Za'atari is a temporary solution for them, even though the camp itself might be urbanizing. When it is safe to return to Syria, they will go back. The situation is different for Palestinian refugees living in Baq'a. Baq'a exists since 1968. The role of liminality in the urbanization of Baq'a is that the Palestinian refugees perceive Palestine as their homeland, even though they have never seen Palestine. Parents teach their children that they do not belong here. Most of the inhabitants of Baq'a have a Jordanian passport and Jordanian rights. Still, they have a hard time to move on. They hold on to their right of return because they have the feeling that their land is taken away from them. The inhabitants are settled in Baq'a, and yet they dream of another land. In both of the refugee camps, the community is close to each other. It might be because the refugees share the same condition or situation. Admittedly, other factors can be of influence as well.

5.5 Possible contradiction

In theory, one or more contradictions or paradoxes can be found in the situation of an intentional temporal camp turning into a more permanent city. Wondering what respondents think of the possible contradiction between temporality and permanent establishment, some respondents have been asked their opinion about this topic.

NGB6 explains how she sees the pillars made of zinc on top of buildings in Baq’a. ‘They put these steel pipes on top of their house so that their kids can afford to build on top of them. If they would be here for a short time, they would not even bother doing that’, states NGB6. At the same time, inhabitants with these pillars of zinc on their roof told me that they
like to go back to Palestine when they can. The urbanizing refugee camp on one side and the idea that the inhabitants live in an intermediate phase on the other side sounds contradictory.

NGB1 owns a foundation, and he is originally from Palestine. He thinks it is only a contradiction on paper, theoretically. ‘But if you see it in practice. I have land there, and my family is still there in the West Bank. Even for us, we are somehow high educated. We have cars, a good job, we can travel, but even we, we have that in our mind... we know, one day we get back. So you do not have to live in a camp’. NGB2 agrees with him. Living in a refugee camp or not, every one who is from Palestine wants to go back, states NGB2. NGB7 agrees, ‘If I think about my circumstances. I came to Jordan temporarily until I figure out what to do. […] I am originally from here, and I have lived here. But, my identity feels more comfortable where I grew up in America. I got this job and I figured I would stay, while I know that I would eventually leave. Isn’t that the same?’. NGB8 explains that it is a sense of feeling that people have. The feeling of belonging somewhere. ‘It depends on where you feel you belong. Some Palestinians live here now, but the majority is still talking about home and their homeland in Palestine. It has nothing to do with time’ (NGB8). NGZ11 explains in another way why it does not lead to a contradiction. ‘We have to look at the camp and its surrounding. For me, the urbanization of the camp is something different than the people who are living inside of the camp. If the place is developed with or without people, it is also an extension of its surroundings. The concept of urbanization and permanence does not have to mean that people cannot move. We do not know what will happen in the future; people go in, people go out and leave. Urban areas change as well’.

In conclusion, although it might sound like a contradiction, liminality in the urbanization of a refugee camp does not have to be a contradiction in practice, according to the respondents. The possible contradiction will be further elucidated in the next chapter.
6. DISCUSSION

As a recap of the results and theory, four themes or paradoxes are discussed, based on the role of liminality in the urbanization of refugee camp.

The first paradox is the concept of urbanization of a refugee camp. A camp is meant as temporary accommodation for people who have been forced to flee their home (UNHCR, 2018). A camp is seen as anithesis of a city (Herz, 2008). Nevertheless, in practice the temporariness often becomes permanent (Turner, 2016). The analogy between a temporal camp and a permanent urban space is therefore ambiguous. A refugee camp can be a temporal place that slowly shakes its features of temporality through processes of urban planning that are similar to forms of urbanization (Jansen, 2009). Baqa’a has the exterior appearance of a city. Inhabitants who have installed zinc pipes on their houses for their children show that Baqa’a is not a temporal solution any more. However, it is still a camp, because the inhabitants consider it a camp. They have the feeling that they do not belong in Baqa’a, even after fifty years of living there. Za’atari developed in a few years from a place with some tents to a ‘five-star camp’ (IZ1). Children might feel like home, but other inhabitants are waiting till it is safe to return to the place where they ‘belong’. No one knows for how long the camps will remain, neither those in charge of establishing the camps, nor the inhabitants. As a result, the inhabitants experience ‘indeterminate temporariness’ (Turner, 2016).

Secondly, several scholars and media sources (Agier, 2008; Herz, 2008, 2012; Jansen, 2009; Dalal, 2015; ISSUU, 2014; ARDD, 2015; Reliefweb, 2017; ABC news, 2017) have associated the development of long term camps with the ‘urbanization’ of a camp. But, are these refugee camps really turning into cities? When you think of a city as a fixed site including a durable shelter, permanent facilities for assembly, interchange and storage, the social division of labor (Mumford, 1937), and as a place where inhabitants are citizens (Harper, 2001), Baqa’a and Za’atari are not a city. Two ways of developing into an urban space are drawn from this study. Baqa’a developed into an ‘accidental city’, while Za’atari becomes an urban space, as result of urban-planning. Usually, the process of urbanization takes place in a different way. Urbanization is the process of migration from rural into urban areas (Frey & Zimmer, 2001), a process by which large numbers of people become permanently concentrated into relatively small areas (Britannica, 1965). This is not necessarily the case in Baqa’a and Za’atari. After fifty years, Baqa’a might be an accidental city. Nevertheless, the place is not perceived as a city by inhabitants. As long as the inhabitants do not feel like they belong in Baqa’a, it is hard to imagine that Baqa’a would develop into something more than an urban space. However, Baqa’a
and Za’atari can be seen as city when a city means the social processes and the multiplicities of exchange and connection between people (Wirth, 1938), a life based on the qualities as heterogeneity, openness and empowerment of people (Herz, 2013) or the expression of the human experiences it embodies (Bridge & Watson, 2010).

Thirdly, the idea of liminality in the development of an urban space is paradoxal. Inhabitants of both camps, struggle with the idea that they do not belong in the urban camp. Some of them feel like they are in-between two places (Esschoten, 2018). This liminal or liminal-like phase is mostly drawn from the sense of belonging somewhere else. The camp can be experienced as a place where inhabitants wait until they return. This is definitely the case in Za’atari. Most inhabitants wait until they can go back to Syria, while the camp develops in a sustainable urban space. In Baqa’a the inhabitants are established in the camp, some of them live in the camp for fifty years or are born in the camp. However, they are in a liminal-like state as well. Children have learned from their parents that Baqa’a is not their home, poems about Palestine are written on the walls, and the inhabitants do not want help with improving the infrastructure inside of the camp, because they are afraid to lose their right to return to Palestine. In both cases, Za’atari and Baqa’a, the inhabitants long to another place, which makes the situation paradoxal.

Finally, the concept of liminality in itself might be unclear, because of the several meanings and the applicability of the concept. Van Gennep (1960) perceives liminality as a phase of ambiguity and disorientation that occurs in the middle stage of rites. Turner (1969) disconnected the term from rites de passage. According to him, liminality refers to any ‘betwixt and between’ situation or object. Liminal entities are neither here nor there, they are in between positions (Turner, 1969). For some of the refugees in Baqa’a or Za’atari, this is the case. Nevertheless, every individual experiences the feeling of liminality in a different way. In both of the camps, the feeling of being in-between positions arises from the sense of belonging somewhere else. The inhabitants of Baqa’a are in a long-term place, while most of them still feel like refugees. They feel like they belong to a land that is not theirs anymore. Some of them say that Baqa’a will never be their home, others feel like they belong to Palestine, but try to live their life in Baqa’a. Inhabitants of Za’atari experience the liminal-like state in a different way as well. Most of them are waiting till it is safe to return to Syria. Those are neither in Za’atari, nor in Syria. Others live their life from day to day. They all experience a liminal-like state in a different way.
7. CONCLUSION

This chapter starts with a conclusion based on the research results after which a discussion of the limitations of the research follows. Finally, recommendations for further research will be given.

7.1 Conclusion

This thesis has explored the role of liminality in perspectives of relevant stakeholders on the urbanization of Za’atari and how this development relates to the urbanization case of Baqa’a. In this section the main question will be answered on basis of the results. To answer this question, the three sub-questions will be answered.

Who are the relevant stakeholders and what is their interest in both refugee camps?
Refugee camps have many stakeholders, like inhabitants, the government, foundations, NGOs, other organizations and even the government of other countries. The camps are established for the refugees living in them, the inhabitants, making them the most relevant stakeholder. Their interest is to be safe, to continue their life, to the best of their ability, and to defend their right to return. The second relevant stakeholder group is the group of organizations that is active inside of the camps. In Baqa’a this group includes UNRWA, and several NGOs and foundations active in Baqa’a. In Za’atari this group includes UNHCR and the many NGOs and organizations that are active in Za’atari.

What does urbanization of a refugee camp mean and are both camps urbanizing, according to the dominant perspectives?
Urbanization is the process by which large numbers of people become permanently concentrated in relatively small areas (Brittanica, 1965). Refugee camps are planned as temporary accommodations. Nevertheless, as the refugee situation becomes prolonged, a camp evolves progressively into an urban space. Temporariness can become permanent. A camp should look and feel like a city to be urbanizing, according to the respondents. To look like a city, a camp needs roads, concrete houses, and shops or markets. Besides this physical infrastructure, a social infrastructure is needed to make a camp feel like a city. A life based on the connection between people, can be characterized as being urban. Within the social and physical infrastructure, all needs should be available, such as health care, education, shops,
market, social activities, shelter, a water and sewage network and electricity. Two ways of ‘urbanization’ are drawn from the case study.

The first way is the development of an ‘accidental city’. Through the years a camp, built on an improvised structure, can evolve into an urban space. Baqaa’a is a good example of an accidental city. ‘Accidental’, because the camp looks like a city. However, the inhabitants do not want to call Baqaa’a a city. The camp started with some tents. Without regulation, inhabitants built their own concrete houses. Through the years, streets, schools and hospitals were built with help of UNRWA. There is a busstation that brings people to surrounding villages and to Amman. The inhabitants make use of the existing environment and life an everyday life. Nevertheless, the infrastructure is very basic. The social city is more amazing than the actual city, to inhabitants.

The second way of urbanization is ‘urbanization by urban planning’. A camp becomes an urban space when implementing partners, like NGOs start to develop the infrastructure of a camp. This is happening in Zaatari. The infrastructure established in camps can be an obvious factor of urbanization. The infrastructure of Zaatari is sustainable and even more advanced than the infrastructure of Amman. However, inhabitants call Zaatari a city ‘under the ground’. Above the ground, you can see temporary caravans and fences around the camp. Inhabitants need a permit to enter and leave the camp and the space is disconnected to villages or cities around it.

Even though a camp looks or feels like a city, two other factors contribute to, or withhold, the urbanization of a camp. The first one is whether an inhabitant is a citizen or not. A citizen is always entitled to its privileges and has the same rights as the native inhabitants of a country. In Baqaa’a inhabitants have a Jordanian passport. However, they do not have exactly the same rights as Jordanians. Inhabitants of Zaatari do not have a Jordanian passport or the same rights. The second factor is the sense of belonging. When you walk around in Baqaa’a, there is nothing that would show Baqaa’a is a camp. Nevertheless, in every conversation inhabitants mention that they do not belong there. Inhabitants do not want to call Baqaa’a a city, because they are afraid to lose their right to return to Palestine. The same factor showed in Zaatari: inhabitants feel they belong to another country. The camps might be urbanizing, but because of the idea of belonging to another place, the camps can never be called a city. Inhabitants of Baqaa’a and Zaatari ‘long’ to another place, where they cannot go to in the near future. This feeling of not belonging where you live, leads to a liminal-like state for most of the inhabitants of refugee camps.
What is the role of liminality in the urbanization of a refugee camp?

The concept of liminality has different meanings. A distinction can be made between the liminal space of a camp on one side, the camp as a space ‘in between’ and ‘outside of other’ places. And on the other side, the feeling of liminality that inhabitants of a camp can experience.

The first form of liminality covered in this thesis, is the liminal space of a camp, planned by its establishers. A refugee camp is established and meant as temporary space, in which refugees receive humanitarian relief and protection, until a durable solution can be found. The camp is a space of displacement and exile. However, the camp stays in an indeterminate temporariness. Those in charge of the establishment of the camp and the inhabitants do not know how long the camp will remain. Slowly a camp may evolve in an urban space. What emerges is a contradictory space: the camp as temporary liminal space on one hand, and the urban space on the other hand. Baq’a’a has become a more permanent space. To show this, a respondent gave an example of zinc pillars installed on the tops of concrete houses. These pillars ensure inhabitants that their children can build a house on top of their house. Za’atari has a more permanent, planned, infrastructure, but above the ground it looks like a temporal space. Inhabitants of Za’atari do not perceive Za’atari as a city in Jordan. When the inhabitants go to Amman, they say ‘we go to Jordan’.

Secondly, inhabitants of a camp can experience a phase of liminality as well. Being in a liminal phase means being in an intermediate phase of ambiguity or disorientation. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are in between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial. This feeling is generated by the forced displacement of the refugees. Even though the place where they live looks or feels like a city, the inhabitants ‘long’ for another place. It is that sense of belonging somewhere else, that gives them the feeling to be in a liminal state. The liminal state of inhabitants of Baq’a’a and Za’atari differ.

The inhabitants of Baq’a’a experience a liminal-like phase. Liminality may remain in the dominant phase for a long time, but after 50 years of living in Baq’a’a, living there does not feel like a temporal or in-between phase any more. The inhabitants are settled in Baq’a’a. Nevertheless, they do not feel at home. They perceive Palestine as their homeland, even though many inhabitants are born in Baq’a’a and have never seen Palestine. They ‘long’ for Palestine and feel like they belong there. Parents teach their children that they do not belong in Baq’a’a. The inhabitants of Baq’a’a hold on to their right of return, because they have the feeling that their land is taken away from them. Inhabitants live in a liminal-like phase with no promise of an ending.
The inhabitants of Za’atari do experience living in a liminal phase. The Syrian refugees are waiting till they can return to Syria. They do not have the same rights as the Jordanians or the Palestinian refugees with a Jordanian passport, because they are not citizens. Living in Za’atari is a temporal solution for them, even though the camp itself might be urbanizing. In the camp they have everything they need available. They live their lives from day to day, but their mind is in Syria. Their sense of belonging reflects the disconnection to the place they live in.

Liminality or liminal-like phases can be experienced as an unsettling situation in which nothing really matters and hierarchies disappear. In both of the refugee camps the community is close to each other. This strong bond between inhabitants might be caused by the liminal situation the refugees are in.

7.2 Limitations

The first limitation of the research that needs to be addressed is the fact that most interviews are not held in the interviewer’s or respondent’s native language. Most interviews with inhabitants of Baqa’a and Za’atari are translated by a translater. This might have influenced the respondents’ interpretation of the question and the interviewer’s interpretation of the answer.

Secondly, the background of both Baqa’a and Za’atari is complex. Three months of field work is not enough to understand the complete background and culture of inhabitants living in both camps. The cultural difference can influence the interviewer’s interpretation as well.

A more practical limitation is the limited access into Za’atari. A permit is needed to enter the camp. Nevertheless, it is not easy to get a permit. It takes three weeks before the application is processed, and often without success. In the researcher’s last month in Jordan, she finally got access into the camp. The results of the research could have been more reliable if the researcher could enter Za’atari earlier and more often.

Another limitation is the control inside of the camps. In Za’atari a policeman had to join the researcher, while she was walking around and asking inhabitants questions. In Baqa’a, an undercover agent asked the researcher what she was doing there. When the researcher asked a schoolteacher from UNRWA if she could ask her some questions, the teacher told her that she could get fired when she told her something. The sensitiveness of the subjects, made it harder to verify whether the answers were reliable.

Finally, refugee camps are diverse all over the world. Because of the uniqueness of the situation in Baqa’a and Za’atari, not all the results can be generalized.
7.3 Recommendations for further research

I would suggest that additional research is needed to examine the consequences on the development from a camp to a more permanent space. By several scholars and media sources, the urbanization of a camp is seen as a positive development (Agier 2008; Herz 2008, 2012; Jansen 2009; Dalal 2015; ISSUU 2014; ARDD 2015; Reliefweb 2017; ABC news 2017). This thesis exposes the dilemmas inhabitants of urbanizing camps struggle with. Inhabitants Baqa’a and Za’atari struggle with the sense of belonging somewhere else, while living in a more permanent place. Other dilemmas or struggles have been underexposed in this research. Additional research is necessary to expose a more complete representation of the downsides and dilemmas inhabitants struggle with as a result of the urban development of a camp.

The second recommendation for further research is purely drawn from personal interest. Za’atari is called a ‘five-star camp’, this is because of the advanced infrastructure and the living conditions, but also because of new inventions. For example, inhabitants use iris scanners to pay their groceries. Respondents working for NGOs in Za’atari described how they are trying to find solutions for problems inside of the camp. Every week they invent something new, according to NGZ8. One of the respondents invented a special cap that prevents getting dirt into the water system and another respondent invented a new way to build sustainable semi-permanent shelters in a short time. Further research could be done on the idea of Za’atari as a playground for innovation.

Thirdly, the concept of liminality is applicable on several situations. One of the respondents (NGB7) described that she might be in a liminal phase as well. She is originally from Jordan, but she grew up in America. At the moment, she lives in Jordan, but she does not feel she belongs there. Does she experience a liminal phase as well or is the situation different when it is safe or possible to return to the country you belong to? Additional research is needed to examine if she experiences the same liminal phase as refugees living in urbanizing camps.

Finally, as said before, the uniqueness of camps would mean that further research is necessary to be able to generalize the results.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX I: Map of Jordan including Baqa’a and Za’atari camp
APPENDIX II: Topic-list interviews

Topic-list for refugees, including possible questions

Intro

Personal

• Can you tell me something about yourself and your relation to this camp?
• What is your experience of living here?

Context

• Background information/history

Resilience

• In which way did the camp develop?
• What are the different parties that helped to develop the camp?/What is done for resilience?
• Development of an own system in the camp?
• What are the different urban activities?

Relevant stakeholders

• Which perspectives are there or are there different interest?

Urbanization

• How would you define a city?
• According to some literature this camp is growing into a city. What do you think of that?

Liminality/temporality/sense-of-belonging

• Do you think you will go back to the country you came from on one day?
• Do you have the feeling to live in an in-between phase?

Communitas

• What is the connection between you and the other inhabitants of the camp?
• Social life

Contradictory idea of living temporarily in the camp and an urbanized camp

Future

• How would you like to see the development of your camp in the future?

Closing

• Is there still something you would like to say?
• Thank you
Topic-list for NGOs/UNHCR/Government

Intro

Personal
  • Can you tell me something about yourself and your relation to this camp?

Context
  • What kind of work or projects do you do related to the camp?

Resilience
  • In which way did the camp develop?
  • What are the different parties that helped to develop the camp?/What is done for resilience?
  • Development of an own system in the camp?
  • What are the different urban activities? (Like moving, trading, shopping, learning)

Relevant stakeholders
  • Which perspectives are there or are there different interest?

Urbanization
  • How would you define a city?
  • According to some literature this camp is growing into a city. What do you think of that?

Liminality/temporality/sense-of-belonging
  • ‘Liminality definition’; what do you think?

Communitas
  • Have you seen something like a development of an own culture in the camp?
  • What is your idea about the feeling of a community inside of the camp?

Contradictory idea of temporal living in the camp and an urbanized camp

Future
  • How would you like to see the development of your camp in the future?

Closing
  • Is there still something you would like to say?
  • Thank you
### APPENDIX III: Gioia scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st order dimension</th>
<th>2nd order dimension.</th>
<th>Aggregate dimension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy Palestinian refugee</td>
<td>Perspective of a Syrian refugee living in Za’atari</td>
<td>Relevant stakeholder: inhabitants of the camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Syrian refugees</td>
<td>Perspective of a Palestinian refugee living in Baq’a’a</td>
<td>Relevant stakeholder: organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right of return</td>
<td>Organizations working in Za’atari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one responsible</td>
<td>Organizations working in Baq’a’a</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>The Jordanian government</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Different countries involved</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
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<td>Governmental organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Camp management</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Future of the camp</td>
<td>Meaning of urbanization</td>
<td>Urbanization of a refugee camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Camp vs. bigger city</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Camp structure</td>
<td>Resilience</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>All needs available</td>
<td>Development camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Citizen/inhabitant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feels like a city</td>
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<td>Looks like a city</td>
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<tr>
<td>It is not a city</td>
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<tr>
<td>It will be a city</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hope to return</td>
<td>Spatiality of a camp</td>
<td>Liminality of the camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>I do not belong here</td>
<td>Temporality of a camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Difference with homeland</td>
<td>Feeling of in-betweenness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Sense of belonging</td>
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<td>Culture</td>
<td>Communitas</td>
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<td>Right of return</td>
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<tr>
<td>It is not a community</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feels like a family</td>
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<tr>
<td>The camp is not a temporal solution anymore</td>
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<td>Paradoxes in the urbanization of a camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>The camp should be temporal</td>
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<tr>
<td>It can never be called a city</td>
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<tr>
<td>This will never be my home</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temporality versus permanence of the camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belonging somewhere else, while living in an urbanized camp</td>
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APPENDIX IV: Pictures of Baqa’a and Za’atari refugee camp

Baqa’a refugee camp
Za’atari refugee camp