

Abstract

This PhD thesis aims to engage with the political, cultural and (thus) spatial complexities of an architectural inquiry into the refugee camp. This, in turn, offers a methodology that reclaims the position of the architect as a witness. To do so, it proposes a (postcolonial) feminist approach that thinks of the refugee camp as an encounter; critically, it acknowledges the injustices practised by the 'refugee regime complex' operating within refugee camps. Located in Za'atri refugee camp in Jordan, it explores the institutional hierarchies of the camp as it operates within a humanitarian NGO paradigm. Through a critique of the anthropocentric nature of such NGOs, I argue for the necessity of a relational, spatial and feminist approach that pays attention to the affective and political economies circulating through these structures.

The thesis is situated at the confluence of theory and practice and is organised into three sections: transposing the camp, reciting the camp, and enacting the camp. It answers the following questions: what capacities should the architect develop in order to be ethically and politically accountable for her architectural inquiry within the refugee camp? How could the architect as researcher maintain a feminist attentiveness to injustice while navigating the authoritarian structures that govern the camp? What spatial and visual methods should the architect attend to in order to acknowledge, negotiate and engage with the complexity of the refugee camp encounter? The feminist approach of this thesis is also reflected in its writing practice. It is composed of stories, emotions, student work and thoughts from both theory and practice.

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Preface



AJ ENGLISH

37m ago

Ignoring warnings, US President Trump recognises Jerusalem as Israel's capital

On the evening of the 6th of December 2017, minutes before Donald Trump would appear in a live press conference in the White House to recognise Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, my Mother interrupted my steps which were leading me away from home by asking, 'where are you going? won't you watch the news with me?' I stopped for a few seconds. I looked towards the heart of the room where my Mother had centered her seat as well as her attention to face the loud TV. I thought of how disappointing it would be if I turned down her request for solidarity at this difficult time. With an overwhelming feeling of resignation, I exhaled with a short temper, 'no'. I learnt about Trump's intention to make this announcement one week previously, through my Facebook and Twitter account. Since then, our lunch and dinner conversations had been dominated by this topic and the voices of TV political analysts reverberated our home day and night.

During this time, I was inhabited by a flaring temper that infected people around me. Despite how its fire fuelled my body with motion; forcing its movement towards the door, the car, the city, the nowhere; its fire was so immobilising. Each single exhalation felt like a sad exile; I yearned for a place that was not within my reach. Holding on to the only form of resistance that I could possibly perform then- even if childish, I withdrew from watching the news with my Mother and fled home. Later, inside the car, I checked my phone with the hope that this had not happened at all; that the world's political consciousness had awakened and in one way or another had stopped Trump from his announcement. '37 minutes ago,' a notification from *Al-Jazeera English* on the screen of my phone said; 'Ignoring warnings, US President Trump recognises Jerusalem as Israel's capital', the notification stated.

A general sense of shame and mourning prevailed in the air that clouded my world. Not only the world to which I belong as a woman of Palestinian descent, but the world to which I belong as an Arab and a Muslim. On the second day, it felt as if the whole country breathed the same shame and sorrow that I had inhaled. That ~~mourning~~ morning, it did not take me long to decide what colours to wear under my humanitarian uniform, I had already planned to be mourning. Avoiding meeting each other's' gazes, my colleagues and I also avoided speaking about Trump's decision. As each of us sipped from her/his disposable cup of coffee, we spoke about the cold weather of the Za'atri desert, gossiped about rude humanitarian officials that we disliked, exchanged

statements that expressed our helplessness when we listened to stories about refugees' everyday miseries, and with lower voices, protested the UNHCR nonsense regulations that prohibited us from talking about politics. The word, Jerusalem, arose at the end of our conversations, as we started moving to our offices.

Later, my Father depicted the shame that the announcement brought, as well as its violent affects, by saying: 'it fell to my ears like a slap in my face'. *Like a slap in the face*, the announcement did not only imply violence but also abuse. To be slapped by someone means to stand at a certain proximity with someone so to be in reach of her/his violent touch. The shame associated with *the slap in the face* metaphor is so deep. Not only does it make the subject of the violent and abusive *slap* feel bad about themselves for allowing this naïve proximity, but also, as Donald L. Nathanson suggests, 'shame implies that some quality of the self has been brought into question' (Nathanson 1987: 4). Whereas much of the worldwide response that was sparked in reaction to Trump's announcement was of condemnation, the reaction also sparked, in social spaces, cynicism. People asked questions that problematised the quality of their being in relation to the world: how, where, and what do they stand for in world politics? who on earth is Donald Trump to make such a decision? Who does he think he is? Why don't our governments react? What have we done to ourselves to allow this?

For me, however, this sense of shame was not new. Throughout the past two decades, specifically since 2001, the political events that my generation grew up with, as well as the globalised media that contrasted between the utopian west and the dystopian Arab and Muslim world, reinforced Eurocentrism that disorientated our geopolitical belongings. In this Eurocentric territory of my thinking, I despised how this representation of my Arabness was portrayed to others, especially to westerners. When I introduced myself as an Arab to a westerner, I would follow that introduction with some humour that served to ridicule the tensions in the region. And how, as half Palestinian half Syrian, I only need some Iraqi ancestries in order to comprehend the conflict in the region. By the end of my first year of this PhD, I came to realise that I had internalised much shame throughout the years that I lived in Jordan. This became clear when my Mother called me from home one night urgently, asking me if I was expecting a postcard from my friend (who lived then in Sheffield); she had received it on my behalf and she had read it. Before I haled her with heavy criticism about how invasive her act was, she asked me if I was ashamed of my origins, or my language. Her questioning stemmed from the jokes that she read on the postcard, which mocked my accent as well as my Arabic manners; jokes which depicted me as an uncivilised being who is trying to become more western. That night, I confessed to her my shame; how much I loathe this overwhelming representation that I stand for as an Arab Muslim

woman. She brought to my attention how the colony wants to conceal our history by ‘planting humiliation in our souls’. Instead we should be fighting to claim our identities. She reminded me of Mahmoud Darwish (2012), Edward Said (2012), Radhwa Ashour (2014), Mourid Albarghouthi (2012), Tamim Albarghouthi (2015), Nawal Alsa’adawi (2007), Lila Abu-lughod (2013), Ghassan Kanafani (1998), and Susan Abulhawa (2015). I then realised I was subjugating myself to the gaze of western eyes that Mohanty theorises in her influential article *Under Western Eyes* (1988).

My Mother believed that we must claim our identities back; subsequently, her insistence on watching the news cited that belief. Watching the news for many of those affected by war and migration in the Arab world does not encompass passivity. Taking into account the limited spaces of protest to which people have access under Arab tyrannies, watching the news has embodied a form of political agency by which people can testify to injustice. The way in which my Mother moved her chair, centring it to make sure she would face the TV when Trump appeared to make his announcement, performs this political agency. Through watching, she could actively register her own testimony to the normative course of our world’s unjust politics. Since the outbreak of the Syrian revolution in 2011- that called for Bashar Al-Assad’s regime to be overthrown before it turned into its ongoing civil war, my Mother’s attention to the everyday news had become habitual. Syrian herself, *watching* the news had become a lifestyle that she had embarked on as necessary to comprehend how she posits herself in the wider political structures that govern the world. TV news, journalistic reports, announcements, interviews, analyses, programs, speeches, etc. turned into conversational material that she carried with her to microsocial spaces that constitute her everyday life. Through them, she could engage with debates, discussions and often disagreements about the war in Syria.

Like my Mother, I also thought that to register my testimony to the course of our everyday politics is a necessity. Yet, witnessing the scene of Trump’s 12-minute announcement was difficult to bear. It marked an irreversible turn in the history of the Palestinian people and their right for political representation for which they have long resisted under the Israeli occupation. I denied bearing witness to this scene, fearing that this turn in history would soon be normalised as factual. By refusing to watch the news with my Mother, I wished to disallow this turn in history from happening. It did, however, happen!

Trump’s announcement took place when I was working in the refugee camp as a volunteer for my research. Out of his statement, ‘I ...have determined ... to ... recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel’, the ‘I’ in relation to ‘recognize’ was what struck me the most. I was thinking of ‘recognition’, the power it claims,

and the power structures it cites, especially when performed in public political platforms. 'Ignoring warnings', Trump, not only 'recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital', but his government ambassador also threatened the UN with defunding over a resolution that condemned the US statement to recognise Jerusalem as Israel's capital (Hains 2017). Questions like, who recognises whom? And for what? Whose voice matters and whose voice is muted? Indicate how sovereignty is played out in order to decide who deserves certain rights and who can be easily stripped of their rights.

These questions about recognition seem to be of a particular importance when located in the refugee camp and observed in relation to refugees. Refugees in refugee camps fall out of international structures that recognise them as political beings; as they cross borders, and in their journey to asylum, they fall out of the trinity nation-state-territory that recognises them as citizens of the state. This leaves them unrecognised by the international community as citizens (Haddad 2008), and so strips them of their right to political representation that citizens of the state are assumed to deserve (Arendt 2013). Falling out of structures that recognise them as citizens also means falling into other alternative structures, namely, 'the refugee regime complex' (Betts 2010) which recognises them as asylum seekers (not yet refugees). Nevertheless, these alternative structures that are found to recognise asylum seekers' ephemerality should not be thought of as benevolent structures that aim to help refugees, but rather as technologies that are found and established by certain sovereign bodies. These technologies legitimise stripping certain bodies of their right to rights and so there is less obligation and commitment towards recognising them as refugees who are entitled to rights of resettlement.

For me, bearing witness to refugees' exhaustive pursuit of their subjectivities as a way of claiming back their individual and collective identities that were concealed under the totalitarian governance of the refugee camp, fell into a broader landscape of personal experiences that screamed injustice (especially injustice that is directed against the Arab and Muslim subject). I am moved by this injustice in the sense that I want, through this thesis, to take a political stand against it. Thinking of my position as researcher and soon as an academic, Edward Said's words from his second lecture on the *Representation of the Intellectual*, resonates with my willfulness to stand against injustice. He writes:

'For the intellectual, the task, I believe, is explicitly to universalize the crisis, to give greater human scope to what a particular race or nation suffered, to associate that experience with the sufferings of others' (1994).

Through this thesis, as a piece of writing that contributes to knowledge, I as an academic introduce my research on the refugee camp to register my testimony to the course of our times, which will soon become our history. I hope that academic research as an intellectual space will offer a platform from which I can 'universalise' my testimony on refugee camps which stands against injustice.

Witnessing as a Feminist Spatial Practice: Encountering the Refugee Camp Beyond Recognition

How can I witness and bear witness to the injustices of the refugee camp from my position as an “othered” architect/researcher? In what ways can I account for the ethics implied in the relational processes of address-ability, accountability and response-ability?

This thesis ‘witnesses’ the refugee camp in the sense that it offers a new perspective from which we could encounter the spaces of the refugee camp for the “first time”. Through the multiple (first hand) testimonies that it offers, as well as through the relationalities, spatialities and feminisms that it cites, it disrupts the ways in which academic researchers across disciplines generally, and from the discipline of architecture specifically, are familiarised with the refugee camp. As I think of the refugee camp *beyond* our academic and non-academic recognition, I explore ways by which we could encounter the refugee camp as a new environment that does not reproduce any other environment that we already know. I witness the refugee camp from the position of the “othered”. I use the term “othered” in the same way as Oliver (2001). The “othered” is someone who has been recognised as “other”; her otherness is not inherent within her but rather imposed on her through processes of objectification and subjugation. Claiming the “othered” position is important because it cites those processes. Being an “othered” academic researcher, I invite (postcolonial) feminist thought to queer some of the taken-for-granted knowledges about the camp. My thesis argues that in order to encounter the refugee camp as a new environment, we must defamiliarise ourselves with the ways in which the refugee camp has been observed and studied, as well as, acknowledge other situated positions, accountabilities and subjectivities as generative of other modes of knowledge that disrupt disciplinary research practices and modes of producing knowledge about the refugee camp.

My research explores these questions, and it takes place in Za’atri refugee camp; the first and the largest of the three refugee camps that were established in Jordan to accommodate Syrian refugees. The other two refugee camps are the Emirati Jordanian Camp or “Murijep Al Fahoud” which opened in 2013 and is home to more than 6,000 Syrian refugees, and Azraq refugee camp, which opened in 2014 and is home to almost 40,000 Syrian refugees. The questions that this thesis answers have particular relevance to the nature of Za’atri refugee camp as an emergency refugee camp that hosts asylum seekers and not refugees. Jordan is not a signatory of the 1951 Convention in relation to the Status of Refugees. The 1998 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)

signed between the UNHCR and the Jordanian government is the basis for the UNHCR activities in Jordan. Therefore, the distinction between “refugees” and “asylum seekers” is a legal distinction. By international law, “refugees” are entitled to a set of rights to which “asylum seekers” are not entitled. This implies questions regarding “asylum seekers” protracted stay in the refugee camp, their (so called) voluntary returns, their future in Jordan as a host country, and the limitations that their legal status poses on any real engagement with the host society.

Encountering the Refugee Camp

Following its establishment in 2012 and its subsequent rapid urbanisation, Za’atri refugee camp received international recognition and soon emerged as a subject matter that captured the attention of donors, journalists, philanthropists, politicians, and researchers from all over the world (Al-Husban and Adams 2016; Fisher et al. 2017; Dalal et al. 2018; Yafi, Yefimova, and Fisher 2018; Clarke 2018; London College of Fashion 2019). For many, the significance of Za’atri refugee camp as a subject of inquiry is found within its blatant embodiment of forced migration as an emblem of the crisis of our time. With the widely circulated birds-eye view photographs that have recorded the camp’s site plan as merging with the desert of north-east Jordan, Za’atri refugee camp invoked many questions about our humanitarian responsibility towards refugees as well as towards the world in which we live and which we should maintain.

My interest in Za’atri was first planted in the Autumn of 2013 when I finished my master’s degree and started planning for my PhD. The research inquiry laid out in my proposal then, and which has developed into this thesis now, grew out of questions that I had started to explore through my master’s degree. Particularly, it was through the *Border Topologies* studio where I experienced working on migration and borders in relation to architecture (Awan 2017). In the studio, together with colleagues from India, Iran, Pakistan, and China, we unpacked the social, political and relational ecologies implied in different border-scapes that were situated and negotiated within different histories, geopolitics, and socioeconomics. We mediated and exchanged our experience of certain architectural methods to speculate on the materiality of the space in relation to time, politics, culture and social relationships substituted across different borders. I was intrigued by how architecture belongs to social science and how joyful architecture had become since I had grown roots into (postcolonial) feminist thought. I soon realised my place in the world, to engage with the universality implied in research inquiries that address justice; considering the value of our research deeds, no matter how small they might appear to be.

For me, Za’atri refugee camp emerged as a concern that corresponded to personal questions that I had about home, migration, borders, the Arab spring, and war. Through my visits to Jordan between 2012 and 2013, not only had the urban fabric of

my city in the north of Jordan been transformed (now bearing witness to new delicious shawarma restaurants and more expensive real-estate rents), but also the fabric of the stories that my family, friends, and neighbours told about their Syrian families, friends and neighbours. For Jordanians, Syrian people were rarely considered strangers. In these stories, Za'atri refugee camp held a dominant presence. It seemed to be a distant and a fortified place that we could not access, and sometimes did not want to access (see Kuttab 2015). However, Za'atri refugee camp had still infiltrated these stories as a space with which we have an affinity despite the lengthy distance that separates us from it. It was a space that had touched Jordanian people lives from afar.

I first experienced being inside of Za'atri refugee camp in 2014 when I worked there as a humanitarian worker for one of the international NGOs; my contract as a “community mobiliser” had lasted for six months before I then left my job to enrol in my PhD program which started in January 2015. By applying for the job in the refugee camp, I sought an acknowledged position from which I could observe the refugee camp before delving into the academic side of my research inquiry. Following that, I accessed Za'atri refugee camp as a humanitarian volunteer; in 2016 as a community mobiliser in the community mobilisation unit (also as a project assistant in the community engagement unit) and in 2017 as a project officer in the community engagement unit.

Today, eight years since its establishment in July 2012, Za'atri camp is home to more than 76,000 Syrian refugees who fled from the war in their home country of Syria. It is less than 16 kilometres away from the Syrian border and it sits in the Al-Mafraq governorate, a city in the north east of Jordan. More specifically, it is located on the peripheries of Al-Za'atri town and is thus named after it. It is made up of twelve districts that developed from a collection of tents into a city-like urbanism, and is classified as the second largest refugee camp in the world and the fourth largest city in Jordan (WFP 2018). The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and the Jordanian Government share the responsibility of managing Za'atri refugee camp. Up until February 2019, 23 international humanitarian NGOs (as well as eight UN agencies, and two national NGOs) worked in partnership with the UNHCR to assist in managing its operations (UNHCR 2019b). Operating through their compounds in the basecamp, as well as through the 27 community centres that are distributed throughout the camp, humanitarian NGOs' work is dispersed between management duties and field outreach; both work to address refugees' needs and respond to them through aid and development agendas.



Introduction 1: A close-up view of the [Za'atari camp](#) in Jordan for Syrian refugees as seen on July 18, 2013, from a helicopter carrying U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Jordanian Foreign Minister Nasser Judeh. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/statephotos/9312291491/sizes/o/in/photostream/>

Beyond Recognition

This thesis opposes notions of recognition as a basis for subjectivity and following Kelly Oliver emphasizes instead witnessing as a model for subjectivity (2001). Oliver suggests that the work that we should do to take a stand against injustice should seek that which is “beyond recognition”; to think that by mobilising recognition we can stand against justice is rather flawed in a dual sense, ontologically as well as epistemologically (2001; 2004; 2015). She suggests that recognition not only repeats the same hierarchies that produced injustice in the first place, but also perpetuates them (ibid.). Whereas other theorists, like Nancy Fraser (2000), have tried to re-appropriate the concept of recognition so that it overcomes its misuses when encountered by multiculturalism, for Oliver, it is the ontology upon which the notion of recognition stands in poststructuralist theories what she finds most problematic. Recognition is associated with models of subjectivities that ‘ground identity in hostility towards others’ (Oliver 2001, 11). Therefore, when the subject encounters otherness, it performs its subjectivity by subjugating the other. Even though notions of recognition can cite dialogical relationships in which the recogniser and the recognised mutually perform recognition, this relationship, according to the model of recognition, is dictated by the Hegelian master-slave antagonistic logic. The power to which each is entitled; namely, the recogniser as the dominant subject, and the recognised as the object or the subordinate other, impairs any egalitarian mutuality. Consequently, seeking to be recognised by someone does not stand against injustice; it reinforces injustice. Oliver

suggests that what makes notions of recognition even more problematic is how they imply and require certain familiarity with what is already known to the subject, meaning that the modes of knowledge with which the subject is familiar about the object or the subordinate other are privileged. This throws us back to the same loops in which subordinate others try to be ‘heard’ in their own terms, however, in actuality, they are perceived by the terms of the dominating subject (Mohanty 1988; Spivak 1992; Maggio 2007). For example, a process of recognition in which I am an active subject that wilfully endows the refugee camp with a certain visibility through academic research which stands against injustice, risks repeating certain power structures that I rather wish to challenge in my thesis. Namely, the structure of academic research in which researchers claim certain power positions as knowledge producers that canonize the familiar; the structure of what Betts refers to as ‘the refugee regime complex’ (2010), that enforces certain norms on how refugees are perceived merely as a threat or as helpless; the structure of the international global order.

Witnessing as a Feminist Spatial Practice

Kelly Oliver argues for “witnessing” as a theory that does not succumb to established structures of power nor does it build on familiar modes of knowledge (Oliver 2001). Her theory is grounded in notions of intersubjective relationality, and it is applied with a level of consciousness to ethics through affirmative, disruptive, and affective politics that displace the well-entrenched hierarchies which are embedded within notions of recognition. Three main principles in Oliver’s theory are important for my inquiry in this thesis (they are constitutively relevant); she disrupts familiar modes of knowledge by displaying the tension between the two modes of witnessing, the juridical and the religious; she suggests “witnessing” as a model for subjectivity by beginning with the position of the othered; she invests in the subject affective capacities by presenting witnessing as processes of ‘address-ability’ and ‘response-ability’ (ibid., 3). I will be constructing this introduction around these three principles.

-disrupting familiar modes of knowledge-

For the past two decades, most of the scholarly works that have deliberated the “refugee camp” as the object of their research are mainly influenced by Giorgio Agamben’s theoretical model proposed in his two seminal works, *Homo Sacer* (1998) and *The State of Exception* (2005). Agamben’s central suggestion is that sovereign power establishes itself by producing a political order that excludes ‘bare life’ (1998). His concept responds to Michel Foucault’s theory on biopolitics, in so far as he cites the link between sovereign power and biopolitics that is forged by the state of

exception. He structures the figure of the refugee as a ‘bare life’ (or *zoe*) that is stripped of her political representation under the sovereign power of camp governance.

In *The Refugee Camp as the Biopolitical Paradigm of the West*, Michael Peters builds on Agamben’s theoretical model (2018). He locates the refugee camp paradigm in a modern-historical timeline of other camp paradigms that were used through the 20th century by Western colonial administrations as tools of ‘colonial policy’ (2018, 1166). He brings as examples the Anglo-Boer concentration camps planned by the British to incarcerate civilian populations (Boer and Black Africans), the five German concentration camps in Namibia (1904-1908), and the system of Gulags conducted by the USSR to confine those who opposed the Soviet Union in 1920s. The camp as a tool of pure domination rose to critical prominence in our collective consciousness with the Nazi Holocaust concentration camps (*ibid.*).

Generally, the refugee camp has been observed with the same critical lens; as the biopolitical paradigm of the west. Its space is pondered as the physical embodiment of the state of exception whereby the state of law is suspended, and the refugee is a bare life that has no impunity against the violence of the sovereign power of the state (see Minca 2005; 2007; Ek 2006).

Although founded on this familiar landscape of critical theory, the ambition of this thesis is to disrupt the relationalities that shape its grounds. Agamben’s theoretical work preserves its importance as a model that figures that disparity in power relations. However, I suggest that applying Agamben’s theoretical framework, as proposed in *Homo Sacer* and *State of Exception*, while researching refugee camps invokes the subject-object relationality that Oliver problematizes in her critique of poststructuralist modes of recognition (2001). This relationality is forged through two main relationships that I will challenge in this thesis. The first is the governing-governed binary relationship that is often used as a tool to navigate through hierarchies of power in the space of the refugee camp. The second is the researcher-refugee camp relationship that researchers often take for granted when they approach the exceptionality of the refugee camp; this involves how researchers’ methodologies address the question of “ethics” while working on the refugee camp as a matter of research.

Although in methodological terms investigating each of these relationships is mutually constitutive of the other, I present them as separate arguments to display the disciplinary/multi-disciplinary debates to which each relationship belongs in theory.

I challenge these relationships by arguing for an alternative vision that accounts for what is taking place at the background of our critical peripheries. Oliver presents the hierarchy implied in the subject-object relationship in line with the problem of a fixed “vision”. She suggests that, in this relationality, an ‘abyss space’ distances the subject

from the object (ibid., 11-12). Hence, the vision of the subject tends to fix the object so to bridge this chasm. For Oliver, arguing for an alternative vision demands shifting how we perceive the distance between the subject and the object; from an abyss space to a space of multiple energies (ibid.). Once we apply this shift, we open up a space for otherwise possibilities (positionalities, subjectivities, performances) to come into our analytical horizons.

Within a feminist framework, I mobilise a multiplicity of theories, also positionalities, practices, and pedagogies that I have experienced through my research so as to defy the immobility that features within Agamben's theoretical model. Three main theoretical accounts shape my understanding of the multiplicity of positions in space and help me navigate through my observations and analyses; Sara Ahmed's concept of affective economies (2004), Rosi Braidotti's concept of *Transpositions* (2006), and Maria Puig de la Bellacasa's *Matters of Care* (2017).

I make two main arguments: On the one hand, I argue that fixing the refugee in its relationship with the refugee camp's governing bodies (as a bare life) limits the possibility for a nuanced understanding of the complexity of power relations implied in the refugee camp's everyday life. On the other hand, I claim that an unproblematic engagement with the refugee camp as an object of research debilitates the possibility for an ethical practice that accounts for the intricacies implied in these power relations.

governing - governed

My argument to contest the governing-governed relationship sits in a broad landscape of scholarly works by geographers and architects that emerged to counter Agamben's theoretical model according to which the refugee is perceived as bare life (Sanyal 2011; Ramadan 2013; Sigona 2015; Katz 2017; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska 2017; Oesch 2017; Maestri 2017). The dialectical relationship between people and their spaces in the refugee camp constitutes the backdrop of these accounts; first, how people inhabit their spaces through their everyday lives, and second, how their spaces materialise to accommodate their practices and activities, has been key in generating arguments that are often deployed in opposition to Agamben's claims. For instance, in her exploration of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, Romola Sanyal suggests that refugees squat in camps 'in an attempt at constructing a nationalist identity through an act of insurgent nationalism' (Sanyal 2011, 877). By tracing some of the (performative) spatial practices of refugees through their buildings in the refugee camp, she reveals how they observe the state as a 'colonial' entity that wants to suppress their presence (ibid., 883).

In his article, *Spatialising the Refugee Camp*, Adam Ramadan sets out three eloquent 'critical-cuts' that sum up these accounts (2013). **First**, the refugee camp is not a 'space

of exception' but a space of 'multiple and hybrid sovereignties' (also see Ramadan and Fregonese 2017). **Second**, the refugee camp space is shaped through 'an assemblage of people, institutions, organisations, the built environment, and the relations between them that produce particular ... values and practices' (Ramadan 2013, 67). **Third**, in contrast to the constraints enforced on the camp space due its temporariness, the refugee camp grounds geopolitics in everyday life and this is translated through the meanings that signify the time-space of the camp (ibid.).

Ramadan's work is an important reference for critical and empirical works that dwell on the intricacies of these arguments to produce further questions on the camp spatiality in relation to Agamben's model (Woroniciecka-Krzyzanowska 2017; Oesch 2017; Maestri 2017; Katz 2017). In the following text, I discuss some of these debates and how they have developed some of the questions proposed by Ramadan.

First, while the refugee camp's exceptionality has often been associated with the thought that refugees are subjects that are stripped of their political rights (Arendt 2013), some research has emerged to contest this exceptionality by shedding light on how refugees (or the displaced) establish their own mandate of rights and according to which they perform their belonging to the camp (Sigona 2015; Woroniciecka-Krzyzanowska 2017). Nando Sigona apprehends these performances by coining the term 'campenzship' (2015). *Campenzship* captures 'the specific and situated form of membership produced in and by the camp, the complex and ambivalent relationship of its inhabitants with the camp and the ways the camp shapes the relationship of its inhabitants with the state and their capacity and modes of being political' (ibid., 1). This suggests that refugees in the refugee camp are not only, as Sanyal suggests, 'subverting the condition of liminality' (2011, 880), but also embarking on 'memberships' that allow them a subscription to the camp as an environment of their own (2015, 1).

While Sigona argues for the 'de-exceptionalisation' of the camp (2015), Dorota Woroniciecka-Krzyzanowska thinks that exceptionality is a condition with which and through which the refugee camp evolves. She invites us to 'de-essentialise exception empirically' instead (2017, 161). She engages with exception as an analytical tool to explore how it has been appropriated and redefined by refugees to claim their 'rights' to the camp.

Second, thinking of the refugee camp as an assemblage space that is constituted of people, institutions, uniforms, languages, materialities, and relations, helps us to displace the tension crystallised in the governing-governed relationship. It allows us to think of it as a circulating economy of emotions and politics that affects the multiplicity of subjectivities that constitute this assemblage (Ahmed 2004). Thinking of the processes by which the plurality of these subjectivities produce the camp, as

Gaja Maestri suggests, ‘underscores the multiple strategies at play in the articulation of political subjectivities, from exclusion to solidarity’ (2017, 645).

Third, the materiality of the space can testify to the meanings- defined by refugees’ performances, struggles, negotiations, modes of inhabitations- that refugees endow their spaces with while living through the liminal conditions of the refugee camp. Fatina Abrik-Zubeidat offers an important account on the importance of the materiality of the space in grounding the geopolitics in refugees’ everyday practices in the camp (2015). By deploying architecture tools, she explores how the space of the refugee camp has become a trace of ruin and loss that registers the course of historical and political events that contributed to the making of their lives in the refugee camp (ibid.).

This thesis is concerned with disclosing (the oppressed) refugees’ agencies as performed through the materiality of the refugee camp to transgress; protest, negotiate, and/or appropriate the decisions made by the humanitarian NGO to regulate refugees’ lives in Za’atri refugee camp. While it looks into the humanitarian NGO as a paradigm that inheres a colonial legacy (Duffield 2011), this thesis applies Ramadan’s critique to dismantle the complex relationalities and politics that are performed and negotiated through the spatiality of the refugee camp, and which constitute the refugee camp materiality.

Through this thesis, I deploy architecture as a cartography of tools, vocabularies, and thoughts to navigate through and capture the genderised, racialized and classed relationalities between the humanitarian NGO (as the governing) and refugees (as the governed). I think of refugees’ transgressive acts *through* Jordanian humanitarian workers’ everyday experience of the refugee camp; as mediators of humanitarian response between the managing bodies of the humanitarian NGO and refugees as “benefeciaries”. I capture these relationalities by shedding light on Jordanian humanitarian workers’ experiences as multiple political subjectivities that proliferate between the two positions; the governing and the governed (see *witnessing from the position of the othered*).

research-refugee camp

Whereas “ethnography” is one of the acadmic descriptions that could be used to describe my practice in the refugee camp, it is a term I avoid using to designate my work in this thesis. My problem with the term itself goes beyond the semantic linking that the term itself makes between “graphy” and “ethno”; its a definition that indicates a scientific practice by which one traces and documents the everyday life of an “ethnicity”. My primary problem with the term relates to the colonial traces with which ‘ethnography’ is fraught as a methodology of anthropology (Asad 1992; Pels and

Salemink 1994; Wolfe 1999; Mohan 2002; Uddin 2011). In *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, Talal Asad explains that ‘anthropology is ... rooted in an unequal power encounter between the west and third world which goes back to the emergence of bourgeois Europe’ (1992, 16). He suggests that before conducting any (social) anthropology work, we must first acknowledge this ‘power relationship between dominating (European) and dominated (non-European) cultures’ (ibid., 17). As Asad argues,

‘we then need to ask ourselves how this relationship has affected the practical preconditions of (social) anthropology; the uses to which its knowledge was put; the theoretical treatment of particular topics; the mode of perceiving and objectifying alien societies; and the anthropologist’s claim of political neutrality’ (ibid.).

Through this thesis, I suggest that any academic work that aspires to treat the refugee camp as a research inquiry; be it theoretical or empirical work, implies what Asad refers to as ‘the colonial encounter’. This is the dominant paradigm of knowledge production in north-based universities (Bhambra, Gebrial, and Nişancıoğlu 2018; Arday and Mirza 2018), as well as the mode of thinking that considers refugee camps as extraterritorial spaces that are found by nation-state regimes and the refugee regime to contain ‘surplus populations’ (Duffield 2011). From the outset, this encounter between research as founded on the values of a north-based university (or a western university) and the refugee camp as an extraterritorial space that designates one “ethnicity” or “nationality” that is out of its place (Agier 2010), is rooted in an uneven power dynamics that is informed by colonial histories and a neocolonial present.

Whereas the question of ethics has been central for researchers locating their research within refugee camps, it has been short in acknowledging this colonial encounter (except Hyndman 2000). For instance, the question of ethics in refugee studies revolves around the “vulnerability” of refugees as subjects of research; how we, as researchers, should assure that our research practices do not do refugees any harm (see Hugman, Pittaway, and Bartolomei 2011). How this question of ethics treats the conditions to which refugees and researchers are accustomed through the moment of research assumes that research takes place in isolation from the colonialist structures according to which knowledge about refugees and their spaces has been produced and circulated (Sukarieh and Tannock 2019) and the world order according to which asylum seekers continue to live in their protracted displacement as less than citizens and more than bare lives. Leaving the questions that investigate the coloniality of this encounter unacknowledged marginalises the necessity for addressing researchers’ accountability through their fieldwork practices. The triviality of “do no harm” masks the manifold questions that Asad proposes as necessary for any anthropological inquiry.

By acknowledging the coloniality of the encounter between research and the refugee camp, I aspire to escape the multifaceted forms of idealisation into which researchers might slip when speaking about refugees or the refugee camp as the object of their research. Anthropologists like Liisa Malkki (1992) draw our attention to the ‘analytical consequences’ (ibid., 25) that these forms of idealisation would probably entail in refugee studies. In her article, *National Geographies*, she challenges the ‘national order of things’ by critiquing the critical tradition that scholars follow by territorialising the identities of the ‘displaced’ and the ‘uprooted’ (ibid.). She suggests that the presumption that refugees’ identities are constructed according to the geographic boundaries to which they belong limits the possibility for observing the ‘conceptual constellations’ that links refugees to other humans and non-humans (ibid.). The ‘ecological immobility’ resulting from the territorialising of people and cultures to their pre-defined states or native lands, could be considered, as Malkki argues, ‘a conflation that is incarcerating but also heroizing and extremely romantic’ (ibid., 29).

Likewise, anthropologist Julie Peteet warns against uncritical idealisations that flatten the meanings of the place and the role that a multiplicity of subjectivities play in constituting their identities in relation to place (2011). While Malkki finds territorialising the identities of refugees in accordance with pre-defined boundaries ‘heroizing and extremely romantic’ (Malkki 1992, 29), Peteet critiques ‘the unproblematic usage of the terms globalisation and transnationalism’ because this frequent usage of terminologies conceals the limitations and the possibilities for “the global” when contrasted with “the state” (2011, 23). While “the global” is becoming ‘the locus of political and cultural production’, it is important to be reminded that ‘states remain heavily implicated in the production of mass displacement and are productive of categories of belonging for citizens and refugees alike’ (ibid.). With the title, *Landscape of Hope and Despair*, Peteet suggests that research methodologies that treat the question of belonging, space, place and identities should account for the trajectories that refugees (or the displaced) make to certain spaces.

This thesis answers the question: How to encounter the refugee camp from my position as a researcher/architect *beyond* the coloniality implied in the research-refugee camp encounter? Methodological modes of engaging with the refugee camp as an object of research should acknowledge the course of political events that have led the refugee camp to arrive (to the moment of encounter) as a research inquiry. Therefore, the feminist methodology that constitutes this thesis aims at situating the camp in the landscape of emotions, geographies, and politics that shaped refugees’ forced migration, their everyday life in the camp, and what they aspire as their future. By addressing my position -as a researcher- in relation to the landscape of emotional, geographical and political narratives that outline refugees’ experiences, I investigate the possibilities for disrupting the coloniality of the research-refugee camp encounter.

I explore the ways through which I could maintain an exhaustive research methodology that documents, critiques, and theorises my research in the refugee camp while resisting any monotonous repetitions of normative research practices. I complement my discomfort with the term “ethnography” by leaving the assemblage of my fieldwork practices “unnamed”. In my search for a name that captures the assemblage of my fieldwork practices, I claim architecture as a spatialised practice by which I document, critique, and theorise- through text- the emotional, geographical, and political landscapes across which the refugee camp lays.

-witnessing (from) the position of the “othered”-

Through this thesis, I set out an approach that gives an account of the discrete power positions that proliferate *between* the governing and the governed. This thesis attends to the mediated negotiations between the governing and the governed which arise from Jordanian humanitarian workers, rather than those performed by refugees (see chapter 2.4, chapter 3.2). Coupled with my own experience as a Jordanian humanitarian worker, I explore the space of the refugee camp by looking at the experiences of Jordanian humanitarian workers, something which addresses the multiple subjectivities that I encountered while doing my research in the camp. It accounts for Jordanian humanitarian workers’ situated knowledge which holds certain ethical accountabilities when comprehending how the refugee camp is governed.

By the “othered” academic researcher, I mean a researcher that has been excluded from academic research for the otherness that they represent. This exclusion implies (what I refer to in chapter 1.4 as) “dislocation”. The “othered” researcher is denied access to their research from their research grounds; they are dislocated to other grounds. I was dislocated from my research grounds and located to a volunteer position instead; my representation as a (Arab) Jordanian Muslim female PhD-student went against the normative representation of the researcher in the refugee camp context, that of a well-established White man. I was observed by the humanitarian NGO through whom I did my research as less qualified than this image of a researcher, and was thus granted access to the refugee camp (only) as a volunteer through a service contract that did not acknowledge my research affiliation.

Stemming from my commitments to feminist thought and following my dislocation, I have focused my attention on the experiences of Jordanian humanitarian workers. Whereas I could have chosen to involve refugees in my research as main participants, I decided that this research mainly takes Jordanian humanitarian workers as its focus. This is for a multiple of intertwining reasons that are grounded in my position as an “othered” researcher. Firstly, I was and am conscious of the ethical responsibility and consequently the extra care and caution that doing research with refugees necessitates. I refrained from doing my research directly with refugees as I was doubtful of my

capacity to work across the precarious conditions that shroud conducting interviews with refugees under the scrutiny of the Jordanian government and the humanitarian NGO. As a humanitarian volunteer, I had to gain the right to work through obtaining the permission of two main institutions, one being the Jordanian Government and the other being the NGO (as exemplified through my service contract). Staying inside the refugee camp meant that I had to adhere to the terms of each. I was new to the complexity of these relationships and navigating through them was not easy even for those who had much longer experience of them. Whereas the worst thing that could have happened to me was being denied access to the refugee camp (this time as a volunteer), refugees on the other hand, could have been deported and my Jordanian humanitarian colleagues could have been fired. Secondly, through my work in the camp, I had established friendships and relationships with many people that worked inside of Za'atri refugee camp. I preferred to work with those relationships which gave me, and others, a sense of shared affinity.

Although it is directed towards Jordanian humanitarian workers, my attention does not cast refugees off into the background of my research inquiry. I am attentive to them in two ways, practically and critically. Refugees and their everyday lives are the subject of the Jordanian humanitarian workers' labour as well as their lives. The lives of the two, the everyday lives of Jordanian humanitarian workers and the everyday lives of refugees are intimately entangled. This entanglement takes place through the multiple layers of familiarity that the two belong to, such as language, culture, and religion. Further, when we consider the number of hours that humanitarian workers spend working in the refugee camp (09:00- 16:00) we come to understand the intensity of these relationships and how they have a crucial role in producing not only the social and affective architecture of the refugee camp, but also the geographies in other cities where these Jordanian humanitarian workers live.

The critical readings that support my commitment to my approach dwell on ideas borrowed from Sara Ahmed, mainly the concept of 'affective economies' (Ahmed 2004) as well as the concept of 'queer phenomenology' (Ahmed 2006). These concepts are significant because they allow us to query that which is not in our reach by queering that which is. As they place the nuances of our situated experiences within larger power structures, they open a space for a critique that pays attention to the relations, spatialities and politics of certain contexts. For instance, Ahmed's account of emotions as economies that circulate, move, and stick to or slide off certain bodies expands our understanding of our emotions as they become identifiers of injustice. Due to this, refugees are still central to my thesis, and by deliberating the experiences of Jordanian humanitarian workers I still commit to advancing questions that are concerned with the despotic hierarchies of international political governance at the bottom of which refugees are situated.

In this thesis, I claim the position of the “othered” researcher. However this does not mean locating my experience, nor the experience of Jordanian humanitarian workers’, on one plane that equates our claimed otherness with that of refugees’. Refugees represent an unprecedented vulnerability that has, from the outset, stemmed from their legal status. Jordanian humanitarian workers, although suffering precarious work and life conditions, are citizens of the country and are protected by the country’s law. Rather than equating these circumstances, I choose to understand how these positions relate to each other, to put it in Braidotti’s terms, in a ‘cartographic’ manner (2006). Whereas each is posited on a different plane, they are still connected (Braidotti 2011).

I witness the refugee camp by grounding my research in feminist practices that invest in my affective and political capacities in order to expand my capability to generate critique; this critique is necessary to address, as well as to respond to, the refugee camp. Whereas this thesis unfolds several feminist spatial practices that are introduced through the consequent sections and chapters (sometimes theoretically, other times practically), here I introduce ‘**site-writing**’ as a spatial feminist practice that is constituted through the general practice of writing in this thesis (Rendell 2007; 2005). Rendell explains site-writing as that which ‘occurs when discussions concerning site specificity extend to involve art criticism, and the spatial qualities of writing and reading become as important in conveying meaning as the content of the criticism’ (Rendell 2007, 177). By practicing site-writing, I am interested in unpacking the meanings that my critique implies from my position as “othered”.

One of the questions that I explored, as well as struggled with, while writing this thesis is the problem of translation; of being a native of *another* language. Thinking out loud, if site-writing, as Rendell suggests, allows us to ‘spatialize criticism’, what kind of spaces does my site-writing create when they are spaces of translation? What are the qualities of these spaces? And what meanings get lost in processes of translation? Although a practice of site-writing in Arabic has coupled my practice of site-writing in English, to shift between the two has been very challenging, especially when writing is supposed to interweave between emotions and thoughts in their (time) travels across spaces, places, relations and geographies. I tried to capture this once by saying to my supervisor: ‘I feel in Arabic, I think in Arabic, my sense of humour is Arabic, and then I have to write about all of this in English’. This challenge extends to the practice of reading, particularly when reading what I had previously written in order to explore the space that I had created through my site-writing. In a presentation at the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (known as BRISMES) conference, I was part of a panel that spoke about the challenges that women face while conducting their research in the Middle East. I started my presentation by expressing my frustration with language, particularly with reading whatever I write in English. I wrote, ‘for me as a non-native English speaker, revisiting whatever I write can be a really frustrating exercise. I see typos here and there, rarely in grammar and more often in the use of prepositions...of, for, to, and with... I know I am not supposed to use the word “hate”

especially in academic contexts, but I do hate it when I misuse prepositions in a context where positions seem to matter'. By the end of this statement, I asked how many people spoke Arabic in that room, and almost everyone raised their hands. I continued my presentation by reading from my Arabic text, leaving English and its troubling prepositions behind.

Of course, the dominance of the English language is not innocent, and the discomfort that transitioning between the two spaces implies, namely, Arabic site-writing and English site-writing, cites colonial structures that feature within the sphere of academia more generally. For instance, in his lecture on *Resistance in Art*, Giorgio Agamben paved the way for his talk by saying that English linguistic dominance, that which is spoken in conferences, seminars and universities, is usually not innocent. He posited that the analogy between the dominance of English today and the use of Latin in Europe during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries is not accurate; Latin did not belong to any specific country whereas English belongs to a country with a colonial history (2014). The experience of transitioning between the two embodies the experience of the colonised and in my context the "othered". In his talk *The "Bearer-Beings": Portable Stories in Dislocated Times*, Tamim Al-Barghouti captures the experience of the "othered" in translation by reflecting on the meaning of the sound "shrill". He says, 'the tragedy of the sound itself is that it cannot articulate itself and somehow the inability of a word to become a word with meaning turns into a different kind of word that produces a different kind of meaning' (2016).

In this thesis, I am interested in exploring my experience with translation; my inability to produce Arabic meanings as well as the tragic shrills that the loss of the original meanings prompts, could open up a space for other "othered" subjectivities. I ponder: how can I think of my experience in a relational, spatial and feminist manner so that it could relate to others' experiences, expand across other cultural geographies, and host other modes of criticism? This stands at the heart of Rendell's site-writing theory (2007). As site-writing lies at the intersection of art criticism and psychoanalytic studies, it allows the critic to 'think through relationships between the spatial politics of internal psychological figures and external cultural geographies' (ibid., 178). This interest is of significant relevance when expanded over the cultural geography of the humanitarian NGO in the refugee camp. Humanitarian spaces are fraught with neocolonial and neoliberal politics whereby Jordanian humanitarian workers (as well as refugees of course) experience both, the inability as well as the tragedy that this experience instigates.

The excerpts that animate this thesis are written in relation to my experience as a humanitarian volunteer in an humanitarian NGO. My practice of site-writing encompasses a number of formats; it ranges from autobiography and anecdotes through which I kept a record during and post research, to stories, statements, conversations, interviews and expressions I cite and recite from situations I

encountered within the humanitarian space through others, including people from NGO management, NGO workers, volunteers and refugees, community mobilisers and projects officers. Whereas some of these texts are incorporated within critical texts, most of them are standalone pieces that open a space for the critique that follows them.

The relational, spatial and feminist approach that the practice of writing this thesis applies, also implies a particular attention to the use of pronouns. Unless in a context where the third person “he” is used to refer to someone that has been identified in the text as male, this thesis avoids using the “he” pronoun to generally denote a third person. Further, each of the main figures, namely, the refugee, the researcher, the community mobiliser, the project officer, and the volunteer are referred to by using the female pronoun “she”. The intention behind this is to be disruptive, affirmative and affective. Albeit poetically, this practice aims to displace the dominance of the male gender in practices that produce language, text and space. Furthermore, in various parts of this thesis, I replace the word “refugees” with the word “people”. I follow this practice mainly when speaking with the voice of community mobilisers. Community mobilisers, interestingly, referred to refugees in their interviews as “Al-nas - الناس”, which translates to “the people that live in a place”. When I refer to them as “people” or “the people”, I do not mean to speak about them as an excessive population (Duffield 1997) nor as a passive being; in Arabic as well as in Islamic traditions “Al-nas - الناس” has certain cultural, economic, and moral connotations that challenge pre-established structures that categorise them as “refugees” or as “the community”. Unless in situations where they are being referred to by others as “refugees”, or where I am speaking in humanitarian and managerial terms, I am attentive to referring to them as “people”.

-processes of address-ability, account-ability, response-ability-

Through this thesis, I engage with the refugee camp space by thinking through my encounter with the humanitarian NGO paradigm; I think of the humanitarian NGO as a neoliberal government. Thomas Lemke identifies three main critiques of “neoliberalism” in theory that I find relatively applicable in the case of the humanitarian NGO (2002): Firstly, **‘neoliberalism as an ideology’**; its systematic manipulation of knowledge and economy in societies, making available to the public “wrong knowledge” that replaces “impartial knowledge” (ibid., 54). An example on this is how the humanitarian NGO management manipulates sharing information; it is often selective about what information it shares, with whom, and how. This selectivity encompasses a vast variety of practices that the NGO performs systemically; one of these is how the modalities, practicalities and timelines of humanitarian procedures are not communicated with the humanitarian NGO employees (Jordanian workers)

nor with its beneficiaries (Syrian refugees) whose lives are touched by these procedures. Secondly, **‘neoliberalism as an economic-political reality’**; whereby economy extends into the realm of politics, capitalism overpowers the state, and globalisation challenges the nation-state politics (ibid., 54). This could be mostly observed in the classed, genderised, and racialised political structures that feature within the humanitarian space and which regulates the circulation of affective and capital economies. And thirdly, **‘neoliberalism as practical antihumanism’**; it invites for neoliberal values that devalues traditional experiences, promotes individualisation that threatens communal bonds, and endangers family values and personal belongings (ibid., 54). This is experienced in how the humanitarian NGO touts an approach that “responsibilises” refugees. It not only makes refugees responsible for improving their living conditions in the refugee camp, but this approach invokes toxic competition over the scarce resources and limited opportunities offered in the refugee camp.

More specifically, I am concerned with how a (neoliberal) humanitarian NGO performs its humanitarian objectives (aid and development) in the name of bettering the lives of the vulnerable. Thinking of the empirical experience of humanitarian workers, I explore two main performances of the humanitarian NGO; how it addresses refugees’ needs and how it responds to refugees’ needs. I suggest that the humanitarian NGO’s ideological as well as pragmatic commitments to anthropocentrism distance it from any ~~affective~~ effective engagement with refugees’ real needs.

From my practice within the two main units within the humanitarian NGO, the community mobilisation unit (based in the field) and the community engagement unit (based in the NGO offices and community centres), I scrutinise the humanitarian NGO’s address-ability as well as its response-ability by reflecting on the cultural politics of humanitarianism circulated in the humanitarian space (Weizman 2011; Fassin 2012; Lopez, Bhungalia, and Newhouse 2015). I suggest that the humanitarian NGO could be diagnosed with two main impairments, *Humanitarian Deafness* (see chapter 2.2) and *Humanitarian Aphasia* (see chapter 3.2). To expand, *Humanitarian Deafness*, means the humanitarian NGO’s limited capacities to address refugees’ needs and as such be accountable for its actions; *Humanitarian Aphasia*, refers to how the humanitarian NGO cannot understand nor produce speech that is responsive to others. Whereas using these two terms helps me articulate the problem of communication that results from the humanitarian NGO’s anthropocentric allegiances, the poetics implied in pathologizing the humanitarian NGO as if it was “human” captures the depth of the analogy between the humanitarian NGO and the “human” body. This paves the way for my proposal for a “posthuman” approach that defies anthropocentrism by exploring other human and non-human methodologies that accounts for other ways of communication that a human-centred approach disallows (Musmar 2017; Braidotti 2013).

I engage with the humanitarian space as an ecology that operates through neocolonial, classed, racialised and gendered hierarchies that are structured according to certain geopolitical privileges (Duffield 1997; Hyndman 2000; Agier 2010; Fassin 2012; Pascucci 2019). This refers to the colonial legacies that the humanitarian NGO stands for; it emerged as a neoliberal right-based government that claimed helping colonised places in their journeys towards “decolonisation” (see Duffield 2007). Privilege in these spaces is distributed amongst humanitarian workers in relation to how they are perceived by the wider geopolitics, in accordance with their nationalistic affiliations (we can imagine how a refugee, who has lost her connection to her nation-territory-state is regarded in these structures).

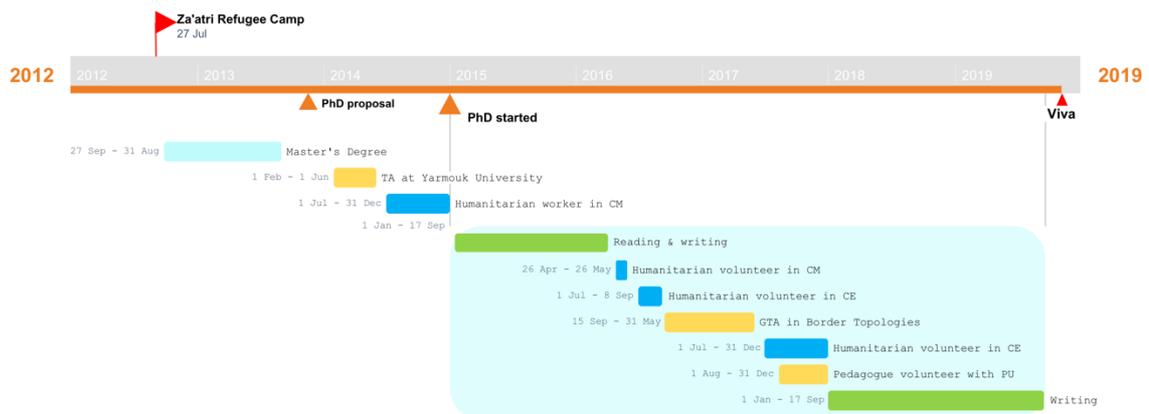
I will to challenge these hierarchies by disclosing the relationalities that found how a humanitarian space is operated (mainly by site-writing). From my practice in the two humanitarian NGO units, the community mobilisation unit and the community engagement unit, I challenge these hierarchies by queering the ontological ambiguity that the term “community” implies when used in humanitarian NGO frameworks. By questioning: mobilisation for which “community” to become what “community”? Engagement for whom and with whom in the “community”? I suggest that the term “community” is not only used to designate the people of the refugee camp as the “object” of humanitarian governance, but also to instrumentalise their predetermined agendas. This finds resonance with two primary accounts that also investigated this ambiguity, Hyndman (2000) and Bulley (2014). Hyndman suggests that this ambiguity is the result of how the term is used to institutionalise processes of refugee containment; it is motivated by a logic of pure domination and control, and it overlooks how communities are ‘self-identified’ forms of being (2000, 137-8). Other accounts, triggered in response to Hyndman, both agree and disagree with her. Bulley, for example, also suggests that the term is used to institutionalise processes of refugee containment (2014). However, he suggests that this takes place through processes of governmentalisation that involves dialogical relationalities between the governing and the governed. This supports his second suggestion in which he argues that the community evolves relationally, as ‘being-with’ (ibid.; Nancy 1991).

I think of the “community” as a relational being. I aim to expand how it is understood so it encompasses the experiences of Jordanian humanitarian workers, their relations with their managements and with refugees, and the spatialities that these relationalities produce. I argue that unless we develop a nuanced understanding of the relationalities and spatialities through which the refugee camp environment materialises, our understanding of “community” will remain tied to its identification as the object of humanitarian governance; a predetermined category that lies at the bottom of the humanitarian NGO hierarchised procedures.

Thesis Structure

address-ability | account-ability | response-ability

The structure of this thesis follows my experience of the refugee camp as a humanitarian volunteer within the humanitarian NGO through the years 2016, and 2017 (see Introduction 2 figure below). The organisation of the thesis sections in relation to my experience could be explained as follows: the first section relates my very first encounter with the refugee camp as an “humanitarian volunteer” and it sheds light on the question of access; the second section is written from my position as a “community mobiliser” in the NGO community mobilisation unit; and the third section is constituted of my twofold practice as a “project officer” in the NGO community engagement unit and as an architect/pedagogue working between the university and the refugee camp. This thesis juxtaposes the time line of my experience in the humanitarian NGO with the time line of the refugee camp as it has evolved since it was established in 2012. Therefore, the trajectory of my experience in the refugee camp is entangled as well as merged with how the refugee camp has been governed, negotiated, and shaped through its three main phases; the emergency phase, the post-emergency phase and the development phase.



Introduction 2: A graph showing the multiple positions that I occupied through my PhD research on Za'atri refugee camp in relation to time.

I arrange this thesis around three main titles, *1.0 Transposing the Refugee Camp*, *2.0 Reciting the Refugee Camp* and *3.0 Enacting the Refugee Camp*. Each section is constituted by several chapters that answer a number of questions; the first is concerned with processes of address-ability; the second introduces processes of account-ability (as necessary for the model of subjectivity that witnessing enacts when located within the refugee camp); the third dwells on processes of response-ability. Each of these sections encompass an assemblage of spaces, names, experiences, stories, autobiographies, practices and theoretical frameworks that help me answer the research questions that each of these sections embed.

I begin this thesis by familiarising the reader with Braidotti's *Transpositions* (2006). *Transpositions* helps me to generate a theoretical framework which encompasses and mobilises the multiplicity of positions from which I want to register my testimony of the refugee camp; it helps me to generate strategies to negotiate and learn how to negotiate between these positions. It asks: how does acknowledging the multiplicity of the positions that we occupy in our research in the refugee camp help us identify structures of power operating within the camp? What does this acknowledgment of our own and others' multiple positions tell us about the ethics necessary for processes of address-ability? How could it inform innovative methods and methodologies that pay attention to the question of ethics as situated within the context of the refugee camp? In this section, I turn towards myself; not only do I think of my language, genealogies, and emotions within the context of the refugee camp, but I also acknowledge them as grounds for honest and situated research. This section constitutes four chapters: 1.1 Decolonised Transpositions, 1.2 Hegemonic Masculinity, 1.3 The Compass of Emotions, and 1.4 Navigating through the Compass of Emotions

The second section develops a methodology that helps approach the environment of the refugee camp for the "first time"; it composes an assemblage of practices that recite the refugee camp as a complex ecology of relations, spaces, and politics. I transpose between three positions, my position as an architect, my position as an "othered" researcher, and my position as a community mobiliser. I ask: how can we recite the refugee camp for the multiple audiences that each of these positions entail? How can a nuanced understanding of each of these positions inform the question of ethics implied in the other positions? And how can negotiating the three positions offer a holistic approach to accessing architecture in the refugee camp? This section places ethics, in relation to the problem of accountability of reciting, at the centre of its conscious attention. As I explore the different modes of relationality by which a subject could relate to the environment of the refugee camp, I think of the relationalities that make certain bodies accountable for the knowledges that they have. I introduce the 'posthuman' as a methodology that helps us understand certain relationalities and spatialities beyond our conventional architectural methods. It constitutes five chapters: 2.1 Architecture! Here? How?, 2.2 Humanitarian Deafness, 2.3 Environmental Subjects, 2.4 Inhabiting Fieldwork Precariousness, and 2.5 Precarious Interruptions.

For the third section, I introduce feminist ethics of care as response-able ethics. I argue that any architectural, humanitarian, or/and academic intentions to enact the refugee camp should attend to certain ethics of care. Based in two main practices, my practice in the refugee camp as a project officer, and my practice as a pedagogue, I write this section in relation to a number of questions that evolved out of occupying this dual position across the institution of the university and the humanitarian NGO. I ask: can one think about certain matters in humanitarian response by understanding how they operate relationally, spatially and politically? How can we rethink these matters as to

disrupt the neocolonial and neoliberal hierarchies implied in the procedures of humanitarian response? It constitutes three chapters: 3.1 To “enact” the camp is to “care about the camp”, 3.2 Humanitarian Aphasia, and 3.3 Response-able Pedagogies.

1. Transposing the Camp (Address-ability)

1.1 Decolonised by Transpositions

This section introduces Braidotti's *Transpositions* as a methodology through which I attempt to "decolonise" academic structures according to which I am "othered" in research (2006). The political economy of academic research operates through hidden colonial structures that endow west-based researchers with the power of the coloniser; it represents west-based researchers as the "experts" of research and it alienates local researchers and represent them as inferior to research (Sukarieh and Tannock 2019). This variation in power between the two positions become manifest when research is performed through the *fieldwork*; west-based researchers have better access to their *fieldwork*. To disseminate my understanding of transpositions as a decolonial methodology, I ask: how could Braidotti's theory of transpositions help me address the position[s] of the colonised in relation to the coloniser without falling into an oppositional negativity that obscures any possible subjectivity for the colonised? How could my position as an "othered" researcher, with the many roles that it manifests, invoke a 'critical praxis' in a way that challenges colonial structures (Braidotti 2010, 141)? Committed to an affirmative thought, this section attempts to invest in the chances that my [racialized and genderized] differences create when trying to access my *fieldwork* in the refugee camp as a local researcher. It aligns *transpositions* with access, and it suggests that a reflection on the multiplicity of positions that we negotiate to access certain structures provides us with a critical insight on the relationalities, spatialities and politics that feature within these structures.

In the chapters that constitute this section, I reflect on the pragmatics of transposition within my *fieldwork* as a 'critical praxis'. Directed towards critiquing the academy in the first place, this section explores my access to my *fieldwork* in the refugee camp as taking place through two main structures that control access to the refugee camp; the Jordanian Government and the humanitarian NGO. Both of these structures operate through genderized, racialised, classed and colonial hierarchies, and they work in accordance with complex power structures where I was more privileged as well as less privileged than others. When used, transpositions as a theory is important to understand how "transacting" these structures took place through performing a nomadic subjectivity that gives an account of the differences that one body represents within these structures. These transactions that the body performs not only cites what this body represents within these structures, but also cite what these structure stand for. I reflect on my access through the Jordanian government as a genderized transposition (transposition takes place across the axis of the sex/gender) and through the humanitarian NGO as a racialised transposition (transposition takes place across the axis of race).

Speaking Truth to Power: ten-minute presentation

In June last year, I was invited to speak at a workshop titled *Understanding the ethics of interdisciplinary research with refugee communities*¹. I was asked to make a ten-minute presentation, the aim of which was to make certain provocations about the ethical dilemmas that I had encountered while doing my research in Za'atri refugee camp (SIID 2018). I arranged some of my autobiographical² notes under three main titles: *Access and Positionality*, *Position and Accountability* and *Reluctance/Confidence and Ethical Responsibility*. The platform aimed to foster a friendly and conversational environment in order to deal with the complex and sometimes uncomfortable subject of ethics. I printed out the 1,000 word document and was ready to speak about what I had been contemplating for a while.

The minutes following my arrival to the lecture theatre where the workshop was held, I was struck by anxiety. Before the anxiety had set in, I made a move and talked to the event organiser who also happened to be my friend. 'I am not sure about my presentation; I am afraid that what I have written here might sound rude, I do not want to offend others in the room!', I said before handing my friend the pages where I had laid out my three autobiographical notes. My friend assured me that things would be fine, she picked up the paper and started reading my words. Before I had succumbed to my overwhelming anxiety, I decided not to delete any of the lines, nor was I going to let anyone revisit my autobiographies to see if they were wrong or right! My friend handed me back the document and advised me by saying, 'Aya, do not be insecure. I think this will be fine!'

The people that were invited to the room were not strangers to me, I had met them before; never in academic contexts, always in the refugee camp. I was a humanitarian volunteer in the NGO where they had worked as researchers; I facilitated their workshops, translated their intimate conversations with refugees, and most importantly I made sure they were well received by the humanitarian NGO as well as by refugees. I had not been introduced to them as a PhD researcher before, particularly not by the humanitarian NGO with whom I worked. However, in my conversations with them, I had tried to speak about my familiarity with the UK because I do my PhD there. That is it really, that is all they know about me! In my autobiographical notes, I had referred to them as "western researchers", that "did not understand the language nor the culture of those whom they are researching", and "who however, had better access to the refugee camp than me because of the international gate keepers that prefer western researchers". I feared speaking this to their face; I knew they had an

¹ I was invited by my friend and colleague Dr Marcia Vera Spinoza. The workshop was sponsored by the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) and was organised by fellow researchers from different disciplines who share an interest and their research in refugees' studies.

² I share most of the autobiographical notes that I performed in the presentation in chapter 1.4'.

ongoing Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) in Jordan and I did not want to lose my future chances of taking part in their research in Jordan. As soon as I finished my presentation, the three main titles that I had used to head my autobiographical notes, namely, positionalities, accountabilities, and responsibilities, soon circulated in the room as questions that people in the audience dwelled on for the rest of the day, in so many different ways!

I was praised for my presentation, and to be frank, that praise came as a surprise, something that I did not foresee nor did I fully comprehend then. In the time allocated for discussion, I received multiple responses from the people that attended in the lecture room; those responses did in a way assist me in understanding the origins of the impression that I had left on the room. Some of them were apologetic, some of them held a paper and a pen and asked me to recommend them ways and methods by which they could build a network within the refugee camp, some of them asked about my mental health and if I am getting any support, and some of them asked me if I had received training that would help me “fortify myself against injury” in the refugee camp. It was really interesting to see how my autobiographies on the ethics of doing research in the refugee camp were interpreted differently. According to these interpretations, I appeared to others as occupying multiple positions; the righteous, the victim, the expert, the unsupported PhD student, the depressed researcher, and someone fragile to injury. Looking back on the day in a retrospective manner, I think that what was even more interesting is how my very intimate and private experiences as a local researcher became territories whereby others could practice ‘self-reflexivity’; me and my experience were subjugated to their ambivalent and curious gaze through which they sought the capacity to examine the “ethics” of doing their own research (Mauthner and Doucet 2003)!

Reading my autobiographies, through which I had deposited my personal emotions and my critical reflections in regard to doing research in the refugee camp, could be understood as a practice of *parrhesia* as I had decided to speak truth to the power of the “colony” (McGushin 2011). Whereas I think that I had, albeit unintentionally, performed speaking to power, my speaking to power did not attempt to claim any moral authority by declaring to have a hold over “truth”, nor did I have the inherent courage to put myself on a path of danger to speak to power (my fear of being excluded from their GCRF projects in Jordan for example). My courage was very much thought through. When I prepared my autobiographies, they were not meant to address the “colony”; I wrote them to address myself by unpacking how I feel on paper. It was not my aim to criticise the west, whiteness, and the unjust distribution of research resources between the north and the south. If these elements cite the colony, then I must say that the “colony” was there speaking for itself in the nuances of my personal emotions and my critical reflections. My knowledge and experience of the “colony” in research could be thought of as a ‘situated knowledge’ that I have embodied in my very corporeal being.

Colonialist Shadows

In their article, *Subcontracting Academia*, Sukariyeh and Tannock write about the ‘hidden colonialism’ implied in the contracts by which UK-based researchers employ local research assistants in fields of their research (2019, 66). Sukariyeh and Tannock speak about the alienation, exploitation and disillusionment that local research assistants experience in these subcontracts; this culture of contracting not only obscures the work of local research assistants and ponders them as ‘ghost researchers’ but also exploits their hopes in finding job opportunities in their countries and elsewhere in Europe and the UK (ibid.). They suggest that this culture of grants originates in a political economy of academic research; an economy that circulates within certain colonial structures which allow western researchers to control the conditions of their *fieldwork*.

The political economy of academic research implied in the UK’s and Europe’s grant-culture further produces more complicated structures of privilege. Both rule out how researchers are perceived and hosted in their *fieldwork*, specifically in reference to their racialised and gendered representations. For example, for the humanitarian NGO, western representations [i.e. white man with a grant] are privileged over local representations [i.e. woman of colour without a grant]; this cultural bias produces unjust research geographies. Whereas western researchers’ access to their research is granted by the different authorities that secure their access, local researchers have very limited access to their research geographies.

A simple way to understand the mathematics of the problem of the political economy that Sukariyeh and Tannock identify, is to queer the researcher-time. This refers to how the researcher’s 24 hours are distributed over research activities depending on the geopolitics to which researchers belong [local vs western] (ibid.). To give an example, in a workshop that was organised by colleagues in Warwick, I presented my work on a panel together with a European researcher who was doing her research in “the south”. A brief comparison between how each of us had addressed her research difficulty cites the unjust structures of this political economy. Whereas my fellow panellist spoke about “managing” her relationships with her translator, research assistant, driver, and interviewees, I spoke about splitting myself into these roles in order to be allowed inside my fieldwork. Furthermore, I spoke about how my stamina (not only my time) was consumed in performing these roles. This impaired me physically as well as mentally from enrolling in any other academic activities like writing and reading literature.

Thinking of my friend’s comment about me being “insecure”, I suggest that insecurity reflects the alienation, exploitation and disillusion that the position of the local researcher embeds in the culture of academic research. The emotional dilemmas and the physical labour that I had undergone to access my *fieldwork* were not only difficult

to bear, but had also impacted my capacity to hope in regard to academic research. How could I possibly belong to the “academy” if the “academy” cannot host me like it hosts those to whom I am an “other”? My insecurity only reveals how the academy is rather an unsafe space for those like me.

[Trans]positions to [De]colonise

‘Given the complexity and paradoxes of our times’, Braidotti suggests, ‘there cannot be only one political frontline or precise strategy’ (2006, 134). Thus, she appeals to the necessity of new concepts and values that allow for non-stipulated subjectivities that account for, as well as acknowledge, the multiple positions that we occupy. As she invites her readers to propel out of established habits of thought and structured knowledges, she navigates moral debates which are in favour of proposing alternative foundations for ethical and political subjectivities; alternative foundations that take into consideration the dynamics of diverse locations. To counter the complexities of our time, Braidotti suggests a nomadic vision of a non-unitary subject who is not fixed to one location, but rather occupies multiple positions. Its non-unitary becoming is promised by experiencing nomadic politics through the journeys that it takes to transpose from one position to another. By these transpositions ‘nomadic politics do not pursue right lines or straight paths, but combine even potentially contradictory positions in a zigzagging pattern of mixed strategies’ (Braidotti 2006, 134). As she highlights the importance of a ‘discursive’ middle ground that conveys how these zigzagging patterns are transversally interrelated, Braidotti emphasises that this ground should have a foundation of ‘synchronicity’ (Braidotti 2006, 138). The synchronicity that she suggests does not mean pulling and pushing variables, positions, powers and lines of transpositions to a flat level in order to superficially bring their differences into comparison, parallelism or hierarchism. Synchronicity as Braidotti suggests, is rather a way to operate the politics of location (Braidotti 2006).

Whereas the “colonised” are often perceived as objects of colonisation whose being has been occupied, displaced or replaced by the subject of colonisation, I find Braidotti’s vision of the subject of transpositions as a politically active (vital) empowerment of the subject. Her invitation for nomadic transpositions not only populates our political imaginations with what one could possibly become, but she also knocks down unitary statues that have long dominated our imaginations with images of what one must be. She writes,

‘Politically, a cartographic method based on the politics of locations results in the recognition that not one single central strategy of resistance is possible... A heterogeneous style of politics is needed instead, based on centrelessness. As a corollary, this implies a variety of possible political strategies and the non-dogmatic acceptance of potentially contradictory positions. A scattered, weblike system is now operational, which defies and defeats any pretence at avant-garde

leadership by any group. Resistance being as global as power, it is centreless and just as non-linear: *contemporary politics is rhizomic* (ibid., 7-8).

I understand processes of “decolonization” of the academy similarly to how Linda Tuhiwai Smith understands it, as concerned with ‘a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices’ (Smith 2013). Therefore, transpositions, as a feminist theory that is loyal to the feminist politics of location, helps the subject to develop an ‘enlarged sense of objectivity’, as well as a better attentiveness to what is taking place among the multiple layers of the field (Braidotti 2006, 7-8). The ethical accountabilities to which the subject of transposition is entitled, not only allows her to address the complexity implied in certain contexts, but also allows her to perform ‘multiple micro-political practices of daily activism or interventions in and on the world we inhabit, for ourselves and for future generations’ (Braidotti 2010, 143).

By referring to the grand philosophy of classical humanism, Braidotti defines three main axes along which otherness has been hierarchically constituted; genderization, racialization, and naturalization. As she situates her theory of transposition in today’s complex global economies and neoliberal politics, she argues that a mono mode of dialectical opposition between the ‘unitary’ dominant subject and the inferior other is not adequate to transpose differences of gender, ethnicity, or nature, for the simple fact that this is not applicable to our globalised time. Globalisation has caused the dualistic opposition between the centre and the margin to collapse and has introduced a wide range of ‘other’ discrete spaces which occupy the in-between.

In her quest for methods that counter the risks of this binary opposition and to become capable of transacting the multiple hybrid positions that globalisation produces, she invites us to address the politics of our locations as proposed in her three-axial transposition. She writes, ‘the practice of the politics of location rests on notions like experience, situatedness, accountability and transversal alliances’ (2006, 92). Braidotti rejects simplistic binary oppositions that contrast between the centre and the margin; her rejection correlates to her loyalty to the feminist politics of location that is fundamental for her thesis on transpositions (Braidotti 1994). Holding on to the centre/margin opposition does not recognise other forces that produce differences, it leaves a proliferation of other positions uncontested. It limits the activation of other in-between locations whose politics could contribute to enhancing the quality of the journeys travelled for transposing differences. As the politics of location incorporates self-reflexivity, responsibility, and discursive encounters with others, it sets a ground for ‘political accountabilities’ (Transpositions 2006, 93).

In this chapter, I introduced *Transpositions* as a decolonial methodology that challenges academic colonial structures. Speaking from the position of the “othered” researcher, in the following chapters, I will be reflecting on the pragmatics of my

access to the *fieldwork* as a *critical praxis*. Mindful of the necessity to maintain the tension existing between the “coloniser” and the “colonised” alive, it is worth noting that my work in this section does not claim to mitigate this tension nor to observe it as less “binary” (Tuck and Yang 2012). It gives an account of the multiplicity of positions that one subject transacts in order to set a ground for ‘political accountabilities’ that *can* respond to the “colony”.

1.2 Hegemonic Genealogies

My body, my Father's honour, and my Family's ancestries. All at the gates of the refugee camp.

-At the Gates of The Refugee Camp (1)-

'Him: what is your name?

Me: Aya Musmar.

Him: (Looking at my ID while flipping it with his fingers) Musmar, what kinship relates you to the major general Musmar in the Jordanian army?

Me: He is the cousin of my Father.

Him: His daughter got married recently, I was invited to the wedding!

Me: I am sure my Father was invited too; I think we had something that meant we could not be there. Our loss!' (Musmar 2016).

Despite the fact of the real blood kinship between my Father and the major general, I felt that I was saying something untrue. This was probably because of the associations that security officers wanted to make in their minds, which I knew, I would not live up to. Descending from the same ancestors, my Father's cousin was born in As-salt, a city in Jordan (the East Bank); my Father, however, was born in Nablus, a city in Palestine (the West bank). This seemingly trivial difference is caught up in the geopolitical history of the land that became Jordan and Palestine (now the West Bank); the Ottoman empire, the British mandate, post-colonial borders, and Palestinian forced migration that followed Israeli aggression, are all part of this fraught history. Many of the jokes around whether someone is a Jordanian- Jordanian or a Jordanian-Palestinian had once centered around the socio-political divide. This divide dates back to the six-day civil war that took place in September 1970 between the army of the Jordanian state and the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) which marked a turn in state policies towards what constituted Jordanian identity. As Sirriyeh writes on the civil war '[it] actually led to a narrower and more particular concept of Jordanisation, meaning the granting of privileges to the Trans-Jordanian part of the population, in preference to the Palestinians, including those of the East Bank, especially in the state's public sector, affecting the army, security services, universities and the general state apparatus' (Sirriyeh 2000, 77). Therefore, for security measures, having my name associated with my father's cousin (Jordanian-Jordanian) marks my body as less threatening than having my name associated with my father (Jordanian- Palestinian).

State security has often been theorised and practiced as a "masculine" and "militarised" paradigm; it performs the state sovereignty by deciding on the bodies that can be "included" as "secure" and other bodies that must be "excluded" as a "threat" (Baldwin 1997, Wolfers 1952). Whereas it is assumed that state security decisions are often

decided and applied in accordance with sharp measures that stem from its masculine and militarised character, feminist security studies and International Relations (IR) scholars have argued that the state is an assemblage of positions, histories, people, genders, relations, etc. and to think of it as a singular masculine and militarised entity impairs any possibility to think of state security as relational³ (Tickner 1992; Connell 1995; Wadley 2010; Maruska 2010; Wibben 2011; Sjoberg 2014). The argument in this chapter aligns with those of feminist security and IR scholars; it suggests that state security measures, albeit (majorly) predetermined, are however subject to negotiation. In particular, this chapter explores how access to Za'atri refugee camp- as an extraterritorial space whose borders are subject to high measures of security- is negotiated through the Jordanian state security apparatuses. It argues that the rigid “masculine” and “militarised” character of the state security apparatuses is challenged by fluid layers of gender and culture, class and geopolitics that come to play in an embodied encounter at the gates of Za'atri refugee camp.

In the border-crossing, where (Jordanian-Jordanian) representatives of state security encountered me as a (Jordanian-Palestinian) subject that had embodied this border-crossing, my identity split into multiple other identities, or as Deleuze and Guattari would say, my identity was deterritorialised (1988). My access no longer depended on the singular name, nationality number, and date of birth that are documented on my ID card, but rather was reliant on my cultural, gendered, classed and geopolitical embodiment of this identity through this encounter. I look back to the anecdote above, and I think of how my name (Aya Sabih Asad Musmar) as inscribed on my ID card becomes multiple in an embodied encounter with the state, mainly citing my identity in relation to my male ancestors. This multiplicity is namely found within how the immobility of my name on the ID card became mobilised into multiple positions that were distributed over multiple territories of gender (as a woman), culture (as a non-hijabi Arabic woman), class (as a middle-class woman), and geopolitics (as a female Jordanian citizen with Palestinian descent). I think of the Jordanian security officer's decision regarding my access, and I argue that it did not take place in accordance with binary strict rules; my access was rather negotiated through a cultural grid that spread across the postcolonial geographies of Jordan, Palestine and Syria⁴.

³ Wadley's argument in *Gendering the State* offers a good starting point that gets to the heart of these debates. He critiques how IR theorists tend to refer to the state as if it were a genderless “person” when they analyse security as a subject matter. He writes, ‘for analytical purposes, scholars from International Relations (IR) tend to treat the state as if it were a person. It is assumed to have “interests” and “intentions”, said to “act” (and often, to act “rationally”), even allowed to experience “death” ... The state, though understood as a person, remains a strangely ungendered being’ (2010, 38).

He thinks that this understanding of the state as an ungendered person not only holds the risk of elevating masculine actors in the state over feminine actors, but it also assumes that the state is an entity that pre-exists its relations. He displaces this ungendered anthropomorphised understanding of the state by making two main arguments: he suggests that the state is a gendered being, and that the state is a relational being that does not pre-exist its relations (ibid.).

⁴ Tamim Al-Barghouti suggests that people in different nation-states of the Arab world today, still identify

I frame the story of my negotiated access to the camp through the Jordanian state security apparatuses, as a genderized⁵ transposition⁶. By transposition, I am referring to the zigzagging journeys that I performed as a nomadic subject between the multiple genealogies, identities, and spatialities that I embodied in this encounter to be able to cross the security border. In this encounter, my transposition could be thought of, in Fine's terms, as the journey that I had made while 'working the hyphens' (Fine 1994, 70). If the hyphen is the line that 'separates and merges personal identities with our inventions of others' (ibid.), I think of the multiple hyphens that became visible in this encounter. There is a need to decide how to approach those journeys that are conditioned by a number of questions; for example, which hyphen do I want to work at this encounter; the hyphen in Jordanian-Jordanian or in Jordanian-Palestinian? And how can shuffling between the two genealogies help me reinvent myself (as otherness) in this encounter so I am allowed in?

When writing the anecdote above, I think of another one; this time one with slightly flipped roles. Through my work as a humanitarian worker during 2014, I met a refugee with a name that was familiar to me. His name is Ahmad Al-Nabulsi (Al-Nabulsi in Arabic is an adjective that means- the man from Nablus. The same city where my Father was born in Palestine). After I had told him that I am (as a Palestinian descendent) from the city that his family name cites, I asked him if he is also from there (originally), and if that means by any chance that we might be sharing the second end of the hyphen. He confirmed my speculations and he told me that he is Syrian-Palestinian, and like me, his grandparents' home is found somewhere in Nablus. This made me consider whether Ahmad's confirmation of his descent mirrors my own confirmation of my close kinship to the Jordanian-Jordanian major general in the army; is it informed by his need to cross the borders enforced on him in the refugee camp? I think of the encounters that I witnessed while working in the camp which cited similar genealogies. Many were encounters whereby north-Jordanian humanitarian workers would find that they shared similar family names and so genealogical kinships with South-Syrian refugees. At the beginning of the chaos in

with others who speak Arabic and belong to Islam as "Ummah". Unlike nation, Ummah as a non-static form of geopolitics by which people belong to a collective identity that is not formed by territory, but by language and religion (Al-Barghouti, *The Umma and the Dawla* 2015).

⁵ This idea of a genderized transposition finds resonance with the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell 1995; Hooper 2001). It does not situate masculine-feminine subjectivities at binary positions, and so, it provides a scale which can be used to navigate through the multiplicity performed in such encounters. First defined by R. W. Connell (1995), the concept of hegemonic masculinity suggests that hegemonic masculinities occupy a place in the societal hierarchy that is different from other subordinate masculinities and femininities (ibid.). By building on the concept of hegemonic masculinity, feminist international relations and security studies scholars such as Charlotte Hooper (2001) and J. Ann Tickner (1992) identify the variations that fall within the male/female divide. This allows for the possibility of including a multiplicity of gendered positions such as 'hegemonic masculinity, subordinate masculinities, and multiple femininities' (Sjoberg 2014, 237).

⁶ See chapter 1.1.

Syria, and before they were registered as refugees, many of the Syrian people from south-Syrian villages were hosted by their Jordanian relatives in their villages in north-Jordan.

By preceding transposition with the adjective genderized, I attribute gender to my transposition journeys. It functioned as the main axis across which I translocated difference in my encounter with the security apparatuses at the refugee camp gate; gender could be thought of as the predominant hyphen which introduces other hyphens. If my transpositions are mediated through a layer of a (Arabic) cultural grid, I argue that genderized differences dominate the relational vectors that founded this cultural grid. I dwell on gender as the main territory that hosts, catalyses, and impairs other forms of transpositions.

-At the Doors of Home-

My Father: why do not you go to your work in the refugee camp by bus?

Maybe it is more secure?!

Me: the NGO has not arranged any buses to the camp. But we have organised this ourselves. It is my colleague's car; we pay him monthly.

My Father: why do not you go in your own car? Or maybe I can drive you?

Me: it is far, and by the time I have to drive back it will be dark, and I will be exhausted. I do not want to drive.

My Father (this time with frustration): are there not any alternatives? A car only for women?

Me (now with a short temper): but, baba! I do not understand! What is wrong? There are five of us in the car. It is not like I am going on a vacation, or to have fun. This is my work! (Musmar 2016).

To comprehend the basic typology according to which feminine and masculine territories are shaped in the contemporary Arab world, one must start with introducing the dominating subject of virginity. Indeed, when we discuss the female body and the Arab social order that it constructs, the subject of virginity is fundamentally crucial to understand gender dynamics. Al-Mahadin (2011) refers to the Greek god of virginity 'Hymenaios' to investigate the politics that surround the hymen of the female body in order to outline the script of feminine and masculine identities in the Arab world. Mediated through certain morals, performing these identities entails certain tensions and anxieties that impact both the female and the male. For example, women, according to the script of these identities, should stay pure by not forsaking their sacred hymens before matrimony. For Arab men, the hymen of the female body is associated with their honour, as well as with 'feelings of shame, dishonor and fear' that 'breed their own deep-seated anxieties which usually translate into neurotic fixations with controlling the potential source of disgrace and ignominy' (Al-Mahadin 2011, 8). If an Arab woman's family came to know that she had lost her

virginity out of marriage, that could possibly risk her life at the hands of one of her male relatives who seeks to purify the family's honour from what they see as a dirty and shameful act (I elaborate further on honour as a communal ethic below).

If we think of the female 'hymen' as the main territory over which the male has power, we could argue that the Arab male has organised his spatiotemporal activity around the female 'hymen' as his own territory (Al-Mahadin 2011). Drawing on a Deleuzoguattarian understanding of "territory" (1988), Aurora claims in *Territory and Subjectivity*, 'subjectivity is the outcome of the creation of a territory' (2014, 3). Therefore, male subjectivity in the Arab World is dependent on and affixed in relation to the female hymen. To own a territory means taking into consideration two main questions: firstly, how to sustain the territory and its interior? The answer to this question lies in all the practices that aim to regulate the female hymen's sacredness. Secondly, how can the boundaries of this territory be expanded? This is where masculine subjectivities are not only defined in regard to the hymen, but to the female body and the material and immaterial territories that it occupies (Aurora 2014).

For men, feminine territories represent precarious spaces where their masculinities, for which they receive certain public recognition, are threatened. The perception of feminine territories as precarious⁷ spaces has been perpetuated through multiple communicational patterns that people in the Arab world have normally exchanged and referred to as communal moralities that shape their rationales (Feghali 1997). I elaborate here on the communal morality of honour. Honour in the Arabic language (sharaf- شرف) denotes a highly-esteemed position in society, one in which a male is publicly recognised as moral. However, in practice this public recognition is conditioned by male maintenance which labours to limit the female body from being exposed to the public. It works like this: the less your women are exposed to the public, the more public recognition you have as an honourable person. According to this cultural ethic, to which many people in the Arab world subscribe, the female territory is not expected to be exposed to the public. The honour cultural code is reinforced by the public understanding of the Islamic law of (mohram- محرم). According to their understanding of this Islamic law, women are not permitted to be exposed to the public without a 'mohram'. 'Mohram' means a first-kin male companion, limited to her father, brother, son, or husband. Therefore, a female territory which occupies the public is vulnerable without a male companion. For example, according to this rational, female (verbal and physical) harassment in public streets and squares could be linked to how the female body is being culturally perceived in the absence of a mohram; as a public territory whose occupation is culturally and morally legitimate (Shalghin 2017).

However, my analysis of feminine territories as precarious spaces around which men

⁷ Precarious in the sense that they could bring shame on the male.

shape their own masculine territories should not be understood as a western feminist discourse that denounces “Arab culture”. My intention behind this text is neither to shame nor to name “Arab men” as conductors of injustice or oppressors of women that should learn from their western counterparts how to treat women. The work that feminists should commit to in order to avoid falling into this good (west) and bad (Arab) binary contrast is emphasised in two leading works, Volpp’s *Feminism versus Multiculturalism* (2001) and Abu-Lughod’s *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (2013). Volpp writes, ‘the tension believed to exist between feminism and multiculturalism, or universalism and cultural relativism, not only relies upon the assumptions that minority cultures are more sexist, but also assumes that those cultures are frozen and static entities’ (2001, 191). In *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Abu-Lughod stresses the dynamism existent in these cultures, and how a culture should not be viewed in isolation from ongoing internal political debates and international politics. Thus, she warns readers about forms of representation that blame culture. She writes,

‘Representations of the unfreedom of others that blames the chains of culture incite rescue missions by outsiders. Such representations mask the histories of internal debate and institutional struggles over justice that have occurred in every nation. They also deflect attention from the social and political forces that are responsible for the ways people live’ (2013, 20).

During one conversation that I had with an Austrian colleague in the humanitarian NGO who shared with me an affinity and belonging to feminism, I shared with her the above anecdote about my Father. We were discussing it in relation to an article written by Mona Eltahawy titled, *Why Do They Hate Us?* (2012). While I was trying to reflect on my Father’s anxiety in relation to the subject of virginity, cultural norms and the state laws that regulate women’s mobility, relationships, and activities, she had already started talking to me as if I were a victim of brutal patriarchy and sexism. For me, taking part in this conversation was a way of trying to unpack Eltahawy’s question; if it is (at all) intellectually legitimate to make the generalisation that men in the Arab world are haters of women. Or if there are other ways to ask the question, so to point out roots of geopolitical, postcolonial, and governmental oppressions that women as well as men in the Arab world are subject to. I did not foresee the turn that this conversation took. Not only I was victimised, subjugated to questioning, and demanded to provide details about the history of my relationship with my Father, but I also felt patronized by my feminist friend. What was difficult for my feminist friend to understand was the fact that I sincerely sympathised with my Father.

-At the Gates of The Refugee Camp (2)-

Him: are you brother and sister?

My Brother: what do you think? You have the ID cards.

Him: (Looking at our IDs) why are you talking to me this way? Pay some respect.

My Brother: because I do not think you are doing your job. Yes, we are brother and sister, what do the IDs say?

Him: (looks back to the IDs. Probably thinking if he should return them immediately or not).

After waiting in silence for some time,

My Brother: excuse me, what is your name? who is your supervisor?

(Musmar 2016).

If I had told any of my three brothers about the encounter with the security officer, they would have wished that they had been there in order to help me avoid the tension of this encounter. Yet, I was glad they were not. From my perspective, the tension of that encounter would have increased had one of them accompanied me. Although my privileged background means that I am not perceived by my brothers as a precarious being, I probably would have felt that way in this encounter. The conversation above is a fictional version of my encounter with the state security. Indeed, if I am seated next to one of my brothers, the conversation may have otherwise unfolded to involve antagonistic questions as well as oppositional responses, which would have deprived me from accessing the camp. For instance, we have had many similar encounters with security officers on the public road between Amman and Irbid, where the security officer would ask (addressing my brother) for our IDs and my Brothers would feel discomforted by the officer manners.

One could think that the tension surrounding this encounter could have been avoided if my brother had responded with a simple 'yes'. Yet, I would also argue that the officer's question which aimed to investigate my brother's relationship to me was not innocent in the first place. His question, according to the communication pattern across which we as members of the same culture are connected, could be observed as an intent to harass my brother; it serves to interrogate his masculinity. As a man that made an appearance in public with his non hijabi sister, as well as someone that speaks with a soft Palestinian dialect and who appears to be working in the private sector, my brother would (normally) pass as less masculine in such encounters with the state. However, my brother's response to the officer cites his first privilege; he belongs to a social class and is embedded in a network of connections that allow him to question the authority that this security officer is supposed to be representing.

What draws feminine and masculine territories together in the Jordanian context in particular is not only contingent on the basic typology that is dominated by the concept of virginity. On top of that layer (which is still founded by the rationale that dictates people's understanding of communal morals), are other socio-political layers that intersect and render various shades which represent a multiplicity of hegemonic

masculinities (Hooper 2001). Shaped at the complex intersection of tribe, socio-economic class (middle-class, upper-class), and origins (Jordanian-Jordanian, Jordanian-Palestinian, city, village, etc.), representing certain masculinities and femininities is a matter of a performance of identity politics through which subjects choose to belong to certain contexts as well as certain genealogies. Therefore, while such encounters (*At the Gates of the Camp 2*) take place on an interpersonal level, between the officer and the citizen for example, the layer of the communicational pattern to which the two belong (as members of the same culture) prevails in any other language exchanged in these encounters. The culture that they embody with its previously constructed meanings challenges the possibility for any verbal exchange that, at the moment of the encounter, aims at constructing any new meanings.

1.3 The Compass of Emotions

-I do not know what is wrong. I do not know what is right-

Oh, my dear, I can see you walking a thorny road. Look here'. She pointed with her index finger to the black and white lines that circled the inside of my coffee cup. 'Do you see these capillary-like lines? They symbolize the complexity of your life now'. As she started speaking, my heart beat began to accelerate and my gut stirred. My mother's gaze as she sat on my far-left side was trying to catch my own. My eyes were focused on the storyteller, waiting for more. 'I can see you here, sitting on the top of your bed, curled in agony. Tears streaming down your face'. She pulled her head out of my cup, her gaze meeting mine, 'what is wrong, Aya?', she asked me with a lower voice. Turning back to my cup she says, 'I can see you here, choked up. Wanting to speak your mind, but you have no words to help you explain, nor is there anybody to hear you'. My mother's eyes were still trying to catch my own. My gaze was still focused on the storyteller. While nodding my head in agreement with what she said, my eyes filling with tears I said, 'I do not know what is wrong. I do not know what is right'⁸ (Musmar 2017).

The first time I came across *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (Ahmed, 2004), I was halfway into my PhD; I was in the process of reflecting on the first part of my practice-based research while at the same time situating the knowledge that I learned through my practice within a theoretical framework (ibid.). One of the major reflections of this process centred on the flux of emotions (storm) that came from practicing in the refugee camp, emotions that animated and intensified the everyday experience of working within a humanitarian NGO structure. I currently cannot find more suitable

⁸ I share this story to illustrate my overall emotional state that first arose after the time I spent in the refugee camp in Jordan. Before I was able to name my emotions, I felt paralyzed; hands cuffed, eyes blinded, and mind blocked. I would avoid communicating with my family for I knew how distant I had become. If my Mother asked after me, she would tell me that I only felt frustrated. I locked myself up in my room or tried to run away from myself as a way of seeking refuge, finding myself on the autostrada which connects Irbid and Amman.

I drove my car between the two cities, trying to find answers for the questions and the feelings that inhabited my mind and overwhelmed my heart. During this drive many monologues unfolded. I loved the times when my Mother would invite me to join one of her gatherings with her friends, for I knew the fortuneteller would give me some relief. My Mother told me that her friend's ability to initiate readings was passed down to her from her Mother and Grandmother. Fortune-telling needs the reader to be skilled in different areas; reading the cup symbols, using poetic terms to allow for reciprocity so that the person whose cup is being read can locate their own story in the reading, and the capacity to communicate stories through their face, body and eyes. However, I did keep in mind the fact that the fortune-teller is related to my Mother, which, so to say, meant that she has an affinity to stories about me, making her particularly attentive and creatively imaginative. Throughout the time I was going through this emotional paralysis, I taught myself how to read Tarot cards. Doing this allowed me to practice what Foucault calls the 'care of the self'.

words to describe my emotional state better than those that the fortune-teller chose to communicate my own story to me. Looking back to that time, I found myself hidden within the metaphor of capillary lines on a thorny road which she artfully deployed to describe me. While I was seeking to recognise how I felt about my practice in the refugee camp, I encountered Ahmed's book. Overarchingly, it incorporates a logic that requires an appreciation of the knowledge that stems from emotional situatedness. The introduction titled *Find Your Way*, marked an important foundation as it gave me the tools I needed to start dissolving and understanding my thorny and complex emotional state.

I start the following section by providing a review of the three main adjectives that feature in my understanding of Ahmed's *Cultural Politics of Emotions*; emotions as relational, emotions as spatial, and emotions as feminist (ibid.). My review of the relationality, spatiality, and feminisms of emotions establishes the ground upon which I build further arguments concerning the specific emotional experiences that I encountered while working as a volunteer for one of the humanitarian NGOs in the camp.



1.3 Figure 1 A collage composed by the author. It was created so to display my state of mind through my fieldwork.

Relationality of Emotions

Ahmed relates everyday lived emotions to a series of larger discursive power structures (nation-state). She argues that the emotionality of texts which are vocalised and circulated within public domains produce an emotional geography of everyday life. An example of this can be found within her analysis of the texts produced by the British National Front; through combining the hate speech which is implicitly injected in the text alongside her close reading of everyday emotions, she indicates how the

emotionality of texts can indeed produce unjust socio-political structures. Ahmed argues that such structures are maintained and reproduced by the reiteration of the same emotions through the everyday. By virtue of repetition, we become 'invested' in the norms that produce these power structures (ibid., 12). Building on the work of other feminist and queer theorists, she argues that such power structures are 'effects of repetition', and that emotions can keep us attached to how we are situated (e.g. subordinated) within such power structures (ibid.).

Emerging out of philosophies of language⁹, Ahmed argues that naming the kind of emotion which makes an impression¹⁰ on us is key in inciting further social and material dimensions in world in which we are living. Take for example her analysis of the emotion of disgust; 'I am disgusted' is a reactive statement to being in proximity to an object or body that is recognized as 'bad' by the disgusted subject. Addressing the disgust allows bodies to 'recoil' and distance themselves from that proximity. 'Being disgusted' might be associated with a physical sensation that is felt in the gut, however, as Ahmed claims, that feeling is not directly related to the gut (ibid., 96). It is rather 'mediated by ideas that are already implicated in the very impressions we make of others and the way those impressions surface as bodies' (ibid., 83). So, by saying 'I am disgusted', is to state and perform the value that has once been endowed on the object of disgust; it denotes the history of that attribution while at the same time reacting to it.

Engaging with the emotional model that Ahmed constructs and explains through a wide range of examples was a way of recognising that the work of emotions has been personal therapy¹¹.

It helped me to understand the processes that lead emotions to reside over bodies. For example, going back to the emotion of disgust, I do not say 'I am disgusted' because the body that I am in contact with is inherently disgusting. Rather I speak these words because my contact with the object of disgust cites a history of disgust. This model, which has the capacity to cite the historicity of emotions, allowed me as a subject to

⁹Particularly, a Derridean philosophy of language. In this philosophy, Derrida assumes that the use of the repeated word is detached from the context in which it has emerged by its repetition. By this repetition, the word gets dislocated from the material and historical conditions through which it came about in the first place. However, the dislocated word still carries traces from the context where it emerged before. In her review of *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*, Riedner describes this detachment as a disjuncture between 'signification' and 'context' (Riedner 2006,701). This disjuncture coincides with the repetition of the word, which, as Ahmed argues, allows emotions to compile cultural meanings and values. Every time they are repeated they encompass traces of the history of their original emergent contexts, and they regenerate the emotional value that was once endowed in the first context from which it was detached.

¹⁰Sara Ahmed does not categorise emotions as physical sensation or cognition. She rather follows in the steps of David Hume's work on emotion by using 'impressions' (Hume 1964,75). An impression involves acts of both perception and emotion (Ahmed 2004, 6).

¹¹This is further explained in the section titled *Feminisms of Emotions*.

situate my emotions within an extended timeline. Ahmed writes that, ‘emotions tell us a lot about time; emotions are the very “flesh” of time. They show us the time it takes to move, or to move on, is a time that exceeds the time of an individual life. Through emotions, the past persists on the surface of bodies’ (ibid., 202). Thus, my emotions are not merely instantaneous feelings that emerge as an effect out of my response to a cause. Naming my emotions should therefore not be treated as a ‘diagnosis’ that points to a ‘psychological’ condition. Rather, emotions are relational; they emerge in relation to other bodies or objects with whom the subject has been in contact.

In accordance with that contact, the subject of emotions moves towards or away from the contacted other. Ahmed critiques the two mainstream models that are often deployed to comprehend the relationality of emotions: the inside-out model (from the discipline of Psychology) and the outside-in model (from the discipline of Sociology). The first model psychologises¹² emotions by treating them as purely subjective. Emotions in this model are ‘centred’ in and are owned by the individual. They move to the outside only after occupying the inside of the individual. The second model assumes the opposite; that emotions reside in the outside (i.e. in the public realm) and move inwards, to the inside of the individual (2004, 8). Ahmed observes that the relationality of emotions within the two models is dependent on a distinction between the inside and outside, the individual and the collective, the subject and the object. For Ahmed, emotions do not reside in ‘either the individual or the social, but produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they are objects’ (ibid., 10).

Spatiality of Emotions

The relation between emotions and spatiality is inherent in the etymology of the word ‘emotion’. Deriving from the Latin word ‘emovere’, the same root which informs the word ‘move’, Ahmed suggests that emotions are about movement (ibid., 11). When speaking of the spatiality of emotions a discussion into their relationality cannot be avoided; the effects of emotions materialise the moment they come into contact with other bodies or objects through movement. Ahmed reads emotions by tracking how they circulate between different bodies. She examines how emotions, in the moment of contact, stick to some bodies while sliding off others. Assuming that bodies ‘take the shape of the very contact they have with objects and others’, she studies how the surfaces of bodies are shaped by the work of emotions (ibid., 1). Ahmed uses the term “affect” to denote this work that emotions do (Schmitz and Ahmed 2014)¹³.

¹² In the discipline of Psychology, emotions are psychologised by becoming an ‘object lesson’. The question: ‘How do I feel?’ not only emphasises the ‘interiority’ of emotions, but also assumes that emotions move to the outside only after being internally centred by the subject’s feelings.

¹³ This idea of movement that the word “emotion” inheres in its etymology, as well as the wide use of the term “emotion” in everyday life are of a crucial importance for Ahmed; together, they orientated her to use

Emotions are also about attachment, as well as movement. Ahmed writes, ‘the relationship between movement and attachment is instructive. What moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling place’ (ibid., 11). As emotions circulate between different bodies, they endow them with signs that cite past histories. Based on those meanings and values, the emotional subject constructs physical attachment to other bodies, which allows for the definition of ‘dwelling place’ to solidify. Take for instance Ahmed’s analysis of the emotion of fear. She looks at how fear shrinks bodily space which consequently limits the mobility of some bodies while enabling the mobility of others. As fear slides between bodies, it forms uneven geographies. For example, out of fear of bodily harassment, I, like many women in Jordan, avoid being in public spaces. This fear creates uneven geographies, geographies which then take shape amidst different cities in Jordan. To expand, this fear privileges the male body with access to different public spaces and limits and deprives the female body from the same such access; her mobility is limited to spaces that can fit around her bodily space. For instance, rather than walking down the street, it is safer to access the street by car.

Similarly, the affects created by emotions also translate into spatial configurations, specifically through how they later move according to relationships of ‘difference and displacement’ (ibid., 44). As a way of offering an explanation for the unevenness of these configurations, Ahmed introduces the concept of ‘affective economies’ (ibid.). To make clear, Ahmed argues that emotions’ circulate between different bodies, which is in itself a form of ‘capital’ (ibid., 45). Read from both perspectives of psychoanalysis and Marxism, the economy of affect is perceived through an image of a multidimensional mesh, whereby the subject of emotions is a node as opposed to the ‘origin’ or the ‘destination’ of the economy. Emotions move between subjects through the interwoven lines of the mesh using two main movements - backwards movements (time), and sideways movements (attachment) (ibid., 46). When imagining that this mesh materialises in a context, questions concerning the morphology of the mesh become important. For example, what shapes would the nodes take following the sticking and the sliding of emotions? How would some nodes get closer to other nodes that they identify as similar? And how would other nodes be displaced to join those

“emotion” over “affect” (Schmitz and Ahmed 2014). While emotion is often deliberated to denote our internalised feelings that move from within to the outside, affect is used, as Ahmed suggests, ‘to describe how you’re affected – to affect and to be affected – thereby expressing a bodily responsiveness to the world that the word is used to denote’ (ibid., 97). Motivated by her will to disrupt the disciplinary models whereby emotions are studied as expressive of subjectivity, she says, ‘I rather use emotion because that word took me further in not starting with the question of how we are affected by this’ (ibid., 97). (Schmitz and Ahmed 2014, 97). Ahmed centers the “object” as the key-emphasis of her theory to study how ‘objects become emotional things’. While Ahmed uses affect to denote the work that emotions do, she does not separate between the two. She says, ‘I actually use affect as part of what emotions do. And I am quite critical, in fact, of some of the ways in which affect and emotion have been defined as very distinct and clear’ (ibid., 97).

nodes which have the same difference? Ahmed calls the processes through which these movements take place as ‘processes of intensification’ (ibid.). Within these processes, Ahmed suggests that ‘the skin of the collective begins to take a shape’ (ibid., 54).

Manifested in the chapter titles of *Cultural Politics of Emotions*¹⁴, each of the emotions that Ahmed analyses denotes an image of a socio-spatial construct; importantly, each construct has a different power structure and set of collective dynamics. For example, in her discussion of the feeling of comfort, she draws an image of comfortable bodies as bodies that ‘sink’ into their spaces and environments. Spaces of comfort¹⁵ are spaces where we feel that the surfaces of our bodies’ are extended, which in turn means that the boundaries of these surfaces are camouflaged by the boundaries of others. There are also bodies however, that do not find this assumed comfort within these spaces. In responding to their discomfort they shrink, flee, hide, or assimilate. Each of the chapter titles are composed of two main terms; the first designates the performative affect (affect is the work that emotions do) of the second (the emotion).

Contingent upon their relationality, emotions move bodies to create alliances as well as hostilities. The emotion of hate, for example, moves bodies either in alignment to or in opposition to other bodies. Hate, as Ahmed argues, is circulated between two bodily representations; the first are those bodies that want to defend themselves against a possible injury that threatens their being. The second are those bodies that represent the source of the threat, i.e. the bodies which the first group defend themselves against. The spatial affect created by the performance of hate is cited by Ahmed as ‘organization’.

Feminisms of Emotions¹⁶

Emotions can also be understood as political activity. Ahmed’s significant account of the work of emotions challenges the way in which the adjective ‘emotional’ has been commonly attributed to subjects that are deemed ‘passive’ (ibid., 2). In classical humanism, emotionality is classified as being beneath the faculties of thought and reason. As a result, emotions have been traditionally dismissed in light of their inactivity.

Ahmed’s account reveals both the politics that lie behind emotionality and the relationality emotions have to larger power structures. Instead of dismissing the

¹⁴ The chapter titles are as follows: 1- *The Contingency of Pain*, 2- *The Organisation of Hate*, 3- *The Affective Politics of Fear*, 4- *The Performativity of Disgust*, 5- *Shame Before Others*, 6- *In the Name of Love*, 7- *Queer Feelings*, 8- *Feminist Attachments* (2004, Contents).

¹⁵ I speak about this extensively within the ‘dislocated research’ section.

¹⁶ Ahmed’s discourse in ‘Feminist Attachments’ is directed to those who identify themselves as feminists – i.e. those who hold the responsibility of leading or guiding the ‘collective’.

subject's feelings, questioning the histories that these feelings cite and the affect that they entail, works to authenticate the feelings of the subject (ibid.). For example, when a humanitarian worker in Za'atri is described as "emotional", the attribution of the word serves to weaken their reasoning capacities and thus render them and their decisions unqualified. Either the humanitarian worker is rational, i.e. they can do the work, or they are emotional, i.e. incapable of doing the work¹⁷. However, the term "emotional" for Ahmed does not perpetuate this binary distinction between emotionality and rationality. She writes: 'Instead, we need to contest this understanding of emotion as 'the unthought', just as we need to contest the assumption that 'rational thought' is unemotional, or that it does not involve being moved by others' (ibid., 170).

Emotions, in Ahmed's account, are active agents¹⁸ of intervention. Naming emotions and understanding their relational and spatial affects provide alternative tools which allow us to 'wonder' about the possibility of other social and political constructs that could ad(just) unjust existing power structures. However, based on Ahmed's suggestion that 'bodies take the shape of norms that are repeated over time and with force' (2004, 145), one comes to comprehend that naming emotions is not an easy task for those whose bodily geographies have been shaped by everyday social norms. Questions that investigate the emergence of this recognition of emotions, as alternative modes of change, are necessary to understand the politics of emotions. One such question is as follows: when would the attention of the subject, which has been long focused on the norms of different institutional spaces, return to the surfaces and boundaries of the body in order for the subject to recognise their subordinate position? Further, how could the subject transform their situated position?

In response to these type of questions, Ahmed dismisses actions that are "immediate". Rather she posits mediation over the immediate. It would be naive to think that anti-normative politics is what feminists need to answer the question of 'transformation'. Maintaining an attachment to norms is necessary for the process of change, as Ahmed writes,

¹⁷ During my service contract as a project officer in Za'atri, I, along with my colleagues, received a complaint against a volunteer for his 'grumpy' attitude. As I working closely with this volunteer, I knew he was under some pressure in his life which was likely why his general mood appeared grumpy. 'Maybe we need to try and understand his attitude, we all get grumpy sometimes do we not?', I said to my colleagues in an attempt to shift their perspectives onto the frustrations of the volunteer. 'Rather than sentencing him, we should maybe understand him', I said to myself. 'I think you are too emotional Aya, we should not be fooled!', one colleague said. I was not crying, I did not ask them to cross any institutional boundaries, I asked them only to sympathize with him.

¹⁸ Agency is defined by Giddens as the capacity for an object to challenge the status quo by intervening in a state of affairs or by opting out of an intervention. Although Giddens's account is not sufficient to speak about the agency of objects in regard to its shortcomings of human agency, I use the logic of agency here to refer to the subjective act of intervention which is necessary to change the status quo.

'focusing on emotions as mediated rather than immediate reminds us that knowledge cannot be separated from the bodily world of feeling and sensation; knowledge is bound up with what makes us sweat, shudder, tremble, all those feelings that are crucially felt on the bodily surface, the skin surface where we touch and are touched by the world' (2004, 171).

A feminist learning of emotions through which emotionality is observed, named and critiqued, is necessary to identify what are 'unjust' and 'just' worlds (2004, 191). Ahmed argues that pain is one emotion that is crucial for our learning. Pain makes us turn to the places on our bodily surfaces where we have been wounded. Whilst turning, we learn to name our pain in order to learn how to heal its affect (undo the work of emotions). Alongside this, it is also important to learn 'to remember how embodied subjects come to be wounded in the first place, which requires that we learn to read that pain, as well as recognise how the pain is already read in the intensity of how it surfaces' (2004, 173).

At the very beginning of this chapter, I wrote about how reading Ahmed's book was therapeutic as it allowed me to name my emotions, which were previously accumulated. This naming supported me in making connections between my experiences and feelings, which in turn helped me to understand how I am situated within larger power structures. Ahmed, following in the steps of bell hooks, brings to our attention that we must keep working on naming our personal emotions. Although we must remain aware that naming emotions does carry the risk of being 'incorporated into the narcissistic agendas of neo-liberal and therapeutic culture' (2004, 174).

Thus, the painful work that we need to do should not rest purely on naming our emotions, reading their emergence, or interpreting their relationality to larger power structures. Rather, it should also incorporate translating them so that pain can move to communal domains through which people can share their pain collectively. Translation opens up a collective space whereby people can share their experiences of pain. This exercise generates a space for the 'we'; the skin that once shaped the body of the individual now shapes the body of the collective. Our combined wounded skin can now be transformed.

In addition, a feminist learning of emotions can lead us to wonder. Just as we learn through pain because our wounds open us up to the world, our ability to wonder also opens us up to the world (Ahmed 2004). For Ahmed, wonder is both a noun and a verb; it is a noun in the sense that it describes the affect produced by an initial encounter with an object that is not recognized, and it is a verb in that it works to transform the ordinary to the extraordinary.

The significance of wonder in learning emotions lies in how it makes us capable of dealing with emotions not as 'blockages', but rather as communication lines that we

draw in relation to the world as both existent and yet to be imagined. 'Critical wonder' necessitates us to ask questions that problematise our world as learnt; for example, how has the world been formed into the shape that it takes today? Why is transforming power structures time-consuming? (2004,182). To wonder is to simultaneously acknowledge the histories that have caused the present to take the shape that it has, and to enlarge our capacities to imagine the possibilities for how it could exist in the future. Ahmed writes: 'the capacity for wonder is the space of opening up to the surprise of each combination; each body, which turns this way or that, impresses upon others, affecting what they can do. Wonder opens up a collective space, by allowing the surfaces of the world to make an impression, as they become see-able or feel-able as surfaces' (2004, 183).

While remaining committed to a feminist politics of redress, Ahmed moves from the central question in the book, i.e. 'what do emotions do?' to 'what can we do?', or rather, what can we do when we learn about the relational and spatial work of our emotions? Whereas the answer to the first question lies in the work emotions undergo to endow objects and bodies with meanings and values in relation to past histories, the answer to the second question focuses on the future while retaining a relation to the present. Ahmed argues that the future is not a possibility for the failure of repetition of the present, rather relational to the present and the past.

1.4 Navigating through the Compass of Emotions

The 'cultural politics' of humanitarian governance

In this chapter, I focus on the questions which concern humanitarian work ethics. I critique the power structures through which certain emotions were produced, repeated, and thus maintained as cultural entities through the humanitarian NGO. I trace my emotional experience while working as a volunteer in the humanitarian NGO by reciting some autobiographical notes that I wrote during and after my fieldwork about the emotions of discomfort, gratefulness, fear and disgust. I suggest that the affective economies of these emotions cite unjust political economies that feature among the organisational structure of the humanitarian NGO paradigm. Ahmed describes her personal 'archive' as her 'contact zone'; a contact zone includes manifold forms of contact, 'including institutional forms of contact (with libraries, books, websites), as well as everyday forms of social contact (with friends, families, others)' (2004, 14). Similar to Ahmed, the excerpts taken from my autobiographical notes which inform this chapter, work as a *contact zone*; they cite multiple forms of contact, for example with Jordanian humanitarian workers, the management of the humanitarian NGO, and the people of Za'atri refugee camp.

The work in this chapter extends out of the analysis provided in chapter 1.3 on emotions' relationality, spatiality and feminism. Therefore, by reciting my autobiographical notes not only do I name my emotions to cite power structures (namely, neoliberal and neocolonial) that feature within humanitarian NGO work, but also as a way of exploring how emotions as affective economies circulate amongst the different subjects that populate these power structures. As emotions move and circulate, I am attentive to the politics of my location in relation to others (for example, Jordanian NGO workers and refugees); I do not structure the origin nor the destination of these emotions. Rather, I function as a node in a mesh, whereby other subjects that I encounter are situated at different locations in the power structure, and so are subject to different affects. This position in relation to others allows me to comprehend, albeit partially, the intensity of these emotions as affective economies when circulating between other bodies; namely refugees.

Dislocated Comfort

- Maybe I am not blonde enough! -

I had never accessed the camp as a researcher before. I applied for governmental permission and succeeded in achieving it within ten days, but I was still unable to get a reply back from the NGO which I had been trying to contact for three months before my visit. This NGO was the place where I had worked as a community mobiliser for six months prior to my PhD starting in January 2015. Despite the many changes that the

management had gone through, for me it was the door that I thought I could knock on before I started to feel desperate. However, after struggling for so long, I decided I was going to visit the camp. When I visited the NGO compound in the basecamp, I was called over by one of the management's main people there; she said to me, 'Aya, you cannot be here without our permission!'. 'I fully understand, and I am here because I need this permission. I have provided you with all the required documents; my research proposal, my governmental permission, my Arabic and English copies of my research information sheet. I tried to contact you several times, maybe I am not blonde enough'. She raised her eyebrows with surprise. I continued, 'why are the camp doors opened for all foreigners but not for Jordanians?! I am serious about this, and I want to be in the camp'. After that I got my first post as a volunteer in the camp.

Although my research was affiliated with a globally renowned university, Jordanian researchers were overlooked, often undervalued, and invisible unless accompanied by white researchers. During the time I was serving in the camp, many research delegates could access the camp through the UNHCR and the NGO; I was the main translator for a few of those delegations, and I must say, despite the great exposure that this position had allowed me to gain in regard to how universities approach the camp, every time it happened it came with heartache. While driven by different motivations, those many researchers (who came from Western Europe and the US) did not always approach the camp with a grounded understanding of its nature, nor to its language, however, they had better access to it (Musmar 2016).

Discomfort

I believe that the discomfort that I felt throughout my research process with the humanitarian NGO cites the regulatory norms that feature within the environment of the humanitarian NGO; an environment according to which I do not fit as a (local) researcher. To access the humanitarian space where I situate my research inquiry, I had no choice but to assimilate into the environment of the humanitarian NGO from my new position. In other words, I had to shift my ground from the position of a researcher, to the position of a volunteer in the humanitarian NGO. This shift, or what I refer to as dislocation, caused me some discomfort.

To reflect on the relational, spatial and feminist aspects of discomfort, I depend on Ahmed's understanding of comfort, as a bodily feeling by which we realise that we either fit or do not fit into certain environments (2004). When our bodies fit into certain environments we feel that we can extend ourselves into the environment. However, when we do not fit, the oppressive effect of the environment highlights the boundaries that separate our bodies from its surroundings. When our bodies do not fit, we assimilate (ibid). Ahmed suggests that it is in emotions of pain and discomfort that we turn to our bodies' surfaces (ibid.). Therefore, as I reflect on my emotion of discomfort, I turn to the surface of my body and I think of it in relation to the humanitarian NGO environment. Namely the infrastructures that outline which

researcher bodies fit into the humanitarian space and which researcher bodies do not fit into this same space.

The emotion of discomfort is crucial here for how it also cites the boundaries of other bodies, namely refugees, who cannot extend their bodies into the humanitarian space. Further it references how their inhabitation of the humanitarian space is, as one of my interviewees referred to, rather an “act” of living by the humanitarian NGO norms which they assimilate to. In their assimilation, not only do they perform these norms in order to fit into the space, but also to learn ways by which they could navigate where they can fit.

Reflection

As a young female local researcher, being noticed by the UNHCR and other NGOs was not an easy task for me. The selection process according to which the UNHCR or the humanitarian NGO senior officers would decide which researchers would be allowed access to the refugee camp and which researchers would not be allowed access (or in other words: those not qualified enough to do research) is dictated by the cultural politics that occupy the humanitarian space in the refugee camp¹⁹. For humanitarian governance, which operates through neoliberal values (Duffield 2007) and neocolonial hierarchies (Pascucci 2019), researchers’ access to do research in the refugee camp is conditioned in two ways. Firstly, by the funds that they would garner in the name of aid and development, and secondly, the representation of the researcher that privileges white European researchers over local researchers. By local, I am referring to two main features (that are substantially related). Firstly, local means non-white; someone of colour whose mother-tongue is not English nor any other Western European language (i.e. has a strong linguistic tendency- even if pretending not to- to pronounce the letter R as RRR). Secondly, local means non-funded; in comparison to western researchers, non-western researchers do not have similar access to funding resources. This references the unequal distribution of research resources among the global North and South (Sukarieh and Tannock 2019).

Although not a native English speaker, my non-hijab appearance as well as my fluency in the English language are nonetheless helpful in allowing me to pass the humanitarian NGO’s difficult criteria. In short, to them I appeared not entirely local. This image that I represented placed me somewhere in the gaps of the humanitarian NGO’s everyday operations. The NGO program director (a Jordanian woman), who observed me with the same gaze with which western senior officers had previously observed me, suggested that I work with the NGO through a service contract. Observed as less qualified than a white researcher and slightly more qualified than the usual Jordanian NGO worker, the service contract located me somewhere in between the two. To expand, whereas this service contract assigned me to certain

¹⁹ I extend this in chapter 3.2 under the subtitle “The Delegation”.

responsibilities in relation to the community engagement unit where I was supposed to do my work, the terms of the contract labelled me as a single entity – thus ignoring my affiliation to my university and my commitment to my research. Unable to (fully) claim my position as a researcher (as well as my position as a Jordanian worker- see below), I soon realised that the service contract had dislocated me from my initial inquiry as a researcher. Following my agreement to take up this position, as a volunteer who adheres to the terms of the service contract signed between the NGO and myself, I tried to re-introduce my information sheet and consent form, seeking validation for my research inquiry again. I tried to remind my seniors in the humanitarian NGO of my research inquiry. Nobody was interested, or maybe, as they claimed, nobody had the time for it. Subsequently, allowing me into the humanitarian space was conditioned by taking me out of the grounds of my research²⁰.

-you are a neck-bone-

I concluded that I was an outsider based in my own critical reflection over my position within the organisation. Nevertheless, outsider-ness was also projected by other employees and volunteers; many informally exchanged statements addressed this positional exteriority that had been speculated on by others. For them, I was ‘the person with the service contract’, the journalist, the spy, the person that never leaves with a farewell because ‘give her sometime and she will be back’, or as one of my work-friends in one of our regular gatherings described me, ‘everybody that worked with this NGO failed to sustain a long affiliation with the organisation, except Aya. It’s as if she has the keys to the NGO in her pocket’. The power associated with my position regarding access was a subject that I also questioned and thought of while working in the camp. During the first week in my last practice period, I complained to my friend, whom I met in 2014 as a fellow community mobiliser, saying that I did not understand our line manager’s hostile manner towards me. She told me, ‘he did not interview you, and he did not choose you to be in his team’. I was asked to apply for the online vacancy by submitting my CV and a cover letter which then went through the regular chain of procedures. This procedure was supposed to pass my line manager, but unfortunately in this case it did not. Later, on one Saturday morning when the team had agreed to meet for a friendly gathering, after my line manager and three other project officers had resigned from their positions, he affirmed the same reason to me, ‘you were not interviewed by me, however, I liked your cover letter’ (Musmar 2017).

Being perceived as an outsider meant that I was allowed access to certain spaces, which meant that I consequently bore witness to certain intimacies. My humanitarian worker colleagues knew that a service contract comes with a set of different interests that do not overlap, nor contradict with their own. I was trusted by them because they were convinced I would not enrol in the toxic competition that worsened the precarity

²⁰ See chapter 2.4 where I speak about the precariousness of fieldwork.

of their working contracts. Not sharing the interest meant that I am not there to take anyone's work! Frequently my colleagues would feel comfortable sharing with me things that they would not necessarily share with other colleagues (e.g. complaints, frustrations, political opinions, etc.). During these moments of sharing, if our shared space was interrupted by other colleagues, they would pretend that they were talking about something else and briefly change the subject. As an outsider, I was also granted access to other spaces where some of my colleagues (secretly) performed micro transgressions; challenging the regulations that the humanitarian NGO enforced to track their conduct inside humanitarian spaces. Common examples were smoking in a closed space or eating inside one of the NGO vehicles. Further, I was usually introduced by my colleagues to other new colleagues as trustworthy. Assuring my trustworthiness, they would often follow my name by statements (said in Arabic) like, 'Aya menna w feena' which loosely translates to 'Aya is one of us and inside us آية منّا وفينا -', or 'Aya men Itham elrqabeh- آية من عظام الرقبة' which translates to 'Aya is a neck-bone'. Set up and exchanged through a cultural layer of communication, such statements were powerful in endorsing me as an insider for the Jordanian NGO workers (Musmar 2017).

Taking into account that I was not presented to my colleagues in the humanitarian NGO with consideration of my research affiliations and research interests, I took the individual responsibility of introducing myself as such, even in the briefest of encounters. My ethical responsibility, however, was not limited to introducing my research intentions; it also worked to make sure that I maintained secrecy to that which I bore witness. For example, any unintentional exposure to my colleagues' critique of the management could risk their working contracts. This secrecy finds some resonance in one colleague's words which he said to warn me from falling into conversations that would risk my service contract, 'the more you criticise management, the least chances you have in getting your contract renewed. No matter how good you are in the work that you do!' (Musmar 2017). The same management that granted me the favour (see gratefulness section below) of allowing me inside the refugee camp would occasionally ring me to ask about 'life' in the camp. In the few conversations that I had with the management person (out of my working hours), I was expected to be a spy and expose the secrecies that my colleagues had shared with me (see fear section below)!

Grateful for your generous care!

-You are the daughter of this NGO-

While discussing the challenge of my long working hours in my practice with my supervisor, she advised that I talk about this with the management and request that they give me one day or two for research. Again I was not sure if I should initiate this request. On the one hand, I might succeed in this negotiation and get one or two days for my

research, yet on the other, if I fail I possibly risk my network ties that I have exhausted myself maintaining and balancing since 2014. Within this network, I am a dedicated and hard-working volunteer. Most importantly, by being grateful for being offered the chance to access the camp (something I was expected to be), I was noticed by this humanitarian NGO.

Just after I finished my work with the NGO, I visited the management office in Amman. Not any different from my check in, I was visiting to check out, making sure that the door would be left metaphorically unlatched for my return. The program director, the same that had allowed me in the humanitarian NGO through a service contract, offered me coffee, and I responded by offering her chocolate. 'Thank you', I said. 'Why are you thanking me? We should thank you; nobody would have done your job the way you did!', she responded. In that moment I was reminded that I am 'the daughter of this humanitarian NGO', and so with reflection, her thanks is the least that a mother would say to her daughter.

Before my last visit to the humanitarian NGO management office in Amman, I was slightly anxious about seeing the program director. In a shopping mall next to the office, I walked for more than an hour thinking of what would possibly make a good gift. A good gift meant a gift that communicates my gratefulness; my very subtle, sincere, and unexaggerated gratefulness. Gratefulness that I made sure to communicate whenever I would encounter her during her biweekly visits to the refugee camp. I did not want my gift to be too expensive (so that it could be considered excessive) nor too cheap (so that it could be perceived as discourteous). Just in case the gift itself failed to communicate my gratefulness, I made sure to attach a card. The card clearly inscribed the words 'Thank You!' (Musmar 2017).

Gratefulness

Two main questions dictate my interest in unpacking the politics of gratefulness in the following reflection. Firstly, in the humanitarian space, why would certain bodies feel obliged to perform gratefulness (including myself) in relation to other bodies in the humanitarian space? Secondly, why would certain bodies make other bodies feel obliged to acknowledge initial favours?

Composed at the intersection of the economical, juridical, moral and aesthetical dimensions of a society, it is suggested that the institution of gifting works in accordance with certain power structures that are acknowledged, identified as well as understood by the two sides of the gift exchange (Mauss 2002). I suggest that bodies that perform gratefulness, as well as bodies that make other bodies feel obliged to show gratefulness, both understands how power flows in the humanitarian space. They perform these roles in order to sustain their positions in the precarious conditions of the humanitarian space. Whereas I performed gratefulness because I needed the humanitarian NGO to welcome me when I visited it again, the program director was

patronising towards the conversation (regarding my research) because she wanted to maintain the hierarchy that produced me as a grateful subject that acknowledges her power and authority. My deliberation over this emotion poses an important question that problematises humanitarian practices under its claims of providing the vulnerable with aid and support (care²¹). It suggests that care in humanitarian spaces is provided in paternalistic and patronising ways that inflict on refugees the feeling that they must perform gratefulness.

Reflection

The program director's response to my gift not only showed that the intention behind my gift was successfully communicated, but also that her response is yet another form of exchange in which she performed the position of the patron. This was reinforced by the conversation that followed our gift exchange. Her admiration of the quality of my work was adjoined by her condemnation of Jordanian workers' low capacities and uncivilised skills, 'what do you think of the quality of the work in the community engagement unit, you were a witness?', she asked me. I did not respond. 'I will tell you. Maybe you are shy. It is so bad. And do you know why that is? Because our people, I mean the Jordanian workers, do not want to improve themselves', she responded to her own question. I did not respond. The association that she made between her admiration of my work and her condemnation of others' work was unsettling; it was a comparison that implied an unspoken threat. In a way, this comparison demonstrated how easy it is for me (even though I'm a person that she currently admires) to be condemned by her, unless I acknowledge her favour. After a moment of silence, I responded with, 'I think that you are doing a great job here! Taking care of these projects and programs! I learn from you'. 'But I am sure this was great for your research also. No? your work with the NGO', she concluded our conversation, reminding me of the paternalistic connection that allowed me to do this research (and be a witness) in the first place ([Musmar 2017](#)).

Her patronising speech in which she was condescending about everyone's civil capacities and the quality of everyone's work, not only promoted a top-down form of management but also divided Jordanian NGO workers into two groups; one group that is favoured by the management and one group that is condemned by the management. For example, the group that was favoured by the management (allies) who, like me, were granted certain visibility and acknowledgment for their qualifications were promoted to occupy certain positions. In response to this visibility, of course, they were expected to perform gratefulness. This form of favouritism invoked anonymity and division among Jordanian humanitarian workers.

²¹ See chapters 3.1 and 3.2 where I write extensively on the ethics of care.

Feared by Allah

- Campaign of Executions-

Late December 2017, in the last calendric week of the NGO working year, anxiety infected almost every employee in the NGO, not only my commute-colleagues. I drove to the camp that day with one of my friends, who seemed to be quite upset. He asked me, 'did you receive the email yesterday? There is a general staff meeting today'. 'No', I said. He sighed. 'But, why are you so upset?' I asked. 'It seems that there is a 'Campaign of Executions' today', he responded. My friend was worried about his English language. Despite his extensive experience, since he started working with the community engagement unit he had become increasingly unconfident, especially about his English. At 11:00 am, they called the meeting. In the huge meeting room, there was a large table in the middle and two rows of chairs. One row was made of wheeled chairs that surrounded the table, and the other was made out of a wooden bench that was lined along the edges of the room. All employees were seated in the two main rows while waiting for the 'top management' to arrive (some were brave enough to sit in the first row, most of them were not). One of the main people broke the silence that had intensified in the room prior to the arrival of the management, 'are you afraid?', she said with an exaggeratedly compassionate voice. After the silence that she annotated her question with, she continued, 'we want you to relax, we are not here to terminate contracts. But there are some proportional cuts over your salaries due to the reduced fund and it's your choice now, whether to stay or to leave'. She unfolded the paper that she was holding in her hand and reassured everyone that this procedure applied to those in higher management also, including herself. 'Here is my new contract, my salary was also reduced, and I signed' ([Musmar 2017](#)).

Fear

I believe that the humanitarian NGO management, as a sovereign authority in the humanitarian space, mobilised fear in order to discipline Jordanian humanitarian workers²². Regardless of their awareness regarding the precarious living conditions of Jordanian humanitarian workers (and Syrian volunteers), the NGO management had used short-term contracts to circulate threat amongst its Jordanian workers and Syrian volunteers. Divided into two - subjects of threat and objects of threat - Jordanian humanitarian workers took different stances in response to this threat. Whereas subjects of the threat mobilised narratives that legitimised how Jordanian workers are under threat because they do not fear Allah, objects of threat sought a form of impunity by claiming (with evidence) that they fear Allah. However, the mobilisation of the two narratives entailed a self-degrading speech that dehumanised Jordanian humanitarian workers as Arabs; a speech which served to reveal them as uncivilized, inherently corrupt, and, as a result, untrustworthy. This legitimises subjecting humanitarian NGO workers to fear.

²² Also see Mark Duffield's account on *Challenging Environments* (Duffield 2012).

Whereas this self-degrading speech, motivated by Eurocentric ideology that glorifies the west and looks down to Arabs, is not new in the Jordanian context (at least in my own context). I suggest that its circulation in the humanitarian space should not pass as ok. In a humanitarian space, that is founded and operated in such a way that western organisations function as gatekeepers, the mobilisation of narratives that despise Arabs and admire the west must cite colonialist and racist hierarchies.

The circulation of this self-degrading speech made Syrian refugees even more vulnerable than they already are to the threat of violence (e.g. the Jordanian state). Refugees, coming from a war-torn country, were not only looked down on for their Arabness, but also for their refugeeness. Behind the closed doors of the humanitarian NGO, the narratives that blamed refugees for triggering the war in their country were more common than those that empathised with their refugeeness. The circulation of this speech amongst refugees, who are politically and emotionally charged, divided them into subjects and objects of threat. As a result, this had multiple consequences; it raised the ire of the Jordanian government who applies strict security measures over refugees in the refugee camp²³. It also emphasised certain hierarchies that were already at work amongst refugees, i.e. weaker refugees sought the protection of more powerful refugees²⁴.

Reflection

The “campaign of executions”, which was coined by Jordanian workers in the humanitarian NGO in the camp to describe the arbitrary termination of workers’ contracts, cited an intense state of fear and anxiety (even though this was coupled with humour). This campaign is usually associated with the journey that the management would make; departing from the humanitarian NGO ivory tower in Amman and landing on the dusty grounds of the camp, to execute the contracts of certain employees, namely those who were “not good enough”! The execution usually takes place by refraining from renewing the employee’s short-term contract. Indeed, it is enough to think of the connection that Jordanian humanitarian workers made between ‘executions’ and ‘campaign’ to apprehend the anxiety that the management visit to the camp triggers for its employees.

I think of the two terms in light of their critical dimensions. The term ‘execution’ not only resembles the affective economies that are associated with the images that juridical executions incite, but it also coincides with how workers in the camp thought of the management as executioners; as authoritative sovereign bodies that have the power, as well as the legitimacy, to subjugate those that were “not good enough” to

²³ whereas these divisions took place within the refugee camp, they soon translated into bigoted divisions like those that took place across the borders in Syria.

²⁴ See chapter 2.3 where I speak about street leaders and their abuse of power.

punishment. On the other hand, the term ‘campaign’ resembles the mobilisation as well as the organisation that the management used to monitor Jordanian workers’ conduct.

My colleagues feared the campaign of executions due to the precarity of their working conditions; they had families to feed and many loans to pay. On the same day, as I reached the camp with my colleague and spoke to others, I also felt infected by their fear. ‘But, why would I?’, I thought to myself. Although donning the same uniform as my colleagues and taking up my tasks with the same sense of responsibility, the reasons behind my fear were significantly less threatening! I knew that I was in the camp for a few months for my research practice, after which I would go; yet my friends were full-time employees. When a short-term contract is not renewed, not only does it mean that the individual should start looking for new employment, but it also demands that they should overcome the emotional degradation that “not good enough” implies. For example, many of my colleagues that ceased working in the camp due to the termination of their contracts or the reduction of their job titles²⁵ felt that they were maltreated, excluded, underestimated, and dehumanised.

Mobilising fear of the campaign of executions was often legitimised by associating the fear of management with a fear of Allah. Furthermore, this assigned the management authority which manifested as the highest sovereignty over people’s lives. For example, despite the domineering horror of the campaign of executions, some employees (proponent of the management) admired it and even cheered for it. A number of my colleagues would argue that fear is necessary to get things ‘accomplished’. Similar to the words that the program director said to me in her office, one of my colleagues once told me (with mockery), ‘we Arabs will never change; we are moved and motivated by fear. This is all because we do not fear Allah! Do you think that if we feared Allah, we would be here at all? People do not do their jobs...If we do not fear our management, the work would never be done. Subhana Allah!²⁶ Fear is a magical tool that pushes Jordanian workers as well as Syrian volunteers forward’ (Musmar 2017). But then, what if someone demonstrates that they do fear Allah? Would that mean that they are more accountable, or “good enough”? Yes! Many Jordanian humanitarian workers deployed their fear of *Allah* as a form of impunity; to prove their accountability for their humanitarian work and so their exceptionality as “good enough”. For example, one colleague used to say, ‘I have a daughter, I fear Allah’ (Musmar 2017). Her statement could be understood as: ‘the vulnerability of my daughter, for whom Allah could seek vengeance, deters me from doing wrong’.

²⁵ See chapter 2.3.

²⁶ Subhana Allah loosely translates to ‘Glory be to Allah’. Although descending from the religion of Islam, it is a sentence that is exchanged culturally to express exclamation.

Disgusted by the cultural politics of humanitarianism

- *Disgusting!* -

My shoes were too heavy and muddy to be forgotten. It was a harsh cold winter. Whenever someone makes a comparison between the weather in Jordan and the UK, it is usually with humour. Nobody knows that the desert in my country gets colder than any region in the UK could possibly get. 'A cold that would break a fixated nail', is a proverb that my Father usually uses to describe the cold in winter. As I stood near the main door of our home, my mom faced me as she stood near the kitchen door pane. This time she did not follow my feet with her eyes; a practice she usually does to remind me to take off my camp boots before I start running after my niece. She looked directly at my face, with empathy. I took off my boots and went inside. It was one of those days when I reach home with no will to do anything, not even running after my niece. As I sat down, I rested my head back. Just before she finished her question, 'how was your day?', I said 'disgusting'. Home was the place where I could take off not only my uniform, but the skin I put on whenever I went to work. I could be grumpy at home. I asked her once, after I noticed the grumpy tone of my voice tone which wouldn't stop complaining, 'do I sound this grumpy all the time?'. 'Only when you speak about your work in the NGO', she responded ([Musmar 2017](#)).

Disgust²⁷

By disgust, I am citing the contradiction between the care values that the humanitarian NGO claims to adhere to and the care pragmatics as actually operated by the humanitarian NGO. I suggest that the humanitarian NGO's ignorance of this contradiction implies epistemic violence, not only against refugees, but also against Jordanian humanitarian workers. By assuming that the refugee camp is a flat space where its right-based approaches to care²⁸ can be applied smoothly, the humanitarian NGO ignores the social, spatial and political complexity of the everyday life in the refugee camp. Without acknowledging this complexity, not only does the NGO fail to realise the need to develop new methods and methodologies to approach its care values, but it also fails to recognise the labour that Jordanian humanitarian workers engage in in order to negotiate the humanitarian NGO's pragmatics of care.

Reflection

By the time I had written this autobiographical note, I came to realise that this overwhelming emotion of disgust was no longer limited to my experience of the everyday life of the humanitarian NGO. I was disgusted by most of the platforms (academic²⁹ and non-academic) that mediate the subject of refugees and refugee camps, especially those claiming certain public recognition for the work that they do.

²⁷ See my analysis of the emotion of disgust in chapter 1.3.

²⁸ For more on feminist ethics of care, see chapter 3.1.

²⁹ See chapter 3.2 where I write extensively on the university delegations in the refugee camp and the ethical questions that their visits imply.

This emotion of disgust was mainly developed out of experiencing how these platforms, which operate through certain institutional infrastructures (neoliberal, neocolonial, and patriarchal), reproduce the same injustices which produced the refugee subject in the first place³⁰. Take, for example, the humanitarian approach to community-based projects. Whereas community-based projects claim to encourage refugees to start their own projects in the camp, the procedures according to which refugees are governed in the camp make it difficult for them to do what they aimed to. Irrespective of the fact that refugees did not accomplish what they willed to through the program, the humanitarian NGO would still write reports, take pictures, and communicate to its public audience as well as to its donors how their community-based programs are working for the good of refugees. The refugee camp has become a site of industry where the funds that are pooled-in are not purely directed to bettering the living conditions of refugees', but are rather forms of investment that benefit all the crisis stakeholders (including the Jordanian Government³¹, the UNHCR, the humanitarian NGOs, the academic institutions, etc.) that are taking part in managing the refugee crisis.

In this chapter, I argued that the emotions of discomfort, gratefulness, fear and disgust that I had felt while working in the refugee camp as a humanitarian volunteer tell the story of larger power structures that operate within the humanitarian NGO. Whereas the excerpts displayed in the text are autobiographies that are concerned with my own personal feelings, they do however, open up a space for us to critique further power structures that shape the movement and the intensity of our emotions. As affective economies, my emotions inform the severe injustice to which other subjects are subjugated in the humanitarian space, such as Jordanian humanitarian workers, but most importantly refugees. Refugees in these structures are enforced to assimilate into a different environment, required to be less self-achieving and more grateful, threatened by exclusion or deportation, and are expected to fake how they really feel about their conditions, as well as to play the game of being part of the public image. Here, I ask: how can navigating through our emotions, and in turn our positions in certain structures in relation to others, evoke a practice of ethics? How can an act of sharing, through which we narrate to others how we feel and how we share certain emotions, generate acts of caring? And how can our emotions become grounds for our collective action against injustice?

³⁰ See chapter 1.1.

³¹ This also applies to the Jordanian government, not only to the humanitarian NGO. For example, for the Jordanian government the refugee camp as a paradigm, is a form of evidence that captures the refugee crisis and communicates it on an international level. In one of the presentations that I attended about refugee camps, an urbanist explained to governmental officials why the refugee camp as a paradigm is an important form of reception, although it hosts only 20% of the Syrian refugees in Jordan. She referred to the refugee camp paradigm as evidence that the Jordanian government could use in front of the international community to ask for more funds.

Testimonies that Matter

Through this section, I explored my access to my fieldwork in Za'atri refugee camp as a non-western researcher. By using Rosi Braidotti's *Transpositions*, I tried to reflect on the multiple positions that are associated with my nationality, gender, and Arabic ethnicity. Arguing that academic research operates through hidden colonial structures, I suggest that decolonising my position as a non-western researcher necessitates reflecting on the multiplicity of positions that I occupied through my practice in the field as an "othered researcher". *Transpositions* allowed me to reflect on the pragmatics of my journeys from one position to another in order to negotiate access to my fieldwork as "critical praxis". The cartographic figurations that these transpositions draw permits a way of feeling and thinking the political and affective economies circulating within the neoliberal humanitarian NGO hierarchical structures. This opens up a space for critique that problematizes taken for granted cultures in the humanitarian NGO, as well as in academic research.

This section suggests that: expanding our intellectual, affective, and political capacities to "address" the refugee camp as a matter of research is conditioned by our attention to our location in everyday power structures and larger power structures that produce the refugee camp. To ask the question, "how to address the refugee camp?", should be followed by another, "how are we being addressed by the refugee camp?". This two-way address-ability is not only necessary for acknowledging our capacities, but also for adumbrating our "accountabilities" and others' in research.

2. Reciting the camp (account-ability)

2.1 'Architecture! Here? How?'

In this section, I 'turn towards' the architecture of the camp (Ahmed 2006). Drawing on my humanitarian work as a community mobilizer with one of the international NGOs working inside of Za'atri refugee camp, my research inquiry in this section investigates the architecture of the camp as it emerges through my everyday practice in one of the camp districts. I refer to this as an 'architectural encounter' (Brott 2011, Ahmed 2006), meaning that I pay attention to where and when space becomes material, material which hosts and witnesses one of the tasks that my colleagues and I were assigned as community mobilisers.

I make two important remarks in my thesis in regard to the architecture of the refugee camp. The first is tied to methodological limitations; specifically, the limits generated out of the ethical, practical and theoretical components of conventional architectural inquiry which, when applied in the refugee camp, adheres to certain humanistic values³². The second emphasises the necessity of a feminist methodology, an approach which not only attends to the politics of everyday life in the refugee camp, but one which also gives an account of the geopolitics that shape the infrastructures responsible for the emergence of the 'architectural encounter' in the first place.

The title, *Reciting the Camp*, emulates a 'posthuman' methodology, in the sense that it not only resists some of the anthropocentric approaches that feature in many responses to the camp (including architectural responses), but also in that it pays attention to those human and non-human agencies which shape the environment of the camp. Written with the same spirit that concluded the previous section, *Transposing the Camp*, this section theorises the 'architectural encounter' within Za'atri refugee camp as having relational, spatial and feminist terms (Ahmed 2004; 2006).

The relational, spatial and feminist aspects of this section expand along four main chapters; 2.2) *Humanitarian Deafness*, 2.3) *Environmental Subjects*, 2.4) *Inhabiting Fieldwork Precariousness*, and 2.5) *Precarious Interruptions*. In the following text, I set the relational, spatial and feminist foundation for the scenes presented in the four chapters. To holistically understand how the 'architectural encounter' takes place, I observe how the surfaces of bodies and objects are shaped, orientated, and moved in certain directions towards and away from other bodies and objects. Much of the work that I do here, as well as in the following chapters, is a practice of mapping. I trace both the 'political economies' and the 'affective economies' which are circulating

³² I introduce this rudimentarily within the introduction to this thesis.

through the everyday life of the camp; those economies which flow between humanitarian workers (community mobilisers) and refugees, and how they are productive of spatialities.

-Architecture! Here? How?!-

It was one of those windy days. In the camp every day is a windy day, yet some days are worse than others. Walking through the wind, the sand would fill one's mouth and eyes. We finally reach the blue door³³. A woman (volunteer) who works in the office meets the three of us as we enter the unit. My colleague introduces me to her as a researcher who is doing research about the camp, and so from now on she would see me more often. Following his introduction, the woman greets me again. Shaking hands with me she said, 'Umm Ali³⁴, you can call me Umm Ali. Around the plastic meeting table at the centre of the room where we were seated, Umm Ali pulled her chair and placed it near mine. Noticing my visible seclusion as colleagues engaged in their own conversations, she approached me and asked, 'so, what is your speciality?'. 'Architecture', I reply. She startled, then smiled. She repositions her chair, now facing in front of me. She approaches me again, with her back inclining towards me. With sceptic curiosity, Umm Ali asks, 'architecture! Here? How?' ([Musmar 2016](#)).

Querying the Architecture of the Refugee Camp

This was not the first time someone was startled in response to my answer to the question: 'what is the subject of your research?', or to use Umm Ali's own term, what is your 'speciality?'. Combining architecture and the refugee camp often incites an imaginary that challenges people's conventional imagination. In this generic imagination, architecture and the refugee camp sit at different poles. For most, the contrasting relationship between what each of the terms represents makes it impossible for their meanings to complement each other in a single sentence. For example, whereas architecture envisages capital, permanence, infrastructure, expensive building materials, construction work, high-rise buildings, design, etc., the refugee camp envisages margins, scarce living conditions, temporality, poverty, cheap materials, makeshift designs, etc. Previous to this research, my own everyday life and

³³ Only after our long-walk in the district would we find (a legitimate³³) shelter in the NGO community unit which was located in the district. Originally built and furnished in 2013 as a community kitchen, the NGO community unit is the only standing block-and-mortar entity that remained in the district after all community kitchens were demolished in 2015. Painted in white and blue, the building is now endowed with some formality as the NGO extension in the district. With a reception-desk, a pin-board on the wall near to the desk, a standalone white-board, 5 or 6 plastic chairs randomly arranged around a plastic meeting table placed in the centre the room, and a few plastic meeting-tables aligned against the far wall, the office served as a centre that received refugees' inquiries, applications, and expressions of interest in joining certain training.

³⁴ Original Names have been changed.

the experience of my undergraduate education in Jordan, also engaged with a similar imagined culture, whereby the common understanding of architecture and the refugee camp is established by neoliberal aesthetics³⁵. Therefore, to sit between the two terms challenged my own perception of each.

With this in mind, in order to answer the question 'architecture! Here? How?', I follow the same logic of relationality that I developed as a way of understanding the complexity (and maybe the impossibility) of the subject of my research. I explore the three profound components that construct the epistemological exclamation that the question implies; 1) discipline (architecture), 2) location (here), and 3) methodology (how). To shift the common visual-culture ground and bring architecture into proximity with the refugee camp, Lefebvre's notion of 'the production of space' serves as a valuable tool with which to imbue architecture with social meanings that people can relate to (1991). When people in the refugee camp, who share the similar generic imagination, on the other side of this conversation come to understand architecture as the materialisation of their everyday practices and economies, their comprehension of their everyday spaces expands to encompass the multiple layers that produce the materiality of that space.

Architecture is not 'a speciality', an object, or a solid entity that is solely produced by architects. It is instead conceived as social, political and cultural processes to which we are all active contributors (Awan, Schneider, and Till 2013; Petrescu and Trogal 2017; H el ene Frichot, Gabrielsson, and Runting 2017). Supplying the discipline of architecture with these socio-political layers of activity allows the question of architecture to travel to different sites and locations. For example, in one of the conversations that I had with one refugee in Za'atri refugee camp where I explained architecture to him as a process of 'social production' which materialises in response to people's needs and relations, he responded by localising what he would soon describe as his own 'architectural experience' within the camp.

He began by saying, 'Syrians in Za'atri have their own "architectural experience", trust me! You know the first thing we did after we had been allocated to live in this district? We rotated our caravans, we changed their direction because how they had been positioned did not suit us. All caravans fronted the ring road, it was impossible to live with this public exposure. We needed more privacy'. He continued with a smile, 'soon, people rotated their caravans again to create courtyards and started planting their own gardens'... 'Of course, none of this is permitted' (Musmar 2016). In another conversation with another refugee, the woman picked up on the term 'production' to speak about home as a commodity. 'Not all caravans in the camp are the same; there is the Qatari caravan, the Saudi caravan, the Bahraini caravan, and other types. Some are

³⁵ See chapter 2.5 where I elaborate on how certain aesthetics are different inside and outside the refugee camp.

larger, with better insulation, resistant to fire and with fenced windows. The price and the quality of caravans are often impacted by the market in the camp' (Musmar 2017). Through similar conversations with refugees, governmental officials, fellow NGO workers, volunteers, and friends, I came to realize the many ways by which space has been interrogated in the refugee camp. It has been negotiated, classified, inhabited, abandoned, privatised, communised, fenced, vandalized, evacuated, occupied, bought, sold, seized, allowed, etc.

Realising the multiplicity of ways in which a space is produced necessitates a complex methodology that not only acknowledges the tensions, processes and agencies responsible for its production, but one which also reminds us to look beyond its human-centric relationalities³⁶.

-Take for example this table³⁷ ...-

...With sceptic curiosity, Umm Ali asks, 'architecture! Here? How?' 'Yes! I will tell you how. Where I study now, architecture does not belong to the faculty of engineering like here in Jordan, and maybe in Syria. It belongs to the social sciences'. Umm Ali tightens her eyes, thinking of what I had said... 'how, how?', she asks. Trying to think of an example, I turn and see the table. 'Take for example this table...' (Musmar 2016).

In the settings where Umm Ali and I had met and talked, the plastic meeting table was a practical (on-the-spot) example that had the potential to epitomise how I understood 'architecture! Here? How?'. After I recited to Umm Ali the short history that preceded our conversation, from the moment we arrived at the blue door of the unit until the moment we sat around the table, I gave her multiple examples as to how architecture is the materiality that mediates our doings (Ahmed 2006). Following highlighting to her how our gestures and movements are performed in relation to and through the materiality of the space where we are, I recite 'for example, the half-opened door of the unit informs us that somebody should have been inside of the office, the empty pin-board near the reception desk notifies us that there are no job vacancies now, the dusty meeting table tells us that meetings do not take place regularly or on a daily basis here, and the chairs; your chair and mine, if we trace back to how they are turned we can guess that an intimate conversation had taken place between the two persons that had occupied them', she nods. Although Umm Ali seemed to be following my examples attentively, she got slightly lost when I elaborated on how, in conclusion, a meeting 'room' is the space emerging 'around' a meeting 'table' (Ahmed 2006). At this point, she changed her posture; pushed her chair back and rotated it so it faced everyone in the room, aligned her back with the back of the

³⁶ see *Humanitarian Deafness* where Posthuman is introduced as a methodology.

³⁷ The 'table' has been used by phenomenologists like Husserl (Husserl 2012) to illustrate phenomenology. Ahmed, also, uses the 'table' as the object of her queer phenomenology (Ahmed 2006).

chair, inhaled a deep breath, and looked around disorientated. 'I am tired', she said. She continues, 'I woke up quite early today, around 06:00 am maybe. I queued for bread'. One social worker's words from the other side of the table gets Um Ali's attention; it is the first spoken words about marriages and returns in the camp. Um Ali picks up on the topic and says with a humoured agony, 'my husband, the love of my life, Abu Ali, he is in Syria now. He married a second wife!'. She looks back to me and continues, 'but she left him recently. He had lost his legs during the war. She could not stay with a disabled man! No woman, but me of course, would have accepted his disability! I want him here, but he cannot come back to the camp after he has left it once. He wants me there, and I will not go back!'. The sound of sand stones hitting the roof disrupted our stillness. As we looked up, Um Ali stood up, walked towards the half-opened door and closed it. She says to everyone 'My son, Ali, was frightened by the same sound yesterday. It reminded him of the war in Syria. Of the falling missiles'.

As I think of the 'table' encounter again, I reach some conclusions that can expand the geographies and the histories of the story that the 'table' encounter tells. Firstly, Umm Ali was turned towards me, and so moved to initiate a conversation with me, not only due to her interest in knowing what my research is about, but also as a way of reflecting the multiple socio-political reasons that are entrenched in the culture of the refugee camp. For example, in Za'atri refugee camp where refugees are constantly subjected and exposed to the interests of researchers, journalists, philanthropists, public personas, etc. refugees have developed their own social techniques to scrutinise those scrutinising them. My attempt to communicate my architectural inquiry sought some sort of validation that I believed I was ethically obliged to receive when speaking about my research with refugees in the camp. Umm Ali's engaged attention was conditioned, as how could my words possibly resonate with her own experience? Further, Umm Ali's attention was not only bound to the refugee camp; her disoriented attention turned her towards other objects and bodies that arrived in her imagination from other spaces (across geographies) and times (memories).

Whereas my initial research inquiry approached the architecture of the refugee camp by exploring how spaces are produced in social, political and economic terms (Lefebvre 1991), my theoretical argument in the following text is supplemented by a phenomenological viewpoint that traces the histories that brought certain bodies and objects into contact with each other in such encounters (Husserl 2012). I make an important distinction between approaching the encounter as an abstract meeting on the one hand, and as a form of 'inhabiting space' on the other (Ahmed 2006). I dwell on Ahmed's concept of *Queer Phenomenology* (2006) to relay the questions that my conclusions imply, namely the spatial, relational, and feminist associations of the 'table' encounter (Burroughs 2019).

Queering the Architecture of the Refugee Camp

In *Queer Phenomenology*, Ahmed warns us away from thinking of the encounter as a mere 'coincidence' that just happens accidentally (2006,39). In suggesting that thinking of any encounter should not be dissociated from the history of objects and bodies, she invites us to give accounts about the 'time' that objects and bodies take to 'arrive' to meet other objects or bodies in the encounter (ibid., 39). She writes, 'the object could be described as the transformation of time into form, which itself could be redefined as the direction of matter' (ibid., 39). For example, to think of the 'table' as a coincidental object where I (as an NGO humanitarian worker/researcher) and Umm Ali (as a refugee/volunteer) briefly shared the intimacies of a close conversation, fails to give an account of the complex ecology amongst which the encounter materialises in the refugee camp. As this coincidental mode of thinking has a tendency to dislocate the 'table' from the historical course of events that brought it 'forth' (Ahmed 2006, 39), it consequently overlooks the tensions, processes, and agencies that the encounter entails (before the encounter, through the encounter and after the encounter). Therefore, a phenomenological lens that maps out the use of the 'table' in space and time could potentially unfold the encounter across relational, spatial and feminist topologies that are situated within the refugee camp.

The shift in how the 'table' is perceived, from a coincidental meeting point (where and when Lefebvre's spatial production materialises) to an object of phenomenology, helps to develop a methodology that gives an account to what Ahmed refers to as the 'sedimented histories' of bodies (ibid., 56). Whereas Lefebvre's theory has been re-encountered by Edin Kenkaid as "critical phenomenology", arguing that both, Merleau-Ponty (Toadvine 2019) and Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1991) share 'critiques of space, their relational ontologies, and their emphasis on bodily practice' (Kinkaid 2019), Lefebvre's understanding of the sociality of space centres the human experience. Ahmed's *Queer Phenomenology* offers a theoretical passage by which we could transit from a human-centred approach to space to a posthuman³⁸ approach that decentres the human and incorporates other bodies and objects as active subjects that contribute to the making of the space.

Ahmed writes, 'phenomenology helps us to explore how bodies are shaped by histories, which they perform in their comportment, their posture, and their gestures' (ibid., 56). For example, to understand the 'table' encounter, one should ask questions that unpack how each of us, Umm Ali and myself, had perceived, intended, and so inhabited the space around the 'table'.

³⁸ See chapter 2.2.

I construct the 'table' encounter as a mode of 'inhabiting space' in phenomenological terms (ibid.). By applying Ahmed's account of *Queer Phenomenology*, I aim to unpack the 'sedimented histories' that Umm Ali and I had embodied, those histories which had brought forth the table as the object of our encounter.

Ahmed investigates how we come to inhabit spaces by queering how we are directed to and contacted by other bodies and objects. Drawing her phenomenological inquiry around points, lines, and horizons, Ahmed invites her readers to visualise how objects and bodies move in space; towards certain objects and bodies as well as away from others. For example, as I read Ahmed in the library I think of my own experience with silent study rooms in the Information Commons (IC), one of the University of Sheffield libraries. There are two silent study rooms; a room with fixed PCs and a room without fixed PCs. As a person that is sensitive to all types of noise; especially repetitive noise, I am moved 'towards' the room that has no fixed PCs³⁹. I associate the image of a fixed PC with a noisy mechanical keyboard. In my search for a room where I can study, to move away from noise becomes a priority. For example, even when I am in the library with friends that would prefer a room with fixed PCs, I compromise the company of my friends' in order to avoid the emotional fatigue and physical irritation resulting from the sound of fingers pressing (often stressfully) on the buttons of the thick keyboard. Whereas my orientation towards one of the silent study rooms and away from the noise would be a very conscious decision at the first instance, with time and repetition, it rather becomes my norm.

Ahmed's phenomenological inquiry is important here, not only for how it traces objects' and bodies' movement in space, but also for how it makes sense of the habits that they develop as they come into contact with other objects and bodies through time. Ahmed writes, 'we may need to supplement phenomenology with an "ethnography of things"' (ibid., 39). Looking back to the previous example detailing my experience of the silent study rooms in the IC, we may consider two ethnographies of things that are at work here; an ethnography of my body and an ethnography of the PC. Whereas the first ethnography would explore the habits that my body has developed to deal with the problem of noise, specifically the direction that I would normally take towards quiet spaces and away from noisy spaces; the ethnography of the PC explores the technologies that endow the PC with certain characteristics that in

³⁹ A new field in medical research has described this sensitivity to repetitive noise as 'misophonia'. An article titled 'Misophonia and affective disorders' on Science Direct describes the condition as, 'characterized by aversive reactivity to repetitive and pattern based auditory stimuli. Misophonic sufferers demonstrate autonomic nervous system arousal, accompanied by heightened emotional distress. Sufferers describe extreme irritation, anger, and aggressive urge with physiological reactions including hypertonia, diaphoresis and tachycardia' (Erfanian, Brout, and Keshavarz 2017). Although I have never been clinically diagnosed with misophonia, I consider myself as a 'sufferer' from the affective impact of repetitive noise.

turn display itself as noisy to me. I follow up my example with the same 'ethno-phenomenological' question that Ahmed asks: 'how did I or we arrive at the point where it is possible to witness the arrival of the object?' (ibid., 39). By insisting on using the dash in 'co-incide' to describe how bodies and objects contact each other, Ahmed suggests that the encounter is not 'a matter of chance'. It is rather how 'different things happen at the same moment' (ibid., 39). Thus, it is co-incidence which brought the table in the silent study room and my body together.

But, why queer phenomenology? How does tracking the orientations that bodies take, advance my methodological inquiry while studying the architecture of the refugee camp?

Ahmed's *Queer Phenomenology* is primarily feminist. It is motivated by her interest to explore the power structures that assemble the directions that bodies normally take towards other bodies and objects. She suggests that bodies are invested in the norms of a 'gendered' power structure that visibilize/privilege certain objects and bodies and obscure/restrict others (ibid., 27). For her, the norms that move us towards certain objects and bodies are also the norms that move us away from other objects and bodies. She writes, 'we single out this object only by pushing other objects to the edge or "fringes" of our vision' (ibid., 37). Ahmed gives the table as an example; the object of Husserl's and Heidegger's phenomenological philosophies. Arguing that phenomenology is a 'gendered form of occupation', Ahmed discusses how the visibility of the table as an object of writing pushes to the background the labour of women which allowed the philosopher's table to materialise as the object of their 'writing' (ibid.). For example, whereas the philosopher (male) had the time and the space to focus his attention on writing, women's attention was focused on maintaining the table's background; she performed the labour of care that allowed the table of the philosopher to come forth as his object of phenomenology. The political economy of 'attention', however, stays unchallenged and so, 'gendered' does too⁴⁰(ibid.). By the political economy, I am referring to the political structures that posit how the economy is circulated. By asking for example, whose attention is paid for? (As well as whose attention is taken for granted as free?), we can understand how the political economy of attention is gendered.

By tracking the chronology of the 'sedimented histories' of objects and bodies not only do we come to understand how they arrive at certain encounters, but also, we come to give an account of the histories of other objects and bodies that have been 'relegated' to the 'background' of the encounter (2006, 37). To go back to the example that I provided of my experience with silent study rooms in the IC library; if someone was to observe my encounter with the table in the silent study room, there is a background to

⁴⁰ For example, in *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf speaks of how the gendered politics of economy made it difficult for women to write fiction.

this encounter which will be missed. This background is not only formed by my history of noise sensitivity, but also by the uneven topology of multiple privileges that are assigned to certain bodies and stripped of other bodies. To expand, there is the physical labour that I endure when carrying my own computer all the way from my home to the library. Whereas those that use the silent study rooms with fixed PCs simply reduce their physical labour of carrying a laptop by using a memory stick instead, I make the choice to carry my own. Studying in the library is always associated with pain in my neck and back that comes not only with writing on the table, but also from the strain injury caused by carrying the laptop. However, being able to own my laptop assumes certain privileges I possess over those who do not have the privilege of owning their own laptops, or those who need to use certain technologies which forces them to compromise their physical and emotional comfort.

To think of the table encounter inside the refugee camp involves (way) more complexity than the library example. The everyday life of the camp operates through multiple power structures that are inherently gendered. By using the term gendered, I do not only aim to mark the norms that privilege male over female, but also to mark the unjust norms that draw our attention towards certain horizons and away from what is taking place in the background. So, in order for the table encounter to challenge these gendered norms, Ahmed's suggestion that phenomenology should attend to the background needs to be applied. She defines the background as 'what explains the conditions of emergence or an arrival of something as the thing that it appears to be in the present' (ibid., 38). When thinking of the background that instigated the table encounter, it is important to remain aware of the conditions that made the table available for the the two of us to bring our conscious selves together; myself as a humanitarian worker/researcher and Umm Ali as a refugee/volunteer.

Rather than asking questions that confine the subject of my analysis to the bodily performances that coincided with the encounter (for example, when I told Umm Ali about the half-opened door, the empty pin-board and the turned chairs), I expand my inquiry to unpack the 'sedimented histories' that animate bodies and objects in certain ways. I ask: what stories does this encounter tell us about the everyday life of the refugee camp as experienced by both Jordanian humanitarian workers and refugees? What power structures operating in the refugee camp do these stories invite us to navigate and understand? And what critical reflections do these stories evoke when we think of Umm Ali's statement: 'Architecture! Here? How?'. In search of a methodology that attends to the background within the chapters listed under this section, I think of how spaces are inhabited in the refugee camp.

2.2 Humanitarian Deafness⁴¹

Interrogating environment in humanitarian NGO agendas: a posthuman approach.

When situated in Za'atri refugee camp, it is not hard to observe that refugees are not satisfied with how their lives inside of the camp have been governed by NGOs. Of the many statements that were witnessed in the camp, those complaining about camp governance with irritated voices were the most frequent. For example, one Syrian refugee complained: 'we know how to do things if they ask us what we think! It is ironic for us how they come up with decisions and drop others without any logical reason, we watch from a distance and smile wondering what is happening next!' (Musmar 2016). Another refugee who was more involved in decision-making processes said, 'even if they ask us what we want, they end up doing what they think is the right thing to do!' (ibid.). These two objections address two dominant opinions about camp governance; the first despises the current structure of governance which is centred on the belief that NGOs have a stronger contribution than refugees, and the second reflects the need for refugees to be included in the governance structure of the camp. Due to the belief held by refugees that their desire to contribute effectively to governance does not correspond to NGO frameworks, the gap between the humanitarian NGOs as the camp governors and the refugees as the governed population increases. This gap gestures towards an accountability that humanitarian NGOs have failed to achieve in the camp.

Through this chapter, I make reference to two types of humanitarian NGO accountability; upward accountability and downward accountability. If we take accountability to mean 'being called "to account" to some authority for one's action' (Mulgan 2000), then upward and downward are rather adjectives that cite the direction to which the humanitarian NGO turns to the call. The humanitarian NGO is mostly turned upwards; it seeks to look accountable in the eyes of its donors (Walsh 2014). However, in doing so it has neglected to pay attention to its downward accountability in the refugee camp. I describe the failed attempts of humanitarian NGO's to achieve accountability for their aid and development agendas in the refugee camp as 'humanitarian deafness'. To do so, I use I'Anson and Pfeifer's understanding of 'structural violence' (Galtung 2016) as a 'dialectical deafness' (I'Anson and Pfeifer 2013). I therefore suggest, that the humanitarian NGO allegiance to its anthropocentric approaches makes it 'deaf' to refugees' authentic needs, needs which are supposed to be prioritised and listened to in the first place. As humanitarian NGOs continue to

⁴¹ The work presented in this chapter has been published as a book chapter in *Architecture and Feminisms: ecologies, economies, and technologies*, edited by Hélène Frichot, Catharina Gabrielsson, and Helen Runting (2017). The book chapter is titled as 'Chapter 14: Environmentalizing Humanitarian Governance in Za'atri Refugee Camp: a 'posthuman' approach (Musmar 2017).

operate through their own manualized versions of what counts as a humanitarian response, they continue to subject refugees to systematic marginalization which violates their rights to contribute to the governance of their everyday lives.

Theoretically, I discuss *humanitarian deafness* in the humanitarian NGO as a problem of neoliberal “governmentality” (Foucault et al. 1991; Lemke 2002; Dean 2010). *Governmentality* is a concept coined by Michel Foucault to problematise the rationality underpinning the technologies applied by a government to conduct people’s conduct (Foucault et al. 1991; Lemke 2002; Dean 2010). Geared towards exploring the relationship between ‘forms of power and processes of subjugation’, Foucault adumbrates the concept of *governmentality* by bridging between technologies of domination and technologies of the self (Lemke 2002, 50). I, therefore, use *governmentality* as an analytical tool to explore how *humanitarian deafness* bridges between “technologies of domination” and “technologies of the self”. I argue that *humanitarian deafness* should not only be treated as symptomatic of a neoliberal governmentality, but as a technology of government deployed systemically by the humanitarian NGO to achieve its ends that are imbued with neoliberal values.

Mediated through the classed, genderized, and racialized hierarchies produced by neoliberalism⁴², *humanitarian deafness* as a technology of government is translated through three main problematics that I will be explaining further in the following section; “communicational deafness”, “spatial deafness”, and “ethical deafness”. *Humanitarian deafness*, as the composition of these problematics, links between the macro-political and micro-political in the NGO. Observed through a *governmentality* lens, *humanitarian deafness*, a technology of government, helps us observe ‘the intimate relationship between “ideological” and “political-economic” agencies’ of the anthropocentric approach applied in humanitarian principles (Lemke 2002, 60).

But, how to challenge the classed, genderized, and racialized hierarchies across which *humanitarian deafness* as a technology of governmentality is performed? I challenge these hierarchies by dwelling on the concept “environmentality”. Building on Foucault’s *governmentality*, Arjun Agrawal coins the term *environmentality* to explore how an environment-led rationality could disrupt the presumption that government conducts people’s conduct (2005). Suggesting that ‘community-based decisions’ can actually change how people in the government think (ibid., 161), he proposes an approach that ‘outlines a framework of understanding that permits the joint consideration of the technologies of power and self that are responsible for the emergence of new political subjects’ (ibid.).

⁴² See the Introduction, p. 24-26.

This question of governmentality in relation to the environment in the refugee camp has been explored by several scholars. In their article, *Hybrid Sovereignty and the State of Exception in the Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon*, Adam Ramadan and Sara Fregonese suggest that the refugee camp is ‘characterised by hybrid sovereignties’ (2017, 949). To map out this relationality between the camp governance and the political environment amongst which the refugee camp ‘spatializes’ (2013, 67), they trace the historical ‘interplay between camp governance and security structures and the Lebanese state since 1948’ (2017, 950). Arguing that the Palestinian refugee camp has ‘contaminated’ state security, they ‘place the camps within a broader landscape of hybrid sovereignties in Lebanon’.

For Lucas Oesch, environmentality could be observed in the tensions implied in the ambiguous relationship between the city and the Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan (2017). He explores this tension by shedding the light on the duality of Palestinian refugee status in Jordan as refugee-citizen; he suggests that this construction of the refugee as simultaneously included and excluded produces different forms of governance technologies as well as environmental technologies. He suggests that this tension recasts camp dwellers not as passive subjects but as ‘autonomous and productive subjects’ (ibid., 110).

The spatiality of the refugee camp has been pondered in these debates as an ecology of materialities, bodies, politics, and things that mediates the emergence of these environmental subjectivities (also see the introduction). I approach the ‘environment’ as a ‘political ecology of things’ (Bennett 2010). I suggest that it is composed of an assemblage of human and non-human things, and I investigate the capacity of a posthuman approach to challenge the hierarchies that a neoliberal mentality constitutes. Following the steps of Jane Bennett (2010), I ask: how could our thinking of the environment as an assemblage of things- ‘that is not governed by a single head’ (ibid., 24)- disrupt the centrality with which the “human” is endowed in a humanistic approach?

I am interested in exploring how giving voice to a ‘thing-power’ (ibid.2) can bring to our critical and visual horizons moments through which Agrawal’s *environmentality* is manifested ; to witness ‘the emergence of new political subjects’ (ibid., 161) that inhere ‘environmental subjectivities’ (ibid., 162). Treating the environment as a vitalist materiality that has agency, *Vibrant Matter* is helpful in invoking a non-hierarchical relationship between the subject and the object. This approach to environment is reinforced by deploying posthuman (Braidotti 2013) subjectivity to constitute a non-anthropocentric methodology that is capable of ‘transposing’ (Braidotti 2006) the environment. I argue that understanding ‘environmental subjectivities’ as performative of the posthuman allows us to observe the posthuman transpositions as “posthuman technologies”.

Communicational Deafness

Trust and the fiction of 'reputation'
(relationality)

In doing a quick internet-search on the work that humanitarian NGOs do to help refugees, one comes to realize the efforts that international NGOs go to in order to communicate their intentions to a public audience. Navigating through the services, programs, and logics that serve to articulate each humanitarian NGO's will to do humanitarian work took longer than expected. I was overwhelmed by the numerous websites that different international NGOs have fashioned to communicate what they do. All have adopted highly-contrasted-colours, styles, and all, most importantly, feature eye-catching images of miserable helpless refugees⁴³. To demonstrate their accountability for the promises made in their wilful slogans (i.e. to help the helpless), three main headings were featured the most out of the humanitarian NGOs' websites that I accessed online (for example: ICRC⁴⁴, IRC⁴⁵, RI⁴⁶, OXFAM⁴⁷). These headings are: 'who we are', 'what we do', and 'where we work' (Braidotti 2013).

Humanitarian NGOs commonly suggest that they invest in their 'reputation' to build an infrastructure of 'trust' with those that they seek to help. To give an example, in his lecture on 'The Future of Humanitarian Communication in the Digital Era', Philippe Stoll, the head of Communication Policy and Support at ICRC, frequently used the word 'public' in his presentation (Stoll 2018). Uses included 'public image', 'public fund', 'publicity', and 'NGO publications'. He assured how communication (especially in the digital era) is essential, not only in seeking upward accountability with the international community, but also in seeking certain proximity to those that they are supposed to help. In an interview for UNHCR Innovation conversations, he suggested that 'trust' is no longer conditioned by physical proximity that once conditioned humanitarian work. Rather he asks: 'how to enable trust even if you have not met someone?' (2017). Building a good reputation is one of the necessary elements to achieve this infrastructure of trust; it puts 'human faces' onto 'organizations' (ibid.).

It is not my aim to elaborate further on the nuances of the protocols and politics of

⁴³ See for example: (Nissinen 2012)

⁴⁴ See: <https://www.icrc.org/>

⁴⁵ See: <https://www.rescue.org/>

⁴⁶ See: <https://www.ri.org/>

⁴⁷ See: <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/>

‘digital communication’⁴⁸. By giving this example of the general NGO attitude to and understanding of ‘communication’, I am rather interested in mounting two main arguments that pave the grounds for my following account of ‘communicational deafness’. The first is concerned with the fiction often embedded into the discussion of humanitarian NGO downward accountability. The second one is focused on the colonial representation of NGOs, an important concern to which humanitarian NGOs choose to turn a deaf ear (as well as a blind eye).

An infrastructure of trust could indeed be established between those that communicate the daily tasks of the NGO (Jordanian humanitarian workers) and those that are served (refugees). This infrastructure of trust does not, however, necessarily mean ‘putting human faces’ onto ‘organizations’. For many of the refugees that I met through my humanitarian work in the NGO, ‘trust’ was (in most of the cases) an interpersonal emotion that (only) referred to their relationships with NGO Jordanian humanitarian workers. For them, the UNHCR, as well as other international NGOs operating in the camp, represents a colonial presence that is benefiting from the war in their country. Those that spoke Arabic had some accountability that non-Arabic speaking others could not possibly have had. For example, whereas my community mobiliser colleagues could communicate the management requirements and regulations flexibly to refugees, senior managers (often of non-national backgrounds) could not communicate with refugees with a similar level of flexibility. Even when they succeed in their attempt to communicate, they still had a fear that they would be misunderstood. By speaking the Arabic language, Jordanian NGO representatives not only (involuntarily) subscribed to the spoken language that refugees use throughout their everyday lives, but they also shared a whole culture with refugees. Jordanian NGO representatives could acquire a cultural and a political accountability that their seniors failed to achieve.

The ideological and pragmatic hierarchies ingrained within humanitarian NGOs privilege, rests on the English language as *the* language of communication. Only those that speak English with a level of fluency can access managerial positions. Take for example the criteria which international NGOs rely on when they recruit refugees to the Incentive-based Volunteering (IBV) program in Za’atri refugee camp. Of the four classification categories that humanitarian NGOs grant (in descending order); technical, highly skilled, skilled, and semi-skilled, those that have certificates which prove their English language capabilities are more likely to be classified as technical and highly skilled (reliefweb 2019). Indeed, in the humanitarian sector, those that speak English are perceived as more suited for roles which require ‘communication’ with others. Those of my colleagues (refugees and humanitarian workers) who cannot speak English fluently expressed that they felt that they are less than those who can.

⁴⁸ It should be kept in mind that the refugee camp is a gated space with poor internet connection. The proximity that NGOs in the camp seek is limited to physical proximity.

The emphasis on the use of the English language in contexts where English is not the first language nor the language spoken by the majority is not innocent (Haraway 1988). If we ask: who decides on the language should be used in humanitarian spaces? And why does English language endow its speakers with privilege, a privilege that distinguishes them from others as more suited humanitarian workers? we come to the conclusion that the humanitarian space (as I will also argue in chapter 3.2) operates through neocolonial powers that structure hierarchies according to which privilege is measured, perceived and sought.

Spatial Deafness

The built environment and the NGO as a total government
(spatiality)

The spatiality of the refugee camp has been shown to be related to the ways in which the camp is governed. For example, how space is represented in Za'atri refugee camp could reflect two main images; on the one hand, there is an image of policed life and large-scale technologies. Fortified and policed gates, guards, checkpoints, an asphalted wide ring road confining twelve districts, long tight restricted queues with wired fences, watch towers, large-scale nongovernmental spatial units to provide food items and non-food items, fenced in hospitals, fenced in schools, toilet units, and so forth. On the other hand, there is an image of social life and small-scale technologies: people chatting while sitting together at the edge of the street, planted backyards and small front gardens, shaded courtyards where coffee and tea is served, laundry ropes suspended between vertical surfaces, busy markets and mobile sellers, shops which let and sell wedding dresses; the list goes on (see Agier 2008).

The refugee camp as a built environment has been structured by humanitarian responsive frameworks which are established in accordance with manualized guidelines (or catalogues) (see Corsellis and Vitale 2014; UNHCR 2016; European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations 2017; Sphere 2018). Despite the prevailing circumstances of location, geography, environment and inhabitants, Weizman referring to Herz's work (2008) writes, 'the physical design of refugee camps ... originates from a single UN design manual applied and adapted in different contexts' (Weizman 2011, 139). Humanitarian government initiatives which 'construct[s], manage[s], and control[s] camps' by mobilising priorities that are concerned with controlling 'undesirable' populations, has long used the same UN manual to sketch out the main lines of refugee camps (Agier 2010, 201). Each of these lines features a task associated with the agenda of a local or an international NGO (*ibid.*). In *The Least of All Possible Evils*, Eyal Weizman uses the work of architect Manuel Herz (2008) to describe the logic of medical and militant principles which govern the development of refugee camp spaces:

‘Hygiene, sanitation, the management and containment of plague, the circulation of services, infrastructure and the provision of water, electricity, medicine and nutrition, along with the disposal of sewage and waste, all become the organizational principles of a new spatial regime of multiple separations and regimentation of time and space, intersecting quasi-military with quasi-medical principles’ (2011, 139).

The problem with the ‘UN design manual’, alongside technologies which quickly produce spatial regimes of humanitarian management, is their practice of total governmental control. Whether or not the end of this totality within the construction of refugee camps is achieved through what Agier calls ‘waiting rooms’ (cited in Weizman 2011, 134) or Rony Brauman, a former president of the MSF (Medecins Sans Frontieres), calls ‘humanitarian spaces’ (ibid., 135) is not the focus. Neither is the question of whether the apparatuses deployed to achieve these respective ends are administrative programs or sets of necessary operations. Rather what was critically important to emphasise is that humanitarian government action homogenizes a whole population into the figure of a refugee, a victim or a beneficiary figure. Ultimately, this macro scale approach de-socializes refugee subjects.

Even when NGOs attempt to conduct participatory approaches and so, allow refugees to contribute to decision-making processes, these attempts often fail to create democratic spaces within which refugees feel entitled to their access. The hierarchies which govern these spaces are operated and managed, making it difficult for refugees to communicate their authentic needs. Take for example the paradigm of the Community Gathering (CG). It was initiated in 2014 to encourage a participatory approach through which refugees could contribute to governing the camp. On a biweekly basis, refugees in CGs would provide the NGOs working in one district with an overview of the problems that they face in their everyday lives and how they could solve them. However, the concept of democracy that this platform implies did not align with refugees’ cultural modes of communication⁴⁹.

Furthermore, the activation of spaces that seek refugees’ democratic participation is still conducted by a total government which seeks authority and control over refugees’ everyday lives. In order to activate spaces where democracy is performed by refugees, other spaces that refugees have created for themselves become marginalized.

⁴⁹ See *Madafah*, p. 135.

Ethical Deafness

Legitimate accountability! For whom?
(feminism)

While humanitarian NGOs aim to respond to people in crisis, their legitimacy and accountability should be questioned, specifically in regard to the terms of their ideological and pragmatic paradigms (Feher 2007). Legitimacy, which NGOs seek in conjunction with their governmental counterparts, is achieved in Za'atri through them partnering with the UNHCR, a move which shows them to be submissive to those humanitarian principles deemed universal (ibid). However, their accountability, something Michel Feher discusses in the introduction to *Nongovernmental Politics*, is still examined through 'their ability to argue persuasively that they contribute to the welfare of the governed' (ibid., 16). To establish their accountability, many humanitarian NGOs lean on their pragmatic agendas to show how their frameworks work towards engaging or representing those who are governed. However, we see that (the governed) are often unsatisfied with the quality of the services delivered or the programs provided by humanitarian NGOs (Healy and Tiller 2013).

Mindful of the fact that the activities of NGOs tend to reflect their ideological frameworks, I argue that humanitarian NGOs suffer from their ideological commitment to their humanistic approaches. Since humanitarian NGOs are structured upon a generic description of the human, they commonly bring a Western construction of this basic definition to other contexts, an approach which fails to account for the cultures, languages, or belief systems of those contexts. Descriptions which derive from Eurocentric humanistic subjectivity, often referencing the Vitruvian human, (i.e. the white perfectly proportioned male) not only excludes others, such as those who are non-white, female, and non-European, but also fail in fulfilling its subsequent promises to re-include 'otherness' (Braidotti 2013).

As the Eurocentric mindset has self-glorified the European's vision of themselves as an imperial power, it has also led them to objectify the other (ibid.). When humanitarian NGOs take the agency of the 'victimized' helpless refugees out of pity, sympathy or morality, they become blinded by both their superior certainty of knowing the answer to (how to aid?), and their egotistic attitude to respond to criticism, especially criticism coming from those they seek to help (l'Anson and Pfeifer 2013). As a result, this disposition which assumes the embedded privilege of white as saviour (Cole 2012) causes what Pfeiffer and l'Anson describe as 'dialectical deafness' (2013, 4). As their 'humanistic' thought is built into their frameworks, they are not only ethically deaf to refugees' authentic needs, desires, and aspirations, but also unable to identify new effective technologies that can be learned from refugees themselves.

Turning towards the “environment”: a ‘posthuman’ approach

For this part of the chapter, I look back to the example that I provided earlier regarding the failure of humanitarian NGOs to pay attention to refugees’ voices. In doing so, I think of the ways that the approaches which humanitarian NGOs take in addressing refugees’ subjectivities could possibly be challenged. I ask: how can the humanitarian NGO expand its ideological and pragmatic capacities so that it can attend to what takes place on the camp ground? I invite a methodology which ‘turns’ our attention ‘towards’ the environment of Za’atri refugee camp (Ahmed 2006). I suggest that for humanitarian NGOs to be accountable for their humanitarian action, they ought to acknowledge the authentic needs that the environment of the refugee camp implies. Considering the geopolitical, social, and legal conditions amongst which the environment of the camp materialises, this invited methodology invokes thinking of the environment in a way that encompasses its complexity.

That being said, when the environment is continuously and persistently being used to merely depict the quality of refugees’ lives, there is a need to consider how this understanding of the environment can be expanded so that it incorporates the multiplicity that life in the refugee camp involves. In humanitarian NGO slogans, the refugee camp environment is often reduced to the challenges that refugees face while living within it. For example, the way in which the term ‘challenging environment’⁵⁰, is deployed to point to refugees’ difficult surroundings, notably the sparse living conditions and its harsh nature, pushes everything else about that environment to our peripheries.

Similar to the photos that humanitarian NGOs circulate on their websites of the miserable and helpless refugees who are in need of public attention and help, the circulation of these singular narratives which point to the ‘challenging’ camp environment enforces the figure of the refugee as the ‘bare life’ that needs to be saved by humanitarian interventions (Agamben 1998). This trivial representation of the refugee in relation to their environment reinforces the academic tradition (often building on Agamben’s work) that has perceived as well as portrayed the refugee not only as someone who is stripped of their political representation (Agamben 1998; 2005), but also as someone who is “passive” and therefore without inherent agency (Oliver 2001).

Using Braidotti’s nomadic philosophy, I turn towards the environment and observe the multiple narratives of life which humanitarian representation relegates to the background⁵¹ (Braidotti 2006; 2011; 2013). Braidotti argues that unlike genderized and

⁵⁰ For example, see the slogan of

⁵¹ See my account of transpositions in chapter 1.1.

racialized transpositions⁵² which can accommodate in the critique for capitalism, a ‘naturalized’ transposition through which we identify and embody ethical and accountable positions, necessitate a repulsion for the anthropocentric approaches that privilege *bios* over *zoe*. I introduce Braidotti’s ‘posthuman’ approach as a methodology that can expand the ideological and pragmatic capacities of the humanitarian NGO so that they may listen to the camp environment (Musmar 2017; Braidotti 2013). The ‘posthuman’, as a critical stance, develops from a feminist drive to counter injustices that are generated by multi-layered positions. I find the posthuman (as a transversal subject) useful in how it provides us with a methodology to observe as well as construct posthuman subjectivities (Braidotti 2013).

Performing a posthuman subjectivity solicits three main valuable practices; firstly, it animates our attention to different locations, allowing us to attend to spaces, relations and materialities that have never been attended to before. Secondly, performing a posthuman subjectivity induces our creativity as a way of finding and claiming certain feminist grounds against human-centred values (ibid.). Thirdly, it allows us to appreciate and acknowledge other posthuman subjectivities already performed by ‘environment subjects’ (Agrawal 2005).

In my application of the posthuman as a theoretical framework, I read the term posthuman in two ways. On the one hand, it is a word that informs its theoretical connotations, for example it follows a ‘situated knowledge’ approach (Haraway 1988) by applying both a relational logic (Barad 2003; Braidotti 2006; Braidotti 2013; Haraway 2016) and a belief in a multiplicity of human and nonhuman subjectivities (ibid.). On the other hand, I read post-human as a hyphenated term whereby the prefix ‘post’ emphasizes the pragmatic activism that the posthuman approach entails. Indeed, as a ‘post’ ‘-’ ‘human’ approach, the post-human takes place in reaction to, in opposition to, and/or in response to, anthropocentric values that have long privileged some forms of humanity over others. Braidotti argues in *Transpositions* (2006) that the post-human is an attitude that ‘contests the arrogance of anthropocentrism and strikes an alliance with the productive force of *zoe*- or life in its inhuman aspects’ (ibid., 97).

By performing a posthuman subjectivity, I observe the environment of Za’atri refugee camp while thinking of the term ‘environment’ which translates into ‘Bee’a-h- بيئة’ in my mother tongue of Arabic. Whereas ‘environment’ in English is derived from the verb ‘environ’ meaning surrounding, the term ‘Bee’a-h- بيئة’ is derived from the stem verb ‘bawa’a- بواأ’ which indicates an act that a subject performs intentionally to inhabit spaces, relations, or ideologies. This distinction between the environment as made up of mere circumstantial variables that surround those (humans and things) that exist within its spherical boundaries, and as a complex field of human and nonhuman

⁵² This is introduced in chapter 1.1.

subjectivities that perform together an intentional inhabitation of the milieu, finds resonance in Agrawal's concept of 'environmental subjects' (Agrawal 2005).

Whereas it is often assumed that the government is that which controls a community's decisions, Agrawal rather argues that communities perform a subjecthood that is mediated by their environment, something which challenges this assumption (ibid.). As he traces 'the relationship between changes in government and related shifts in environmental practices and beliefs', he suggests 'how regulatory strategies associated with and resulting from community decision making help transform those who participate in government' (ibid., 162). I find his account not only significant but also necessary. It accounts for the complex relations, spaces and politics that constitute the 'environment' in the refugee camp; it makes visible to our critical vision Jordanian humanitarian workers as 'environmental subjects', subjects who contribute to the making of environments, but are however, relegated to the background.

Applying a posthuman approach in the camp: how?

I will be applying a posthuman approach presented above to counter the assumed narrative about the camp as a place which only represents the macro. In spite of 'the managerial representation' that humanitarian governments inflict on the refugee camp, and in spite of it being commonly understood to be a large space that confines a large number of people (Agier 2010, 182), I suggest that refugees have performed their own micro-scale subjectivities which have been mediated through the refugee camp environment. I think of the multiple 'environmental subjects' that constitute the refugee camp and mediate how it is inhabited, and I ask: how could I, through a physically embodied approach, explore the array of 'environmental subjects' while paying attention to the relational ethics that a posthuman approach necessitates?

The Politics of Location

During her introduction of the posthuman, Rosi Braidotti proposes the practice of 'the politics of location or situated and accountable knowledge practices' as a methodology to facilitate and enhance the process of becoming posthuman (Braidotti 2013, 51). Questions that address located complexities and multiplicities of place and time are an important point of departure in her thinking. For example, she asks how we as subjects can constitute ourselves without an emphasis on 'self-centred individualism' (Braidotti 2013, 48), proposing building relations with others as a solution (Braidotti 2006). Interrelations with others are not limited to other humans, but also inclusive of 'all non-anthropomorphic elements', allowing other elements to be species, ecologies, or machines (Braidotti 2013, 60). A situated approach which is based upon 'heterogeneous politics' has the capacity to challenge

the notion of the objective researcher. Such an approach places ethical responsibility on the researcher when they look for channels to communicate with ‘otherness’.

Za’atri as a hybrid organism

Mindful of the complexity amongst which life in the camp materializes, Za’atri refugee camp can be described by what Michel Agier calls a ‘hybrid organism’ (2010, 53). The life of Za’atri as an ‘organism’ does not reproduce any existent form of life but its own. Conditioned by its ‘extraterritoriality’ (Agier 2011; Forensic Architecture 2011) and ‘exceptionalism’ (Agamben 2005) both of which were destined to emanate when the camp’s boundaries were decided by the UNHCR and the Jordanian government, Za’atri has opted out of the normative order of life and has developed its own norms. It has developed as a composition of diverse bodies, materials, spaces, and languages.

Due to the ‘dialectical deafness’ (I’Anson and Pfeifer, 2013) that the humanitarian NGO frameworks suffer from, the composition of this lively organism is fractured into two structures: on the one hand, there is the structure of humanitarian NGO aid suppliers, and on the other, the new social structure comprised of refugees who receive the aid and are governed by the first structure (Agier, 64). Both of these structures feature their own bodies, equipment, mobility, and technologies. Whenever each of these structures confronts the other, hierarchies are upset (Weizman 2011). This structural fracturing leads to two questions: how can such fractures between the two structures be approached with a level of sensitivity to the refugee subject? How might a posthuman approach to the subject enable dialogue between the humanitarian NGOs and the refugee community, thus avoiding the stalemate of ‘dialectical deafness’ (I’Anson and Pfeifer, 2013)?

Through his reading of Gayatri Spivak’s essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1992), J. Maggio in *Can the Subaltern be Heard?* argues that the subaltern subject already speaks, it is just a matter of hearing them. To displace the limited transcendental Western subject that Spivak questions in her essay, Maggio suggests the concept of translation as a way to approach and understand other cultures, something humanitarian discourse usually stands at a distance from (Maggio 2007, 432). The significance of translation lies in its intermediate position to enable open intellectual dialogue (Maggio 2007). According to Walter Benjamin, translation cannot provide the full meaning contained within the original, it can only echo it (1968). To be made accountable, translation needs to exceed the emptiness of a literal conversion by rather involving the translation of a people’s culture and social practices (Maggio 2007). Gayatri Spivak argues that to interpret people’s everyday practices requires the translator to ‘inhabit’ the host language (Maggio 2007, 434). A real understanding of language happens through the interconnections between the

translator and the environment made up of everyday spatial and social forms (Certeau 1984).

Consequently, for the posthuman as a mediated body which is interconnected with human, non-human and 'earth' others (Braidotti 2013, 48), translation, in Spivak's terms, as a non-systematic and non-linear approach (Maggio 2007) is a responsibility that the posthuman subject does not only take, but is ethically accountable for (Braidotti 2013). By translating the language of the refugee subject through the interrelations of the camp environment, posthuman experiments can break away from a western Eurocentric framework and work with other alternatives (Braidotti 2013). This experimentation of posthuman subjectivity actualizes 'the virtual possibilities of an expanded, relational self that functions in nature-culture continuum and is technologically mediated' (ibid., 61).

We are now left with three questions: how does the posthuman subject's inhabitation of the linguistic, social, and spatial forms of life in Za'atri Camp offer an alternative to humanitarian NGO impaired downward accountability? While 'environment' is constructed within humanitarian NGO frameworks as a place that surrounds passive subjectivities, how can the 'environmental subject' experience contribute to redefining the 'environment' as a place that is inhabited through a performance of posthuman subjectivities? What other alternatives for downward accountability does it suggest?

2.3 Community Mobilisers as Environmental Subjects

The history of the community kitchen, humanitarian governance and negotiated accountabilities

Using the theoretical framework offered in the previous chapter, this chapter introduces Jordanian community mobilisers as ‘environmental subjects’ (Agrawal 2005). I argue that community mobilisers embody an entangled and intimate set of relations, comprised out of the two infrastructures which influence the everyday life of Za’atri refugee camp: humanitarian governance (aid and development) and social/communal relations (Simone 2004; Graham and McFarlane 2014). I place the community kitchen at the centre of my analysis. After initially introducing what community mobilisation is, I then reveal the history of humanitarian governance by telling the story of the kitchen as a space which has evolved in the camp through three phases; emergency, post-emergency, and development⁵³. By attending to the space of the community kitchen⁵⁴, as well as to other spaces in the camp, I bring to light the complex relationships through which humanitarian governance in the refugee camp is operated. I offer a nuanced understanding of the problem of accountability as encountered and negotiated by community mobilisers as they undergo the tasks assigned to them by management.

The insufficient humanitarian management operated throughout the emergency and post-emergency phases. Management inflicted on community mobilisers a serious problem of accountability, concerning both downward (regarding refugees) and upward (regarding management) perspectives (Lewis 2001; Walsh 2014; Heyse 2006). I focus on the dilemmatic roles of the Jordanian community mobilisers who mediate between two characters: governmental (as forced by management) and social (as demanded by the environment of the refugee camp i.e. in regard to language and culture). I suggest that the environmental subjectivities of community mobilisers evolve through their performance of some environmental technologies. Technologies in this context, refers to the methods and methodologies that community mobilisers developed to switch between the two roles. I introduce these technologies as modes of posthuman translation⁵⁵.

Spatially⁵⁶, I investigate the processes of making and unmaking these entanglements

⁵³ I use these three phases because community mobilisers referred to them in the focus group discussion.

⁵⁴ As I will be showing in chapter 2.5.2, the community kitchen transformed into individualised kitchens that people in Za’atri accommodated inside of their places.

⁵⁵ See chapter 2.2 *Humanitarian Deafness*.

⁵⁶ In chapters 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, I locate processes of “deterritorialisation” and “reterritorialization” in a wider mesh of relations, and I think of the effect of these processes on other spaces in the house unit. I extend

by mapping the intricacies of the encounter between refugees and Jordanian humanitarian workers as embodied by the community kitchen unit. I dwell on the processes of making and unmaking these intimate entanglements as embodied by the community kitchen unit in Deleuzoguattatian logic, namely as processes of “deterritorialisation” and “reterritorialization”(1988). Founded on nomadic philosophical thought, “territory” for Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari does not represent a sedentary place with strict boundaries, but “an assemblage, [that] exists in a state of process whereby it continually passes into something else... A territory refers to a mobile and shifting centre that is localisable as a specific point in space and time”(Message 2005, 275). If to “territorialise” cites the processes by which a *territory* is assembled, to “deterritorialise”, Adrian Parr explains in *The Deleuze Dictionary*, “is to free up the fixed relations that contain a body all the while exposing it to new organisations”(2005, 67). The relationship between the prefixes (de-) and (re-) should not be understood as set up in a dualistic framework by which one movement responds to the other negatively (ibid). Paul Patton elucidates that “deterritorialisation is always bound up with correlative processes of reterritorialisation, which does not mean returning to the original territory but rather the ways in which deterritorialised elements recombine and enter into new relation” (2005, 70).

I suggest that the community kitchen as a “territory” that is attended by both; refugees (as representatives of the social relations infrastructure) and Jordanian humanitarian workers (as representatives of the humanitarian governance infrastructure), arrives as a space through which the two infrastructures are correlative deterritorialised and reterritorialised. The Deleuzoguattatian logic is significant for a spatial inquiry in Za’atri refugee camp because it helps us avoid the methodological binaries that we tend to make between the “governed” and the “governing” when studying power relations in the refugee camp. It allows us to account for the “hybrid” and “multiple” subjectivities that have contributed to the emergence and decay of certain spatial typologies in the refugee camp.

This chapter is informed by a multiplicity of research experiences; my two-month practice as a community mobiliser (April-May/2016), my past experience working as a community mobiliser for six months in 2014, in-depth interviews with nine community mobilisers (three females, six males) who had worked in the community mobilisation unit during the period 2012-2016, and a focus group discussion with six of the community mobilisers that I interviewed. The arguments presented in this chapter contributes to my critique of both humanitarian space⁵⁷, as a space where local humanitarian workers suffer the injustices of bureaucratic, geopolitical, racial and classed hierarchies, and the term community as an instrument in humanitarian

my investigation so to “queer”-spatially- the gendered hierarchies that render some subjectivities more visible than others within *Madafah* and *Howsh* (Ahmed 2006).

⁵⁷ See my account on the humanitarian space in chapter 3.2 *Humanitarian Aphasia*.

agendas used to govern the everyday life of refugees⁵⁸. Whereas community mobilisers are mainly dominated by the question of accountability, for humanitarian NGO management, community mobilisers are mere human resources that are managed and deployed to achieve certain ends⁵⁹. My exposure to the work of the community mobilisation unit has been conditioned by my friends⁶⁰ who worked inside the community mobilisation unit. In 2016, after a change in humanitarian NGO management, many contracts were terminated. My last work period with the community mobilisation unit took place in 2016 (April-May).

Introduction: Community Mobilisation

In this part of the chapter, I introduce a preliminary explanation of the work of community mobilisation from the perspective of community mobilisers (as representatives of the humanitarian NGO). I ask, what is a community mobilisation unit? what does it do? and what are the multiple roles that community mobilisers perform while doing their everyday tasks? By answering these questions, I lay the ground for the critique that is later found within the following parts that constitute this chapter.

Often depicted as the first line of contact between the humanitarian NGO and the actual grounds of the refugee camp, the community mobilisation unit embodies a critical channel of communication that works to establish the infrastructures which distribute humanitarian aid (and development) in the camp. Community mobilisers, who are tasked with the duty of building and maintaining this channel, take responsibility for two main deliveries; spreading messages from the humanitarian NGO management to the people of the camp and relaying the needs of the people to the humanitarian NGO management. Applying multiple methods such as, walking, semi-structured interviews, chatting, informal interviews, and reporting, community mobilisers observe from a close distance and on a daily basis what takes place on the actual camp grounds. A previous coordinator of the community mobilisation unit for the humanitarian NGO in Za'atri describes each of the community mobilisers as 'a bank of information'. He continues to explain how each becomes a bank of information, stating that the process is, 'based on their daily interactions with the refugee community in the twelve districts of the camp. With time, each community

⁵⁸ See my general critique of the 'community' in the introduction where I generally critique the humanitarian NGO.

⁵⁹ For a more in depth analysis of how the humanitarian space features these hierarchies see Duffield's account in *Challenging Environments* (2012) and Pascucci's in *The local labour building the international community* (2019).

⁶⁰ These friendships date back to my work in the community mobilisation unit as a community mobiliser for six months in 2014. Mainly my team consisted of two male colleagues with whom I worked as a mobiliser in district 3.

mobiliser grows their own capacity to comprehend how each district is composed; how many people live there, what population lives there, what are their cultural habits, histories, boundaries, interests, etc'⁶¹ ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 6 \(male\) 2016](#)). Unlike other units in the humanitarian NGO, the community mobilisation unit applies its methods to the scale of the public rather than the private. For example, whereas the information that social workers extract from the individuals they interview is privately banked within the individual's file, the information that community mobilisers extract from their interviews is information that concerns the public, resulting in community mobilisers being used to generate public data.

The work that the community mobilisation unit performs changes with time. The type of tasks assigned to community mobilisers hinges on many factors, most of which are dependent on the phase of the humanitarian response, phases which occur for certain periods of time.

For example, in 2014⁶², the main responsibility of community mobilisers was to facilitate the use of the community kitchens⁶³. In 2015, the community mobilisation unit took responsibility for facilitating two main projects; governance structure (community gatherings) and the installation of the water waste system. In 2016, the community mobilisation unit introduced Geographic Information System (GIS) as one of its main services. In terms of the multiple roles that community mobilisers perform while conducting their community mobilisation tasks, I refer here to how community mobilisers understand their roles as they conduct the tasks assigned to them by their management. Sharing a basic understanding of 'mobilisation' as meaning 'to help', community mobilisers were divided into two groups; some described themselves as 'administrators' that are required to perform some level of authority, others perceived themselves as 'mere people' who are there to serve refugees.

Administrators: They described their work in humanitarian technical terms; defining community mobilisation as two-way channel of communication between the NGO management and the refugee community. For example, one of the community mobilisers said when describing his work, '[I learnt the rules of the work by time, I would plan the route that I would walk every day so by the end of the week I would achieve my target. I have curated my own list of rules by which I commit to during the](#)

⁶¹ This was taken from In a formal interview with the first community mobilization coordinator with whom I worked in team of community mobilization during 2014. He served as the coordinator for the community mobilization unit for the period (2013-2016).

⁶² In the summer of 2014, I was a community mobiliser with one of the humanitarian NGOs in Za'atri refugee camp.

⁶³ This responsibility incorporated a number of tasks such as, assigning kitchen supervisors from the community, distributing gas cylinders to the kitchens, overseeing and following up on how the kitchen is used by the community and acting upon any abuse of power.

day' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 4 \(male\) 2016](#)). While describing his work, he referred to himself as an 'administrator' whose 'accountability' is recognised by everyone in the district. 'They respect me because I have an assertive attitude. Especially when it comes to decision making' (ibid.). He continues by explaining how this practice is something that he learnt from another colleague who has had a longer experience in the field, 'I trust him, he was very respected by everyone. He taught us: if you had said something in front of the community and you later came to know it was wrong information, do not correct it. And if you had shared something with the community and you realised they should not have known about it, do not withdraw it' (ibid.). Comparing his own experience in relation to others (in a somewhat condescending manner), he says: 'I am aware of the power that I have as an administrator in the field. However, not everyone in the team is aware of this power. For example, if some of the [refugee] volunteers with whom we work with had violated any of our codes, we could punish this behaviour by penalty, for example, by dismissing them from the cash for work program. Not everyone does that though' (ibid.).

Mere people: they uttered their experiences with animated voices. Another community mobiliser who was critical of those colleagues who would use their power as administrators said, 'can you imagine that some teams, I do not want to mention names, brag about how tough they are with refugees? Some used to come back to the office loudly sharing that they deprived some kitchens of gas' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 7 \(female\) 2016](#)). Despite being attentive to the boundaries that their job's technical terms would draw around their positions, several community mobilisers seemed to be aware of the importance of being social rather than technical while taking on the responsibility of mobilisation in a refugee camp. Not without heartfelt compassion, their descriptions of their roles in the camp were penetrated by their imaginations of the hardship associated with being a refugee in a refugee camp. They defined their understanding of community mobilisation as an act of 'serving' refugees; a process of 'helping' refugees and/or 'voicing' their needs to management. They understood their job as a position which helps the community to sustain itself by motivating it to solve its own problems. However, they did not think of themselves as administrators. One of the mobilisers said, 'It is important for them to feel that you are one of them. If we look at it from another point of view, I come from a village like they do, I belong to a similar class to which they belong, and I am of a similar culture, religion and dialect. I am not different' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 1 \(male\) 2016](#)). They considered themselves as 'people' who fit into the homogeneous social fabric that exists in the camp, and that was how they held themselves accountable.

The History of the Community Kitchen

I recite the history of the community kitchen unit through the camp's three phases: emergency, post-emergency, and development. The community kitchen as an example

is relatively useful because it materialises as a space where governmental infrastructure entangles with social/communal infrastructure. The community kitchen's spatial emergence as well as its spatial decay helps us navigate through the nuances which occur as a result of the relationship between governmental and social/communal infrastructure. It suggests two hypotheses. The first is such that when emerging precipitately and decaying unexpectedly, the community kitchen could be considered representative of poor humanitarian governance and irrelevant coordination that dates back to the emergency phase. The second is such that by emerging in response to people's demand to cook their own food, and decaying in response to people's mandate to cook on their own, the community kitchen could be considered representative of people's agency.

- 2012- 2013⁶⁴

Emergency⁶⁵ - protesting for food

'...Shortly after the opening of Za'atri refugee camp in the summer of 2012, refugees went out in demonstrations to protest against the rice and chicken meal⁶⁶ that was repeatedly distributed upon their arrival. They wanted to cook their own food, arguing that there were people with diabetes and other health problems. As the process of distributing food began to be monitored by the World Food Program (WFP), the WFP nutrition food basket⁶⁷ (containing rice, lentils, vegetable oil, sugar and salt) replaced the repetitive ready-meals that repulsed refugees. Before the community kitchens were built, people had already started cooking outside of their tents. They repurposed the cartons

⁶⁴ I myself was not a witness to the emergency phase. As a result, I write this section (2012- 2013) using the voice of one of the community mobilisers who had witnessed this period by serving on the grounds of the camp.

⁶⁵ 'An emergency is a situation in which the lives, rights and well-being of refugees and other persons of concern are or will be threatened unless immediate and appropriate action is taken on a scale that UNHCR's existing capacity at country and regional level cannot provide. To address an emergency, therefore, UNHCR needs a Plan, supported by resources, that will deliver an adequate and timely response to the emergency needs identified, establish a framework for tracking and reporting on progress, and thereby make UNHCR accountable for additional resources that it receives' (UNHCR 2015, 2).

Unlike the consistent emphasis in the *UNHCR | Emergency Handbook* (UNHCR 2015) regarding how humanitarian operations should be planned and coordinated during emergencies, the ways in which community mobilisers recounted the chronological order through which the refugee camp had materialized cited inconsistent planning and amorphous coordination. Despite referring to 'emergency' and 'post-emergency' as two main phases that generally evoke a humanitarian response, community mobilisers in their interviews and focus group discussion were cynical about the hesitant and disorderly ways in which humanitarian operations were applied during the two earlier phases.

⁶⁶ The distribution of food was done by the Jordanian Hashemite Charity Organisation, who were in charge before the UNHCR arrived .

⁶⁷ See <https://www.wfp.org/food-assistance/kind-food-assistance/wfp-food-basket>

from the disposal boxes and used them to make fires to cook; all the cooking utensils that were handed to them were severely damaged by this practice. We had to redistribute those again...' (Interview with Community Mobiliser 1 (male) 2016).

'...The situation was chaotic, imbued with fear. The people were terrified and so were we. They were in fear because they did not know; they did not know what had happened to their families back home, they did not know what was going to happen next, they did not know us. They trusted no one. We were fearful because we did not know either. We did not know how we could possibly help! Nobody thought this was going to last, no adequate services were planned nor provided...' (ibid.).

'...It was clear that the Jordan Hashemite Charity Organisation (JHCO) was incapable of dealing with the scale of the emergency that we were confronted with in Za'atari'. Yet, even when the JHCO handed over to the UNHCR, the latter did not handle the emergency much better. Despite the ample resources that flooded into the camp, a framework that plans and coordinates the mobilisation of these resources was yet to be established by the UNHCR...' (ibid.).



2.3 Figure 1: Photo captured by Khaled Mazraawi. Displayed in the article with the title *UN issues Stark Warning Over Lack of Funding for Syrian Refugees in Jordan* published on the Irish Times. Original caption of the photo says, 'Syrian refugees at a demonstration at the Za'atari refugee camp, near the border with Syria, calling for the international community to arm the rebel Free Syrian Army, in February'. See the link: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/middle-east/un-issues-stark-warning-over-lack-of-funding-for-syrian-refugees-in-jordan-1.1350760>

▪ 2014- 2015

Post-emergency⁶⁸ - the community kitchen

Towards the end of 2013, community kitchens were established, activated, and monitored by the UNHCR and one of its partnering NGOs as an infrastructure of aid. Each kitchen comprised of a brick and mortar unit⁶⁹, and was constituted by a number of hubs (the number of hubs varied from one kitchen to another) that were welded to a counter made of (unfinished) engineered stone. Hob-top cupboards where gas cylinders were loosely fitted. Cupboards keys, as well as the community kitchen unit keys, were kept with the kitchen supervisor⁷⁰ who was responsible for overseeing how the kitchen is being used by the people in the district. The kitchen supervisor is the trustee of the community kitchen unit; he or she is responsible for protecting the community kitchen (including its furniture), preserving it by cleaning (dusting and wiping), reporting any required maintenance work, and providing equal access for all the families in the district. The practical responsibilities of the community mobilisers included overseeing and following up on the distribution of gas cylinders on a biweekly basis and assigning kitchen supervisors as a way of being inclusive to all the district families.

Soon after the kitchens were put in place, the people of Za'atri disputed the communality that the UNHCR had enforced on their cooking practices (Kleinschmidt 2016). Across most of the districts⁷¹, many problems emerged in relation to the everyday use of the community kitchen; for example, some men showed concern over the safety of women in dark and isolated spaces, some people complained about the hygiene of the community kitchen, and others complained some supervisors' abuse of power (controlling who accesses the community kitchen and who does not). Community mobilisers, as overseers of the community kitchens, dealt with these problems in multiple ways; for example, sometimes they would ignore trivial problems that they felt people could solve by

⁶⁸ Neither an 'adequate' nor 'timely response to the emergency' was coordinated in an inter-organizational manner in the following phase of the camp (UNHCR 2015). The managerial improvidence that the camp coordination suffered in the emergency phase (2012-2013) continued into 2014, a time the community mobilisers referred to as 'post-emergency'. As defined in the *UNHCR| Emergency Handbook*, 'post-emergency' is the phase when 'UNHCR's emergency interventions should eventually be integrated in longer term planning exercises or phased out' (UNHCR 2015).

⁶⁹ The areas allocated in the 12 districts of the camp for the kitchens did not follow a set typology (size and structure). Every district had a different typology. For example, the kitchens in district 3 where I worked as a community mobiliser in 2014 were smaller in size compared to those kitchens in districts 6, 7 and 8. (The photograph is taken from a kitchen in district 8). Community mobilisers were not convinced that the variation in size was intended to serve different proportions of the district population.

⁷⁰ Assigning kitchen supervisors takes place under 'The Cash for Work' program.

⁷¹ For example, in district 6, the main problem that emerged in relation to the community kitchens was how people dispensed the service.

themselves, whereas at other times they would help to reconcile issues between people. In regard to blatant cases of power abuse, ones where it is absolutely evident, community mobilisers were given the green light by their managements to “deprive” one street from gas distribution. In worst case scenarios, they would close the kitchen for one or two weeks.

Kitchen supervisors who unfairly distributed gas was considered one of the acts that the NGO perceived as a serious abuse of power. This process was dependent on the tools that people could access through the camp street market (souq); typically the gas was emptied from the cylinders and used to fill the mini gas stoves that were sold in the souq. Despite the fuss that the humanitarian NGO and the UNHCR officials would make about ‘refugees stealing gas’, and despite their attempts to control the problem (i.e. by depriving the streets that distributed the gas from getting their own gas), this act of gas distribution soon became a wide-spread practice that was beyond humanitarian NGO control.



2.3 Figure 2: Image captured by the author during the summer of 2014. It shows one colleague from the community mobilisation team holding a wooden template; the template was crafted by one carpenter from district three. We asked the carpenter for his help to make us a wooden template for English numerics; the first two numbers show the number of the district, and the second three numbers show the number of the community kitchen. We wanted to use the template to tag community kitchens with numbers. This paved the way for the address system that was officially introduced later in 2015.



2.3 Figure 3: Image captured by the author during the summer of 2014. At one point, community kitchens were painted with different colors. District three community kitchens were painted blue. People were excited about the new colors. One of them told me, ‘our eyes are tired of the pale colors of the camp, blue reminds us of hospitals, but still, it is better than white and beige’. The white text on the water tank translates to: “may your soul be cursed Hafiz”. Hafiz Al-assad is the late president (dictator) of the Syrian Republic.



2.3 Figure 4: Image captured by the author during the summer of 2014. It shows the interior of one of the community kitchens in ditrict 3. Gas cylinders were kept inside the hob-topped cupboards.



2.3 Figure 5: Image captured by the author during the summer of 2014. Photo was taken during gas distribution in district 7. The humanitarian NGO had a subcontract with local gas providers; on a biweekly basis, the local provider would send off jam-packed trucks with gas cylinders to distribute gas to community kitchens. The process of distribution took place with the help of two [refugee] volunteers from the maintenance team. The truck would stop by each community kitchen; the [refugee] volunteer at the top of the truck would then discharge the number filled-gas cylinders from the back of the truck; the [refugee] volunteer on the ground would throw to the first the empty-gas cylinders collected from the community kitchen.



2.3 Figure 6: The photo is captured as a screen-shot from a BBC short movie titled *Economics of a Refugee Camp*. It shows the mini gas stoves that were then being sold in the market. The movie by Howard Johnson was shown on August 2013. See the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xiTKi3lJP5A>.

2015- 2016

Development- the community service unit and the kitchen⁷²

Towards the end of 2014, it became evident to the UNHCR and the humanitarian NGO that the people of Za'atri had ceased using the community kitchen service. Early in 2015, all community kitchens were shut. All the kitchen furniture, the hubs, windows, sinks and doors, were all discarded. The community kitchen service was replaced by a rationed monthly voucher which was put onto a card. The card holder would subsequently be given gas cylinders at the refugee camp mall (Tazweed). Shortly after shutting the community kitchens down, most of the brick and mortar units that had hosted the community kitchens were demolished. Refugees were not allowed to reuse the demolished bricks (no wall should rise more than 50 cm) nor occupy the square platforms that were left empty and unused. One brick and mortar unit⁷³ remained standing in each of the districts where community kitchens were run, and it was later turned into a community service unit.

In 2015, the community mobilisation unit was assigned two projects that coincided with the demolition of the community kitchens; Community Gatherings (a project initially planned as a governance structure) and the installation of the camp waste water system⁷⁴. For Community Gatherings⁷⁵, the team of community

⁷² For further information see my account in 2.5.2 *Howsh* where I elaborate on the kitchen as a private space.

⁷³ In district 10, two community kitchen buildings remained standing.

⁷⁴ The Waste Water Management project was assigned to a number of NGOs. It was divided among districts. District 1, 2 and 11/ ACTED, district 8 and 12/ IRD, district 3, 4, and 5/ JEN, district 6 and 7/ Oxfam.

⁷⁵ I was the facilitator of the first Community Gathering for women in the camp in 2014. It went as follows: through the networks that my colleagues had with men in the community, we forwarded our invitations to women. Invitations were based on the need to mobilise men and women to help the humanitarian NGOs, not only in solving problems that are causing them common harm, but also in making the process of aid a more transparent process. People were motivated to take the role of the witness, someone who has the power to testify against those representing humanitarian governance (this applies only to Jordanian workers). In the meeting, women collectively listed the problems that they believed needed solutions. Then, they voted as to which problem was collectively prioritised. The problem which took priority was the one considered the most urgent and most common. For example, in one meeting, women discussed many problems such as, wild dogs in the camp, unpaved roads, electricity risks, etc. Out of these problems, 'electricity in winter' was deemed a fundamental and an urgent concern. The way in which electricity wires in the camp were randomly installed and connected to different households posed a threat to people's lives. Any contact with electricity could kill. As soon as the problem of electricity in winter was listed as the top priority, another meeting was organised one week later. In this next meeting, the UNHCR electricity engineers would be invited to discuss the collective work that could be done to lessen the risks of this problem. In the meeting that followed, women were encouraged to raise electric wires on wooden sticks to prevent contact with their household surfaces. Also, they were asked to educate their children as to the dangers of coming close to any electricity sources.

mobilisers in each district took the responsibility for performing a few tasks, namely mobilising awareness around the need for Community Gatherings, inviting people to come and attend the gatherings that took place in community centres and community service units, and running the gatherings in teams of two (one facilitator and one reporter). Mobilising for the installation of the camp waste water system demanded community mobilisers to perform other responsibilities; mobilising awareness around the need for the installation of the waste water system, informing people about the practicalities of the work needed to establish the system, seeking their help and support in operating the process, and following up on people's active engagement throughout the process. For example, the installation of the waste water system operated through site plans that did not align with the occupation of some districts by the people of Za'atri. The waste water system is bound by some measurements which resulted in people having to adjust their living spaces. Adjusting their living units to the new measurements of the waste water system plan was more or less compulsory. If they failed to independently adjust their households to the measurements of the new plan that the UNHCR and the humanitarian NGO had provided, the change would be enforced⁷⁶.



2.3 Figure 7: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows the exterior of a community service unit in district three.

⁷⁶ For further information see the section titled 'Coercion' in the fourth part of this chapter, *Negotiated Accountabilities: Environmentalist Technologies*. Here I speak about how community mobilisers used to use the Jordanian Government as a way to mobilise fear in order to push the implementation of these projects forward.



2.3 Figure 8: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows the ruins of what was once a community kitchen in district three. Some of the district people used the demolished remains of the blocks to define the thresholds of their homes. They were not permitted to build any wall that would rise over 50 cm. Furthermore, community mobilisers always emphasised the necessity of leaving the platform uninhabited because the UNHCR and the humanitarian NGO were planning to do something with it in the future.



2.3 Figure 9: Images captured by the author during the winter of 2017. It shows how people in district 10 used the remains of the blocks to define their inside (left) and outside (right) spaces.



2.3 Figure 10: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows the interior of the community service unit in district three. Community mobilisers, together with social workers from the same NGO, meeting after they had finished their everyday walks in the district. They are sharing stories from the day and writing their everyday reports.

Seeing through History: The Problem of Accountability

This part of the chapter focuses on the problem of accountability that community mobilisers encounter when embodying the intimate entanglement between the two infrastructures; the governmental and the social/communal. Accountability means 'being called "to account" to some authority for one's action' (Mulgan 2000) and it is dictated by 'demanding and giving reasons for conduct' (Heyse 2006, 6). I present community mobilisers' accountability as given and demanded by their vertical relationships with both (upward) accountability with the humanitarian NGO management and (downward) accountability with the people of Za'atri camp (Jens Steffek 2010).

Following up on the timeline provided under the previous subtitle *The History of the Community Kitchen*, I trace the emergent nuances of community mobilisers' problems with accountability through each of the camp's three phases. To do this, I use the testimonies of community mobilisers to navigate through the hierarchies present within the NGO that have produced these problems.

▪ 2012- 2013

'One of the challenges that I faced together along with other colleagues in the early days of the emergency was the problem of visibility! By visibility, I mean to be visible and known to the people that you are a person that can help!' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 1 \(male\) 2016](#)).

The problem of accountability emerged in relation to the problem of community mobilisers' invisibility; both as official representatives of a humanitarian organisation that is responsible for providing help, and as public figures who are known to the people of Za'atri for their knowledgeable capacities about how life in the refugee camp works. As community mobilisation had not been introduced as an independent unit until late 2013, community mobilisers did not know the humanitarian practicalities that would allow them access to refugees. This lack of specialisation in humanitarian procedures during the emergency phase inflicted reluctance and disorientation on its local employees. In their dialectic relationship with the people of Za'atri, this problem of invisibility was reflected within the mindsets of refugees, who perceived that their problems were also invisible. They felt that the humanitarian NGO did not respond to their needs because their needs were invisible. Seeking visibility, the people of Za'atri went out in protest. A community mobiliser stated, 'to communicate their frustrations and demand their need for services, refugees went out in protest a few times. Then it was their only way to have their voices heard by the management of the camp' ([ibid., Musmar 2016](#)).

During this chaos that marked the early days of the refugee camp, other figures, namely ‘street leaders’⁷⁷, achieved the visibility that community mobilisers were aiming for. Street leaders arose as both representatives of the people of Za’atri, that took responsibility for providing them with help, and as public figures who were known to the people of Za’atri for their knowledge. For example, they provided refugees with pockets of information in hectic and disorganised times. Soon, street leaders arose not only as visible, but also as authoritative. In telling the story of how street leaders⁷⁸ came to power, the same community mobiliser recalls,

‘some of the private donors stored their donations in JHCO stores, however, some other donors had access to refugees as they found it hard to navigate through the crowded tents. Street leaders or street helpers, as active and acknowledged members of the community, were approached by donors. Street leaders were assigned the responsibility of distributing donations to others. Many of them were good and honest, but the problem was with those who were dishonest; for example, if a street had twenty-five people, the dishonest leader would tell the donor that he has fifty people’ ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 1 \(male\) 2016](#)).

As it was not prohibited for people to move their tents (and later their caravans) to live next to their relatives, people moved to live next to those from similar towns and cities. By living close to their relatives, people in Za’atri created their own communities. However, considering the environmental factors through which the camp evolved (especially in the emergency phase), after some time a form of corrupted ‘cliquing’ appeared in the camp.

▪ 2014- 2015

‘The course of protests continued. We found out later that these protests were not driven by the people’s needs any more, they were rather mobilised by street leaders’ ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 1 \(male\) 2016](#)).

By the time community mobilisers had achieved some sort of visibility, the community which they were supposed to mobilise in ways that served the humanitarian NGO, was already mobilised in line with the wishes of street leaders. By 2014, community

⁷⁷ ‘Street leaders’ built databases that contained people’s names, phone numbers, ratio card numbers, their original cities, etc. ‘When a private donor visited the camp, they would look for active people that know about the camp and hand them the donations. Most likely, the Street Leader would exclusively benefit from those donations’.

⁷⁸ The interviewee referred to the individual characteristics and motivations that allowed them to label others as ‘leaders’; for example, charisma, knowledge of the social and cultural fabric that constituted the street or the district and the reachability that this knowledge allowed, previous occupations/class where they themselves were leaders back in Syria, their economic situation, and/or other motives.

mobilisers became more visible; as representatives of a humanitarian infrastructure (represented by the physical structure of the community kitchens), as well as figures with some public recognition for their capacity to provide help⁷⁹. However, this came slightly too late. Throughout 2012 and 2013, street leaders⁸⁰ had reinforced a form of authority over the twelve districts of Za'atri camp. They developed extensive power networks by which they mobilised human and non-human resources to their own respective ends. These networks made it difficult for community mobilisers to mobilise the community in line with humanitarian governmental ends. These networks, which worked across several social layers, halted any possible access to the people of Za'atri for community mobilisers. To gain access, community mobilisers had to either identify street leaders as important nodes in these networks and acknowledge their authority over the community, or demobilise the community and identify new networks that simultaneously marginalise street leaders as authoritative bodies and place the humanitarian NGO as the authoritative power (Tilly 1978; Ganz 2010).

'Me: how much of our job description as community mobilisers are we really doing?

Him: I stopped comparing what I really do with my job description a long time ago. We are actually doing more, way more; so much so that the NGO would owe us money'.

For community mobilisers to be held accountable, it demanded unprecedented cultural and emotional labour. For example, district 3 (where I worked as a community mobiliser in 2014) was known as the 'most difficult' district in the camp. The informal power structure composed by *street leaders* was reinforced and maintained in multiple ways, making it 'difficult' for community mobilisers to gain access to the physical and social spaces of the district in order to mobilise the community. Certain family names controlled the district and its resources (tangible and intangible infrastructures⁸¹).

⁷⁹ A multiplicity of factors shifted the process in which they turned from being invisible actors to visible actors. A community mobilisation unit is found within the humanitarian NGO as an independent unit (with a clear description of its actors' job responsibilities and organisational accountabilities). Community mobilisers had already been active on the ground of the camp for some time and they built their own networks with those that they could access; the UNHCR introduced new tools and methods that facilitated community mobilisers' movements within the camp, for example, as one of the community mobilisers describes it, 'when tents began to be identified with numbers, it meant that certain people are located in certain places, so we knew how to reach them. When tents were all in one place, they were difficult to reach'.

⁸⁰ As is explained later in the following chapter *Precarious Interruptions*, street leaders were not all corrupted. Some of them were publicly recognised by others in the community for their communal morals (like Abu Saleem).

⁸¹ Every *street leader* had collected the names of the people residing in their street, their registration numbers (Ratio cards), their phone numbers and sometimes their occupations.

Only one community mobiliser⁸², who came from a village in North Jordan and was an expert in reading and negotiating the social patterns of people coming from similar Dara'a backgrounds, could deal with the difficulties of District 3.

A community mobilisation coordinator (2013-2015): 'Permission to mobilise for Community Gatherings came after a long process of negotiations between the UNHCR and the Jordanian Government. It was difficult to convince the latter that these meetings were not aiming give refugees political representation, rather they were going to be used only as procedural meetings that would help the UNHCR and its implementing partners to do their work with more transparency, participation, and efficiency. Community Gatherings is a platform that faced a lot of resistance, not only by the government and refugees themselves, but also by NGO actors' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 6 \(male\) 2016](#)).

Furthermore, by embodying an intimate entanglement between the two infrastructures (governmental and social/communal), community mobilisers were burdened with questions regarding their moral accountability. Being situated at this close proximity between the two infrastructures allowed them to comprehend how 'the refugee regime complex' operates through certain regulations that place refugees in vulnerable positions in relation to the state (Betts 2010). For example, whereas protesting is tolerated by the humanitarian agencies who are responsible for protecting refugees, it poses a threat to Jordanian state security. The state deports 'trouble makers' and their families either back to Syria or to the Azraq refugee camp⁸³. For (many) community mobilisers who had bore witness to the miseries of those that had been deported, and the fears surrounding the risk of deportation from others, they felt morally responsible to inform the people of Za'atri as to the risk of protests.

▪ 2015- 2016

'After all this work that I have done, now they want to change my contract from senior to junior, can you imagine? I have resigned. I will now be working with another humanitarian NGO in the Emirati refugee camp' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 1 \(male\) 2016](#)).

'Community mobilisers must have assertive and strong personalities... All

⁸² However, his capacity to deal with the community was doubted and often critiqued by management. Many rumours were spread in the NGO in an attempt to delegitimize his informal ways. Many other colleagues during that period spoke about his work and about other colleagues' work coming from similar backgrounds to refugees with scepticism, citing that his skilful ways of accessing the community must work towards dubious ends. As shown later, the same community mobiliser dismissed these doubts by denoting that the management did not see nor listen like he did, so he knows better.

⁸³ See for example: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/jordan-syrian-refugees-deportation/543057/>

community mobilisers must be assertive and strong, they do not have a choice really. If they are not, they would not survive the field!⁸⁴.

Following a change in the humanitarian NGO management (late 2015 and early 2016), the NGO tightened its grip on the conduct of community mobilisers as well as the conduct of the people in Za'atri camp. With an attempt to flatten the inside hierarchies in the community mobilisation unit, the humanitarian NGO management terminated all employees' short-term contracts and gave them new contracts which listed them all as community mobilisers. Those with more experience (i.e. those who witnessed the emergency and post-emergency phases) were no longer regarded as senior to their peers. Whereas this decision had incited excitement in those community mobilisers who thought the community mobilisation unit was a competitive environment, it had also provoked anxiety⁸⁵ and frustration for those that were demoted from senior positions to junior. Signing the new contracts not only downscaled their senior salaries, but also meant that they had to abide by a stricter Code of Conduct (CoC) that served to delegitimise their communal persona inside of the camp.

Community mobilisers are under pressure by the need to seem 'in control' in a field of so many uncertainties⁸⁶. The 'militant' role that the NGO had burdened its community mobilizers' imaginations with (as 'assertive and strong'), worked as a disciplinary force that controlled how community mobilisers conducted their everyday tasks in the field (Morgan 2006). Indeed, community mobilisers had (fully) turned into governmental subjects, or administrators, who had taken the role of policing the conduct of others. Even though community mobilisation demands (unequivocally) a social/communal character, in the development phase this persona became bluntly instrumentalised to govern people. For example, the term 'it is for the communal good'⁸⁷ is deployed by

⁸⁴ This came from an informal conversation with the third coordinator for the community mobilisation unit (2016-2018). He was in the process of conducting interviews with candidates for community mobiliser positions and shared this with me and other colleagues over the break.

⁸⁵ Community mobilisers were under threat from being perceived as incompetent humanitarian workers (lacking English language skills and not committing to the codes of the UNHCR). The 'criterion' that the humanitarian NGO management had constructed in their frequently repeated statements about how to survive the field manipulated how community mobilisers perceived themselves in the implementation of their everyday tasks. Struggling with their own upward and downward accountabilities in the field, the NGO criterion had caused them a certain level of anxiety which could place risk on their ethical engagement with refugees. For example, being malicious to refugees as a way of pushing them to attend Community Gatherings, or to delude them as to what these community gatherings would offer.

⁸⁶ Many of the community mobilisers gestured towards this pressure in their interviews, speaking about the competition that they often have feel their office. For example, one community mobiliser said in his interview: 'There is the strong mobiliser, the okay mobiliser, and the fool. The most challenging part of my job is not to sound like the 'fool' when I come back to the office and speak about my day'.

⁸⁷ When the NGO uses the term 'the communal good', it becomes a political discourse that is deployed as a 'technology of domination' to win arguments and trivially perform their humanitarian ends. Bearing in

the humanitarian management as a push to enforce certain disciplinary rules on the everyday processes of community mobilisation.

This verbal discourse that addresses community mobilisers as governmental subjects, exploits community mobilisers as it makes them think that they have more authority than what is encrypted into their contracts as humanitarian workers. This discourse delegitimises the same practices that community mobilisers performed out of their belief that performing these practices was their responsibility. Therefore, the governmental character that the humanitarian NGO management encourages community mobilisers to embrace, not only pressurises community mobilisers, but also confuses them about their ethical accountabilities. For example, to subvert the power structures that refugees had informally developed and maintained in the camp, community mobilisers were ordered to reduce their informal engagement. Mainly, they were asked to stop referring to street leaders through their everyday walks and start referring to other members of the community in each district. As they were viewed by their management as administrators, the authority of community mobilisers in the field was extended to making immediate decisions that would discipline any disorder occurring in any of the districts. For example, if refugees in one district ‘violated’ the rules that regulate the use of the communal kitchen, community mobilisers could shut the kitchen for a couple of weeks, or they can ‘deprive⁸⁸’ the communal kitchen from receiving one or two rounds of gas. After closing a kitchen down or depriving a kitchen from one or two rounds of gas, the kitchen would then be labelled ‘the punished kitchen’ or ‘the deprived kitchen’. However, the same management that explicitly encourages and necessitates community mobilisers to be ‘assertive’ and ‘strong’, and also who validates the micro technologies that they would exercise to ‘punish’ and ‘discipline’ the community, would itself punish the community mobiliser. This would happen through an official warning or a termination of their contract if their assertiveness or use of micro technologies were reported by the UNHCR (or any other partnering agency) as working against its humanitarian codes.

Negotiating Accountability: Environmentalist Technologies reconciliation, reticulation, and coercion

I introduce the following technologies as posthuman translations that community mobilisers, as environmental subjects, had developed in order to negotiate their accountabilities. Although each of these technologies is listed as a distinct entity, the

mind the controversy that shrouds the humanitarian use of the term ‘community’, the refugees’ ‘communal good’ is decided by the management through certain approaches that excludes refugees’ ideas about their ‘communal good’. For further information see the introduction.

⁸⁸ This is the translation of the term that the community mobilisation unit used to denote prohibiting the distribution of gas. They used to say ‘yahrem’ which translates to ‘deprives’.

work of each technology is connected to the others epistemically. By highlighting the iterative process by which community mobilisers claim, reclaim and disclaim their accountabilities, their environmental subjectivity is represented by the emotional and physical labour that they endure as a way of navigating between their dual roles (as governmental and social/communal subjects).

Reconciliation

Community mobilisers claiming/performing accountability
(Mobilisation)

In their everyday work with the people of Za'atri, community mobilisers perform certain cultural accountabilities that can be claimed to work as part of their service provision (authority). Their performance of these accountabilities resonates with some cultural values that are already coded into the people of Za'atri's everyday discourse. Take for example the cultural system of (*moneh*- مونه)⁸⁹. This cultural code endows some figures with moral authority through their relationships with others. Derived from the stem verb (*mawan*- موان) meaning 'provided', the moral authority that these figures acquire is often related to their provision of tangible or intangible welfare. To deserve this moral accountability, the figure should stand at a certain proximity that enables them to provide and support when needed, and (at the same time) stand a certain distance away that allows the other to accept or decline this offer of care⁹⁰. Whereas community mobilisers' practice of the same language, culture, and beliefs has placed them at a certain familial proximity in their relationships with the people of Za'atri, the formalities of their job as humanitarian representatives (symbolised by a humanitarian uniform, working within a limited number of hours during the day, having different concerns and interests) made them be considered as outsiders.

Performing the cultural code '*moneh*' was important; it helped to instigate a sense of sociality that repelled the antagonism and hostility that plagued the environment of the refugee camp. Community mobilisers had different observations as to the reasons behind this hostility. For example, one community mobiliser wondered if it was something that people had carried with them from Syria: '*refugees were competing over services, CFW vacancies, education opportunities, space, caravans, friendships, etc. I am not sure if this hostility has come with them from Syria*⁹¹, but animosity and

⁸⁹ Whereas many of the community mobilisers used this term in their interviews to describe their relationships with the people of Za'atri, one community mobiliser referred to this system as relevantly important. I acknowledge the contribution of his observation to the conceptual development of this part of my writing.

⁹⁰ For more information, see chapter 3.1 *To enact the camp is to care for the camp*.

⁹¹ Building on Al-Sabouni's testimony in her memoir, *A Battle for Home*, one could suggest that the hostility that emerged in the refugee camp, unlike what community mobilisers had assumed, is not new (2016).

hatred have definitely been clearly manifested here' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 3 \(male\) 2016](#)). Another community mobiliser assumed that the change in the natural context (from green to desert) had changed people's approach to their collective resources, 'refugees live in conditions of scarcity. Imagine, they came from rural areas where there is plenty of water, trees and food to live in the desert where there is not enough water, not enough greenery, and not enough food. In the camp, there is not enough of anything!' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 5 \(female\) 2016](#)). Another community mobiliser refers to this hostility as a repercussion of the disproportionate power structures that emerged in the early phases of emergency⁹², he says, 'this refers to the unequal distribution of aid that took place during the emergency phase. By 2014, people were already divided into rich and poor, accessible and inaccessible, privileged and unprivileged' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 1 \(male\) 2016](#)). Whether this hostility is triggered by the authoritarian governmental structures that the people of Za'atri experienced back in Syria ([al-Sabouni 2016](#)), the lack of environmental resources that conditioned their lives in Za'tri, and/or the cultural politics of humanitarian governance that they had recently experienced in Za'atri, one can undoubtedly observe that the environment of Za'atri embedded new social structures that divided people not only into different hierarchies, but also into different sects that mobilised into narratives of hate against each other⁹³.

According to this cultural system of *moneh*, community mobilisers, as accountable moral authorities, could reconcile the antagonism and hostility that tainted the communal structure in the refugee camp by provoking other communal ethics deemed culturally moral (Feghali 1997). As authoritative mediators, community mobilisers mobilised for these morals to counter the hate narratives that circulated as a way of justifying some (sects) people's actions. For example, one community mobiliser clarified her role as an authoritative mediator, by saying, 'one of the households in the district had its waste flooding into one of the district blocks. When I talked to the inhabitant of that household, to try to solve the problem, he said "I know it is flooding into the block, I dug the tunnel responsible for flooding my waste into the block and I will not do anything about it. You know why!? Because no one cared when my neighbour's waste was flooding near my place for months. I have been horrifyingly effected!"' ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 5 \(female\) 2016](#)). The mobiliser continues, 'after investigating the reasons lying behind his neighbour's waste, we found that his neighbour was a family that had lost its men in the war. A woman and

⁹² It was during the time when community mobilisation was trying to find a way to approach the camp and understand how things are happening inside, when street leaders began controlling the power structures in the refugee community. For more information see the *Seeing Through History* (2012-2013) section in this chapter.

⁹³ One of the community mobilisers stated: 'At some point, people in the community were mobilised against each other and against us. We would find out later that street leaders were responsible for this. I knew how the game was being played, I also knew who could influence others and who is being influenced'.

her four daughters did not know that their waste was causing this public harm, nor had they the skill to fix it. When I told the man about his neighbours' condition, he volunteered to solve the problem' (ibid.). She emphasises, 'in (our) their culture, it is not only morally wrong to assault those that are vulnerable'⁹⁴, it is shameful' (ibid).

Reticulation

Community mobilisers reclaiming accountability
(Counter Mobilisation)

If exchanging the cultural code of *moneh* entails that community mobilisers also identify with those holding moral authoritative accountabilities in the district, such as street leaders, how can community mobilisers stay attentive to their ethical responsibilities towards the people of Za'atri throughout the process? What processes of demobilisation does reclaiming their accountability demand? To respond to these questions, I introduce 'reticulation' as a technology that community mobilisers have developed through their roles as mediators. By reticulation, I am citing the methods through which community mobilisers engaged with processes of mobilisation and counter mobilisation. Reticulation in this context finds resonance with what Querrien, Petcou, and Petrescu refer to as 'making a rhizome'(2013). To clarify what the making of a rhizome is, in her article *Gardeners of commons, for the most part, women* (2013), Petrescu cites Querrien, 'making a rhizome is about going towards the other, not as an enemy or a competitor with the idea of deconstruction, but in the perspective of an alliance and the construction of a temporary micro-territoriality that will soon after be shared with others, by the new offshoots of the rhizome'. (2008, 115).

Therefore, I suggest that processes of 'reticulation', through which *moneh* mediations are performed, are important for community mobilisers' demobilisation work, or as I describe it (counter mobilisation). As Tilly suggests, processes of mobilisation necessitate processes of demobilisation (1978). Reticulation as a technology cites the nodes of information that community mobilisers create over time as a way of countering the nodes of information that street leaders mobilise in the community. These nodes of information interrupt the power structures created by street leaders; they allow for the circulation of certain knowledges that were previously made exclusive to the street leaders.

In their performance and exchange of the ethic of *moneh*, they attend to processes that utilise the human and nonhuman resources existing in the camp, in order to extract information about the camp. Then, they put this information into use for the people of

⁹⁴ In this culture, roles in domestic and public settings are gendered. Men are expected to do certain tasks in relation to the outside and women are expected to do certain tasks that relate more to the inside. In a household where there are no men, the household is perceived as vulnerable for its broken relationship to the outside public.

Za'atri. I write about two main methods that community mobilisers mentioned in their interviews, both of which interrupt the networks that street leaders had mobilised: A Word of Truth vs Gossip method and the find your keys method.

A Word of Truth vs Gossip

In one of the camp district meetings that I attended in 2014 as a community mobiliser, one of the agenda items that the UNHCR (who chaired those meetings) had listed was 'rumours'. "Rumours", which had been on the list for past meetings and had subsequently been marked as unresolved, was one of the persistent problems that NGOs attempted to quell in the camp. Whether these rumours cited true or false information, their circulation was often triggered or/and mobilised to meet the ends of street leaders. For example, in 2013 hundreds of Syrians in Za'atri marched down the main street of the camp after a rumour regarding the killing of the Syrian president (dictator) Bashar Alassad began circulating the camp⁹⁵. People who were anxious about what was going on in the side of their lives that they had left behind, dwelled on circulating these rumours for multiple reasons: their loss of contact with the world outside of the camp, their vulnerability in leaving behind family members in Syria whose lives continued to be threatened by the ongoing war, and their unfamiliarity as to how they could possibly access the truth due to the gap in communication between them and the humanitarian NGOs. Even when humanitarian NGO workers tried to topple these rumours, the people of Za'atri had already begun to trust them. Thus, we go back to the question of how could community mobilisers resist the problem of rumours?

'Honesty', said one of the community mobilisers when I asked him about the traits of an accountable community mobiliser (Interview with Community Mobiliser 3 (male) 2016). He continued, 'people are bored of the ways humanitarian NGOs procrastinate. So, they do not want to hear the typical answers that are deliberately used by humanitarian NGO workers whenever people ask questions, such as "we will consider your question and get back to you". Of my experience in my district, they want to hear a word of truth. I used to tell people whenever they came to me for some answers "do you want me to tell you that which would bring your ears some comfort or to tell you the truth? they would always say "the truth". Although they would be disappointed by my information, it did not take long until I succeeded in building a trust-based network with the community' (ibid.).

⁹⁵ This followed the circulation of a video by one of the fighting groups in Syria against the state. More on the news can be found here: <https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2013/03/84611/has-bashar-al-assad-been-killed/>, and here: <https://www.globalresearch.ca/rumors-of-assads-assassination-are-greatly-exaggerated/5328352>

Title of the YouTube video translates to 'The killing of Bashar Alassad is a fact and not a rumor', see here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=did7PYDpj2c>

However, it had not always been easy to tell the truth in the camp; truth was not made accessible to NGO workers by their managements and it was difficult (on multiple levels) to bear witness to people's urgent need to learn about their future while not being able to help. For example, community mobilisers often felt that they were floating along the top surface of the humanitarian procedures that were taking place in the camp. For security reasons (as the management would say), community mobilisers were left to juggle with limited information regarding the day-to-day procedures. Therefore, confronting people with their limited access to information could possibly strip community mobilisers of their long-sought accountability. For the people of Za'atri, what would sound like humanitarian procrastination was rather the extra labour (of thinking and analysing the course of events in the camp) which telling the truth about limited and unavailable knowledge demanded.

Indeed, "a word of truth" could inform a "procedure"; its duration, main actors, its means and ends. Reading through the community mobiliser's comment on honesty, truth in the context of community mobilisation could be understood to be the knowledge that communicates the logic beyond nongovernmental and governmental procedures. In short, truth communicates how procedures are actually being coordinated in the camp. For example, a word of truth might be that which exposes the real time duration that a process might take in the camp, the impossibility or the possibility of governmental permission that would allow people to take on their initiatives, or information that refugees need to know in order to negotiate one of their basic everyday rights.

Whereas telling the truth was a responsibility that community mobilisers performed individually, over time, the humanitarian NGO found that Community Gatherings was functioning as a platform that not only generated truthful knowledge but also one which facilitated questions. Community Gatherings aimed at clarifying the flow of governmental and nongovernmental procedures for the people in Za'atri (but, again, for security reasons, not all procedures could be exposed). By inviting each district's different service providers from diverse NGOs, the people came to know who is doing what. While each of these providers is responsible for answering the questions that they receive regarding a specific 'problem', refugees began to grow a better understanding of the complex bureaucracies which underpinned decision making. The biweekly frequency of these gatherings produced different modes of information exchange in the camp. It did not stop gossip being generated, but rather unfolded new stories that could then counter the false rumours. (But what if the people knew about certain procedures and still chose not to follow them? See *Coercion* below).

Find your keys

'Community Keys' is how most of the community mobilisers described how they gained access to their districts ([Interview with Community Mobiliser 2 \(male\) 2016; Musmar 2016](#)). Based on how the community mobiliser encountered the district

(dictated by the gender of the community mobiliser, the culture of the district population, the alignment between community mobilisers' working hours, the availability of people observing who does what, and the spontaneity of certain encounters) the community key could cite a multiplicity of representations to which the community mobiliser would be orientated. The community key not only indicates someone who seems to be acknowledged, but someone that has the willingness to make space for community mobilisers. According to interviews with community mobilisers, two main characteristics featured among most of the community keys; their active engagement with different social spaces in the district which allowed them to acquire certain knowledges, and their search for visibility and recognition by the humanitarian NGOs. In the following text, I refer to three community keys that were referred to by community mobilisers: *street leaders*, *educated refugees*, and *matriarchs*.

Street Leaders. In 2016, during one of the informal meetings where I sat with community mobilisers from multiple NGOs, one community mobiliser with four years of experience as a community mobiliser, shared with others what was considered by everyone as bad news. 'Did you know what happened to Abu Safwan? He had a heart attack after he knew that the government had decided to deport him and his family to Al-Azraq refugee camp', the community mobiliser said miserably. 'How could they do that? I think sometimes they do not think!', he continued. 'You know that the UNHCR, with all of its apparatuses, partnerships, officers, programs, and technologies still does not hold the knowledge that this man holds. The other day, we knew that the UNHCR was trying to reach out to find one man's address. The UNHCR spent more than a month searching for his details. It took Abu Safwan only 3 minutes to reach out to this man. Let's go and visit him soon' (Musmar 2016).

The educated refugee. Not educated in the sense of holding a certificate or many certificates⁹⁶, but in the sense of having acquired knowledge of the camp. Educated in multiple ways; they know about how they are served; whom to ask, how to ask, and what to ask for. They recognise the time span according to which they are expected to build expectations; what they can do and what they cannot, the time certain procedures in the refugee camp usually take. They understand how to cultivate knowledge by locating themselves in three different structures of relationships; other refugees, nongovernmental actors, and governmental actors. Within these relationships, they negotiate their needs and desires; they are aware of the 'refugee regime complex' operating in the camp and are aware of the gaps existent in that system. An educated refugee is also a refugee that has been in the camp for a longer period than others. For example, a refugee that has just arrived in the camp is different from a refugee that has been here for one week, and the latter is different from those that have been there for one month and so on.

⁹⁶ I speak at extended length about people with refugees in chapter 3.2.

Matriarchs. Another female mobiliser referred to ‘women networks’ to denote the active network that she has been depending on for her mobilisation. ‘Some women came to me. They wanted to do something in their spare time in the camp’ (*Interview with Community Mobiliser 5 (female) 2016*), the mobiliser said, ‘those that are mothers, single mothers, grandmothers; women that are leading their families and are willing to take this role to the level of their streets and districts’ (*ibid.*). As women aged over 40⁹⁷ are normally based at home, they function as important key contacts with whom female community mobilisers work. For female mobilisers, who constitute a third of the community mobiliser team, fitting themselves into this network was crucial for their work. As the same female community mobiliser said, ‘during my daily route, I would frequently pass by their place to have coffee with them’ (*ibid.*).

Coercion

Community mobilisers disclaiming accountability
(Organisation)

Whereas accountability was persistently sought by community mobilisers, it was also something that they would disclaim. In one of my questions to community mobilisers I wanted to know how NGOs would react if refugees did something that does not coincide with NGO plans or regulations? ‘By reminding them of the responsibility that comes with their act. For example, for the water management project, we asked people to dig channels for the pipes that would be installed later; it was a two-way work system, from their side and from our side. People wanted to make their own infrastructural networks in a way that didn’t align with the UNHCR site plan. This was not possible of course! We told them then that “this is something that we do not take responsibility for, if you want to take responsibility for this then yes go for it”’. She continues, ‘and when we say responsibility, the only thing that crosses people’s mind is deportation to Syria’ (*Interview with Community Mobiliser 7 (female) 2016*).

This chapter extended the theoretical discussion that informed chapter 2.2; it deliberated upon the problem of accountability by offering a nuanced reflection on the pragmatics of the community mobilisation unit work in the humanitarian NGO. By tracing the relationship between the work of community mobilisers as environmental subjects and the spatiality of the refugee camp, I emphasised the complex relationship between the two main infrastructures; the infrastructure of humanitarian governance and the infrastructure of social relations. This relationship permeates a form of accountability that Jordanian humanitarian workers negotiated with through a multiplicity of practices that they performed on a daily basis. I named three of them: reconciliation, reticulation and coercion, and I referred to them as posthuman translations. However, this accountability, as well as the emotional and physical labour

⁹⁷ Although the Cash for Work program recruits women, it does not apply to women over 40 years old.

that is associated with it, remain unacknowledged; they are disregarded by the humanitarian management because it thinks they are unimportant. Here I ask: how could we as architects/researchers acknowledge the experiences of Jordanian humanitarian workers as accountable situated knowledges that contribute to the making of the refugee camp environment? Furthermore, towards the end of summer 2016, the humanitarian agenda took a more concrete turn towards development. Thus, a proportion of Jordanian community mobilisers were dismissed and replaced by Syrian volunteers in the community mobilisation unit. In 2016, the number of community mobilisers was reduced from 36 to 24. And in 2019, the number of community mobilisers was reduced again to only 12. This poses a question about the future of the refugee camp, what is it yet to become? And how does a thorough critique of the posthuman translations have the potential to advance the study of refugee camps in the future?

2.4 Inhabiting *Fieldwork* Precariousness

In a conventional PhD scenario, academic researchers are presumed to know and understand their *fieldwork* to the level of an expert. Thus, for a PhD student to speak out about her *fieldwork* precariousness might serve to discredit her accountability as an academic researcher. Consequently, this chapter aims to seek validation for my academic accountability as a PhD student by dwelling on my *fieldwork* precariousness. While retaining reference to the ethical questions that the ‘*fieldwork* encounter’ evokes⁹⁸, this chapter thinks of the epistemic aspects of conducting *fieldwork* in PhD research. Unlike established assumptions as to how a PhD student should approach their *fieldwork*, I am rather interested in what a PhD student could learn through *fieldwork* precariousness. Thus, I ask: what epistemologies are necessary for the PhD researcher to engage with in order to mobilise *fieldwork* precariousness? I further ask, how does one place these epistemologies into a language that is understood by the institution? As this chapter unfolds, it realises two main aims; firstly, it hints towards the necessity of citing the structural rigidity of the university’s⁹⁹ institutional procedures that doctrine how *fieldwork* should be approached (Cahill, Sultana and Pain 2007, Sultana 2007). Secondly, it sets the scene for my epistemic inquiry into the architectural encounter in the chapter that follows, 2.5 *Precarious Interruptions*.

Whereas PhD students’ capacity to perform certain qualities in their research is constantly assessed and criticised, their performance in *fieldwork* often falls behind their academic expectations. Although *fieldwork* is deliberated within university institutional procedures as a phase that PhD students can structure and plan for in accordance with their theoretical research inquiry (Billo and Hiemstra 2012), it is a precarious place (Butler 2006; 2012) where assumptions about what *fieldwork* is, or what *fieldwork* could possibly be, often fail (J. Hyndman 2001). Failing to meet the intellectual qualities that are expected while conducting *fieldwork* often shames PhD students (Ablamowicz 1992). The shame (along with other emotions¹⁰⁰) that this failure instigates, bring some of their intellectual qualities into question (ibid.). This ultimately impacts how they perceive themselves as unaccountable for academic research (Billo and Hiemstra 2012). As a PhD student who has been significantly affected by my *fieldwork* precariousness, I write this chapter in response to similar

⁹⁸ I have introduced the ‘*fieldwork* encounter’ in chapter 1.3.

⁹⁹ I discuss these structures at a more extended length in chapters 3.2 and 3.3.

¹⁰⁰ The critical reflection that I provided earlier on the emotions of fear, gratefulness, disgust, and discomfort¹⁰⁰ that I experienced as a humanitarian worker, aimed to cite the power structure that features the humanitarian regime that operates within the refugee camp. Moreover, considering the multiple positions that I occupied while doing my research, these emotions are also *affective economies* of other power structures to which I am positioned (that operate) outside of the refugee camp. For example, my position as a humanitarian worker within the NGO inside of the refugee camp cannot be divorced from my position as a PhD student within the university. Therefore, the fear that I felt while working as a humanitarian worker/PhD student, does not only cite the NGO’s power structure but also the University’s.

questions that constantly invaded my intellectual capacities while conducting *fieldwork*.

Theoretically locating *fieldwork* precariousness

Before delving into *fieldwork* precariousness in practice, it is important to locate what I mean by 'precariousness' in theory (Butler 2006; 2012). For this purpose, Butler's account of the ontology of a 'precarious life' makes a good starting point (2012). Drawing on Levinas' philosophy of ethics, mainly his emphasis on 'the ethical importance of passivity and receptivity' (ibid., 142), Butler approaches the question of precariousness as a question of ethics (ibid.). She suggests that, 'precarity names both the necessity and the difficulty of ethics' (2012, 141). Departing from the virtue that 'one's life is also the life of the other', she argues that 'one's boundary is at once a limit and a site of adjacency, a mode of spatial and temporal nearness and even boundedness' (ibid., 141). Butler argues that the spatial and intimate proximities to which we are exposed, the 'solicitation, seduction, passion, injury', 'sustain' us, but also have the capacity to 'destroy' us (ibid., 141).

I find this view of precariousness helpful for my inquiry in this chapter for multiple reasons; the question of *fieldwork* precariousness as a question of ethics problematises the university's application of ethics and the logic that discredits reluctant and confused researchers (Sultana 2007). While our understanding of 'ethics' through the domain of the university could be apprehended by a number of procedures that outline an overview of our ethical accountabilities in research, as we encounter *fieldwork*, we realise that our ethical accountabilities are slightly more complicated than measuring the vulnerability of research subjects, the "do no harm" tradition (Hugman, Pittaway, and Bartolomei 2011), risk assessments, travel insurance, the necessity for translators, etc. Fundamentally, ethics are contextual (Hyndman 2001; Sultana 2007; Abu-Lughod 2016).

When moving to the next section, *Being Confused*, I locate *fieldwork* precariousness in practice (Sultana 2007, J. Hyndman 2001). I navigate through *fieldwork* precariousness by bringing into light the dilemmas that I experienced as I began my *fieldwork* in Za'atri refugee camp. I was mainly perplexed by the in-between of two *fieldwork* perspectives; on the one hand, a distant view where I understood *fieldwork* as a predetermined phase that I should keep under my control in order to proceed with my full-time PhD as planned; and on the other hand, a situated view where I encountered *fieldwork's* messy and out-of-control realities. While thinking through the *affective economies* of my confusion¹⁰¹ (Ahmed 2014), I suggest that confusion denotes an epistemic problem in how *fieldwork* is being understood and taught in the university.

¹⁰¹ See also my account on the relationality, spatiality and feminism of emotions in chapter 1.3.

Unlike how confusion is (reductively) observed and judged in institutional terms (as mere practical challenges that researchers, at early research stages, normally face while transitioning from the phase of planning their research towards the phase of implementation)¹⁰² (Billo and Hiemstra 2012), I structure confusion as posing significant questions that problematise conventional university procedures. These procedures have overlooked the complex relationships, hierarchies, representations and histories amongst which *fieldwork* takes place (Sultana 2007).

Alongside the way in which the chapter continues to investigate the possible approaches to which a researcher could respond to *fieldwork* precariousness, it also engages with feminist epistemologies that invite the inhabitation of *fieldwork* precariousness. Rather than dismissing *fieldwork* precariousness as various research practicalities that researchers should learn to overcome with time and experience, a feminist positioning not only allows us to build on what we learn through our affective experiences, but also necessitates acknowledging the partiality of what we learn about our *fieldwork*. Towards the end of my discussion on feminist epistemologies, another question emerges regarding the necessity of translating these epistemologies into a language that institutional procedures understand.

Being ‘confused’: Acknowledging *fieldwork* precariousness!

In one email I received from my department in Sheffield, I was invited to participate in one of the PhD seminars to present some of my experience as a 4th year PhD student to others that are yet to figure out their way in research. As I thought about what I have become most experienced at, ‘confusion’ came to my mind. I am expert at being ‘confused’. During the overall time that I spent in the camp (more than nine months), every day I was confronted by new multiplicities that I perceived both conscientiously and confusedly.... ‘Time Management’ seemed to be key in theory, yet not in practice. Before I returned back for more fieldwork, I told myself that ‘I can practice this during my working hours and then do the bits of research writing or reading once I am home in the evening’; but like everyone in the camp, I always went back home with unfinished work and many emails to send (Musmar 2017).

¹⁰² Accordingly, some support might be offered through the institutional body of the university, so that PhD students are prepared for such challenging practicalities (Sultana 2007, Askins and Pain 2011, Billo and Hiemstra 2012). One example of this support is the ethics application through which researchers plan for their fieldwork. In the application process, they are obligated not only to identify their intended research objectives, participants, methods, and possible risks and challenges for conducting their research, but also to guarantee their capacity to respond to these challenges in order to be permitted access to their fieldwork (Adams-Hutcheson 2017). Another example of institutional support is the list of training aimed at researchers doing their fieldwork in ‘distant areas’ or ‘difficult fields’ where together with other more experienced researchers they can discuss typical or extremely controversial scenarios that could arise during fieldwork with vulnerable or dangerous participants. Another example is the mental health support that the university provides for researchers (the complete list of examples of institutional support and guidelines on how to do fieldwork is long).

In the earlier stages of my research, to think of what lay behind my confusion or what Hyndman terms ‘messiness’, was fear inducing, fear that being confused might represent academic inadequacy. ‘This academic inadequacy has possibly resulted from suffering an intellectual incapacity that prevents me from dealing with such challenges in research’, I often told myself (Siwale 2015, Billo and Hiemstra 2012). Abu-Lughod suggests that confusion stems from the fantasised images that ‘the cloak of secrecy shrouding the fieldwork experiences of successful predecessors’ inspire (Abu-Lughod 2016, 9). In short, young researchers in early stages of their research often feel ‘insecure’ about their research messiness (ibid.). However, to find out that not only other PhD researchers but also more experienced scholars have been challenged by the messiness of their *fieldwork*, gave me slight relief (Sultana 2007, J. Hyndman 2001, Billo and Hiemstra 2012, Askins and Pain 2011, Siwale 2015). For example, prominent geographers like Jennifer Hyndman (2001) and Farhana Sultana (2007) wrote about the chaos that *fieldwork* might possibly cloud researchers with. ‘The fieldwork’, Hyndman writes, ‘is at once a political, a personal and a professional undertaking’ (2001, 262), and it ‘is mediated and messy’ (2001, 265).

Some of the major dilemmas when I began my fieldwork were those related to how I thought *fieldwork* should be done. I was concerned about time, ‘how to manage my time between *fieldwork* and other research responsibilities?’ To be more specific, I was more concerned about ‘when to do the actual research?’. ‘Actual’ meant having enough time and energy to access established ways of doing research, such as, reading literature and practicing critical writing. I was worried that by being distant from literature, I would not be able to critically follow up on my *fieldwork* activities. I would be occupied by an idea that nagged me consistently about the limitations of my time in research; the need to finish ‘data collection’, ‘data analysis’, and the recurring need to extract my final ‘research findings’, all on time.

When I started the first part of my fieldwork- after having delayed it for more than two months- I felt I had already become vulnerable to the messiness of the field by losing control over what I had strictly planned. So, one can imagine the anxiety that living within these constraints induced. My supervisor suggested that by volunteering¹⁰³ in the camp, the logic of what I do in the field could turn into a ‘practice-based research’ (Nelson 2013, Kara 2015). Although this meant that this new logic of doing *fieldwork* would rid me of the burden of time, it was difficult for me to decolonise my mind from

¹⁰³ During the time I spent in Jordan doing my fieldwork in Za’atri, my supervisor and I maintained a pattern in which we met over Skype. In those meetings, I would keep her updated with my research updates; challenges, and possible detours. In one of our regular Skype meetings, my supervisor suggested that I invest in the detour that my research had taken during my visits to Za’atri refugee camp, when the only way to access the everyday life of the camp was through volunteering with one of the NGOs there. My work in the field then changed from fieldwork to ‘practice-based research’.

the institutionalised orthodox image of what *fieldwork* should be, in order to imagine how fieldwork could be otherwise (Rose 1993).

Negotiating *fieldwork* precariousness

‘The split and contradictory self is the one who can interrogate positioning and be accountable, the one who can construct and join rational conversations and fantastic imaginings that change history’ (Haraway, *Situated Knowledges* 1988, 586).

Shaped at the junction of many complex relationalities and spatialities, *fieldwork* is a convoluted space, with its own power structures. While conducting *fieldwork*, the researcher soon realises that there is no shore for her to stand outside the *fieldwork* power structures (J. Hyndman 2001, Sultana 2007, Siwale 2015, Billo and Hiemstra 2012). Even as an ‘outsider’¹⁰⁴, they are, without a choice, an integral component of *fieldwork*. Through this, their power is inevitably performed. Thus, to think of how they could possibly negotiate her *fieldwork* precariousness, a researcher not only needs to pay careful attention to how and where she stands in relation to others in *fieldwork*, but also to acknowledge her position and its relationalities¹⁰⁵ (Sultana 2007, J. Hyndman 2001). An initial step towards owning our precarious grounds in *fieldwork* is to learn how to undertake our *fieldwork* in relation to the ‘politics of location’¹⁰⁶ (Braidotti, *Transpositions* 2006); how to pay attention to our position, and how to acknowledge its relationalities as ‘situated’ in the *fieldwork* (Haraway 1988).

In the following text, I provide an analytical perspective that informs the ethics of undertaking *fieldwork* in relation to the politics of location. I suggest that to negotiate *fieldwork* precariousness from this analytical perspective is to be responsible for two main tasks; to dispose normative ways of thinking about *fieldwork*, and to introduce other modes of thinking about *fieldwork*. Rather than judging the researcher’s vulnerabilities as inadequacies, other modes of thinking about the *fieldwork* embrace such vulnerabilities as knowledges (Haraway 1988). The perspective that I provide is organised around three frameworks; engaging-with *fieldwork* precariousness, sinking-into *fieldwork* precariousness and exhausted-by *fieldwork* precariousness.

-Engaging-with *fieldwork* precariousness-

As opposed to the concept of ‘being in’ *fieldwork*, I present the concept of ‘engaging-

¹⁰⁴ For example, by taking the role of a mere observer or subsidiary actor.

¹⁰⁵ Again, I need to disclaim the normative ways in which we pay attention to and acknowledge our positions in conventional modes of research.

¹⁰⁶ For more information see Chapter 3 where I discuss the ‘Emotions of Location’ and Chapter 5 where I discuss the ‘Camp as Environment’.

with *fieldwork*, as was originally presented by Hyndman (2001, 265). Specifically, I find Hyndman's insight into the epistemological differences between the two concepts important. Unlike how 'being in' assumes that *fieldwork* is a flat territory where the researcher would 'be', engaging *with* recognises the cartographic complexity of *fieldwork*. Hyndman argues that within *fieldwork* precariousness exists a value, the realisation of which is conditioned not by merely *being in* it, but by careful engagement with field dynamics; people, relations, contexts. Feminist geographers like Rose (1993) have observed *fieldwork* as an inevitable masculinist paradigm that cannot escape the institutional orthodoxies that usually limit the possibilities for non-masculinist field-knowledges¹⁰⁷. Interestingly, Hyndman finds Rose's observation 'problematic' (2001, 262). While she does not dismiss the biases of a masculinist geographical paradigm, she does argue that research has in fact shown the possibility for otherwise. She approaches the epistemological distinction between *being in* the field and *engaging with* the field by thinking through the use of the term 'experience'. She argues that citing 'experience' without grounding it in, and relating it to, the subjectivity of the researcher, risks the exclusion of a wide realm of field activities. 'The experience of being there', Hyndman writes, 'does not in itself produce knowledge and expertise about people and place' (2001, 266). In other words, she argues that the *fieldwork* knowledge experience should not be generalised in relation to the researcher's attempt to do *fieldwork* objectivity.

The question that now arises is what *fieldwork*-experiences count as knowledge? In her search for a feminist objectivity that does not submit to western ways of envisioning objectivity as 'promising transcendence of all limits and responsibilities' (1988, 582), Haraway argues for 'situated knowledges' as a necessary epistemological approach to achieve ethical, responsible, and accountable objectivity (Situated Knowledges 1988). She argues that envisioning objectivity should not be associated with precast images that are arrogantly foreseen by those in the master-power-position about how the world should be (*ibid.*). Haraway argues for other modes of seeing through which locations are humbly limited and knowledges are situated rather than assumed (*ibid.*). However, these other modes of seeing that Haraway invites, are conditioned by a pedagogical responsibility through which the researcher is committed to learning about herself as well as about the subjugated others she is studying (*ibid.*). Unlike theories obsessed with hierarchy, order and tidiness that tend to separate the subject and the object, Haraway emphasises the importance of the researcher's vulnerability and messiness in order to learn.

'The split and contradictory self', Haraway argues, is one that can interrelate the dynamics that *fieldwork* involves (1988, 586). In *Staying with the Trouble*, Haraway stresses the importance of a fragmented and multiple subject by deploying the term

¹⁰⁷ For more information about the academic tension around the production of fieldwork knowledge, see the introduction of *Practice as Research in the Arts* (Nelson 2013, 3-23).

'Chthulucene' (2016, 2). This neologism points to a committed, responsive and response-able attitude towards learning through the conditions that a certain time and place of a situation enforce (ibid.). Her vision of *Chthulucene* figures, subjects, or as she calls them 'chthonic ones', imagines them as 'replete with tentacles, feelers, digits, cords, whiptails, spider legs, and very unruly hair' (ibid.). For Haraway, her use of organic and non-organic, thin, long, multidimensional, elastic, sensitive, and bendable metaphors, lays a challenge for us to think beyond the physical surface of our anthropocentric skins (ibid.). She invites us to think, albeit whimsically, about what we can learn from other forms of living beings who possess these morphological organs. Dwelling on the idea of 'becoming-with', or as Braidotti calls it 'we are in this together' (2006, 16), Haraway reminds us that our survival on this troubled earth, like these critters', is conditioned by the kin that we make with others (2016). If we are yet to inhabit the *Chthulucene*, our ideas, thoughts, methods and visions should help us in drawing lines through which we can connect and relate to others in our environment. Only then we will be transformed into the *chthonic ones*.

-Sinking-into *fieldwork* precariousness-

Throughout my *fieldwork*, I deviated from my prearranged methodical framework. ~~The straight line~~ that was composed in accordance with my research-agenda items; such as 'field visits', 'research interviews' and 'group discussions', proved far from intellectually intriguing. My questions that I had framed before I started my *fieldwork* were too fixed, rigid, and lacked the capacity to deal with the field dynamics. ~~The straight line~~ gave me a feeling of immobility; even when I felt I could move, I could not see the horizon to which I was headed. This was in contrast to my feminist imagination which allowed me to travel freely and, as a result, drift off the straight line.

Although exhausting, the process that led- albeit gradually- to that deviation was necessary. Before learning how to expand my muscles to capacity, so that they could help me to find my way, I first had to sink into the seas of *fieldwork* precariousness. I could no longer listen beyond the loud noise that played in my head. There were voices from home, work, the literature, the camp and the TV news channels. Every voice that I encountered during my time in Jordan diffused my capacity to listen¹⁰⁸.

Being encountered, listened to and reciprocated by others, soon allowed my previously broken voice to grow some self-esteem and confidence. With quick utterances that reverberated through the petrified cracks, my voice articulated novel questions that problematised other dimensions of my research. Dimensions that were rendered

¹⁰⁸ In *Sheffield-Wits Symposium on Moral and Ethical Challenges in Research*, Michele Lancione, a senior research fellow in Urban Institute and Department of Urban Studies, spoke about situated ethics and how important it is for researchers to go to the field 'cracked'. To be 'cracked' is to choose to be vulnerable in order to allow our subjectivities to be shaped in concord to our fieldwork specificities.

visible and reasonable only through (sinking into) and encountering *fieldwork* precariousness. Questions about my positionality, ethics, methods and research participants. But most importantly, about the level of value that my research would contribute to the spaces that I have moved through in my research.

-Exhausted-by *fieldwork* precariousness-

What does it mean to exhaust ourselves doing something? In the discussions that followed a seminar titled ‘tools’ in *Becoming ‘we’: A forum celebrating feminist spatial practice*¹⁰⁹, Catharina Gabrielsson, one of the speakers, described her commitment to feminist thinking as ‘exhausting’. The verb to ‘exhaust’ is frequently used in feminist theoretical practice to describe complex commitments to ethical values. Feminist commitments that place justice at the heart of its principles, necessitate a constant interrogation of the terminologies, methods, practices and methodologies that may unconsciously pass through our everyday lives. Wary of repetitive usage that might abuse how we are invested in everyday hierarchies¹¹⁰, claiming feminist grounds and squatting for our rights to justice is necessary work for which we as feminists stand accountable. Whereas the corporeal affects that are associated with the term ‘exhaust’ are often confused with those associated with the term ‘tire’, the critical dimensions that each of the words declaims is different. Evans and Reid, in *Resilient Life*, distinguish between these two states of being (being exhausted and being tired). They write:

‘To be exhausted is absolutely not to be tired. Tired people continue to perform that which they are already doing in a laborious way. They suffer that which they are and have to do. And tired people are tiresome in their suffering. We suffer their presence while all the while wishing to be exhausted of them as well as wishing that they might exhaust themselves, dry up and disappear. To be exhausted, in contrast, is to have done with what one has been. It is to be incapable of continuing to perform that which one has done so as to become capable of being otherwise. Thus, to be exhausted is absolutely not to be passive. It is only in being exhausted that one can become active ‘for nothing’. And to be active ‘for nothing’ is not to be caught ‘doing nothing’. It demands a lot of its subject’ (2014, 177).

At the initial stages of my research it was difficult to make sense of the precariousness that informs the word ‘otherwise’. Still an apprentice, I thought that walking ~~the~~ ~~straight line~~ and doing research in ‘the right way’ would undoubtedly guide me to experience a new state of being (Ahmed 2006). Had I insisted on remaining on ~~the~~

¹⁰⁹ For more information see: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/architecture/events/2018/mar/becoming-we-forum-celebrating-feminist-spatial-practice>

¹¹⁰ For more information see Chapter 3.

~~straight line~~, I would have tired myself as a result of the laborious work generated from conducting institutionalised research. In order to be otherwise in research; we need to queer the vulnerable margins of ourselves with curiosity. To be otherwise in research, we need to allow for other horizons to permeate, diffuse, merge with and transform the prearranged horizon that walking ~~the straight line~~ imposes.

In my pedagogical commitment to learning about the relational dimensions of my practice, I exhausted myself in the search for otherwise. In the section above on 'sinking into *fieldwork* precariousness', I expressed my deviation off ~~the straight line~~ by employing the term 'sinking'. Sara Ahmed would have perhaps expressed this deviation in terms of 'getting lost' (Queer Phenomenology 2006, 7). She writes in *Queer Phenomenology*, "getting lost" still takes us somewhere; and being lost is a way of inhabiting space by registering what is not familiar: being lost can in its turn become a familiar feeling' (2006, 7). Ahmed's use of 'getting lost' in alignment with 'inhabiting space' is indeed empowering. It endows the expression 'getting lost' with the will necessary to 'inhabit' certain spaces (ibid.). By 'registering what is not familiar', we develop the prowess to make courageous turnings. 'Getting lost' for Ahmed is about the 'turnings' that we make in search of a direction. She writes, 'space then becomes a question of "turning", of directions taken, which not only allow things to appear, but also enable us to find our way through the world by situating ourselves in relation to such things' (Queer Phenomenology 2006, 6). The turnings that we make while 'lost' allow us to be otherwise; to be moved otherwise and to be directed otherwise. Consequently, contact with the bodies that we are 'orientated' to capacitates us to take actions otherwise (ibid.).

Translating *fieldwork* precariousness: academic accountability

In this section I return to the institutional realm by asking: how do we translate implicit situated knowledges¹¹¹ into explicit practical terms? This question is crucial for my inquiry into how innovative modes of doing *fieldwork* are often reduced by mainstream academia. Accountability for the knowledges that we seek, speculate and produce as we negotiate our *fieldwork* precariousness is often challenged by questions of 'evidence'. Therefore, placing our negotiations among vocabularies that are understood and discoursed by academic audiences is necessary. In the following part

¹¹¹ Reading Haraway's poetically written literature may infuses in us, her readers, with wild imaginary thoughts about the possible emergence of supernatural powers that we have long envisioned as mere fiction. As we allow these energies to stream through our veins, the wild imaginings that they produce can cause confusion about two types of images; the images that we envision while daydreaming about playing with the *chthonic ones*, and the images that we need to inhabit in order to actualise the poetics laying behind the *chthonic ones*. How to turn these wild imaginings into reality? At this juncture between what we poetically imagine, and the actions needed to enact them, it is important to be reminded that the responsibility to which the *chthonic ones* are committed, necessitates a responsive attitude to time-space troubles. But, how to then respond with accountability?

of my writing, I approach my practice in the camp as a community mobiliser as a medium for translating my feminist negotiation of *fieldwork* precariousness. The Oxford Dictionary defines the verb 'to practise' as 'to perform (an activity) or exercise (a skill) repeatedly or regularly in order to acquire, improve or maintain proficiency in it'. While reading this definition in parallel to the feminist epistemologies that I introduced above, I am interested in the relational activity which occurs between (engaging with), the committed exercise (sinking into) and the invested repetition (exhausted by) that the verb 'practise' implies. I wish to engage with the epistemic dimensions that my practice as a community mobiliser entails. I reflect on one main method that my everyday practice as a community mobiliser entailed; walking. In my reflection, I aspire to translate the corporal, emotional and critical moments of contact that encountering the everyday life of the camp through walking and car-riding impressed upon me (Ahmed 2004).

Walking as a Method

"The long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be: it is neither foreign to them (it can take place only within them) nor in conformity with them (it does not receive its identity from them). It creates shadows and ambiguities within them. It inserts its multitudinous references and citations into them (social models, cultural mores, personal factors). Within them it is itself the effect of successive encounters and occasions that constantly alter it and make it the other's blazon: in other words, it is like a peddler, carrying something surprising, transverse or attractive compared with the usual choice. These diverse aspects provide the basis of a rhetoric. They can even be said to define it" (Certeau 1998, 146-47).

'Walking' as a method not only allows us to explore spaces, places, and the intimate relationships between materials and time, but it also locates our bodies at a proximity to their intimacies (Benesch and Specq 2016). 'Through walking', Benesch and Specq write, 'we acquire a sense of physical space and we learn how to measure distances, how to distinguish that which is far off from what is immediate and close by' (ibid., v). This sense of environment that develops between the walker and the place became apparent to me during the first day of my work as a community mobiliser in Za'atri refugee camp in 2014. On the backside of a folded piece of paper, a fellow community mobiliser, who had worked in the camp since its establishment in 2012, sketched out a map of the camp. Drawn quickly and somewhat clumsily, his unproportioned map had achieved its purpose in guiding me through our walk for that day. Nevertheless, as we started walking the routes of District #3, it was hard for me, as a fresh humanitarian worker who did not have others' experience, to make sense of the place. Whereas I struggled to recognise where I was and who is whom, my colleague flowed smoothly

through the district routes and cul-de-sacs, chatting with the people that populated either side. 'More than merely a well-coordinated movement of body parts', community mobilisers' walks are motivated by their will to do their everyday tasks and are animated by their familiarity with the people and culture of each district (Benesch and Specq 2016, vi). I knew that to be accredited as a good community mobiliser, I needed more time in the field. The more exhaustive the community mobiliser's walks are, the broader the reach of their bodies in the spaces they negotiate (ibid.).

Walking the camp districts as a Jordanian community mobiliser (wearing the humanitarian uniform) should not, however, be observed as an innocent undertaking whereby community mobilisers function as mere explorers. Community mobilisers occupy a powerful position that allows their wanderings in the district. For example, a brief comparison between my experience of walking through District #3 in Za'atri refugee camp and my experience of walking the streets of my city acknowledges the intersection of power/privilege that the position of a community mobiliser entails.

As a Jordanian woman, walking in public is traumatising, as it is associated with experiences of sexual harassment. I expected that walking through the district routes in Za'atri would possibly expose me to similar sexual harassment¹¹². Yet, I was surprised to find that I was not harassed. As I shared my observation with fellow community mobilisers, they referred to the power that the community mobiliser position holds that makes refugees fear them. Whereas refugee women in Za'atri were harassed, Jordanian women doing humanitarian work were not. Both my humanitarian uniform and my Jordanian nationality had endowed me with some sort of authority that made my gendered identity, as a woman whose harassment might be perceived as legitimate, invisible¹¹³. Therefore, to comprehend the ethics of community mobilisation as a practice, it is important to unpack the politics of community mobilisers' everyday walks in relation to the social and spatial organisation of the district. Tracing the extension of their beings into places that had been in the reach of their exhaustive walks exposes the socio-spatial temporalities that they had dwelled on. Questions that explore the emergence of these socio-spatial temporalities include; how did this space emerge? Who are the main actors? What are the social, cultural and/or administrative circumstances that led to this situation?

¹¹² Harassment is a phenomenon that features among most of the Arab countries. See (Eltahawy 2015).

¹¹³ Whereas walking as a 'human condition' is deliberated in literature as a willful movement that should be done only for the sake of walking (Benesch and Specq 2016, Gros 2014), walking for community mobilisers is not only goal-oriented, but also administrative. Commenced as a professional method at the first instance, community mobilisers' walks are planned in accordance with their administrative duty to explore the camp environment and as a result, to mobilise the community. The community mobilisation unit in the NGO is aimed at mobilising the refugee community by monitoring refugees' conduct. ¹¹³ For further details on the work of the community mobilisation unit, please see Chapter 4.

To avoid the ethical ramifications that the community mobilisers' walks would imply, I approach walking as a posthumanist method that challenges the anthropocentric nature of ethnographic approaches to the refugee camp (Braidotti, *The Posthuman* 2013). This shift in how this method is perceived makes it possible for the whole context, made up out of the voices of things, cultures, languages and mediations, to be heard (Bennett 2010).

2.5 Precarious Interruptions

Introducing *Madafah* and *Howsh*

-Across the sheer curtains-

2.5 Figure 1: The figure was deleted shortly after it was taken.

I startled as her angry voice came from the inside shouting at me, 'hey, you there, do not take pictures of people's insides. Do not you have any shame? ... go away!'. I thought it was ok to take pictures of things; objects, places, and spaces as long as I was not taking pictures of people's faces. I only wanted to capture how the blurry sheer curtain articulated the façade! Charged by memories from my childhood where I would simply flee a public scene after being shouted at, I wished I could flee the humiliation of being scolded by her angry voice; I wished I could go away, walk faster or maybe just disappear! I could not! I stood still where I was. I wanted to apologise for the misunderstanding and to explain to her my point of view; that the lens of my professional camera was not meant to be pointed towards the inside of her place, but only to the outside. That I wished only to capture the beautiful proportions of the façade of her household (Musmar 2016).

This encounter passed as a mere, yet common, misunderstanding or disagreement where I was not fully ashamed. I felt that my intentions had not been well-communicated. The woman thought I was taking a photo of the inside of her home, but I was not. I wanted to take a photo of the outside of her home; I apologised, and so, the story ended there. Nevertheless, I related to the old woman's perspective better on one afternoon during my return from work (in the camp) to my home in Irbid city. Unusually, a car (with its driver inside) had parked alongside the sidewalk that edged the boundaries of our property. Although our home is surrounded by leafy trees and bushes which makes it difficult for outsiders to view the inside, the corner where the

car had parked could overlook our backyard veranda, where we as a family would dwell on our private life. As I had predicted, I soon found out that the car did not belong to someone that we had hosted. I walked out to where the car had parked. In my conversation with the driver, in which I tried to explain why we as a family and owners of the property would not accept how he had parked his car, I reminded him of how shameful it is to overlook someone's private space. The young man apologised, said he would not park in this spot again, and moved on. However, through my conversation with the man, it was the woman's angry voice which I could relate to the most. I was angry not only that our home was exposed to the gaze of a stranger, but also for the precariousness that this disclosure had entailed. But, what if the man's gaze was not really directed to the inside of my home; what if he was looking somewhere else and not watching us dwell on our private life? I do not know (or maybe I do not care)! My father thought that my reaction was thoughtless, that I should have tried to negotiate my anger with our neighbour otherwise (Musmar 2016). However, he was convinced when I defended the spontaneity of my reaction; I reminded him that this is *hormet boyout*- حرمة بيوت, which translates to 'the sacredness of the (domestic) home'. According to this cultural code, people are expected to respect others' thresholds. Trespassing the threshold of someone's house is only conditioned by first announcing the intention of this, for example by saying 'Assalamualaikum' loudly, and by having that announcement accepted inside by the host, who, in return to the announcement, would invite one in explicitly. According to this cultural code, shame is used as a reminder of how any act¹¹⁴ which invades others' thresholds is illegitimate and thus publicly renounced.

For both of us, myself and the woman, our disagreement took place in relation to the indistinction between the inside and the outside that the sheer curtain encounter had encited. Nevertheless, how each of us perceived the indistinction was different. For me, I thought that it was the sheerness of the curtain which blurred the boundary between the inside and the outside. For the woman, it was the proximity to which I stood by the sheer curtain (extended by the camera lens which increased the reach of my gaze) which made distinguishing between the inside and the outside of the sheer curtain difficult (Sontag 2014). In cultural terms, my attendance to this proximity was an invasive act in which I trespassed the threshold of her household without informing its owners. My attendance to this proximity broke the *hormet boyout*- حرمة بيوت code. However, while I could identify with the cultural code of *hormet boyout*- حرمة بيوت when I was in my home (as a daughter), why was it still difficult to identify with the same cultural code when located in the refugee camp (as an architect/researcher)? Or in other words, why did my attention to the shame associated with trespassing the threshold of someone's household in the refugee camp remain outside my understanding of 'sensible'? Rancière's account on disagreement is a good starting

¹¹⁴ An act in this context cites both physical acts (e.g. bodily movement, eyes searching) and oral acts (e.g. using unsavoury language).

point to answer these questions (1999, 2013). In the editor's introduction to the *Politics of Aesthetics*, Rockhill writes on Rancière's disagreement the following:

'disagreement is neither a misunderstanding nor a general lack of comprehension. It is a conflict over what is meant by 'to speak' and over the very distribution of the sensible that delimits the horizons of the sayable and determines the relationship between seeing, hearing, doing, making, and thinking. In other words, disagreement is less a clash between heterogeneous phrase regimens or genres of discourse than a conflict between a given distribution of the sensible and what remains outside of it' (2013, xv).

The position of the architect/researcher in the refugee camp determines a relationship between 'seeing, hearing, doing, making, and thinking' that dilutes the layer of cultural commonality between the architect/researcher and the refugee. This is exercised through the set of principles (or aesthetics) that each of the realms of architecture and research infers, especially when applied in the refugee camp. For example, the belief that it is ok to take pictures of things; objects, spaces, and places as long as the architect/researcher camera lens is not pointed at people's faces reflects the culture which the position of the architect/researcher incarnates.

Let us start with architecture. Here, we can think of the subject-object relationship that architecture as a discipline of study and practice regulates¹¹⁵. Architecture places the human subject at the centre of the architectural experience (Bott 2013). It does not perceive the architectural encounter as an assemblage of human and non-human subjects, relations, emotions, etc. But rather as a subject-object relationship in which the subject preserves certain superiority over their surroundings. According to this logic that privileges humanistic¹¹⁶ aesthetics over other relational aesthetics, to photograph the façade of a building does not only imply an interest in the form that has composed the shape of the structure, but also a power by which the architect captures architecture. Architects subjugate, seize, measure, control, assume, and interrogate the materiality that embodies that architecture.

Likewise, PhD research (academia) as a realm of inquiry trains the researcher in order to equip them with a certain authority over the knowledge that they

¹¹⁵ We could also think of modern architecture values that distribute space between private and public simplistically without paying attention to everyday life experience, see (Stojnic and Novljan 2011).

¹¹⁶ See chapter 2.2

“produce” in their research¹¹⁷. For example, the ethics application through which the researcher seeks institutional validation for their research considers refugees as vulnerable research subjects to whom the researcher should pay extra care and attention to. So, when speaking about data collection methods such as taking pictures, the researcher applicant should assure their vigilance to their research subjects’ safety; they should not disclose refugees’ faces or bodies in photos as a way of making sure they are not doing them any harm. However, understanding disclosure in the context of the university remains limited to generalisations that do not pay attention to the nuances of the fieldwork encounter¹¹⁸.

Locating the architect/researcher in the refugee camp poses more complex questions about the power that the position of the architect/researcher entails. The architect/researcher is obligated to identify with certain authorities that control access to refugees, namely the Jordanian Government, the UNHCR, and the humanitarian NGO. Despite the architect/researcher’s theoretical attention to the predominant problem of the political representation of refugees inside the refugee camp (Agamben 1998, 2005), identifying with these authorities as representatives of refugees could possibly risk identifying with refugees as subjects without agency, something which ultimately marginalises refugees. Take for example the process by which an architect/researcher receives their governmental and nongovernmental permissions to access refugees. The thick paperwork that these permissions demand, as well as the coded assertive processes that these authorities enforce, perpetuates the perception of refugees as passive subjects. This, as a result, supports the disintegration of the cultural layer according to which the architect/researcher could identify with refugees. But then how could the architect/researcher respond to similar encounters; where the set of principles that act as a foundation for the world of the architect/researcher are different from those that structure other worlds where they are located? How can they find a common language by which they can address, understand, and respond to the conflict that this encounter sparks?

- ‘Assalamualikum’...I shouted in return-

I did not go away, as her angry voice from the inside asked me to. ‘Assalamualikum’...I shouted in return before taking a few steps towards the sheer curtain that drew a vertical boundary between me and her. Across the sheer curtains, she could see me, but I could not see her. I began apologising from behind the curtain, requesting to step inside to explain to her what happened, and to show her the photo that I had captured of her

¹¹⁷ See chapter 2.4 where I elaborate further on the confusion related to doing fieldwork. Also see chapter 3.2 where I critique academic delegations in the refugee camp.

¹¹⁸ See chapter 2.4.

place. She calls me inside, to the middle of her Howsh¹¹⁹, where she and her daughter are sitting in the path of the sunlight to receive some natural warmth. I walk a few steps to where the woman sits with her legs crossed on the floor. I set down on my knees and apologise again. I show her the photos that I had just captured, she asks me to delete them; I delete them and then I move on as if nothing had happened at all.

It was while wandering far from my colleagues that I captured the photo of the sheer-curtain façade. Although we walk together most times, there were also times when I would drift away from the group with my camera. My colleagues understood that the camera was the thing that I would frequently bring to the camp to maintain a connection to my research¹²⁰. Standing somewhere in between the two, the position of a humanitarian worker and the position of an architect/researcher, I often negotiated the precariousness of similar encounters (to those of the angry woman) by traversing¹²¹ between the two (Braidotti 1994, 2006). To expand, in response to the sheer curtain encounter, I found some refuge in my position as a humanitarian worker. Thinking of how my colleague, an experienced community mobiliser, would have responded to a similar encounter, I performed what I thought he would have done; I approached the angry woman by saying ‘Assalamualaikum’. This would have been his response which reflects how he perceives himself as a mere person; he does not want to be publicly renounced for an act that people thought was shameful. By relying on my colleague’s ‘sensible’ approach, I could better negotiate my access to the everyday cultural practices.

Precarious Interruptions

I refer to the sheer curtain encounter as one precarious interruption. By the term precarious interruption, I cite (architectural) encounters that I witnessed through my walks as a community mobiliser; those encounters which provoked questions that challenged the aesthetics that informed (via a set of principles) how I approach my research in theory and practice¹²². Situated within the posthumanist logic that theorised previous chapters¹²³, each of the four precarious interruptions that I introduce in the following sub-chapters challenges, as well as expands, our understanding of space in the refugee camp. Each precarious interruption is composed of an assemblage of relationalities, spatialities and feminisms, all of which contribute towards our comprehensive development of space in the refugee camp through three main features: that they are disruptive, that they are impossible, and that they imply queer turnings.

¹¹⁹ See the part of this chapter that is titled *Howsh*.

¹²⁰ See chapter 1.4 where I speak about being dislocated from research.

¹²¹ Also see chapter 1.1 where I speak about transpositions and the nomadic subject.

¹²² See chapter 2.4.

¹²³ See chapters 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. Also see chapter 1.1 where I introduce transpositions.

Precarious interruptions can be thought of as disruptive encounters; they disrupt the relationship between ‘seeing, hearing, doing, making, and thinking’ that the position of the architect/researcher normalises. As they intersperse normative ways of doing things, they open a space for a cartography of alternative power positions to proliferate, and for some atypical ethical questions to emerge. For example, the blurred boundary between the inside and the outside that the sheer curtain encounter had encompassed, not only brought to the surface important questions which subvert the values that shaped my initial understanding of architecture and research, but also made way for spontaneous (cultural) performances through which the architect/researcher can mediate their response to the precariousness of the encounter.

Precarious interruptions imply queer turnings¹²⁴; they bring to the horizon of our vision what was previously pushed to the peripheries. To explain further, in the sheer curtain encounter, the woman defended her household with a sense of ownership, as if the structure is her own property. Whereas refugees are often referred to as hosted subjects who are temporally expected to stay in the refugee camp and eventually return to their home countries, this sense of ownership to her caravan and experience of belonging to the territory of the refugee camp prompts questions around the rights of resettlement (Sigona 2015).

Precarious interruptions could be perceived as ‘impossible’ events in the Derridean sense; their emergence cites the possibility for that which has been long professed as impossible in certain theoretical traditions (Derrida 1988; Davies 2013). For example, the voice of the angry woman who defended her household captures the circulation of affective and political economies which shape, as well as move, the active subjectivities contained within the bodies of refugees. This defies some theoretical canons that assume the passivity of refugees in light of the fact that they live under the control of the refugee regime complex in the camp¹²⁵.

I refer to each of the spaces that produced a precarious interruption by the Arabic name used to cite these assemblages. I name these spaces *Madafah* and *Howsh*, and I do not offer any English alternatives for these names. It is important for me to maintain and keep intact the Arabic meanings, cultures and practices that these spaces denote. As a native Arabic speaking person, I perform this resistance to literal translation as a postcolonial act – defiantly refusing to lose any of the original meanings, something which often takes place through processes of translation within western literature. I also perform this resistance to literal translation in order to

¹²⁴ See chapter 2.1.

¹²⁵ See the introduction where I introduce these traditions.

subject academic writing to precarious interruptions, much like those I was exposed to through my walks.

2.5.1. Madafah¹²⁶



2.5.1 Figure 1 Captured and edited by the author during the spring of 2016. (Madafah-مضافة): a noun in Arabic that designates ‘the place of guests’. Derived from the verb, (Daf-ضاف) which translates to ‘hosted’.

‘Early in the morning, my colleagues seemed certain about their destination when I asked, ‘where are we going?’. ‘To Abu¹²⁷ Saleem¹²⁸’s’. ‘Aha’, I nodded. ‘Aya, do you not remember him?! we used to visit his place when you were here with us as a community mobiliser¹²⁹ two years ago?!’, one of my colleagues asked as he tried to remind me of the place. By the time I returned back to Za’atri as a researcher, I felt that I had a vague memory of what the place looked like two years ago. It was not different in character, yet it felt unusual. The arid air, wide cul-de-sacs, desert, and the white geometrical surfaces of the caravans and water tanks- all of which are numbered and signed by blue, orange, red and green NGOs logos and colourful flags, have not changed. I looked to my friend and shook my head with uncertainty. Whoever works here knows that one year in the camp sets otherwise in the flesh of our time outside the camp. My colleague seemed to also recall that fact when he tried to ease the intensity of his previous exclamation by excusing my memory; ‘how would you remember?! we used to work with the communal kitchens. You may have mentally marked the place with a reference to District 3’s blue-painted kitchens. There are no kitchens here anymore as you have probably noticed’.

Walking from the base camp to meet the District 3 main representatives was never a direct route. No matter how short the short-cut was that we would attempt to make,

¹²⁶ Madafah is also referred to as Diwan in some references, for example see (Shryock 2008). I chose to use the term Madafah because I find it linguistically reminiscent of the Arabic rationale of hospitality.

¹²⁷ His original name is Mohammad, however, he is known and referred to as Abu Saleem. In the everyday discourse of Arabic culture this alias is termed ‘Kunya’. Kunya denotes the title by which someone is referred to by the name of her/his first-male-child. ‘Abu’ translates to ‘the father of’. The feminine counterpart to ‘Abu’ is ‘Umm’; which translates to ‘the mother of’. In Howsh, I refer to Abu Saleem’s wife as ‘Umm Saleem’ (see Howsh after Madafah).

¹²⁸ Abu Saleem is what community mobilisers (as described earlier in chapter 2.3) term a ‘a key contact’.

¹²⁹ In the summer of 2014, I worked as a community mobiliser with an International NGO in Za’atri refugee camp. In my work as a community mobiliser, together with two male colleagues, I was responsible for supervising and administering the communal kitchens in district three. Our walking path was planned in accordance with the locations of the communal kitchens. Our job responsibility was to assign kitchen supervisors and to manage the distribution of gas cylinders to kitchens.

there were many detours and turns that we would end up taking. As my colleagues and I walked, our path was composed in accordance with the calls, shouts, and shout-outs exchanged between my colleagues (community mobilisers) and the inhabitants of District three. 'Come and join us at Abu Saleem's, we will discuss further details there', my colleague mentions Abu Saleem's Madafah to the people he encounters on his way. We arrived, having reached the corner that takes us to Abu Saleem's Madafah. A red bike was parked there. 'whose bike is that?', I asked. 'It is the bike of his son-in-law', my colleague responded.

As we become visible to Abu Saleem, he smiles to us from a distance. Leaning against the floor with the heels of his hands, Abu Saleem supports himself when rising from his floor-seated position¹³⁰. He stands up, waves with his right-hand and gestures to invite us in. 'Hawlou/ حولوا' he shouts. This is a term that would have sounded strange for Jordanians before they encountered Syrian refugees from Dara'a. It means 'change the direction of your path and come here'; it cites hospitality and generosity. We wave back. Following the steps of my colleagues, at the entrance of the Madafah. I take off my shoes and greet Abu Saleem and his guests¹³¹. Close to where my colleagues and Abu Saleem are seated, I sit on the cushion that lays near the exit. My colleague introduced me as a previous community mobiliser and a now-researcher¹³². Despite his efforts to hide his grimace and welcome my presence with a smile, Abu Saleem seemed uncomfortable with my current occupation. He followed my colleague's introduction of me as a 'researcher' with a story about Al-Assad's investigatory apparatuses and how that costed his village the disappearance of many young men. On the same day, he told us that he writes poetry in a notebook that he keeps with him. I asked him if I could have a look at his lines out of a personal interest in poetry, but he did not approve it.

¹³⁰ In my Arabic Jordanian culture, I grew up with some socially discursive manners that regulate the way people practice their everyday life; how they sit, eat, greet, and address others in their speech, etc. Whereas these discursive manners are spontaneous through everyday practice, in the case of the host and hospitality one must stay attentive to their manners. For example, when I was a child I was taught not to serve a guest a glass of water half-filled. In social terms, this means one is 'degrading the guest'. The water in the glass is representative of the value of the person that is offered the water. This is the same for standing up to the level that others stand when greeting them. For example, in another scenario, if Abu Saleem had stayed seated, it would mean that we were not welcome inside his *Madafah*. The more frequent our visits to Abu Saleem's *Madafah*, the more spontaneous we both become. In the visits that followed our first visit, Abu Saleem greeted us from his seat, still shouting and gesturing us to come inside (Feghali 1997).

¹³¹ Stemming from Islamic religious traditions that are culturally discursive in the refugee camp, men and women do not shake hands when they greet each other.

¹³² (Researcher- Baheth/ باحث) and (governmental investigatory apparatus- Mabath/ مباحث) are two words that are derived from the same root; (Bahath/ بحث). The similarity of these words generates understandable confusion not only for Abu Saleem, but also for many of the refugees to whom I was introduced as a researcher. For refugees, who were forced to leave their homes and migrate for the fear of persecution at the hands of Al-Assad government, my position as a 'researcher' was perceived as a threat.

During my first few visits to Abu Saleem, I had the chance to be perceived differently; I spoke more about ‘architecture’¹³³ than I did about ‘research’. I spoke to Abu Saleem about my interest in the Madafah that he had established, furnished, and sheltered. He explained his process to me; ‘First, I planned the boundaries that I needed for the Madafah, mixed the concrete’¹³⁴ material with the assistance of a skilled neighbour from the same district, poured the concrete and levelled its surface so it looks even like how it looks now. I also replaced’¹³⁵ many of the caravan wooden floors inside my place with concrete to seek some stability., Silence. I think about how to ask a question that cites a comparison between the two sides of refugees’ lives’: their life now in the camp and their life before in Syria. This line of questioning’¹³⁶ had become tedious for some refugees to answer, and as a result I shied away from asking. Abu Saleem interrupted my stillness, by catching my shy eyes and saying: ‘The Madafah’s importance as a

¹³³ First, I was reluctant to address myself as an architect when I spoke about my research. I had never experienced the practice of architecture, so always avoided claiming the position of an architect in the field. However, once I realised the traumatic affect that the term ‘research’ has impressed upon refugees, I was pushed to reclaim my position as an architect. Reclaiming that position not only helped me to avoid citing the traumatic history of the term ‘research’, but it also allowed my image to be rendered differently for them. In refugees’ cultural language, ‘the architect’ occupies an estimable place. As an ‘architect’ or ‘mohandeseh/مهندسة’, I am expected to be well-mannered, educated, and dedicated.

¹³⁴ Stemming from its temporal conditionality, the use concrete is not permitted, as well as any other building or bonding material used to build any form of stable or longstanding structures in Za’atri. Therefore, exchanging concrete or any of its ingredients, such as cement or sand, or any of its reproduced forms, such as bricks, was not allowed in the camp. For example, one refugee’s attempt to build rooms within the compound of his caravans in district four was interrupted by the Jordanian government. In his attempt, he created his own mud-bricks. He created the blend by mixing some of the soil that he extracted from the ground of the camp with water. He then mixed the blend with straws and moulded it into bricks before drying them and having them ready as a construction material. Shortly after publishing an article that described his creative work in ‘the road’ magazine that is published by JEN- a force from the government visited his place and destroyed the rooms that he had built from the dried-bricks. Any form of structure that was raised more than 50cm above ground level did not survive. However, despite all the constrains that prohibited the deliberation of concrete, as well as all other building materials in the camp, the commerce of concrete in the camp was phenomenal. In light of this phenomena one must ask: if exchanging concrete or any of its ingredients was not permitted, where did refugees bring the materials from? 1- In the early phases of the camp’s establishment (late 2012 and early 2013), districts 3, 4, 9, 10 and 11 were sanded and gravelled before they were inhabited by registered refugees. Later, the uninhabited areas which spanned those districts turned into gold-digging fields for those refugees desperate to find a job in the camp. A new business emerged from those fields where sand and gravel were collected, then sieved before having each of them sold in the market. 2- Cement packs were smuggled into the camp and then sold inside of the market. 3- The still-standing ruins that resulted from demolishing what were once concrete structures used for communal kitchens and public toilets.

¹³⁵ The use of concrete to floor caravans after having removing the original wooden floors was a widespread practice in most of the camp districts. Regardless of the assumed duration of their temporal stay in the camp, refugees sought some stability. Most of the households that I visited with my colleagues, like Abu Saleem’s, had replaced their shaky wooden floors, as they wanted, at the very least, a physically stable stay. It is also common for refugees to upcycle the wooden boards from the original-floors of their caravans to make their own furniture. In other cases, wooden boards were sold to carpenters who made a living out of making furniture.

¹³⁶ See chapter 3.2 on the delegation.

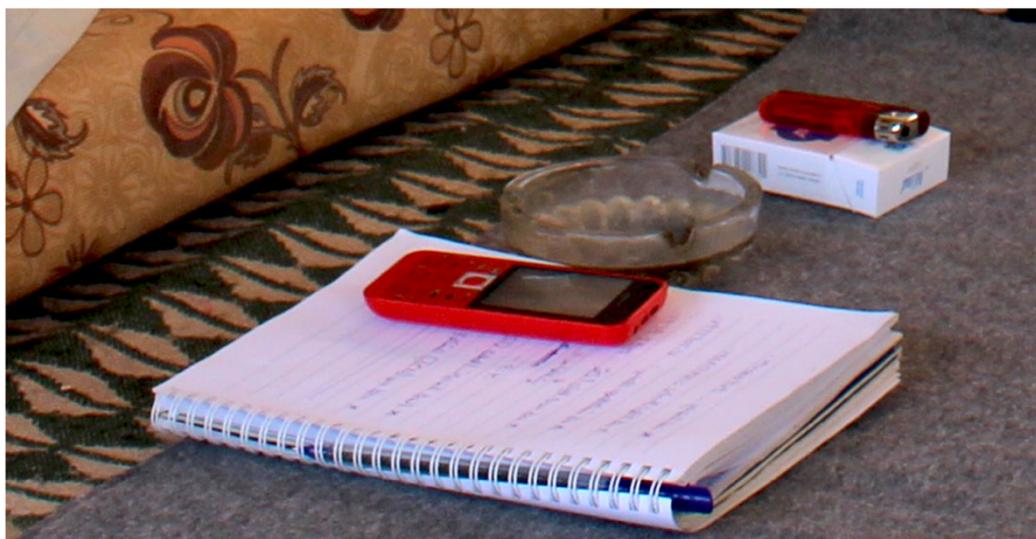
place originates from our rural culture. Back in Dara'a my family was one of the families that opened its Madafah to guests all the time. Our sheikhs¹³⁷ listened to people's problems and tried to mediate and solve them'.



2.5.1 Figure 2 : Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. Abu Saleem speaks to my colleague. He smiles to the camera, but he pretends to not pay attention to it.

¹³⁷ (Sheikh/ شيخ) in the Arabic language cites a person who has been publicly recognised in his tribe for the knowledge and the experience that he has acquired throughout his life. Whereas this recognition is conditioned by the Sheikh morals and morale, it is also associated with his age (Almaany 2010-2018). The Sheikh denotes the category of elderlies who have reached their 50's. In Islamic terms, the Sheikh also means a person who has studied one of the branches of Islam and has therefore become an expert in its field of study (ibid.).

Seated at the centre of the side that marks the entrance to his Madafah (replicating his family sheikhs back in Dara'a), Abu Saleem welcomed guests all throughout the day. He has never been an official leader¹³⁸ and has never aspired to be one. Abu Saleem's good reputation is not only known for community mobilisers and other NGO representatives, but people in his community also trust him and look to him as a leader. During the time I spent in the camp, many of the formal and the informal meetings between refugees and NGO representatives took place in his Madafah. During the times that I was hosted at Abu Saleem's Madafah, many of his neighbours came in to discuss their daily issues. Abu Saleem listens to people attentively and when he speaks it is always with confidence. With his euphonic assertive voice, whenever he speaks everyone listens. Only when he mentions NGOs, does his tone become tense. Despite the pattern of the UNHCR blue logo that adorned the plain surface of the shelter-sheet that dangled from behind Abu Saleem, he did not conform to the power that everybody else thought the UNHCR had over refugees' lives in the camp. When I asked him about how happy he was with NGO services inside the camp, he said 'I have never needed an NGO to provide me with aid and I will not ask for it. They owe me, I do not. I know how to sustain myself and keep my extended family sustained too'. As he went on to explain, it was hard for Abu Saleem to perceive the UN humanitarian agenda in isolation from its 'implicit interventions that bred the war in Syria'.



2.5.1 Figure 3: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. Photo shows Abu Saleem's six necessary gadgets. A mobile phone, a pack of cigarettes, a lighter, an ashtray, his notebook (not the poetry one) and a pen.

¹³⁸ By official I mean those that are administratively assigned to operate such positions. Before this administrative assignment was withdrawn by a governmental decision in 2015, official district leaders were elected by their district's represented refugees. They inhabited their districts formally, acknowledged by the Jordanian government and the UNHCR.



2.5.1 Figure 4: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. Taken during our walk and one minute before we reach Abu Saleem's *Madafah*. One Arabayeh (mobile seller) is parked in front of Abu Saleem's. The seller was being hosted in the *Madafah*.



2.5.1 Figure 5: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. That day, we walked together with the team of social workers from the Case Management unit. We were all heading to Abu Saleem's *Madafah*.



2.5.1 Figure 6: A map drawn by one community mobiliser that shows the different *Madafahs* that he visits through his everyday walks in district three. He makes a distinction between four types of *Madafahs*; 1- One was for one man that is morally respected by the district, 2- one was for a street leader, 3- one *Madafah* was for the mosque imam, 4- and another for an NGO volunteer that people in the district were familiar with.

Who is hosting whom?

The refugee camp is often cited as a place where refugees are ‘hosted’; however, I suggest that through the everyday life of Za’atri refugee camp, *Madafah* has emerged as a place whereby refugees ‘host’ NGO representatives¹³⁹ (community mobilisers). Materialising through a complex structure of power relations¹⁴⁰, I argue that *Madafah* as a space was produced not only to respond to refugees’ cultural ethic of hospitality (which Abu Saleem had pointed to while raising the image of his family *Sheikhs* solving people problems), but also to allow refugees to claim a certain agency through which they can contribute to the governance of the camp. The *Madafah* became a space where refugees hosted NGO representatives, and where NGO representatives could dwell on how to achieve their work duties. By asking, ‘who is hosting whom?’, I aim to interrogate how the dynamics associated with the power positions of the ‘host’ and the ‘guest’ are played out between refugees (i.e. Abu Saleem) and NGO representatives (i.e. community mobilisers), respectively (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality* 2000). The contrast¹⁴¹ between the host (the refugee) and the guest (the NGO representative) that my question aims to reveal, works to challenge the image of the refugee present in conventional humanitarian discourses; that it as people who are stripped of their agency and whose relationship with humanitarian governance consists of debt and gratefulness.

Hospitality¹⁴²

Derrida describes hospitality as an ‘aporia’ (2000, 65). “Aporia” is defined in English Oxford Dictionary as ‘an irresolvable internal contradiction or logical disjunction in a text, argument, or theory’ (2018). Ultimately, the singular law of unconditional/absolute/inclusive hospitality and the plural laws of conditional/exclusive hospitality are in contrast. For example, if conditional hospitality means asking the guest about their name and family origins in order to allow them

¹³⁹ I use ‘NGO representative’ to bring readers’ attention to NGO visibility. I wish to analyse the contrast between the refugee and the community mobiliser in the host-guest relationship.

¹⁴⁰ The chronological order through which the *Madafah* emerged as a space of dwelling shows that its emergence was dependent on the evolution of social relations in conjunction with the evolution of tangible and intangible infrastructures of humanitarian governance in the NGO. For more on this see Chapter 2.3.

¹⁴¹ In *The Guest’s Guest* (2008), Adam Ramadan writes about how Palestinians in refugee camps in Southern Lebanon hosted Lebanese people fleeing the war between Israel and Hizbullah in 2006. During the war, Palestinian refugees, themselves hosted by the Lebanese, became the hosts of their hosts. Ramadan interrogates the contrasting relationship which emerged between the Palestinians as the guests and the Lebanese as the guests’ guests.

¹⁴² The theoretical framing through which I look at ‘hospitality’ shows how hospitality has been deliberated in Arabic and Islamic contexts to challenge some concepts that are associated with the state-oriented western tradition of deliberating on hospitality.

into a 'pact' of hospitality, the law of absolute hospitality conceives hospitality as a duty and it therefore demands a break from the law. He writes, 'absolute hospitality requires that I open up my home and that I give not only to the foreigner (provided with a family name, with the social status of being a foreigner, etc.), but to the absolute, unknown, anonymous other, and that I *give place* to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity (entering into a *pact*) or even their names' (2000, 25). As he structures unconditional/absolute hospitality as 'inconvincible and incomprehensible' (2002, 362), he argues that this paradoxical relation between unconditional hospitality (the 'singular law' of hospitality) and conditional hospitality (the 'plural laws' of hospitality) is a complementary relation. Westmoreland explains this paradoxical relation between the singular law and plural laws of hospitality by stating that 'they are not symmetrical, equally opposing one another. Rather, a hierarchy exists in which the law is above the laws, outside the laws. However, the two complement each other in that the law of hospitality requires the laws so not to be abstract' (2008, 8).

Although Derrida's deliberation of hospitality (as exchanged through the host-guest relationship) stays loyal to the boundaries of the unit of the house (as constructed by the host), territory and politics are two key structures that feature within Derrida's critique of conditional hospitality. The domestic setting, through which the host-guest relationship is articulated in Derrida's writings, cites geopolitical relationality¹⁴³ to a broader territorial and political landscape of nation-state regimes (Rosello 2001). For example, the boundaries of the house represents the territory of the state, the host then becomes a representative of the state by being the head or the master of the house, and the guest represents the 'foreigner', or those in transition who have come from 'abroad' (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000, ix). The latter are also those who have been left out of what Haddad refers to as the 'trinity' of state-nation-territory (2008). Thus, his critique of the host-guest relationship in conditional hospitality comprises an analysis whereby political concepts like power, sovereignty and violence are essential in order to comprehend the laws that rule the exchange of hospitality (Campus in Camps 2017; Hilal 2019).

To understand how the laws of hospitality (singular and plural) are enacted through the *Madafah*, it is important to ask: how does hospitality translate spatially (Dikeç, Clark, and Barnett 2009)? In spatial terms, the hyphen in host-guest conveys a contrasting spatial relationship, as well as, a merging of the inside (host) with the outside (the guest). To expand, the inside is the host's house where he occupies a powerful position as the master of his place, while the outside or 'abroad' is where the 'foreigner' guest comes from (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000, 3). Visualizing the space where hospitality laws are enacted as situated at the edge between the private

¹⁴³ The Campus in Camps project on *Xenia* provides some creative accounts on the geopolitical dimension of hospitality. See: <http://www.campusincamps.ps/projects/xenia/>

and the public, Derrida invites us to understand hospitality as an ‘interruption’ (Westmoreland 2008, 1). Through this thinking, the *Madafah* can also be understood; as a space where the ‘interruption’ of hospitality takes place (ibid.). In this interruption, where the outside trespasses the inside by moving towards/meeting/crossing/clashing/transgressing the inside, the *Madafah* performs the *threshold*¹⁴⁴ that provides rules as to how the inside is encountered by the outside. In the following text, I start my critical reflection with the same question that I asked earlier on my walk with the community mobilisers: ‘Where are we going?’ Thinking of community mobilisers as wanderers, travellers and maybe foreigners themselves, I approach this question as a question of ‘the foreigner’. For Derrida, the foreigner is ‘the one who puts the first question or the one to whom you address the first question’ (2000, 3). Following my colleague’s answer about our destination: ‘to Abu Saleem’s (citing his *Madafah*), I reflect on trespassing the *threshold* of the *Madafah*. Keeping in mind the intimate entanglement between the two, the infrastructure of humanitarian governance and the infrastructure of social relations that community mobilisers embody, I argue that the laws that dictate ‘the pact’ of hospitality in the *Madafah* have been already constructed and agreed on through the chronological evolution of the two structures (Graham and McFarlane 2014). Thus, for the community mobilisers, trespassing the *Madafah* was rather a performative act that pays respect to the *Madafah* as a *pact* whereby an exchange of hospitality takes place according to certain terms. Moving on to describe my own crossing of the *Madafah*, which Abu Saleem perceived as intrusive due to his unfamiliarity with my presence, I reflect on my position as a foreigner and how substituting ‘researcher’ with ‘architect’ shifted how I was perceived by Abu Saleem. To elaborate, while the power that I generated through the title ‘researcher’ was perceived by Abu Saleem as threatening, that which I amassed due to the title ‘architect’ was rather generously and respectfully welcomed by Abu Saleem. By the end of the text, I argue that despite the decline¹⁴⁵ of the *Madafah* as a space where community mobilisers can dwell, the laws of hospitality that had been enacted through the space of the *Madafah* were still otherwise performed.

□ **“Where?”: the question**

- *where are we going?*

‘The question “where” is ageless, transitive, it gives as essential the relation to place, to dwelling, to placelessness, and in its very function refuses thought in its comprehending relation to the object’

¹⁴⁴ Dufourmantelle refers to the space where hospitality laws are enacted as the ‘witness’ to hospitality (European Graduate School Video Lectures 2011).

¹⁴⁵ This is for the following few reasons: 1- the NGO’s strict rules prohibited Jordanian community mobilisers from dwelling inside refugees’ households (to dismantle the power structure of refugees that challenged the working agendas of NGOs) 2- Community mobilisers in districts that lacked an NGO-affiliated space for their administrative work were provided with what is called a ‘community unit’. 3- The tasks attributed to community mobilisation.

(Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000, 52-54).

Caught by their occupational duty to ‘mobilise the community’ through their everyday five hour walk; a place for which they can quickly stop or where they can rest hinders their transitive quest. For community mobilisers, to mobilise the community is to ‘help people’, or to ‘help people help themselves’. It is to ‘work to build relations’, to maintain them, and most importantly to belong to them. Belonging to these social relations is not to be understood as a plain sighted imitation whereby community mobilisers assimilate into refugees’ communal relations, rather belonging is choosing to be vulnerable; to be cracked¹⁴⁶ so to allow these social relations in. As Butler, Gambetti and Sabsy argue in the introduction to *Vulnerability in Resistance* ‘vulnerability emerges as part of social relations, even as a feature of social relations’ (2016, 4). Choosing to be vulnerable to social relations cannot be better explained than the explanation offered by one of my interviewees: ‘people in the camp feel more comfortable around those who can feel their pain more than others trying to technically solve their problems. At least when you are unable to solve the problem, the refugee will know you honestly tried to and they will be satisfied by that!’. For community mobilisers, a place (‘where’) that satisfies their quest is a place in which they can dwell (Mommersteeg 2014), or in Ahmed’s terms, a place that they can ‘inhabit’ (2006). The same interviewee continues by saying: ‘our management often criticises the time that we spend “sitting with” refugees as time wasting. Management complains of our capacities in formal reporting, saying that reporting is the “real work”. But I genuinely think that “sitting with” refugees is the real work’. Consequently, a place of dwelling for community mobilisers is a place where they can ‘sit with’ people first. With time, we ‘help people’ or ‘help people to help themselves’ by ‘contributing to solving a problem’¹⁴⁷.

- To Abu Saleem’s

‘We only ever speak one language—and, since it returns to the other, it exists asymmetrically, always for the other, from the other, kept by the other. Coming from the other, remaining with the other, and returning to the other’ (Derrida 1998, 40).

In Arabic language and culture, *Madafah* denotes a place where the cultural ethic of ‘hospitality’ (*Deyafah*- ضيافة) is performed and mediated upon the principle of helping

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 1.4.

¹⁴⁷ In a formal interview with the previous Community Mobilisation Coordinator, he acknowledged the positions of the community mobilisers by describing each as ‘a bank of information’. By the time they are in the field, community mobilisers have managed to understand the infrastructure of power relations through which the everyday life of the camp occurs. In turn, contributing to solving a problem means facilitating the knowledge and the information that each of the mobilisers had gained about the camp in order to help refugees with the everyday problems that they face in the environment of the refugee camp.

those in need of help. In fact, the ethic of *Deyafah* in the Arabic language pre-existed the western syntax of hospitality (Shryock 2008). Unlike the Latin stem-verb 'host' and the complex taxonomy of derivations that Derrida navigates through to comprehend the politics of cosmopolitan conditional hospitality (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000), the Arabic stem-verb (Daf-ضاف) cites an unequivocal relationship between the host and the guest. In this relationship, as structured in language, it is the subjective request of the guest (or the traveller) to be offered hospitality from the host (the requestee) that necessitates hospitality. In this relationship, the host/requestee is ethically responsible to respond to the guest/traveller's request. Thus, hospitality in this relationship is not juridical, but rather ethical.

The ethic of 'hospitality' (*Deyafah*-الضيافة)¹⁴⁸ originates from pre-Islamic Arabia¹⁴⁸ tribal 'virtues of welcome and generosity' which took form in the harsh desert environment (Siddiqui 2015, 10-11). Pre-Islamic Arabia tribes did not ask their hosted guests about their names and their families. Then 'hospitality' (*Deyafah*-الضيافة) was a communal ethic that ruled over people's social relations; to abstain from the act of 'hospitality' (*Deyafah*-ضيافة) was therefore a shameful act that was denounced by others (Feghali 1997). In Derridian logic, this Arabic 'hospitality' (*Deyafah*-ضيافة) equates the singular law of hospitality in so much that it is 'above' and 'outside' of the laws of conditional hospitality (Westmoreland 2008, 8). Despite the manifold historical eras that have passed since pre-Islamic times, the moral structure that is contingent on the exchange of cultural codes that once acted as moral authorities, have been perpetuated as authoritative cultural codes that now regulate the social relations of Arab communicational patterns today (Al-Barghouti, *The Umma and the Dawla* 2008). For example, although our contemporary deliberation of the ethic of hospitality has been influenced by the economic and political conditions of exchange associated with cosmopolitan hospitality, hospitality as an ethic is exchanged through the everyday social relations of Arab people, both in rhetoric and in practice (Feghali 1997).

¹⁴⁸ Whereas, to enact this affiliation between linguistic patterns and social-relations patterns in an urban structure, one should take into account studying how such patterns are mediated within the institutional infrastructures that interweave the urban fabric of the *polis*, such as neighbourhood, business, land or economy, Al-Barghouti argues otherwise (2008). In *The Umma and the Dawla*, he argues that such mediations did not take place in a particular spaces for the desert-nomadic life style of pre-Islamic tribal Arabs when they were in constant movement and non-ending transition. For this nomadism that featured pre-Islamic Arab lifestyle, dwelling on the individual- collective relations was not mediated through any form of settlements; like temples, theatres, city halls, etc. Rather 'language' was the place where they dwelled in order to draw those relations. This non-mediated affiliation between language semantics and grammars and social relations was maintained and reinforced by poetry. Lines of poetry that praise and encourage certain values. The more eloquent and expressive a line of poetry was, 'the more it was used as a proverb, and therefore as a moral authority'. See: Al-Barghouti, Tamim. 2008. *The Umma and the Dawla: The Nation-State and the Arab Middle East*. London: Pluto Press. 8-9.

The duality of the position that Jordanian community mobilisers occupy; as social subjects who speak the Arabic language and emit its culture, and as NGO authoritative subjects that are caught up in their occupational duties, allows the *Madafah* to function as a space that satisfies their twofold quests; i.e. to be helped by others and to help others.

□ **‘Near to the exit’: the ‘threshold’ and the *pact*.**

- *‘Not far from where my colleagues and Abu Saleem are seated, I sit on the cushion that is near the exit’.*

‘Nowadays, a reflection on hospitality presupposes, among other things, the possibility of a rigorous delimitation of thresholds or frontiers: between the familial and the non-familial, between the foreign and the non-foreign, the citizen and the non-citizen, but first of all between the private and the public, private and public law, etc.’ (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000, 47-49)

Abu Saleem did not make me feel unwelcome, yet I felt that to him I was a foreigner. My colleague told me that I was over-thinking it when I explained to him my overall concern about the discomfort that I may have caused Abu Saleem, asking if I should not visit his *Madafah* again. ‘You are just not used to each other’, my colleague said. Despite how invisible I was to Abu Saleem, as he moved his sight away from me during my first visit he still noticed that I was sitting by the ‘exit’. ‘Tell your new friend to come closer to the inside, tell her she is welcome’, Abu Saleem said to my colleague- now an insider himself- reminding him of his responsibility to invite me in. Careful not to be more intrusive than I already felt I was being, I insisted on staying where I was already seated, by the periphery of the *Madafah*; nearer to the ‘outside’ and purposefully by the ‘exit’. The same ‘exit’ that I inhabited in search of a margin that would embrace my foreignness, was seen by my colleagues as an ‘entrance’ to the *Madafah*. The red bike that parked parallel to the ‘entrance’, the ritual of taking off their shoes at the ‘entrance’ as they made their way in, and the many pairs of shoes that accumulated there, all seemed to be phenomenological images and performative practices to which my colleagues did not pay attention as they were used to them.

Whereas the boundaries that marked the space of the *Madafah* as a threshold for my colleagues became blurred as they and Abu Saleem became ‘used to’ each other, the same boundaries were smudged by my foreign trespass. For Abu Saleem, the master of the *Madafah*, I was but a ‘new’ subject that did not conform to the conditions of his *Madafah*. ‘Used to’ cites a history of mutual work in building genuine social relations, whereby Abu Saleem and community mobilisers had exchanged a certain understanding of the power positions which each of them performs. According to this mutual understanding each responded to the

Madafah's conditions that are drawn by their reciprocal recognition of these power dynamics. Thus, 'new' not only lacks this historicity of mutual work in honing social relations with Abu Saleem, but also threatens to transgress the *Madafah's* laws that were sanctioned by a social contract (or the *pact*) underlying the everyday contact that Abu Saleem had with community mobilisers (ibid.).

- *'In my few visits to Abu Saleem, I had the chance to be perceived differently; I spoke more about 'architecture' than I did about 'research'.*

In order for Abu Saleem and I to get 'used to' each other, something necessary for me to be permitted into the *Madafah's pact*, renegotiating my position and the power which I performed was necessary. Attentive to the association that the term 'researcher' had for Abu Saleem, as well as the esteemed position that 'architects' have generally in our shared culture, substituting 'researcher' for 'architect' was key for this access.

Conflicted sovereignties: Uniform-less NGO representatives

- *'I have never needed an NGO to provide me with aid and I will not ask for it. They owe me, I do not owe them. I know how to sustain myself and keep my extended family sustained too'.*

'There is no hospitality, in the classic sense, without sovereignty of oneself over one's home, but since there is also no hospitality without finitude, sovereignty can only be exercised by filtering, choosing, and thus by excluding and doing violence' (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000, 55).

For Abu Saleem, what the UNHCR and other INGOs represented was a demeaning debt to which refugees, who are dependent on humanitarian aid, are supposed to be grateful¹⁴⁹. Correlating the politics of 'aid' distributed by UN humanitarian agencies, where he, as a refugee, is assumed to be 'helpless' on the one hand (B. E. Harrell-Bond 1986), and the war in Syria which caused the uprooting of millions of Syrian citizens turning them into refugees all over the world on the other hand, Abu Saleem's dispense of aid relays his criticism of the political basis of the humanitarian response, according to which refugee camps are established and governed (Agier 2011). Abu Saleem as well as many of the men and women that I encountered in the camp described management figures from the UNHCR and INGOs as 'blue-eyed,

¹⁴⁹ Also see Chapter 1.4 where I speak about gratefulness.

white, and blond European foreigners'¹⁵⁰ who usually speak another language rather than Arabic. This image of the foreigner echoes their image of the 'coloniser', a figure who had ultimate control over the lives of the colonized (Duffield 2007).

To give an example, in one of the meetings in which refugees were urged to attend in order to speak to delegates from the American Congress¹⁵¹, I was tasked with translating. As one of the American delegates in his mid-fifties asked the group of refugees about 'their needs', one refugee man, also in his mid-fifties, stood and responded to the question by saying: 'May I tell you a short story to answer your question? It is about a man, maybe of our age, who visited *Mecca* to perform the Islamic duty *Haj*. He was a man that was in need of *Allah's* mercy. When he was in the grand mosque of *Mecca*, he raised his hands to *Allah* in prayer to tell *Allah* about his needs. He was so puzzled and confused about where to start his prayers; his health, his children, his livelihood, or his future. At the peak of his confusion, he looked up to the sky, raising his hands high and said, "Oh *Allah*, you know it all, why should I be saying what I need? You know it all". So, my sir, do you. Like *Allah* you know it all; so why are you asking?'. Aligning the American Congress man with *Allah*, the ultimate sovereign power in everyday Islamic-cultural discourse, indicates how refugees perceived the power to which UN humanitarian agencies are entitled to. The confrontational moment when the man stood to tell the story and the ironic question which he decided to conclude his story, is similar to Abu Saleem's serious comprehension of humanitarian aid. Both point to another form of sovereignty that refugees claim through resistance.

Recognising the moral power that Abu Saleem was entitled to as a *Sheikh* within his *Madafah* (or as the master of the household in Derrida's terms (ibid.)) necessitated that community mobilisers, while situated in the *Madafah*, abstain¹⁵² from exerting their power-positions by which they are formally affiliated to the UNHCR or other INGOs. Whereas it was mutually understood that abstaining from their formal power-position as humanitarian representatives did not translate into a change in their interests to achieve their everyday duties through the *Madafah*, performing this abstention was key to maintaining the genuine exchange of help through the *Madafah's pact*. Community mobilisers in the *Madafah* dissociated themselves from their management. To illustrate, when refugees made cynical comments about NGO managements' 'uninformed decisions', 'big-headed attitudes', and 'real

¹⁵⁰ Albert Memmi starts his book with a similar image of the coloniser: 'We sometimes enjoy picturing the colonizer as a tall man, bronzed by the sun, wearing Wellington boots, proudly leaning on a shovel- as he rivets his gaze far away on the horizon of his land' (Memmi 1974).

¹⁵¹ The Short notice to protect delegations from any possible risks.

¹⁵² As I showed in Chapter 2.3, not all mobilizers, however, abstained from their formal positions as governors or administrators.

concerns'¹⁵³ that do not include refugees, community mobilisers responded with humorous jokes that implies a similar level of cynicism and helplessness about any possible change; in other words, 'we are only employees that do what we can do'. Community mobilisers themselves are vulnerable [due to their precarious job conditions] and helpless, something which brings them together with refugees beyond the formality of their uniforms. As one community mobiliser said, 'they trust me because they feel I am one of them, and this is how I really feel, like I am one of them. We speak the same language, share similar history, belong to the same religious, cultural, and traditional values, it is only the NGO uniform that marks my difference. Sometimes I wish I could just take it off'.

The decline of the *Madafah*: dressing up the ethic code of hospitality

The *Madafah pact* codes, according to which NGO community mobilisers and Abu Saleem became allies, destabilised many of the principles that the UNHCR and other INGOs sought to implement through their Code of Conduct. For example, one of the UNHCR's fundamental principles to which the UNHCR and other INGOs representatives are expected to adhere to (as mentioned in *The UNHCR Code of Conduct*) is 'to respect the cultures, customs and traditions of all peoples', promising to 'strive to avoid behaving in ways that are not acceptable in a particular cultural context' (UNHCR 2010, 10). However, this 'respect to the cultures' is quickly devalued once it is thought to oppose humanitarian standards; the same principle continues to denounce the same culture that it invited for. It states that 'when the tradition or practice is considered by the relevant organ of the UN to be directly contrary to an international human rights instrument or standard' (ibid.). Therefore, to stop by the *Madafah*, to accept being served coffee, and/or to build social relations with refugees, are 'behaviours' that contradict the core values of international human rights. Since the summer of 2016, having coincided with a change in NGO management, the *UNHCR CoC* had been strictly applied, thus prohibiting many of the negotiations that their representatives were previously 'used to' to while being in the field. Since then, these behaviours have been translated in such a way that delegitimises them as humanitarian actions. For instance, accepting coffee or any type of food when at refugees' places cites a violation of the refugee right to their monthly calculated share of food; the seventh principle in *The UNHCR CoC*, 'prevents, opposes and combats all exploitation and abuse of refugees and other persons of concern' (ibid., 9). Also, stopping by someone's place or *Madafah*, or building social relations with certain people in the community, violates the first principle in *The UNHCR CoC* which is to 'treat all refugees and other persons of concern fairly, and with respect and dignity'. This contributes to unjust communal power structures whereby those with the least

¹⁵³ For example, they circulated this joke about the Russian guy [international officer] who once asked refugees not to smoke in the NGO built properties, and how without the respect of Abu Saleem's words, that Russian manager would have been beaten up by men from the district.

visibility are marginalised by the visible (ibid., 5). Jordanian community mobilisers were asked to eliminate their 'informal' contact with refugees. This demanded them to decentralise the *Madafah* by revoking its *pact*.

The *pact* of the *Madafah*, where the cultural ethic of hospitality was transfused by laws outlined by Abu Saleem, was replaced by another; the *pact* of Community Gatherings. For the NGO, the emergent need to subvert the informal networks that grew between refugees, within which many community mobilisers were identified, became more urgent. In response to the persistent necessity to construct alternative networks that were overseen and organised by NGO representatives, Community Gatherings aimed to provide a platform through which they could participate in addressing and contributing to solving their communal problems on the district level.

Community Gatherings switched the *pact* of hospitality to which refugees, as well as Jordanian community mobilisers, had been previously 'used to'. Dislocated from the *Madafah*, meetings between community mobilisers and refugees were conducted in NGO Community Centers (large service compounds that exist in five districts) and Service Units (individual units that exist in six districts). The *Madafah's pact* was reversed in Community Gatherings; community mobilisers became the hosts and refugees the guests. Community mobilisers, as hosts, are responsible for inviting refugees to attend the planned Community Gathering, inviting other NGO representatives that could help refugees with their general queries, managing the logistics of refreshments distributed through the meeting, facilitating the discussion between refugees and other NGO representatives, and reporting the meeting minutes to their management. In this new *pact*, where the *Madafah's* terms of hospitality are translated into practical procedures where formal relations apply, refugees that had previously occupied a moral power position in their district feared being stripped of their agency that they claimed within the settings of their *Madafahs*. As a result, they dressed up to incite agency. In the first pilot of Community Gathering that I witnessed in 2014, those that had long identified themselves as *Sheikhs* came dressed up in Arab white garments; "Thowb", covered by a loose black gown; "Abayah", and a patterned "Kufiya". This is the same dress code that refugees would then follow in traditional significant events.

2.5.2. Howsh



2.5.2 Figure 1: Image captured and edited by the author during the spring of 2016. (Howsh- حوش): a noun in Arabic that means ‘the courtyard of the house’. It is derived from the verb (Hawash - حوش) which translates to ‘collected’ and ‘accumulated’.

Minutes after we sit down in the Madafah, Abu Saleem shouted to one of his grandsons. He turned to one of my colleagues and asked him, ‘what would you and your friends like to drink?’. ‘Tea’, my colleague said¹⁵⁴. Then Abu Saleem said to his grandson, ‘tea’. ‘Where do they make the tea?’, I asked. ‘Inside’, Abu Saleem responded. ‘Can I have a look?’, I asked. I was very curious to know how the Madafah was being operated; what are the other “inside” spaces that makes it possible for the Madafah, a space that sits at the edge of the inside and the outside, to function? One day, after being served pastries that could have fed more than ten people in the Madafah, I whispered into my female colleague’s ear, ‘who bakes this? This is lots of work!’. My colleague replied with excitement, whispering back into my ear, ‘you should have a look at their kitchen when they bake. More than fifteen women from different generations sit in circles on the floor of the kitchen to make the pastries. I wished I could spend my morning with them. Their gathering creates a very joyful space’. In order to access the “inside” of the household, I was first led out of the Madafah. Received and greeted by Abu Saleem’s wife, Umm Saleem, she asks me if I wish to have some tea. ‘Thank you, my glass of tea is waiting for me outside, it’s very tasty’. Shyly, she responded to my questions about herself and her family with succinct answers. Only when I asked her about the kitchen, she hurried excitedly through the Howsh and the living-space to show me her exceptional space. She looked at me as if she was waiting for my reaction. I almost heard her asking, ‘ha, what do you think?’. ‘Wow’, I responded.

¹⁵⁴ My colleagues’ countless attempts to negotiate with Abu Saleem, as well as with other hosts, about some of the nonessential formalities associated with the host/guest role-playing did not work in Abu Saleem’s *Madafah*. ‘We are not guests anymore, and we are here to do our work, so please do not burden yourself and your family by being hospitable’, my colleagues would say. As I illustrated in *Madafah*, being served drinks or food at refugees’ households goes against the Code of Conduct to which humanitarian workers adhere to. However, they came to conclude that these negotiations with hosts in the refugee camp, especially if they occupied a power position like Abu Saleem, were nothing but sterile conversations.

Lined up in two rows, Umm Saleem had spruced up the kitchen utensils on the decorated shelves. It wasn't only Abu Saleem's wife who ran to their kitchen excitedly to show me how she had arranged and decorated her space. Many of the women that I had the chance to meet through my home-visits showed me their kitchens with similar excitement. This excitement, however, was not strange for me. While following Abu Saleem's wife and other women to their kitchens, I recall my Mother's excitement when she ran to inspect the kitchen space while viewing apartments, searching for a space that could make for a better home for her family. For my Mother, 'if the kitchen is spacious and lively, the home is'.



2.5.2 Figure 2: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows one of the photos that I took in bursts for Umm Saleem of her and her grandson.



2.5.2 Figure 3: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows a snapshot of the interior of Umm Saleem's kitchen.

Despite my desperate search and maybe trial for a conversation with Umm Saleem, I failed to understand her perplexed gaze. Only a couple of words were exchanged between us, we did not speak much. 'Can you please take a photo of him?', Umm Saleem asked me while looking towards her grandchild whom she carried between her arms. I showed her the bursts of photos that I had clicked with my camera. I zoomed in and zoomed out to give Umm Saleem a closer view of her grandson's face. 'Look how handsome you have become!', she says to him. She looks back to me and asks if I could send the photos to Abu Saleem's WhatsApp. 'I will send them to my colleague and he can send them to Abu Saleem's WhatsApp'.

While “inside”, I spent most of my time watching children running in and out of the living¹⁵⁵ space that opened-wide in front of the kitchen. Drawn-open, drawn-close, drawn-open, drawn-close! The thick curtain that separated the sheltered-living-space and the Howsh was animated by the motion of Abu Saleem’s grandchildren in between the two spaces. ‘Masha’ Allah¹⁵⁶’, I said with exclamation. Seven children, two of which carried their school backpacks, filled the space in minutes. Umm Saleem told me afterwards that they are the daughters and sons of her daughters who live in the same compound as her and Abu Saleem¹⁵⁷.



2.5.2 Figure 4: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows the curtain separating the *Howsh* from the living-space.



2.5.2 Figure 5: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows the movement of one of Umm Saleem’s grandchildren from the *Howsh* to the living-space.

¹⁵⁵ Based on several informal interviews with refugees, the living-space that they created in their households replaced the “salon” that they once had in their rural everyday culture.

¹⁵⁶ “Masha’ Allah” loosely translates to “God bless!”. In our everyday culture, it is a statement that is usually associated to witnessing grace. In Islamic Quranic discourse, it is believed to protect the witnessed grace from envy.

¹⁵⁷ In 2012, 2013, 2014 and up until 2015- before the site planning unit/UNHCR introduced a rigorous address system - refugees were allowed to re-locate their caravans so they could be nearer to where their families, friends, or people they identified with lived. Extended families stayed together in large compounds.

This influenced the demographic and the population density in each of the districts, as well as the social power structures that emerged in each of the districts, each of which was different.

The living space was not merely a 'sitting room' as my family and I would describe it. Rather, it was an extension of the kitchen space. In the living space, there was two fridges, a dining-table, chairs, a folded rug with the UNHCR print, a folded throw with the symbol of the Saudi-flag¹⁵⁸, an unfolded rag on the floor, a floor-cushion, a traditional oven connected to its gas cylinder, a power engine to generate electricity¹⁵⁹, and a few planted-containers dispensed here and there.



2.5.2 Figure 6: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows the extension of the kitchen into the living space.

¹⁵⁸ The stamped logos over the metal surfaces, textiles, and everyday clothes that were donated to refugees by different countries, NGOs, and UN agencies were degrading for refugees. For example, in support of the UNHCR winterisation campaign in the camp, Saudi Arabia donated winter coats for male and female school pupils. For the school children and their parents who crowded at the distribution center to receive their share, the coats had only one problem; the logo. Two green circles, one stitched at the top of the right sleeve and the second one on the left front of the coat. Two crossed swords centered the green circle. A statement underlined the crossing swords: 'a gift from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia'. Many of the children's mothers tried to re-appropriate the coats by covering the logo with other meanings.

¹⁵⁹ In most of the community gatherings where refugees relayed and nominated the priority of the communal problems on the district level, electricity appeared as one of the recurrent problems in all districts. Refugees who could afford the cost of the fuel necessary to charge the engine that generates electricity owned their own private electricity generators.



2.5.2 Figure 7: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. Taken from the living-space, the image shows the electricity generator that refugees are dependent on to produce electricity at night.



82.5.2 Figure 8: Images captured by the author during the spring of 2016. Both taken from the living-space.

Soon the room empties. Each of the children had returned back to the room/caravan from which he/she sprang minutes ago. Umm Saleem attended to the floor-cushion. She leaned her head and back against the caravan behind her. I ask myself if I should approach Umm Saleem and ask her if she is alright at a closer proximity. I withdraw. From where I have fixed my feet, I ask Umm Saleem if she is alright. She gasps. Silence. She asks me if I would like to have some tea. ‘Thank you’, I say. I remind her of my glass of tea that I had already left outside.



2.5.2 Figure 9: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It shows Umm Saleem the moment she sat down to rest her back and head against the caravan side. The living-space also opens up as a multi-use room (for sitting during the day, and sleep during night).

Despite the prevailing silence that was expected during the early morning hours, a soft noise infiltrated the void in the living space. Some of the discussions and laughter from the Madafah, those from “the outside”, were echoing in the living-space. Other louder sounds of dubbed Turkish tv, which came from the spaces that surrounded the living-space, also leaked in. When I worked in the camp in 2014, most of what you would hear playing on people’s TV screens were news about home on channels that oppose Al- Assad’s rule, like for example, Orient TV¹⁶⁰.

¹⁶⁰ See Awan’s description of the Kahva in her book *Diasporic Agencies* (2017).

Not only was capturing the materiality of the space easy and accessible in the Howsh, it also allowed for a reading of the imbricated accumulation of things. Did I say that the children returned back to their rooms? I was wrong. They did not. I later spotted them in the Howsh, wandering under the sun. They disappeared again in between the things that, through the way they had settled on the dusty concrete-floor, drew lines that made their playful movements possible.

Another door, other than the one from the living-space, opened to the Howsh. This one led to a long corridor. I saw a longitudinal space from where I was standing, maybe wider than a corridor. The darker lines of shade that interlaced with the sparkling lights of the sun drew a beautiful pattern that paved the concrete-floor. Right at the door of this corridor, four rectangular shelves were fixed to the right side of the wall. They carried several pairs of shoes. Unlike the untidy pairs that were spread out in front of the Madafah, these were tidily organised. At the end of the corridor's left and right sides, sat two floor-cushions. Two babies crawled and played on one of the cushions. The voices of young women giggling and whispering gossip that travelled from that corridor into the Howsh spiced up the atmosphere.



2.5.2 Figure 10: Image captured by the author during the spring of 2016. It reveals a glimpse of the “inside of the inside”.

Driven by my curiosity, I wanted to ask about the “inside of the inside”. I withdrew. I was overwhelmed by the Howsh. Although absent from the scene, the women and men that lived in Abu Saleem’s compound were present there. The nakedness of the materials that settled in the space invigorated my imagination about the bodies of people that have possibly lived here. I moved my eyes from one thing to another thinking of the stories, the uses, the histories, and the memories that their colour, image, use, or smell cites. Who would hang the clothes up on the ropes when Um Saleem or one of her daughters washes them? How many times do they water

the only standing tree? Who pushes the trolley to the gate of the camp when someone arrives at the gate with luggage?



2.5.2 Figure 11: Images captured and edited by the author during the spring of 2016. Composed together to show a panoramic view of the spaces, things, shades, lives and lines that animate the Howsh. When I took the photos, I was standing against the curtain that leads to the living-space. The door on the left of the collage shows the main door to the outside. The door to the “inside of the inside” does not appear in the photo, it is to the right.

Speculating on the Inside, without looking!

If we assume that the inside is the territory assigned to women and the outside is the territory assigned to men, and if we assume that the outside overpowers the inside, this chapter explores the complexity of the gender-culture that emerges in Za’atri refugee camp by speculating on how the inside space(s) relate to the outside. It envisions the *Howsh* as an in-between space that witnesses and hosts the entangled relationship between the inside and the outside. By disclosing the nuances of the human and non-human relationality between the inside and the outside, this chapter critiques the idealised model that humanitarian NGOs follow to advocate for “women rights” (Muhanna-Matar 2019). It suggests that this model disregards the complexity of the gender-culture that the *Howsh* reveals.

Culturally, the *Howsh* is understood as a space of material and immaterial accumulation; it is where different things, tools, storage, food, textiles, plants and animals are stored, as well as a space for family gatherings where family members meet at certain times of the day. The *Howsh* materialises as a space that sits in between the inside and the outside, which results in it belonging to both territories simultaneously. I suggest that the use of the *Howsh* works as a catalyst for processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization¹⁶¹ that shape and reshape the boundaries of

¹⁶¹ See chapter 2.3, p. 87-88.

the inside and the outside (Deleuze and Guattari 1988). Therefore, tracing the use of the *Howsh* helps us to develop a nuanced understanding of the complex topologies of both the inside and the outside as they unfold in space and time.

“Speculation¹⁶²” here serves as an ethical approach to the inside; a space that is deemed “sacred” in refugees’ Arabic and Muslim culture. Whereas my access to the *Madafah* followed a certain pattern which assisted me in developing a situated understanding of the dynamics present in the *Madafah* from my position as a humanitarian volunteer, my access to the inside of Abu Saleem’s place was limited. For this reason, the inside appears in my writing as a distant inquiry that was far from my reach as both, a humanitarian volunteer (community mobiliser) and as a researcher. Therefore, this chapter unfolds by answering three main questions that discharge my curiosity about the inside: Can I see the inside? Where are the women? Is the *Howsh* public or private? I speculate the inside by tracing the uses of the *Howsh* as mediated through another two spaces; the kitchen and the living space. I answer these three questions by grounding my understanding of the gender-culture aided by my experience as a volunteer in the community mobilisation unit and community engagement unit.

□ Can I see the inside?

- *‘Can I have a look?’, I asked. In order to access the ‘inside’ of the household, I was first led out of the Madafah.*

What if the person who wanted to see the inside was a female community mobiliser, would she still need to ask for a permission to look at the inside? For a female community mobiliser, she can simply make the announcement that she wants to see the inside; the permission is only performative of the hospitality pact that community mobilisers had introduced¹⁶³. In their everyday work, male and female community mobilisers together with refugees have cultivated a new gender-culture that challenges cultural gendered hierarchies. To illustrate, whereas women are often excluded from male-dominated spaces like the *Madafah* and limited in their access to inside spaces, as representatives of a certain authority, female¹⁶⁴ community mobilisers have access to both; the *Madafah* and the inside¹⁶⁵. In this new culture, men would still make general statements to make clear that this access, however administered, still takes place (only) through their authorisation. For example, one female community mobiliser whom I interviewed, stressed how important it is for her work in her district

¹⁶² See chapter 3.1.

¹⁶³ See 2.5.1 Madafah.

¹⁶⁴ Unlike their male counterparts whose access was limited to the *Madafah*.

¹⁶⁵ Refugees would accept that female community mobilisers perform certain practices that are considered odd from a cultural perspective. For example, whereas smoking is a taboo for Syrian women in the camp (women generally smoke secretly), in the *Madafah*, one of my female colleagues would often take out her slim cigarettes and smoke whenever our male colleagues would do so.

to not only pass as trustworthy, but also to be endorsed as trusted particularly by men; ‘men not only control who accesses their houses but also their districts’. To be endorsed as trusted means that female community mobilisers should represent common values, for example, putting on a hijab and speaking with (somewhat) similar dialect.

This new gender-culture easily applied to female community mobilisers who were thought of as authoritative outsiders, but not to Syrian women. Although coupled with a heavy administration of gender-based programs, this new gender-culture that was mobilised by humanitarian NGOs was resisted by men in the refugee camp. The excessive advocacy for gender-based training on Gender-based Violence (GBV) and women empowerment instigated multiple responses; for many (men and women) it cited a colonial interest in westernising their lives, as it countered some (moral) foundations that dictated the gendered cultures of the people of Za’atri. Whereas it had benefited some young women who could now access education and other work opportunities, the new gender-culture reinforced certain gendered hierarchies that produced gender-based injustices. To give an example, a female volunteer shared with me how horrific it had been for men to no longer be the main providers for their homes in the refugee camp. As this introduction of women’s work had toppled gender-roles, men felt they were emasculated. Seeking a divorce herself and thinking of her future in the refugee camp, she said to me ‘do you know that some families that I know returned to where they had come from in Syria for this. Men think that if they stay in the refugee camp, they will lose their dignity’. This could only be gossip that the woman had exchanged with her friends, however, it is still telling of some truth about how masculinity is distributed, circulated, claimed and performed in the refugee camp. Performing their masculinity through a taxonomy of power relations that are embedded in socioeconomic, religious, and cultural histories, men as gendered-authorities feared the loss of this control, and so tightened the grip on the mobility of their women (UNHCR 2019b).

Abu Saleem, who perceives the humanitarian NGO as representative of a colonial presence that threatens his dignity, thought that he needed to authorise my access to the inside of his household. Abu Saleem was conscious of my westernised looks, and he did not feel fully comfortable with it. Regardless of the fact that I introduced myself as Muslim and half-Syrian half-Palestinian, my non-hijab appearance still communicated my adherence to certain liberties with which many men from my culture do not agree with. I had to ask for permission.

- *Received and greeted by Abu Saleem’s wife, Umm Saleem, she asked me if I wished to have some tea. ‘Thank you, my glass of tea is waiting for me outside, it’s very tasty’. Shyly, she responded to my questions about herself and her family with succinct answers.*

In the scene where Umm Saleem was the host and I was the guest; Umm Saleem performed her role not as a singular independent entity but as Abu Saleem's wife. Umm Saleem's silence could be observed as a performance of caution; the hospitality that Umm Saleem had performed was passed to her through certain gendered hierarchies. Umm Saleem's reference to Abu Saleem a few times in our conversation reinforces my assumption about Abu Saleem's authority. For example, when Umm Saleem had asked for her grandchild's photos, she requested that I send them through Abu Saleem's phone avoiding making any link between the two of us.

In an imaginative scenario where I, in my visit to Umm Saleem, would not be a complete stranger, the terms of hospitality by which she received and greeted me could be thought of differently. Rather than manifesting as a charitable act that I felt occurred due to my status as a 'foreigner', Umm Saleem's hospitality flowed, as Irigaray would describe it, by 'nature' (2013, 42). In *Mutual Hospitality*, Irigaray makes a gender-based distinction between feminine- natural and masculine- cultural hospitalities (ibid.). Criticising the masculine logic as one that enforces cultural codes with respect to 'a natural economy, a living economy' (ibid.), she argues that the only interpersonal relations that cultural hospitality evokes are based on a 'quantitative and hierarchical assessment' citing 'at best, a parental link' (ibid., 43). Umm Saleem's sedate silence, inapprehensible shyness, but fluent movement through the *Howsh*, the living-space, and the kitchen, had allowed me to listen carefully to what she did not say. The lines of poetry that Abu Saleem had kept in his notebook that I was not allowed to read, were uttered by Umm Saleem's perplexed gaze and very focused attention on her grandchild- whose father was left behind in Syria. Irigaray finds that in the silence of discourse exists a real hospitality where one could coexist by sharing space with the other, she writes:

"To render this sharing possible, a space for silence needs to be prepared- as it was necessary to preserve a space that is virgin with respect to the one and the other in order to render a meeting possible. The first word that has to be said to each other by way of welcome is our capacity for remaining silent. This sign of welcome shows that each one accepts to leave the circle of one's own discourse- or usual house of language—in order to listen to what the other wants to say, wants to address to him or her, from a horizon of language that is unknown to them'(Irigaray 2013, 48).

□ **Where are the women?**

- *'you should have a look at their kitchen when they bake. More than fifteen women from different generations sit in circles on the floor of the kitchen to make the pastries'.*

In Za'atri refugee camp, refugee women's differences create different types of spatiotemporalities (Sampaio 2017). Not all women stay at their homes because they are deprived of mobility; nor are they all enjoying the freedoms of a 'neoliberal government' that seeks their empowerment (Duffield 2007). Women's shifting territories between the inside and the outside are imbued in the gender-culture as well as in their socioeconomic status that shape their everyday relationalities (Gullette 2004). Through my work in the community mobilisation unit and the community engagement unit, I encountered women from Za'atri refugee camp in a few spaces. These were humanitarian spaces, namely, the base camp and the NGO community centres, a Falafel shop near to the basecamp where some women used to circle around a table to smoke cigarettes before they would leave for their jobs in some factories outside of the refugee camp (see UNHCR 2018), some shops that are conjoined with their places where they stood to sell to by-passers that found interest in their goods, at the thresholds of their homes talking to their neighbours or waiting for community mobilisers, social workers or health officers to pass by their places and respond to their inquiries, and in the inside of their homes. In each of the spaces where I encountered women (and girls) in Za'atri refugee camp, women engaged with different activities, conversations and expressed varying anxieties.



2.5.2 Figure 12: Image captured by the author during the autumn of 2017. Taken at Abu Rama falafel shop near the basecamp. It shows a top-down view of the table around which a group of women had circled to drink Turkish coffee and smoke cigarettes. The open magazine is a monthly magazine that is published by JEN.

The advocacy for “women’s rights” that humanitarian NGOs promote on public platforms depends on a contrasting model of two main images; the image of the powerless refugee woman who is oppressed by her culture first and who needs to be saved by the humanitarian NGO (Abu-Lughod 2013), and the image of the ‘ideal refugee’ woman who has been “successfully” saved by the humanitarian NGO (from

her culture first) (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014). There are two clear problems with this model. Firstly, it overlooks the complexity of the camp's gender-culture, ignoring how it is produced through wider unjust geopolitics that marginalises refugee women as well as refugee men¹⁶⁶ (Volpp 2001; Abu-Lughod 2013). Secondly, it flattens the broad differences that women in the refugee camp represent and consequently the wide variety of needs that the humanitarian NGO is responsible for, yet cannot address.

One of the differences that this model of advocacy obscures is women age-based differences. Despite claiming that age is central to its work through the Age, Gender, and Diversity policy¹⁶⁷ (AGD) (UNHCR 2019a), the UNHCR in Za'atri has failed to provide a framework that accounts for women's age-based differences. Here I bring as an example the age-based injustice that is implied within the criteria of the Cash for Work (CFW) program. Most¹⁶⁸ of the CFW opportunities that the UNHCR and its partnering humanitarian NGOs provided in the camp was limited to women under 40-year-old. Through my work which made me responsible for the women's community group in Za'atri, I regularly met with members of the group (women from multiple age-groups, the majority were elder than 40); we would all meet through biweekly meetings arranged in one of the community centres to think of initiatives that could help the community. One woman complained to me how her application for the post of the librarian in one of the community centres was dismissed because she is over 40. She told me with so much frustration, 'Do you see these certificates¹⁶⁹ that I have achieved from trainings here? They were all useless! Now, I work outside in factories and in farms. They do not want to see that I can do more than that'. Another woman who also attended the voluntarily regular meetings expressed a similar frustration but differently. It occurred when I asked her if she was alright, as she seemed tired and sounded grumpy. She called me, gesturing with her hand and inviting me to sit on the chair next to her. Then, she took off her shoes and showed me her feet. The wet stains on her thin socks revealed an ulcer on the sole of her foot oozing a clear discharge¹⁷⁰. She said, 'I have diabetes, and I walked all the way from another district to be here; only in the hope that I will soon find an economic opportunity that supports me in making a life'. If 'women's economic independence is central to realizing women's rights and gender equality' as quoted on the UN Women website¹⁷¹, how can the UN develop programs that can account for age-based differences?

¹⁶⁶ It should be approached holistically, in a way that dismantles the ground that establishes certain societal hierarchies.

¹⁶⁷ See: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/protection/women/4e7757449/unhcr-age-gender-diversity-policy-working-people-communities-equality-protection.html>

¹⁶⁸ There were three CFW vacancies that allowed women aged over 40-year old to work; a cleaner position, a two vocational coach positions.

¹⁶⁹ See chapter 3.2, specifically the section about the certificate.

¹⁷⁰ I am grateful to my Brother Ahmad, who helped me with medical terminology when describing the woman's situation.

¹⁷¹ See: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/economic-empowerment/facts-and-figures>

To address women vulnerability in Za'atri refugee camp, humanitarian NGOs not only need a situated and committed work that account for the complexity of women differences in Za'atri refugee camp, but also to understand the concept of women-time differently. For example, even when the CFW program accommodates women age-based differences, it does not account for the quality of women time in relation to her caring responsibilities. In another conversation with the [refugee] volunteer who was a coach in the vocational program in the humanitarian NGO where I worked, I tried to convince her to return her 17-year-old daughter to school after I learnt she had forced her to drop out. During that time, I was responsible for another community-based program that aimed to reduce girls dropping out of school with the vision that it would reduce early marriages in the refugee camp. The coach responded, 'but, who will look after her brothers and sisters? My husband, may Allah have mercy upon his soul, died in the war. I am the only supporter for my family. I have small children at home, really small! If I start spending my money on childcare, then I will not be able to feed my children. As you can see, I do not have a choice!'. The fact that 20% of the households in Za'atri refugee camp are headed by women implies further concerns on the distribution of women time between their work and their caring responsibilities (UNHCR 2019b).

The landscape of women spatiotemporalities was crucial for the work of female community mobilisers. Female community mobilisers whom I worked with and interviewed paid careful attention to how women occupy space and time differently and how that could help them 'reticulate'¹⁷² certain networks to accomplish the task of mobilising the community. For example, one female community mobiliser's account about her 'key contacts' from the community proved useful in understanding these spatiotemporalities and how they produce the refugee camp's relational, spatial and political geographies. She says, 'some women have strong and meticulous personalities, especially those that provide for their families; like matriarchs. Some other women are volunteers from other NGOs, these women are super active, I usually meet them in other community centres outside of our NGO. Some other women are quarrellers. Most of the women that I work with are strong, eloquent, and skilled managers'. She continues, 'the quality of time that women dedicate is different, maybe they have more time; I do not know, but women's time is different! Most of them when they say they are willing to do some work, they do not only say it. They are committed to it! Unlike men, women do things slowly, but steadily! Another community mobiliser denounced the generalisation that I had assumed about a "common" gender-culture in the refugee camp. She said, 'this is a wrong assumption! In the district where I worked, the population was predominantly Bedouin. My colleagues and I were shocked when we started working in the district. Women's relationships with men was so different

¹⁷² See chapter 2.3.

from what we were used to in other districts, whereby the majority of people are peasants’.

- *Despite the prevailing silence that was expected in the early morning hours, a soft noise infiltrated the void in the living space. Some of the discussions and laughter from the Madafah, those from “the outside”, were echoing in the living-space.*

Similar to the travels that the noises of the *Madafah* made when arriving at the living-space, women things travelled to the *Madafah*, leaving traces on the outside. Female community mobilisers, who had access to the outside as well as to the inside, could locate Syrian women spatiotemporalities by observing women things. For example, I was surprised to hear a story that one of my community mobilisers interviewees shared with me about the women’s cosmetic shelf that had been put up in the *Madafah*. ‘In the *Madafah*?’, I asked with exclamation. ‘Yes, in the *Madafah*, a very small shelf, that is almost invisible, yet very visible. On that shelf, you can spot a hairbrush, shiny pink hair-clips, and hair and body creams!’. She continues, ‘I find it so beautiful when I see how women decorate their interiors in ways that say, “I am here, I am a woman”. I love to see their touches of femininity here and there’. ‘Touches of femininity’ are reflective not only of women’s sense of ownership and subjective inhabitation of the space, but also of their intimate relationships with their husbands. The same interviewee reflected on how tactical she finds the ways in which ‘women try to keep connected to their husbands, reminding them that their women are here’.

A year after this interview, during one of the home visits which I conducted in the company of one colleague, I was thrilled to spot the shelf that my interviewee had described one year ago. The layout of this household, located in District seven, was slightly different than Abu Saleem’s in District three. The *Madafah* was accessed via the living-space. At the threshold of the household, to the left side of the living-space, the shelf was positioned up near the rectangular silver-framed mirror. Through the mirror, I saw the reflection of the clothes that were hanging up on the facing wall. The window in between divided the wall into two sides; one for the husband’s clothes and the other for the wife’s.

Not only women things travelled from the inside to the outside; men things made similar travels from the outside to the inside. In this household, where the husband and one of the boys are renowned athletes in the camp, their gold, silver, and bronze trophies occupied the top shelf in the kitchen. The kitchen itself is an extension, as opposed to being hosted by a caravan; it opens up to the living space and is assembled by metal sheets. As I stood there at the threshold of the house, I spotted the trophies and was then led to the kitchen to check them out. The wife seemed to be accustomed to her husband’s frequent showcasing of the trophies which testify to his and his son’s extraordinary athletic skills.



2.5.2 Figure 13: Image captured by the author during the autumn of 2017.



2.5.2 Figure 14: Image captured by the author during the autumn of 2017.



2.5.2 Figure 15: Image captured by the author during the autumn of 2017.



2.5.2 Figure 16: Image captured by the author during the autumn of 2017.

- *I was very curious to know how the Madafah is being operated; what are the other 'inside' spaces that make it possible for the Madafah, a space that sits at the edge of the inside and the outside, to function?... The living space was not merely a 'sitting room' as my family and I would describe it. Rather it was an extension of the kitchen space.*

In a culture where public esteem and mutual respect exchanged between families is contingent upon 'feeding others', the quality and the taste of the food served control how this family will be recognised by others (Christie 2006). For example, Christie explains how in central Mexico, 'the reputation of the host family and barrio is literally in women's hands' (ibid.). Similarly, the terms of hospitality that are exchanged in the *Madafah* depend on food (work done by women). Food work rules the distribution of power and responsibility between the *Madafah* (outside) and the inside of Abu Saleem's household.

Umm Saleem, skilled in cooking and an expert in traditions, performs her power by controlling the processes that negotiate the food-work. The image of Umm Saleem in control over her inside challenges generalised conceptions about the inside being overpowered by the outside. Cooking works as a tactic of 'making do' which works against dominating gendered 'strong' strategies which control women doings (de Certeau 1984). Reinforced by the cultural value that is assigned to food taste and food quality, cooking is not only a work of negotiation, but also a work of mobilisation. Umm Saleem leads through a network of intergenerational kinship relations the complex processes that lead to producing food. During these processes, she performs the role of the house-master; she decides on who can access the space, who can participate in the activity, and in what order the activity should take place.

How things are dispersed through the *Howsh*, the living-space and the kitchen can tell how food-work is performed through inextricable relationalities between the inside and the outside. Although the kitchen is limited to the space that the longitudinal caravan allows for, the activities linked to food-work (including storing food, cooking and dining) were not restricted to the area laid out to host the kitchen. For example, the two fridges, the traditional oven and its gas cylinder, the dining table, and the electricity-generator that were placed along three of the four edges that encircle the living-space which opens out from the kitchen-caravan, and the blue containers that settled in the *Howsh* to preserve some food, attests to scenarios about how food-work is extended to both the living-space and the *Howsh* (Meah 2016).

Is the Howsh Public or Private?

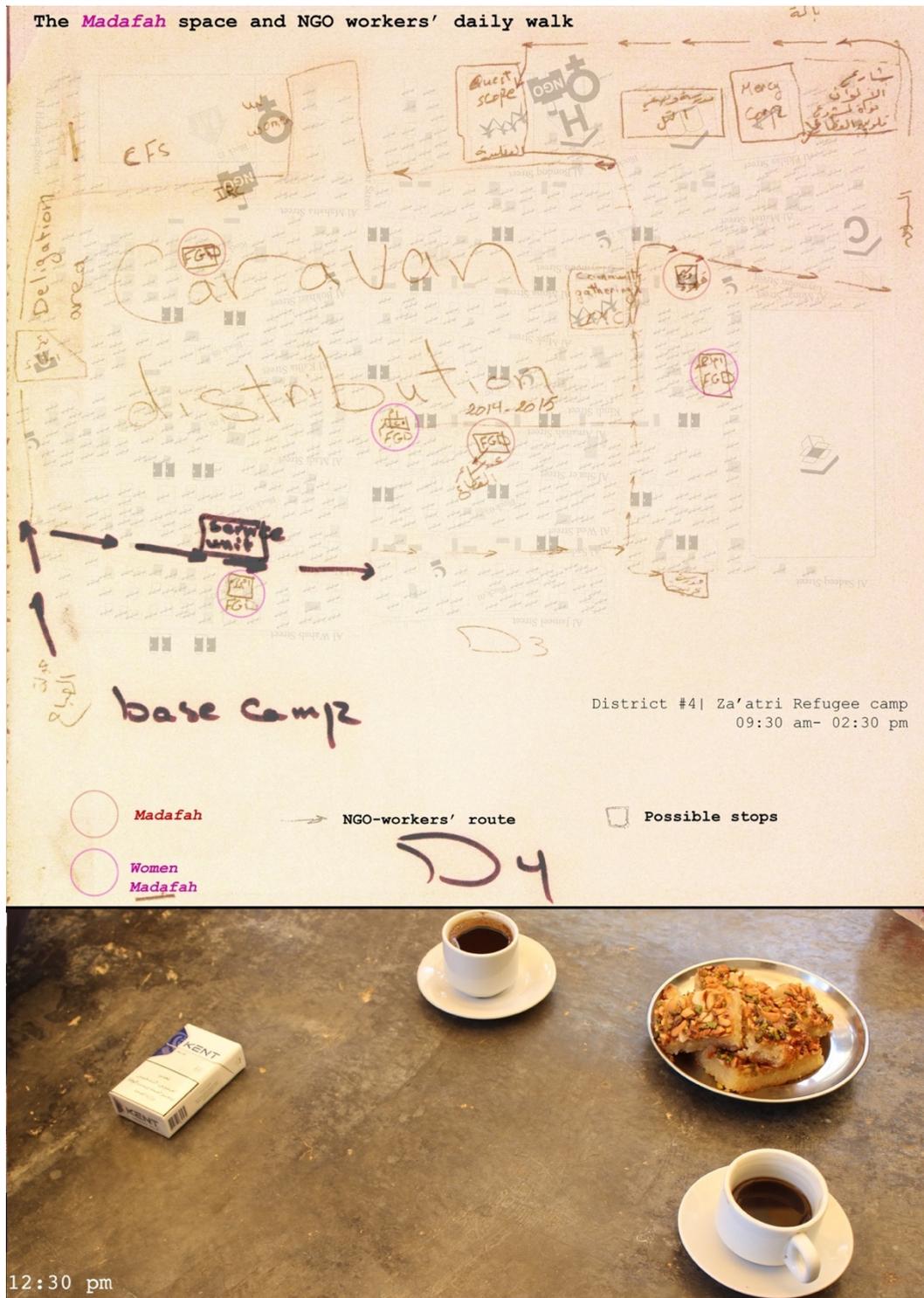
- *Although absent from the scene, the women and men that lived in Abu Saleem's compound were present. The nakedness of the materials that settled*

in the space invigorated my imagination about the bodies of people that have possibly lived here.

In one conversation that I had with my colleague, a refugee volunteer in the humanitarian NGO, I asked him: what is the *Howsh*? Could you please define it for me? He said, 'it is the courtyard, where the family, all the family meet. It is a place that is not sheltered, but has many trees; a place where one can breathe some air'. I respond, 'but of my very humble architectural knowledge, I think the courtyard might be slightly different! For example, it would not have things accumulated in space'. He sighs, 'you are right, let me think! Maybe, what you are talking about is the "kharabah-خرابة"!'. I respond, 'describe it for me'. He says, 'it is the space where we would throw things that are not used anymore, it is an abandoned space and sometimes dirty!'. I respond, 'but is that a space where you and your family would sit together?'. He laughs, 'no, not in the kharabah!'. He continues, 'I think that the *Howsh* is a place between the two; between a courtyard and a kharabah; it is a place where you can sit with your family to breathe some air with fewer trees; where we can accumulate useful and useless things; it is maybe like a passage which goes through, from and to'. I ask again, 'do you consider it as a public or a private space?'. He sighed. Then responded, 'do you mean women? Of course, it is a private space! It depends on the time of day, in the night women sit more comfortably there. However, in both night and day, they put on their Hijabs, it is still *hormet boyout*-حرمة بيوت'¹⁷³. The ways in which my colleague tried to describe the *Howsh* and the confusion that he experienced while trying to place it between two other spaces, one mainly for humans and one mainly for things, stems from the complexity of the *Howsh* space as occupied by human and non-human things.

Through this chapter, I tried to offer an account of the gender-culture in the refugee camp by reflecting on women's spatio-temporalities that are negotiated through the multiple materialities present within their interior; namely the extension of their kitchen spaces through the living spaces and finally to the *Howsh*, and vice versa. I suggest that for the applied humanitarian model to achieve "women rights" and be accountable for its advocacy, it must attend to these spatiotemporalities in order to understand the differences of women's lives in the refugee camp. Patriarchy is at work in the refugee camp, however, advocacy that aims to make a real change in improving the quality and justice of women lives should attend to the intersection of colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy that are creating refugee vulnerability in the first place. The *Howsh* could be understood as a metaphor for this intersectionality.

¹⁷³ *hormet boyout*-حرمة بيوت translates to 'the sacredness of the (domestic) home'. See chapter 2.5.



2.5.2 Figure 17: 2.5.1 Figure 2: A map drawn by one female community mobiliser which shows the different spaces where the community mobiliser was hosted. It is based on her everyday walks in district four. She makes a distinction between two types of Madafahs; one Madafah for women (is not shown on the map, but each of the women that she visited has different characteristics that are distinguished from each other), and one Madafah for men (one of those is a poet). On another map, another community mobiliser circled one space as “coffee time”. It is where she would start her everyday route by visiting the place of a man who is married to two wives. “Coffee time” also occurred within the conversations of other female community mobilisers who had secretly talked about the “fortune reader” who would read them their Turkish coffee cups.

Testimonies that Matter

While concerned with the question of “account-ability”, through this section I deployed “architecture” as an epistemology by which I could explore other modes of knowledge that are often pushed to the margins of our critical senses. Embedding my observations in my position as a humanitarian volunteer in the community mobilisation unit, I depart from the claim that the humanitarian NGO is imbued with a deafening anthropocentrism. While I observe the environment of the refugee camp as a ‘political ecology of things’ whereby human and non-human things have agency, architecture arrives as a way to capture the materiality of the space in a way that decentres the human and gives voice to what Jane Bennett refers to as the ‘thing-power’ (2010, 2). This results in disclosing a variety of voices that obtain different forms of knowledge that challenge our critical understanding of the refugee camp spaces, it uncovers other layers of privilege that are at work, such as gender, age, origins, and morality. While it acknowledges these voices as “account-able” voices that embody “situated knowledge”, this section is interested in ways and modes of translations that allow these accountabilities to inform academic knowledge.

While “disclosing” these modes of knowledge could inform new academic trends in research, this disclosure implies a serious question of ethics. For instance, why should we translate these modes of knowledge into academic research? Considering the (colonial) political economies according to which research is funded, published, and resourced, translating these very specific forms of knowledge so as to permit them to be processed through the same colonial structures becomes problematic. This is one of the implications, of course. Yet, what really concerns me here is how the exposure of certain knowledges about the refugee camp could allow the camp management (represented by the state) to develop its technologies so as to enforce more control on refugees’ lives.

3. Enacting the camp (Response-ability)

3.1 To “enact” the camp is to “care” about the camp

This section accomplishes two main aims: it critiques certain modes of response to the refugee camp¹⁷⁴, and proposes more response-able¹⁷⁵ modes. *Enacting the Camp* therefore suggests an epistemological shift in the way we understand response; moving from the mere work of “representation” to the careful work of “enactment” (Barad 2003; Coleman 2014; Lee 2001). Barad’s critique of ‘representationalism’ and proposal for ‘performative alternatives’ offers a good starting point for understanding the distinction between the two (2003, 4). She suggests that ‘representationalism’ is founded on the belief that there exists an ontological gap between the two main entities, representations and that which they are supposed to be representing (ibid.). Her invitation for ‘performative alternatives’ which attend to ‘matters of practices/doings/actions’ that are grounded in posthuman relationalities, not only rids us of questions which ask us to compare between descriptions and reality (ibid., 4), but also encourages our imaginations to speculate ‘matters of practices/doings/actions’ that address, as well as respond to, reality. Furthermore, this section thinks of the ‘matters of practices/doings/actions’ put forward by Barad (ibid.) as *Matters of Care* (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017). Due to this, we can ask: how can an approach that accounts for a feminist ethics of care expand our capacities to respond to the reality of the refugee camp? Puig de la Bellacasa’s approach is significant for the inquiry of this section because it offers an account that attends to the relational, spatial and feminist dimensions which this thesis deems necessary to approach the question of care.

Through *Enacting the Camp*, I examine how dwelling on care as ‘an ethically and politically charged practice’ could allow for affective, material, and political modes of response-able engagement that challenge the anthropocentric culture of *care* as is deliberated in normative responsive frameworks (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 41). ‘*To care*’, Puig de la Bellacasa writes, ‘*joins together an affective state, a material vital doing, and an ethico-political obligation*’ (ibid., emphasis added). Similar to Puig de la Bellacasa, I approach *care* as a verb. As a result, I ask: if to name a certain feeling which has moved/affected me helps to address the troubling position that cites larger unjust power structures, how could saying ‘*I care*’ disturb the injustice of such power structures? *Care* works through three main dimensions; ‘affect/affections’, ‘labour/work’, and ‘ethics/politics’ (ibid., 5). Subsequently, to explore the speculative possibilities that *care* as a verb allows for, requires us to think about citing and situating our *careful* engagements so that we are attentive to these *care* dimensions.

¹⁷⁴ See chapter 3.2.

¹⁷⁵ See chapter 3.3.

I write this section in response to the affective work of my emotions; I place care in the same terrain of adjectives that I contemplated when reflecting on the affective economies of my emotions, namely relational (affect/affection), spatial (labour/work) and feminist (ethics/politics). By reflecting on each of these adjectives, I explore the reciprocal entanglements between the **addressed** (the affective politics of my situatedness), and the **responsive** (*care* as a work that enacts the camp, or a work that works) (Ahmed 2016).

Ethics of Care: relationality, spatiality, and feminism

Maria Puig de la Bellacasa, in *Matters of Care*, offers a profound perspective on *care* as a *speculative ethics* which ‘enact[s] non-exploitive forms of togetherness’ (2017, 24). Descending from feminist and posthumanist onto-epistemologies, the study of ‘nonhumans and other than humans such as things, objects, other animals, living beings, organisms, physical forces, spiritual entities and humans’ (ibid., 1) is brought by Puig de la Bellacasa into the ethical and political conceptual horizons of *care* (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017; Pettersen 2018). Joan Tronto’s widely cited statement in *Moral Boundaries*; ‘we suggest that caring be viewed as a species activity that includes everything that we do to *maintain, continue, and repair* our “world” so that we can live in it as well as possible’, has fundamentally contributed¹⁷⁶ to Puig de la Bellacasa’s thinking (1993, 103, emphasis added). As situated in what she observes as an ‘interdependent world’, care is explored as ‘a concrete work of maintenance, with ethical and affective implications, and as a vital politics’ (ibid., 5). Taking into account the inevitable troubles that inscribing *care* into ‘the materiality of more than human things’ (2017, 18) instigates - as it subverts ‘established logics’ and anthropocentric modes of thinking (ibid., 19)- she approaches *care* as ‘trouble’ (Haraway 2016). Reminding us of the feminist ethical premise to ‘stay with the trouble’ (see also chapter 2.4), Puig de la Bellacasa, like Haraway, suggests that in our ethical commitment towards *care* lies a speculative possibility for creating better futures.

Relationality of Care

Central to Puig de la Bellacasa’s argument on *care* relationality is the necessity to recognise it as an inevitable ‘interdependency’ (ibid., 70). She suggests that the interdependency of *care* is not contractual or moralistic, but is rather a ‘condition’ that

¹⁷⁶ ‘We need an even more radically displaced nonhumanist rephrasing of Joan Tronto and Berenice Fischer’s generic notion of caring than I already proposed above by expanding “our” world. We need to disrupt the subjective- collective behind the “we”: care is everything that is done (rather than everything that “we” do) to maintain, continue, and repair “the world” so that all (rather than “we”) can live in it as well as possible. That world includes . . . all that we seek to interweave in a complex, life- sustaining web (modified from Tronto 1993, 103). What the “all” includes in situation remains contingent to specific ecologies and human- nonhuman entanglements’ (2017, 161).

is ‘essential to the existence of reliant and vulnerable beings’ (ibid.). Recognising the inevitability of this interdependency is significant for my inquiry into the relationality of care. It interrupts the iterative exchange of emotions in normative power structures by encouraging us to accept the condition of our insecure existence, our inevitable vulnerability (Evans and Reid 2013) and thus the necessity to maintain our kinships and alliances with others (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017).

Philosophies of language have a critical resonance in Puig de la Bellacasa’s ‘knowledge politics’ approach to *care* (2017, 71). Suggesting that language has the force to construct the milieu of our communicative exchange as ‘bodies of knowledge’, Puig de la Bellacasa argues that care insists on paying attention to ‘practices and arts of fabricating meaning with signs, words, ideas, descriptions, theories’ (ibid.). In naming our emotions, we perform what Haraway refers to as ‘material-semiotic generative nodes’ (2013, 200). What we address is also what we respond to by the very act of addressing. In other words, we affect other bodies and we are affected by other bodies through how we use language in our communicative exchange of our different knowledges. Thinking more of the poetics of the language that articulates a careful communication, I ask through the two chapters that constitute this section: what language does *care* speak? when *care* as a verb is assigned the task of responding to certain emotions, how can I maintain an ethical attentiveness to ‘practices and arts of fabricating meaning’ (ibid.)?

For Puig de la Bellacasa, the language of *care* is in a continuous process of making that necessitates togetherness and altruism. It is not a language made by one kind of being for one kind of being, but a language made by many for many (humans and nonhumans). Because ‘it matters what matters we use to think other matters with; it matters what stories we tell to tell other stories with...’ (Haraway 2016), ‘thinking’ holds substantial importance in the relational making of a language of *care*. Puig de la Bellacasa argues, convincingly, that to encompass the nuances of its relational making, a language of *care* is to be navigated through three main axes of thinking; ‘thinking-with’, ‘dissenting-within’, and ‘thinking for’ (2017, 71-90). So, consequently, to maintain an ethical attentiveness to our language of *care*, we should ‘stay’ attuned to our towardness (-with, -for) to the field of our inquiry. By reflecting on the orientations towards which we find ourselves directed, we also reflect on the spaces and temporalities that we are inhabiting. This towardness that informs Puig de la Bellacasa’s relational thinking of *care* ‘creates new patterns out of previous multiplicities’; it also adds to our understanding of the space we inhabit, establishing ‘layers of meaning rather than merely deconstructing or conforming to ready-made categories’ (2017, 72). It incites us ‘to enlarge our ontological and political sense’ of the milieu that we are inhabiting. Having this enlarged sense of the milieu, we understand that the semiotic technologies we generate not only enable our inhabitation of present space and time, but also contributes to how we inhabit larger structures and multiple temporalities.

Spatiality of Care

Puig de la Bellacasa stresses that *care* should be thought of and practiced as moments of ‘contact’ whereby the effects of emotions’ materialise. Deliberating *care* as work of maintenance that is charged by our affective contact with human and non-human worlds, she understands this contact as ‘touch’(2017, 95). She writes, ‘understanding contact as touch intensifies a sense of the co-transformative, in the flesh effects of connections between beings’ (ibid., 96). Incited by the ‘literal’ and the ‘figural’ dimensions of the word *touch* and the metaphors possibly associated with it, the spatiality of *care* in Puig de la Bellacasa’s work resides in the images that she uncovers as she navigates the ‘ambivalences’ of touch (ibid., 98). For example, touch triggers an image of intense solicitude. In this image, the distance separating two bodies/things is abridged; moved by their *care* for the other, bodies/things are orientated towards each other (Ahmed 2006). As they encounter each other at an intimate proximity, each touches the other and so each is touched by the other (Ahmed 2006, Puig de la Bellacasa 2017).

The ‘reversibility’ of the touch is often brought about as an experience that is specific to the touch, however, Puig de la Bellacasa disrupts this reversibility. She suggests that ‘to touch’ or ‘to be touched’ does not necessarily mean ‘being in touch with’ other bodies/things (2017, 99). She wonders about the other meanings that could possibly be attributed to our touch, particularly when it does not take into account the desires of bodies/things to which we reach out for (ibid.). Touch for Puig de la Bellacasa has ‘a potential to inspire a sense of connectedness that can further problematize abstractions and disengagements of (epistemological) distances’ (ibid., 97), however, questions that problematise the proximities at which we stand from bodies we are touching are also necessary. She denounces modes of thinking that conceive *care* as a somatic appropriation through the “direct” touch; she emphasises once again the relationality of *care* through the touch (ibid.). She writes,

“Thought through a politics of care, “intra-active” touch demands attentiveness to the response or reaction, of the touched. It demands to question when and how we shall avoid touch to remain open for our haptic speculations to be cut short by the resistance of an “other”, to be frustrated by the encounter of another way of touching/knowing’ (ibid., 120).

Puig de la Bellacasa invites for the employment of ‘a sense of careful “reciprocity”’ when thinking about the reversibility of the touch (ibid., 120). Nevertheless, for her, careful reciprocity should not be understood as a form of gift exchange. To illustrate, reciprocity does not cite symmetrical relationships in which *care* is understood as a moral obligation; if I give care, it does not mean that I should expect to receive it. ‘Care troubles reciprocity in this way because the living web of care is not one where every giving involves taking, nor every taking will involve giving’ (ibid., 121). Ultimately, the

reciprocity of Ethics of *care* is grounded in understanding the two main asymmetries that manifest in the living web of care; power positions and the capacity for bodies to give *care* (ibid.).

‘Touch is mystical. Touch is prosaic’, suggests Puig de la Bellacasa (ibid., 101). The spatiality of the touch, therefore, is not limited to spaces where we can be physically present; the spatiality of the touch extends to host our speculative imaginations. By the term ‘touching visions’, not only does she develop an ethic-political vision-based approach that engages *care* with touch, but she also invites for ‘sensory values’. Puig de la Bellacasa suggests,

‘sensory values are not qualities reserved to touch, but thinking with touch emphasizes them well because of the intensification of closeness that the haptic signifies and enacts. Touching technologies do not need to celebrate the inherent significance of touch but rather touching visions that also account for haptic asperities’ (ibid., 119).

Feminism of Care

Care work for Puig de la Bellacasa is activist work. She approaches *care* as ‘trouble’ which we need to ‘stay with’ (Haraway 2016). This necessitates our wholehearted engagement, our sincere commitment to the values entrenched in *care* relationalities, and our belief that *care* needs time as well as takes time. In practice, to ‘stay with’ the trouble also cites how the work of *care* is collective work. Puig de la Bellacasa writes,

‘we perceive care as it is continuously reenacted in inseparable entanglements between what is “personal”-how one individual is affectively engaged in attachments- and what is “collective”- a web of compelling relations, with humans and nonhumans, included in a community of practice in situations’ (ibid., 166).

Puig de la Bellacasa celebrates the practice of *care* as a ‘joyful activity’ (ibid., 158). The work of *care* engages three inextricable ecologies, ‘psyche, collectives, and Earth’. Puig de la Bellacasa’s deliberation of *care* as a cultivation of joy, finds some resonance in posthuman affirmative theories. In her definition of ‘joy’ in the Posthuman Glossary, Braidotti suggests that the ethics of joy not only decentralises self-centred individualism and anthropocentrism but also subverts the limiting boundaries of negativity (Braidotti and Hlavajova 2018, 221). She suggests that the ethics of joy are ethics of becoming; she promotes five steps to achieve joy,

‘the first step consists in reaching an adequate cartography of the conditions of bondage...the second step consists in mobilizing a subject’s

ontological desire – the vital potentia of the subject – by reframing it in disruptive directions capable of resisting codes and powers...the third step is to create a laboratory of the new. To live out the shared capacity to affect and to be affected, posthuman subjects need to disengage the process of subject formation from negativity by attaching it to affirmative and relational vision of the self...A fourth step to achieve an ethics of joy is to acknowledge life as a generative force of becoming. is means that life, zoe, is a- personal and non-anthropocentric...A fifth step for an ethics of joy entails sustaining processes of subject-formation that do not comply with the dominant norms (ibid., 223-4).

Puig de la Bellacasa pays particular attention to the necessity of ‘care time’ (ibid., 171). Similar to Ahmed’s disregard of immediacy which is in contrast to her preference for slow processes of mediation, Puig de la Bellacasa argues that *care* is not merely an instant response to an emergent crisis or a predetermined model that was laid out in response to a previous crisis. She writes, ‘caring affection, as something we do, is always specific; it cannot be enacted by a priori moral disposition, nor an epistemic stance, nor a set of applied techniques, nor elicited as abstract affect’ (2017, 91). Critical about such immediate cultures of *care* which she describes as ‘productionist’ – i.e. that work which is in accordance with a linear timeline that subordinates other temporalities in the field of work in favour of ‘technoscientific temporalities’. Rather she argues instead for a ‘time of care’ (2017, 171). She argues that for *care* to have this therapeutic non-immediate dimension, ‘care time entails “making time” to get involved with a diversity of timelines that make the web of more than human agencies’ (ibid.). Describing *care* time as a ‘good time’, Puig de la Bellacasa shares some personal reflections from her work with other than human worlds (the soil)... Reflecting on the affective ‘healing’ of *care*, she writes, ‘it is discussed by participants as healing time, supportive time, for worried people, tired people, angry people, precarious people- environmentalists with no health insurance...This mood- beyond feeling good and thinking that was ok- became crucial to a transformation of my engagements’ (ibid., 157-158).

To “enact” the camp is to “care” about the camp



3.1 Figure 1: A collage composed by the author. It was created so to display my state of mind through thinking and writing.

3.2 Humanitarian Aphasia

Interrogating *care* in the humanitarian ‘community-based approach’: The Program, the Delegation¹⁷⁷, and the Certificate as ‘matters of *care*’.

This chapter is concerned with understanding the pragmatic dimensions of *care* as managed by humanitarian NGOs in response to refugees’ ‘long-term’ needs (Duffield 2007). I situate this inquiry within the work of the community engagement unit, which is concerned with ensuring a community-based approach to refugee engagement in Za’atri refugee camp (The UN Refugee Agency 2008). My aim in this chapter is to capture the deficiency of this approach (ibid.). I choose to describe this deficiency as ‘Humanitarian Aphasia’¹⁷⁸, which is based on an ontological ambiguity that clouds ‘the community’ as the object of humanitarian NGO work¹⁷⁹ (J. Hyndman 2000; Bulley 2014). While applying a lens of *care* ethics¹⁸⁰, this chapter argues that attempts to enact community in Za’atri refugee camp, through the meaningful participation of refugees, have failed because they do not work in line with refugees’ expectations. As this chapter considers the relational, spatial and feminist aspects of NGO work, it also rethinks other response-able modes for enacting community in the refugee camp.

I base the work in this chapter on both my own experiences working for six months as a project officer in the community engagement unit, and on interviews with three fellow project officers. My critique of the NGO humanitarian response-ability is shaped by reflecting on three main aspects of our work as project officers, aspects that also helped to form our work environment: the program, the delegation and the certificate (Seaver 2017). I think of these as matters of care (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) with each encompassing a multiplicity of (human and non-human) relations, spaces, and hierarchies that, together, challenge the community-based approach (The UN Refugee Agency 2008). Through my analysis of these different components, I show that the falsity of the claim made by NGOs, that which is that this framework enhances

¹⁷⁷ Through my work as a humanitarian volunteer in Za’atri refugee camp through the years 2016 and 2017, I had the chance to meet (and help) Professor Helen Story and her team from London College of Fashion; they worked on their practice-based project called “LoveCoat”, see: <https://sustainable-fashion.com/blog/the-zaatari-lovecoats/>. Professor Helen Story was announced as the first artist in residence at Za’atri refugee camp, see: <https://www.arts.ac.uk/colleges/london-college-of-fashion/stories/professor-helen-storey-announced-as-first-artist-in-residence-at-zaatari-refugee-camp>. I also had the chance to meet (and help) professor Karen Fisher from University of Washington; she worked on analysing certain information systems in the refugee camp. See: <https://www.seattleglobalist.com/2016/02/10/syrian-youth-zaatari-refugees-uw-ischool/47381>. Also see (Fisher et al. 2017; Yafi, Yefimova, and Fisher 2018).

¹⁷⁸ See the Introduction.

¹⁷⁹ See my account of the ‘community’ in the introduction to this thesis.

¹⁸⁰ Please see Chapter 3.1, the introduction to this section (*Enacting the Camp*).

refugees' resilience, self-reliance and independency (Ilcan and Rygiel 2015). Instead, we come to understand the community-based approach as a tactic that is instrumentalised to govern refugee populations (Bulley 2014; Olivius 2014).

Analysing the community-based approach through the nuances of the program, the delegation and the certificate as matters of *care* are crucial to subverting the ontological ambiguity that shrouds the use of the term "community" in the humanitarian NGO response (The UN Refugee Agency 2008). They expand the NGOs limited understanding of community in the refugee camp as a purely dominated being (Agamben 1998) (or as a singular entity that existed prior to its inhabitation of the refugee camp environment) (J. Hyndman 2000); rather they help structure community as a relational being. Community comes into existence through the relations that those members who belong to it construct with each other as well as with their surrounding environments.

In the introduction to her book, Puig de la Bellacasa explains why she chose the phrasing, *Matters of Care*, as its title; she writes, 'because it speaks in one breath of nonhumans and other than humans such as things, objects, other animals, living beings, organisms, physical forces, spiritual entities, and humans' (2017, 1). Following Puig de la Bellacasa, I have chosen the term 'matters of care' to expand the ontological scope of the community so that it incorporates social relationships, organisational hierarchies, bureaucratic procedures, neo-colonial privileges, technologies, frustrations, secrets, unspoken monologues, dissents, complaints, etc.¹⁸¹ (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017). In this way, the term community no longer only cites the refugee community, but also its relational interactions with (human and non-human) others, meaning that it could come to challenge normative modes of enacting within the camp.

In the following text, I speak about these matters with the voices of the Jordanian project officers (local staff); I focus on the bureaucratic, geopolitical, racial and classed hierarchies that they have to navigate within humanitarian spaces while they attempt to implement a flawed community-based approach. I argue that in such a context, to engage with the community is to think of modes of care that respond to the complexity of it rather than thinking of it as an entity that is distant or predetermined.

The Program: I cannot take this work environment¹⁸²! (Relationality of Care)

¹⁸¹ Also see (McGuirk 2019): <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/anthrobites-anthropology-of-ngos#transcript7976>

¹⁸² See my account of 'environmental subjectivities' in Chapter 2.3.

The UNHCR manual, *A Community-based Approach*, emphasises the relationality of humanitarian *care* through guiding their own staff and partner staff (ibid., 7) ‘to ensure that people of concern are placed at the centre of all decisions affecting their lives’. Yet, the manual overlooks the organisational hierarchies that may affect the making of these decisions. For example, although it addresses a wide ‘audience’ of humanitarian staff categories, including; ‘senior management, programme, protection, community services, field, logistics, technical services, and public information staff’ (ibid., 7), it flattens the hierarchies that are often associated with each of these categories in humanitarian spaces (Pascucci 2019). This section aims at revealing such relationalities from the perspective of Jordanian project officers as they feature in their everyday work environment.

To make clear, I present these bureaucratic structures with relevance to the global politics that produce these bureaucracies in aid and development spaces. I aim to discuss the geopolitical, racial¹⁸³ and class hierarchies that Jordanian project officers encounter through their everyday work in humanitarian spaces.

I reflect on three relational processes that I identified while working alongside my fellow project officers, processes which stemmed from our experience of implementing a community-based program: briefing, complaining, and handing-over. As each of these processes brings to light Jordanian project officers’ everyday experiences, they bring to the humanitarian *care* consciousness some conditions that have long been overlooked. Whereas ‘situation analysis’ is identified as one major component in implementing a community-based approach (The UN Refugee Agency 2008, 27), I present these conditions as situations that deserve analysis¹⁸⁴ as relationalities of *care*¹⁸⁵. I approach these situations¹⁸⁶ as spaces and times where and when program hierarchies are experienced as burdensome for Jordanian project officers, so much so that many of them expressed to me that they ‘cannot take this work environment anymore’!

Briefing. ‘You should be careful not to exaggerate what you want to do, not to show that you do not know, not to take longer than your time; only a few minutes...’, I was reminding myself before her voice broke the rhythm of everyone’s inner monologue. ‘I do not understand why you insist on this tradition of briefing! It is not your job to assign us what we should be doing, this should be for you to listen to what we want to do. Yes; we project officers! I do not understand why this NGO uses such a title to announce this position, if every person can tell me what to do! As if anybody really has a clue as to

¹⁸³ See my account of emotions in Chapter 1.3.

¹⁸⁴ See my account of ‘environmental subjectivities’ in Chapter 2.3.

¹⁸⁵ See chapter 3.1.

¹⁸⁶ See Keshavarz’s account of passport situations (2019, 14).

what needs to be done', one of my colleagues said, addressing our line manager. I was in shock; for the truth that had resonated in her words that no one had ever dared to articulate. Silence filled the room. By the end of that month, the same project officer (who had more than four-years of experience as a humanitarian worker in the refugee camp) was asked to resign due to her performance. Three months passed. A similar silence resonated in one of the large meeting rooms. It was during one of the Project Management trainings that was given to us by civil society NGO experts. In a short exercise that followed their presentation on different types of Project Management, we were tasked to think of the type of hierarchy operating in our NGO. Silence, again, filled the room. No one said a word. Nevertheless, it did not take long before we- project officers and other NGO workers from different units and titles- started turning our heads to inspect each other's faces. I exchanged looks and chuckles with a few of my colleagues. Humorously, we dared each other: 'who is man enough for the task!' (Musmar 2017).

The proposal: authoritarian not participative.

'Our NGO suffers from authoritarian management', one of my colleagues had told me a few days before she resigned (ibid.). Threatened¹⁸⁷ by the risk of losing their job if they speak out, project officers' fear to state what they believe had injected tension into their work. To give an instance, in my interviews with project officers, many of the discussions around the implementation of a community-based program¹⁸⁸ hinted towards the proposal, yet no one had addressed it directly. 'But who writes the proposal?', I asked as I tried to invoke an answer that alludes to the contrast between the managerial style and the participative dimensions (Lewis 2001). 'Nobody knows, it is a mystery', one colleague responded humorously¹⁸⁹ (Musmar 2017). The reference that project officers had initially made to the proposal, as if it is a holy constitution that structures how they should think or do their work, could be thought of as a tradition

¹⁸⁷ See my account of emotions in Chapter 1.3.

¹⁸⁸ In my interviews with project officers, out of a personal curiosity to understand what I thought was still vague for me through my everyday practice, I asked, 'how does the program work?'. To answer my question, they referred to concepts that they had learnt through their Project Management training. Terms like, the program's vision, mission, plan, budget line, etc. founded the grounds of their understanding of the Community Engagement unit work. Avoiding outlining what they thought was the genuine purpose of the unit and settling instead on the 'proposal' as a point of reference, a long argument followed through which they discussed the disparity between an 'ideal' way of implementation and a 'real' perspective on how the program really takes place on the grounds of the camp. Questions such as who should draw the vision of the program and who really draws it, what can be done and what is undoable, what can be arranged in long-term plans and what can be planned only instantly, what can be calculated and what is uncalculatable, what is budgeted and what should be at zero-cost, etc.

¹⁸⁹ This dark humour that infused my colleagues' talk around the proposal was deeply rooted in their cynicism of how the Community Engagement unit is generally being operated. It happened often that they humorized my questions while maintaining eye contact with each other- as if they had discussed the subject matter of my question or what I tried to hint at before.

that they maintained to exercise their loyalty to the NGO management who holds a tight grip on their critical views.

Whereas the manual for *A Community-based Approach* emphasises the necessity for action that is grounded in ‘participatory assessment’ that builds ‘partnerships with women and men from all ages and backgrounds’, the proposal, as the main document that plans, rules and assesses this work, was not written in a participative manner (The UN Refugee Agency 2008, 45). ‘When we received the proposal that outlines our work for the next year, there was no signature at the bottom of the document. Nobody was accountable for that proposal’, one of the project officers explained in the interview (Interview with Project Officer 3 (male) 2017).

In the last couple of weeks of the year of 2017, before I left my position as a project officer, I came to understand more about the origins of my colleagues’ unspoken frustration. We were asked to list our suggestions so they could be reviewed for the upcoming year’s proposal. As it would be impossible to properly survey the community’s feedback and suggestions in a week, I protested at the short notice. Nevertheless, others encountered the line manager’s request differently. Mocking my protest as a ‘blonde’ objection, one of my colleagues said, ‘Aya, habibti, you have so much faith in people. Is this not clear enough for you? That some people are hopeless! The problem is not only the short notice!’, one project officer said to me. Notably, those project officers with more years of experience did not believe in the slightest that their opinions would be taken into account (Musmar 2017). ‘Why would they ask for our opinions if they do not take what we think and do seriously?’, another colleague said after the line manager had left the room (ibid.).

A proposal that envisions a community-based program should at the very least be written collectively; in a way that allows for the voices of those working closely with the community itself, if not the voices of the community itself, to be heard. It is clear that the NGO management understands the necessity of this and therefore makes sure that such a process is documented. However, a rushed proposal that excludes the voices of those involved in the actual implementation of the program is, in reality, far from its description of ‘community-based’.

Far from: detached participation.

Fatigued from being overworked, namely by weekly and monthly reports, logistics, delegations, events, activities, etc., project officers have little time for engaging in the field (Jacobs 2015). One project officer’s statement, in which he made a comparison between his current post as a project officer and his previous post as a community mobiliser, captured the epistemic change that he had experienced in the community engagement programs. He said, ‘I think we use laptops more now’ (Interview with Project Officer 1 (male) 2017). Continuing to describe how this change also changed his capacity to reach people, he says, ‘as my job is up-scaled to involve “planning”,

“operating”, and “managing” projects, it reduces my accessibility to the overall population. This accessibility is now reduced to the few volunteers that deliver these programs and the beneficiaries that make themselves the subject of these deliveries¹⁹⁰ (ibid.).

This implies a spatial shift; the epistemic change infers a detachment from the grounds of the field and a subsequent attachment to the NGO offices, community centres, and meeting rooms, a shift which impacts how project officers orientate themselves in their everyday work (Ahmed 2006). As community engagement programs are operated within five community centres that are situated in five districts (out of twelve), officers’ mobility is also limited to the boundaries of the compound that houses the Community Centre. If we say that project officers are situated somewhere between the community and the Community Engagement unit to mediate community-based projects, not only would they be standing far away from the people of the camp, they would also be orientated upwards; they would be facing the management, leaving the people of Za’atri in the background.

Project officers receive higher salaries than community mobilisers. The impact of this shift was remarkably clear cut, not only in the overall discourse that had dominated the stance of project officers, but also in how they were perceived by other NGO workers from other units. Despite being affected by similar organisational bureaucracies that impacted all NGO workers at junior and senior levels, their alignment to the management made other NGO workers perceive them as snobby, insensitive, and unresponsive to people in the field.

As project officers are posited at a higher level in the NGO hierarchical structure, their accountability is also sought upwards. Their job description, which itemises a long list of responsibilities (most of which are designated in managerial terms), demands that they have a more sophisticated set of skills and higher capacities than community mobilisers. For example, they were expected to be fluent in English, compliant to UNHCR officers in both good and bad decisions, well-mannered with foreigners (delegations), and up to date with international calendars in order to plan for globally celebrated events.

Antagonistic action: competition over coordination.

‘The responsibilities that are distributed to the units of this NGO are supposed to be complementary to one another, you cannot mobilise and plan at the same time!’, the program director once said to me as she encouraged me to work collaboratively with other units (Musmar 2017). Her advice came in response to my puzzlement over how to mobilise for a new program that I was responsible for starting within the community engagement unit. Nevertheless, this advice did not necessarily cite any

¹⁹⁰ See the Certificate section found later in this chapter.

degree of truth! Initiating collaborations across different units was a very difficult task. To give an example, shortly after briefing the community mobilisation unit about the type of mobilisation that the project demanded, I was criticised for my request. ‘Do you know how many tasks we should have complete by the end of the day; we cannot simply add your activity to our long list of mobilisation tasks!’, one community mobiliser complained (ibid.). ‘Aya, do you know what the problem is? We as humanitarian workers sometimes forget that people here in the camp already have lives and are not only waiting for our projects, we cannot be intrusive every time’, another community mobiliser said (ibid.). Following a quarrel in which I tried to justify being under a similar kind of pressure that they themselves suffer from, I said, ‘I am feeling rushed with this task by higher management, who believe this project should be completed within a couple of weeks’ (ibid.). As if in response, I received another piece of advice which countered the Program Director’s. ‘Do things on your own, because no one will understand the value of your work and the necessity of it like you do’, my line manager offered (ibid.). What she said, however, was not new.

The culture of collaborative and coordinated work¹⁹¹ is countered by a growing culture of competition. There is competition for recognition from management: who will hit the highest target, who is always be on time, who is the camp manager’s favourite, who is the most organised, who is the best at English, etc. Rooted in the NGO’s neo-colonial thought and maintained through its multiscale practices of authoritarian bureaucracy, competition for individual recognition is an inevitable consequence. Colleagues from the community engagement unit as well as from the community mobilisation unit highlighted how the management loathes any collaborative work. For them, words that the program director would say to encourage collaboration between different units, is not true.

Complaining. I cannot recall who was the first person that I helped to adjust the language of her/his email. Nor can I recall when my capacity to write good emails had been noticed by those that asked for my help to write or articulate their complaints. Of the many people with whom I had exchanged details about the stories that motivated them to be *carefully* expressive and understood in emails, I remember Abu Abdallah the most. He handed me a white piece of paper where a title, someone’s hand written words and signature, and many blue-inked stamps were inscribed. Abruptly and with a hint of confusion, Abu Abdallah said only a few words to describe what I understood to be a letter from his doctor that stated that the costs for a surgery that his wife had recently undergone in a private hospital were not to be covered by his medical insurance provided by the NGO. Shortly after he

¹⁹¹ The collaboration between the different components was limited to that which related to what is called ‘case referrals’, ‘our component works independently, our work does not complement other components’ work, if we encountered a case with special requirements we refer it to the Case Management team or the Health team’.

started elaborating on the origins of his problem, I was called to the office. I left the room hesitantly but promised to help him as soon as I was done with the call. In less than an hour, he shyly appeared in my line of sight to remind me of his urgent secret, the one that I also share. Quickly, I composed the letter of complaint in his voice, addressing the Human Resources unit (HR), and sent it to his private email from my private email ([Musmar 2017](#)).

Sign that email: may Allah not forgive them.

Exchanging emails dominates the communication culture of programs in the community engagement unit. ‘If your work is not documented by email, it is work that was never done’, a colleague with longer experience advised once (*ibid.*). Indeed, email had worked as an ‘archive’ that traced the history of one’s work; collaborations, planning, delegations, follow ups, etc. (*Shirren and Phillips 2011; Vinh-Doyle 2017*). To expand, in disputes or complaints over work that was not done, someone’s email inbox (as an archive) would be revisited to extract evidence that could appraise their reliability and responsibility for the work (*Shirren and Phillips 2011; Vinh-Doyle 2017*). Exchanging emails for project officers, especially those who are hesitant about their written communicative skills, was an extra source of pressure that impacted their ‘health, wellbeing, and productivity’ (*Taylor, Fieldman, and Altman 2008*)¹⁹². The email as an archive, materialised a form of legitimate authority that judged project officers’ performances by overseeing their relationships with others. Situated at a precarious position in the hierarchical structure of the NGO, and, so, already perplexed by the complex relationships that they had to navigate their everyday work through, the word ‘email’ fell heavy to their ears.

The problem is not a matter of translation, be it from Arabic to English or from English to Arabic; it is rather a problem of discourse. Emailing should not be considered an abstract form of exchange through which project officers address or respond to others. It is fraught with politics that many project officers believed that they could not subtly encounter. Indeed, the email represents a language that is, as linguistic anthropologists would say, ‘inextricably embedded in networks of sociocultural relations’ (*Ahearn 2001, 10*). Shaped and moved by emotions of discomfort, gratefulness, fear, and disgust¹⁹³ that stain the cultural politics of humanitarian work, project officers thought that attending to language (as written) might disclose their honest opinions that the management would then use as evidence of their disobedience ([Ahmed 2004](#)).

¹⁹² Much of the scholarly work that deliberates emails as a communicative information technology aims to analyse, advance or/and invent models that improve the practicalities of the email. Therefore, the social, psychological, and emotional dimensions of the email are often quantified through numbers and segmented through vocabularies that measure the impact of the email usability on organisational efficiency (*Shirren and Phillips 2011; Vinh-Doyle 2017; Taylor, Fieldman, and Altman 2008*).

¹⁹³ See chapter 3.

Following up on the example provided in the anecdote, Abu Abdallah's complaint was not responded to positively, and it failed to change his current position. I offered my help to go further in the process by insisting on his right to the insurance, but he dissented: 'At least, I know that I have tried, and I am happy my complaint had unsettled them for some time! For now, this is enough! May Allah not forgive them at all!', he said referring to the Human Resources unit (Musmar 2017). 'May Allah not forgive them!' was probably the most repeated sentence that one would hear behind closed doors, all closed doors; in the basecamp, in the camp, and at home. This prayer, charged with powerlessness, anger, and oppression directed towards the almighty Allah, not only registers how 'small, small, small' the room is that is left for Abu Abdallah and others behind closed doors, but also his choice to withdraw himself from the emotional labour that processing a complaint demanded (Ahmed 2018).

In her account of complaint, Sara Ahmed analyses how complaints, aimed at addressing 'unjust' situations in an institution, are silenced, dismissed, ignored, slowed down and/or dissolved (ibid.). To complain of a situation in an institution, Ahmed argues, is to stand 'against' the institution, leading the institution to stand against you (ibid.). Ahmed describes the rigidity of the institution by using a 'brick wall' as metaphor; to complain is to 'scratch' on that wall (ibid.). Abu Abdallah's complaint is nothing but a scratch on the wall. By stigmatising those who complain with labels such as spoiled, acquisitive, and/or parasitical, institutions deny them the right to complain. Ahmed writes, 'being able to complain about an oppressive situation is used as evidence that you are not really oppressed by that situation' (ibid.). Knowing that his complaint would not be more than a scratch on the wall, a scratch that would possibly be later used against him, the act of complaining still satisfied Abu Abdallah, even if only slightly. But how can one possibly make a complaint so that it is processed, so, it is heard? 'To make a complaint is to follow the procedures to make that complaint', Ahmed says (ibid.). Although following the procedures does not mean that a complaint would necessarily result in it being processed nor heard, one still needs to know how the system works. Ahmed describes how the system works as 'institutional mechanics' (ibid.).

The help¹⁹⁴ that was asked of me so frequently was to identify the NGO's institutional mechanics. According to Ahmed, although not deemed to need critical work, to process a complaint does need one to grow the capacity to be critical (Ahmed 2018). Having grown this capacity to be critical through my PhD studies, I was asked for help

¹⁹⁴ My access to literature through my PhD studies, conditioned by my commitment to practicing critique, had enhanced my reading and writing skills. Undoubtedly, this capacity, of which its expansion was conditioned by my academic practice, makes part and parcel of the privilege which my position as a researcher that is assigned the role of a *project officer* is entitled to. This is not to say that this capacity is exclusively obtained by academic researchers; many people have developed the skills necessary for a 'professional' discourse elsewhere.

by my colleagues so that they could articulate their emails in a language that expressed the institutional mechanics. To refine the language of their emails so that they voice their genuine agencies, meant that the work of refinement is work of otherwise translation. This begs the question of how to translate their emotions into a professional discourse that could be circulated through institutional mechanics? As their oppression¹⁹⁵ is rooted in the cultural politics of humanitarian work, I often did this work of refinement (or translation) by relying on the same humanitarian culture. This culture provided me with a source for vocabulary and syntax that could translate and mobilise project officers' emotions into a rights-based discourse. For example, to complain about the injustice of being forced to work beyond our working hours, we made reference to the same timesheet that is used to restrict our free time in the camp. By maintaining a reference to the official documents that outline project officers' responsibilities, the language of the email was refined so it was contextualised in line with humanitarian codes, manuals, NGO terms of reference, reports, other emails, etc. I wrote complaints so that they could also become archival, allowing people to go back to them and extract evidence of neglect and injustice.

Handing-over. I followed her as she walked out of the caravan to smoke outside where other smokers stood in the shade. 'I am preparing the documents needed for my handing-over. It would be great if you could review if my work needs further explanations that could help the new project officer', I said to her. As she took out a lighter from her tight-trousers' pocket to light her cigarette, she said, 'I trust you, do what you think is suitable, and I know I can always refer to you even when you are not around', she continued while puffing smoke. Although trying to say her words affirmatively, her travelling eyes uncovered the reluctance that padded her speech. Avoiding meeting my own, her eyes roamed around the NGO compound; they observed other smokers that stood near and far and scrutinised the dusty and slightly muddy ground that had left its traces on her shiny boots. Fresh to her position in the camp, it did not take her long to realise that the work environment in a refugee camp is different to what she had been used to in a civil-society organisation. She expressed a few times how sorry she felt for herself over this transition. It was not the dust, nor the distant toilets that she had to run to before she peed herself that made her upset, but her 20-year experience in the public sector and third sector that had gone unnoticed under this management. 'In this environment one needs to be many other things in order to be visible', she said once in a resenting tone as she turned back to our office after meeting with her line manager. I and other project officers found some relief in her kind and vulnerable approach, but of our experience with the many line managers that preceded

¹⁹⁵ Looking now to that help in a retrospective manner, the work of refinement could be viewed as a *work of a 'pedagogy of the Oppressed'* (Friere 1970).

her, we saw that this approach would not last long. However, we pretended it would last forever because we liked it. ‘She wants to make alliances’, one of my colleagues once said in a low voice as she left the office. So, did I. I wanted to prepare the handing-over document because it was my responsibility to do so, however, talking to her about it was extra work which I did in order to make my commitment to this responsibility visible. Although I was leaving my work in the camp, maintaining my relationships with NGO representatives, especially those in senior positions, was important for my wider network and future work. A few months following my departure, I heard from my colleagues that our new senior officer had left her job, without handing it over to anyone (Musmar 2017).

Lacklustre performance: Quantitative methods and turnovers.

Rooted in the humanitarian culture of publicity¹⁹⁶, a necessary requirement to demonstrate ‘aid effectiveness’, NGO’s have long emphasised the importance of making their work visible to partners and donors (Haavisto and Kovács 2013, 89). This emphasis on visibility on the operational level has resulted in abandoning of one of the core humanitarian aid and development concepts, that of ‘sustainability’ (ibid.). Haavisto and Kovács write, ‘some aspects of sustainability, such as environmental responsibility, ethics, and longevity, have not been in focus in the humanitarian context on the operational level’ (ibid.). Defined as ‘being able to survive so that it can continue to serve its constituency’ (Weerawardena, McDonald, and Mort 2010, 47), the sustainability of NGO operations cannot be viewed in isolation. Rather it needs to be seen alongside the implementation of programs on the grounds of the camp. Invested in a hierarchal structure that demands upward accountability, the Community Engagement unit had failed to maintain a coherent pattern of operations that accentuate ‘environmental responsibility, ethics and longevity’ through its individual programs. This failure is evident in the lacklustre performance across the multiple levels of its operations. My line manager’s statement about one’s need ‘to be many other things in order to be visible’ exposes how employees’ capacities are often absorbed by tasks that are irrelevant to the ideological value of their work.

Rather than performing their everyday tasks as negotiators, organisers and thinkers, their job has turned into a list of boxes that need to be ticked, and a set of graphics; photographs, PowerPoint presentations, and videos that should be produced. The culture of publicity has had a substantial effect on how project officer’s work is monitored and evaluated. To illustrate, community-based projects are supposed to be thought of, planned and mobilised with a profound understanding of how their short and long-term objectives contribute to the NGO’s humanitarian mission in the camp. Instead, however, they are implemented and reported with a focus on quantity rather than quality. For example, one of the project officers was cynical about the

¹⁹⁶ See chapter 2.2.

measurements used to evaluate the results of a Focus Group Discussion (FGD), saying, ‘one of the reasons that the gym project failed was that the people that came and used the gym were different from those that had participated in the FGD. The new users were not satisfied with the gym equipment and soon the gym was abandoned. The same story applies to every single program, the Monitoring and Evaluation team chases us all the time asking us to provide them with numbers, then they get surprised when things do not work. We are blamed!’ (Interview with Project Officer 1 (male) 2017). With the absence of methods that assure and maintain the quality of work, i.e. the value of a participatory approach¹⁹⁷, such quantitative methods could be judged as biased and limited (Beauchemin and González-Ferrer 2011)¹⁹⁸. Thus, the legitimate basis for representing the larger population (that the FGD method claims to do) is flawed.

‘Turnover in volunteers, turnover in colleagues, turnover in management’, said my colleague as she was counting the challenges of running a program in the Community Engagement unit (Interview with Project Officer 2 (female) 2017). Indeed, turnover was a problem that appeared in the work of the NGO on multiple levels. If people were not leaving compulsorily due to short-term contracts being issued, they would leave in search of more dignified working conditions; either way, in terms of monitoring, NGO workers were leaving their positions willingly. Turnover impacted the implementation of programs dramatically; for example, during my practice in the camp, three out of six project officers resigned and the three programs they were responsible for were distributed to the remaining project officers. This meant that each project officer’s responsibility (including my own) doubled for more than two months. As the project assistant/volunteer briefed me about the history of the program (challenges, expectations, work routine, et.), he was very upset about this continuous turnover of project officers. He said, ‘it is like we are on a loop, every time a new project officer takes responsibility, we are expected to work in accordance with new dynamics, new visions, new methods, we are so tired!’ (Musmar 2017).

Shortly after the new working year had started, my colleague who had come to fill my position called me to inquire about the program. She did not call to ask about the program’s logistics, budgeting, pending action points, general notes or other bureaucratic procedures that I made sure I covered in my handing-over report. She called to ask about the team of volunteers with whom she will be working with, asking about their personal traits and how she should manage her team. I advised her to talk to the project assistant who knows more, and who would probably give better advice. Nevertheless, I also thought of how exhausting it would be for him to start all over

¹⁹⁷ See chapter 3.3.

¹⁹⁸ In their paper on the bias and limitations of sampling as a method, Beauchemin and González-Ferrer argue that sampling risks over-representing one group over other groups and so generating misleading information about certain contexts (2011).

again.

The Delegation: URGH! Now whom? (Spatiality)

As part of their job, project officers are responsible for receiving research delegators and for facilitating and accommodating their Participatory Action Research¹⁹⁹ (PAR) activities (McIntyre 2008; Kindon, Pain, and Kesby 2007). Many of these research delegators intervened in the camp without a critical consideration of how their PAR approach intersects with a research ethics that acknowledges their power.²⁰⁰ Grounded in two main organisational cultures, that of academic research as a ‘productivist’ regime (Lorenz-Meyer 2018; Cannizzo 2018), and the culture of humanitarian work (B. Harrell-Bond 2002), the ethics associated with their positions are fraught with politics that need to be constantly unpacked. In this section, I unpack these ethics by reflecting on the spatialities of *care* that the delegation intervention produces. By spatialities I refer to the ways in which these delegators inhabit space when they visit the refugee camp. For example, the distances at which they stand, the locations where they choose to be, and the spatiotemporalities that their interventions produce (Raghuram, Madge, and Noxolo 2009).

I investigate how these delegations acknowledge their power positions and in doing so address the question of ethics through their applied methods. I refer to two main delegators whom I was tasked with accompanying. I helped to organise their activities, plan their visits, translate for and facilitate their workshops during the summer of 2017²⁰¹. On reflection, I replicate a similar distinction that I and other project officers used to make in jest,²⁰² the difference between a good delegator and a bad delegator. The comparative approach deployed to contrast between the good and the bad is aimed at opening a discussion about the spatialities associated with encountering each. As it pays attention to the ‘affective economies’ circulated through the encounter (Ahmed 2014), my comparative approach critiques the practices these delegators deploy in order to achieve their research endeavours. To investigate the ethics of *care* that inform their research practices, I ask three questions: what is the pace of their research practices? What informs their work approach; is their work situated in the camp; is their power position acknowledged? Do they work on creating and maintaining alliances that would help them further the capacities of their work?

¹⁹⁹ I speak about my own experience with PAR in chapter 3.3.

²⁰⁰ Considering the privilege of their positions; affiliations with western institutional bodies (West European or American), granted funds, and permitted access to refugees. In this section, I structure the researchers who are delegated to visit the refugee camp as privileged²⁰⁰ bodies that are entitled to unprecedented power.

²⁰¹ See my account of Dislocated Comfort in chapter 1.4.

²⁰² See my account of humour in the Introduction.

The Bad Delegation. She did not say a word. I kept my head down, looking at my notebook. I felt she was staring at me. As I turned my head and looked up, my eyes interlocked with her angry gaze. She stood there near my office, as if she had waited or maybe planned for our eyes to meet; so that I would know she was angry. I stared back into her pale blue eyes. ‘Why did not you call the community groups with whom I am planning to work with?’, she asked. ‘Because this is very short notice, you cannot just appear and ask me to do it now! People here have lives, jobs, and families, I cannot just call them now because you need them for a workshop on drawing’, I responded. On the same day, while commuting in the car, my colleagues and I from other units did not gossip about the management, we talked about this researcher. Specifically, about how much we loathed her approach. ‘She is so weird, as if she has not been given any training on communication skills. They fed us up with capacity building trainings, but it’s her that really needs it’, one of my colleagues said. We also joked about how she sent us friend requests on Facebook at the same time, a few days prior to her arrival. Harassing us with messages about work that she wants to do. ‘Who on earth has told her that I work for her?’, a colleague on the second day expressed to me (Musmar 2017).

The Good Delegation. ‘When they were wondering how I could endure the heat while wearing my hijab, I made fun of their improper shorts and sleeveless shirts, how could you possibly wear that in a refugee camp?! It was funny because we all laughed!’, one of my colleagues said as she described one of the delegators with whom she liked working. ‘They are very well-mannered, and you feel that they do care!’, she expressed to me. To support her belief about why she thinks they do care, she told me that this research delegator is very committed to working inside of the camp, to enhance people’s lives. ‘They work with the UNHCR, and with other universities, but they also have established a network with professionals from multiple geographies and backgrounds to help refugees’. She adds, ‘you know how I know they were good mannered; they were not eager to take pictures’! I, however, was still not very convinced (Musmar 2017).

Invested in the neoliberal culture of academic research and preoccupied by the pressing need to advance their academic achievements, academics generally are expected to produce original research (publications, reports, seminars, etc.), that is not only engaged and collaborative, but also fast²⁰³ (Caretta et al. 2018). Notably, academic researchers want to meet the multiple responsibilities that their funding committees demand, something which has directed their research interests towards ‘producing’

²⁰³ For example, in their article “*Who can play this game?*”, Caretta and others argue that ERC are expected to produce ‘a multitude of measurable outputs and skills, publications, income generation through the acquisition of external grants, international collaboration, and teaching excellence, as well proving that one can do all these things in combination and at pace’ (Caretta et al. 2018, 62).

knowledge (Jackson Jr 2014). Orientated by their academic endeavours towards knowledge as mere findings that they need to extract, the field- including the cultural, political, and social dimensions of its context- is often undermined in their action-research approach (J. Hyndman 2001). For project officers, researchers working on a rushed timeline that does not take into account the field's multiple temporalities, meant that they were often perceived as disruptive, manifested by their abrupt, interruptive, uninformed, and indiscreet ways. The eruptive nature of their visits had discomfited²⁰⁴ not only the project officers working directly with them, but also the refugees to whom research delegations sought access to in the first place. The surplus work that overwhelmed their everyday schedules required project officers and refugees to exhaust their own professional and emotional labour.

Most of the delegators that visited the refugee camp for their research, conducted their visits hesitantly without any real consideration for situated research practices. Coupled with their inability to acknowledge the power that they embody and to which they are entitled, they remain ignorant of the multiple representations that they communicate within the humanitarian space. For instance, many researchers represent the west which includes the many images that the west portrays for refugees; as westerners, they are believed to have donations pooling into the refugee camp, they are sought as possible advocates to help in some refugees' resettlement somewhere else, they are entitled to the authorities that the UNHCR officers are entitled to, and, very often, they are perceived as colonial subjects, in accordance with the west's colonial heritage²⁰⁵. This implies that the hierarchies that relate them to refugees stay unacknowledged. This poses important questions about the legitimacy of their research ethics and their right to access certain spaces or to disclose certain intimacies.

The alliances that western research delegators have with local partners (e.g. Jordanian Universities) still takes place within hierarchies that privilege the former²⁰⁶ (Sukarieh and Tannock 2019). Although these alliances expand the reach of certain research practices and accelerate the pace of some already existing grassroots efforts, they also involve an unequal distribution of resources between the north and the south²⁰⁷. Further, they claim ownership of already existing knowledges by reproducing them as their own research findings. This conceals the local knowledges that have significantly contributed to the production of these knowledges in the first place.

A good delegator approaches the refugee camp with a feminist ethics of *care*. They should assure, even moderately, a reflective, slow and participatory pedagogy²⁰⁸. They

²⁰⁴ Look at my account of *Dislocated Comfort* in chapter 1.4.

²⁰⁵ I write about the representation of the west in chapter 1.4, chapter 2.2, chapter 2.5.1, and chapter 2.5.2.

²⁰⁶ See chapter 1.1

²⁰⁷ See chapter 1.4

²⁰⁸ See chapter 3.3.

should acknowledge the hierarchies that feature within the humanitarian space and in doing so, pay attention to the affective and political economies that circulate within this space, with and without their presence. Taking into account the complexity of the researcher position, as founded in both the academy and in humanitarian work, a good delegator commits to activist grounds that aim to challenge the cultures that canonised certain research practices.

The Certificate: can you please sign these certificates? (Feminism)

One phenomenon that is associated with operating a community-based program through the Community Engagement unit is the ubiquity of ‘the certificate’. This is in terms of both the excessive production of certificates by NGOs and the refugees’ persistent demand for them. I suggest that this phenomenon emerged in parallel to ‘resiliency humanitarianism’,²⁰⁹ a new trend in humanitarian governance that approaches development by ‘responsibilising’ refugees (Ilcan and Rygiel 2015, 33). As the NGO mobilises refugees’ participation through its community-based programs, the certificate works as a catalyst for resilient humanitarianism. Whereas ‘the certificate’ is rendered in NGO narratives as the key that refugees need for a better future, for refugees, ‘the certificate’ works as the ‘right paper’ (Keshavarz 2019, 10) that validates their transition to any shores that are outside their ‘extraterritoriality’ (Agier 2011). By observing how NGOs and refugees view and approach the certificate, I aim to uncover the nuances of ‘meaningful participation’ that a community-based approach aims to achieve. By asking what participation means in this context and who meaningful participation is for, I suggest that community-based programs which claim to involve refugees in camp governance as autonomous subjects, are not only ‘disempowering’²¹⁰, but are also exploiting refugees’ wills (ibid.).

In this section, I bring two different stories that demonstrate the ways in which refugees have learned, through their experience, to navigate through the structures of the humanitarian NGO. The first story is about a participant in one of the training sessions that the NGO leads and the second story is about a volunteer in the NGO’s Cash for Work (CFW) program. By narrating the two stories, I show how refugees challenge these structures by claiming these gaps as possible openings that can allow their wilfulness to be performed (Ahmed 2014).

I want my certificate. At the end of the ceremony, when refugees were handed

²⁰⁹ Ilcan and Rygiel write, ‘through resiliency humanitarianism camps are re-imagined away from notions of them as spaces of “temporary permanence” (Diken 2004) designed to “warehouse” (USCRI 2008) refugees, and toward notions of camps as more permanent spaces of settlement with the potential for developing community and entrepreneurial populations’ (Ilcan and Rygiel 2015, 34).

²¹⁰ Ilcan and Rygiel argue that resilient humanitarianism perpetuates refugees’ political passiveness in their protracted settlement in the refugee camp.

certificates to express gratitude for their participation in the training that I was responsible for, one of the participants approached me and asked: 'could you please change my certificate? There is a typo in my name'. 'Yes, of course. I am sorry about that!', I confirmed. Although I was confident about my sincere intention to print her a new certificate with her name spelled correctly, I knew that the process of getting this certificate signed by my management would take ages. I gave her my phone number, and asked her 'please push me to do this, so I can push my management to sign it'. I loathed both; being pushed to do the task and pushing someone else to do it. Nevertheless, working as a project officer necessitated the two. 'How would I possibly convince her or any of her neighbours to come to my training if I do not get her certificate corrected', I thought to myself (Musmar 2017).

Will.

Ahmed writes in *Willful Subjects* (2014):

'One of my key aims is to explore how the will becomes a question of time by thinking through how will relates to the past as well as the future, and how the will is never quite present or in the time we are in: the subjective time of will is thus described as non-spontaneity and the social time of will as non-synchronicity (19)...I reflect on the will as experiential not as something we already have, but as something we come to experience ourselves as having. An experience can mean to apprehend an object, thought, or emotion through the senses or mind, as well as an active participation in events or activities (24) [...] To actualize a potential is to create a horizon. If you will something, then certain things must be around, those things necessary to accomplish something (40)'.

From Ahmed's logic, I understand will to be a mode of experience by which the subject of will is affected through time. Consequently, will is orientated towards or away from certain objects. I therefore understand will as the toward-ness that we take in the direction of a horizon in accordance with our affective capacities.

I argue that resilient humanitarianism works to orientate refugees' wills in a direction that aligns with its neoliberal horizons. To make clear the argument as to how resilient humanitarianism exploits refugees' wills, I bring as an example the concept of 'meaningful participation' that the UNHCR emphasises through its partnerships with other NGOs when implementing community-based projects (Ilcan and Rygiel 2015, 43). Meaningful participation engages refugees with humanitarian institutional frameworks by activating their everyday life experiences of the camp as response-able subjects that are 'resilient' and 'entrepreneurial' (Ilcan and Rygiel 2015, 33). With an emphasis on building leadership and entrepreneurial capacities in order for them to be able to make their own decisions regarding the ongoing activities in the camp, the ultimate aim of 'participation' is to enhance refugees' sense of 'ownership' towards

activities (ibid., 44), in which they are invested. In this example, the exploitation of refugees' wills materialises in the gap between the horizon that a humanitarian value aims to create for refugees, i.e. a sense of ownership, and the potentials which would allow for its actualisation. Given the potentials of the refugee camp, the liminal circumstances to which it is conditioned, and the political structures that constitute the refugee subject as stripped of political agency (Ramadan 2013), one comes to realise that inviting refugees to envision themselves as responsible 'residents' with a sense of ownership in the camp is ill-fated.

What if through resilient humanitarianism the refugee does not only claim this sense of ownership towards activities that they are expected to perform but also in other arenas? To avoid this fate whereby refugees might claim a sense of agency in relation to their present camp life, resilient humanitarianism dislocates this sense of ownership from the present and locates it to the future instead. Indeed, from a practice-based perspective, mobilising for community-based projects is based on circulating narratives that dwell on refugees' futures. For example, in one of the training sessions about how refugees could start their own entrepreneurial projects, one refugee asked about how he could implement this training in the future. 'Think of how this could possibly rebuild Syria', the project officer responded. Placing the future somewhere else, not 'here' but 'there', controls refugees' wills by reminding them of their limited access²¹¹ to their present as well as to their future. Further it demonstrates to them the impossibility of transforming the problem of access; even when they are 'responsible' 'resilient' and 'entrepreneurial' (Ilcan and Rygiel 2015, 33).

Of their experience of the camp life, the refugee understands the following: that for them to gain access, whether to 'here', 'there' or to somewhere else, a document that authorises their identity and indicates that they do not pose any threat is necessary (Ahmed 2014). Through this experience, where they are subject to resilient humanitarianism; continuously injected by its neoliberal values, refugees, indeed, become 'responsibilised'! As they come to realise the technocracies of humanitarian governance in the camp, the 'certificate' emerges as the single "right" paper' (Keshavarz 2019, 10). Keshavarz identifies two main aspects of what 'right' denotes that I find to be relatively important in relation to the certificate; 'being right in relation to the legal framework in which those papers are assessed' and 'right in its social and political status in current international politics and geopolitics' (ibid., 11). The

²¹¹ In August 2017, the Jordanian government allowed Syrian refugees to obtain work permits and an office for employment was opened in Za'atri camp. This was a relief for hundreds of refugees seeking an income as it would allow them to achieve a dignified life within the scarce conditions of the camp. However, it was not favoured nor accessible to many. For example, one of the artists that was celebrated and often photographed by visiting delegators for his skills with Origami told me, 'applying for a work permit would probably be the last door that I would knock on. I want to do Origami, to teach Origami. I do not want to spend my life in a factory. But if I do not find a job here with NGOs, I will apply'.

certificate, stamped by the UNHCR logo on the top-right side and the NGO logo on the top-left side, with a signature (maybe even two or three) at the bottom is one more paper that the refugee adds to their collection of ‘documents’. Living off the hope that perhaps, at one of the border portals that confronts their daily life (where they are asked to show documents), this certificate could possibly be the right paper that validates them, and so allows them access.

The refugee’s intensive demand for their certificate is suggestive of their ‘wilfulness’ (Ahmed 2014). By naming their ‘want’ for the certificate, not only do they recognise their position in relation to the frameworks that have produced the necessity for their validation, but also they claim this position to voice their right to this certificate! To give an example, when I, along with other project officers, invited refugees to participate in building-capacity training sessions, they always asked us ‘will there be certificates that accredit our participation?’, if these training sessions are accredited by a certificate they will show up, if not, then they will not. The certificate has become a condition that can rule out participation and has therefore allowed for a space of agency whereby the refugee, despite their want for more certificates, had learnt to dissent.

‘A human being with a free will’. ‘How did you succeed in becoming the first refugee graduate in Za’atri refugee camp?’, I asked Mohammed while looking at my screen to record his answers. It was one of the subsidiary tasks that was assigned to me as a project officer. Mohammed, silent, did not answer my question. I looked away from my screen to check if he had heard my question. Catching my eyes as if he had waited for my full attention he said, ‘a human being with a free will cannot be stopped by war, forced migration, or even by living within a refugee camp’. My colleagues in the Community Engagement unit warned me of the challenges of working with Mohammed, ‘he will do your job and his job and make you feel he is your supervisor not the other way around. I think he has an attitude problem!’, one colleague told me. One work day morning, just after being dropped off by my colleague and before entering the base camp, I looked towards the flat horizon of the camp. Barely distinguishing between the white caravans and the beige sand of what looked more like an empty desert, I saw Mohammad across that horizon, walking towards the base camp. The animated image of Mohammed’s toward-ness had not only interrupted my wandering sight in search of the camp horizon, but also the question that dominated my mind at that moment, ‘to what kind of mornings do people wake up everyday in the refugee camp?’ (Musmar 2017).

Attitude

Working with Mohammed was indeed difficult. In my few encounters, I found some resonance with what my colleagues had said about Mohammed, namely his bizarre intrusions of my responsibilities as a project officer. Nevertheless, the ‘problem of

attitude' that my colleagues had discredited Mohammed for could be thought of in relation to his 'wilfulness' that he had vocalised earlier. Sara Ahmed understands 'attitude' as phenomenon of will, referring to Husserl's understanding of it. 'Attitude', Husserl writes, 'means a habitually fixed style of willing life, comprising directions of the will or interests that are prescribed by this style, comprising the ultimate ends, the cultural accomplishments whose total style is thereby determined' (Husserl 1970, 280 in Ahmed 2014, 26). Mohammed's willingness to live a life that comprises of his capacities and paves the way for his visions of himself as a successful and distinguished individual had shaped his attitude.

As I came to know Mohammed more through our everyday work together, I began to appreciate his work ethic. In a conversation where colleagues had again discredited Mohammed for his attitude, I tried to defend him by endorsing his integrity. I said, 'I do not find his attitude problematic, really! On the contrary, speaking of my experience with Mohammed as a colleague, his attitude is enthusiastic, disciplined, and dedicated'. One of my colleagues responded, 'I do not think of him as "dedicated". I would rather say "conformist"' (Musmar 2017). This difference between my reading and my colleague's reading of Mohammed's attitude is grounded in the difference between my position as a researcher/volunteer and his position as an NGO official worker. As a PhD researcher, my temporal stay within the NGO was conditioned by my interest in exploring the everyday life of the camp. Thus, it was easy for me to dissociate myself (and be observed as dissociated) from the everyday politics of 'interest' that outlined the Jordanian NGO workers' perception of Mohammed and Mohammed's perception of the Jordanian NGO workers. NGO workers thought of Mohammed and other volunteers as 'conformists', those whose intimate connections with the management and the UNHCR might threaten their private spaces, those who were expressive of their critical views of the management. Yet Mohammed and the other volunteers, who believed that their CV should have allowed them to be in similar positions to those occupied by the Jordanian workers, had thought of them as peers rather than as supervisors. Mohammed, like many other volunteers that I encountered through my work as a project officer, despised the term volunteer or any other (said or performed) gesture that would cite their subordination in their everyday relations with Jordanian NGO workers. For example, during one of our returns to the office from the field, Mohammed asked me if there were any extra uniform vests that he could wear for his visibility as a humanitarian worker while in the field. After forwarding Mohammed's request to the management, we were told that volunteers are not supposed to wear the uniform vests of Jordanian staff. Their vests should instead be distinguished by colour and should be tagged with the word 'volunteer'. Later, Mohammed secretly expressed to me his frustration as to the injustices with which Syrian refugees are expected to live without any objections.

Mohammed's living conditions could not reveal the direction of his will, nor could it possibly pave the way for his vision of himself. This tension between his capabilities, all

of that he could do and what he wanted to do, and the limitations that were imposed on him by the boundaries of the refugee camp had unsettled his will. Indeed, Mohammed's attitude was often charged with anxiety, reluctance and moodiness. Ahmed suggests that 'willing can be anxious'; as in how 'we might be anxious that what is willed will not be accomplished or even that "without will" we would not be able to accomplish our aim' (Ahmed 2014, 37). Nevertheless, to comprehend Mohammed's anxious attitude, even partially, one needs to understand that Mohammed's accomplishment of his visions of himself as a successful and a distinguished individual is far from his reach in the refugee camp. Ahmed describes the space that distances us from what we will for as a 'gap'. She argues that the affective mood of our will can shrink the gap if it is 'hopeful and confident', and could enlarge the gap if it is 'worried and or anxious' (ibid., 38). Mindful of the refugee camp's conditions, the gap that distances Mohammed from that which he wills for might be thought of as a solid gap; inelastic and very fragile.

3.3 Response-able Pedagogies (see the booklet)

Disrupting Institutional Borders

This chapter introduces three participatory workshops that I coordinated with other collaborators (architecture students, architects, NGO workers, and Syrian creatives from Za'atri refugee camp) in multiple spaces and formats. Titled *Border Materialities*, *Border Immaterialities* and *Borders' Decay (?)*, each of these workshops comprises of a set of questions that concerned the different phases of architectural design in the camp (thinking, planning, analysis, implementation, and reflection). Critically, the three workshops place 'border(s)' at the center of their architectural inquiry (Awan 2016). They challenge how borders are often enforced as 'technologies of separation' and offer instead what Awan describes as a 'topological' understanding of borders²¹² (2016). Therefore, by coupling 'border (s)' with the terms materialities, immaterialities and decay, this chapter discusses how each of the workshops offered a nuanced understanding of borders as relational; it looks at borders as social, political and ecological transpositions that take place across a multiplicity of spaces, times, and geographies (ibid.).

While it pays attention to the multiple accountabilities that the architectural encounter acknowledges²¹³, this chapter also proposes a pragmatic paradigm for a pedagogy that pays careful attention to the ethics which inform the architectural inquiry when it is placed in the refugee camp. Located at the confluence of three main institutions; the university, the academy and the humanitarian NGO, my proposition dislocates the borders that these institutions enforce by asking: how can architectural pedagogy disrupt the hopelessness, austerity and antagonism that working across these institutional borders enables? How can architectural pedagogy acknowledge its testimony to injustice by promoting a feminist methodology that cultivates care?

Two seminal works have shaped the logic that enfolded the approach to these participatory workshops; Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1993) and bell hooks' *Teaching to Transgress* (1994). Grounded in ideas and approaches that believe in the necessity for participants' 'critical engagement and awareness' (ibid., 14) to achieve what Freire terms 'conscientization', I coordinated these workshops in order to foster a critical discussion that challenges participants' previous knowledge conventions of the refugee camp. By bringing together people from different backgrounds, geographies, and political and social belongings, these workshops aimed to expand the capacities of participants' willingness to act so to respond to injustice (Jones, Petrescu, and Till 2005; Petrescu 2007; Petrescu and Trogal 2017; Böhm, James and Petrescu 2017). I situate my proposition for a response-able pedagogy in a

²¹² See: <http://www.topologicalatlas.net/bordertologies.html>

²¹³ See chapter 2.1 and chapter 2.5.

framework that counters the problem of response in humanitarian NGOs, or what I refer to as *Humanitarian Aphasia*²¹⁴; I suggest the use of “diagram” to counter “program”, “journey” to counter “delegation”, and “friendship” to counter “certificate”. I approach the diagram, the journey and the commitment to friendship as practices of freedom which work against despotic structures and transgressions against institutional traditions. The following section briefly touches upon my observations of the diagram, the journey and the friendship.

Diagram vs Program: negotiating hope

The diagram as a dialectical mode of thinking, planning, and creating, challenges the authoritative structures that the program predetermines. Through my work in these workshops, the diagram emerged as an important method that helped to cultivate hope (Till 2005). Approaching the diagram as a process allowed us to think of how we understood possibilities and impossibilities otherwise (Helene Frichot 2011). For example, despite the strict procedures according to which the camp is operated (top-down management), the diagram invoked creative ways by which we could challenge the governmental and nongovernmental structures that produce these procedures; it generated tactics that resist the linearity of procedures and opened up a space for rhizomatic thinking and doing (Frichot 2011; Deleuze and Guattari 1988). The diagram as a process helped us better understand the concept of rights; by diagramming, we learned how to ask questions that attend to the nuances of our everyday life. For example, in Za’atri refugee camp, refugees are not permitted to plant trees (of course many refugees had still planted their trees in their *Howsh*²¹⁵). At the beginning of these workshops, a group of refugees who had wanted to design a park simply succumbed to this regulation, meaning that group members became despondent because they knew that their idea was destined to fail. However, during these workshops, other questions arose such as why? Why are refugees not permitted to plant trees? (the answer being for security reasons). During the negotiation of hope to create a green camp, a discussion was generated that acknowledged refugees’ rights to a green environment. Still abiding by the laws that prohibited them from certain practices, they thought of ways of practicing otherwise which challenged these laws. Navigating through what they are permitted to do and what they are not permitted to do through a diagrammatic mode of thinking, refugees explored the gaps that exist in the system and performed their own micro transgressions.

²¹⁴ See chapter 3.2

²¹⁵ See chapter 2.5.2

Journey vs Delegation: time travels

I propose “journey” as a concept that acknowledges the ecological, social and cultural differences between the geographies where researchers dwell in their everyday life and the refugee camp. Acknowledging these differences not only brings the delegation’s attention to the power to which they are entitled when visiting the refugee camp, but also to the ethical commitments that come along with their positions. *Time Travels* (Grosz 2005), was the title that I chose for the lecture through which I prepared students for their first journey to Za’atri camp. I thought of using imagination as a way to get the students to try and relate to this life. Through my presentation, I brought the *Time Machine* movie (2002) as an example, which tells the story of a scientist that travels in time via a time machine that he manufactures in order to change the deadly destiny of his lover. Students shared their own understandings and ideas about what “time travels” could mean. We then discussed how “time travels” when we take the journey from our studio to the camp²¹⁶. To better demonstrate how time travels in the camp, discussing how the refugee regime complex operates in the camp was necessary. Two main documents helped me to demonstrate this; the governmental permission that I received from the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and which was signed by all governmental parties in the city in which the camp is located, and the NGO letter of approval for our access to the camp.

Friendship vs Certificate: commitment to care

I argue for a slow, reflective, and participatory pedagogy that approaches the refugee camp with sensitive ethics of care that nurture friendships. Friendships which we build with those with whom we are working with, creates common ground and a horizon (Ahmed 2014). This does not mean overlooking the power positions to which each performs and the hierarchies that these power positions imply; rather it means to think of friendship as generative of ethics of care, something which challenges the boundaries that certain institutional bodies enforce. Friendship incites a sense of intimate mutuality and honest commitments to achieve what is jointly deemed necessary. To explain further, when I first contacted the architecture school in Petra University to ask for permission to take students to the refugee camp, the dean thought that the students shouldn’t be allowed to go because bearing witness to the miseries of refugees might be psychologically shocking²¹⁷. However, in the two times when students were in the camp working with Syrian creatives (each time for more than four hours), the relationship that connected the two exceeded a mere student-participant relationship. Students and Syrian creatives cultivated friendships that

²¹⁶ To prepare students to visit the refugee camp, I organised several workshops to practice participation (Fang et al. 2016; Maiter et al. 2008; Ellis et al. 2007; Kindon, Pain, and Kesby 2007).

²¹⁷ This was not the case because the workshops were planned during the development phase. Refugees in Za’atri were less traumatised by the memory of war.

crossed the boundaries that the title 'refugee' had imposed on both sides. Through the time that both spent in the workshop together, thinking and discussing how to implement their community-based initiatives, Syrian creatives and students collectively mediated the work that was present on the table around which they gathered. Across this table, they exchanged stories about where they live, where they are from, what do they do in their everyday life, and what they hope for. Processes of mediation also involved sorting out tensions that broke out while working on their community-based initiatives. After the workshops were concluded, I was contacted by students a few times because they wanted to know what they could do further, and when they can visit the refugee camp next. To note, students stayed in touch with Syrian creatives through social media (notably Whatsapp and Facebook).

Context

These workshops came into existence through the *Border Materialities* design studio for postgraduate students in architectural design (MAAD) that was led by Dr Nishat Awan at Sheffield School of Architecture (SsoA) in 2016/2017. I was a postgraduate teaching assistant in the studio. I co-supervised the work of students that took place in Za'atri refugee camp. Dr Nishat Awan in the studio brief, introduced the studio as:

'Jordan is situated in one of the most conflicted areas of the world and has not yet recovered from the effects of its colonial past. Despite this the country has acted as a haven for many refugees fleeing persecution and war. Jordan currently hosts one of the largest refugee populations in the world, which includes over million Palestinian refugees who were forced to flee following the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars. This has resulted in ten refugee camps various Jordanian cities. Jordan has also received refugees following the Gulf War in 1990, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and finally the refugees fleeing the Syrian conflict, which has resulted in Jordan hosting over 600,000 Syrian refugees.

Refugee camps for those fleeing war and persecution have been described by the anthropologist, Michel Agier, as places for 'managing the undesirables'. These pseudo cities spring up at the edges of established cities, near borders or in the middle of a desert, and are designed to provide refuge for the vulnerable. Yet unlike standard cities they are often closed spaces where entry and exit is controlled and where political representation is not possible. These places are usually governed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) alongside the host country government.

The studio will focus on everyday life for refugees in Jordan and on issues of

governance. We will consider how different forms of refugee architecture can be designed through attending to spatial, social and economic relations’.

Border Materialities: prototype for negotiating space was the name of the first workshop that I coordinated with the University of Petra in Jordan while co-supervising the *Border Materialities* studio with Dr Nishat Awan. Following Sheffield students’ visit to the three main refugee camps in Jordan, namely, Za’atri refugee camp (for Syrian refugees), Azraq refugee camp (for Syrian refugees) and Irbid refugee camp (for Palestinian refugees), the workshop brought together Sheffield university postgraduate students with Petra University undergraduate students to think of prototypes for negotiating space in the refugee camp. Students worked in groups and they came up with design ideas that challenged mainstream concepts that dominate architecture and urban design education generally. They asked questions like, what is a public space in the refugee camp? Why are schools fenced? Who plans the refugee camp? How to create spaces for gatherings? How to create shade in the refugee camp when there are no trees? Can we build a second floor in the refugee camp?

Border [Im]materialities: prototype for negotiating space was planned in Petra University, and it involved Jordanian students. It followed the studio approach of *Border Materialities*, and was planned to reflect on some of the prototypes that students from Sheffield University had designed through the studio. This studio aimed to ask more realistic questions about the refugee camp’s everyday procedures. It took place while I was also working in the camp as a volunteer, so I invited humanitarian NGO workers to discuss with students the feasibility of implementing certain designs on the grounds of the refugee camp according to the conditions and regulations that ruled over the camp throughout that period.

Border [Im]materialities was concluded as the last participatory workshop that I worked on with students. At that stage, students had worked with all the given data about the camp, through the visual and the non-visual materials that I provided, their individual research and experience, and the many discussions that they had with other collaborators. They had worked from a distance only; first by designing spatial prototypes that corresponded to imagined scenarios about refugees’ everyday lives, and then, by discussing with NGO workers the possibility of implementing these prototypes in light of the camp’s governance. In one meeting with them, that was supposed to be the last, I encouraged them to reflect on what they had learnt from ‘designing for the camp’. ‘I think that what we need to do now is to actually visit the camp’, one of the students said. As I looked around to other students, they all nodded their heads in agreement with what their colleague had suggested. I was struck by their response and their eagerness about their right to now visit the camp. ‘If we are to design for the camp, we should visit the camp’, one student added. It was then that we started working on preparing for the *Borders’ Decay (?)* initiative.

Previously, I was hesitant about taking this initiative, not only for all the ethical responsibilities that come with taking students to the refugee camp, but also for the fear of disrupting the waters between me and the dean of the school, who, albeit informally, made it clear that she would not risk students' mental health and well-being by exposing them to the miseries of the camp. In her words, 'as long as this research takes place from a distance, that should be fine. We do not want to create risk for our students'. Students' will and curiosity motivated me to push their request forward. As we tried to navigate ways in which we could convince the school of the appropriateness of our project, we thought of: planning an exhibition that displays our previous work alongside leading a fund-raising activity to acquire the money needed for the project, getting authorities' permissions to do our visit (the university, the NGO, the ministry of interior), and publicising our cause (page on Facebook, hashtag on twitter, and, circulating it through our friends' circles).

Like *Border [Im]materialities*, preparing for *Borders' Decay (?)* with students coincided with my practice inside of the refugee camp as an NGO volunteer. I filled the position of a project officer, someone who is responsible for managing and coordinating the community-based initiatives program that implemented a UNHCR community-based approach (UNHCR 2008). In that summer, "community-based initiatives" emerged as a trend in the camp; most of the humanitarian NGOs applied it. While mobilising for it, we circulated ideas such as, self-reliance, independency, and the future. To mediate the "community-based initiatives" program between the expectations and capacities of the two groups (humanitarian management and refugees) while also maintaining a professional commitment to regulations, time limitations, and mobility restrictions, was a difficult job. The governmental structures according to which our work was ordered created a work environment that lacked any form of creativity. For example, whereas many of the initiatives were sparked with a sense of creativity, it was not long before they were trimmed, tamed and domesticated into humanitarian clichés that would fit with the pre-shaped moulds that dictates what a community-based initiative should look like. The process through which "weak" initiatives were excluded and "strong" initiatives were included was very competitive. Those refugees that were excluded were devastated; one community-based initiative applicant protested the injustices of the process by saying 'only those that worked as volunteers for the NGO before could design something that works according to its logic'.

Borders' Decay (?) as a participatory project, brought together architecture students from the University of Petra and applicants for community-based initiatives from Za'atri refugee camp. It attempted to stitch between the students' skills that they had learnt in the school of architecture and the linearized creative ideas of community based initiatives applicants'. It aimed to create a platform that mobilised students' experiences to expand people's creative ideas.

Testimonies that Matter

Through this section, I offered a framework that critiques modes of engaging with the refugee camp as well as proposing a methodology to “enact” the refugee camp in an ethically response-able way. This section is partly founded on my empirical observations as a humanitarian volunteer in the community engagement unit and an architect/pedagogue working between the refugee camp and the university and is partly a speculative account of how we should respond to the refugee camp architecturally. Written as a logical, practical, and theoretical continuation of the first two sections, this section complements my will to articulate a theory by which I could witness the refugee camp as a feminist spatial practice.



Conclusion: Persistent Testimonies

To address, account for, and respond to, the environment of the refugee camp, architectural research as well as architectural practice should attend to the multiple positions that proliferate between the governing and the governed. When encountering these positions, we must cultivate disruptive, affirmative and affective ethics that challenge our conventional modes of thinking and doing. Only in this way can we expand our sensual and affective capacities to become capable of “witnessing” and “bearing witness” to the environment of the refugee camp. This capability means to both “see” the environment with our own eyes and “feel” with our hearts.

Through this thesis, I set out a feminist methodology to witness the refugee camp from the position of the “othered” researcher. Working across multiple practices and from multiple positions, I have critiqued the relationalities, spatialities and politics implied in the work of the humanitarian NGO. I have suggested that these intricacies shape the humanitarian NGO as an anthropocentric singular entity that is unable to engage ~~affectively~~ effectively with the needs and demands of those it is claiming to politically represent. I have argued that through expanding the capacities of the humanitarian NGO to address, account for and respond to, the needs of the refugee camp, necessitates an approach that involves more institutions that work from different locations and whose work is performed on multiple scales. My critique of the humanitarian NGO incorporates critiquing the practices of two other institutions with whom I have worked; academic research (as an “othered” researcher) and the local university (as a volunteer pedagogue).

The feminist methodology that I have developed through these sections proposes three main trajectories of research and practice for the future. The first trajectory is **theoretical**. It aspires to engage with and contribute to ongoing academic debates that aim to decolonise intellectual approaches to refugees and refugee camps; it posits “witnessing the refugee camp as a feminist spatial practice” as a theory that is concerned with researching the refugee camp from the position of the “othered” researcher. The second trajectory is **practical**. It searches for ways by which I can think of establishing channels of communication between my practice and the humanitarian NGO; these channels of communication aim to consolidate Jordanian humanitarian workers in the process of researching the refugee camp as figures who are accountable for their situated knowledges. The third trajectory is **pedagogical** and is located in the architectural studio at the Jordanian university. It wills to engage students in critical debates which think of architecture as the physical materialisation of the social, political, cultural, and governmental layers of a place.

Each of these trajectories, that my proposed feminist methodology paves, is composed of an assemblage of positions, practices, spatialities, relationalities, politics, languages,

and uniforms that operates across different geographies, histories and futures. As a subject that is positioned within each, I am curious about how my travels across these assemblages could shape a cartography that amalgamates these assemblages into a new assemblage that defines my work.

While registering a testimony to the course of injustice taking place in the refugee camp is the aim of this thesis, another question that concerns the “persistence” of this testimony seems to be of a crucial importance. The refugee camp emerges amongst so many uncertainties. How could this thesis inaugurate a spatial practice that pays attention to the continuously changing realities that influence how the refugee camp emerges, materialises and decays? How could a feminist methodology acknowledge and account for the trends and shortcomings of **theory**, the limitations implied in **practice**, and the unmet expectations of **pedagogy**?

I conclude that for *Witnessing the refugee camp as a Feminist Spatial Practice* to be “persistent”, it should seek more than a feminist methodology. It has to urge a feminist epistemology that constitutes for spatial practices that have the capacity to acknowledge the course of political events that shape the conditions amongst which the refugee camp emerges, materialises, and decays. This epistemology should inform the methodologies by which the refugee camp is approached and studied.

By “persistent testimonies”, I mean testimonies that do not take what is seen by the eye and felt by the heart for granted. Testimonies that perform the subject’s obsession with the question of justice as a complex matter that is fraught with unresolved troubles from the past and unfigured speculations about the future. If present political events that shape the geographies of migration cast back some traces from history and are yet to envision the future, persistence here indicates the epistemological resistance to understanding an event in isolation from its geopolitical and historical constellations.

Through this thesis, I argued for a transversal subjectivity that accounts for the knowledges of multiple time-space locations. The feminist epistemology for which I invite in this thesis is informed by the transpositions through which this transversal subjectivity traverses different time-space locations. It attends to the principles; social values, cultural codes, and political sensibilities, that constitute the aesthetics of these time-space locations. By unpacking the tensions between the aesthetics featuring within these grounds and the aesthetics implied in and promoted by a feminist spatial practice, this feminist epistemology generates a critique that problematizes certain modes of knowledge and necessitates other modes of knowledge that are capable of treating these tensions.

A brief review of the testimonies provided in each of the three sections that structure this thesis shows the necessity for “persistence” to maintain an address-able, account-

able, and response-able spatial practice. **In the first section on address-ability**, persistence is performed by my affective and critical inhabitation of the margins to which I was pushed as an “othered” researcher. Observed as less than a white European researcher and slightly more than a Jordanian humanitarian worker, I was not permitted access to my field work as a researcher, but as a humanitarian volunteer. From this position, persistence was translated through generating a critique that, first, problematizes the cultural politics of humanitarian work leading to my dislocation for what I embody as a Jordanian woman, and second, searches for other modes of knowledge that account for the ethical and practical intricacies of this new position. Inhabiting the margin affectively allowed me to bear witness to the classed, genderised, and racialized hierarchies that structure both; academic research and humanitarian spaces. It has also brought my attention to Jordanian humanitarian workers as bearers of situated knowledge about both; the refugee camp and the humanitarian space.

In the second section on account-ability, persistence is translated through resisting to conventional ways of understanding architecture and my exhaustive search for spatial practices that perform architecture otherwise. In this section, I think of the ways by which research could account for the situated knowledges that Jordanian humanitarian workers hold to challenge the critical horizons that are often used to think the refugee camp spatially. By attending to the cultural codes, social values and political sensibilities that feature within the refugee camp, I try to figure the spatial, ethical, and visual principles that constitute the aesthetics of the social life in the refugee camp. I think of the encounter between the cultural politics of humanitarian work and the aesthetics of the social life in the refugee camp; I suggest that architecture in the camp materialises at the intersection of the two.

In the third section on response-ability, persistence is experienced through performing resilience to the obstacles related to conducting research across three different institutions; the refugee camp, the humanitarian NGO, and the university. Transgressing the cultural, social, and political boundaries that institute each of these establishments does not take place violently; it rather takes place through processes of negotiation. For the researcher, persistence also means being resilient to injustice; to embrace patience as a virtue that can expand one’s horizons about what is to be done in response to injustice.

The question of persistence, however, implies a serious question of ethics. While transpositions is recommended as a feminist practice that allows for an ethically responsible becoming, the work of translation that the subject of transposition does might, unintentionally, risk these forms of knowledge. These forms of knowledge are developed to transgress the classed, genderized, and racialised hierarchies that feature within the refugee camp, the humanitarian NGO, and the university. Therefore, the work of translation should be careful work; it must pay attention to possible

ramifications that could follow translating certain forms of knowledge into academic knowledge, and, accordingly, it must be selective of what is translate-able and what must be left out.

By way of conclusion, in the following text I sum up the three principles of witnessing around. These principles were organised and presented within the introduction, but to reiterate; 1) disrupting familiar modes of knowledge, 2) witnessing [from] the position of the “othered”, and 3) processes of address-ability, account-ability, and response-ability. To draw the overall picture that is invoked throughout this thesis, I bring together three different scenes from different academic spaces. By reflecting on each of these scenes, I emphasise not only the necessity of witnessing as a methodology as a way of encountering the refugee camp, but also the necessity of our testimonies to be exhaustively and humbly persistent.

-disrupting familiar modes of knowledge-

Earlier this year, I was invited to talk at one workshop that was organised to bring scholars and practitioners to speak about their experiences with architectures of the refugee camp. The workshop brought together architects from practice and research to discuss the possibility of improving refugees' inhabitation in Europe and in other places in the world. I presented my work on the architectural encounter in Za'atri refugee camp under the title *Madafah: who is hosting whom?* In my presentation, I narrated my encounter with the *Madafah* as a space that hosts the intimate entanglement between two main infrastructures; the infrastructure of humanitarian governance (represented by humanitarian workers) and the infrastructure of social networks in the refugee camp. Following my presentation, one fellow PhD researcher who happens to also be working on the architecture of Za'atri refugee camp, made a remark that left me slightly unsettled. In a way, it left me feeling like my valid observations and arguments behind my presentation were quickly dismissed. Uttering his comment/question/remark with the voice of the expert, he said: 'make sure you pay attention to not romanticise the *Madafah*'. I smiled. He continued: 'the space of the *Madafah* is a space where street leaders²¹⁸ have come to power, and it is a space where they also perform power'. To respond to his comment/question/ remark, I returned to my presentation, and flipped between the power point slides, going back to one map that one of my interviewees drew. On the map of district three where my interviewee worked for more than three years as a community mobiliser, he had made a distinction between four types of *Madafahs*. One *Madafah* was for one man who is morally respected by the district, one *Madafah* was for one street leader, one *Madafah* was for the mosque imam, and one *Madafah* for an NGO volunteer that people in the

²¹⁸ Street leaders is a term that was coined by the people of Za'atri to describe those that had claimed certain power positions in the networks that refugees created in each district. They are often referred to as corrupt figures that exploit humanitarian resources.

district were familiar with. However, the distinctions between the multiple types of *Madafah* that I referred to in my presentation fell deaf to the ears of this researcher, as if I had literally said nothing. He dismissed my explanation; he returned to his comment on my need to pay attention to not “romanticise” the camp.

His comment/question/ remark about romanticising the camp, came as no surprise. Of my experience of being in similar platforms, I have observed that many researchers who stand to present their research on refugee camp spaces perform the duty of disclaiming any intention ‘to romanticise the camp’ whenever they speak about the camp with some sort of sentiment. I did not perform that duty when I recited my story of encountering the *Madafah*, and so, was probably thought of as someone who has not paid attention. Prior to this workshop, I practiced challenging these questions by responding to them not through answers, but rather through questions. Practicing in front of my mirror, I would first remind the questioner of the very specificity of my research inquiry; then, I would ask: how do you know about the *Madafah* and who really occupies it? If we know about street leaders’ networks from journalists or other researchers whose visits to the camp are most of the time extractive, does that really count as “knowledge”? The questions which I had planned to respond aimed to challenge traditional modes of knowing by highlighting the importance of acknowledging other accountabilities that are situated within the refugee camp, and are thus entitled to modes of knowing that we as researchers are not entitled to. In this instance, I did not challenge his question and the point that I had tried to make was not only misunderstood, but also dismissed.

By sharing this anecdote, I do not aim to criticise the PhD researcher, as much as I wish to criticise the masculine doctrine that he and many others represent in research involving refugees. If “romanticisation” implies a form of idealisation that masks certain truths about a situation, I think of the researcher’s comment/question/ remark to be in contrast with his dismissive attitude to my answer about the multiple *Madafahs* that I had explored in my research. I suspect that his conventional approach to the knowledge that he had acquired about the *Madafah*, “masks” a multiplicity of subjectivities. Instead he presents them as singular, based on the only one that he knows. Is that not a reflection, as well as a performance, of the same romanticisation that he assumed I did not pay attention to?

Trying to challenge this doctrine, I hereby ask: how can we possibly shift the architectures of refugee inhabitation when we have been dependent on the same sources of information that have produced our architectural knowledge about the refugee camp? And how can we proceed with the question of ethics in producing knowledge about refugee camps when we maintain our research rigor which allows our knowledge conventions to go unchallenged?! How do we become less resistant to acknowledging other accountabilities that are more entitled to knowledge?

In this thesis, I invited a (postcolonial) feminist methodology that disrupts the ways by which we as academic researchers are familiarised with the refugee camp as an object of research. I suggested that by accounting for other positionalities that populate the space of the refugee camp, we can destabilise our perception and mobilise our vision so it pays attention to what is taking place in the background.

-witnessing (from) the position of the “othered”-

“Why do you care about the refugee camp? Who are you to care about the refugee camp?” Often, when I am asked these questions, I speak about my affective proximity to migration. Not only because I am an “othered” researcher that has been in one way or another dislocated from my representation as a researcher because of my non-whiteness and non-European national affiliations, but also for my experience with migration. Growing up in a household with a Palestinian-born Father, and a Syrian-born Mother had in numerous ways allowed me to situate myself in my research as what Rosi Braidotti would term- the “minoritarian” (Braidotti 2006). Being situated in this position, the “othered” and the “minoritarian”, may have led to my expanded capacity to understand some of the nuances of displacement. For example, the question of home for both my Mother and my Father and their liminal state of living, is always in relation to that which is outside time and outside space. This has helped me to navigate through the spatial, social, and political liminality of the refugee camp.

The comfort associated with this affective proximity to displacement has seemingly become problematic only recently; specifically, it arose during the keynote lecture for a one-day symposium on *Care*. The keynote, a professor in migration studies, concluded her lecture by inviting us, her audience, to ask ourselves when we do research with refugees: “who are we to care?”. The question was written in very large font. The slide, which her question centred, was tagged with another title, her project in the Middle East. I was thinking of her question as an attempt to speak truth to power, in so much that she posed this question to a large academic audience that claims to “care”. I was also thinking of her power, as someone that has claimed this moral authority to question (dubiously) our intentions to care. In the time scheduled for questions, out of curiosity but also out of frustration, I used the same question to address her, I asked her: ‘Surely, one should then ask, who are you to care?!’. In response to my question, she flipped between slides and came to rest on one, she pointed to one of two young girls that appeared in the slide, ‘this is my daughter’, she said. Then she elaborated further on her familial relationality with the camp and with refugees and how that in a way locates her research at a position of consciousness. ‘I understand’, I said. I thanked the professor for taking the emotional labour of exposing her affective proximity to me. However, I was not satisfied. In reality, nothing was wrong, and of course when thinking of my own research ground in relation to hers, mine seemed too small. As I thought of her response, I found it faultless! It was well packed, very packed, or maybe “too packed”!

In her book, *Matters of Care*, Puig de la Bellacasa, invites us to think of *care* as relational, but also as something that we cannot be 'exact' about. She asks, 'how do we keep thinking with care from falling in *too much*, into a devouring will for controlled accurateness, to be *all right*?' (2017, 91). This evokes us to think of ways of challenging our affective proximities that we often take for granted. Our "minoritarian" positions should not be considered fixed positions that we structure as finite situated knowledges whereby we assume that we "know" what it means to be situated at the margins. The comfort associated with this position might risk our critical capacities to inspect other dimensions of ethics implied in that which we have not yet seen or experienced; the position that we should occupy should account for the processes and the distances that we need to travel as a way of "becoming-minoritarian" (Braidotti 2006, 70).

-processes of address-ability, accountability, response-ability-

Towards the end of the last workshop that I organised between the University of Petra (UoP) and the humanitarian NGO where I worked as a humanitarian volunteer, I had already realised that the UoP had lost interest in the collaboration that I had coordinated; the work that students did within the refugee camp passed by them as if it had not happened at all. It was a time of concluding our two workshops inside of Za'atri by distributing certificates to the workshop participants, namely architecture students from the UoP and Syrian creatives from Za'atri refugee camp. However, unlike the workshops that I had organised with the UoP previously, getting in touch with the school was suddenly not particularly easy. After chasing the head of the department for two weeks, he finally responded. I asked him if the school could issue certificates for participants, similar to the certificates it had issued to the participants that took part in the previous two workshops. Avoiding responding to my request directly, he advised me not to waste my time thinking of certificates; certificates should not be my priority, documenting the process should be my priority. After I told him that the process had already been documented, he suggested that this time I should "reduce costs". Instead of printing "cartoon certificates", this time we should go for "paper certificates". I was slightly surprised as for the previous two workshops he himself had worked hard to produce very articulate and beautifully designed certificates.

Thinking of the reasons that had led the UoP to lose interest in taking this collaboration forward, could be a way of unpacking how working across these three institutions (the UoP, the academy, and the humanitarian NGO) takes place. In the following text, I reflect on the relationalities, spatialities and politics of my collaboration with the UoP. I perceive the university's loss of interest in my collaboration as a failure, which has instigated me to think of ways in which I could, from my new position as an assistant professor in the UoP, avoid this failure in the

future.

address-ability

The university's interest in working on this collaboration was conditioned by the international attention that this work would entice. Earlier, when I organised this work as a representative of the University of Sheffield, the UoP received my initiative with great interest as it meant that the University of Sheffield would be present. Nevertheless, the contradiction between the two is crystal clear! This is not only because university structures in Jordan operate through neoliberal hierarchies and authoritarian management, but also because of the unjust distribution of research resources, funds, and opportunities between the north and the south. This cites how universities in Jordan also operate through colonial structures that glorify "the west". My first initiative was welcomed because this kind of collaboration would allow the university to gain certain recognition that it would not have achieved if the University of Sheffield was not involved.

Visibility is thus important! The importance of this visibility also applies on a personal level. For me as a prospective researcher and academic, to maintain a good academic profile in the academy in Jordan, I am expected to seek certain academic visibility; I can do this by affiliating myself with researchers and universities in the north and by publishing in peer-reviewed academic journals geared towards an English-speaking audience. Therefore, losing interest in what I was doing can also be thought of as personal. Those who had helped me before may now think: 'but why should we help her if we are not getting any international visibility for these efforts, why are we not receiving any academic recognition for what we are doing?'. Of course, this implies questions about values and ethics. However, this is also political work in the sense that we cannot simply choose to ignore them when we "address" our research inquiry.

With my future collaborations in mind, I ask/recommend: how can I, from my position as an "othered" researcher, work to make alliances across different disciplines and geographies (local, regional, and international), in order to achieve certain visibility that would help my projects receive certain recognition and support? How can I build local alliances (with the private sector, the public sector, and civil society) through my personal and professional relationships, to collectively address our shared values that are based in ethics of *care* so to displace Eurocentric values?

account-ability

The image of architecture that I promoted through my project in the refugee camp does not represent architecture “as we know it”. The culture of architectural schools in Jordan is entrenched in a set of capitalist, gendered, classed, and globalised aesthetics that privilege certain ways of doing architecture over others. For example, in many of the conversations that I had with well-known architects in Jordan about my architectural inquiry into the refugee camp, they would mock it, saying it wasn’t “architectural at all”. For them, architecture should cite elite-ness as well as neatness; combining “architecture” with the “refugee camp” distorts this understanding of architecture.

For the UoP, working using pedagogical approaches centred on grassroots projects with communities is framed as “community service”; it does not account for “pedagogy” or “participation” as critical discourses. Despite the critical values that my participatory work with students, humanitarian NGO workers and Syrian creatives have cultivated, our work about the refugee camp was dismissed as “critical” and perceived as “philanthropist”. To illustrate, in their fundraising activity that was encouraged by the department itself, students were frustrated because they felt that their initiative and their work passed as ‘charity work’ and not as something that they were learning from.

In regard to this, I ask/recommend: How can I establish, through my work as a pedagogue in the department of architecture and design at the UoP, a ground for a feminist spatial practice in theory and design? Further, how can I navigate through already established practices that share certain values with spatial feminist practice? How can Jordanian humanitarian workers’ situated knowledges be acknowledged? Finally, how can this acknowledgment be reinforced through founding platforms (e.g. university design studios, the humanitarian NGO community centres, etc.) that cultivate an ethic of knowledge exchange between the local university and the humanitarian NGO?

response-ability

The university’s loss of interest could be understood as having stemmed from its reluctance to take up certain projects. This reluctance reflects its lack of procedures; it could also be reflective of the complexity according to which these procedures operate in the university. By procedures, I am referring to the practical, logistical and financial steps necessary to legitimise undertaking certain collaborations, such as ethics applications, risk assessments, logistics, managing external funds, etc. To make clear, this is not done to propose a new management model that would better provide the university with the procedures necessary for conducting collaborative projects. Rather,

it is done to acknowledge the extra emotional and physical labour that we should take as part of our own responsibility. It is also to emphasise the importance of an expanded network of relationships that works across the cultural, the personal and the professional.

Subsequently, I ask/recommend: How can we familiarise ourselves with university procedures? When should we negotiate these procedures, and when is it necessary to disrupt them? How, through time, could one contribute to the enhancement of these procedures so that they would be autonomously able (without the need for western partners) to lead their own collaborative projects? How could this contribution to the institutional body of the university help the local university to claim certain agency that is recognised internationally?

Appendix

Ethics Approval Processes

Title of the document	Description of the document	The awarding institution
Document 1	It details the fieldwork activities that the student had planned for the years 2016 and 2017.	Reviewed and approved by the University of Sheffield ethics committee.
Document 2	An official letter addressing the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and briefing the research intentions while waiting for the ethics approval.	Signed by Dr Nishat Awan, my first supervisor 2016.
Individual Fieldwork		
Document 3	Based on my application through the MoI to conduct fieldwork in Za'atri refugee camp, this is a governmental permission that allows me to access Za'atri refugee camp.	Permission given by the MoI (Jordanian Government) 2016.
Document 4	Service contract briefs the terms of reference for my voluntary work with the humanitarian NGO.	Listed and signed by the humanitarian NGO 2016.
Border Materialities Studio Fieldwork		
Document 5	An official letter addressing the MoI and briefing the research intentions.	Signed by Professor Fionn Stevenson, the head of Sheffield School of Architecture (SsoA).
Document 6	An official letter addressing the Director of Palestinian Affairs in Jordan and briefing the research intentions.	Signed by Professor Fionn Stevenson, the head of Sheffield School of Architecture (SsoA).

Document 7	An official letter addressing the program director of CARE international operating in Azraq refugee camp and briefing the research intentions.	Signed by Professor Fionn Stevenson, the head of Sheffield School of Architecture (SsoA).
Document 8	An official letter addressing the program director of International Relief and Development (IRD) operating in Za'atri refugee camp and briefing the research intentions.	Signed by Professor Fionn Stevenson, the head of Sheffield School of Architecture (SsoA).
Document 9	Based on my application through the MoI to conduct fieldwork in Za'atri refugee camp, this is a governmental permission that allowed the studio to access Za'atri refugee camp.	Permission given by the MoI (Jordanian Government) 2017.
Borders' Decay workshops in Za'atri refugee camp		
Document 10	An official letter addressing the MoI operating and briefing the research intentions.	Letter signed by Professor Mohammed Al-Anani, the vice president of the University of Petra.
Document 11	Based on my application through the MoI to conduct three visits to Za'atri refugee camp, this is a governmental permission that allowed the initiative <i>Borders' Decay (?)</i> to access Za'atri refugee camp.	Permission given by the MoI (Jordanian Government) 2017.

Document 1



Application 007825

Section A: Applicant details

Date application started:
Fri 19 February 2016 at 13:15

First name:
Aya

Last name:
Musmar

Email:
asmusmar1@sheffield.ac.uk

Programme name:
PhD in Architecture

Module name:
PhD thesis
Last updated:
18/04/2016

Department:
School of Architecture

Applying as:
Postgraduate research

Research project title:
Exploring interactive spaces between refugees and community mobilizers in Za'atri refugee camp in Jordan

Has your research project undergone academic review, in accordance with the appropriate process?
Yes

Similar applications:
- not entered -

Section B: Basic information

Supervisor

Name

Email

Nishat Awan

n.awan@sheffield.ac.uk

Proposed project duration

Start date (of data collection):
Tue 22 March 2016

Anticipated end date (of project)
Sun 8 May 2016

3: Project code (where applicable)

Project code
- not entered -

Suitability

Takes place outside UK?

Yes

Involves NHS?

No

Health and/or social care human-interventional study?

No

ESRC funded?

No

Likely to lead to publication in a peer-reviewed journal?

No

Led by another UK institution?

No

Involves human tissue?

No

Clinical trial or a medical device study?

No

Involves social care services provided by a local authority?

No

Involves adults who lack the capacity to consent?

No

Involves research on groups that are on the Home Office list of 'Proscribed terrorist groups or organisations?'

- *not entered* -

Indicators of risk

Involves potentially vulnerable participants?

Yes

Involves potentially highly sensitive topics?

No

Section C: Summary of research

1. Aims & Objectives

This project takes place in Za'atri camp for Syrian refugees in Jordan. It was established in the east of Jordan in 2012 to accommodate Syrian refugees who had fled the civil war. Divided into 12 districts, Za'atri camp was planned to hold 10,000 refugees, now it has more than 62,000 refugees.

This project is structured around two main stages at two different times during the year. In stage 2, I propose a specific intervention.

Stage 1: Uncovering interactive platforms

At first, I aim at uncovering interactive spaces that are negotiated between two main actors; refugees and NGO actors in Za'atri refugee camp, and then through the intervention, I aim at experimenting that space interactivity. The purpose is to look at how refugees deconstruct the hierarchal order in constructed relations between them and the formal NGO actors. I see that deconstruction when refugees take the agency of an activity, and how that shapes their own political representation. I look at these moments as a situation through which an institutional model of a nongovernmental organization can be successfully developed. To reach this aim, I follow both interactive, and non-interactive qualitative research to observe, analyse and then reflect.

- My project addresses these research questions:

- How are the intangible infrastructures (relations) of NGOs being translated into material physicality and spatiality?

- How can these materialities from platforms of shared knowledge between refugees

and NGO actors? and how can a shared platform of knowledge change the dynamics of nongovernmental agency inside

the camp?

*An example on (materialities) is the communal kitchens that were provided by one of the NGOs working inside the camp. They were not only spaces where people cooked, they also created important active nodes where NGO actors and refugees had discussed other services, communal issues, and mutual concerns. What I mean by (materiality) is any composition of matter that leads to constructing a space of interactivity between both; refugees and NGO actors. The type of that composition and its main components are what I aim at discovering through my walks and observations of interactions in the camp.

- How do these materialities negotiate the every day between refugees and governing parties?

Stage 2: Intervention

Following to stage 1, I aim at proposing an experimental intervention. By exploring both; alternatives of usual forms of representations that an interactive space offers and limitations that may emerge, this intervention aims at rethinking the relations between refugees and NGO agents. The intervention will assist refugees to experiment taking the agency of a specified activity through an identified space where they have the freedom to act, reflect, and learn.

- My intervention addresses these research questions:

- What alternatives does the context of refugee-hood offer to look at the human as becoming rather than being?

- How to politically represent the figure of the refugee so she turns into an active actor in a network?

- How can this new political representation of refugees be anticipated in utopian nongovernmental frameworks to challenge the international relations discourse

which follows western humanitarian theory and thus to make a change in the eastern context?

2. Methodology

Following a feminist approach, during the two stages of this project, I will keep a record of my daily diaries of camp's visits. In the first stage of this project; the methodology is designed to involve the use of practical methods such as walking and the production of visual materials such as collages and maps. It also includes in-depth interviews with refugees and NGO actors.

I will be present in the camp for eight week, during this time, I will visit the camp every day. As access to the camp needs a permit that can only be achieved by contacting the Ministry of Interior, and then entry must be archd by the UNHCR, any of the NGOs inside the camp, or the government itself. As I gain the permit from the Ministry of interior, my entry will be archd by the International Relief and Development (IRD), an NGO that is working in the camp. Contacting the IRD is based on my previous experience with them as I worked as a community mobilizer.

Working in the same field as a researcher, not as a community mobiliser, has its ethical obligations too. This obligation starts by re-introducing myself through my research and not through the NGO as a community mobilizer. However, one part of the research, which I am aware of, is the agency that I find my self taking while being there and how refugees conceive my presence in the camp. It is something that I can reflect on and develop through my methodology.

Phase 1: Patterns of activity

Walking and photography:

My walk in the camp will basically follow the route that NGO agents take as an everyday routine. Through walking I aim at unraveling different types of interactivity, thus spaces, between the two actors(refugees and NGO actors). By taking notes on deliberated topics, actors, and related activity, I aim at analyzing the infrastructural relations between the two agencies. Although the route which I track might be structured around services that NGO is generally concerned with, very often it is spontaneously structured around specific incidents of that day. Moreover, during the walk that I follow, I will be taking pictures of surroundings, landscapes, spaces, and people's movements. I will make sure that I keep refugees anonymised without any focus on their faces.

Mapping:

Parallel to my daily walk, I will be creating a multi-layered spatial map that covers: routes followed, interactions between the two agencies, discussions, analysis of infrastructural relations, and main actors. As this map will help to draw different patterns of activity and conclude different nodes of possible spaces, it aims at; firstly, highlighting potent interactive platforms where refugees have taken the agency of their activity, secondly, introducing effective actors as participants in my interviews.

Phase 2: Stories beyond patterns

Interviews:

In-depth interviews in this project are planned to understand the intentions that refugees and NGO actors embrace to occupy specific agencies in interactive spaces. This understanding will be framed through semi-structured interviews with each of refugees and NGO actors. I will navigate the conversation through questioning specific topics and leave the refugee to express accordingly. Questions such as; why they are interested in this place, if they think that the quality of this space exists elsewhere in the district or in the camp, what is their daily routine, how they express their interest or

bring a previous routine into a space in the camp, and how they draw their relations with NGO actors in that space.

Arabic is the first language in the camp. Syrian refugees, and Jordanian NGO workers in field speak Arabic. As a native Arabic speaking person, only accent is slightly different between Jordanian and Syrian dialect. Thus, language in interviews is not an issue. However, I will not need a translator, as I transcribe interviews, I will translate them into English language.

Phase 3: Intervention

Spatial intervention is planned for two main reasons; engaging refugees and NGOs in an activity with an equal agency that does not follow any hierarchal order, and developing researcher's skill in critical thinking, innovation, and evidence-based practice. The intervention will happen through occupying one of the mapped interactive spaces from stage 1. Anyway, intervention is planned around three main steps:

Planning intervention - Focus groups:

Focus group will be arranged in one of the NGOs communal centres in the camp. Focus groups aim at planning the intervention collaboratively between me, refugees, and NGO actors. I will use the produced map from stage 1 as a tool to facilitate a discussion on what they think about the highlighted spaces (highly active spaces)? how would they describe that activity? what is the value of being spatially active in the camp? and do they think it is a good space to run an intervention? What would you propose for an intervention?

I will invite participants from the earlier stage to take place in two main focus groups; for men and for women. The focus group facilitation will deliberate participatory approach techniques.

Running intervention - Event:

-Setting the time

Based on the proposed event and selected space from the focus group, we will run the event in that active space. In order to do so, I will contact original users and authorities that are in charge of that space to schedule a timing through which we can use the space.

Undertaking the intervention will follow a pre-determined procedure where I first inform participants, set the time and date of intervention, arrange the space and then start the intervention.

- Arranging the space

A space of intervention will be a space that is already in use by refugees and community mobilisers, such as a caravan, a shop, a space that is supplied by the NGO itself like (communal kitchen), a garden that is planted by refugees, or a vacant space. However, arranging a space will involve bringing chairs, tables and shading devices if needed only to make sure that participants are comfortably seated for the hour of the intervention.

During the intervention, I will be limited to one district in the camp with the number of 8-12 participants of refugees and 2 of NGO mobilisers and I will invite them privately. I will collect their consent earlier at the beginning of the focus group.

However, in the case of having interested on-lookers as this is strongly possible, I will firstly introduce them to the project and mainly to the intervention through talking to them, then and according to the level of the interest they show, I will provide them with the information sheet. According to the new number of possible participants, I will plan further sessions of interventions where those on-lookers can participate in the intervention.

Each intervention participants will not exceed the 15 participants in maximum.

Reflecting on intervention:

Reflection on the process is one major part of any activity. As intervention will happen sequentially, once a week for a month, reflections on that procedure are essential in developing how an intervention is being structured every time. Both, participants' and my own reflections will be recorded after each intervention. To get that reflection I will ask both refugees and NGO actors for their feedback, what they have taught, and what they have learned, and if they think that this might go better next time so we can change the structure of the session.

3. Personal Safety

Have you completed your departmental risk assessment procedures, if appropriate?

- *not entered* -

Raises personal safety issues?

Yes

Personal safety can be addressed in two main issues; health and psychological distress.

- Health issues:

1) The harsh environmental conditions of the camp as a hot dry space may result in sunburns, dehydration, and sunstrokes. In order to avoid these harms; medical consultation has to be considered. For example by using skin sun

protection frequently through the day, drinking sufficient quantities of water during the day, and covering the head with a hat.

2) Food poisoning in the camp may cause a serious health issue. Refugees are known of their customs of generosity to supply their guests with food and drinks, it is a bit critical to reject their food, yet at the same time, it might be really harmful as the quality of food in the camp might not be suitable for all immune systems. To avoid that issue, I can sidestep kindly by saying that I have just had my food, I am fasting, or eat something that might not harm my body.

3) Physical harm while setting intervention space such as pulling or carrying heavy weight, using sharp materials or tools. I will pay attention to safety regulations that have to be followed while dealing with space materials.

- Psychological distress:

Gender relations are one of the important concerns from my position as a female researcher as I would be possibly vulnerable to visual, verbal or physical sexual harassment. This issue is considered in both my daily walk in the camp and interviews. To address this issue, I will follow two main strategies where I firstly avoid being situated in a vulnerable position, and secondly react in the case of such situations.

1) -I will follow the code of conduct of the organisation that I am working with; for example, I will make sure to dress, talk, and participate in a way that suits community customs and religious believes.

-I will not walk alone. According to a general policy that is followed in nongovernmental organisations in the camp, female workers must not be walking alone and should be accompanied by male colleagues in the camp. As I am getting access to the camp through community mobilisation department in an NGO at the first place, I will be working through the NGO team of mobilisers in the camp(each district of the 12 has a different team). Thus, I will be working within a team that is formed of two male mobilisers, or one male and one female mobilisers. One male at least will accompany me in my walks.

-For interviews, being accompanied by a male colleague depends on the gender of my participant. In the case of women I will do it alone. However, for further safety considerations, I will keep my colleagues informed about my location, the time of interview, and the time by which I anticipate it to be done. In the case of a male participant, one colleague at least will accompany me.

2) In the case of a sexual harassment. As a responsible person, as soon as I feel uncomfortable towards any behaviour by the harasser, I will try to stop it, physically move out of it, and then report it . To stop it, I will address the harasser that the situation does not make me feel comfortable and I prefer that he stops it. However, as situation may urge a quick response, I need to react more quickly where I have to physically change my location by walking to a more secured and safe place; such as an NGO centre, a mosque or a public space. In all cases, this harassment must be reported to Human Resources department in the NGO through which I am working.

While being in the camp I will have my phone and my notebook in my bag, and my camera on my shoulder, I will stay alert towards people around me and make sure to stick to the team with whom I am working not to expose my self to any vulnerable situation where my safety is threatened. In the case of an unexpected danger, my safety comes first. So, I will respond accordingly.

Section D: About the participants

1. Potential Participants

NGO actors:

As I have mentioned earlier, I will be contacting the same NGO where I worked before as a community mobilizer. NGO actors (mobilizers) whom I will be working with are the team that covers district#3. I will be mainly walking with NGO mobilizers; who can introduce me to specific issues, stories, and dynamics of the camp from their own perspectives.

Refugees:

Firstly, through my walk, I will be contacting refugees who are specifically living in district #3 through NGO actors. However, identifying further participants will be based on three main techniques; observing active individuals, connections that NGO actors have already structured through relations with them, and snowballing technique when appropriate.

For the intervention; potential participants are the same that were identified for interviews. Moreover, during the intervention, I expect that other participants might show an interest in the intervention and get recruited accordingly.

2. Recruiting Potential Participants

A number of different strategies will be used to recruit participants. For the broad scale of the district, information would be announced through two main groups; the team of NGO mobilizers whom I am working with and community leaders in the district itself. For the NGO mobilizers, this will happen formally through a meeting where I am introduced to the team through the head of the team. During that meeting, I will circulate an information sheet which they can read and be informed of my presence. For refugees, introducing my research will happen informally through a meeting with the head of the district and other people where they get informed of my research.

For refugees and NGO actor: Besides formal informing of participants of the project (through the information sheet) and the information that has already been announced through the team of mobilizers and team leaders, the project will be broadly and informally deliberated with every potential participant of both refugees and NGO actors. Based on that initial discussion with relevance to their response and desire to participate, the further formal interview will be set up. Interviews will only be scheduled with a confirmation of consent forms. Although consent forms are signed once by potential participants, confirming participant's consents is a continuous and collaborative exercise of assuring their willingness to participate. This happens through asking them about their willing to participate, or about their comfort regarding my presence while they are talking.

2.1. Advertising methods

Will the study be advertised using the volunteer lists for staff or students maintained by CiCS? No

- not entered -

3. Consent

Will informed consent be obtained from the participants? (i.e. the proposed process) Yes

During the recruitment stage, all participants will be informed about the research through printed information sheet. With refugees I will need to orally inform them about the content of the printed sheet, this refers to the fact that a big proportion of refugees may not be able to read or write. To avoid any distress, I will read the information sheet form with the presence of a witness. In all cases, the information sheet will include aims and objectives of the project, what taking part in the research will require from them, and how the data will be used, stored and disseminated. In interviews and intervention, participants will be asked to sign two consent forms; one for them to keep and one for the research documentation. As I have illustrated earlier; as refugees might not be able to read or write, their consent would be taken orally too. I will first suggest recording an audio for their oral consent at the interview, but as using audio or video recording is a sensitive topic that may result in psychological harm for refugees, I will record their consent through a witness. The witness choice shall be approved by refugees at the first place as he/she needs to be a trust worthy for them; whether they choose their witness by themselves, or approve the colleague that is accompanying me as an eye witness. As the witness will be given an information sheet that briefs the project, I will clarify the need for their consent. The witness would be asked to sign two consent forms where he/she says that a participant has confirmed participation; one to be kept by the participant and one for research documentation. However, at all stages of the interview refugees' consent would be asked about their willingness to go ahead or opt out.

4. Payment

Will financial/in kind payments be offered to participants? No

5. Potential Harm to Participants

What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm/distress to the participants?

As I have two types of participants; NGO mobilizers and refugees, a potential psychological harm may fall at both groups differently.

Stage 1:

For the first group; two types of psychological harm may take place:

- 1) General psychological harm: In Za'atri camp, as a political space, I am aware that vulnerability does not only relate to specific participants, but to any figure bounded in that space. Refugees have just been out of traumatic civil war and dictatorial rule. Thus, security and privacy are always of their concern, and not paying attention to this might cause psychological harm. Psychological harm varies sensitively amongst subjects. For example, some people might be harmed by my presence as a researcher, asking a question, holding a camera, or wearing a vest.
- 2) Specific psychological harm: While running an interview, I have to pay attention to power relations that connect refugees with each other inside the district (power relations that consider age, gender, and class). For refugees, describing their daily life routine or talking about how they draw their relationships with other refugees or NGO actors might bring an opposition to how things are going. As this opposition might not be accepted by other actors, it might cause an immediate harm. Thus, I am aware of the importance of anonymity through setting the space and the figures of the interview.

For interviewing the second group;

NGO actors attitudes towards refugee-hood generally and Syrian refugees in Za'atri camp in particular vary between sympathy to hostility. In the latter situation, I need to show a level of tolerance and balance while asking about their daily experience and how they draw their relations with refugees. Tolerance through avoiding emotional provocation as me and the interviewee may not agree on the same point, and balance through drawing some boundaries on the conversation not to reach an unethical level of antagonism.

Stage 2:

Generally, interventional studies may bring two types of harm for participants, physical and psychological. Physically,

although participants and my self will occupy a space that is already in use in the district, the space will be re-arranged in the form of a class room. Thus, this involves bringing 3 plastic tables and 15 plastic chairs to the space. While using the space I will follow the health and safety regulated by the UNHCR for using camp spaces. Psychologically; potential harm may involve an inequitable burden for participants without adequate benefit for participants generally and refugees in particular. As this intervention aims at developing a procedure, material benefits which refugees usually draw expectations on are not achieved through my intervention.

How will this be managed to ensure appropriate protection and well-being of the participants?

For general distress; security and privacy are always of refugees' concern. Consideration will be shown through identifying myself and my research and reassuring my awareness of participants' security, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity. I must show a level of awareness to the need of following required ethical procedures in each situation that assure those considerations.

In the second situation where I interview NGO actors and in the case of shown hostility, I need to show a level of tolerance and balance while asking about their daily experience and how they draw their relations with refugees. Tolerance through avoiding emotional provocation as me and the interviewee may not agree on the same point, and balance through drawing some boundaries on the conversation not to reach an unethical level of antagonism.

To avoid distress resulted from the expectations of immediate and direct results of interventions, I will clarify what interventions aim at and what expectations I am drawing on them. This clarification will happen through written information sheet and broad discussion with participants in preparation and reflection procedures.

For health and safety issues while using the space, I will contact a specialist from the UNHCR who will brief me about what I must take care of while using the space (electricity, in the case of a fire, or in the case of needing a first aid assistance) , and what participants need to know before we start the intervention. Moreover, I will provide participants with fast lines that they can call in case of an emergency.

Section E: About the data

1. Data Confidentiality Measures

The data produced will take different forms including, voice records, field notes, drawings, and photographs. All data will be collected according to informed consents and be kept securely and anonymously.

Special consideration is to be given to produced visual materials such as photographs and drawings. Questions of consent, confidentiality, and anonymity are to be addressed and considered in visual materials. As research is concerned with people's activity and spatial interaction, thus photographs and drawings will be used to show a density of an activity through figures rather than faces and identities.

Interviews will be carried out in Arabic language and will be translated by me into English when inserted as research material. All interviews will be anonymised before storing them. Interviews will be recorded through voice recording, or writing in a notebook. I will differentiate between field notes, essential interviews, and private comments through notation. Brief of the written text will be edited gradually to become a coherent critical text, then inserted as electronic material. The text will be reflected upon through my research.

2. Data Storage

During my walks in the camp, I will make sure to keep a secured backup of the data at my laptop at home. I will keep on safely archiving my data. In the case of loosing my camera, or having it stolen, photos on the digital camera will be protected in a secured file which is only accessible by me. My phone, where I will save my audio records, will be secured by a passcode. moreover, documents on the phone itself will be secured through a pass code. all data on my phone and laptop will be automatically uploaded to my private (i cloud) platform where I can keep an archived back up of data.

Accessibility to data would be highly strict and limited. Any produced material will be anonymised before being disseminated in any academic platform. During the field trips, data will be stored and backed up locally on password protected computers and hard drives and will then be transferred to UK. All paper data will be kept in a secure locker in my office.

Document 2



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

School
Of
Architecture.

School of Architecture
University of Sheffield
The Arts Tower
Western Bank
Sheffield, S10 2TN

10 April 2016

Telephone: +44 (0) 114 222 0313
Fax: +44 (0) 114 222 0315
Email: n.awan@sheffield.ac.uk

Dear Sir/ Madam,

Ethical approval of Aya Musmar's PhD research

I am Aya Musmar's primary supervisor for her PhD research entitled, 'Re-imagining NGO Infrastructures', which she is currently carrying out at Sheffield School of Architecture. All PhD research at the University of Sheffield undergoes rigorous ethical approval as outlined in the University's Research Ethics Policy (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/) and Aya's research is also in the process of gaining such approval.

Her ethics application has been reviewed by myself and two other members of staff. It has been given conditional approval as one aspect of the application was unclear, namely the language in which the interviews would take place and any translation issues that might follow on from this. As I am sure you are aware, Aya Musmar is a native Arabic speaker and so this is just a procedural issue that needs to be addressed in the university ethics application system. Unfortunately due to pressure on staff time sometimes such minor changes can take a while to be implemented.

I hope therefore that you can take this letter as proof of pending ethics approval for the research. If you have any other queries, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely

Dr Nishat Awan
Lecturer in Architecture



Document 4

Service Agreement

This Service Agreement is entered into as of July 12th, 2016 between:

1. [REDACTED] (hereinafter referred to as the First party" or "[REDACTED]"); and
2. **Ms. Aya Subaih Asad Musmar**, Jordanian Nationality, holder ID number; 9882033612 Address: Irbid - Southern District - Ibn Otbah Street (hereinafter referred to as the "Second party");

First Party and Second Party shall be collectively referred to as the "Parties", and severally, as the "Party".

Preamble

Whereas the First Party is a non-profit humanitarian and development organization, which seeks to improve lives and livelihoods through inclusion, engagement, and empowerment;

Whereas the First Party wishes to engage the expertise, proficiency and skills of the Second Party in regards to rendering the services mentioned in the Scope of Services under article 2 below ("Services");

Whereas, Second Party has represented that he/she possesses the required qualifications and expertise in order to provide the First Party with the required Services pursuant to the terms and conditions of this Agreement; and

Whereas, in consideration of the above representation, the parties, being in their full capacities and competencies have agreed to enter into this Agreement pursuant to the terms and conditions set herein:

The above Preamble and all annexes attached (if any) are considered an integral part of this Agreement and shall be read and construed with it as one.

1. Subject of the Agreement

[REDACTED] hereby retains the Second Party's services in consulting and assisting the [REDACTED] at its projects in the Za'atari Camp for Syrian refugees in Mafraq – Jordan and in the performance of the services detailed in article 2 below, as a "Project Assistant", and Second Party hereby accepts an engagement to provide the Services, on the terms and conditions set forth in this Agreement.

2. Scope of Services

2.1 [REDACTED] hereby retains the services and expertise of the Second Party for the [REDACTED] Program at Za'atari Camp for Syrian refugees in Mafraq - Jordan, whereas Second Party undertakes to perform the following services:

➤ Administrative Support

- Collect and update volunteers' information
- Coordinate with HR to monitor and report employee leaves, absences, and timesheets
- Assist with procurement processes and reporting
- Assist in preparation of event and expense reports
- Input and update inventory for centers and fields
- Assist in maintenance and updating of schedule for centers and fields
- Communicate and/or coordinate with colleagues, partners and donor, as requested by Component Coordinator
- All other administrative tasks as required by Coordinator

➤ Program Support

- Organize and serve as focal point on special events, such as trainings, field trips, and workshops
- Draft "success stories" for events and activities
- Assist in program implementation as directed by Coordinator and Project Officers
- Assist in managing maintenance and upkeep of centers and fields
- All other program support tasks as required by Coordinator.

➤ Data Entry, Reporting, M&E (IMU)

- Collect daily reports and produce internal weekly report for each location/program as well as external weekly report for all Community Engagement activities.
- Update and report on registered beneficiaries lists and UNHCR/other indicators for all elements of Community Engagement component.
- Update and report on registered participant attendance weekly for each programs.
- Serve as Community Engagement focal point for IMU Coordinator, submitting all reports and responding to IMU related queries.
- As IMU focal point, develop M&E tools and strategies in coordination with IMU Coordinator, as well as assist in implementing them in the field.
- Assist in analysis of data obtained through regular reporting as well as through M&E. tools in order to evaluate quality of programming, implementation strategy, and staff/volunteer performance.
- Assist in developing program in cooperation with Component Coordinator and IMU Coordinator, based on analysis of M&E data.
- All other IMU tasks as required by IMU and Community Engagement Coordinator

[REDACTED]

2.2 The delivery of the Services by the Second party shall be subject to the approval of the First party, who is entitled to refuse the Services in the event they do not conform to the specifications mentioned herein or the requirements of the First party, and to withhold any due payments until the Second Party delivers the required Services in accordance with the requirements of the First Party. First Party shall be entitled to terminate this Agreement without notice or court order in the event Second Party fails to redeliver the Services pursuant to the provisions of this Agreement within the duration specified by the First Party.

2.3 Upon receipt of any deliverables from the Second party, First party shall review them in a timely manner, and shall notify Second party of any requested corrections or changes within fourteen (14) calendar days. Second party shall correct and amend any such changes at no additional cost to First party provided that the changes requested are within the scope of work agreed herein. First party maintains the right to send as many revisions/amendments as it sees fit.

3. Payment Method

3.1 Against its performance of the Services in accordance with the terms of this Agreement, and upon First party's certification that the Services have been satisfactorily performed, the Second party will receive a lump sum of [REDACTED] **Dinars only**) for the Services mentioned in article 2 and for the whole duration of this Agreement. Service fees will be paid upon completion of the Services to the satisfaction of the First party, and submission of a timesheet and its approval by First party.

3.2 Payment shall be executed by the First Party within 30 days of receipt of an invoice from the Second Party after their approval of the Services rendered

4. Tax Deduction

4.1 [REDACTED] will deduct from any amount to be paid to the Second Party under this Agreement the sum of (5%) in accordance with article (12) of the income tax law.

4.2 Tax regulations are subject to change without prior notice. All changes per the government of Jordan Income and sales tax rules will apply automatically.

5. Duration of Agreement

5.1 The duration of this Agreement is from **July 12th, 2016** and ending **August 12st 2016**.

5.2 This Agreement shall not be renewed except with written agreement of the parties and subject to terms and conditions to be agreed upon at the time of renew.

████████████████████ ██████████

6. Confidentiality

- 6.1 In performing their duties under this Agreement, Second party may be exposed to and will be required to use certain confidential information of the First party. Confidential information shall include any and all written or oral information pertaining to the First party, its activities, personnel, beneficiaries partners, or otherwise, that the Second party becomes acquainted with in the course of their provision of Services under this Agreement, unless such information is publicly known, or the First party has provided the Second party with a permission to disclose it. Second party agrees that Second party will not and its agents or representatives will not, use, directly or indirectly, such confidential information for the benefit of any person, entity or organization other than the First party, or disclose such confidential information without the written authorization of the First party, either during or after the term of this Agreement, for as long as such information retains the characteristics of confidential information.
- 6.2 Also Second party promises to protect any material given to it by the ██████████ to use and hand it back to ██████████ immediately following the termination of the Agreement for any reason whatsoever.
- 6.3 Second party agrees that it will not disclose names, addresses, email address, phone and fax or telex numbers of any contacts of First party's clients, beneficiaries, affiliates, associates, partners or employees, to third parties and that Second party recognizes such contacts are the exclusive property of First party and that they will not enter into any direct negotiations or transactions with such contacts revealed by First party unless written permission has been obtained from First party to do so. Second party also undertakes not to make use of a third party to circumvent this article.

7. Termination

- 7.1 This Agreement may be terminated at any time, for no cause, in whole, or in part, at the sole discretion of ██████████, without any liability or the need for a court order or notarized notice and the Second party will be fully notified of such termination within (3) days prior the date of the termination. This Agreement may also be terminated, in whole or in part, by the mutual written consent of the Parties to this Agreement in a timeframe mutually agreed by the Parties.
- 7.2 Any documents, materials, equipment provided by the First Party to the Second Party in connection with or furtherance of Second Party's services under this Agreement, shall, immediately upon the termination of this Agreement or any time upon the request of the First Party, be returned to the First Party.

8. Business ethics and conflict of interest

The Second party shall establish and maintain appropriate business standards, procedures and controls including those necessary to avoid any real or apparent impropriety or to prevent any action or conditions which could result in conflict with ██████████'s best interests. This obligation shall apply to

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

11. Limitation of Liability

The First party shall not be liable for direct/indirect or consequential of any determination of health condition or injuries or any other responsibility to the Second party.

12. Agreement Validity

This Agreement must be signed by both Parties in order to be considered valid and in force. All costs associated with, but not limited to, production, preparation and/or delivery of goods or services, including deliveries, accepted by [REDACTED] staff, without a fully executed (signed by both Parties) Agreement, are at the Second Party's risk only. [REDACTED] shall not pay for any costs, without limitation, associated with production, preparation or delivery of goods and/or services under this Agreement, unless the Agreement is signed by both Parties.

13. General Provisions

- 13.1 Second party agrees to indemnify the First party, its officers, agents, directors, licensees, successors and assigns and to hold them and each of them free from any loss, liability, cost, damage and expense (including, without limitation, reasonable legal fees) arising out of or in connection with the performance by the Second party of any activities contemplated hereunder. Such losses, costs, expenses, damages, or liabilities shall include, without limitation, all actual, general, special, and consequential damages.
- 13.2 If any provision of this Agreement is held unenforceable by a court of competent jurisdiction, that provision shall be severed and shall not affect the validity or enforceability of the remaining provisions.
- 13.3 This Agreement shall be governed by and construed in accordance with the laws of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
- 13.4 This Agreement constitutes the complete agreement and sets forth the entire understanding and agreement of the parties as to the subject matter of this Agreement and supersedes all prior discussions and understandings in respect to the subject of this Agreement, whether written or oral. This Agreement becomes binding upon signature by both parties and the delivery of fully signed copies to each party.
- 13.5 Any dispute arising out of or in connection with this Agreement, including any question regarding its existence, validity or termination, or any action taken hereunder, shall be referred to the Central Courts of Amman, Jordan which shall have sole and exclusive jurisdiction.
-

13.6 Any notice, request and other correspondence pursuant to or in connection with this Agreement shall be in the English language and shall be sent to any party by telex, facsimile, registered mail or personal delivery at its address as specified at the beginning of this Agreement.

Any notice, request or other correspondence pursuant to or in connection with this Agreement shall be deemed validly received by the addressee upon the expiration of forty-eight (48) hours after transmission in case of telex or facsimile, on the third (3rd) day after mailing in case of registered mail, or immediately upon delivery in case of personal delivery.

13.7 No modification, extension, termination or attempted waiver of this Agreement, or any provision thereof, shall be valid unless in writing signed by both parties.

13.8 The waiver by a party of a breach of any provision of this Agreement by the other party shall not operate or be construed as a waiver of any other or subsequent breach by the party in breach.

IN WITNESS HEREOF, the Parties have executed this on the date stated at the beginning.

Understood and agreed.

First Party

Name:

Date: 12/07/2016

Signature:



Second Party

Name: *Aya Musmar*

Date: 12/07/2016

Signature:



Document 5



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

School
Of
Architecture.

Head of School
Professor Fionn Stevenson

School of Architecture
University of Sheffield
The Arts Tower
Western Bank
Sheffield, S10 2TN

29th November 2016

Telephone: +44 (0) 114 222 0399
Fax: +44 (0) 114 222 0315
Email: f.stevenson@sheffield.ac.uk

Dear Sir/ Madam,

Request for access to refugee camps in Jordan

I am writing to request access to some of the refugee camps in Jordan for Dr. Nishat Awan, who is a Lecturer in Architecture at University of Sheffield. She will be travelling to Jordan between 4th and 11th February 2017 with students studying for the MA in Architectural Design at our university. The visits to the camp are part of the design studies for the course and during their time in Jordan they will also be visiting some of the major urban centres.

In the refugee camps, the aim is to study the living conditions and environment of refugees and to meet with some of the NGOs operating in the camps. We hope that you can provide permission for them to visit a number of refugee camps to gain an overview of the situation. We would like permission to visit Za'atri refugee camp, Azraq camp and King Abdullah Park camp between 5th and 9th February 2017.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Fionn Stevenson'.

Professor Fionn Stevenson, PhD (Dundee) , MA (Cantab), Dip.Arch, ARB, RIBA

Document 6



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

School
Of
Architecture.

Mr. Yasin Abu Awwad
Director of Planning and Projects
Department of Palestinian Affairs (DPA)

Head of School
Professor Fionn Stevenson

School of Architecture
University of Sheffield
The Arts Tower
Western Bank
Sheffield, S10 2TN

Telephone: +44 (0) 114 222 0399
Fax: +44 (0) 114 222 0315
Email: f.stevenson@sheffield.ac.uk

23 December 2016

Dear Mr. Abu Awwad,

Request for access to Irbid and Al-Husson Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan

I am writing to request access to two of the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan for Dr. Nishat Awan, who is a Lecturer in Architecture at University of Sheffield. She will be visiting the proposed camps on the 5th of February 2017 with 21 students studying on the MA in Architectural Design and 1 PhD student. The visits to the camp are part of the design studies for the course.

In the refugee camps, the aim is to study the living conditions and environment of Palestinian refugees. We hope that you can provide permission for them to visit a number of refugee camps to gain an overview of the situation. We would like permission to visit Irbid refugee camp and Al-Husson refugee camp on the 5th of February 2017.

Please find enclosed a document listing each visitor's name, nationality, passport number, year of study and the course they are enrolled on (if appropriate).

Yours faithfully

Professor Fionn Stevenson, PhD (Dundee) , MA (Cantab), Dip.Arch, ARB, RIBA

Document 7



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

School
Of
Architecture.

Head of School
Professor Fionn Stevenson

School of Architecture
University of Sheffield
The Arts Tower
Western Bank
Sheffield, S10 2TN

Telephone: +44 (0) 114 222 0399
Fax: +44 (0) 114 222 0315
Email: f.stevenson@sheffield.ac.uk

Care International

22 December 2016

Dear Mr. Boulad,

Request for collaboration with Care International in Azraq refugee camp

I am writing to request access to Azraq refugee camp in Jordan for Dr. Nishat Awan, who is a Lecturer in Architecture at University of Sheffield. She will be visiting Azraq refugee camp during the 08th of February 2017 with 21 students studying on the MA in Architectural Design and 1 PhD student. The visit to the camp is part of the design studies for the course.

Our aim is to study the living conditions and environment of refugees with a specific focus on refugees' spaces. So, we hope that you can assist them to facilitate their visit to the camp. We would like to collaborate with Care Community Mobilization component to walk in the camp for the proposed dates.

Yours faithfully

Professor Fionn Stevenson, PhD (Dundee) , MA (Cantab), Dip.Arch, ARB, RIBA

Document 8



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

School
Of
Architecture.

Head of School
Professor Fionn Stevenson

School of Architecture
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The Arts Tower
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Sheffield, S10 2TN

Telephone: +44 (0) 114 222 0399
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Email: f.stevenson@sheffield.ac.uk

Ms. Wejdan Al-Jarrah
Jordan Programs Director
International Relief and Development (IRD)

22 December 2016

Dear Ms Al-Jarrah,

Request for collaboration with International Relief and Development (IRD) in Za'atri refugee camp

I am writing to request access to Za'atri refugee camp in Jordan for Dr. Nishat Awan, who is a Lecturer in Architecture at University of Sheffield. She will be visiting Za'atri refugee camp during the 6th and the 7th of February 2017 with 21 students studying on the MA in Architectural Design and 1 PhD student. The visits to the camp are part of the design studies for the course.

Our aim is to study the living conditions and environment of refugees with a specific focus on refugees' spaces. So, we hope that you can assist them to facilitate their visit to the camp. We would like to collaborate with IRD Community Mobilization component to walk in the camp for the proposed dates.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Fionn Stevenson'.

Professor Fionn Stevenson, PhD (Dundee) , MA (Cantab), Dip.Arch, ARB, RIBA

Document 9



الرقم ٢٠١٦/١٢/٢٩
التاريخ
الموافق ٢٠١٦/١٢/٢٩

عطوفة مدير مديرية شؤون اللاجئين السوريين

أعلمتني جامعة The University of Sheffield، بكتابهم رقم بلا. تاريخ ٢٠١٦/١١/٢٩ والمرفق صورة عنه بأن Dr. Nishat Awan يرافقها مجموعه من طلاب الدراسات العليا والمذكورة اسمائهم بمتنه يطلبون فيه الحصول على تصريح للدخول إلى مخيمات الزعتري، الأزرق والحديقه وذلك للاطلاع على الحياه اليوميه للاجئين داخل المخيمات وللالتقاء ببعض المنظمات المتواجده داخل المخيمات.

لعمل على تسهيل مهمتهم وبالتنسيق مع الأجهزة المعنيه، باستثناء المناطق الحدوديه والقرية الخامسه في مخيم الأزرق، وذلك خلال الفتره من ٠٥- ٢٠١٧/٢/٩ ويكون موعد الزيارة من الساعة التاسعة صباحا وحتى الساعة الثالثة مساءً.

واقبلوا وافرا الاحترام...

سلامه حماد السجيم
وزير الداخلية
سمير البيضي
أمين عام وزارة الداخلية



نسخة الى،

- ✓ معالي مستشار جلالة الملك لشؤون الامن القومي مدير المخابرات العامة، اشارة لكتابكم رقم ٥٥١٧٧/٢٠١، تاريخ ٢٠١٦/١٢/٧.
- ✓ عطوفة مدير الامن العام / الامن الوقائي، اشارة لكتابكم رقم م/١٢٠٢/٩٠٤٨، تاريخ ٢٠١٦/١٢/١٠.
- ✓ عطوفة مدير عام قوات الدرك.
- ✓ عطوفة محافظ المفرق.
- ✓ عطوفة محافظ الزرقاء.
- ✓ عطوفة مدير الامن العسكري
- ✓ ملف التداول

رس.
١٢/١١

المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية

هاتف : 962 6 5691141 فاكس : 962 6 5606908 + ص.ب 100 عمان - الأردن. الموقع الإلكتروني : www.moi.gov.jo

Document 10

University of Petra

(Accredited University)

Office of Vice President



جامعة البترا - خمسة وعشرون عاما
University of Petra Anniversary

(جامعة معتمدة)

مكتب نائب الرئيس

التاريخ: ٢٧/١١/٢٠١٧

معالي الأستاذ الدكتور / وزير الداخلية الأكرم

تحية طيبة وبعد،

يرجى التكرم بالعلم بأن قسم هندسة العمارة في جامعة البترا، يرغب بإقامة ورشتي عمل لتحقيق عدد من المبادرات داخل مخيم الزعتري بإشراف كل من د. ياسر أبو هاشم والمهندسة آية مسمار، ومجموعة من طلبة قسم هندسة العمارة في جامعة البترا، وعليه، يرجى التكرم بالموافقة على دخول المخيم وعمل زيارة للمخيم، لتحقيق الأهداف التالية:

- ١- مناقشة المبادرات المجتمعية والتفكير بكيفية تطبيقها بشكل تشاركي مع الطرف الآخر.
- ٢- توثيق إبداعات أهل المخيم التصميمية وحلولهم الفراغية
- ٣- تصميم النماذج الفراغية بشكل تشاركي وتجسيدها بشكل تشاركي في مجسمات مع أصحاب المبادرات.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الإحترام،،

نائب رئيس الجامعة

أ.د. محمد العناني



المرفقات :

- قائمة بأسماء الطلبة المشاركين في ورشة العمل
- صور عن هويات والبطاقات الشخصية للمشاركين



الرقم ٣١٦٢٦١١١٨٨٣٥٦١٥
التاريخ ١٨ ربيع الأول ١٤٣٩
الموافق ٢٠١٧-١٢-٠٧

عطوفة مدير مديرية شؤون اللاجئين السوريين

اعلمتني جامعة البترا بكتابهم رقم بلا تاريخ ٢٠١٧/١١/٢٧ المرفق صورة عنه بطلب الحصول على تصريح دخول الى مخيم الزعتري لمجموعة من طلاب الجامعة المذكورين بالمرفق باشراف كل من د. ياسر ابو هاشم والمهندسة آيه مسمار لإقامة ورشتي عمل لتحقيق عدد من المبادرات .

لعمل على تسهيل مهمتهم وبالتنسيق مع الأجهزة المعنية باستثناء المناطق الحدودية . وذلك اعتبارا من تاريخه ولغاية ٢٠١٨/١/١٥ ويكون موعد الزيارة من الساعة التاسعة صباحا وحتى الساعة الثالثة مساء .

واقبلوا الاحترام


غالب الزعبي
وزير الداخلية



الحافظ

محمود محمد الشلبي
٢٠١٧/١٢/٥ تاريخ ٤٣٥٧-٦٢/١ رقم

١١٥٥/١٢/٢٠٢٠م تاريخ ٧١١٥٥/١٢/٢٠٢٠م

١٧٨٤/١٢/٢٠١٧ تاريخ

نسخة الى :

- ✓ عطوفة مدير المخابرات العامة / اشارة لكتابكم رقم ٤٣٥٧-٦٢/١ تاريخ ٢٠١٧/١٢/٥
- ✓ عطوفة مدير الامن العام / الامن الوقائي / اشارة لكتابكم رقم م/١١٥٥/١٢/٢٠٢٠ تاريخ ١٧٨٤/١٢/٢٠١٧
- ✓ عطوفة مدير عام قوات الدرك
- ✓ عطوفة محافظ المفرق
- ✓ عطوفة محافظ الزرقاء
- ✓ عطوفة مدير الامن العسكري
- ✓ عطوفة مدير هيئة الاعلام
- ✓ مكتب تنسيق شؤون اللاجئين
- ✓ ملف التداول

الملك الأردنية الهاشمية

هـ ر هـ

هاتف 5691141 +962 6 فاكس : 5606908 +962 6 ص ب 100 عمان - الأردن - الموقع الالكتروني : www.moi.gov.jo

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