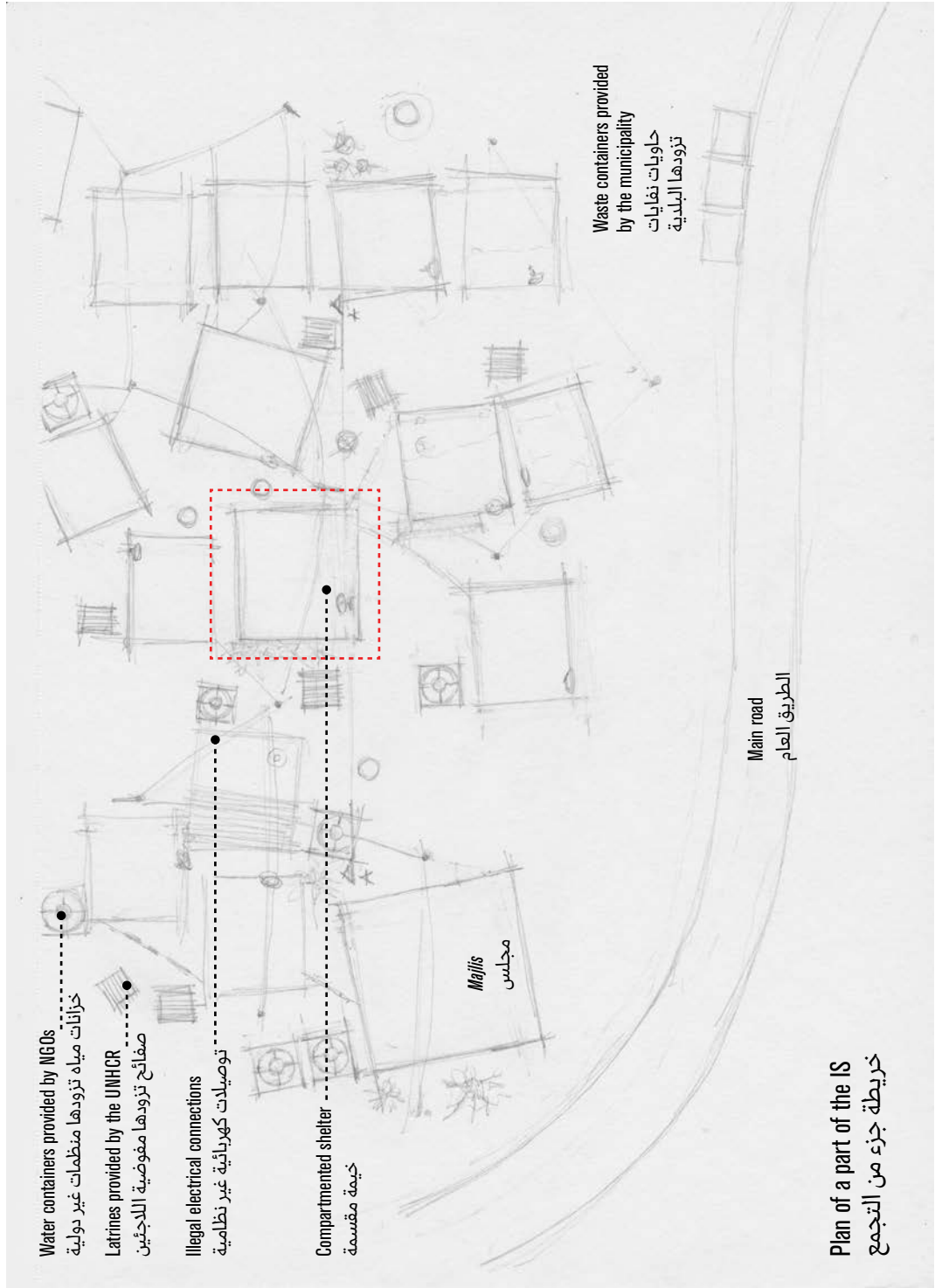


White latrines marked by the UNHCR logo are either located near individual shelters or integrated by refugees inside tents. Scarce plants grow sporadically in plastic containers and pots. Electrical cables hang between makeshift wood posts, creating a scattered

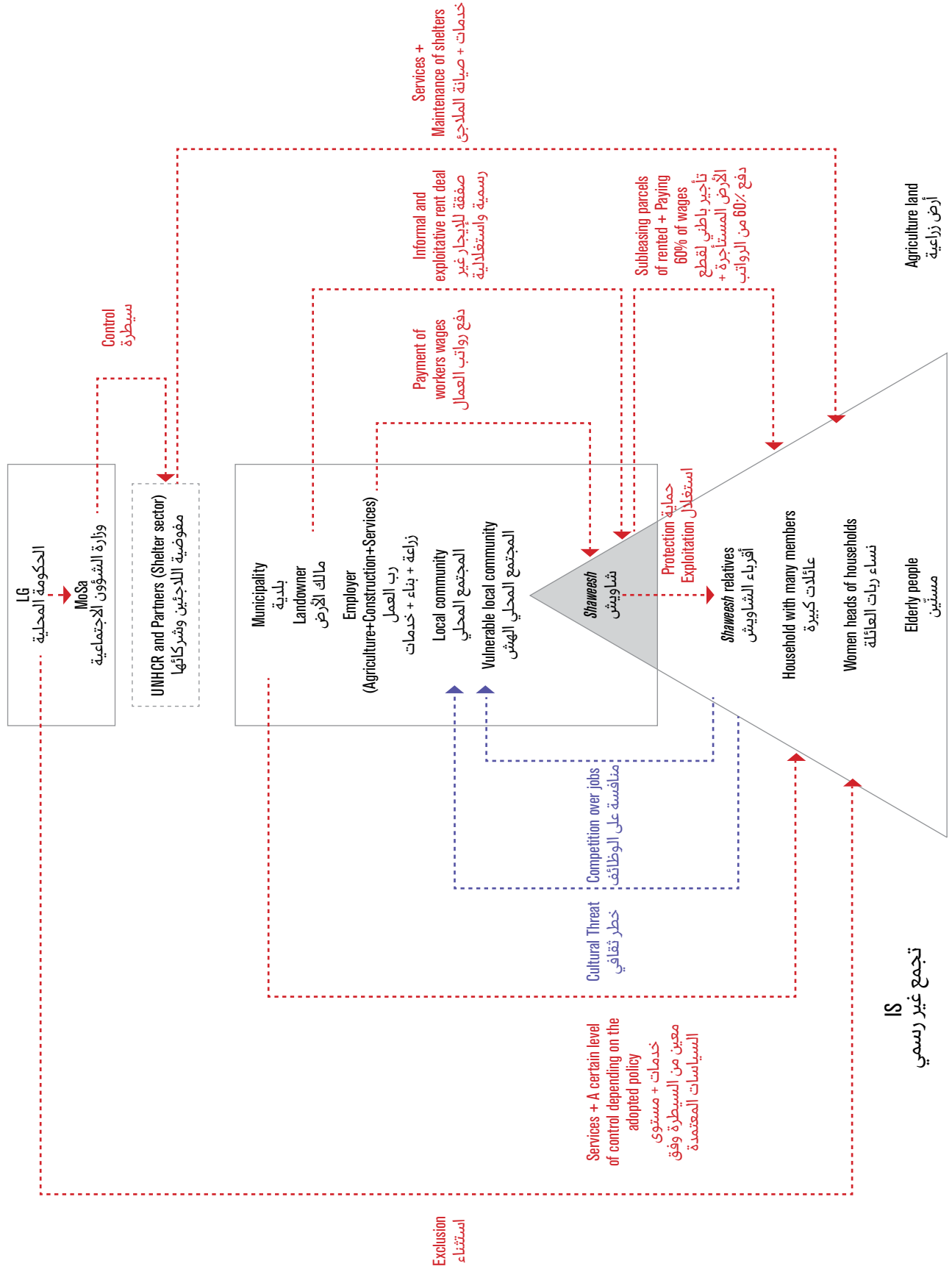
canopy. A thorough study of these 7-years-old settlements however shows that they now vary from one to another, as do shelters within each settlement on economic and social levels, and from an architectural and an urban perspective. Many variables, including



Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a field note or description related to the plan above. It discusses the layout and infrastructure of the settlement, mentioning tents and their arrangement.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, continuing the field notes or descriptions. It appears to be a detailed account of the settlement's conditions and infrastructure.

Organization Heirarchical System in an IS التنظيم الهرمي في تجمع غير رسمي



The shaweesh

The shaweesh is the camp manager who protects and simultaneously exploits and controls. He is usually Syrian himself with legal documentation, which allows him freedom of movement and affords him the possibility of dealing with Lebanese authorities in matters regarding the settlement. He arranges employment deals with land managers and often benefits from 40% of workers' wages, which explains why he favours renting shelters to families with numerous young and healthy members who can potentially work and thus constitute a source of income for him.

He also settles the agreement concerning the land rental with the landowner and subleases to each household – sometimes reaping a profit to himself – parcels of the land required for the occupation of each shelter.

What the interior space reveals

After 7 years of life in ITSs, a social hierarchy among inhabitants is clearly expressed by the specificities of each habitation: the dimensions of the shelter, space layout, and interior design. The shaweesh and his close relatives usually live in the largest and most comfortable shelters. In such shelters, the space is compartmented according to the number of family members and to functional requirements. Despite the MoSA and municipalities' ban for any permanent elements, in most shelters, the floor is a concrete slab covered with a patchwork of tiles or carpets. There are makeshift kitchens, home appliances, and basic furniture such as mattresses, shelves, and in 'richer' settlements, second-hand beds, sofas, and closets. Colourful fabric usually covers the structure on the inside, with draperies, thin cords, and tassels. Wood panels distributed by NGOs are used for partitions and doors, sometimes sculpted in the shape of arches. The most precarious shelters are occupied by old people or female heads of households. They are single-spaced habitations with mud floors and enjoy very little of the commodities described above.

Little attention is paid to the cleanliness of outdoor areas. However, hygiene is a very important aspect in the life of the refugees inside their habitations:

የተከፈሉ ልማት ያላቸው የቤቶች ነፃነት ለሁኔታዎች ምርጫ ማድረግ ይቻላል። በአብዛኛው የሥራ ስምምነት ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል።

every day, women fold carpets and mattresses, roll the fabric covering the walls to raise it from the floor level, and clean the floor with water. Women often compete to display the highest level of cleanliness, creativity of shelter design, and winter food reserve (mouneh). The tidiest shelters are usually those of women who stay at home and do not work in the fields. The place of origin and the way of life pre-displacement is also a factor affecting interior space arrangements.

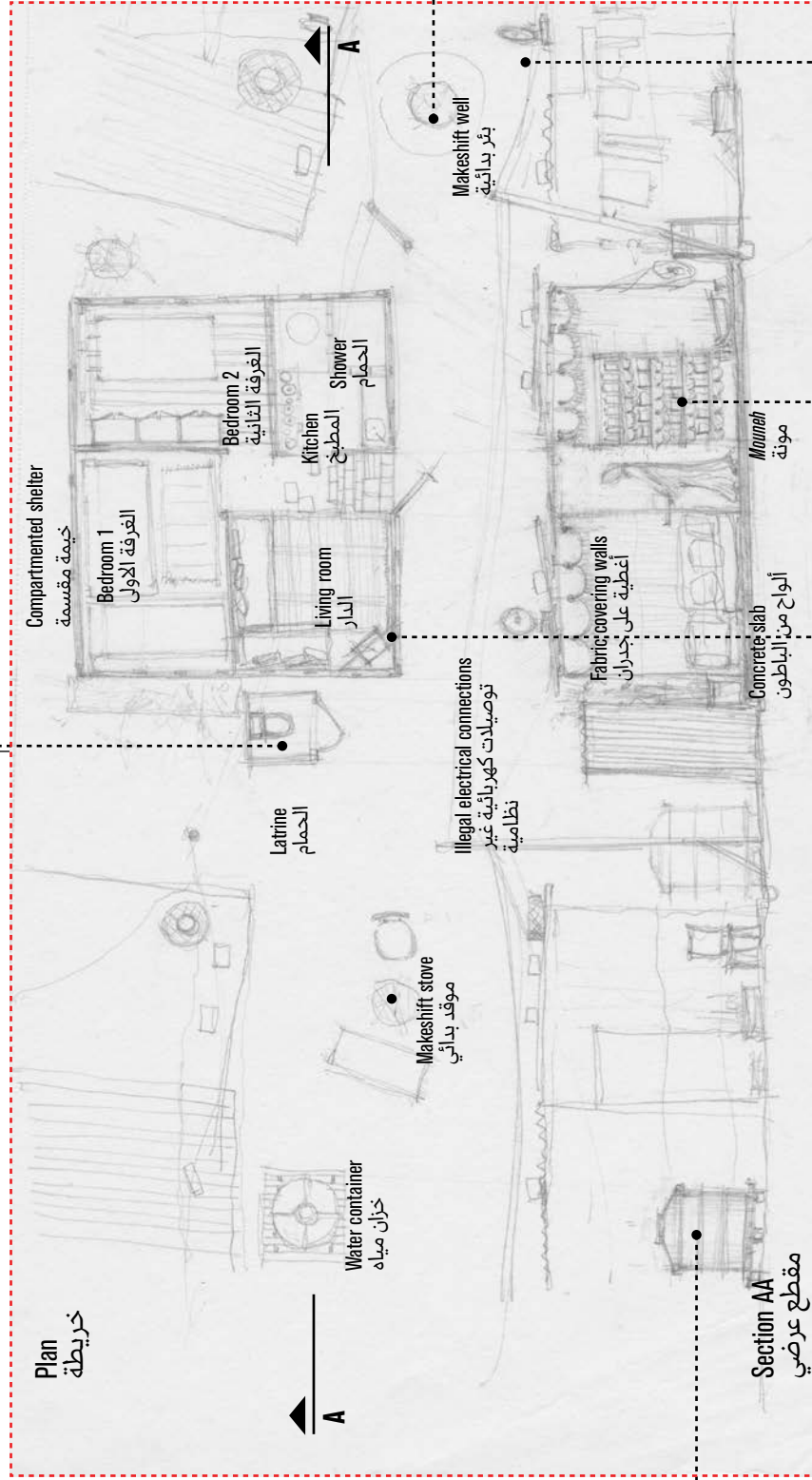
In big settlements, one of the largest tents is a majlis where honourable guests are hosted and special occasions such as weddings, funerals, and religious feasts take place. The interior walls and ceiling are covered with appealing fabric, carpets lay on the floor, and mattresses are arranged against the walls in a U-shape. In the centre of this space is a stove with traditional accessories for coffee ceremonial, a testimonial to Syrian hospitality.

Observing the interior space of shelters uncovers noticeable class differences. However, on the outside, shelters commonly reflect the same precarious appearance making some question whether this is the reproduction of a cultural architectural feature, traditional Islamic houses being almost similar on the outside, hidden behind discrete walls and, on the inside, revealing the social class and life style of their

በሆስፒታል ማህበራዊ ግንኙነት ለመጠየቅ ለሚያስችል ስምምነት ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል።

የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም

ስምምነት ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል። ለሌሎች ምርጫ ላይ የተከማቸው የሥራ አፈጻጸም ይኖራል።



inhabitants, or simply the only way shelters can be built given the limitation of available materials.

Space appropriation and power over space

Given the flexibility of the structure of shelters, refugees are often able to transform them and adapt them to their needs. Appropriating their space represents an act of resilience: with very limited means, refugees transform shelters into "homes". Space management and cultural and personal markings are conditioned by many factors including the availability of land, households' financial situation, the power-based relation of refugees with local authorities and the shaweesh, the level of humanitarian assistance, the duration of stay, and the place of origin.

In specific cases, although refugees could afford renting apartments or rooms, they prefer living in ITSs with members of their community. In fact, many of the respondents I interviewed declared that despite the instability and the precariousness that character-

ize these structures, living in ITSs gives them a sense of freedom and power over their living space, something they wouldn't enjoy if they were scattered in different locations in urban areas where they would be restrained due to proximity and tensions with host communities and to the control and regulations imposed by local authorities.

¹ Turner, L. 2015. Explaining the (non-)encampment of Syrian refugees: security, class and the labour market in Lebanon and Jordan, *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 386-404

² Agier, M. 2011. From refuge the Ghetto is born: Contemporary figures of Heterotopias, *The Ghetto—Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies*, 265.

³ Lefebvre, H. 1972. *Le droit à la ville*, Éditions anthropos.

⁴ Ripoll, F., & Veschambre, V. 2005. *L'appropriation de l'espace: sur la dimension spatiale des inégalités sociales et des rapports de pouvoir*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

⁵ Ramadan, A. 2013. Spatialising the refugee camp, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38(1), 65-77

⁶ Janmyr, M. 2016. Precarity in Exile: The Legal Status of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 35(4), 58-78

⁷ Norwegian Refugee Council. 2014. The consequences of limited legal status for Syrian refugees in Lebanon, *NRC Lebanon field assessment part two: North, Bekaa and South*.

يتمتع بها حتى يتمكن من القيام بالأنشطة اليومية بشكل طبيعي. هذا يعني أن اللاجئين يمكنهم من ممارسة حياتهم اليومية في بيئتهم الطبيعية، على الرغم من أنهم لا يملكون الكثير من الممتلكات الشخصية. ومع ذلك، فإنهم قادرون على التكيف مع البيئة الجديدة من خلال بناء غرفهم الخاصة في الداخل، مما يمنحهم شعورًا بالملكية والخصوصية. هذا الشعور بالملكية هو ما يجعلهم يشعرون أنهم في بيئتهم الطبيعية، على الرغم من أنهم لا يملكون الكثير من الممتلكات الشخصية.

التكيف مع البيئة الجديدة (البيئات الخارجية)

التكيف مع البيئة الجديدة هو عملية مستمرة. ومع ذلك، فإن اللاجئين يواجهون صعوبات في التكيف مع البيئة الجديدة، خاصة في المناطق الحضرية. ومع ذلك، فإنهم قادرون على التكيف مع البيئة الجديدة من خلال بناء غرفهم الخاصة في الداخل، مما يمنحهم شعورًا بالملكية والخصوصية. هذا الشعور بالملكية هو ما يجعلهم يشعرون أنهم في بيئتهم الطبيعية، على الرغم من أنهم لا يملكون الكثير من الممتلكات الشخصية.

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