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**From Camp Dwellers to Urban Refugees?:
Urbanization and Marginalization of Refugee Camps in Lebanon.**

Mohamed Kamel Dorai¹

"The traveller stops and comes back full of
doubt: he cannot distinguish between the
different places of the city, his own mental
categories get mixed up."
Italo Calvino
Les villes invisibles

1. Introduction

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are marginalized in their host society. The specificities of their settlement and the urgent need to find a durable solution to their situation were underlined by both the Israeli and Palestinian delegations during the negotiations of Taba in January 2001. Because it crystallizes the geopolitical stakes both on the regional and national scales, this community is a privileged field of investigation which makes it possible to raise many questions dealing with the relationship between the refugees' own socio-political dynamic, political actors, and space. The migrations generated by multiple changes on the Lebanese and Middle Eastern political scenes singularize these refugees within the Diaspora.² Since the departure of the PLO from Lebanon in the 1980s, the attention paid to the Palestinians of Lebanon has been diminishing. The civil war, as well as successive Israeli invasions, has deeply marked this population. It is currently one of most underprivileged of the Palestinian Diaspora. Today in Lebanon, more than 50% of the refugees reside in the officially recognized camps. This high rate is one of the signs of the precariousness of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. In addition to their dire socio-economic conditions, one has

to add the legal constraints that affect Palestinian refugees, which deprive them of many essential rights like access to large sectors of the job market. Paradoxically, during more than ten years, from 1969 to 1982, the Palestinians enjoyed a freedom of action in Lebanon that no other host state gave them, which enabled them to mark their presence in certain spaces like camps and to deeply transform some urban neighbourhoods. Due to the rapid urbanization of the Middle Eastern countries most of the refugee camps have become a part of various major cities in their respective countries or host regions. As mentioned by Ishaq Al-Qutub³:

In the case of the Palestinian Arab refugee camps – such as those existing in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria--they are prevailing features of the urban structures of these states... The camp cities, both small and large, can be considered as urban conglomerations in the demographic and ecological sense... These cities represent a unique urban pattern, which has special features, problems, structures, and consequently requires a special classification in the study of urban societies in the Middle East.

After discussing the categories of urban refugees and camp dwellers I will present two examples, Mar Elias and al-Buss camp in two different urban contexts, to illustrate the urbanization of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

2. Urban Refugees vs. Camp Dwellers?

In recent years, researchers have shown a growing interest in the issue of urban refugees in the world, pointing mainly the problem of protection and access of services they face in the large cities of the Third World.⁴ The differences between urban refugee and camp dwellers have been studied⁵, but the transformation of refugee camps into urban areas has not been studied as such except in a few cases.

2.1. Urban Refugees

The UNHCR makes a clear distinction between *refugees in camps*, and *urban refugees*. This categorization is linked to the implementation of its policies of protection and assistance:

UNHCR protection and assistance programmes are generally implemented at the field level. A key question in every project is the settlement pattern of the assisted population: are refugees living in camps, in urban areas or in rural areas among the local population? The exact numbers of refugee camps and people living in them are difficult to establish, for many reasons, including the lack of definition and the dynamic of camps. Should a camp have a minimum size or population density? Should camps have a clearly marked perimeter? Should detention centres, transit centres, collective centres and settlements be considered as camps? Moreover, reliable camp statistics may not always be available due to lack of UNHCR access or presence.⁶

Refugee camps, which are the focus of attention for many observers, are not, according to UNHCR statistics, the main location of refugees in the world. They gather around 25% of the whole refugee population worldwide:

In 2005, the type of location was reported for some 14.2 million persons in 129, mainly non-industrialized countries. This represents 77 per cent of the total population of concern. Of these, 3.6 million were residing in camps or centres (26%), 2.5 million (18%) in urban areas, whereas 8.1 million persons (56%) were either living in rural areas among the local population or their type of settlement was unknown.⁷

Due to the relatively high proportion of refugees living in urban areas, the UNHCR has decided to develop specific approaches towards this population, which is more difficult to

assist and protect due to their geographical dispersion. UNHCR policy has changed in recent years to take into account their specificities.⁸

In the Palestinian case, the situation is quite similar to that of other refugees, even though the proportion of refugees living in camps is higher (around one-third) and varies depending on the area where they are settled.

Table 1: Registered Palestinian Refugees, UNRWA - 31 December 2006

Area	Official camps	Registered Refugees	Registered refugees living in camps	% of refugees living in camps
Jordan	10	1 858 362	328 076	17,6
Lebanon	12	408 438	215 890	52,8
Syria	9	442 363	119 055	26,9
West Bank	19	722 302	186 479	25,8
Gaza strip	8	1 016 964	478 272	47
Total	58	4 448 429	1 321 772	29,7

UNRWA, <http://www.un.org/unrwa/>, 2007

In reality, the number of refugees living in camps is higher if we add the refugees living in unofficial camps or informal gatherings that do not benefit from the same assistance and services from international organizations or host states. The boundary between camps and gatherings is blurring, and some refugees live in camp-like conditions.

2.2. The Palestinian Case

The traditional distinction between refugee camp-dwellers and urban refugees is mainly an operational one produced by international organizations. This categorization should be differentiated from the evolution of refugee camps and from the practices developed by the refugees themselves, as mentioned by Michel Agier: "Due to their very heterogeneity, camps may become the genesis of unexpected cities, new social environments, relationships and

identification."⁹ Refugee camps can become parts of urban areas, as is the case for many Palestinian refugee camps in the Middle East, or may themselves become urban centers due to their demographic weight and the variety of activities developed, such as socio-economic activities, political centers of decision, and the central role they play in the Palestinian society in exile. As mentioned by Marion Fresia¹⁰, in reality refugee camps do not always fit the common image of closed areas:

The most wide-spread image of the refugee camp is one of a closed and isolated space in which thousands of persons survive thanks to humanitarian assistance. This image does not nevertheless reflect the variety of the situations met on the ground. Whatever their shape, opened or closed, strictly controlled by the authorities of the host country or not, refugees' sites are never completely closed in reality. The forced movement and the gathering in camps generate ceaselessly new forms of mobility, which are actively looked for by the individuals to reconstruct an economic, social and political capital.

In some specific cases, the categorization depends upon the institution in charge of the refugees. For example, in Damascus, Yarmūk is considered by the Syrian authorities as a refugee camp whereas UNRWA does not recognize it as such. In the West Bank, refugee camps do not benefit from municipal services even if they are part of the urban area. At an operational level (international responsibility, access to services, legal context, etc.), a clear distinction exists between camp dwellers and urban refugees. But analyzing the geographical development of refugee camps in their local context, the different scales of mobility (daily movements, in- and out-migration, settlement of new migrant communities), the practices developed by the refugees living in the camps (economic, political, cultural and/or social activities) leads us to consider many of the refugee camps as urban areas. The temporal dimension of the Palestinian exile is also a key element to take into consideration. Nearly

sixty years of exile have led to a specific relation with their host societies, with a strong local integration linked to a rapid urbanization of the different host countries parallel to a strong segregation due to the socio-political and legal context.

2.3. The Specific Situation of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon

The geography of the Palestinians of Lebanon has been shaped by ruptures. A first geography of the exile comes out following the exodus of 1948 and with the stabilization of the Palestinian population in camps and informal gatherings in Lebanon. The second rupture was the Israeli invasion of 1982, which destroyed the main part of the Palestinian infrastructure and generated a large emigration movement both internal and international. The third rupture arose following the Oslo Agreements in 1993, which shifted the focus of the PLO to the Palestinian territories and led to the increasing marginalization of the refugees in the Diaspora.

The situation in the Palestinian territories is increasingly unstable and the situation in Lebanon is precarious due to the political confrontation between the current parliamentary majority and the opposition. Although the Palestinians are not strictly speaking part of the current political power play in Lebanon, the question of their settlement (*tawtīn*) as well as the presence of weapons in the camps is regularly evoked, thereby jeopardizing the difficult neutrality of the Palestinians. Moreover, the conflict in Lebanon has a strong regional dimension that tends *de facto* to implicate the Palestinians. Since 2003, some improvements--most of them very marginal--indicate the possibility of partial normalization of Palestinian--Lebanese relations, including for example the partial abolition of the employment ban on Palestinians in certain sectors. In December 2005 organizations of Palestinian civil society produced posters demanding the right to work, to own property, and for security in Lebanon, alongside the right of return, showing the evolution of some portions of the Palestinian civil

society in its relation to its host society. This context is one of uncertainty combined with a precarious and difficult economic situation, which drives many Palestinians to want to emigrate, even though the doors of western countries and the countries of the Gulf are often closed to Palestinian refugees.

2.4. Palestinian Urban Experience in Lebanon

In the Palestinian case, forced migration of individuals and families during war periods have been studied, whereas other forms of internal migrations or mobility have not been addressed as such by scholars. As mentioned by Rosemary Sayigh, living in a camp does not protect Palestinian refugees from being forced to move to escape violence, occupation, and so on. The camp cannot be considered only as a place of memory, continuity, and stability in exile, but also as a vulnerable place. Sayigh writes:

During the conflicts of the last thirty-five years, several camps have been completely razed, others severely damaged. Originally 15, the refugee camps today number 12. Some camps, for example Shateela, have been destroyed more than once. A survey carried out in 1988 found a total of 4,468 Palestinian families (around 25,334 individuals) scattered over eighty-seven locations. Of the surveyed families, 75.2% had been displaced more than once, 19.7% more than three times. A later study found that between 1972 and 1988, 90% of Palestinian refugees had been forced from their home at least once, two thirds had been forced twice, and 20% three or more times.¹¹

Instability and mobility are two major aspects of Palestinian life in Lebanon. These two features lead to a blurring of the distinction between camp and urban settlement. If we consider Palestinian itineraries over the long term (i.e. individual, familial and intergenerational itineraries), most of the refugees have experienced life both inside and

outside the camp. Daily mobility also crosses camp boundaries. Refugees can live in a camp and work or study outside the camp, or vice versa. Other practices, such as shopping, visiting family or friends, accessing services or assistance, often lead refugees to go in and out of the camps and to frequent other neighbourhoods.

The categories of *urban refugee* and *camp dweller* are often indexed to place of residence and not to short- or long-term spatial practices. Mobility is a key practice to take into consideration because it reveals the complementarities of different urban spaces, and the different kinds of relations they enter into. Refugee camps, even if they are segregated and marginalized, are part of the urban settings that host them.

To the spatial constraints on refugee camps one must add the legal restrictions concerning the refugees themselves. Lebanese legislation has been very strict regarding Palestinians since the arrival of the first refugees. This legislation has been modified according to the agreements, and the disagreements, between the PLO and successive Lebanese governments. It limits the access of the refugees to the labour market, to the education system, to international mobility, to the social and health system, and more recently to property ownership.¹² The legal status of the Palestinians has important implications for the socio-spatial organization of this community in Lebanon. The refugees tend to be confined to the informal sector or in the least profitable labor activities, which do not require a work permit. Furthermore, the departure of the PLO in 1982 deprived the refugees of jobs created by the strong presence of Palestinian political institutions in Lebanon. In a Lebanese economic context, which has been fragile since the end of the civil war, the Palestinians are marginalized on the strongly competitive Lebanese labor market, especially with the arrival of a substantial foreign labor force.¹³

3. Mar Elias, an Urban Refugee Camp in Beirut

3.1. Geographical Location

Mar Elias camp was created in 1952 by UNRWA, on an area of 5,400 square meters in the southwest part of the Beirut municipality. In 1958, according to UNRWA figures, the camp hosted 449 registered refugees and 612 in 2005.¹⁴ The camp was established adjacent to Mar Elias Greek Orthodox convent. Today, the camp is situated at the crossroads between Beirut's southern suburbs of Bir Hasan and Uza'i on the one hand and Ras Beirut and Cola intersection on the other (see Map 1). This central location facilitates circulation both for camp dwellers who can easily reach other neighbourhoods in Beirut and for people from outside the camp wishing to come to the camp, whether they are from Beirut or from other regions of Lebanon (especially the southern coastal region).

Map 1: Location of Mar Elias Refugee Camp



3.2. *A High Level of In- and Out-Migration*

This central location has played a key role in the development of the camp. First, it has contributed to the settlement of new migrant communities in the camp. Second, it has permitted the development of commercial activities relying mostly on customers living outside the camp whether they are Palestinians or not. Third, it has facilitated the mobility of Palestinian refugees, who can, for example, live in the camp and work outside or the other way round.

The events leading to the establishment of Mar Elias refugee camp are described by Jihane Sfeir as follows:

Following the massacre of Deir Yasin in Palestine, on April 9th, 1948, and following the creation of Israel on May 15th, 1948, a boat docks at the port of Beirut, in May of the same year, transporting refugees fleeing Palestine. The rescue teams of the government take care of these newcomers and notice during their landing, that most of these passengers come from Haifa and Jaffa and that all of them are Christians. They are transported to the Greek Orthodox convent of Mar Elias, where they are accommodated in the dependences of the convent and in the garden until the year 1952. The same year the Orthodox patriarchy decides to open a noviciate to the convent. The refugees are evacuated, but are resettled in a camp set up in the *horch* (wood) close to the convent.¹⁵

Due to a high level of international and internal emigration, only a few families that settled in the camp in 1952 are still there. They have been gradually replaced by Palestinians coming from other refugee camps like Tall al-Za^ʿtar northeast of Beirut, after its destruction in 1976, or Rashidiyyeh south of Tyre. Other refugees settled in Mar Elias in 1991 after having been internally displaced during the civil war. The high level of emigration from Mar Elias can be

explained by three factors. First, a large portion of the Palestinian refugees who came to Mar Elias Convent had Lebanese family through marriage. Their local integration was eased by the previous connection they had with their host society. Second, their urban origin facilitated their integration in the city, contrary to most of the refugees who came from a rural background¹⁶ and settled in other camps such as Shatila or Burj al-Barajneh in the Beirut urban area. Third, and this last point is related to the previous one, their education level led to higher levels of international emigration. A combination of related factors—urban origin, religious affiliation, and family networks—has generated important departure from the camp to other Beirut neighborhoods and abroad.

Parallel to this out-migration, the camp witnessed the arrival of Palestinian refugees from other parts of Lebanon, as well as the arrival of some Lebanese citizens and Syrian, Asian and African immigrants who settled there after the end of the civil war in the early 1990s. With the settlement of international migrants, the camp is playing a role in the city as a host area for newcomers, mainly poor immigrants. The camp has thus hosted different waves of refugees and immigrants, like other deprived areas of the southern and eastern suburbs of Beirut metropolitan area.¹⁷ This attraction of migrants in some specific urban areas is stressed by Karen Jacobsen¹⁸:

Like all urban migrants, asylum seekers are attracted to urban centres because economic resources and opportunities, including education for their children, are concentrated there, and in cities migrants can access the social networks and ethnic enclaves that support newcomers, and which initiate the process of integration.

These migratory dynamics are part of the urban dynamics. The camp plays a role of host space for different waves of migrants for different reasons. First, Palestinian do not have the right to work in Lebanon. Some of them decide to build a new floor on top of their house and rent it to migrants for \$100 to \$150 per month, which provides them with a supplementary

income. Second, because many Palestinian families have emigrated abroad or have changed their place of residence in Lebanon (when they have enough money many refugee families leave the camp to rent apartments in the city) some houses are free and are rented to other families. Third, prices in the refugee camps are lower than in other places, especially in Beirut where accommodation is expensive, so it attracts recent migrant workers (Sudanese, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, and others). Fourth, security forces rarely enter the camps, which makes undocumented migrants feel more secure in these areas. For a variety of reasons, a refugee camp such as Mar Elias, but also Shatila, or Fakhani--a vast Palestinian urban gathering--have become host places for new migrants.

Another sign of the relative integration of the camp in the city is the development of some commercial activities in Mar Elias since the end of the civil war in 1990. Most of the shopkeepers in the camp do not live in the refugee camp and were not born in Mar Elias. Some have lived there before, after having been displaced during the war. These refugees thus disconnect their residential location from their economic location. One of them is living in a village near Saida because renting a house there is less expensive, but working in Beirut gives him more opportunities to develop his business. Most of the shopkeepers interviewed decided to open shops there because rents were lower and the camp is well connected to other parts of Beirut. The majority of their customers are also not living in the camp, except for the groceries and fruit and vegetable shops, but come to the neighborhood because prices are lower.

4. The Urban Development of al-Buss Refugee Camp (Tyre)

In the Tyre region, the areas inhabited by Palestinians have not expanded in the past few years. This is mainly due to the relative demographic stagnation of the Palestinians living there. Though the rate of natural increase is positive, it has been offset by the rate of migration

since 1982, and emigration has further increased since the “War of the Camps” (1985-1987). The internal migrations in Lebanon, towards Saida and Beirut, as well as the international emigration, mainly towards Northern Europe, has limited the growth of the Palestinian population and has even led to its progressive decline.

4.1. An Area under Lebanese Control

The entry of people and goods to the al-Buss refugee camp is controlled by the Lebanese security forces and plays an important role in the degradation of the Palestinian housing situation. The measures enforced by the Lebanese army have been applied in a very strict way from the beginning of the 1990s until 2005. The camp still has only a single entry point that is controlled by the Lebanese army. Cars can be searched at will, and for a long time it was forbidden to bring any building materials into the camp without previous authorization. These authorizations were rarely given. These limitations prevented any maintenance or renovation of houses and made it impossible for young couples to settle down in the camp, because they could not build new houses. These restrictions on bringing building materials into the camp have recently been suspended, leading to some new construction appearing in the camp. Since spring 2005, al-Buss has witnessed a significant surge in building activity, with numerous families taking advantage of the suspension of restrictions to add higher floors to their houses, others to build new rooms. But these limitations may be imposed again at any time at the discretion of the Lebanese authorities. The control of the camp is manifested in space by the physical presence of the army at the entry of the camp, as well as by the closure of all secondary roads that connect the camp with its immediate spatial environment, leaving only a single entry point for cars.

Photo 1: A closed road in al-Buss Camp near Tyre– (Photo M. K. Dorai, 1999)

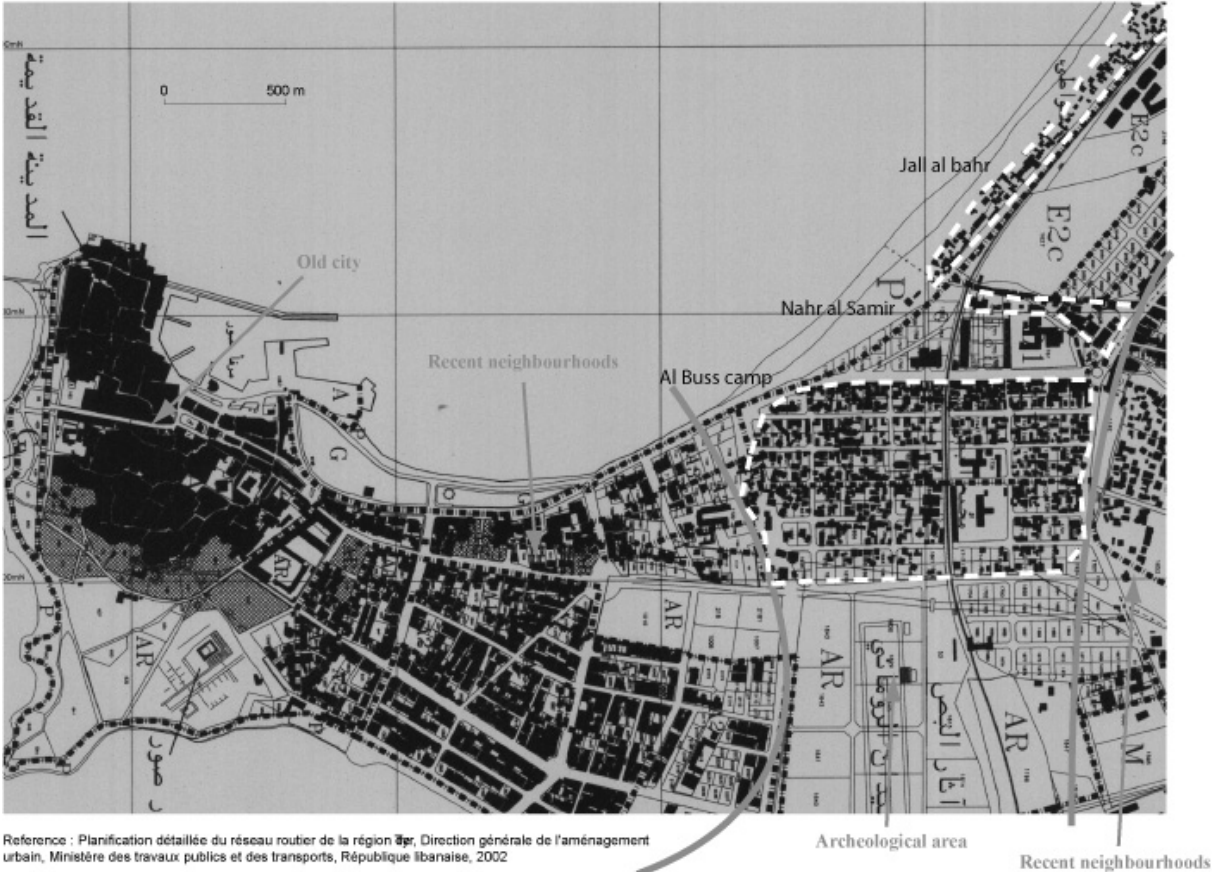


4.2. The Camp Today.

Al-Buss camp can be subdivided into two different spaces. The first subdivision is the area that developed around the former Armenian camp. In this part of the camp, building is dense. The further one moves from the perimeter of the camp, the less dense is the built space. The maximum density is found in the northeast part of the camp. This part of the camp is composed of terraced houses with two or three floors. Inside the camp, houses are more

spread out, and occasionally have a second floor, some of them also having a private garden. In this part of the camp, the streets are rather wide. The western part of the camp developed in an informal way. In the southwest part of the camp, construction is less dense. The streets that separate houses are narrow and tortuous. This extension hosts Palestinians from the village of Damūn, who specialized in cultivating orchards before their expulsion from Palestine. Some houses have one or two floors with an inner courtyard. The UNRWA schools are situated between the east and the west part of the camp and occupy a relatively large area.

Map 2: Palestinian Camps and Gatherings near Tyre



4.3. The Camp and the City: Local Forms of Integration.

Al-Buss camp has a particularity compared to the two other camps around Tyre, Rashidiyyeh and Burj al-Shamali, as well as to the other camps in Lebanon. It hosts two non-Palestinian spaces: a Lebanese public hospital and a Maronite church. These two spaces are in fact Lebanese Armenian and Christian legacies. The first hospital in Tyre was built by the Armenians of al-Buss, and the church was built on a plot belonging to the Maronite church. This camp spatially embodies the interweaving of communities, Palestinians and Lebanese on the one hand, Muslims and Christians on the other.

The northern limit of al-Buss camp is more densely built than the other parts. The northern road leads towards the city centre, while the eastern one leads southwards. It is a zone of intense traffic on which converge travellers' influxes. The al-Buss roundabout (Duwwar al-Buss), which is situated at the intersection of these two roads, is a bus station where buses and collective taxis gather, picking up passengers going to Saida, Beirut, or to other parts of south Lebanon. This area has also become a busy commercial zone, where there are various types of grocers' shops and craftsmen. Since the "War of the Camps," the commercial zone has been occupied by both Palestinians and Lebanese. Most of the customers frequenting this commercial space are not from the camp. Most of them come from small villages around the city, coming to Tyre for work, administrative reasons, or to seek healthcare, and they stop there to buy food and other goods. They choose this commercial space because it is cheaper and well connected to their villages due to its proximity to the bus terminal. Shops selling automotive spare parts and accessories sprang up there also, because the location is at the crossroads of the main roads in the region. Small cafés and fast food restaurants also cater to travellers. This means that the camp is not only a built-up area inserted in the urban space but it plays role in the socio-economic organization of the city.

Photo 2: A Palestinian shop at the border of al-Buss camp near Tyre – (Photo M. K. Dorai, 2003)



Photo 3: A shop at the border of al-Buss camp near Tyre (Photo M. K. Dorai, 2003)



Two factors can explain this relative dynamism. The first is that the camp and the informal gathering, although they constitute closed, spatially bounded areas, have become integrated to a certain extent into the urban development of Tyre. For example, it is becoming increasingly difficult to discern the western boundary of the camp. Many Lebanese Shi'ite families driven from the the Israeli-occupied southern border zone built an informal neighborhood next to the camp. The numerous businesses that have been established along the main road on the northern and eastern sides of the camp, developed both by Palestinians and by Lebanese, serve to integrate the outer fringe of the camp into the townscape. The second factor is that the economic, and especially commercial, dynamism of these spaces, which generate income, allows the Palestinians to improve their environment. Consequently, this environment tends to look increasingly like that of the poorer urban areas nearby. It is the geographical situation of the camp of al-Buss at the entrance of the city and at the crossroads of main roads that has facilitated this evolution.

5. Conclusion

Palestinian society, scattered since 1948, has concentrated in refugee camps in the Middle East that have become the symbol of this Diaspora. The Palestinian camps represent three aspects of Palestinian socio-spatial dynamics: relative stability and continuity, a place of “between-oneself”, and a point of contact with the host society. In this paper, I have tried to emphasize this last aspect. The concentration of Palestinians in camps and gatherings has facilitated the permanence of village and family solidarity. The refugee camps have a real effectiveness in the organization and the development of Palestinian social networks in exile. But they are also spaces of conflict with the host societies, which, while targeting the refugee camps, try to destabilize Palestinian society as a whole (recall, for example, Black September in Jordan, Sabra and Shatila, the “War of the Camps”, and the siege of Nahr al-Barid in

Lebanon). Far from being only spaces of memory, the camps became the place of social change and the construction of a Palestinian society in exile, reinforcing its cohesion, but also rich in their multiple experiences in various locations.

"The city is never simply the spatial organization of the mosaic of territories: territories of second settlements upset sooner or later this organization, to produce more confused morals, composed of cultural hybrids themselves produced by successive migrant populations belonging to the same community or to different ones"¹⁹

The refugee camps and informal gatherings tend to evolve by becoming integrated into the economic activity and into their urban environment. Even if they are still marginalized and segregated areas Palestinian refugee camps are now part of the major cities in the Middle East. Economic activities, daily mobility, the presence of recent international migrants, and strong political and cultural significance for the Palestinian refugees, are the different elements that characterize the refugee camps today as urban settlements.

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² Mohamed Kamel Dorai, "Palestinian Emigration from Lebanon to Northern Europe: Refugees, Networks, and Transnational Practices", *Refuge* 21 (2003), pp.23-31.

³ Ishaq Y. Al-Qutub, "Refugee Camp Cities in the Middle East: A Challenge for Urban Development Policies," *International Sociology* 4 (1989), pp.91-108.

⁴ A special issue of the *Journal of Refugee Studies* was devoted to urban refugees in September 2006 (vol. 19, no. 3).

⁵ See for example, Michel Agier, "De Nouvelles Villes, les Camps de Réfugiés – Éléments d'Ethnologie Urbaine," *Annales de la Recherche Urbaine* 91 (2001), pp.129-136; Michel Agier, *Aux Bords du Monde, les Réfugiés*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002; Jennifer Hyndman, *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000; Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

⁶ *UNHCR Statistical Yearbook*, 2005, p.55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.55.

⁸ Naoko Obi and Jeff Crisp, *Evaluation of the Implementation of UNHCR's Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas*, UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, EPAU/2001/10.

⁹ Agier, *Aux Bords du Monde*.

¹⁰ Marion Fresia, "Des 'Réfugiés-Migrants': Les Parcours d'Exil des Réfugiés Mauritanien au Sénégal," UNHCR Research Paper No. 135 (2006).

¹¹ Rosemary Sayigh, "A House Is Not a Home: Insecurity of Habitat for Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon," *Forced Migration Review* (2004), p. 5, <http://www.fmreview.org/pdf/sayyigh.pdf>.

¹² Souheil Al-Natour, "The Legal Status of Palestinians in Lebanon," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 10 (1997), pp.360-377; Wadie Said, "The Obligations of Host Countries to Refugees under International Law: The Case of Lebanon," in N. Aruri, ed., *Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return*, London: Pluto Press, 2001, pp.123-151.

¹³ John Chalcraft, "Syrian Migrant Workers in Lebanon: The Limits of Transnational Integration, Communitarian Solidarity, and Popular Agency," *EUI Working Papers*, RSCAS n° 2006/26, (2006), <http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Publications/>; Ray Jureidini, "Migrant Workers

and Xenophobia in the Middle East,” *Identities, Conflict and Cohesion Programme*, Paper Number 2, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (2003).

¹⁴ For 2001 and 2003 UNRWA gives respectively the figures of 1,403 and 1,413 registered refugees. In 1995, UNRWA registered 635 refugees.

¹⁵ Jihane Sfeir-Khayat, "Du Provisoire au Permanent: les Débuts de l'Installation des Réfugiés au Liban, 1948-1951," *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (2001), <http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/mitejmes/>.

¹⁶ It is estimated that two-thirds of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are of rural origin. Walid Khalidi ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*, Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992.

¹⁷ See, for example, William Berthomière and Marie-Antoinette Hily, "Décrire les Migrations Internationales: les Expériences de la Co-Présence," *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 22 (2006), pp.67-82; Agnès Deboulet, "Ethiopiennes, Philippines et Soudanais: Voisinages Migrants et Confrontation aux Sociétés d'Accueil à Beyrouth," presentation at the Association Française de Sociologie, RT2, *Migrations et production de l'altérité*, 5 September 2006 (unpublished manuscript).

¹⁸ Karen Jacobsen, "Editorial Introduction: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas: A Livelihoods Perspective," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19 (2006), p.276.

¹⁹ Isaac Joseph, *La Ville sans Qualités*, Paris: Editions de l'Aube, 1998, p.93.