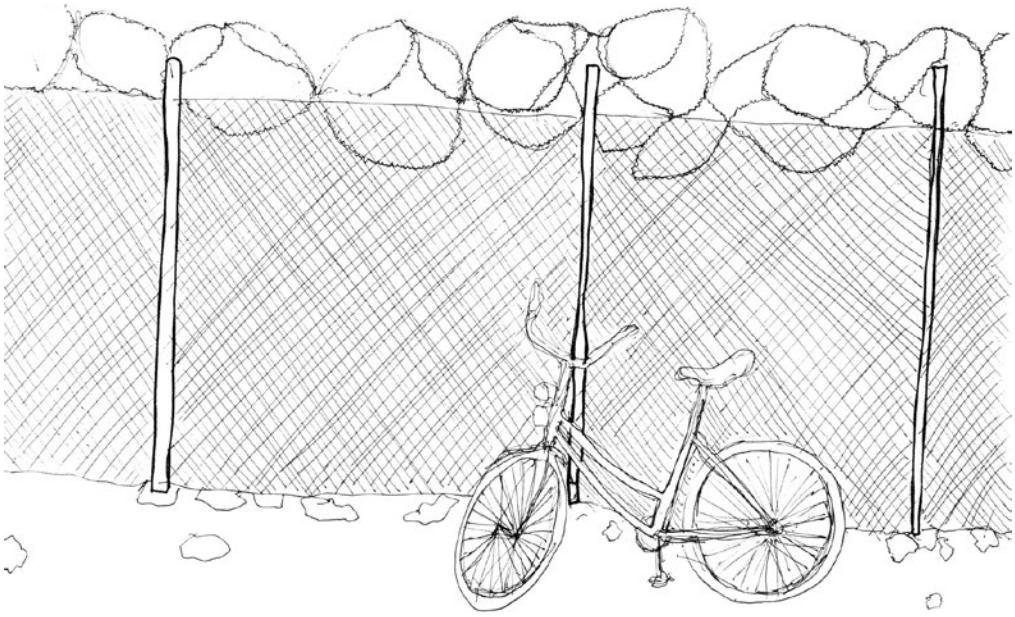

Figure 19.1 Za'atari refugee camp. © Mark E. Breeze, based on an image supplied by Diane Fellows.

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Social Media, Shelter and Resilience

Design in Za'atari Refugee Camp

Diane Fellows

If you search 'Syrian artists Za'atari' on the internet, you will find a photograph of Al Khidaiwi Al-Nabulsi in his casual cap alongside his fellow artists from Dara'a Province, southern Syria. In Za'atari refugee camp in northern Jordan, artists like Mr Al-Nabulsi paint and sculpt replicas of now-destroyed iconic monuments in the Syrian landscape: the ancient ruins of Palmyra, the ablution fountain of the Grand Mosque in Aleppo and the Deir ez-Zor pedestrian bridge over the Euphrates River, to name but a few. These clay and wood models are a remembrance of cultural spaces the artists want to 'never forget'. Among these objects of memory are also less grand historical designs such as paintings of familial village homes and courtyards filled with vegetable and flowering gardens, where family and friends chat and relax. These paintings portray a domestic calm, but they also present a future intentionally shaped by imagination, resilience and contestation. Syrian artists in Za'atari have painted cultural motifs on paper, canvas, metal caravan façades, flat metal fencing, on any surface that stands bare in the desert landscape. They paint to affirm their community's autonomy, as they are not in a refugee camp by inheritance or by choice, but to persevere.

Among the replicas of Syrian cultural monuments and traditional village housing are the pop-up books of Al Khidaiwi Al-Nabulsi. Mr Al-Nabulsi is best known for these paper sculptures, which he gifts to those who visit the Za'atari refugee camp. Al-Nabulsi's pop-up sculptures fold neatly into

a book and then unfold to reveal a United Nations-issued tent shelter, or a gable roofed house, or a sculpture reflecting war's effect on his homeland. Mr Al-Nabulsi (although everyone just calls him Nabulsi) will tell you his brother immigrated to Raleigh, North Carolina, years ago. Nabulsi, though, is unsure of the plan for himself, his wife, his daughter, his son-in-law and the growing number of grandchildren that live in a series of 11 m^2 (118 sq. ft.) temporary metal shelter caravans, in the Za'atari refugee camp. In 2019, this supposedly temporary condition is in its seventh year, and 78,000 fellow Syrians also call it their home, at that time.

How does one determine a shelter to be a home, while displaced? A basic definition of shelter could be noted as a built or found environment that protects its occupants from the outside elements. In response to the many refugees who fled the Syrian Civil War, temporary shelters were placed within newly constructed refugee camps in areas of the Levant. How could a temporary shelter, a safe haven for protection, transition to a permanent space of residence? Would one characterize a space sheltering the many events of one's life over time a home? A home infers a space that may be adapted to the changing needs of its inhabitants, where personal recollections of places and people are often marked by familial objects. These objects of memory, of desire or of need project our personal identity and our sense of belonging to a community of shared values, as certain objects within our home may represent those values.

Could a home also be defined within a geopolitical framework, through property ownership that depends on regional laws, or cultural laws established through lineage, or from the perspective of gender? Laws related to the permanence of property ownership also project identity, as they belong to societal processes or particular cultural practices. However, what if a home could be defined without any physical references at all, where objects are presented or creatively invented through media, through which one's personal identity is projected? A borderless condition, such as a virtual space, where individuals share their story, connect socially and support each other's psychological wellbeing instils a sense of belonging. Can a community engaged virtually by connecting across physical barriers feel more sheltered, protected and emboldened than if it maintained a built environment in a specific geographical place, especially under dire conditions? Does physical shelter in a particular place, inclusive of the right to land for sustenance, become irrelevant as one's contemporary life on the internet allows for mobility and exchange of goods? Or is the development and connection of these two distinct conditions of sheltering – physical space and virtual space – essential for displaced communities to construct their future agency?

These are the contemporaneous concerns relevant to the Za'atari refugee camp, as the Syrian community adapts temporary shelters meant for safety

to the more familiar experience of a home, while engaging the boundless space of the invisible walls of the internet.

Space-Making

Since 2011, the beginning of the Syrian Civil War, 630,000 Syrians have fled into Jordan, and since it opened in 2012, the Za'atari refugee camp has seen 450,000 people pass through its security gate. Those who fled the war and did not wish to live in a refugee camp surrounded by barbed wire made their way into neighbouring towns such as Al-Mafraq or moved towards Jordan's capital, Amman. By not staying in Za'atari, they gained a modicum of freedom, but with limited access to healthcare, education and employment. For those who stayed in Za'atari, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and over 300 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have supported rudimentary daily needs, educational activities for children and adults, and basic healthcare. In 2018, the ever-growing Za'atari population averaged eighty newborns per week (UNHCR 2018). The refugee camp is a 5.2 km^2 (2 sq. miles) sandy and rocky extent of desert ground with an infrastructure of streets and paths supported by four main north/south roads, an east/west axis at the centre of the site, and a paved perimeter ring road.

In 2012, when Za'atari opened, emergency tents were placed in the northwest quadrant. The tents were soon replaced by 11 m^2 (120 sq. ft.) prefabricated metal caravans intended to house a family of six. These caravans, organized in a linear pattern, resembled a mid twentieth-century suburban tract rather than the Syrian traditional pattern of familial housing around interior courtyards providing privacy and security. The caravan configurations formed blocks; sixteen blocks formed a single district, which consisted of 0.33 km^2 with approximately 6,500 residents. Managed by Jordan and the UNHCR, Za'atari was created with twelve districts, each with resident input for governance, often from the same families that oversaw governance in their home villages in Syria. The western part of Za'atari has become configured with caravans and private courtyard constructions; the further east one goes, towards the newer part of the site, the caravans lie in a linear pattern within the street grid, with noticeable open space between shelters. The orthogonal grid allows for efficiency: water is delivered to community area tanks and boreholes supply water to individual caravans. For electricity, Za'atari is connected to Jordan's national energy grid and has its own solar farm supplied by IKEA. The grid also allows for controlled security for the UNHCR and the host country, Jordan.

In 2013, along with the temporary caravans, community bathrooms and kitchens were constructed for expediency and cost-effectiveness. However,

at night, community bathrooms became a safety concern for women and children. Within a few months, the refugee residents dismantled the bathrooms and kitchens, picked the caravans off the desert floor and placed them to form family groupings. With discarded corrugated metal and old emergency tent fabric, families constructed additional rooms and private outdoor spaces, taking clearer control over their environment. However, there are other forms of community space, most significantly a bustling Market situated along the east/west axis. Named the Champs-Élysées by the NGOs and residents, men, women and families shop at the 3,000 refugee-owned ventures established over the past six years. The Market exchanges about U.S.$3 million a month in goods such as vegetables, cooked food items, baked goods, clothing, furniture, toys, cellphones and SIM cards. Much of the merchandise delivered to Za'atari comes from neighbouring towns and Amman.

Shelter and Social Media

In Za'atari, to arrive at one's caravan home is a temporary reprieve from the blowing desert sand, the relentless summer heat, the winter's snow and the impossible events one can sometimes see and hear just 13 km north in Syria. For Za'atari residents such as Nabulsi, home is a constant re-adaptation of space, materials and objects. In addition, home has moved beyond the boundaries of the official UNHCR shelter, the confines of a refugee camp surrounded by wire, the trenches and camp bureaucracy, and the constraints of power politics as evidenced by ever-changing territorial boundaries. In other words, social media anchors Nabulsi to a world larger than the camp and his memories of Dara'a, larger than the built treasures of Syrian culture he carves out of found material can contain. Nabulsi sends messages to his global Facebook friends. Most mornings, his voice lands on my iPhone with a photograph and greeting; I click 'translation' to decipher the Arabic. Often, the photograph explains the event and Nabulsi's mood. His voice lands in all the smartphones of all those to whom he has told his story to and gifted his sculpture books. Now, in his adapted caravan, he offers advice for how to 'live through this mess' and how 'art can keep us feeling alive, to get us through'. In this time of global political madness, I want to believe him.

While every example of displacement is unique, the twenty-first-century refugee camps such as Za'atari are globally visible. Social media enables those displaced to experience shelter at multiple scales: from temporary emergency shelters to the virtual public space of personal experiences shared in real time. In a world of increasing uncertainty, social media is a means to build a personal presence out of a feeling of overwhelming

anonymity: to share one's story and one's frustrations, and to network one's ambitions and hopes within a global community. Social media, a borderless space, offers emotional refuge and a personal address. Unprecedented in modern and contemporary refugee crises, conditions of displacement and refuge are observable in the moment.

Za'atari's internet presence can be experienced in a number of ways: UNHCR monthly reports that are posted online; visitors walking away with photographic and video recordings; bloggers keeping virtual diaries of their experience when working with the NGOs and residents; and, because many Za'atari resident adults have a smartphone, the Facebook pages of those living in the camp. In 2015, Facebook, Inc. with the UNHCR made Facebook freely available to the Za'atari residents so that families could connect from different global locations. Much of the social media activity occurs in the evening, when residents have more access to electricity and WiFi. During the day, teenage boys primarily are seen by the exterior fence of Za'atari's base camp where the onsite UNHCR and NGOs are headquartered. Crouching by their bicycles, siphoning UNHCR server signals, the boys browse for music, videos, games and retail, and check Facebook.

The Facebook platform enables Za'atari refugee residents to assert a global presence. However, social media is a complex space of engagement, incorporating the policies of governments influencing how refugees, migrants and immigrants are perceived and welcomed. A palpable tension exists between social media and the physical space of Za'atari, as the constraints of living in a refugee camp frames one's ability to act upon opportunities found on the internet.

In the Space of Engagement

Social media (primarily Skype) enabled the collaboration between my undergraduate architecture studios (MUHabitat, Miami University, Ohio) with Nabulsi and the other artists, designers and engineers residing in Za'atari during the spring of 2016 and 2017. The NGO International Relief and Development (IRD) and the UNHCR facilitated our collaboration; Laurie Balbo, a Miami University alumna working in Amman, introduced us to the multiple conditions of Za'atari in a November 2015 email. In January 2016, sixteen architecture undergraduates became Studio MUHabitat, and our conversation with the resident artists in Za'atari began. Generally, an architectural studio's academic focus may concern the process of design within theoretical, aesthetic and technological frameworks inclusive of environmental, economic and sociopolitical forces that shape people and place. However, the collaboration we embarked upon included many more concerns and unknowns than we could anticipate.

During our first Skype session, through translators, we introduced ourselves and the students simply asked the artists: 'What do you need?' The artists responded with the following list: a new market area in the camp to resemble the Al-Hamidiyah Souk in Damascus, to replace the converted caravan storefronts; separate spaces in the caravans so that husband and wives could also have privacy, as the lack of privacy caused innumerable tensions within families; chairs and tables; gardens and trees; transportation for women and those disabled, and children's playgrounds with educational equipment. Through our virtual apertures, the artists showed us a tabletop model of the Umayyad Mosque, saying: 'This is important to us, especially the children. They need to know.' For the American students, the desire to effect change grew exponentially, but, within the design work requested, we really did not know what 'change' might mean or, ultimately, what impact it would have. What sort of change besides the constructed physical ones could we understand to consider? The question of what architecture can actually do to effect change, such as political change, or what could we do collectively when working 6,000 miles apart in a global and local political landscape continuously in flux did not deter the students or the artists from considering what could be proposed in the moment and actualized.

Our collaboration resulted in 138 pages of design documentation of sun shelters, transportation, furniture and beds for the disabled. All elements were detailed using recycled materials found in Za'atari, from the demolished bathrooms and kitchens using various-sized structural metal posts and kitchen-counter marble to plastic bags and old emergency tents. We tested similar materials in the MUHabitat studio as we wanted to be sure that any habitable element could be constructed with ease on site. Students learned to weld in order to understand materiality and constructability. They proposed a hybrid of aesthetics based on our collective conversations presenting contemporary modern design with traditional components responding to the Syrian culture and desert climactic conditions. We emailed the work to the IRD facilitator Mais Abu Laila, and the artists held their own workshop to critique the designs and make revisions.

From the many designs we developed, it was the need for publicly accessible sun shelters for the Za'atari perimeter ring road that was chosen as a priority concern. This ring road encircles the camp boundary and also serves as its main bus route; the sun shelters were necessary because the elderly, the disabled, women and children had no respite from the desert climate as they walked to various destinations within the refugee camp or tried to catch the bus around its edge. Using a collaborative design process, local construction materials, skilled labour provided by refugee craftsmen and a small UNHCR grant generated by our IRD facilitator, our team succeeded in having fourteen sun shelters constructed in August 2016 that are now public spaces (Kissel 2016). The design adapted was less complex than

others and certainly did not need a whole design studio and our Za'atari counterparts to accomplish, but the shelters needed our collective connection, our visibility with each other, in order for the process to be realized. This may not be what one thinks about when imagining refugee shelter, but protection from the sun was clearly one of the most central priorities emerging from this particular process of design.

In Place

The virtual realm offers views into each other's worlds, although the lens is often narrowly pointed towards a specific view. Physically connecting, in the same geographical space, is therefore still key to any engagement. In November 2016, I travelled to the Za'atari refugee camp and was joined by Laurie Balbo. Facilitated by the IRD, we met Nabulsi and the other artists: Mohammad Almari, Ahmad Hariri, Mahmoud Hariri and Eyad Sabagh. Nabulsi gifted the MUHabitat studio two pop-books: a UN tent constructed from a tent that had burnt with catastrophic consequences, and a paper gable roofed house.

The IRD and the studio discussed connecting with women in our collaboration, but the men were our primary contact. It was difficult for the women to engage during our Skype conversation in the same space as the men, as they encountered cultural difficulties within their family to do so. When in Za'atari, Laurie Balbo and I conducted a design workshop with resident women engaged in the education of young girls in Za'atari. Back in Syria, the women were practicing nurses, engineers and teachers, as well as homemakers. For the workshop, the women created drawings and models recalling traditional and more contemporary homes in Dara'a and Damascus, and imagined ones shaped like moons and round sculptural forms. Noticeably, each drawing had a garden. We talked about life before the war and now in Za'atari. Yes, gardens were desired for practical reasons such as growing vegetables, but also for cultural reasons, to bring beauty to a life under pressure – to ease the heaviness of living in a refugee camp, in a relentless open desert.

Green spaces became an ongoing discussion with the IRD and the UNHCR throughout our collaboration. The increased population in Za'atari, and major cities such as Amman, has put an increasingly difficult load on most resources in Jordan, especially water. Za'atari refugee camp sits on one the largest aquifers in Jordan. As green spaces were highly desired, they were discussed in every community meeting. However, widespread green spaces had not been realized because the administration believed that facilitating a water reclamation system for irrigation would be too difficult.

During the 2017 spring semester of the MUHabitat design studio, the IRD changed management as well as staff. Since 2016, the IRD management had changed four times. While this did not alter our engagement, it did shift the emphasis of the exchange from the artists to the NGO. The studio missed our direct discussions with the artists and, while we chatted on Facebook, the effectiveness of our collaboration seemed in doubt. However, the IRD directed the focus of work towards playgrounds, sports facilities and themed community spaces. Based on our continued Facebook connections with the artists, and images of their shelters, the studio also decided to engage housing, as well as consider a more hypothetical urban plan. However, addressing immediate concerns, the students asked: 'What can one do now with existing caravans, what could the future of housing look like with best material practices, and how could we introduce a low-budget, low-maintenance water reclamation system?' Based on the refugee practice of relocating caravans into courtyard configurations, the students proposed the rearrangement of homes into similar safe familial communities and, in the interior, building flexible furniture doubling as storage and room dividers. The students also suggested a rainwater collection system for potable water, and grey water recycling for courtyard gardens.

In May 2017, I visit Za'atari for the second time, and this time my colleague J. Elliott and two former students, Joshua Gabbard and Madison Scheper, joined me. We left another substantive design packet with the UNHCR and the IRD, and, at the behest of the IRD, we conducted workshops with the artists and other residents to review the second design packet, as well as working with children (we brought a suitcase of LEGO that proved to be a tremendous teambuilding event among the children). We also met with the girls' soccer team to consider a proper football pitch with an addition of bathrooms and viewing stands.

When I saw Nabulsi during this visit, he greeted me with the same warmth I had come to know through our Skype sessions. This time, however, his smile noted a slight disapproval. He asked: 'What happened to your hair?' I gave him a sidelong glance, shrugged and said 'American style'; the cut was short, but too short for women according to Nabulsi. Through his half-hearted disapproval, Nabulsi insisted we come to his home for coffee and to see his newly built furniture and his new kitchen. Walking through the Za'atari Market, we glanced down side streets towards informal courtyard arrangements of one-storey caravans. Additions had been constructed from corrugated siding roughly attached with old tent material. A few caravans had more elaborate additions. One family constructed a gable wood roof placed on top of the caravan's metal flat roof. The gable roof is not an additional space; it is a distinct beacon, an address among the sea of caravan shelters.

Nabulsi at Home

In his caravan, Nabulsi, with design packet in hand, took one look, brushed the back of his hand across the pages and emphatically stated 'we have done some of this already', suggesting that he and his community are way ahead of any plans the studio had on paper. Accompanied by Loay Jalamdeh, an IRD staff member, Nabulsi then gave us a tour. He coughed a bit too much, blamed the cigarettes and told us he was still trying to quit. He proudly showed us the furniture he made from caravan floorboards; the kitchen he has culled together from recycled salvaged camp materials. In the kitchen addition to the main caravan, he pointed to the u-shaped shelving with sink and running water, and wryly said: 'You see, a modern kitchen.' The shelving was made from discarded weather resistant plywood, or marine board, and a two-burner counter-top stove was sitting on one side of the kitchen counter with dishes neatly stacked on the other. Nabulsi brought us to the main caravan space, to the large armoire and bed frame he and his son-in-law constructed from some of the original caravan floorboards with refurbished wood brought in from Al-Mafraq and the neighbouring towns. As he replaced his caravan floorboard with a concrete one, the retrofit caravan construction is not constructed as mandated by the Jordanian government. Shelter has to be temporary and not permanent, and concrete suggests permanence, but the UN and NGO administrative staffers do not interfere. After six years, repurposing materials to create a more habitable shelter occurs frequently, out of necessity.

Nabulsi came to Za'atari in 2013 and has made the UN-issued caravan a semblance of a place to settle in well, even if temporarily. When he showed us the armoire, he nodded assuredly. It is a beautiful piece of craftsmanship. With shelving, covered by decorative material, on either side, the armoire is separated from the main caravan by a makeshift wall. While Nabulsi's ability to repurpose materials to meet his family's needs is not so unique in Za'atari, many families, especially those headed by women, do not have the skillsets to create the sort of changes Nabulsi and his son-in-law can craft. Nabulsi told us he wants to return to his village and rebuild: to bring his grandson, born in the refugee camp, home to Syria. This guided our conversation over the next hour.

The IRD staffers, Zain Sultan and Mais Abdel Haleem, urged us to visit more caravans to better understand Za'atari. Nabulsi got on his motorized bicycle; we followed along through the sandy terrain of alley roads. The wind blew heat at our face; there was not a tree in sight. The four of us got into the NGO van and set out for the far eastern side of Za'atari, the newer area where rows of caravans still remain in a linear pattern. As we travelled along the perimeter ring road, we saw the fourteen bus shelters designed during our 2016 collaboration painted in different thematic motifs by the

Za'atari artists: abstract Islamic designs, landscapes and even an aquarium motif.

Shelter and Culture

In the eastern part of the Za'atari refugee camp, we visited a builder, whose enclosed plot of land, with caravan and adjoining kitchen, contained a good-size vegetable garden, a pigeon coop with a roof made of reclaimed timber and metal, and, in one corner of the garden, a chicken coop with four chickens milling about. We entered a two-room caravan, created by a divider from floorboards; two children had been born in Za'atari since the family's arrival. He offered us coffee in the front room. We sat on the UNHCR-issued mattresses that his wife covered with beautiful grey cloth and rested our legs on brown patterned rugs bought from the Market. The builder told us that he had just finished building a house for his family in Dara'a when the war began. One day, an aerial bomb blew the house apart. The next day, the family fled to the Jordanian border, crossed and found their way along with so many others of his community to Za'atari. It is difficult in the camp, he said. The UNHCR and NGOs have meetings with community members about family relationships, regarding the UNHCR and the host country's policy about domestic violence and corporeal punishment of children. These meetings, he said, embarrassed him. He felt his privacy was being attacked, and he was uncomfortable listening to personal issues from governmental social service officials. When disciplining his children, he told us: 'I don't understand, now, what I should do.' We sat quietly, drinking our coffee. The social construction of Za'atari is as profoundly complex as its infrastructure and shelter needs. Many social services assist families, women, children and men to navigate not just a new physical landscape, but also new dynamics of social and criminal laws exercised by the international governing organizations.

We next visited the caravan next door to the builder. A woman greeted us, offering each of us a coffee. Her adult son, who had a learning disability, shook our hands and nodded his welcome. She motioned to us to follow her to the kitchen area, an attached makeshift space of corrugated siding attached with old tent material and sewn paper. She showed us the water drip under her kitchen sink, and then hurriedly ushered us to the other side of the kitchen wall to the main caravan. We could smell the problem before we entered: rotting floorboards. We went back around to the kitchen area and attempted to crimp the kitchen hose to stop the water drip, while one of our team completed some paperwork to solve this plumbing problem through Za'atari administrative channels. The paper trail underscored the incredible bureaucracy that has to be involved just to fix a leaking water

hose causing the woman's caravan floor to rot away and become uninhabitable. The ability of neighbours to give mutual support, the very strength at the core of the Dara'a community, seemed not to be present. The IRD staffers and the UNHCR suggested that mutual community responsibility had broken down due to the war and prolonged exile. Families turn inward. Survival becomes foremost. Administratively, specific NGO organizations facilitate specific concerns, and paperwork ensues. I could not understand why a builder, and his neighbour, a single woman with a disabled son, with rotting floorboards due to a leaking water hose that could easily be fixed, weren't supported to assist each other. Frustrated, my colleagues and I noted that we came armed with the wrong tools. We came with a paper design packet; we should have come with plumbing gaskets and pliers.

Conclusion

For those residing in Za'atari, to take rudimentary shelters and adapt them to create liveable habitat is necessary. The majority of Za'atari people – 57 per cent in fact – are under eighteen. A generation will not know the Syria of their parents or grandparents such as Nabulsi. Building shelter constructs a future. The physical materials of this shelter are only one part of the process; social connections are in many ways just as important and the space of the internet empowers those who are displaced to construct how they wish to live.

Beginning in 2015, the internet became part of daily life in Za'atari. Due to these connections, a number of cultural traditions changed for those residing in Za'atari. Some experiences were culturally experienced for the first time, such as girls' playing football and celebrating their accomplishments through sports, while some traditions, separating women's and men's activities in the cramped quarters of Za'atari, upheld traditional cultural rules of decorum. The internet connected refugees to the world beyond Za'atari's boundaries. Through social connectivity, an emotional protective envelope was constructed within the tenuous conditions of the everyday, as the refugees' frustrations, desires and hopes became visibly palpable through internet exchanges. These global exchanges presented a powerful affirmation of the refugees resolve.

For a number of refugees, the return home to Syria is physically and politically difficult. Returning to a vastly transformed Syrian landscape, Syrians may find the internet's borderless and supportive social space not as accessible as it was in Za'atari. Because the internet's efficacy is contingent upon the governing politics of place, if monitored by governing entities, the internet may become less a means for free expression, yet a means to be easily situated at any moment within any geographical location.

What does the future hold for Nabulsi and his community, and all who are born in the Za'atari refugee camp that, in terms of population, is Jordan's fourth-largest area? Does a temporary way station, with embedded infrastructure, a Market, emergency shelters becoming habitats and global communication, develop into a permanent space? Perhaps. If the region found it economically advantageous to develop such a permanent condition, undoubtedly policies would be structured to support such a development. On the internet, Za'atari is often referred to as a city because of its infrastructure and services. The studio explored the following question: is Za'atari a city? An affirmative answer, without clarifying the implications for cultural identity within the region, employment opportunities beyond Za'atari's boundary and governance structures, would be troubling. Displaced, the Syrian people are constructing their lives. However, the Za'atari refugee camp is not the new norm for social engagement, habitation or community permanence; no refugee camp is.

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