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Refugees as City-Makers

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macy, the militarization of the planet, the financialization of land, the celebration of greed, among other forces that generate these displacements.

Neither is speaking of resilience a ticket for occluding social and economic deprivation. If we recognize the agency of individuals who against all odds are capable of intervening as active city-makers, we do so while cautioning against objectifying marginalized bodies or romanticizing their struggles. In other words, our documentation should not be perceived as the acceptance of the hardship experienced by refugees. Nor should it alleviate the responsibility of local and global communities in securing adequate livelihoods opportunities for individuals and groups subjected to violent displacements. This is particularly important in Lebanon's context as the vulnerability incurred by refugees is partially engineered by the legal framework that has criminalized the presence and work of refugees, leaving them pray to harsh discrimination and slimmer opportunities.¹⁴

Instead, we speak of agency and resilience, and advocate awareness of the roles played by refugees as city makers because we believe in the positive opportunities brought about by engaging individuals in imagining collectively alternative political possibilities that transcend the divides of national borders. If we recognize that cities, unlike nation-states, have the capability of fostering forms of belonging and being together that build on shared experiences, then claims for rights to the city can occur without formal recognition, but rather through actual practice and silent encroachment, potentially coalescing into transformative urban politics. It is within this spirit that we present this collection of essays, hoping they contribute to a different kind of *refugee talk*, premised on inclusion and on the prospects, rather than foreclosures, made possible despite dire circumstances.

¹ UNHCR, 2017, *VASYR 2017: Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon*, Beirut: UNHCR.

² Hyndman, J. 2012. "The Geopolitics of Migration and Mobility" *Geopolitics* 17(2): 243-255.

³ Bourbeau, P. 2013. "Resiliencism: Premises and Promises in Securitisation Research", *Resilience*, 1(1): 3-17.

⁴ Potvin, M. and Davis, D. 2017. "Resilience, Security, and Spaces of Migrant Refuge" in Bourbeau, P. *Handbook of Migration and Security*. Edgar Elgar Publishing, pp. 191-209.

⁵ Brun, C. and Fábos, A. 2015. "Making homes in limbo? A conceptual framework." *Refuge* 31(1): 5-17.

⁶ Chatty, D. 2016. "Refugee Voices: Exploring the Border Zones between States and State Bureaucracies," *Refuge* 32(1): 3-6.

⁷ Darling, J. 2017. "Forced Migration and the City: Irregularity, informality, and the politics of Presence," *Progress in Human Geography* 41(2): 178-198.

⁸ Dorai, M. 2010. "From Camp Dwellers to Urban Refugees? Urbanization and Marginalization of Refugee Camps in Lebanon", in: Khalidi, M. A. (ed) *Manifestations of Identity. The Lived Reality of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon*, Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies & Ifpo, pp. 75-92.

⁹ Simone, A. 2011. The Surfacing of Urban Life. *City* 15:3-4, 355-364.

¹⁰ Janmyr, M. and Mourad, L. "Modes of Ordering: Labelling, Classification and Categorization in Lebanon's Refugee Response", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, fex042, 8/1/2018, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fex042>

¹¹ Obeid, M. 2010. "Searching for the 'Ideal Face of the State' in a Lebanese Border Town" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16(2): 330-346.

¹² Chalcraft, J. 2009. *The Invisible Cage: Syrian Migrant Workers in Lebanon*. Stanford University Press.

¹³ Bayat, A. 2009. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle-East*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

¹⁴ Saghieh, N. 2015. "Manufacturing Vulnerability in Lebanon: Legal Policies and Efficient Tools of Discrimination" in *The Legal Agenda*, online at: <http://legal-agenda.com/en/article.php?id=690&folder=articles&lang=en>

Shifting individuals out of the refugee status

Another important aspect of the legal framework is the deliberate pressure it generates to shift Syrians in Lebanon outside of the official status of "refugees" and channel them instead to be recognized as "migrants", "students" or "workers" either as a condition to enter the country or as a condition to obtain legal residency.⁶ By preventing first UNHCR from registering refugees officially as of January 2015, the State of Lebanon fueled the category of "undocumented migrants" whose presence was no more officially recognized as "refugee". By cracking down on individuals labeled illegal with temporary arrests and harassment, it further increased the prohibitive costs of illegality while introducing later new channels of valid residency outside "refugeeness" such as by (a) securing a Lebanese sponsor to attest respon-

sibility of one's presence, (b) by officially renting or owning real-estate in Lebanon, or (c) by abiding by any of the pre-existing conditions for a residency in Lebanese law (e.g. student residency, husband and children of Lebanese women, official work permit). As a result, refugees who need to move around and/or reduce their vulnerability are enticed to shift their status outside the "refugee" category. They drop the status of refugee and instead secure sponsorship as the easiest means to obtain a residency, losing nonetheless the protections of the presence in the country.

This progressive division of Syrians in Lebanon in the categories of undocumented migrant, workers, migrants, and refugees carries potentially dangerous consequences for the future of these refugees and their ability to stay in Lebanon. Indeed, recent debates in Lebanon have spoken of "safe zones" and "deportations back to Syria". In this context, individuals stripped of a refugee label are prime possible victims.

السنة الأولى من الهجرة إلى لبنان، حيث كان السوريون يشكلون 10% من إجمالي السكان في بيروت. ومع ذلك، فإنهم يشكلون 25% من إجمالي السكان في المناطق المحيطة بالبيروت. هذا يعني أن الكثافة السكانية للسوريين في المناطق المحيطة بالبيروت أعلى بكثير من الكثافة السكانية في بيروت نفسها. هذا الوضع قد يؤدي إلى تدهور الخدمات الأساسية في هذه المناطق، مثل التعليم والصحة والسكن. كما قد يؤدي إلى زيادة التوترات الاجتماعية بين السوريين والسكان المحليين، خاصة في ظل الظروف الاقتصادية الصعبة التي يعيشها لبنان حالياً.

⁶ Jammy, M. and Mourad, L. "Modes of Ordering: Classification and Categorization in Lebanon's Refugee Response", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, txx042, 8/1/2018, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/txx042>
⁷ <http://general-security.gov.lb/ar/posts/33>
⁸ <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/71>

¹ This review is extensively based on the work of Legal Agenda. We are grateful to Ms. Ghida Frangieh for her patient explanations and review of this piece. For more, please check: Saghieh, N. and Frangieh, G. 2014. “The most important features of Lebanese policy towards the issue of Syrian refugees: From hiding its head in the sand to “soft power”, *The Legal Agenda*, December 2014 [published in English on Heinrich Boll Foundation’s website, translated from Arabic by Robin Moger, <https://goo.gl/2uZW0D>, last accessed on July 3, 2018], Saghieh, N. and Frangieh, G. 2018. “Regulating Entry and Residence Conditions for Syrians: A Legal Victory in Lebanon”, *The Legal Agenda*, 26/3/2018, available at: <https://goo.gl/Qrfqar> [last accessed on July 3, 2018]

² Saghieh, N. 2015. The Manufacture of Vulnerability (صناعة الهشاشة). <http://www.legal-agenda.com/article.php?id=992>, Last accessed on July 3, 2018.

³ Council of Ministers Minutes of Meeting, October 23, 2014 <http://www.pcm.gov.lb/arabic/subpg.aspx?pageid=6118>

⁴ World Food Programme, UN Children’s Fund, and UN High Commissioner for Refugees. “VASYR 2017: Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon.” ReliefWeb, December 15, 2017, <https://goo.gl/vTWmvr>, Last accessed on July 3, 2018.

⁵ See also February 2017 and March 2018 entries in the timeline. For details about the decision about minors: General Directorate of the General Security, *Regularization of status for Syrian and Palestinian nationals*, <http://www.general-security.gov.lb/ar/posts/36> Last accessed on July 3, 2018.

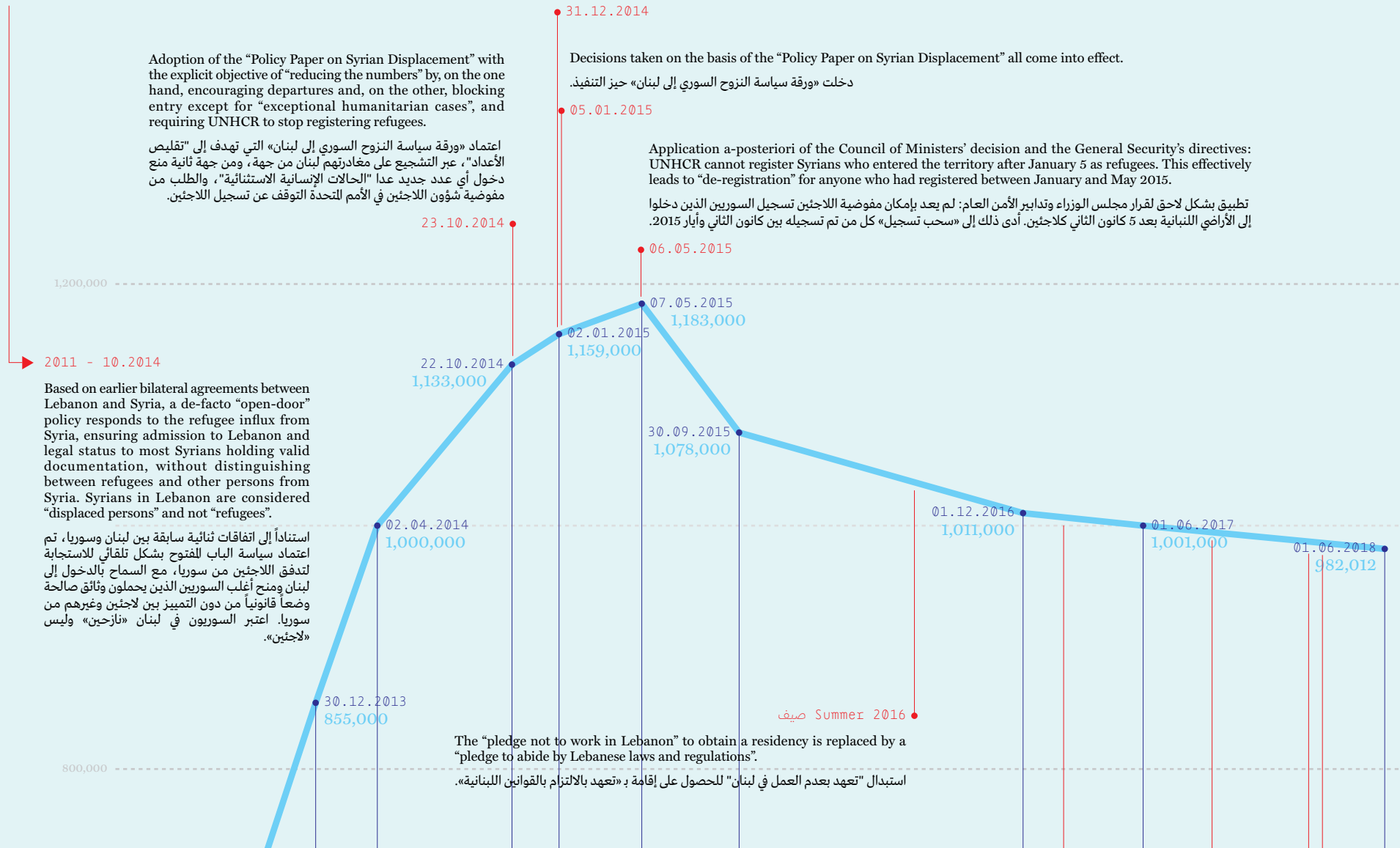
⁶ Janmyr, M. and Mourad, L. “Modes of Ordering: Labelling, Classification and Categorization in Lebanon’s Refugee Response”, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, fex042, 8/1/2018, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fex042>

⁷ <http://general-security.gov.lb/ar/posts/33>

⁸ <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/71>

Timeline

جدول زمني






While the graph above may insinuate that the number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon has decreased since the adoption of stricter measures by the Lebanese government, it only reflects the number of "officially registered" refugees, as UNHCR was authorized to list them by the Lebanese government as of January 2015. It is imperative to note that the drop in the curve reflects the growing number of unregistered refugees that resulted from changes in the regulatory and policy frameworks.

فيما يلمح الرسم البياني أعلاه إلى أنّ عدد اللاجئين السوريين في لبنان تراجع منذ اعتماد إجراءات أكثر صرامة، إلا أنّه يعكس فقط عدد اللاجئين «المسجلين رسمياً»، بما أنّه سمح لمفوضية اللاجئين في الأمم المتحدة بعرضها من قبل الحكومة اللبنانية منذ كانون الثاني 2015. من الضروري الملاحظة أنّ الانحدار في المنحنى يعكس الرقم المتزايد للاجئين غير المسجلين، وهو أمر نتج عن التغييرات في الأطر القانونية.


01 | Laborers

(22) Mona Harb + Ali Kassem + Watfa Najdi | Syrian-Owned Businesses in the City



(36) Elias Khoury | What is the Taste of Cement?



(41) Hashem Adnani  Interview with the Koon Theater Group



(47) Elizabeth Saleh | The City as Play



(50) Assaf Dahdah  The Experience of Labor Migration and Syrian Refugees' Strategies in Lebanon

(55) Hana Addam El-Ghali | A Shift in States

(55)  | 

(05)  | 

(47)  | 

(41)  | 

(36)  | 

(22)  +  +  | 

MONA HARB + ALI KASSEM + WATFA NAJDI
Syrian-Owned Businesses in the City
{Visualization by Ahmad Gharbieh + Monica Basbous}

The literature on Syrians and the labor market in Lebanon is dominated by reports that confirm their dire and precarious socio-economic conditions, and their limited livelihood resources. Half of the working age refugees are economically active, but have high unemployment levels—especially women. About 92 percent of economically active Syrians are mainly engaged in low skill work, informally, without contracts, in agriculture or personal and domestic services and, on a smaller scale, in construction.¹ A few reports mention that a number of “micro and small Syrian-owned business are opening” in some areas.² The prevailing perception is that these businesses are competition to the Lebanese (selling quality goods or services at lower than market prices) leading to violent reactions on the part of host communities and municipalities. In recent incidents, several municipal councils closed down shops operated by Syrians in their localities, accusing them of taking jobs away from the Lebanese, such as in Hadath.

These accusations are, however, not corroborated by any hard data.

For this study, we conducted in March and April 2017, twelve face-to-face interviews with Syrians who came to Beirut after the war and established small and medium businesses predominantly in Hamra, but also in Tariq el-Jdideh and Aramoun. The analysis of our findings allowed us to identify three categories of Syrian-owned businesses: the “struggling”, the “coping”, and the “comfortable”. We discuss them below before examining briefly how these businesses have impacted the city.

Our twelve respondents varied in age: we interviewed both young and middle-aged business people, including one woman. Most came from Damascus. Eight of the twelve lived outside of municipal Beirut. Five of them owned a car, while the others relied on public transportation or walking in their commutes. Most were working in the same business sector they were in while in Syria, except for three who had shifted tracks. All businesses had opened in the last three years (2014-2017). Enterprises were small- (eight employees and less) and medium-sized (ranging between eight and twenty), a couple had no employees, and only one was large (more than twenty employees). Most premises were rented, two were sub-contracted and one was owned. Three businesses mentioned they had debts. The shop’s targeted clientele included both Lebanese and Syrians. Some had an interior design that was elaborate, aiming for more sophisticated patrons, and others were low-key, projecting a service with modest price ranges. Few of the businessmen we talked with said they had expansion plans, while most were trying to cope. When asked about their relations to neighbors, none highlighted tensions or conflicts, and most agreed that it was either unproblematic or friendly.

The Syrian businessmen we talked with chose to be self-employed either because they needed to be “free” and “move whenever [they] needed to”, or because they already owned their businesses in Syria and it was the only option they could consider. Those who expressed the need to be “free to move” had their immediate family in Syria, and travelled there frequently.

22

ሲርያውያን ለቤታዊ የሥራ ገቢ ለማግኘት ያለበት ስብከት ጥንቃቄ የሚያስፈልግበት ሁኔታ ነው። የተከሰቱ ጉዳዮች ለሲርያውያን ጥሩ ጥቅም ላይ ስላልዋት ለውጤት ማግኘት ሲቻል ለወጪዎች ግብዓት ይፈጸማል።

የሲርያውያን የሥራ ገቢ ለማግኘት ያለበት ስብከት ጥንቃቄ የሚያስፈልግበት ሁኔታ ነው። የተከሰቱ ጉዳዮች ለሲርያውያን ጥሩ ጥቅም ላይ ስላልዋት ለውጤት ማግኘት ሲቻል ለወጪዎች ግብዓት ይፈጸማል።

በቤተሰብ አካባቢ ለሥራ ለመገኘት ሲችሉ ሲርያውያን ለሥራ ለማግኘት ያለበት ስብከት ጥንቃቄ የሚያስፈልግበት ሁኔታ ነው። የተከሰቱ ጉዳዮች ለሲርያውያን ጥሩ ጥቅም ላይ ስላልዋት ለውጤት ማግኘት ሲቻል ለወጪዎች ግብዓት ይፈጸማል።

The others had previous business experience and capital, which they brought with them. Many had access to Lebanese people “who knew stuff”, to bankers or to people at the General Security... who facilitated the establishment process of their enterprise. Some mentioned that these people became “partners in their business” but were reluctant to share more informa-

tion about the details of this partnership. The decision to establish a business in Beirut came after a few years of “waiting to see what will happen”. Thus, it was also a decision to remain in Lebanon, and invest, at least in the near future.

Based on the interviews, we categorized Syrian-owned small and medium businesses into three

The diagrams on the following pages are based on qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews with self-employed Syrian entrepreneurs (11 men and one woman) operating businesses after 2011 mainly in the Hamra area – one of West Beirut’s major commercial districts. The objective is to examine the profiles of these self-employed Syrians, as well as their experiences in running their business. The interview questions were organized in three broad categories: the entrepreneur’s trajectory and networks, the history of the business and its operations, and the relation to the neighborhood and the city as a whole.

In the first set of diagrams, different characteristics of the surveyed businesses are selected and arranged in a radial fashion, and each is given a measure that moves away from the center as it increases in favorability. In other words, the bigger the surface area of the drawn shape, the more positive the indicators. We can distinguish roughly profiles in three categories: struggling businesses (e.g. debt, risk of closure), coping businesses (e.g. relatively solid networks, good relation to the neighborhood), and successful businesses (e.g. financial prosperous, expansion plans for the business). When overlaid, the profiles can be compared across the different measures, distinguishing between common and exceptional attributes. For example, none of the interviewed entrepreneurs’ businesses caters to a high-end clientele, almost all mention carrying debts, and only one of them owns the shop in which the business operates.

Through a discourse analysis of the interviews, the second set of visualizations focuses on practices and experiences of Syrian entrepreneurs, unravelling the most cited challenges and concerns they faced (e.g. legality, access to information, insecurity, mobility). By charting the listed concerns according to the number of mentions, we are able to distinguish their relative severity. The diagrams also give examples of quotes (two per sub-category), providing readers with clear examples of the type of answers interviewers collected and how they were translated into categories/types of concerns.

The thematic categories are also arranged on a spectrum, which breaks down the mentions per interviewed entrepreneur and provides a rating of the themes. In addition, a chart that connects and traces relationships across the themes is developed, stressing on the fact that they do not operate separately from one another but rather form an interrelated lexicon of experiences and concerns.

تذكر الرسوم البيانية على الصفحات التالية على مقابلات نوعية شبه منظمة وعميقة مع سوريين يعملون أعمالهم الخاصة (أحد عشر رجلاً وامرأة واحدة). بدأوا بالعمل لحسابهم ما بعد عام 2011 خصوصاً في منطقة الحمرا؛ وهي واحدة من أهم المناطق التجارية في الجزء الغربي من بيروت. الهدف هو دراسة سيرة كل من هؤلاء السوريين المهنية وكذلك تجاربهم في إدارة أعمالهم. تم تقسيم أسئلة المقابلات وفق ثلاثة محاور عامة: مسار الشخص وشبكاته، تاريخ العمل وكل عملياته، والعلاقة مع الحي والمدينة ككل. في المجموعة الأولى من الرسوم البيانية تم اختيار ميزات مختلفة للمناجر المستهدفة وترتيبها بشكل دائري، وإعطاء كل منها قياساً يعتمد عن المركز كلما كان إيجابياً أو تفضيلاً. بعبارة أخرى، كلما كان سطح الرسم أكبر، كانت المؤشرات إيجابية. يمكننا تمييز ثلاثة أنواع من المتاجر: تلك المتغذرة (ديون)، خطر الإفلاس)، تلك الصامدة (شبكات متينة، علاقة جيدة مع المحيط)، تلك الناجحة (ازدهار مادي، خطط توسيع). حين يتم وضع هذه المتاجر بعضها مقابل بعض يمكن مقارنتها عبر القياسات المختلفة والتمييز بين الميزات المشتركة وتلك التي تخص كل واحد منها. على سبيل المثال، ليس لدى أي من المتاجر زبائن أغنياء وأغلبهم يرضون تحت ثقل الديون، وواحد منهم فقط يملك المتجر الذي يعمل فيه.

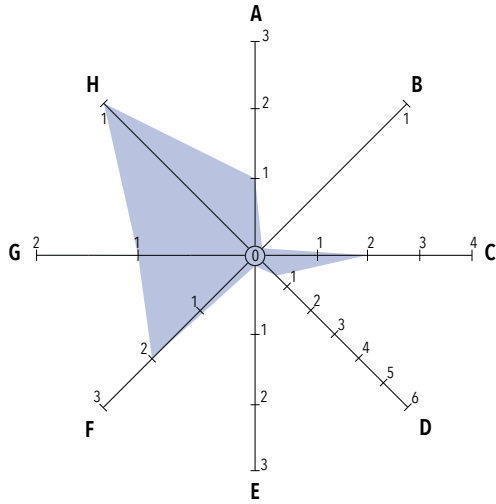
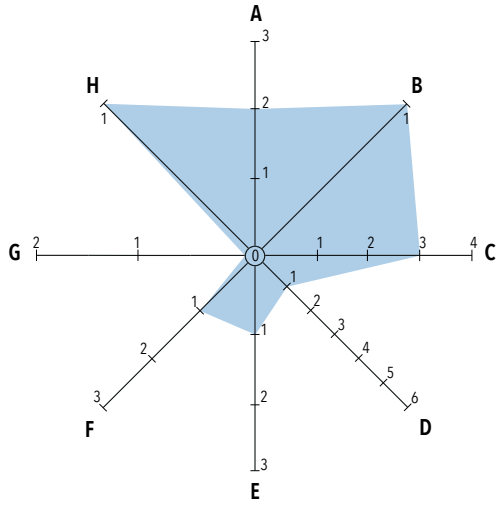
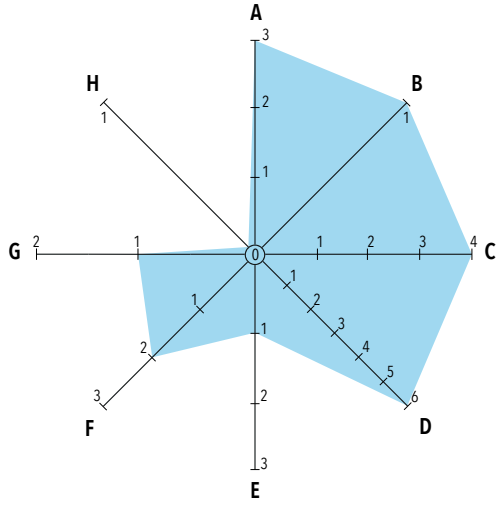
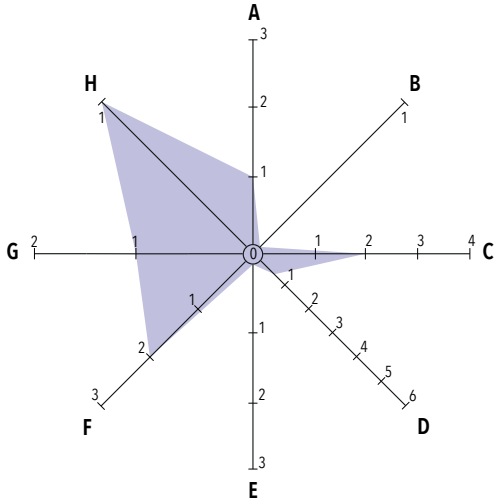
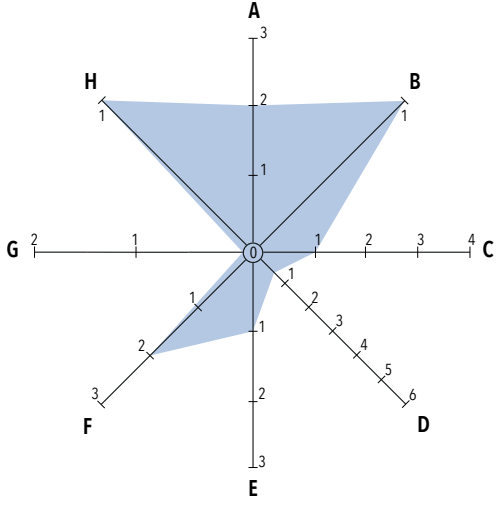
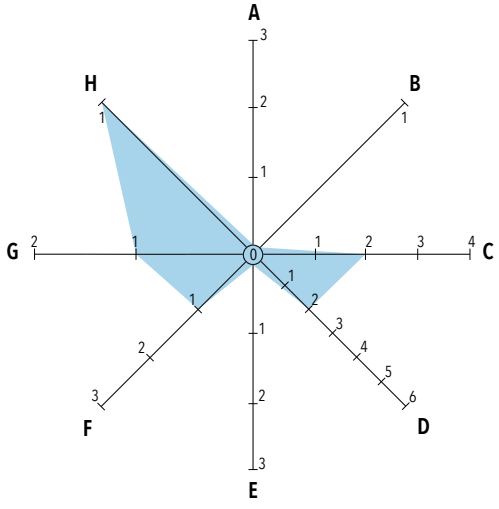
عبر تحليل مضمون المقابلات فإن الجزء الثاني من الرسوم يركز على ممارسات وتجارب أصحاب المتاجر هؤلاء، مع كشف أكثر التجديات والمخاوف التي واجهوها والتي تم ذكرها (قانونية العمل، الوصول إلى المعلومات، عدم الأمان، التحرك). عبر تسجيل المخاوف، وفق عدد المرات التي ذكرت فيها، يمكننا التفريق بين خطورتها النسبية. تعطي الرسوم البيانية أمثلة أيضاً عن الاقتباسات (اثنتان من كل فئة فرعية)، ما يمنح القارئ فكرة واضحة عن أنواع الإجابات التي جمعها من قام بالمقابلات وكيف تمت ترجمتها إلى فئات / مخاوف. يتم تنظيم كل نوع من الفئات (وهي ثيمات) على سلم ألوان يقسم الاقتباسات وفق كل صاحب متجر ويضع تقيماً لكل ثيمة من الثيمات. بالإضافة إلى ذلك يتم رسم جدول يوصل بين الثيمات ويرسم العلاقات غيرها، مع التركيز على حقيقة أنها لا تعمل الواحدة من دون الأخرى، إنما انطلاقاً من معجم مترابط من التجارب والمخاوف.

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وحالة واحدة تمكّن الحل. وصرّح ثلاثة من أصحاب هذه للتاجر أن مؤسساتهم تترجح تحت الدين. هذه التاجر استهدفت الزبائن اللبنانيين والسوريين. بعض هذه المؤسسات تتمتع بتصميم داخلي مدرّوس، إذ تستهدف زبائن أكثر طلباً، بينما مؤسسات أخرى من حالاتنا الـ 12 كانت مواضعة في هذا المجال، وتعرض خدمات بأسعار زهيدة. قلة من أصحاب التاجر الذين قابلناهم قالوا إنهم يملكون مشاريع لتطوير وتوسيع مؤسساتهم، بينما البقية اعتبروا أنهم يحاولون الصمود أمام الصعوبات. وعند سؤالهم حول علاقتهم مع جوارهم، لم ينشر أيّ منهم إلى توترات أو صراعات، ومعظمهم وصف العلاقة على أنها إما «غير إشكالية»، أو ودودة.

فقرّ السوريون من أصحاب التاجر الذين قابلناهم العمل لحسابهم الخاص، إما لأنهم يريدون أن يكونوا «أحراراً» وللغادرة حينما يحتاجون إلى ذلك، وإما لأنهم كانوا يملكون أصلاً أعمالهم الخاصة في سوريا، وبالتالي كان فتح أعمال خاصة بهم في لبنان خيارهم الوحيد. كانت عوائل الذين بَدروا خيارهم بحاجتهم إلى أن يكونوا «أحراراً» في التنقل واللغادرة، تعيش في سوريا، وكانوا يسافرون إلى سوريا بشكل دائم. أما الآخرون، فكانوا يملكون خبرة سابقة في مجالات عملهم ورأس مال جليوه معهم لفتح أعمال في لبنان. وكان لدى عدد كبير من أصحاب التاجر الذين قابلناهم قدرة على الوصول إلى اللبنانيين «يعرفون كيفية تسيير الأمور»، وإلى



A FUTURE PLANS

- 0- closure
- 1- undetermined/struggling
- 2- no mention of plans
- 3- expansion

B MENTION OF DEBTS

- 0- yes
- 1- no

C RELATIONSHIP TO NEIGHBORHOOD

- 0- tensions
- 1- uneasy
- 2- calm
- 3- good terms
- 4- engaged

D TIME SINCE OPENING

- 0- less than a year
- 1- 1 year
- 2- 1.5 years
- 3- 2 years
- 4- 2.5 years
- 5- 3 years and more

E SIZE OF BUSINESS

- 0- no employees
- 1- small <8
- 2- medium 8...<20
- 3- large >20

F OWNERSHIP

- 0- managed
- 1- subcontracted
- 2- rented
- 3- owned

G CLIENTELE'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS

- 0- lower class
- 1- middle class
- 2- upper class

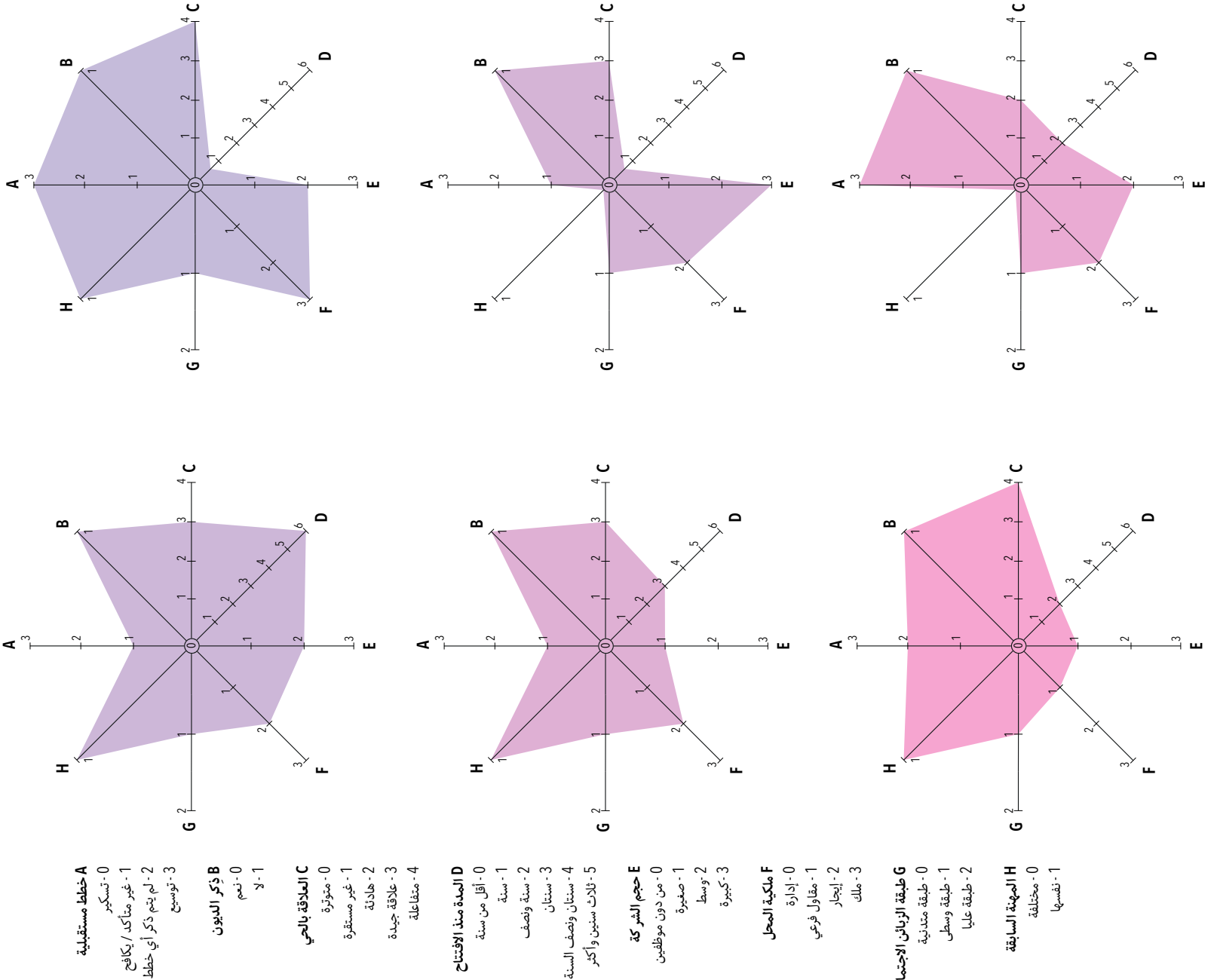
H PREVIOUS OCCUPATION

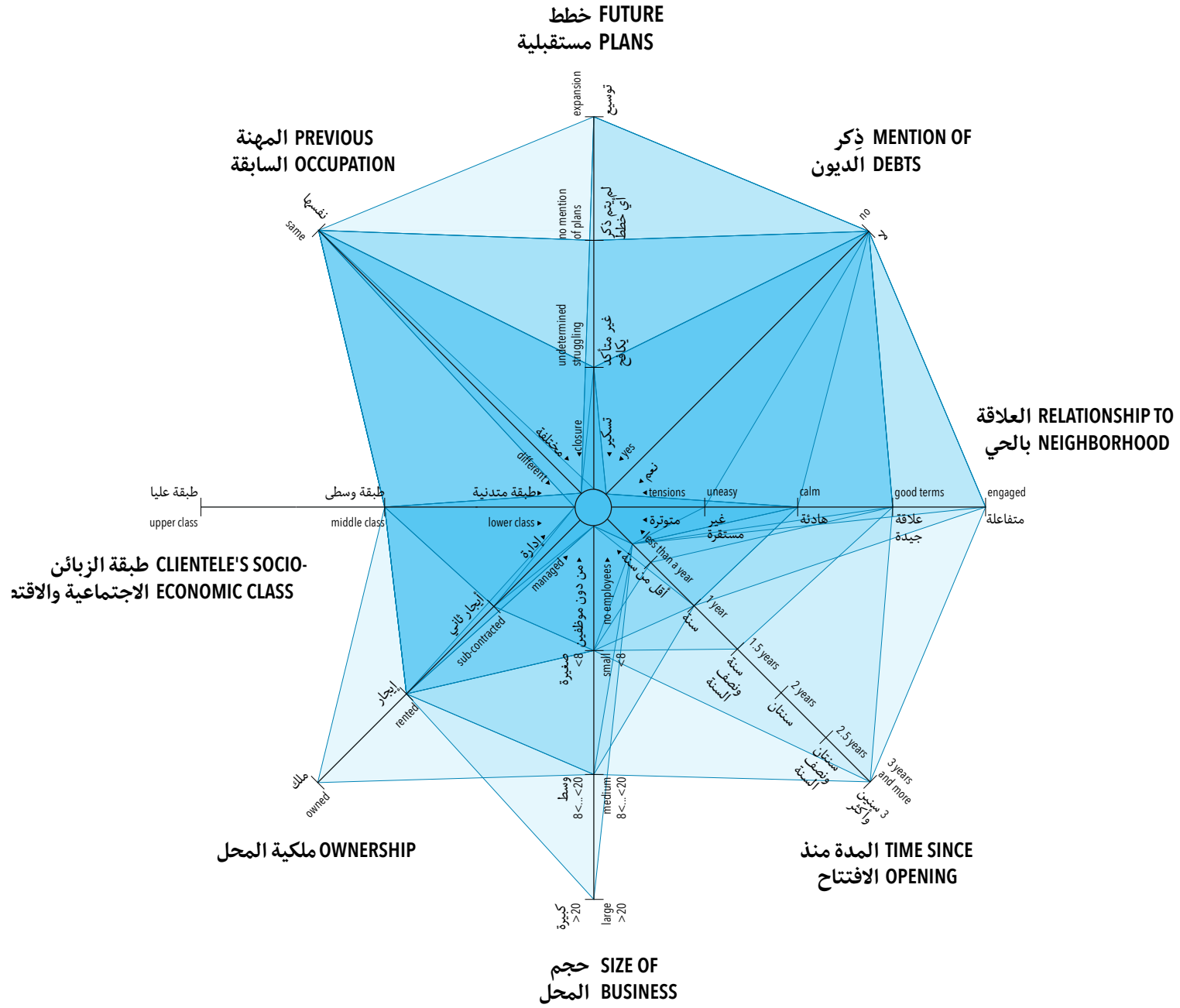
- 0- different
- 1- same

groups. We called the first *struggling businesses*, as it incorporates those who are fraught with emotional and/or material challenges. The second category is that of *coping businesses*, referring to those who have managed to set a business that functions rather well. The third category is that of *comfortable businesses*, indicating those who have a relatively prospering business and who are living rather affluently.

The struggling businesses include four out of our twelve interviewees: two bakers, a carpenter and a

sweets shop owner. All are hardly making enough money to cover their daily living expenses, all allude, or overtly state, being in debt and facing the risk of closure. All expressed feelings of nostalgia, remorse, or melancholy, and a strong desire to return to Syria. Asked about their larger experience in Lebanon, these respondents state that they don't socially engage with the "Lebanese", beyond the basic interaction related to business (e.g. buying supplies, keeping a good relation with the landlord). With mostly small shops with no





decoration and no employees, and often an Arabic name denoting a Syrian belonging, the targeted clientele of these interviewees was recurrently described as “whomever they could reach”.

The coping businesses comprise a restaurant owner, a café owner, a hairdresser in Hamra, and a clothing shop owner in Tariq al-Jdideh. All these interviewees are doing well financially. None of them referred to debts or to a risk of closure during the interviews. Rather, they all have employees, and are running their business with relative comfort. With few exceptions, they tend to employ Syrians. Some of them mentioned having Lebanese nationals in their networks. Their leisure activity mostly revolves around family and friends, and they seem to identify with the lower classes of Syrians in Lebanon. The restaurant owner, for example, is a regular client at a local café where Syrian workers—often those working in the construction sector in Ras Beirut, spend their evenings. Their shops are clean and modestly designed, with minor decoration. Their clientele varies greatly, with strong indicators that these business owners target Syrian clients through the selection of the shop name for example.

The comfortable businesses include a cell phone shop owner, a (female) coworking venue manager, the

owners of a coffee-shop—all in Hamra—and an owner of a furniture factory in Aramoun. All are clearly financially comfortable, and considering expansion, their defining features differing very little from those of successful Lebanese businesses. The furniture factory person also owns a restaurant in the Gulf, the cell-phone shop owner has acquired another smaller shop in the city, and the owner of the business venue is in the final phase of managing a second business center in Badaro. They all belong to an educated, self-described as “cosmopolitan”, urban upper class, which wears brand clothes and mixes English with Arabic when speaking. Comfortable businesses service a diverse clientele and dissociate themselves from other Syrians, thinking it may label their business, and thus make them lose potential clients. With well-decorated venues and obvious expenditure on design, their shops market themselves as trendy and non-Syrian specific, from employees to name. On a more personal level, this category of businesses enjoys consumer-based leisure activities as well as sports, with friends, in addition to family visits. Their social circles incorporate Lebanese nationals. All of them have cars and navigate the city with ease.

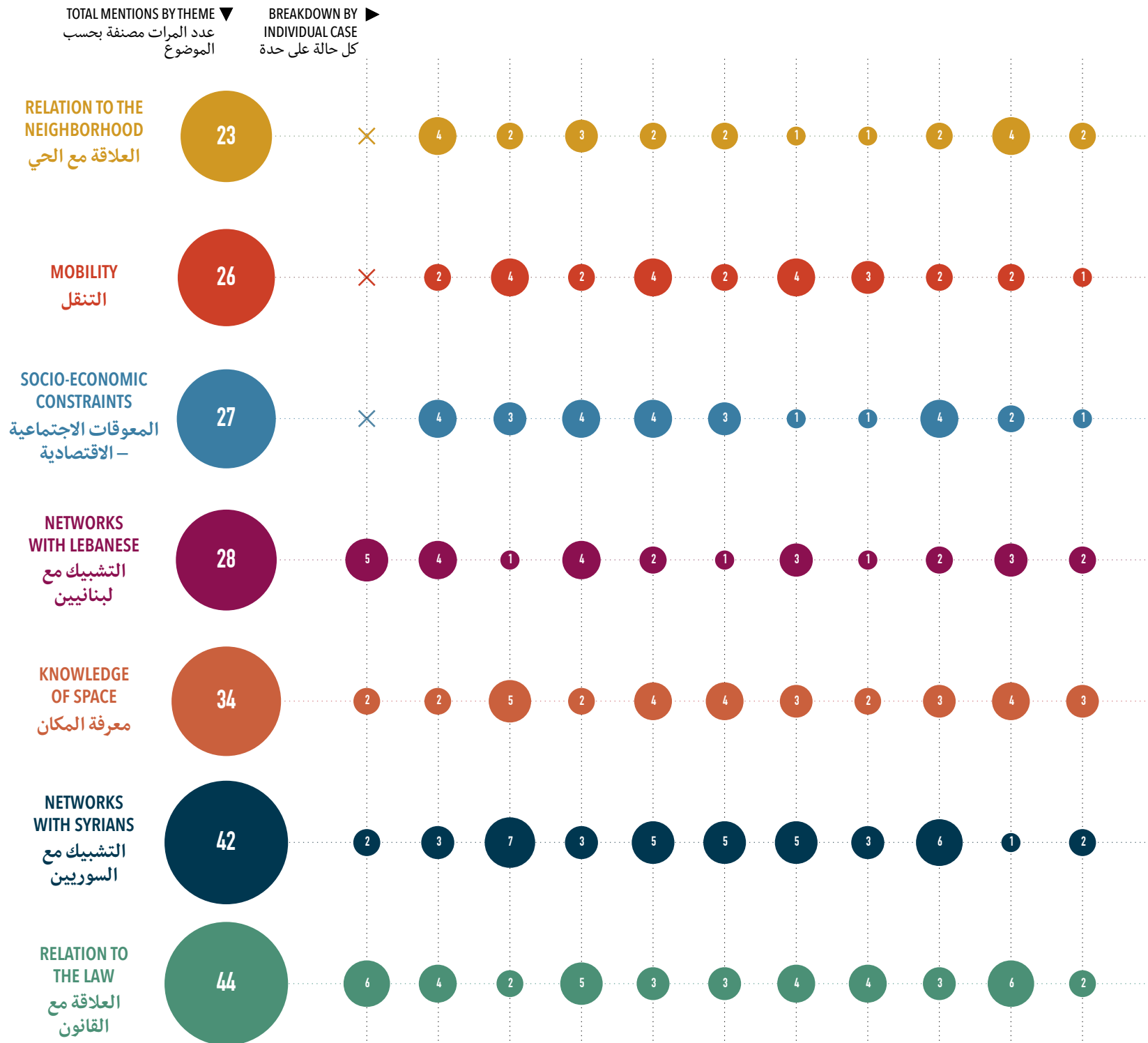
Our interviews do not provide us with sufficient information to extract findings regarding the contri-

المحملة للتجارة الإلكترونية في بيروت، كما أن العديد من أصحاب الأعمال الصغيرة في بيروت هم من السوريين، ولا سيما في المناطق المحيطة بالمدن القديمة. إنهم يفتخرون بمنتجاتهم التي تصنعها يدويًا، ويعتقدون أنها تتميز بالجودة العالية والقيمة المضافة. إنهم يهدفون إلى جذب عملائهم من خلال تقديم منتجاتهم بأسعار منخفضة، مما يجعلها خيارًا جذابًا للعملاء. إنهم يفتخرون أيضًا بمنتجاتهم التي تصنعها يدويًا، ويعتقدون أنها تتميز بالجودة العالية والقيمة المضافة. إنهم يهدفون إلى جذب عملائهم من خلال تقديم منتجاتهم بأسعار منخفضة، مما يجعلها خيارًا جذابًا للعملاء.

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أكثر المخاوف التي يتحدث عنها 12 سورياً يملكون متاجر وأعمالاً

12 SYRIAN BUSINESS OWNERS' MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED CONCERNS

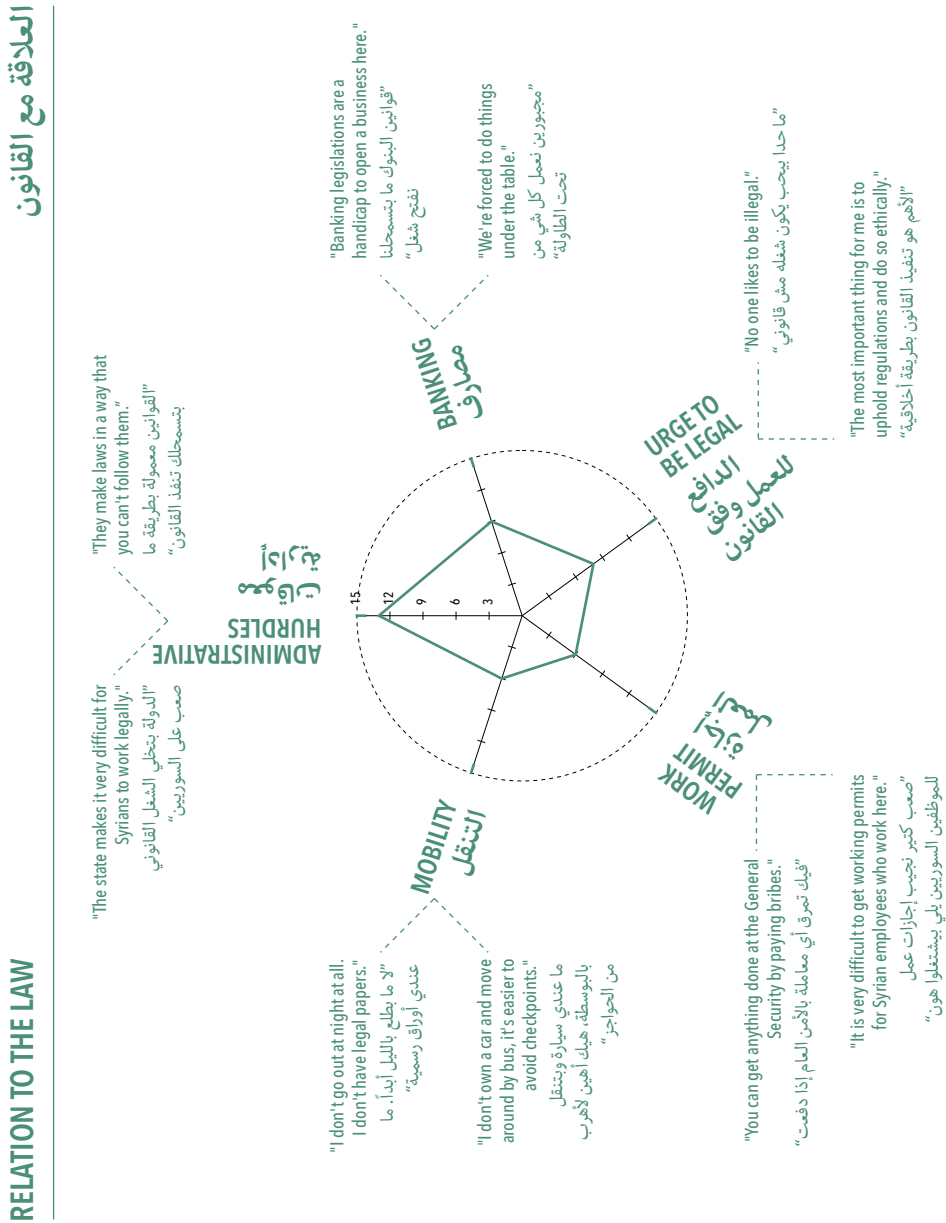


bution of Syrian-owned businesses to the economic life of Hamra or Tariq el-Jdideh. We can hypothesize, cautiously, that it is likely that Syrian-owned businesses are healthy competition as they are adding and/or complementing existing market offers in these commercial neighborhoods. Although they are perhaps selling quality goods or services at lower than market prices, one can posit that, soon enough, these prices

will be regulated and the market cycle will re-adjust. In Afif al-Tibi, we learned that Lebanese shop owners who used to acquire cheap and quality fabric from Damascus and who are now unable to do so, have shifted their import trajectory to Turkey, especially after the waving of visa regulations on Syrians and Lebanese. They thus seem to be working closely with Syrian businessmen to purchase Turkish fabric. Some

مخاوف متكررة: مواضيع فرعية وأمثلة

RECURRING CONCERNS: SUBTHEMES AND EXAMPLES

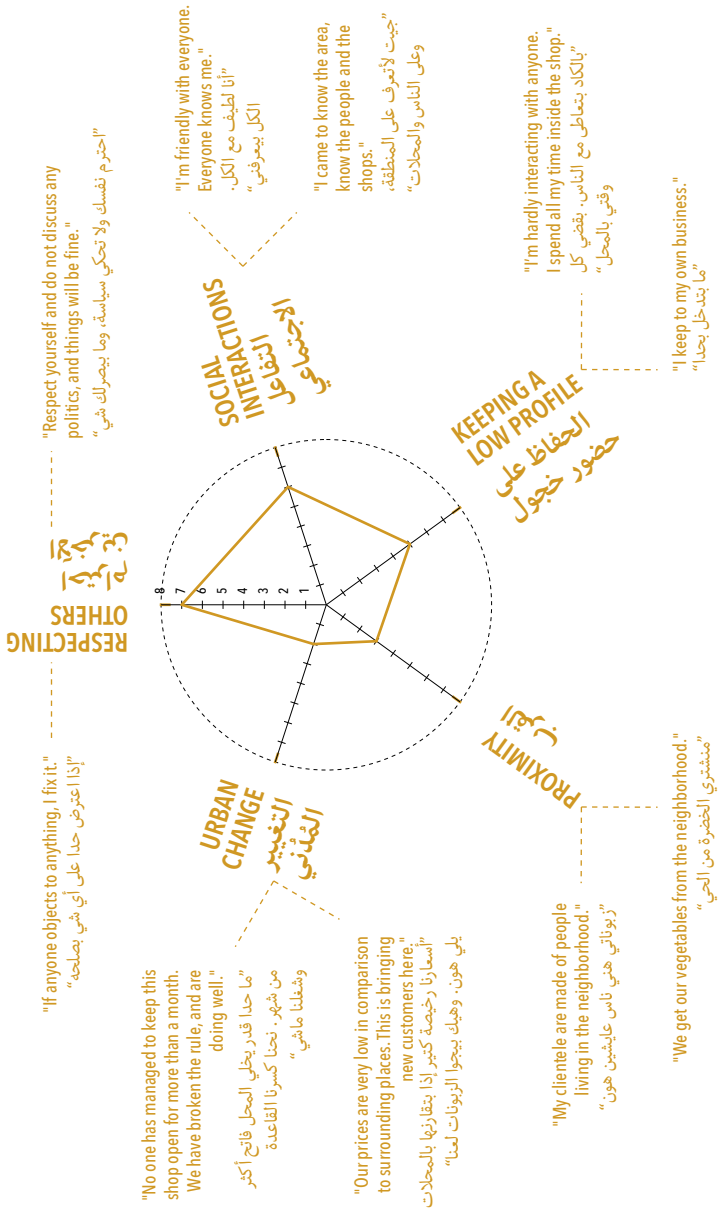


...مخاوف متكررة: مواضيع فرعية وأمثلة

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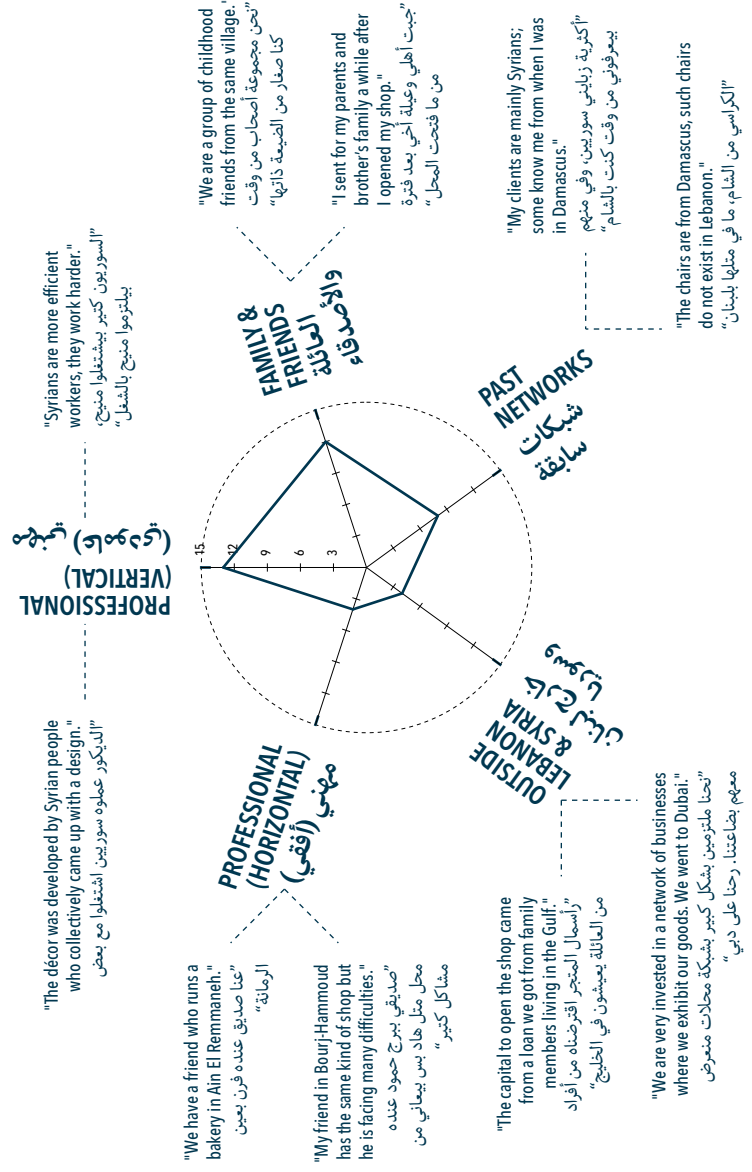
العلاقة مع الحي

RELATION TO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD



NETWORKS WITH SYRIANS

تشبيك مع سوريين



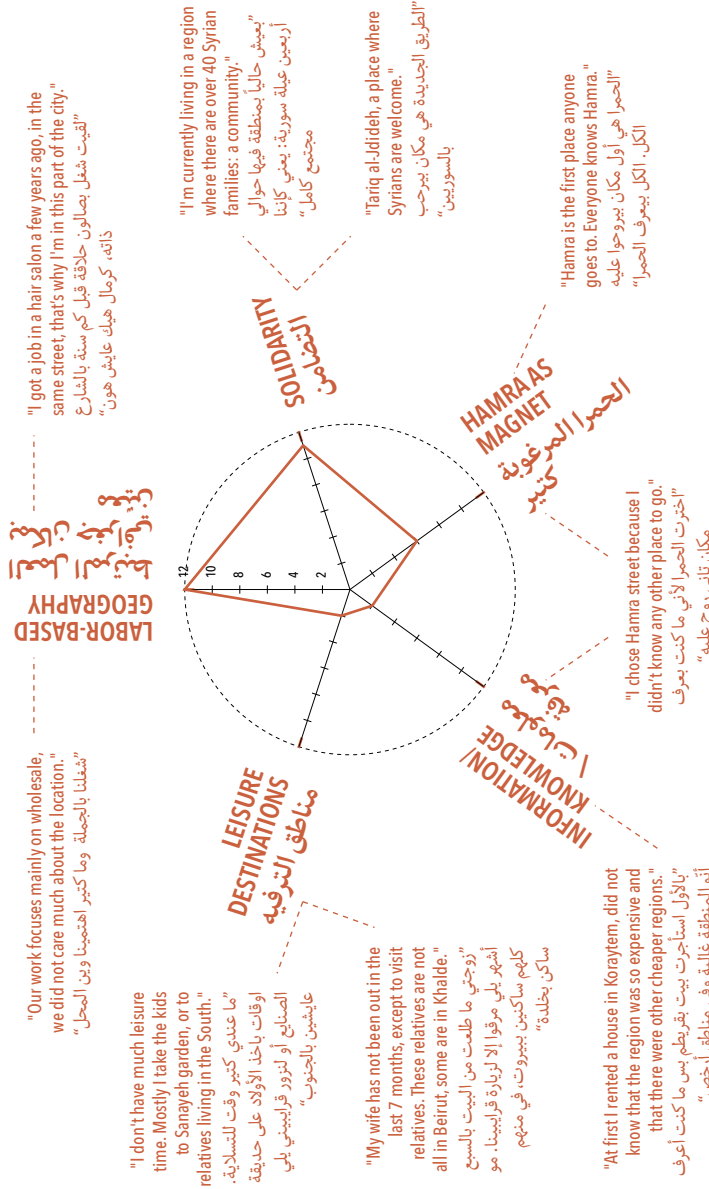
... ..

needs to take place to profile, in detail, the practices and constraints of these businesses, especially with regard to the relations and networks with Lebanese partners and stakeholders. Most interesting are the scale and type of these businesses, which is smaller than the large-scale capital investments that Syrian nationals have been historically making in Lebanon since the 1950s (e.g. in the restaurant sector with al-

Bouless family), and qualitatively different from the low-skilled Syrian labor that has been an integral part of the Lebanese informal economy since the Syrian occupation (e.g. Syrians working in the construction sector). These small and medium Syrian businessmen never came to Lebanon prior, as they probably did not need to. They are in Lebanon because they have been forcefully displaced by the horrors of the current war,

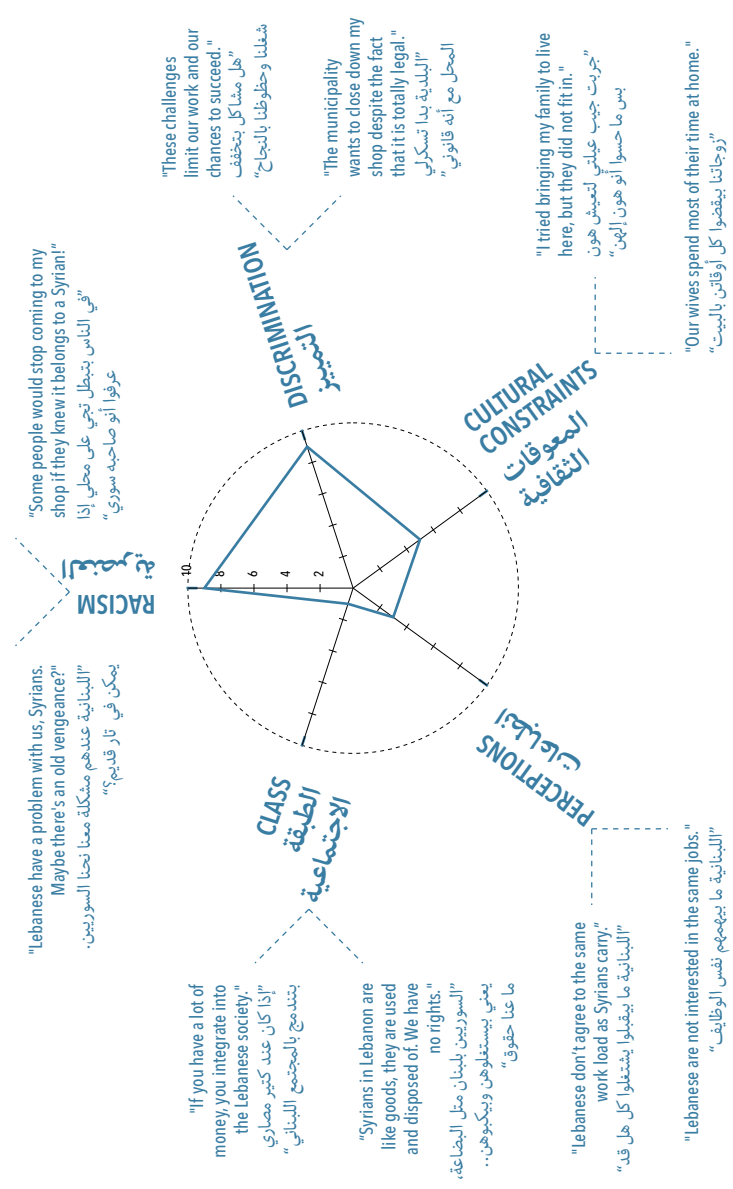
معرفة المكان

KNOWLEDGE OF SPACE



المعوقات الاجتماعية - الاقتصادية

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS



... (Arabic text describing the challenges and constraints mentioned in the chart)

... (Arabic text describing the socio-economic constraints mentioned in the chart)

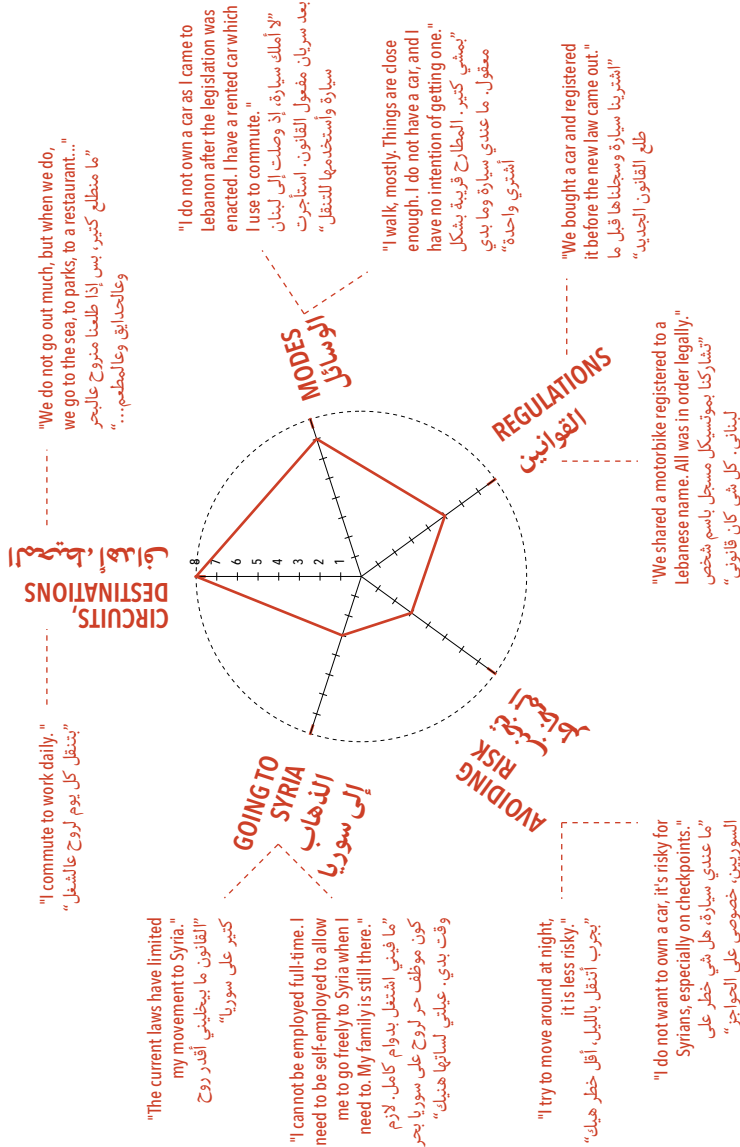
where they are using their know-how and experiences to recreate the lifestyles they had in Syria.

Our analysis further led us to extract four themes that shed light on the practices and experiences of all three categories of Syrian businesses. First, Syrian businessmen all shared the urge of being legal (*ni-zami*), amidst the difficulty of coping with unclear Lebanese regulations. Second, businesses with an

extensive social network—and hence more access to information, stood out. Businesses with no networks struggle, as they have little to no access to resources or to valuable information—such as our carpenter. The bakers managed to open their business thanks to a loan they received from family members living in the Gulf. The sweets shop owners opened their business after they saved enough money through work

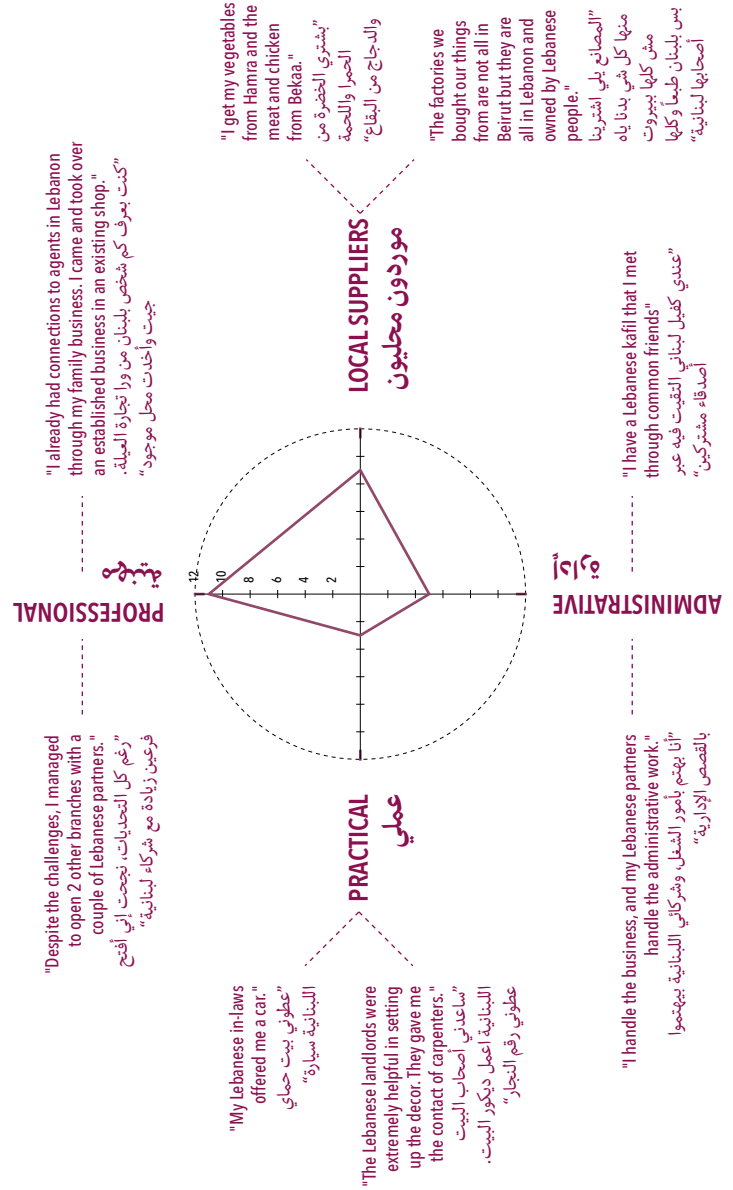
التنقل

MOBILITY

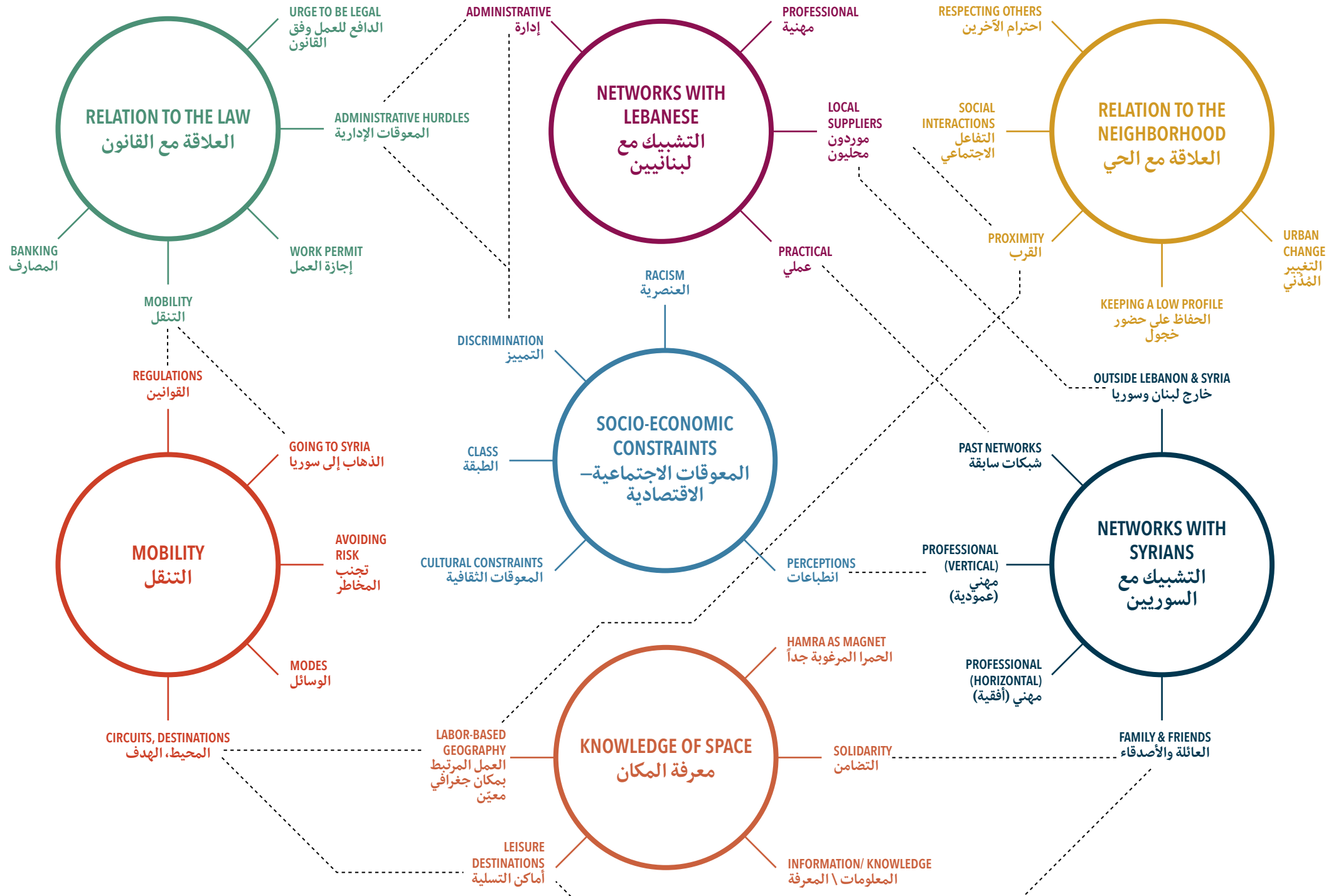


تشبيك مع اللبنانيين

NETWORKS WITH LEBANESE



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have established businesses in Lebanon in the past few years, we are thus able to better understand the diversity of their experiences: Syrian businesses are not a homogeneous lot—some are struggling, others are coping, and still others are comfortably performing. Our work suggests that their businesses are likely a positive contribution to urban life in the city, which gets enriched and diversified. While we do not have enough data to support this claim, this is a first hypothesis that invites further research on this issue, outside of Hamra, and municipal Beirut. Our work shows that Syrian-owned businesses are often closely associated to Lebanese, who partner with them, advise them, or work for them. Thus, there are more interconnectedness than one would have supposed, which needs to be further deciphered and investigated.

In closing, while the most-skilled Syrians who could have enriched and diversified its labor market have left, the Lebanese government is not interested in enabling less-skilled Syrians to integrate economically and contribute to local development, namely because of its deep-rooted fear of demography, sectarian power configurations, and geopolitics. Worse, the ambiguous policies of the Lebanese government vis-à-vis Syrians, especially in the labor sector, have largely detrimental effects on the stability it claims to harbor.

A longer version of this essay entitled “Entrepreneurial Refugees and the City: Brief Encounters in Beirut” was published in *The Journal of Refugee Studies* in February 2018. The findings of this essay were further developed in Watfa Najdi’s Masters in Urban Planning and Policy (MUPP) thesis entitled “Syrian-Owned Businesses and Impacts on the City: The Case of Beirut,” American University of Beirut, 2018.

¹ ILO (International Labor Organization). 2014. *Assessment of the Impact of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon and their Employment Profile*, Beirut: ILO, p.14.

² ILO. 2014. *Op. Cit.* p. 10.

¹ ILO (International Labor Organization) (2014). *Assessment of the Impact of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon and their Employment Profile*, Beirut: ILO.

² Ibid.

“Entrepreneurial Refugees and the City: Brief Encounters in Beirut” *Journal of Refugee Studies* في شباط 2018 وفي أيلول في *Journal of Refugee Studies* في بيروت في التنظيم الذي في الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت

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التي تترك مسحة لبقول من هذا الناحية

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لقطات من الفيلم، زياد كلثوم
Film stills, "The Taste of Cement", courtesy of Ziad Kalithoum



and the tank are the sole possessors of words. As for the workers, they are merely addendums. Their ascent to the heights of the building takes place in the iron cage of an elevator whose doors are bolted like the doors of a prison, and in the descent to a sleeping hole beneath the building, the workers turn into a band of prisoners, and between ascent and descent there are no words. The workers are afflicted with silence while the machines speak. As for the city, it is a forest of cement, appearing to the workers only through the iron bars they carry up to the roof of the building to construct the fence that will conceal them and constrict their movements.

This is the economy in so many words, pierced by three moments:

The accompanying sound that narrates, in the fewest possible words, the framework of the story as well as the photo gallery we see on the telephone screens of the workers, between their fingers scrolling through the images, and the banner hanging on the street, imposing a 7 o'clock curfew on all Syrian workers in Lebanon. Here, the image is taken over by the woman—the mother—drawn by one of the workers in his underground bedroom. We see her at three points during the movie, the only symbol of the possibilities of life/death within this vortex.

The film is neither about memory, nor about nostalgia. It is a protest film that has dropped the old tools of protest. It summarizes the relationship between the tank and the bulldozer that reconstructed Beirut as a city whose memory was stolen, in order to open up the question about how tanks and bulldozers got all mixed up in a city turned upside down by the camera, constructed by the pain of those who rebuilt it as they live under the wreckage of their cities, ploughed by tanks/bulldozers.

I read *A Taste of Cement* as a love letter. Love comes in levels and degrees, but its highest level is when it reaches the frontiers of identification. An all-encompassing identification that respects the other and doesn't appropriate his language, but searches for a parallel language to describe the pain created by the faces of the Syrian workers, faces whose suggestive features say everything that needs to be said.

In this sense, the film is louder than a cry of protest shouted out in the hole of the city. It is an image of our possibilities, those that the film protects from the distortions of the dominant language and hides away in our eyes.

በቅጥላ ወደ ፊርማ ማድረግ ይቻላል።

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የደህንነት ግዴታ ለመሙላት ለሚያስፈልጉት ግንዛቤ ማዕከላዊ ግንዛቤ ለማውጣት ይቻላል።

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As-tu bien dormi?



place, through asking a lot of questions and having few answers. For us, the group is a fixed point that unites us; no one here has the power to veto another artist from the group, and our space is always open to everyone without exception.

Why the group, and what are Koon's tools for collective action?

We're in the process of writing our bylaws, regulating our relationships, rights and duties. But in the meantime, until the proposal is ready, we work according to a flat or horizontal structure; everyone has equal rights and no one outranks anyone else. We reject hierarchical systems, and this is also our political position. We learn from our experiences, trying to build our organizing through testing. Artistically, we build our performances collaboratively, where everyone has a say in the research, everyone offers suggestions and feedback on how to build the work.

So far, Oussama Hilal and Reem Khattab, the two founding members of the group, have taken the initiative to rent the space and locate the funding necessary to create the ideal conditions for our work.

Do you think that some part of Syrian theater has found refuge in Beirut, Lebanon?

Because of the state's crackdown on all civic activity, theatrical or artistic, a large number of Syrian theater makers moved to Lebanon. There are some—very few—who have remained in the country, and others for whom Beirut was a pit-stop on the way to other countries. Those who left Lebanon had many reasons for doing so, chief among which is the difficulty of acquiring legal residency and work permits.

Additionally, a large section of the Syrian audience also moved to Lebanon; their presence is felt at any performance that is put on in Beirut, regardless of who is putting on the performance.

How has this group of theater makers been affected in general by the situation in Lebanon?

Lebanon is a diverse country in terms of people, and it's also a meeting point for different institutions supporting the arts movement that has arisen as a result of the war in Syria. This diversity and this environment have helped foster the creation of civic artistic partnerships that bring together different artists within a humanist and artistic framework, regardless of nationalities and backgrounds (political, religious, etc.). These conditions have also made independent spaces available, able to accommodate

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ፊልም ብድር ለማግኘት የሚጠይቅ ይኖርብዎታል።

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ገንዘብ ማግኘት የጊዜ ስጦታ ለማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል።

ገንዘብ ማግኘት የጊዜ ስጦታ ለማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል።

ፊልም ብድር ለማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል።

ገንዘብ ማግኘት የጊዜ ስጦታ ለማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል። ለምሳሌ ለገንዘብ ማግኘት ይኖርብዎታል።

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free activities that are not associated with any political affiliation. And so, our research could be more profound, and questions could come more freely. Openness to the other helped us to discover of new tools for artistic expression, particularly the availability of diverse workshops, panels for discussion and cultural activities.

How has this group of theater makers been affected by the state of theater in Lebanon?

Circumstances came together to provide a space for the exchange of experiences. The groups producing theater in Lebanon do so independently; they are active entities with their own artistic, social and political viewpoints and outlooks, and they see theater work as a social necessity. In Syria, independent artistic entities are almost non-existent. Also, Lebanese cultural actors have contact with the theater scene in Europe, and they are part of a rich cultural network that provides them access to international institutions and festivals.

In the absence of any support from the Lebanese Ministry of Culture for theater production in Lebanon, an independent and dynamic working structure has been able to thrive, one that is self-sufficient and one we can learn from. There is also, in contrast with Syria, space for the free expression of ideas and issues. All of these things have played a vital role in helping develop our theatrical and theoretical tools and created opportunities for networking, funding and production.

How has this experience in turn affected the Lebanese theater scene?

New artistic and theatrical partnerships were built between Lebanese and Syrians, and there are also new opportunities for funding and for meetings with cultural institutions. These partnerships and encounters have produced increased knowledge, due

to the fact that the arrival of people here brought a diversity of experiences, especially within the artistic community. Subsequently, there has been an increase in theater production in terms of the number of plays and performances, as well as an increase in job opportunities in the theater for Lebanese artists. The pooling of experiences has also expanded the scope of artistic research and questions about what is going on around us (politically, economically and ideologically).

The influx of Syrians also brought in a new approach toward theater making, because of the difference in artistic schools and expertise (Syrian theater makers have strong academic backgrounds in dramaturgy and playwriting as well as training for actors, dancers and musicians). This in turn helps break the stereotype of “the Lebanese racist” and “the Syrian refugee.”

How does Koon practice the city? Does this change from individual to individual or is there something general in common?

Our relationship to the city is very open, and we invite everyone to enter our space. We all have different jobs in addition to our work in the theater, both inside and outside the city, and we are all attached to the place where we live. And so, we work, we make theater, we are perpetually creating ties and networks between the world outside our studio and the one inside it.

The group’s tools evolve not just through the exchange that takes place between our individual members, but through inviting other artists living in Lebanon to come and train us. We welcome new expertise and new friendships, we create a shared cultural space for all. We also offer our studio space to other artists, amateurs and professionals, a place where they can rehearse either for free (if they don’t

የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።
የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።
የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።

የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።
የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።

የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።
የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።
የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።

(መንግስቱን ማግለግል ይቻላል።)
እኛ ግን ለሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።
የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።
የሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።

ግን ለሌሎች ግንባታ ስራዎችን ለማድረግ ይጠቀሙ።

hierarchies within the scrapyards and beyond are maintained. Young waste pickers work long and arduous hours sorting through the city's trash in search of scrap metal. Waste pickers push self-made carts put together with salvaged items that are fixed onto trolleys, bought from an enterprising Syrian welder (see image).

Waste pickers must hone their labour skills, for speculation and contingency are central to scrapyards livelihoods. Indeed, I am told an uncountable number

of times by workers in all of the scrapyards I visited that *sunf* (classification) is the most important occupational skill. This specialised “sorting labour” is not simply about recognizing the type of metal. Along with tools, such as magnets, the uses of sight, touch, sound and occasionally, smell, are the all-essential for estimating the weight and calculating an asking price. But most importantly, knowing when the time is prime to sell. Successful waste pickers could potentially be



إحدى العربات التي يستخدمها جامعو الخردة
One of the carts that the waste-pickers use

48

... ע'ם א'ם ג'ם ד'ם ה'ם ו'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם
... י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם
... י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם
... י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם

... ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם
... ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם
... ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם
... ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם י'ם ז'ם ח'ם ט'ם י'ם

promoted to the position of the *muallim's* assistant.

At times, the waste pickers turn their different types of work into games. Excursions out into the city are sometimes called *hamlat* (campaigns) and refer to when the young boys must go out, under the instructions of the *muallim*, in search of certain types of metal that are high in market demand. The game is to find as much as one can of that metal in demand. The winner will get the most money when he sells his finds onto their *muallim*. The young boys almost always travel in twos across the city. Each pair of waste pickers is called a *khat* (line) with a number. There can be more than one *khat* working in a certain area of Beirut. Yet those working in the same area must wait until the other *khat* returns. The champion *khatoot* (lines) are those who get to the garbage cans before the garbage truck arrives or just after restaurants and nightclubs dump all of their soda cans. Significantly, all *khatoot* are winners if they successfully avoid attention from the police.

Whereas these games are a type of play, they also reflect the boys' reality working in an informal recy-

cling market based economy as forced migrants. For example, that a *khat* is made up of two waste pickers has at least in part to do with their vulnerability to police stops along the way. One of the boys is usually pushing the cart while the other walks slightly behind. If the local police detain a waste picker in the front, then the lagging boy can try to save the cart and/or report back to the scrapyards. While carts are often displayed as a type of bounty at the front of police stations, young boys can sometimes be detained for days, if not weeks at a time. To obtain the release of a fellow waste picker or retrieve an apprehended cart can come at a huge financial cost for the scrapyards. At the same time, the *muallim* must often negotiate with local party officials for assistance in gaining political sway with the police.

While these games transform seriousness into fun, there is another dimension to the city as play linked to their exclusion from formal education. None of the waste pickers have sought entry into Lebanon's formal education or non-formal programmes set up by NGOs. Elders like the scrapyards *muallim*, told me that until the community can return to their homes in Syria, putting the boys to work is not only a necessity in terms of economic needs but also a means to train them to be focused and disciplined. Waste picking is seen to make men out of boys. Certain types of games, such as the *hamlah* and the *khat*, are encouraged by *ashira* elders because this combination of play and physical work, basic literacy and numeric proficiency could strengthen them for a highly unpredictable future.

¹ የኢትዮጵያ አስተዳደር ፎካል ኦፕሬሽን ሰራተኞች ገጽ 10

ገንዘብ በጣም ጥቅም ላይ ላይ ያልሆነ ሲሆን ለአገር ገንዘብ ማግኘት ጥሩ ምንጭ ሊሆን ይችላል። ግለሰቦች ለመኖራቸው ለሚያስፈልጋቸው ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ለሚችሉት ሁሉም አገልግሎቶች ላይ ግልጽ ግልጽ ማድረግ ይኖራቸዋል። ግለሰቦች ለሚያስፈልጋቸው ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ለሚችሉት ሁሉም አገልግሎቶች ላይ ግልጽ ግልጽ ማድረግ ይኖራቸዋል። ግለሰቦች ለሚያስፈልጋቸው ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ለሚችሉት ሁሉም አገልግሎቶች ላይ ግልጽ ግልጽ ማድረግ ይኖራቸዋል።

ASSAF DAHDAH

The Experience of Labor Migration and Syrian Refugees’ Strategies in Lebanon: The Example of Zgharta

Media and humanitarian organizations often depict displaced peoples as frightened individuals, lost on the roads of exodus, and living in the greatest deprivation. In contrast, the realities that characterize exile are more diverse and complex. This is because, first, people fleeing violence remain actors in their migration: they have experience and skills, and they develop strategies accordingly. This is second, because the majority of people leaving conflict zones move out of neighboring countries where family and/or professional networks may be previously established as a result of border divisions in the colonial context and migratory experiences in a market of regionalized labor. This is third, because socio-economic disparities, differences in skills, and gender inequalities among displaced people are likely to be magnified or canceled through migration.

A reductive vision of exile thus tends to forget these different nuances by focusing on the ongoing political and humanitarian crisis and by obscuring the history and geography of pre-conflict circulations. In addition to the disparities and inequalities mentioned above, this reductive vision fails to account for the important role that the experiences and skills of displaced persons play in determining their conditions of settlement in the arrival areas. In this text, I focus on exile through the challenges of the settlement process, taking into account earlier migratory experiences to show how labor migration can constitute in a conflict situation a resource that the displaced can mobilize. To do so, I use the example of Syrian refugees living and working in the Zgharta *caza* in North Lebanon, a group estimated at about 5,000 people for nearly 50,000 Lebanese residents.

The Syrians in Zgharta: From the migratory system to forced settlement

In line with the rest of Lebanon, Zgharta's economy depended historically and structurally on a Syrian workforce for its agriculture, construction, maintenance and restoration sectors. Prior to the conflict, this labor force was composed exclusively of men, typ-

50 Translated from French
የፈረንሳይኛ ለግድግ

ዋስ ሆኖ ግንባራ ተግባራት ለማድረግ በመቻላቸው በየክፍላቸው የሚሰጡትን አገልግሎት የሚገኝ ይህ ግብርና ተግባር ለሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል። ለዚህም ምሳሌ ለግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል።

በግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል። ለዚህም ምሳሌ ለግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል።

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ሆኖ ሆኖ ግንባራ ተግባራት ለማድረግ በመቻላቸው በየክፍላቸው የሚሰጡትን አገልግሎት የሚገኝ ይህ ግብርና ተግባር ለሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል። ለዚህም ምሳሌ ለግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል።

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በግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል። ለዚህም ምሳሌ ለግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል።

በግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል። ለዚህም ምሳሌ ለግብርና ተግባራት ለሚገኙ ሌሎችም ሊገለግል ይችላል።

مبنى زراعي تحول إلى بنى سكني
 (عطفال مدحج برنامج «لأحيى» التابع للوكالة الوطنية للأبحاث)
 Agricultural building converted into housing
 (Credit: Assaf Dandah - AMR Lajeh 2016)

presence of Syrian workers in Zgharta and was the bedrock of the system, disappeared because of their forced settlement. Furthermore, while the economic benefits of this system have not disappeared for Lebanese employers who now have an abundant and permanent workforce, the arrival and settlement of entire families has transformed the Lebanese residents' perception of Syrian migration. However, and despite growing racism and discretionary practices on the part of the authorities (e.g. curfews, arbitrary arrests, physical and symbolic violence), thousands of Syrians still reside in Zgharta on the basis of their familiarity with the region and of its residents.

Understanding settlement strategies through pre-conflict flows

During the 2016-2017 survey conducted as part of the Agence Nationale de la Recherche Lajeh research program, interviews with Syrian refugees in the Zgharta *caza* showed how pre-conflict work flows have been crucial to the development of their migration strategies in the context of this crisis, especially in relation to their ability to secure access to housing.

The hazardous dimension of displacement concerns in fact a small minority since only three out of thirty respondents answered that they had come to Lebanon for the first time. Among them, only one person said he did not know which direction to choose once he crossed the border and relied instead on a taxi driver who advised him to select Zgharta for his destination. The three outliers have in common being from the cities of Aleppo and Homs where they had satisfactory conditions of employment (e.g. taxi driver, civil servant). They consequently experience the modalities of their settlement in Zgharta (a small and precarious habitat, agricultural and construction work) as a social downgrade.

In contrast, all other respondents knew they were fleeing their homes and villages to Zgharta or the sur-



والتنوع في الخدمات التي تقدمها، حيث يوجد في المنطقة سوق يومي يبيع فيه المنتجات الزراعية، وهناك مجموعة من المطاعم التي تبيع الوجبات الجاهزة، بالإضافة إلى وجود عدد من العائلات التي انتقلت من القرى المحيطة بـ «الزايتون» إلى زغرتا، حيث يعيشون في مساكن بسيطة، ويعملون في الزراعة أو البناء.

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المسكنين في زغرتا، حيث يوجد عدد من العائلات التي انتقلت من القرى المحيطة بـ «الزايتون» إلى زغرتا، حيث يعيشون في مساكن بسيطة، ويعملون في الزراعة أو البناء.

of concrete under the tents, introducing decorations, satellite dishes, and a vegetable garden.

Conclusion

This brief presentation based on the example of Zgharta illustrates the need to account for pre-conflict labor migration in order to understand the settlement patterns and strategies of Syrian refugees in Lebanon. In the context of war in Syria, this system constitutes a resource for refugees who prove to be actors of their displacement despite economic, social, political, and statutory constraints.



مبنى قديم تستأجره عائلة سورية في زغرتا (مستأجر دحيح برنامج «اللاجئ» التابع للوكالة الوطنية للأبحاث)
An old building rented by a Syrian family in Zgharta (Credit: Assaf Dandah - AMR Lajeh 2016)

rightfully theirs, a right to education. The protracted Syria refugee crisis dictates the need to evolve from the mobilization of initial emergency relief initiatives to the development of longer-term strategies that yield sustainable solutions for both refugees and host communities.

¹ The following conventions include articles on the right to education: 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees; 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights; 1967 Protocol Relating to the UN Convention on the status of refugees; 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with disabilities.

² UNHCR, 2016. "Missing out: refugee education in crisis", accessed at: <http://www.unhcr.org/57d9d01d0.pdf#zoom=95>

The Story of a Young Syrian Graduate Seeking a Dream beyond the Crisis

As I waited in my seat on the plane, a young girl was showed to the seat next to me. She sat down and was asked to fasten her seatbelt. I noticed that she was struggling with the seatbelt, so I offered to help. She was very pleased, and we started talking. This young girl, a newly graduate of French Literature from Syria, was on her way to Qatar to land her first job. This sounded very exciting, and I started telling her what a great opportunity it is for someone like her with fluency and knowledge of the French language to be working in a rather Anglophone context such as Qatar, but she quickly explained to me that she was going to Qatar to work as a front desk clerk at a local hospital, where she is not required to use any of her French language skills. I then tried to find another silver lining in the storyline, and explained to her how she can still look for opportunities of teaching, for example, in Qatar once she settles down, and then leave her current job for another more rewarding one. Once again, she disagreed with me as apparently she is required to submit her passport to the employer upon arrival, and she will be deported if she seeks another job before serving for five years at the hospital. Finally, I thought, perhaps the pay may be rewarding, and when I asked her, she enthusiastically explained to me that she was getting paid \$800 USD per month, which anyone who knows the market just a little bit would know that beginning salaries for holders of Bachelor degrees in Qatar are not less than a couple thousand dollars. She explained to me how thrilled she was, particularly that back home in Syria, she used to spend \$25 per month, which was just about enough. She clearly looked very excited that this was her opportunity at fulfilling a dream of overcoming the national crisis and moving on with her life, although she no longer can see her family for the coming five years. Her family is now dispersed across the region, with her mother back in Syria, her brother, who holds an engineering degree, working as a chef in Turkey, and her sister who has migrated to Romania. I was quite surprised that her brother had completed his studies in engineering at a university in Syria and was working as a chef in Turkey, particularly knowing the numerous possibilities available for young educated Syrians seeking refuge in Turkey. So, she explained to me that her brother was unfortunately unable to receive a copy of his diploma upon graduation as the Syrian regime withholds degrees from young men in Syria in order for them to join the military service. Since he didn't want to join the military service in his country, he decided to forget about the degree, and just flee with his own life, typical of any other person known as a refugee.

UNHCR, 2016. "Missing out: refugee education in crisis", accessed at: <http://www.unhcr.org/57d9d01d0.pdf#zoom=95>

2006
UNHCR, 2016. "Missing out: refugee education in crisis", accessed at: <http://www.unhcr.org/57d9d01d0.pdf#zoom=95>

UNHCR, 2016. "Missing out: refugee education in crisis", accessed at: <http://www.unhcr.org/57d9d01d0.pdf#zoom=95>

02 | Navigators

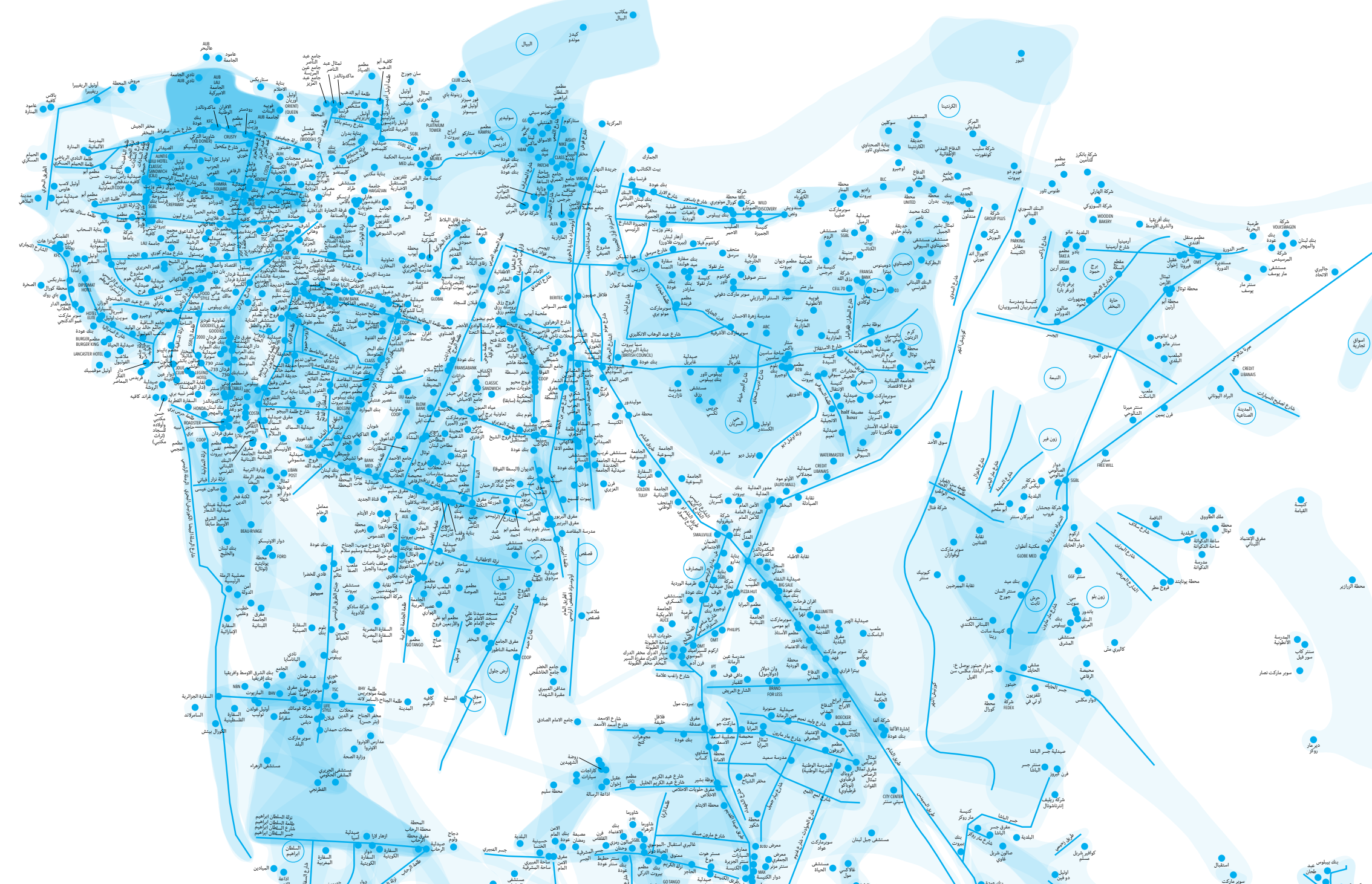
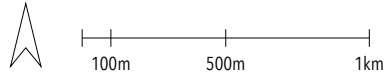
- (60) Mona Fawaz + Dounia Salamé + Isabela Serhan  Seeing the City as a Delivery Driver
- (82) Jana Traboulsi + Hashem Adnan | Banners in Dialogue
- (90) Richard Pelgrim  Where Aid Workers Fear to Tread
- (96) Mahdi Zaydan | The Right to Leave the City
- (99) Dima el-Khoury | “My life in transit”
- (104) Ghadi Ghosn + Yazan Al Saadi | An INGO walks into a refugee camp
- (101)  د. فادي غوسن + Yazan Al Saadi | "An INGO walks into a refugee camp"
- (66) «رؤى الحضر» | رؤى الحضر
- (96) رؤى الحضر | رؤى الحضر
- (06) رؤى الحضر | رؤى الحضر
- (28) رؤى الحضر + رؤى الحضر  رؤى الحضر
- (09) رؤى الحضر + رؤى الحضر + رؤى الحضر | رؤى الحضر

خريطة 1 معالم أحياء بيروت واعتباراتها الفردية بحسب 23 سائق دليفرى

Map 1 LANDMARKS AND INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS OF NEIGHBORHOODS BY 23 DELIVERY DRIVERS

جونية، أنطلياس، فنار، ديشونية
Jounieh, Antelias, Fanar, Daychounieh

مناطق غير مرسومة
Areas not mapped



LANDMARKS

- مساحة مذكورة كمعلم
Area mentioned as landmark
- موضع مرجعي
Reference point
- شارع
Street

تقوم **الخريطة 1** بتحديد كل معلم من المعالم الألف وتسع مئة وخمسة وخمسين التي ذكرها سائقو الدليفرى. تضم هذه الخريطة ثلاثة أنواع من المعالم: (1) أماكن محددة تمت الإشارة إليها بنقطة زرقاء (مثلًا حواجز أمنية، ومناجر، ومصارف، وفنادق، وجامعات)؛ (2) شوارع، وأرصفة، وطرق سريعة يتم الإشارة إليها بخط؛ و(3) مناطق أوسع يشار إليها بدائرة حول الاسم (مثلًا أحياء حضرية، أسواق، مناطق تجارية). ولأننا وجدنا في تجميع الـ 1000 معلم، مع كل الدقة والالتباسات التي تنتج عنها، مدخلًا مهمًا لدراسة التجارب اليومية لسائقي الدراجات، فقد شملنا في الرسوم كل المعالم التي ذكرها، وتركنا التعابير التي استخدموها للإشارة إلى الأماكن، رسمية كانت أو شعبية أو توصيفية (مثلًا: طلعة، نزلة، حاجز). هكذا بقينا أوفياء لإجاباتهم حتى لو كانت غير دقيقة كما في إجابة خلطت - وبشكل فاضح - بين الجامعة الأميركية والجامعة اللبنانية - الأميركية.

بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تظهر الخريطة رواية كل فرد عن الحي كشكل مرسوم ليضم عددًا من المعالم التي ذكرها السائق، مع الأخذ بعين الاعتبار شكل المدينة. كل واحد من هذه الأشكال، أو الروايات، لون بواحدة من درجات الأزرق الشفافة. مجموعهم في المقابل يظهر مقدار معرفة كل سائق وما يتشاركه مع الآخرين، وهو بارز عبر اللون الأزرق الغامق الناتج عن تداخل المسارات بعضها فوق بعض.

على المستوى الأصغر، تبرز بعض أنماط المنطق المكاني من قراءة الخريطة وتبرهن على أنّ أحياء المدينة عادة ما ترتبط بترتيب لمعالم معينة. على سبيل المثال، يتم اعتبار بعض الأحياء تراكمًا عمودياً لنقاط تنتج شريانًا أساسيًا تتشكل حوله منطقة ما، فيما البقية لديها نقاط زوايا مرجعية على طريقة "اربط النقاط بعضها ببعض"، وهلم جرا.

المساحات من الأقل إلى الأكثر ذكرًا
Areas from least to most mentioned

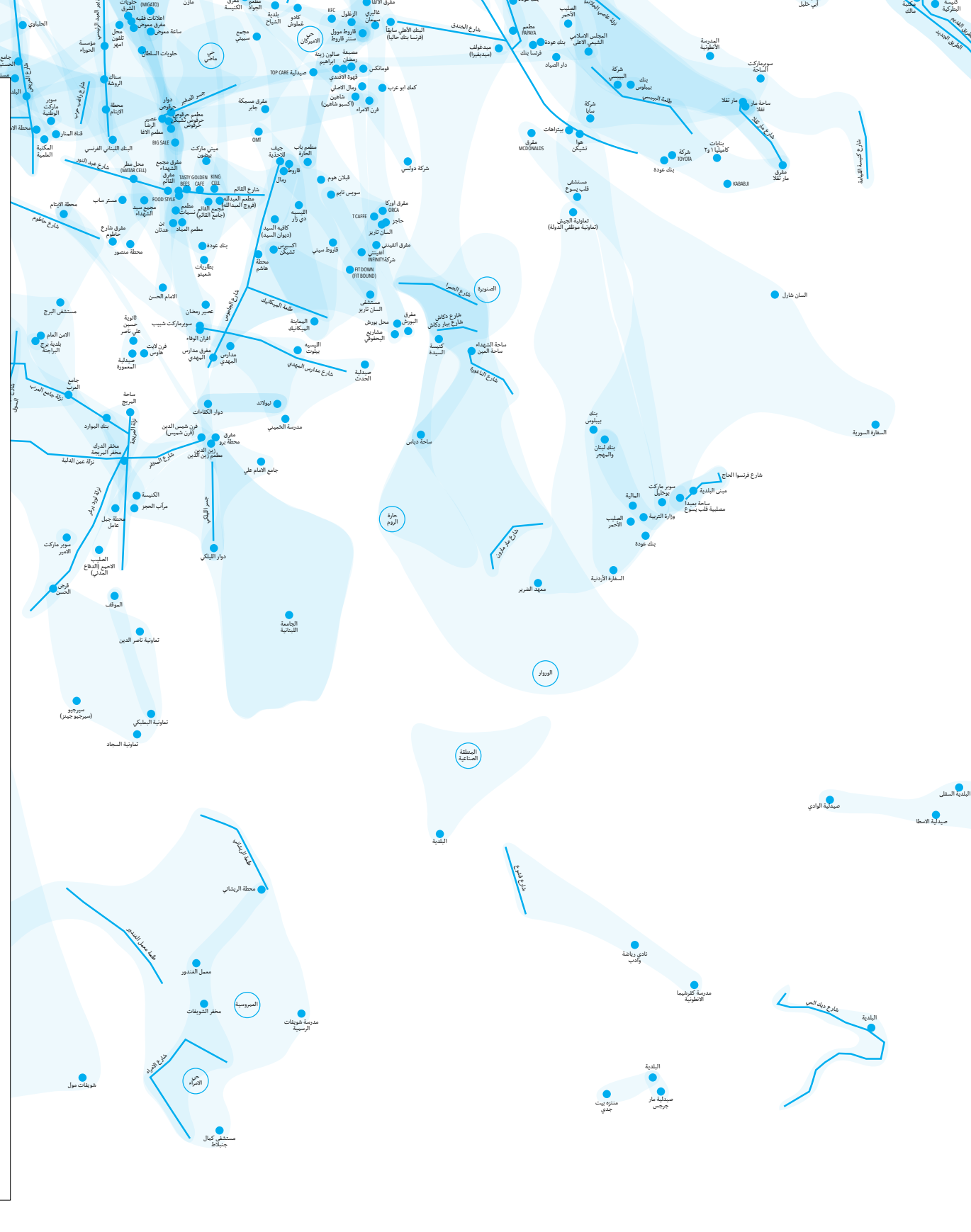
اعتبار فردي للحي
Individual account of a neighborhood

Map 1 plots each of the 1955 landmarks mentioned by interviewed drivers. These map includes three types of landmarks: (1) specific location points marked with a blue dot (e.g. checkpoints, stores, banks, hotels, universities), (2) streets, alleys, and highways marked with a line, and (3) wider zones marked with a circle around the name (e.g. urban quarters, street markets, commercial districts). Because we found in this assemblage of tags, in the accuracy and confusions they make, an important entry point to understanding the everyday experiences of scooter drivers, we included any landmark they listed, whether it was an official name or a descriptive attribute (e.g. tal3a, nazleh, or hajiz) and remained faithful in our visualizations to their answers, even when they made mistakes in naming the places, as in -most flagrantly- a response that confused AUB as LAU.

In addition, we traced on the map a line around each cluster of landmarks identified by an individual driver as a "neighborhood", accounting for the actual streets taken by the driver. Each cluster is colored with a transparent blue. Their overall ensemble, in turn, shows the spread of the drivers' knowledge and its intensity with darker intensities of blue showing more frequent mention of a specific area. We shouldn't however assume that the intensity of landmarks reflects a more intensive practice of a specific area. Rather, this mapping reflects the overlapping responses of the delivery drivers who shared their knowledge with us. We explore in maps below differences in the accounts made by drivers.

At the micro level, some patterns of spatial reasoning emerge from reading the map showing that the city's neighborhoods are typically understood along the configuration of specific landmarks. Thus, some neighborhoods are recognized as a linear accumulation of points that produces a main artery around which an area is formed while others have corner reference points to define them in a 'connect-the-dots' fashion, and so on.

معالم



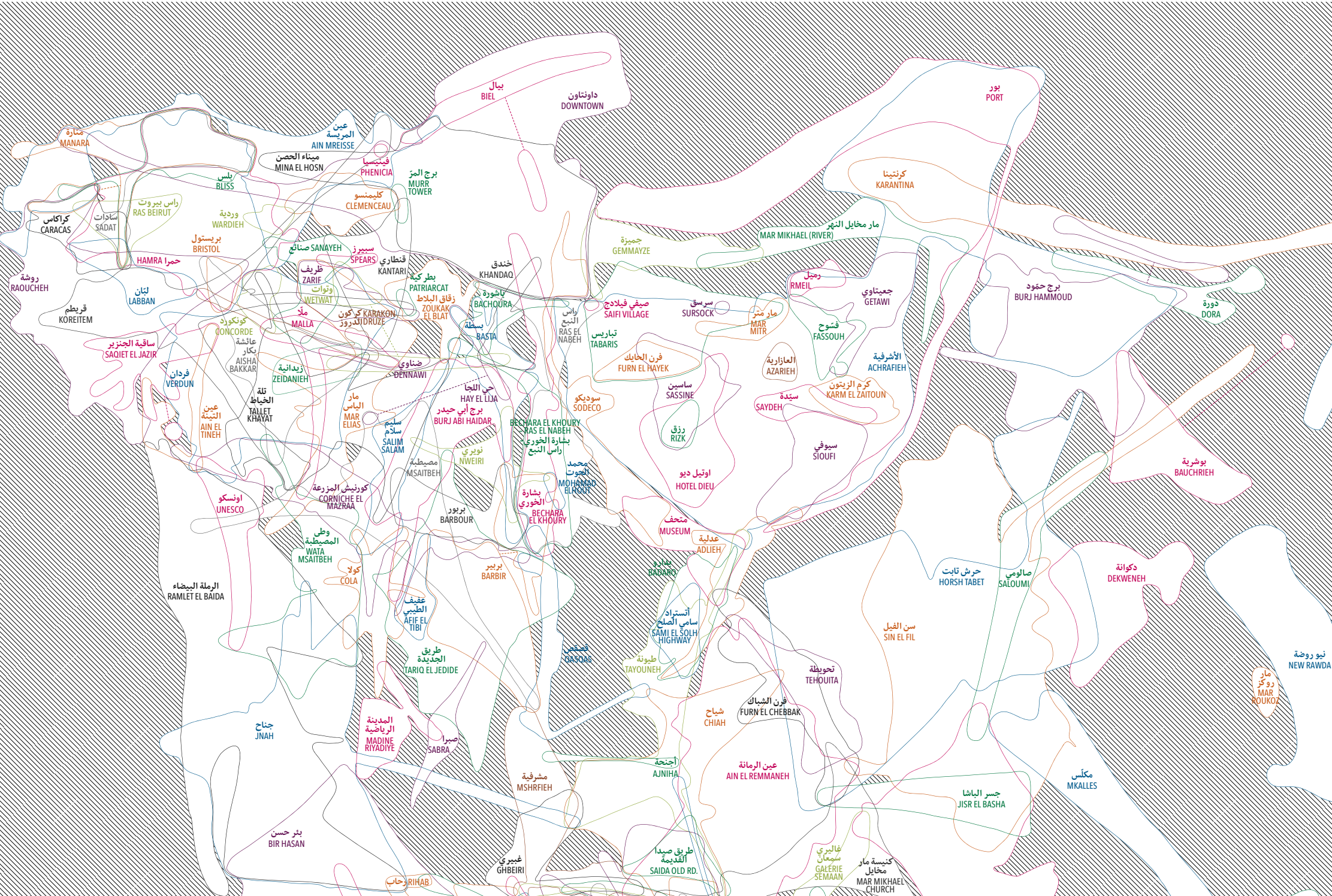
خريطة 2 أحياء بيروت: مجموع الاعتبارات الفردية

Map 2 BEIRUT'S NEIGHBORHOODS: INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS COMBINED

جونية، أنطلياس، فنار، ديشونية
Jounieh, Antelias, Fanar, Daychounieh

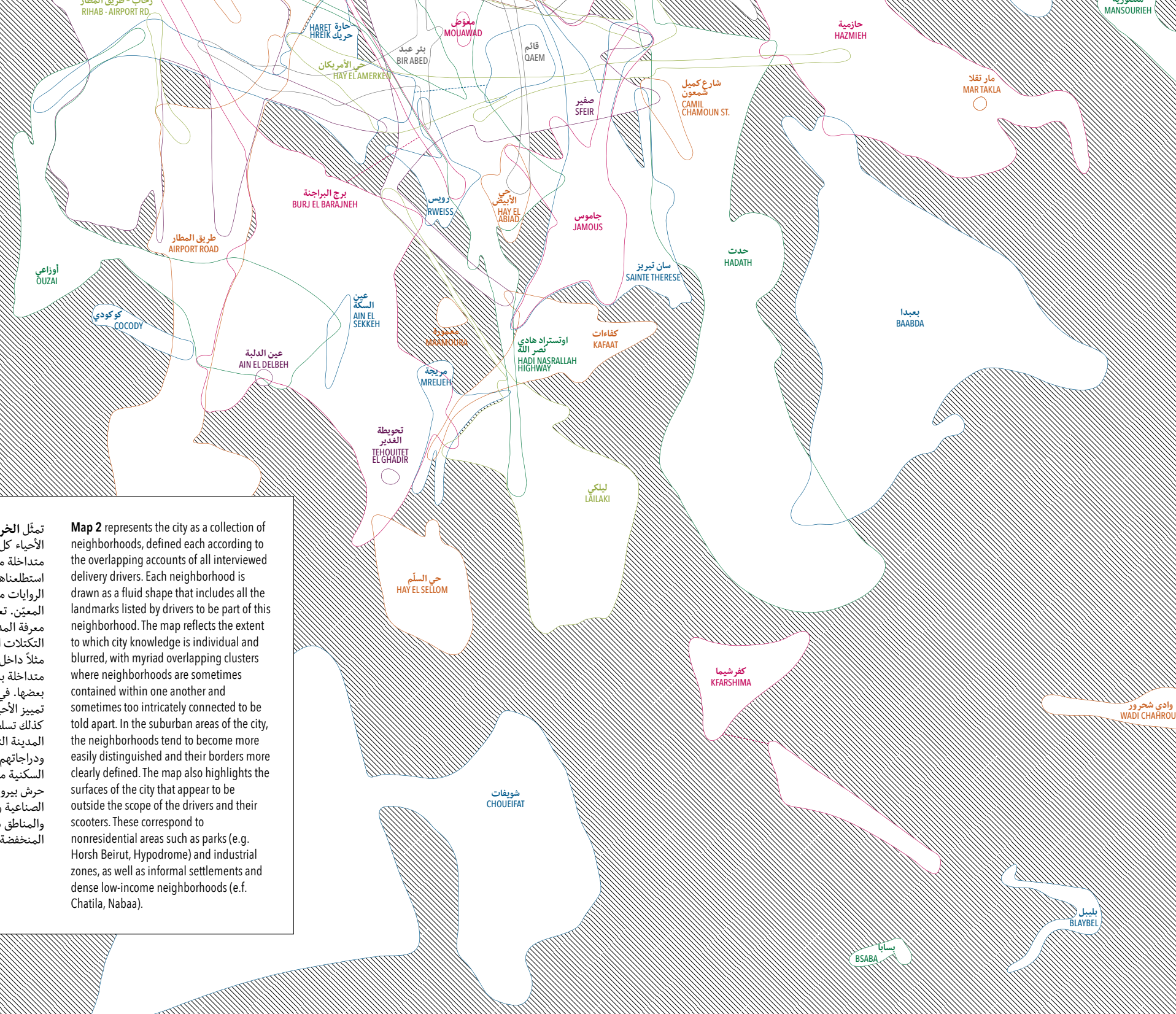
مناطق غير مرسومة
Areas not mapped

100m 500m 1km



تمثل الخريطة 2 المدينة كمجموعة من الأحياء كل منها يتم تعريفه وفق روايات متداخلة من كل سائقي الدليفري الذين استطلعناهم. ينتج شكل كل حي من جمع كل الروايات من قبل كل السائقين عن هذا الحي الصغين. تعكس الخريطة حقيقة مفادها بأن معرفة المدينة فردية ومبهمة، مع كثافة من التكتلات المتداخلة حيث تقع بعض الأحياء مثلاً داخل بعضها البعض، وأحياناً تكون متداخلة بشكل معقد لا يمكن من تفريقها عن بعضها. في ضواحي المدينة، يصبح من الأسهل تمييز الأحياء، وحدودها تصبح أكثر وضوحاً. كذلك تسلط الخريطة الضوء على مساحات المدينة التي تبدو خارج نطاق السائقين ودراجاتهم. يتطابق ذلك مع المناطق غير السكنية مثل الحدائق (على سبيل المثال حرش بيروت، وسباق الخيل) والمناطق الصناعية وكذلك التجمعات غير الرسمية والمناطق ذات الكثافة السكانية والمداخيل المنخفضة (مثلاً منطقتا شاتيلا والنبعة).

Map 2 represents the city as a collection of neighborhoods, defined each according to the overlapping accounts of all interviewed delivery drivers. Each neighborhood is drawn as a fluid shape that includes all the landmarks listed by drivers to be part of this neighborhood. The map reflects the extent to which city knowledge is individual and blurred, with myriad overlapping clusters where neighborhoods are sometimes contained within one another and sometimes too intricately connected to be told apart. In the suburban areas of the city, the neighborhoods tend to become more easily distinguished and their borders more clearly defined. The map also highlights the surfaces of the city that appear to be outside the scope of the drivers and their scooters. These correspond to nonresidential areas such as parks (e.g. Horsh Beirut, Hypodrome) and industrial zones, as well as informal settlements and dense low-income neighborhoods (e.f. Chatila, Nabaa).



بسابا
BSABA

بلايبل
BLAYBEL

الخرائط 3A و 3B بيروت الإدارية: التقسيم الإداري مقارنة بالاعتبارات الفردية للأحياء

Maps 3A and 3B MUNICIPAL BEIRUT: ADMINISTRATIVE SECTORS COMPARED TO COMBINED ACCOUNTS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

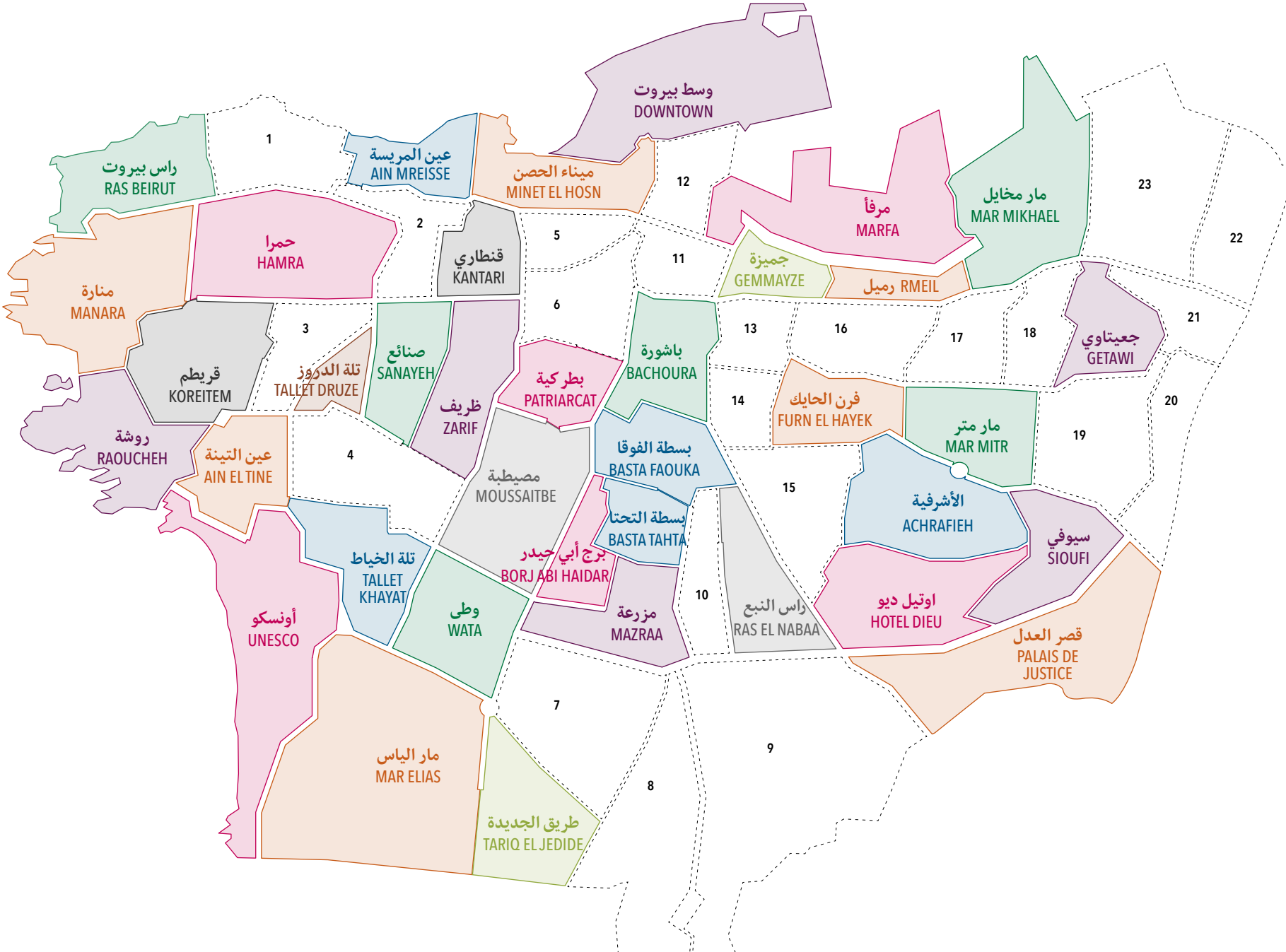


أحياء بيروت الإدارية بحسب كهرباء لبنان

BEIRUT'S ADMINISTRATIVE SECTORS ACCORDING TO ELECTRICITE DU LIBAN

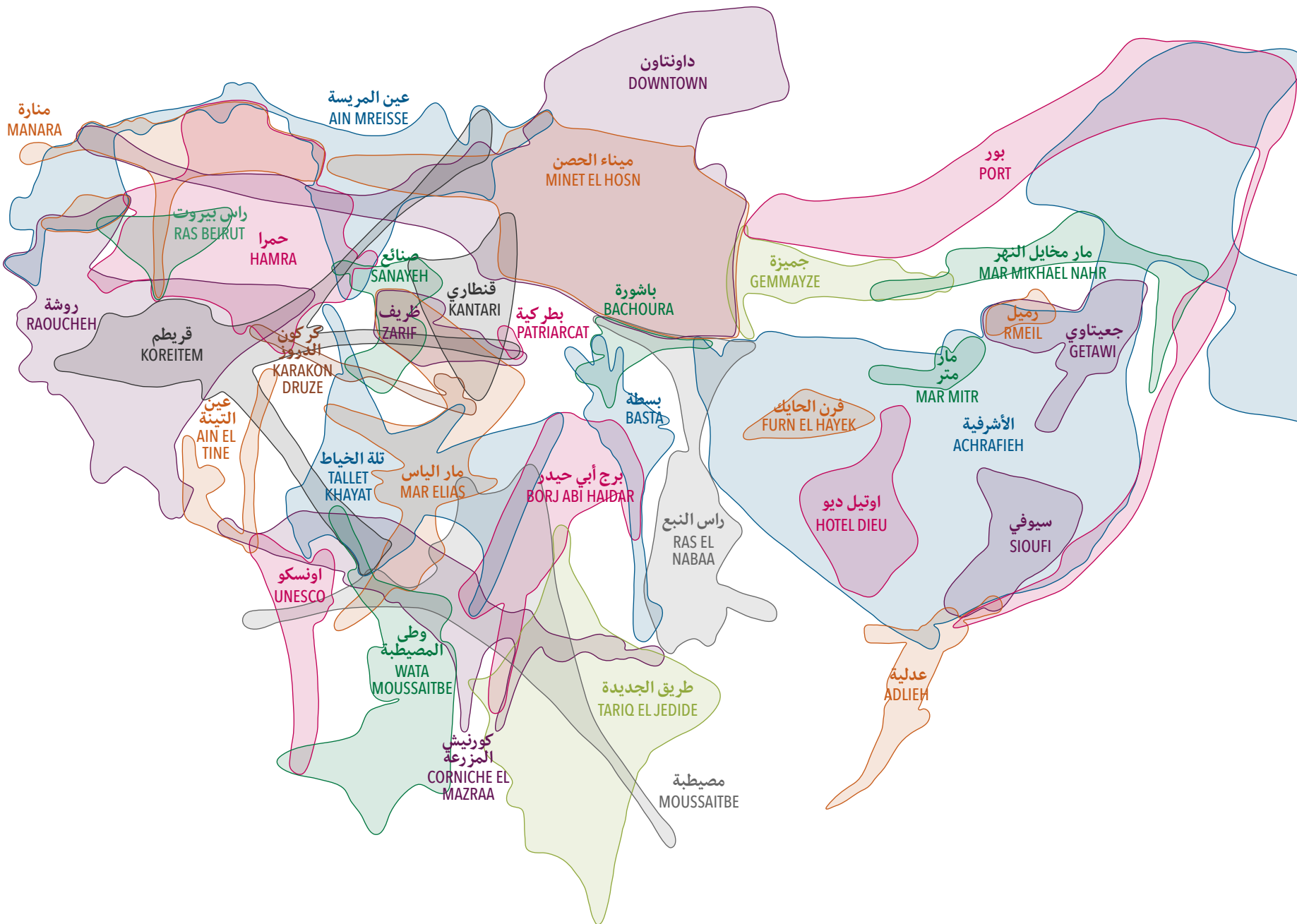
أسماء أحياء لم يذكرها أي سائق
sector names not mentioned by any driver

- 1 JAMIA
جامعة
- 2 JOUNBLAT
جنبلاط
- 3 SNOUBRA
صنوبرة
- 4 DAR AL FATWA
دار الفتوى
- 5 BAB IDRIS
باب إدريس
- 6 SERAIL
سراي
- 7 MALAAB
ملعب
- 8 EL HORGE
الخرج
- 9 PARC
بارك
- 10 ELAAMILYIE
العاملية
- 11 NAJMEH
نجمة
- 12 MAJIDIYE
ماجدية
- 13 MAR MAROUN
مار مارون
- 14 YESSOUIEH
يسوعية
- 15 NASRA
ناصره
- 16 MAR NICOLAS
مار نقولا
- 17 HIKMAT
حكمة
- 18 HOPITAL ORTHODOXE
مستشفى الروم
- 19 GHABI
غابة
- 20 CORNICHE EL NAHR
كورنيش النهر
- 21 QOBAYAT
قبيات
- 22 JISR
جسر
- 23 KHODR
خضر



الأحياء الإدارية المذكورة، ومساحاتها بحسب الأوصاف الفردية

MENTIONED ADMINISTRATIVE
SECTORS AS SHAPED BY
INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS



تقارن الخريطتان 3A و 3B بين خريطة شركة كهرباء لبنان التي تستخدم كخريطة المدينة الرسمية والخرائط التي يرسمها السائقون لأنفسهم. في الخريطة 3A أقمنا بتلوين المناطق التي ذكرها سائقو الدليفري على خريطة كهرباء لبنان. في الخريطة 3B أخذنا من الخريطة 2 الأشكال التي ظهرت عبرها الأحياء التي ذكرها الشبان. تناقض الخرائط بشكل بارز شكل الوثائق الرسمية المنظمة والحقائق غير الواضحة والمتداخلة للمستخدمين اليوميين. عبر وضع الخرائط 3A و 3B و 2 بعضها في مقابل بعض يمكننا الاستنتاج أنّ السائقين يتعلمون المدينة من الناس عوض الوثائق الرسمية، وبالتالي يعتمدون ويعيدون إنتاج معرفة عن الشارع وتسميات شعبية عوض تلك الرسمية.

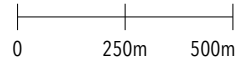
Maps 3 (A and B) compare the Electricité du Liban map that is used as the "official" city map to the perceived maps of drivers. In Map 3A, we color on the base map of EDL only those neighborhoods mentioned by drivers. In Map 3B, we import from Map 2 the shapes through which the above listed official neighborhoods appeared in the narratives of the drivers. The maps powerfully contrast the rigid and well-defined geometry of official documents and the blurred and intertwined realities of everyday users. Contrasting Maps 3A, 3B, and Map 2, we can conclude that refugees and drivers learn the city from people rather than official documents and hence adopt and reproduce street knowledge and popular labels rather than their official ones.

خريطة 4 الجغرافية المُعاشة / المُتخيَّلة لحيّ الجعيتاوي

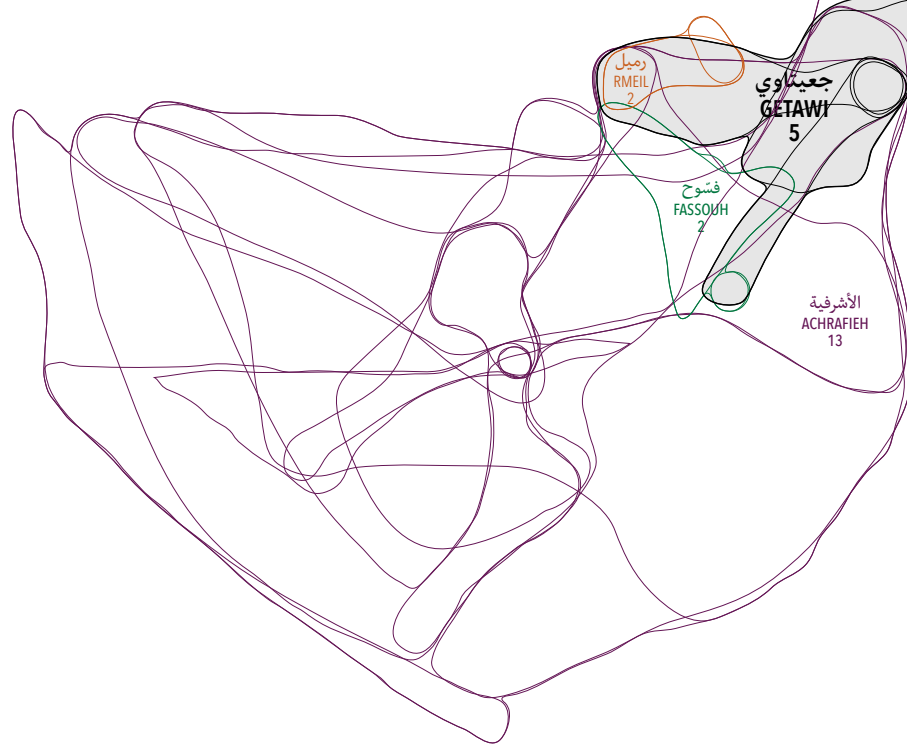
Map 4 GETAWI NEIGHBORHOOD'S LIVED/PERCEIVED GEOGRAPHY

الأحياء المتقاطعة مع الجعيتاوي

NEIGHBORHOODS OVERLAPPING WITH GETAWI



- اعتبار فردي للحيّ
Individual account of a neighborhood
- حيّ (مجموع الاعتبارات)
Neighborhood (combined accounts)
- عدد الاعتبارات
Number of accounts



تركز الخريطتان 4 و5 على منطقتين: الجعيتاوي والحمرا. عبر تغيير المقاييس يمكننا التمييز بتفاصيل أكثر روايات السائقين الفردية وإظهار التباين بين رؤية كل منهم لشارع أو منطقة واحدة (مثلاً الحدود والمعالم). توضح الخريطة منهجية البحث التي اعتمدت في خريطة 2، وتظهر أنّ الروايات الفردية جمعت في شكل واحد يرسم كل منطقة من المدينة كما تبدو على الخريطة.

المثير في الأمر أنّ أحياء المدينة لا تتشكل بالطريقة عينها. عبر مقارنة الحمرا والجعيتاوي يمكننا أن نرى من جهة أنّ الحمرا متداخلة مع أحياء أخرى في الجانب الغربي من المدينة، فيما الأشرفية من جهة أخرى تشمل كيانات صغيرة وأحياء صغيرة في المنطقة الشرقية من المدينة.

إنّ نقل هذين الشكلين في الخريطة الكبرى لتنظيم المدني (خريطة 2) يستعيد بشكل مخيف جغرافية المدينة المقسمة في الحرب الأهلية ما يوحي بأنّ الانقسامات التاريخية لا تزال تحكم حياة المدينة اليوم.

Maps 4 and 5 zoom in on two neighborhoods, Getawi and Hamra. By shifting scales, we distinguish in more detail the drivers' individual accounts and show divergences among drivers' perceptions of a single neighborhood (e.g. boundaries, landmarks). The maps clarify the methodology through which Map 2 was constructed, showing that individual accounts were merged together in a single shape that delineates each of the city's neighborhoods as it appears on the map.

Interestingly, city neighborhoods are not constructed the same way. By comparing Hamra and Jeitawi, we see, on the one hand, Hamra interlocking with other neighborhoods in the west side of the city, while on the other hand, Achrafieh acts as a container of smaller entities and sub-neighborhoods in the eastern sections of the city.

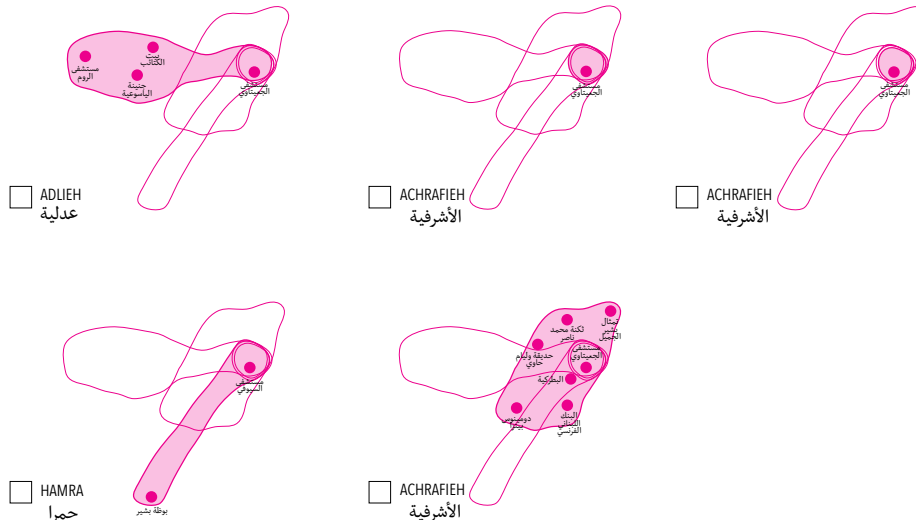
Relocating these two constructions in the larger map of urban organization (Map 2) recalls eerily the divided geography of the civil war, suggesting that historical divisions still define today's practice of the city.

الاعتبارات الفردية للجعيتاوي ومعالمها

INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS OF GETAWI AND ITS LANDMARKS

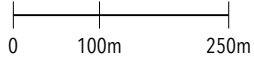


- اعتبار فردي لحيّ الجعيتاوي
Individual account of Getawi
- الاعتبارات الأخرى لحيّ الجعيتاوي
Other accounts of Getawi
- موضع مرجعي
Reference point
- شارع
Street
- LOCATION OF CURRENT WORKPLACE
مكان العمل الحالي



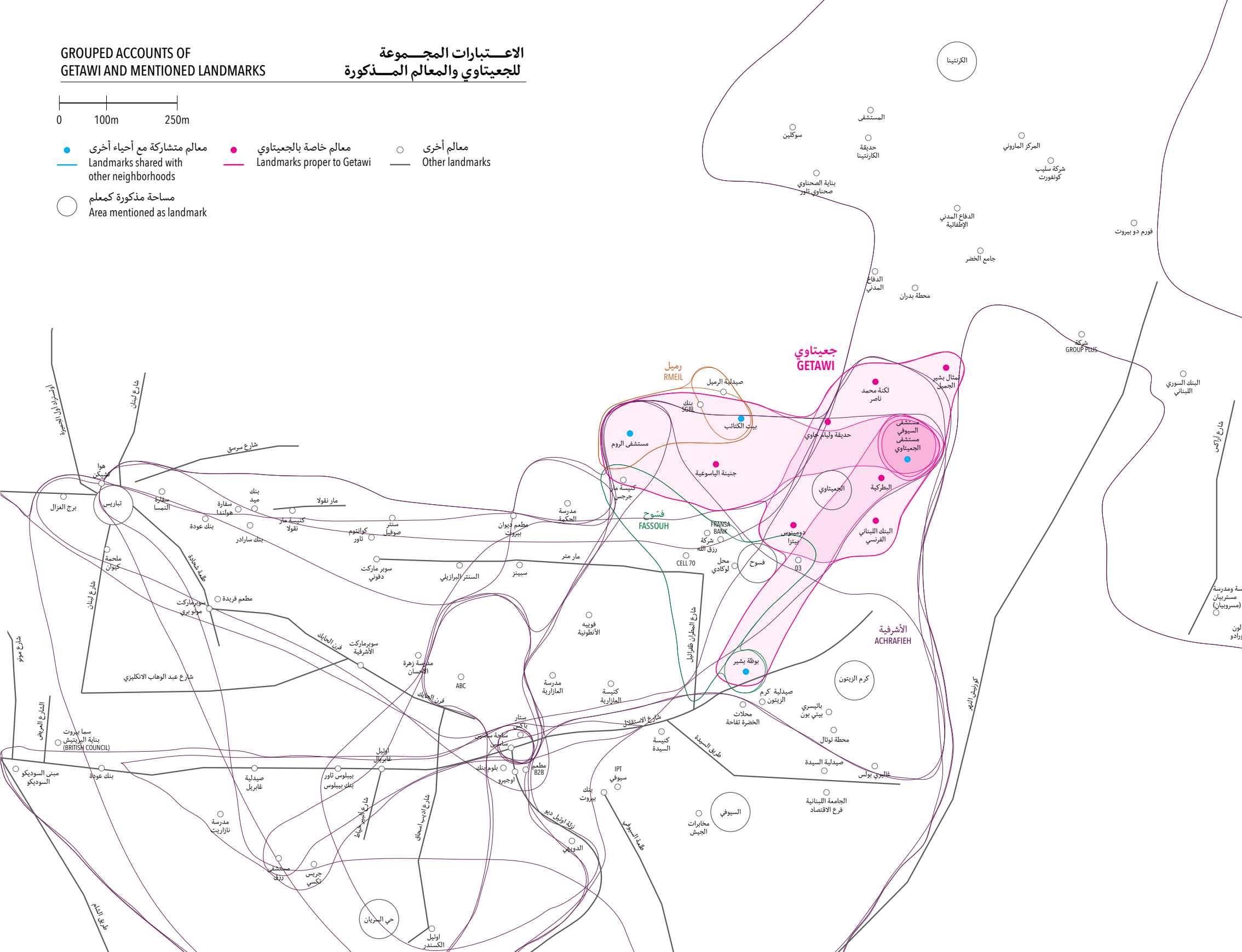
GROUPED ACCOUNTS OF
GETAWI AND MENTIONED LANDMARKS

الاعتبارات المجموعة
للجيتاوي والمعالم المذكورة



- معالم متشاركة مع أحياء أخرى
- Landmarks shared with other neighborhoods
- مساحة مذكورة كمعلم
- Area mentioned as landmark

- معالم خاصة بالجيتاوي
- Landmarks proper to Getawi
- معالم أخرى
- Other landmarks

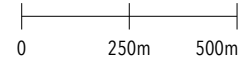


خريطة 5 الجغرافية المُعاشة / المُتخيَّلة لحي الحمرا

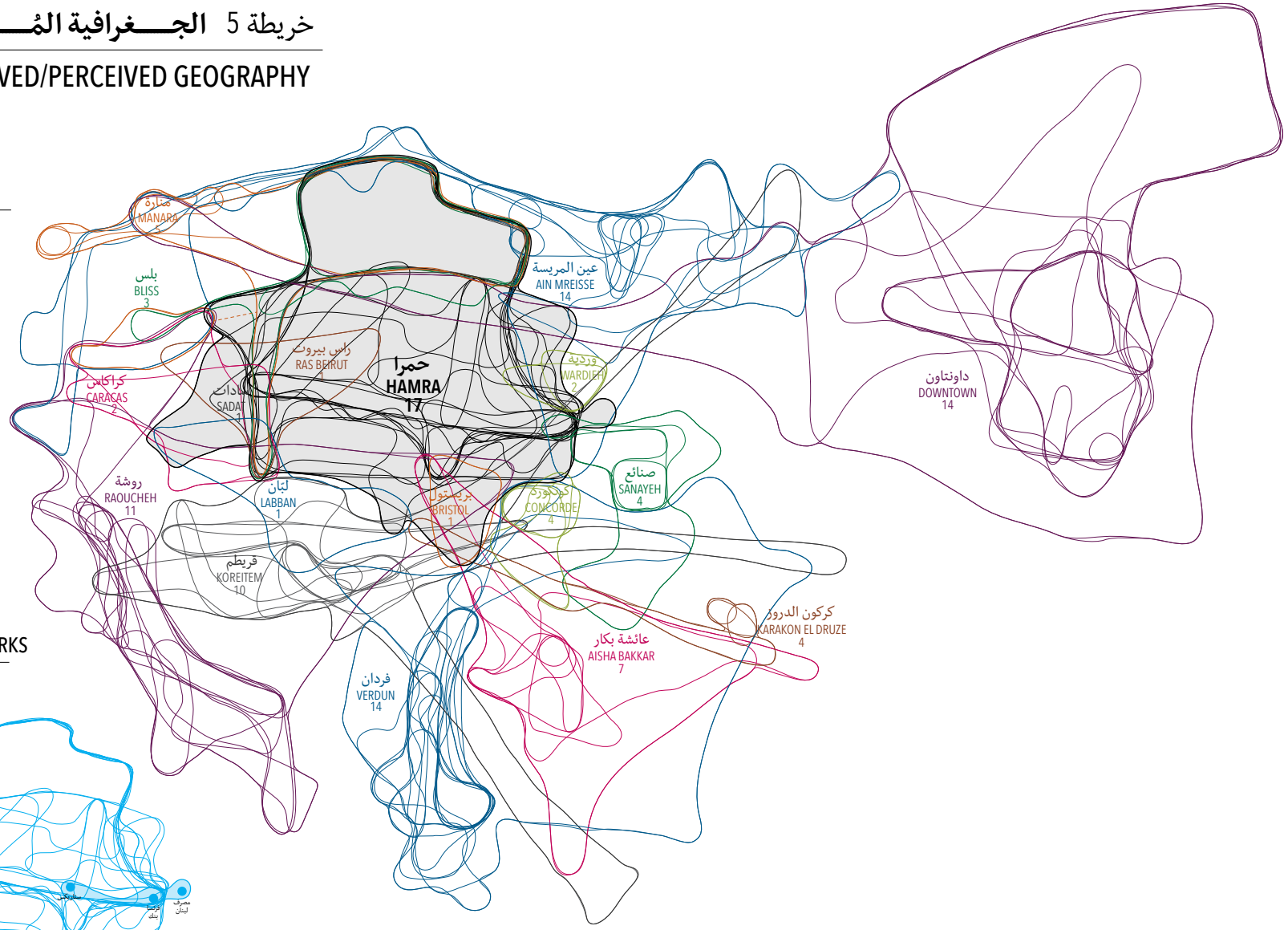
Map 5 HAMRA NEIGHBORHOOD'S LIVED/PERCEIVED GEOGRAPHY

الأحياء المتقاطعة مع الحمرا

NEIGHBORHOODS INTERSECTING WITH HAMRA



- اعتبار فردي للحي
Individual account of a neighborhood
- حي (مجموع الاعتبارات)
Neighborhood (combined accounts)
- روشة
RAOUCHE
- عدد الاعتبارات
14
Number of accounts

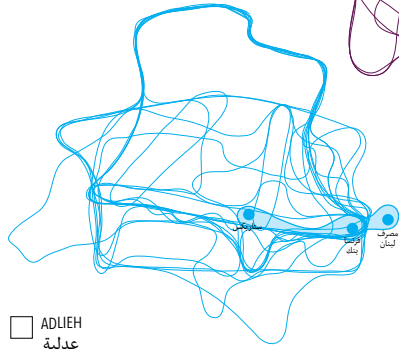


الاعتبارات الفردية للحمرا ومعالمها

INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS OF HAMRA AND ITS LANDMARKS



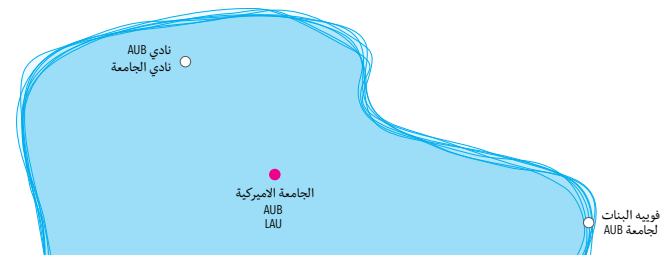
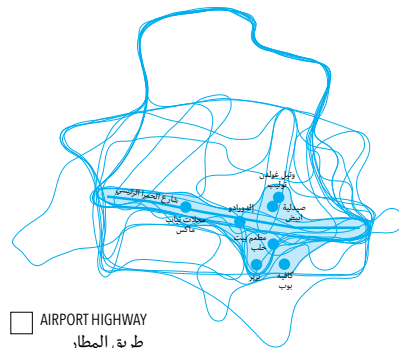
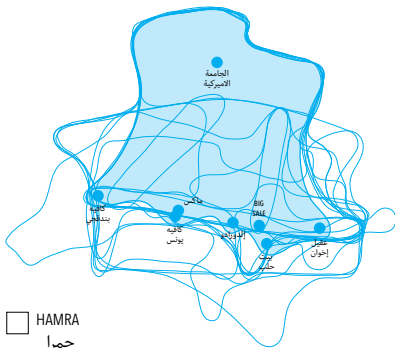
- اعتبار فردي لحي الحمرا
Individual account of Hamra
- الاعتبارات الأخرى لحي الحمرا
Other accounts of Hamra
- موضع مرجعي
Reference point
- شارع
Street
- موقع العمل الحالي
LOCATION OF CURRENT WORKPLACE
مكان العمل الحالي
- ADLIEH
عدلية

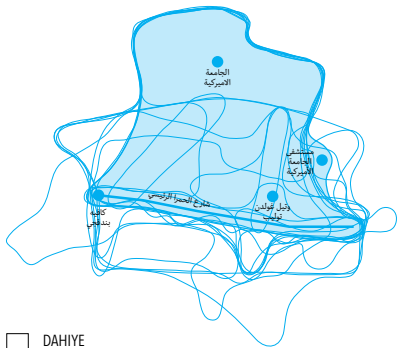


GROUPED ACCOUNTS OF HAMRA AND MENTIONED LANDMARKS

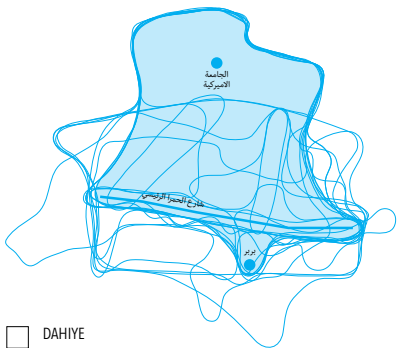
الإعتبارات المجموعة للحمرا والمعالم المذكورة

- معالم متشاركة مع أحياء أخرى
Landmarks shared with other neighborhoods
- معالم خاصة بالحمرا
Landmarks proper to Hamra
- معالم أخرى
Other landmarks

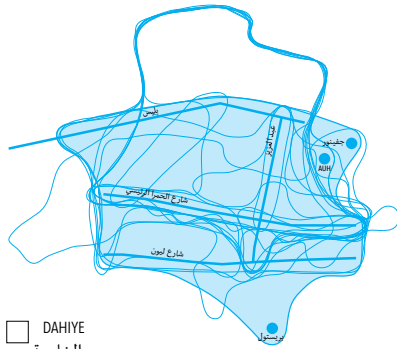




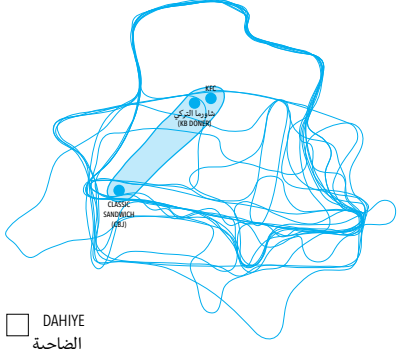
DAHIYE
الضاحية



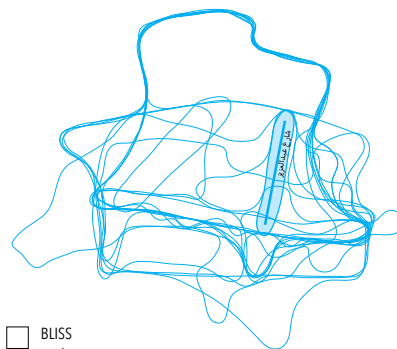
DAHIYE
الضاحية



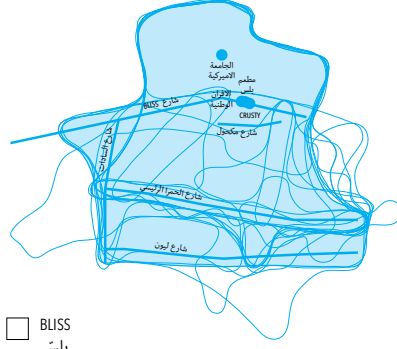
DAHIYE
الضاحية



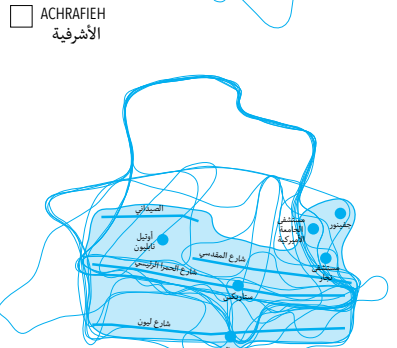
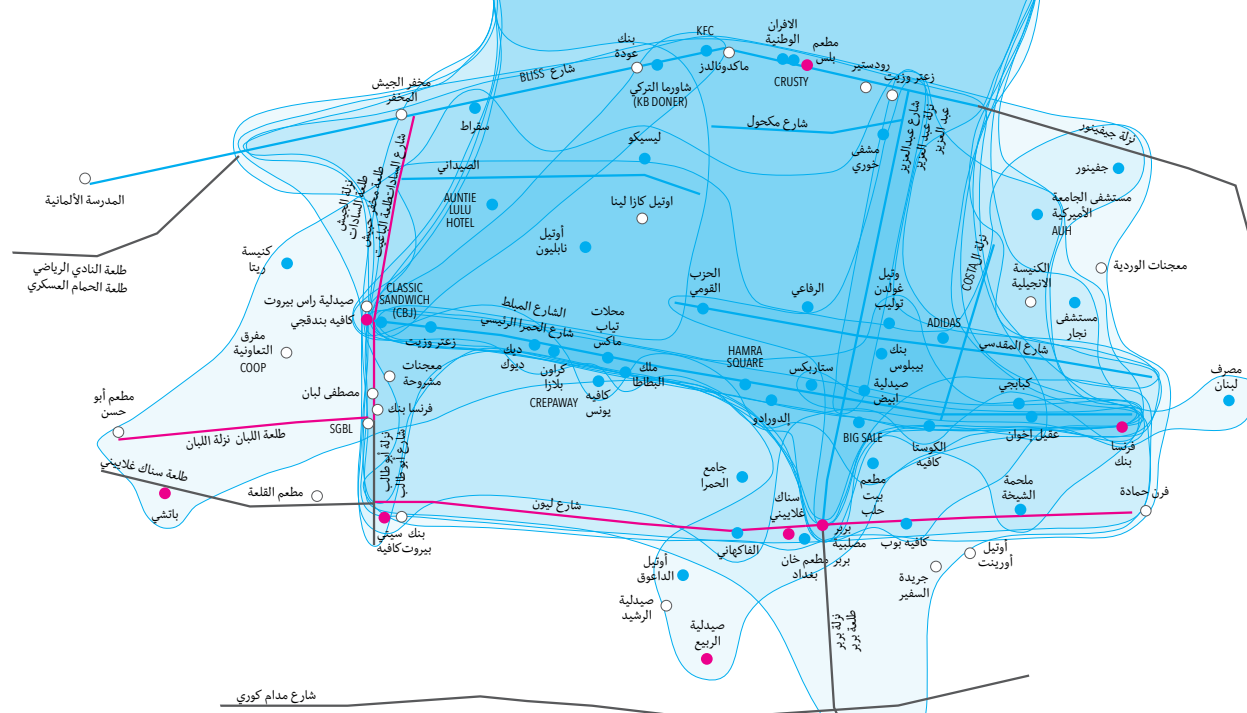
DAHIYE
الضاحية



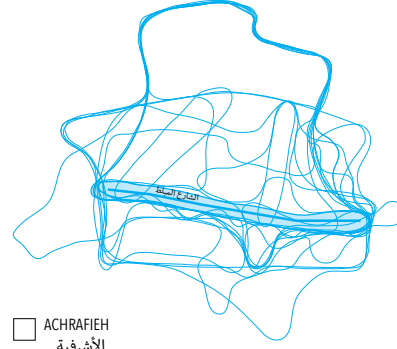
BLISS
بلس



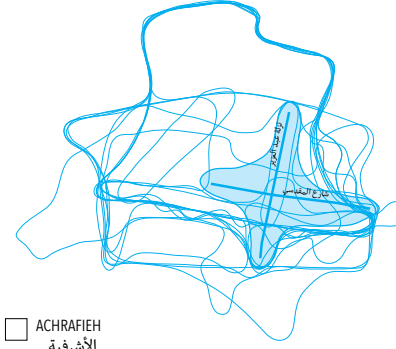
BLISS
بلس



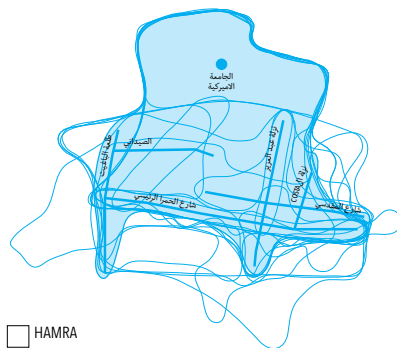
ACHRAFIEH
الأشرفية



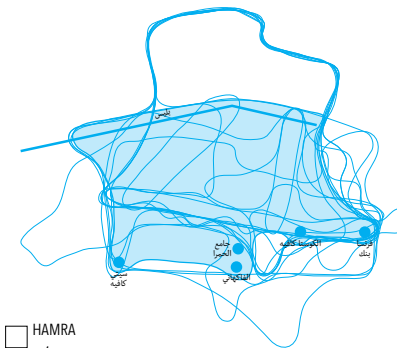
ACHRAFIEH
الأشرفية



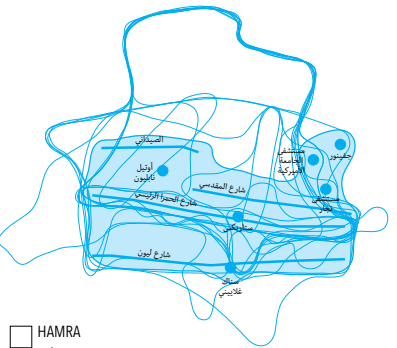
ACHRAFIEH
الأشرفية



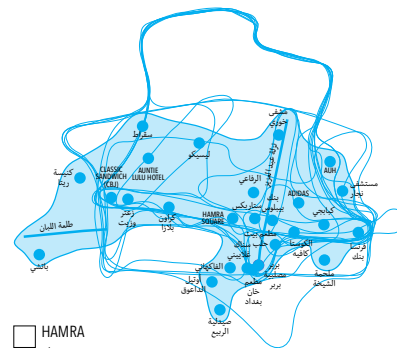
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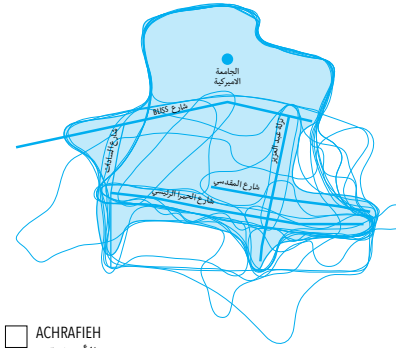
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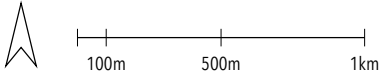
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ACHRAFIEH
الأشرفية

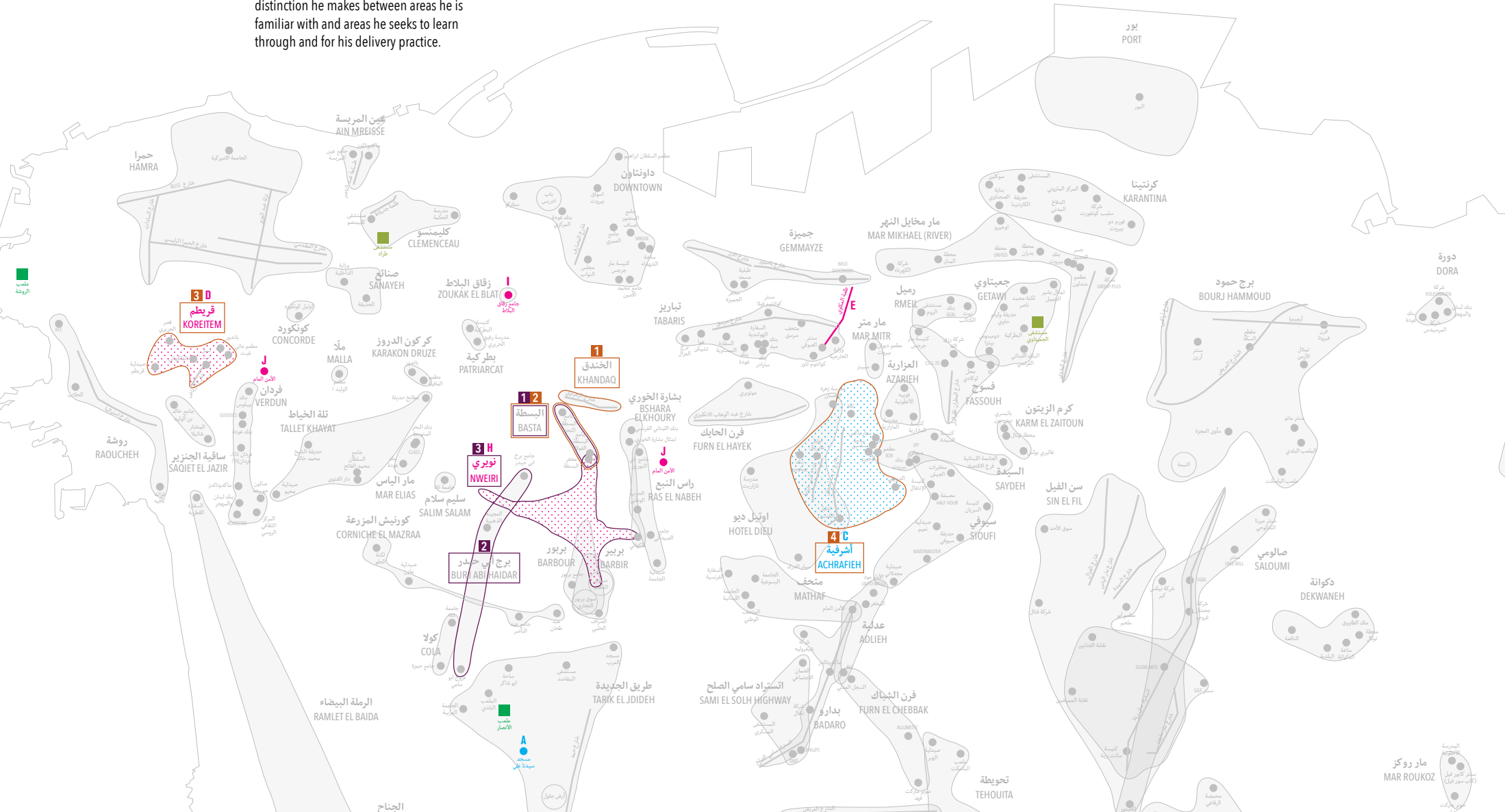


مناطق غير مرسومة | جونية، أنطلياس، فنار، ديشونية
Areas not mapped | Jounieh, Antelias, Fanar, Daychounieh

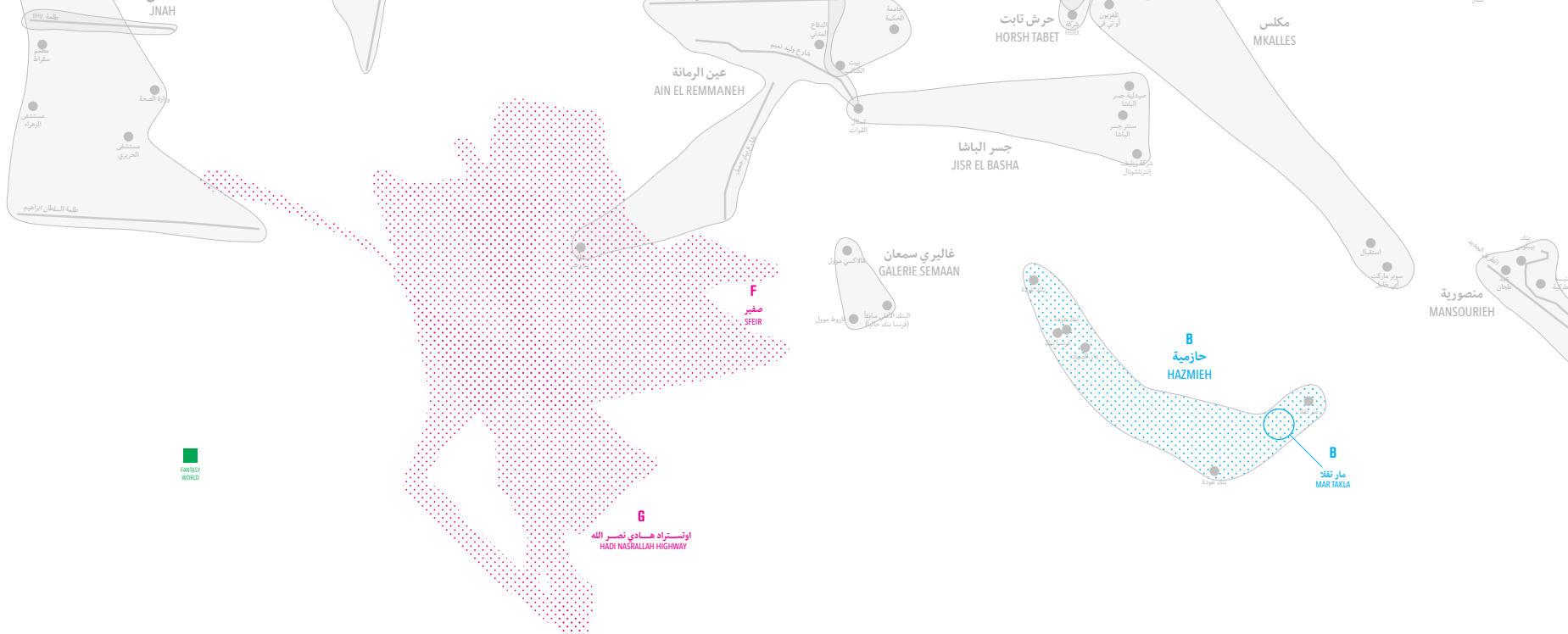
تظهر الخريطة 6 تجربة السائق الشخصية مع تقاطع مسارات العمل والمنزل مع الوقت على جزء خريطة المدينة الخاص به. عبر استخراج أقوال حول مناطق معينة من اللقاءات وتصنيفها، تصل الخريطة بين طرق العثور على المسار والانطباعات الفردية عن المناطق المختلفة من المدينة. الجدير بالملاحظة أن ما يرويه السائق عن المعالم وتعريفه للحي لا يحتوي غالباً مكان سكنه وعمله، ويعكس ذلك ربما تمايزاً يقوم به بين المناطق المألوفة لديه ومناطق يسعى ليتعلم عنها عبر ومن أجل عمله في الدليفري.

Map 6 fleshes out the individual experience of one driver, overlaying his work and housing trajectories over time on his map of the city. By extracting and categorizing quotes about specific neighborhoods from our conversation, the map links wayfinding to individual impressions of different parts of the city. It is noteworthy that the driver's account of landmarks and his definition of neighborhoods often avoids his places of residence and work, perhaps conveying a distinction he makes between areas he is familiar with and areas he seeks to learn through and for his delivery practice.

- طرابلس
TRIPOLI
80+ km
- فاريا
FARAYA
40+ km
- جعيتا
JEITA
20+ km



مار روكز
MAR ROUKZ



ACCOUNT OF THE CITY

- أماكن ترفيهية
Leisure destinations
- أماكن الرعاية الصحية
Healthcare locations
- المساحات من الأقل إلى الأكثر ذكراً
Areas from least to most mentioned
- اعتبار فردي للحي
Individual account of a neighborhood

- وصف إيجابي
Positive account
- وصف سلبي
Negative account

LANDMARKS

- مساحة مذكورة كمعلم
Area mentioned as landmark
- موضع مرجعي
Reference point
- شارع
Street

LOCATIONS OF PAST EMPLOYMENT

- 2012 - 2013
- 2013
- 2013 - 2015
- 2015 -

HOUSING TRAJECTORY

Lived in Daraa until 2012
من سكان درعا حتى عام 2012

- 2012 - 2014
- 2014 - 2016
- 2016 -

أماكن عمل سابقة

المسار السكني

INCIDENTS

- I** « لما كنت أشتغل بالغاز رحت صلي بجامع زقاق البلاط، ومنعوني عشان أنا سني ومنصلي غير. مديري كان شيعي ياخدني نصلي هونيك، كان في شاب بالحزب قالو لمعلمي عم تجيب معك السلفية، قلي معلمي إنو "كرمالك خلص ما تجي تصلي هون". صرت صلي بواحد من المحلات يلي منزلن غاز. »
- « When I used to work delivering gas gallons cylinders. I went to pray in Zoukak el Blat mosque and they forbid me because I am Sunni and we pray differently. My boss was Chia and he was the one who used to take me there. There were some men from the Party who told my boss "you're bringing Salafis here". He told me "for your safety, stop coming to pray here", so I started to pray in one of the shops where we used to deliver »
- J** « رحت قدم بلاغ عن سرقة [الموتوسيكل] قالولي "كيف بدك تقدم بلاغ بلا وراق" فطلبو مني سلم حالي للأمن العام. تذكرت إنو كنت مطلع بأسبوع قبل ما ينسرق الموتوسيكل، جيتو وقدمت بلاغين واحد بالسوديكو كرمال الوراق وواحد بفردان كرمال الموتوسيكل. »
- « I went to declare the theft [of my motorbike], and I was told "how do you want to make a declaration without papers?" and asked me to go surrender myself to the General Security. I then remembered that before the motorcyle got stolen, I had renewed my passport. I brought it with me and made two declarations: one about my stolen papers in Sodeco, and one for the motorcycle in Verdun.»

- G** « في شاب ثاني كان عم بيعت على أوتسترد السيد هادي ووراقو كاسرين وقفو كمان. وحكي مع مدير المطعم، قالو له "ما بتعرف بماشورا ممنوع السوري يفوت بعد الساعة 8 عالضاحية؟" فصرنا ناخذ برا بزا وما نحب نفوت عالضاحية. إذا في طلبية عالضاحية منتخانق، ما حدا بدو يروح. »
- « Another colleague once was delivering to Hadi Nasrallah highway and his papers had expired, so they arrested him. He called the restaurant manager, inquiring: "don't you know that during Achoura, Syrians are not allowed in Dahieh after 8pm?" So we started to only drive outside Dahieh, and to dislike entering it. When we get an order to Dahieh, we argue because no one wants to go.»
- H** « سرقولي الموتوسيكل عالنويري، كنت صافف الموتوسيكل بالموقف للبنانية. الموقف تحت الأرض وإلهو باب كهربا، نزلت ما لقيتها، سألت الناطور قلي ما بيعرف. كان فيها وراق وهويتي ووراق الموتوسيكل فقدمت بلاغ، رجعت تعبت تدينت مصاري لجبت موتوسيكل جديد. »
- « My motorcycle was stolen in Nweiry. I had parked it in the underground parking of my building that has an electric door. I went downstairs one day, it wasn't there. I asked the doorman where it was, he told me that he didn't know. My papers were in it, as well as my ID and the motorcycle's papers, so I declared the theft and I had to work hard after that to be able to buy another one.»

- E** « كان في شاب بيعشغل معنا بالأشرفية، نازل بنزلة العكاوي والدني عم تشتي زحطت الموتسيكل ووقع الشاب. »
- « There was a man who worked with us in Archafieh, he was once going downhill on Akkawi street and it was raining, so he slipped and fell.»
- F** « لما يروح على مناطق شيعية بحس إنني غريب بالمنطقة. وبوقفوني بيسألوني، بس فوت عالضاحية بضل خايف يوقفوني. [...] ما بحب فوت عالضاحية، في شاب معنا كان عم يوصل على صفير، وكان عم يحكي السيد وقتها وقفو الحزب للشباب، ومن الساعة 3 للساعة 8 ما منعرف عنو شي. بس رجع قال إنو "وقفوني الحزب اخدونني عمجل تحت الأرض وما في ضو ما ضروني بس ضلو حاجزيني." »
- « When I go to Chia neighborhoods, I feel like a foreigner to the area. And people stop me and ask me questions. When I go to Dahieh, I am constantly scared that I will get arrested. [...] I don't like going to Dahieh. Once, a colleague was delivering to Sfeir, and "Sayed" (Hassan Nasrallah) was making a speech at the same time, and they arrested him. Between 3 pm and 8 pm, we didn't have any news of him. When he got out, he told us "Hezbollah arrested me and took me somewhere under ground, where there was no light. They didn't hit me, but they kept me there.»

- A** « بالمناطق السنية يفوت عادي، مثلاً جامع سيدنا علي ما بيعكو في شي، التفرقة هون بين السنة والشيعية غريبة. »
- « In the Sunni areas, I go there and feel nothing. For example, I go to Sayidna Ali mosque, and no one tells me anything. It's weird how people make a difference between Sunni and Chia here.»
- B** « المناطق يلي بحبها هي مار تقلال والحازمية. كزيونات أحسن. في مرة زيون عطاني سبعة وثلاثين ألف بخشيش لوصله غرض عطريقي. »
- « The areas I like are Mar Takla and Hazmieh. They have better customers. Once, one client tipped me 37'000 LBP to pick something up for him from the store »
- C** « الأشرفية أفضل من قريطم، هون في خشيش أكثر، المنطقة وراق أكثر. بالأشرفية ما حدا حكاني أنت سوري أو شي بس بمناطق السنة والشيعية بيسألو. »
- « Achrafieh is better than [Quoreitem]. Here, they give more tips. And the area is calmer too. [...] in Achrafieh, nobody tells me anything like "you're Syrian". »

- D** « يقرطم الناس ناشفة أكثر. »
- « People [in Quoreitem] are cold.»

حوادث

انطباعات

other delivery driver recalled how the unjust firing of one of the deliverymen on the crew of his restaurant led him and four other colleagues to resign within a few days. Asked how they could challenge their employers given how badly they needed to work, the men explained that they had acquired sufficient skills and mastery of the city's map to justify demanding better work conditions. No doubt, the strong solidarity ties built while learning together to navigate the city and sharing the same risks in this form of work further bind these men together and empower them to organize collectively for their rights.

Negotiating Mobility

While mapped trajectories reflect a widespread presence and solidarity networks that promise empowerment, neither should conceal the actual struggles faced by deliverymen in their quest for fluid mobility. Indeed, a Syrian driver's visibility riding a scooter on the city's streets can be described as "tolerated" since he is performing an occupation within the acceptable "menial" functions typically ascribed to his countrymen³. Yet this presence is heavily negotiated, since it

is looked at suspiciously by some and criminalized by others. As a result, there are always risks to be stopped, harassed, fined, taken to spend a night at the police station and/or to lose one's motorbike without much hope to recover it.

The main protection against this harassment is undeniably one's legal residency status. The deliverymen we interviewed almost unanimously struggled to keep or find a sponsor (*kafeel*) and improve their overall legal situation. In recent years, this longing for legality had also been intensified with new restrictions imposed on their ability to acquire a motorbike and obtain a Lebanese driving permit and/or to circulate at night. Yet, less than a third of our respondents were successful at this task. Seven years after the outbreak of the war, Syrian official documents have expired and renewal requires a trip to Syria where one is unlikely to evade conscription. Sponsorship is also costly and frequently involves an unofficial payment to the sponsor in exchange for his/her service. As described elsewhere in this publication, the legal framework is itself murky, uncertain, and rapidly changing, making it even harder to maintain a legal status. Furthermore, checkpoints may begin to implement additional scrutiny or new measures that do not necessarily reflect a change in regulations, such as recent measures against motorbike drivers that convinced many of our interlocutors that a ban had been introduced on Syrians owning motorbikes when we found no legal basis for such a decision. As a result, most had to find ways around their legal status. Many have obtained an international driving license in Syria, and drive in Lebanon with this document in hand, knowing that policemen sometimes accept it as a valid driving permit and sometimes not. Some have resorted to registering the scooter in the name of a Lebanese acquaintance, relative, or friend and now drive it with a legal authorization from the latter. While the measure allows the driver to overcome an important barrier,

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የሌሎች ሰዓታት ለሆኑ





የሆኑ ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ከፍተኛ ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኘው ግን ለሌሎች ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ደረጃው ደካም ነው። ይህም ለምሳሌ ለሌሎች ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ከፍተኛ ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኘው ግን ለሌሎች ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ደረጃው ደካም ነው።

የሆኑ ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ከፍተኛ ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኘው ግን ለሌሎች ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ደረጃው ደካም ነው። ይህም ለምሳሌ ለሌሎች ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ከፍተኛ ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኘው ግን ለሌሎች ሰዓታት ለሆኑ ደረጃው ደካም ነው።

³ ሆኖ ሌዕል + የቅርንጫፍ ጥናት + የኢትዮጵያ ጥናት ማዕከል | ለኢትዮጵያ ሰዓት ለሆኑ ሰዓት ለሆኑ

LANDMARKS

معالم

-  مساحة مذكورة كمعلم
Area mentioned as landmark
-  موضع مرجعي
Reference point
-  شارع
Street
-  اعتبار فردي للحي
Individual account of a neighborhood



Maps 7 (A to E) isolate 5 drivers' individual accounts of the city, showing how varied they are in terms of both coverage and level of detail. Clearly no single account is fully exhaustive or meticulous. By comparing the accounts, we notice similarities in how certain neighborhoods are understood, such as Achrafieh, but also stark differences across different parts of the city. For example, knowledge of the very densely populated southern suburb is recollected as distinct shapes with generally larger areas and fewer landmarks, while the neighborhoods in Municipal Beirut tend to overlap and have more detail – an indirectly proportional relationship between how dense the neighborhood is and how much of it one remembers.

تقوم الخرائط 7A - 7E بعزل روايات خمسة من السائقين في المدينة، وتظهر كيف تختلف هذه الروايات في التغطية ومستوى التفاصيل. من الواضح أنه لا توجد رواية واحدة شاملة أو دقيقة كلياً. عبر مقارنة الروايات لاحظنا تشابهاً في فهم بعض الأحياء، مثل الأشرفية، فضلاً عن الاختلافات الفارقة عبر الأجزاء المختلفة من المدينة. على سبيل المثال، فإن معرفة الضاحية الجنوبية للمدينة ذات الكثافة السكانية العالية تأتي على طريقة أشكال مختلفة مع مناطق واسعة بشكل عام ومعالم أقل، فيما المناطق داخل بيروت البلدية تتداخل وفيها تفاصيل أكثر، وهي علاقة نسبية غير مباشرة بين الكثافة وما يمكن تذكره في كل حي.

مكان العمل: العدلية LOCATION OF WORKPLACE: ADLIEH

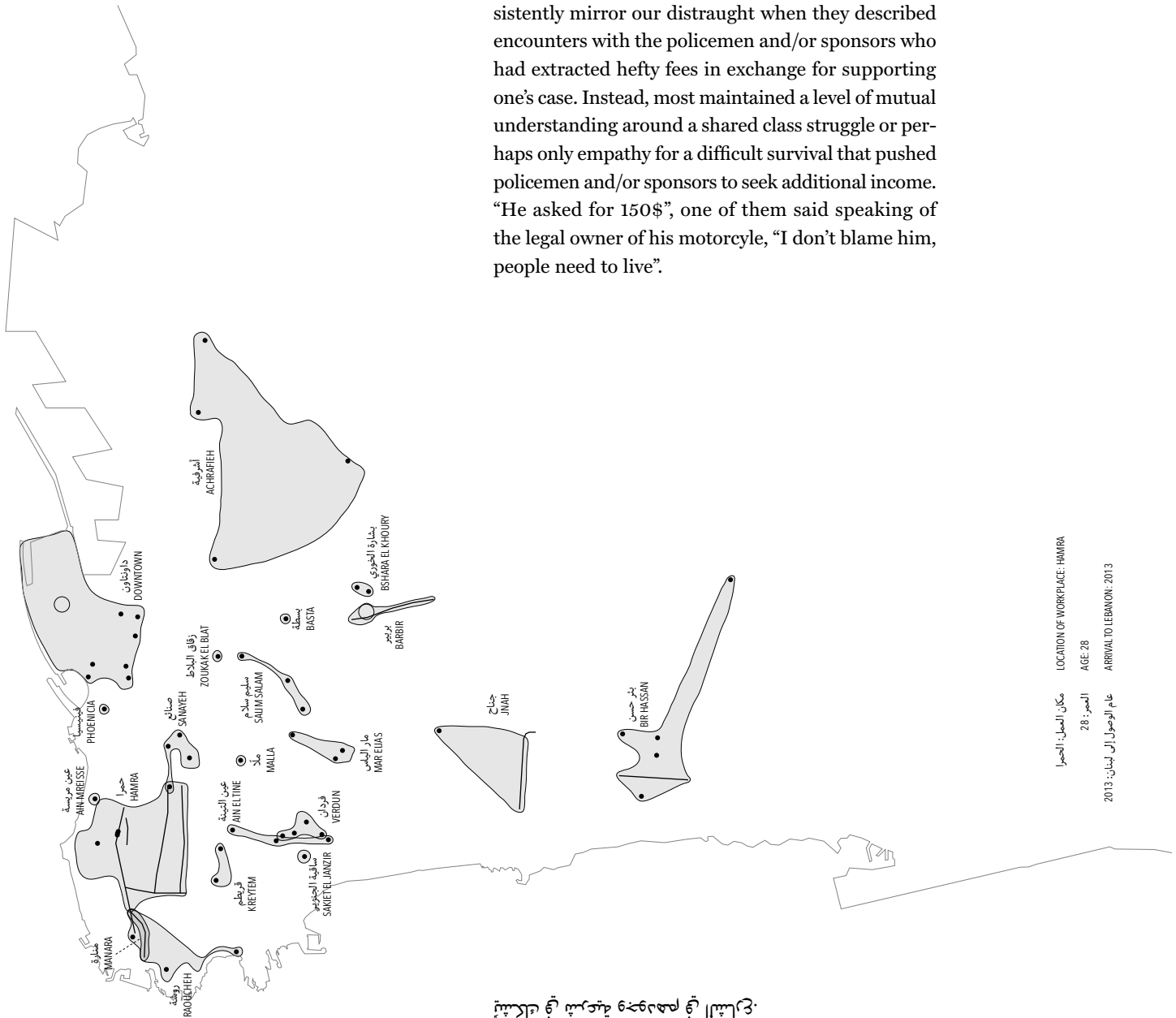
العمر: 27 AGE: 27

عام الوصول إلى لبنان: 2012 ARRIVAL TO LEBANON: 2012

it exacerbates his vulnerability vis-à-vis the “legal” bike owner, the police officer, and more generally anyone questioning the legitimacy of his presence on the street.

If legality is protective, it still doesn't provide immunity against the daily harassment these men encounter on the hands of policemen or self-appointed strongmen. Indeed, the path to mobility is obstruct-

ed by a whole range of formal and informal arrangements imposed by various municipal and police authorities such as night permits recently imposed for those who want to ride a motorbike at night, curfews, ad-hoc checkpoints, and random arrests. As a result, all men described a path of learning to circumvent policemen and pseudo-policemen who use the threat of the law to extract personal financial profit from their vulnerability. Under these conditions, it was interesting to note that our respondents didn't consistently mirror our distraught when they described encounters with the policemen and/or sponsors who had extracted hefty fees in exchange for supporting one's case. Instead, most maintained a level of mutual understanding around a shared class struggle or perhaps only empathy for a difficult survival that pushed policemen and/or sponsors to seek additional income. “He asked for 150\$”, one of them said speaking of the legal owner of his motorcycle, “I don't blame him, people need to live”.



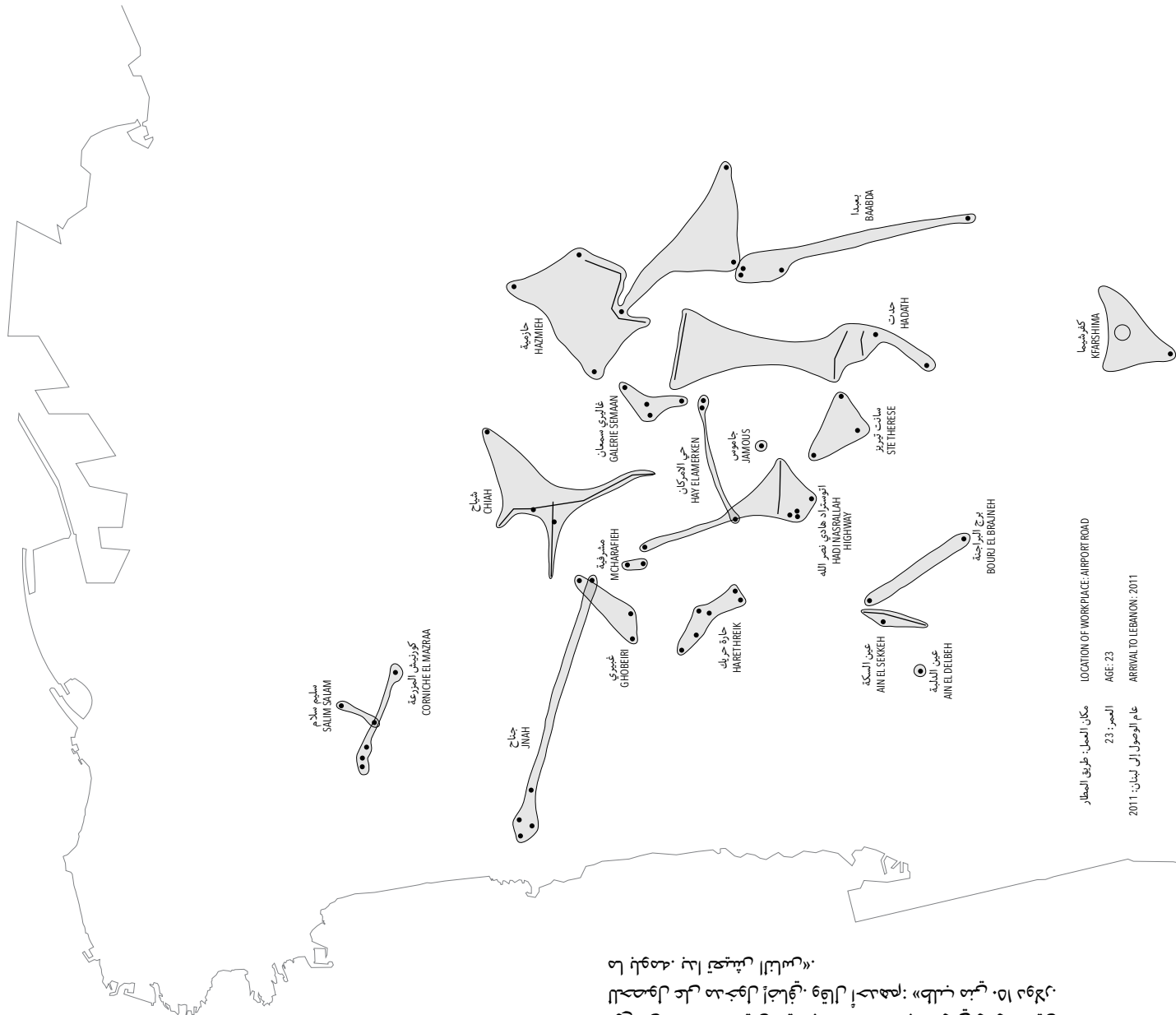
مكان العمل: هامرا
العمر: 28
عام الوصول إلى لبنان: 2013
LOCATION OF WORKPLACE: HAMRA
AGE: 28
ARRIVAL TO LEBANON: 2013

لشعورهم بالضعف والاعتماد على الآخرين، حيث يجدون أنفسهم في وضع غير مستقر، حيث لا يمكنهم الاعتماد على أنفسهم، بل يجب عليهم الاعتماد على الآخرين. هذا الشعور بالضعف والاعتماد على الآخرين هو ما يجعلهم عرضة للتهديد من قبل الشرطة أو المافيا. كما أن هذا الشعور بالضعف والاعتماد على الآخرين هو ما يجعلهم عرضة للاستغلال من قبل الآخرين. في النهاية، فإن هذا الشعور بالضعف والاعتماد على الآخرين هو ما يجعلهم عرضة للفقر والحرمان.

في النهاية، فإن هذا الشعور بالضعف والاعتماد على الآخرين هو ما يجعلهم عرضة للفقر والحرمان. كما أن هذا الشعور بالضعف والاعتماد على الآخرين هو ما يجعلهم عرضة للاستغلال من قبل الآخرين. في النهاية، فإن هذا الشعور بالضعف والاعتماد على الآخرين هو ما يجعلهم عرضة للفقر والحرمان.

Almost all interviewed delivery men nonetheless identified their competence to “evade” harassment as at least as important for their job as their knowledge of the city’s geography: as delivery drivers, they need to predict and avoid checkpoints, to maneuver out of getting a ticket which can be given randomly, “for example –as happened to one of my friends, because his motorbike was apparently noisy”, to reduce the fee

of a ticket if it has become unavoidable, to evade an abusive policeman trying to extract ransom “because, he told me, I was a terrorist [...] a claim I paid off with 100,000LBP before we reached the [police] station”... All this, and reach the clients’ homes with their precious package still warm and within the promised delivery time... which places back in full mode with the rest of the Lebanese drivers, saving time by ignoring traffic laws, driving on sidewalks, and leaving the motorbike in no-parking zones.



...and they are not only the ones who are being harassed, they are also the ones who are harassing others. This is a very complex situation, especially for delivery men who have to navigate through these areas every day. They are often the ones who are being targeted by the police, but they are also the ones who are harassing others. This is a very complex situation, especially for delivery men who have to navigate through these areas every day.

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The Freedom to Move

Despite the difficulties associated with this job, interviews show that food delivery driving is a coveted employment to all these men. To begin with, this employment is physically less taxing than construction work, which is tough on the body. The employment is also steady and when secured with one of the larger

restaurant chains, provides relative long-term security. Tips complement meager monthly salaries, making income substantially higher than other employment avenues. They also provides the opportunity to work *more* and be paid better if one builds a relationship of trust with specific clients. Thus, a client asked one of our respondents to take his debit card, withdraw a US\$100, run an errand in a nearby grocery store then, seeing he had executed the task honestly, left him the rest of the bill for tip (see map 6 for this driver's full account of the city). Through such acts of generosity, deliverymen build fond relations with clients which, albeit heavily limited by classed interactions, leave them with a sense of loyalty from which they derive



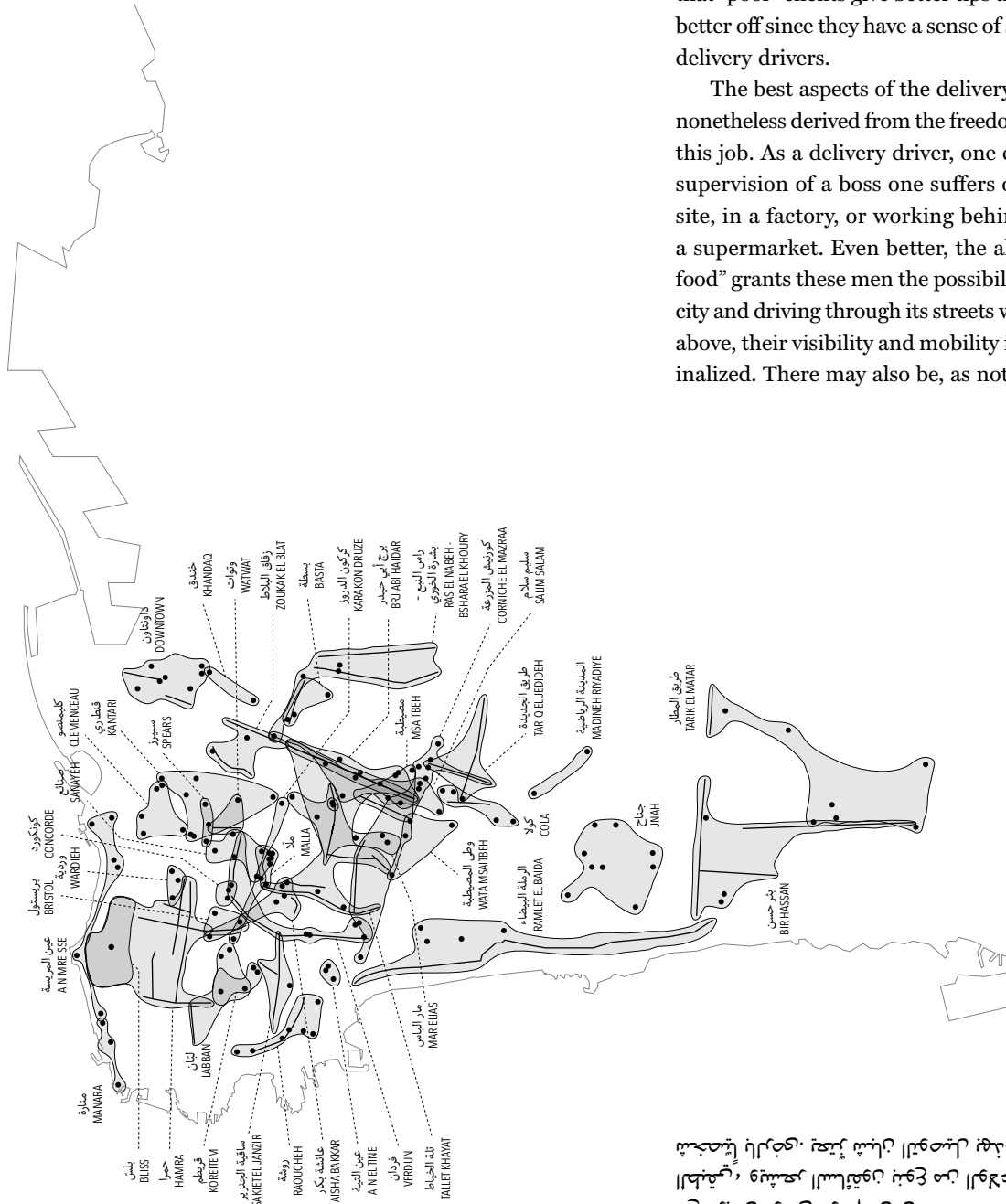
تتميز بالحرية في الحركة، حيث يمكنهم التنقل بين مختلف المناطق في بيروت، مما يتيح لهم الوصول إلى عدد كبير من المطاعم والمقاهي. هذا النوع من العمل يوفر لهم مرونة في ساعات العمل، مما يمكنهم من العمل في أوقات فراغهم أو بجانب وظائفهم الأخرى. كما أن الدخل الإضافي الناتج عن المصروفات يعزز من جاذبية هذا المهنة لديهم.

الحرية في الحركة، حيث يمكنهم التنقل بين مختلف المناطق في بيروت، مما يتيح لهم الوصول إلى عدد كبير من المطاعم والمقاهي. هذا النوع من العمل يوفر لهم مرونة في ساعات العمل، مما يمكنهم من العمل في أوقات فراغهم أو بجانب وظائفهم الأخرى. كما أن الدخل الإضافي الناتج عن المصروفات يعزز من جاذبية هذا المهنة لديهم.

personal satisfaction. The delivery drivers take pride in these relations... and one of them went as far as bragging that “these people are my clients, not the restaurant’s. If I change jobs, they will follow me. This is my asset as a delivery driver.” To old timers, these individual incentives and clients ultimately consolidate in an affective geography of the city with

desirable neighborhoods where tips are higher and people kinder. “I like Achrafieh most,” said one of our respondents, “because it is a calm area and people give higher tips.” Interestingly, this distinction does not necessarily depend on the income range of the area’s residents. One respondent went as far as describing a hierarchy of clients where religious belongings and tips are correlated... while another claimed that “poor” clients give better tips than those who are better off since they have a sense of solidarity with the delivery drivers.

The best aspects of the delivery employment are nonetheless derived from the freedom associated with this job. As a delivery driver, one escapes the direct supervision of a boss one suffers on a construction site, in a factory, or working behind the counter of a supermarket. Even better, the alibi of “delivering food” grants these men the possibility of roaming the city and driving through its streets when, as described above, their visibility and mobility is otherwise criminalized. There may also be, as noted elsewhere, the



مكان العمل: حمرا
العمر: 27
عام الوصول إلى لبنان: 2006

...ملاهم في هذه العلاقات... وواحد منهم ذهب الى أبعد من ذلك في التباهي قائلاً "هؤلاء الناس هم عملائي، ليس المطعم. إذا تغيرت وظيفتي، سيعتقونني. هذا هو رأسي كسائق توصيل." لدى القدامى، هذه الحوافز والعملاء تتكامل في جغرافيا عاطفية للمدينة مع

المناطق المحيطة بها حيث تكون الهدايا أعلى والأشخاص أكثر لطافة. "أحب أحرافيه أكثر"، قال أحد المشاركين، "لأنه منطقة هادئة والأشخاص يعطون أطيب الهدايا." وبشكل مثير للاهتمام، هذا التمييز لا يعتمد بالضرورة على مدى دخل سكان المنطقة. ذهب أحد المشاركين الى أبعد من ذلك في وصف تدرج عملاء حيث تتكامل المعتقدات الدينية والهدايا... بينما ادعى آخر أن عملاء "فقراء" يعطون أطيب الهدايا من أولئك الذين هم أغنى لأنهم لديهم شعور بالتضامن مع السائقين.

جغرافيا عاطفية



“حفاظاً على سلامتكم يمنع تجول الأجانب والأخوة السوريين لا سيما الدراجات النارية ضمن نطاق البلدة من الساعة 8 مساءً حتى الساعة 6 صباحاً وذلك تحت طائلة المسؤولية. بلدية صليما”

“In the interest of your safety: Foreigners and Syrians are prohibited from being out in the streets within the bounds of the town, especially on motorbikes, between the curfew hours of 8pm and 6am, under penalty of law. Salima Municipality”



“تعلن بلدية بيت الشعار والحضيرة منع التجوال لكافة العمال الأجانب القاطنين ضمن نطاق البلدة يومياً من الساعة 9 مساءً لغاية 5:30 صباحاً”

“The Bayt Al Shaar and Al-Hadra Municipality hereby announces the imposition of a curfew on all foreign workers living within the municipal bounds, effective between the hours of 9pm and 5:30am”



“سَيَأْتِي يَوْمٌ نَقُولُ فِيهِ لِلسُورِيِّ: اِجْمَعِ اغْرَاضَكَ وَكُلَّ مَا سَرَقْتَهُ وَارْحَلْ. بِشِيرٍ”

“The day will come when we say to the Syrian: gather your things and everything you’ve stolen, and leave. Bachir”

Banners in Dialogue

This contribution aims to document and present one of the many forms of a dialogue, going on since 2013, around the presence of Syrians refugees in Lebanon and the Syrian/foreigner workforce. This dialogue appears clearly through official and unofficial banners occupying the streets and declaring curfews for foreigner/Syrian brothers/refugees/workers, and threatening them if they don't comply. Facing them, we found other banners as well as solidarity events and protests organized by groups against racism and discrimination. We can describe this dialogue as a battle between two groups separated by an impenetrable wall of politics, interests and ideas. Who is participating in this dialogue, and who is absent from it? How can this dialogue be productive when it is conducted more as a series of monolithic discourses/monologues? Who is conducting this battle-dialogue?



يُمنع منعاً باتاً تجول العمال الأجانب داخل بلدة جاج وذلك من الساعة السابعة مساءً حتى الساعة السادسة والنصف صباحاً تحت طائلة المسؤولية

“Workers and foreigners are strictly prohibited from being outdoors in Jaj Municipality between the curfew hours of 7pm and 6:30am, under penalty of Law”



“ممنوع تجول السوريين تحت طائلة المسؤولية”
“No Syrians allowed, under penalty of Law”



يُسمح تجول العمال السوريين من 6:30 صباحاً لغاية 7:00 مساءً. يُمنع وجود البهاعة المتجولين داخل النطاق البلدي، سيتم حجز الدراجات والسيارات غير المسجلة والتي لا يملك سائقها رخصة سوق لبنانية

“Syrians are permitted to move about between the hours of 6:30am and 7pm. Peddlers are prohibited within the boundaries of the municipality. All unregistered motorbikes and cars, or vehicles whose drivers are not in possession of a Lebanese license, will be seized and towed”

بعض النسخ من هذا النوع من اللافتات موجودة في بلدة جاج وبلدات أخرى في لبنان. هذه اللافتات توضح موقف البلديات من وجود السوريين في البلديات. كما أنها توضح موقف البلديات من وجود البهاعة المتجولين داخل النطاق البلدي. سيتم حجز الدراجات والسيارات غير المسجلة والتي لا يملك سائقها رخصة سوق لبنانية.

لايف ريسرچ

جنا ترابولسي + هاشم ادنان



“يُمنع تجول الدراجات النارية والعمال غير اللبنانيين المقيمين في بلدة بشامون من الساعة 9 ليلاً حتى 6 صباحاً تحت طائلة المسؤولية. بلدية بشامون”

“Motorbikes and non-Lebanese workers residing in Bshamoun are subjected to a curfew between 9pm and 6am, under penalty of law. Bshamoun Municipality”



“ممنوع تجول السوريين من بعد الساعة 8 مساءً. بلدية حلبا”

“A curfew is imposed on Syrians as of 8pm. Halba Municipality”



“أخي العامل السوري عذراً. أنا أحق منك بالعمل في هذا البلد. ربيع بربوز”

“My Syrian Brother, I apologize but I have more right to work in this country than you do. Rabih Barbour”



“يُمنع تجول النازحين والعمّال من الساعة التاسعة مساءً الى الساعة السادسة صباحاً تحت طائلة المسؤولية. بلدية فالوغا - خلوات فالوغا”

“Displaced persons and workers must maintain curfew between the hours of 9pm and 6am, under penalty of law. Falougha Municipality”



“يُمنع التجول لغير اللبنانيين من 9 مساءً لغاية 6 صباحاً وخاصة الدراجات النارية. بلدية الجية”

“All non-Lebanese have to observe the curfew hours between 9pm to 6am, especially motorbike users. Jiyeh Municipality”



“تحيط بلدية برج حمود المقيمين الأجانب (السوريين) علماً ممنوع تجولهم من الساعة الثامنة مساءً لغاية السادسة صباحاً. بلدية برج حمود”

“Bourj Hammoud Municipality hereby warns all foreign (Syrian) residents that they are subjected to a curfew hours between 8pm and 6am. Bourj Hammoud Municipality”



“تعلن بلدية حملايا تحت طائلة المسؤولية والغرامة: - يحظر على باعة الخردة المتجولين من دخول بلدة حملايا - يحظر تجول العمال الأجانب في البلدة بعد الساعة الثامنة مساءً ولغاية الساعة الخامسة صباحاً”

“Hamlaya Municipality hereby announces that under penalty of law and heavy fines: - Travelling scrap vendors are prohibited from entering the town of Hamlaya - Foreign workers are under curfew between the hours of 8pm and 5am”



“يُمنع منعاً باتاً تجول الأخوة السوريين بعد العاشرة ليلاً. بلدية شانية”

“It is strictly prohibited for Syrians to be out in the streets after 10pm. Chanay Municipality”



“يُمنع تجول الدراجات النارية والأجانب من الساعة 8:00 مساءً حتى الساعة 6:00 صباحاً. بلدية مار شعيّا والمزكّة”

“Motorbikes and foreigners are prohibited from being out and about under the curfew hours of 8pm and 6am. Mar Chaaya-Mzekke Municipality”



“تعلن بلدية كرم سدة عن منع التجول لجميع الأجانب من الثامنة مساءً حتى الخامسة صباحاً تحت طائلة المسؤولية”

“Karm Seda hereby announces a curfew on all foreigners between 8pm and 5am, under penalty of law”



“ممنوع تجول السوريين في المية ومية ابتداءً من الساعة الثامنة مساءً وحتى السادسة والنصف صباحاً. بلدية المية ومية”

“Syrians are prohibited from being out in the streets of Mieh-Mieh between the curfew hours of 8pm and 6:30am. Miye ou Miye Municipality”



“يمنع تجول الأخوة السوريين ضمن نطاق بلدة بعلمشيه من الساعة الثامنة مساءً ولغاية السادسة صباحاً مع وجوب الاستحصال على بطاقة تعريف شخصي من البلدية وذلك تحت طائلة المسؤولية”

“Our Syrian brothers are prohibited from being out in the streets within the bounds of Baalhsamiyeh Municipality between the curfew hours of 8pm and 6am and are also required to obtain personal ID cards from the municipality, under penalty of law. BaaLechmey Municipality”



“يمنع تجول العمال السوريين واستعمال الدراجات النارية بعد الساعة الثامنة والنصف ليلاً وذلك تحت طائلة المسؤولية. البلدية”

“Syrians workers must remain indoors and motorbikes cannot be out on the streets after 8:30pm nightly, under penalty of law. The Municipality”



“حفاظاً على سلامتكم يمنع تجول الأجانب والأخوة السوريين ضمن نطاق البلدة من الساعة 8 مساءً حتى 6 صباحاً مع ضرورة الاستحصال على بطاقات التعريف الرسمية تحت طائلة المسؤولية. بلدية حقانا”

“For their own safety, foreigners and Syrians are prohibited from moving about within the bounds of the town between the curfew hours of 8pm and 6am and they must obtain official personal ID cards from the municipality, under penalty of law. Hammana Municipality”



“يمنع تجول العمال الأجانب: دراجات نارية - سيارات - مشاة من 8:30 مساءً ولغاية 6 صباحاً تحت طائلة الملاحقة القانونية. بلدية المنصف”

“Foreign workers are prohibited from being out in the streets, on motorbikes, in cars or on foot, between the curfew hours of 8:30pm and 6am, under penalty of legal prosecution. Mounsef Municipality”



“نطلب من الأخوة السوريين عدم التجول بعد الساعة 9 مساءً حفاظاً على السلامة العامة. بلدية عين السيدة”

“We hereby request that our Syrian brothers remain indoors after 9pm in the interest of general safety. Ain el Saydeh Municipality”



“أيها السوري... اليد التي تمتد إلى لقمة عيشنا سنقطعها. عمال البلدة”

“Listen, Syrian: any hand that reaches for our daily bread shall be cut off. The workers of the town”



“حفاظاً على سلامة الأخوة النازحين السوريين يطلب منكم عدم التجول بعد الساعة الثامنة مساءً حتى السادسة صباحاً. بلدية الجديدة البوشرية السد”
 “Syrian refugees, in the interest of your own safety, you are requested to maintain curfew between the hours of 8pm and 6am. Jdeideh-Bauchrieh-Sed Municipality”



“تعلن بلدية زحلة - معلقة وتعاينل أنه يمنع تجول جميع الأخوة السوريين على دراجاتهم النارية وسيراً على الأقدام ضمن النطاق البلدي اعتباراً من 8:00 مساءً ولغاية 6:00 صباحاً تحت طائلة الملاحقات القانونية”
 “Zahleh-Mu'allaqah and Taanayel Municipality hereby announces that all our Syrian brothers are subjected to a curfew, both on motorbikes and on foot, within the town borders between the curfew hours of 8pm and 6am under penalty of legal prosecution”



“يمنع منعاً باتاً تجمع وتجول العمال الأجانب ضمن أحياء البلدة وذلك ابتداءً من الساعة الثامنة ولغاية الساعة السادسة صباحاً كما يمنع بتاتاً استعمال الدراجات النارية والهوائية كما يمنع بتاتاً استعمال الدراجات النارية والهوائية تحت طائلة المسؤولية. بلدية الكحالة”
 “It is strictly prohibited for foreign workers to gather or be outdoors within the vicinity of the town between the curfew hours of 8pm and 6am, just as the use of bicycles and motorbikes is strictly prohibited, under penalty of law. Kehaleh Municipality”



“إعلان: حفاظاً على سلامة الأخوة السوريين والأجانب يطلب منهم عدم التجول في أنحاء البلدة من الساعة التاسعة مساءً لغاية الساعة الخامسة صباحاً تحت طائلة المسؤولية. (يستثنى عمال المطاعم الحاملين تصريح البلدية). بلدية دير القمر”
 “Announcement: For their own safety, Syrians and foreigners are requested not to circulate within the municipality between the curfew hours of 9pm and 5am, under penalty of law. (With the exception of restaurant workers who have been issued municipal permits). Deir el Kamar Municipality”



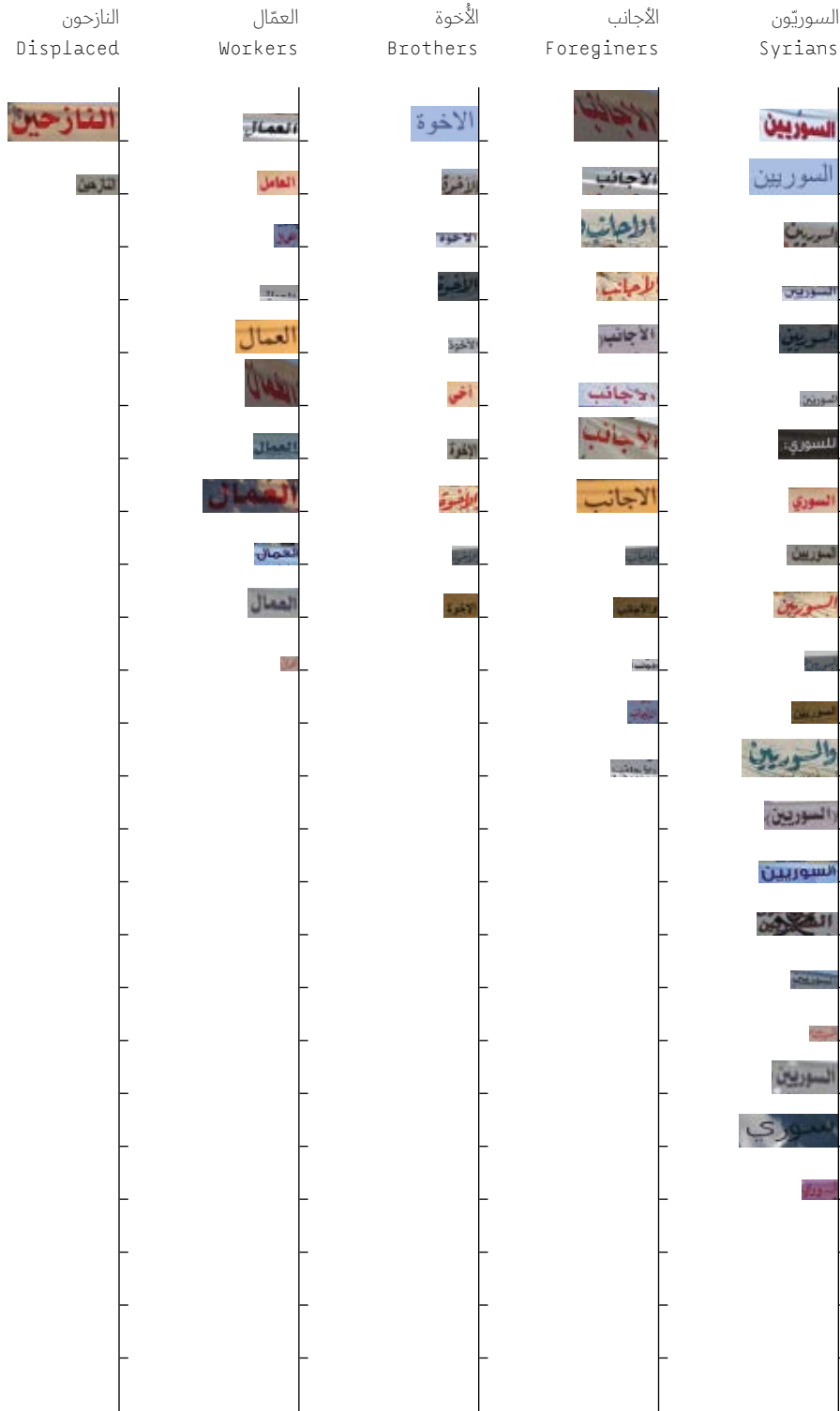
“بلدية القرية. يمنع تجول الرعايا الأجانب والسوريين من الساعة 8 مساءً حتى الساعة 6 صباحاً تحت طائلة المسؤولية”
 “Qrayeh Municipality. Syrians and foreign nationals must observe a curfew between the hours of 8pm and 6am, under penalty of law”



“تعلن بلدية وادي شحرور العليا عن منع التجوال ابتداءً من نهار السبت 9 شباط/2013 لكافة الأجانب القاطنين ضمن نطاق البلدة يومياً من الساعة 8:30 مساءً حتى الساعة 5:30 صباحاً كما يمنع بنفس التوقيت سير الدراجات النارية الغير حاصلة على ترخيص منها”
 “Wadi Shahrour Municipality announces a curfew effective Saturday, February 9, 2013, applicable to all foreigners residing within the town, nightly between the hours of 8:30pm to 5:30am; likewise, all motorbikes that have not obtained a permit from the municipality are prohibited from circulation”

These photos were taken on site or shared with us online by friends through social media. Sources for the curfew banners: “Shame” album on Facebook (<https://goo.gl/jezmbT>) and “The racism observatory” Facebook page (<https://goo.gl/Ym1v89>)

التقطنا جزء من هذه الصور في مواقع تواجد اللافتات وتم إرسال الجزء الآخر من قبل أصدقاء لنا عبر مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي. المراجع للافتات منع التجول: ألبوم الصور على فايسبوك «العار» (<https://goo.gl/jezmbT>) وصفحة «مرصد العنصرية» (<https://goo.gl/Ym1v89>)





"خلية الأزمة" «فاشلة»
"The 'crisis unit' is a failure!"



"كلنا لاجئون متضامنون بوجه العنصرية"
"We are all refugees, residents, united against racism"



"يسقط القرار البلدي ضد الأخوة السوريين". لافتة علقها سكان خربة داوود رفضاً لقرار البلدية طرد اللاجئين السوريين المقيمين فيها. نشرت في 23 آذار 2016 على موقع arab-turkey.com (<https://goo.gl/mSv8c3>)
"May the municipal decision against our Syrian brothers fall". Banner by residents of Kherbet Daoud, in Akkar, against the decision by the municipality to expel all Syrians living on its territories. Taken from arab-turkey.com (<https://goo.gl/mSv8c3>), published on March 23, 2017



"العنصرية تهدد السلم الأهلي"
"Racism threatens civil peace"



"حبي السوري أهلا فيك ب (قلب) لبنان". صورة من صفحة فيسبوك «الحملة الداعمة للسوريين بوجه العنصرية»

"My Syrian brother, welcome to (the heart of) Lebanon". Photo taken from the facebook page "The Campaign to support Syrians in the face of racism"



"كلنا لاجئون"
"We are all refugees"



"ممنوع منع التجول"
"No to curfews"



"ممنوع منع التجول"
"No to curfews"



"أهلاً باللاجئين والعمال السوريين في لبنان. عذراً على ما يفعله العنصريون منا" لافتة عُلقت خلال تحرك رفضاً لقرار فرض التأشيرات للسوريين. نشرت في 19 كانون الثاني 2015 على موقع beirutwalls.wordpress.com (<https://goo.gl/z46fwr>)
"Syrian refugees and workers in Lebanon, welcome. We apologize for what the racists among us are doing" Banner hanged during a protest against the imposition of visas for Syrians, taken from beirutwalls.wordpress.com (<https://goo.gl/z46fwr>), posted on Jan 19, 2015



من بيروت، يوم الغضب العالمي من أجل حلب. لافتة علق في دالية الروشة. نشرت الصور في 1 كانون الثاني 2016 على موقع [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/p2Pntc\)](https://goo.gl/p2Pntc)
 "From Beirut, the international day of anger for Aleppo". Banner hung in Dalieh.
 Photos taken from [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/p2Pntc\)](https://goo.gl/p2Pntc), posted on Oct. 1, 2016



"اللعنة على كل من يرفع سلاحاً بوجه الشعب في سوريا، وعلى كل قضاياه... أنقذوا حلب."
 نشرت في 18 كانون الأول 2016 على موقع [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/p2Pntc\)](https://goo.gl/p2Pntc)
 "Shame on those who pull weapons on the Syrian people and on their causes... Save Aleppo". Taken from [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/p2Pntc\)](https://goo.gl/p2Pntc), posted on Dec 18, 2016



"يا حلب سامحينا". نشرت في 18 كانون الأول 2016 على موقع [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/9RFCXK\)](https://goo.gl/9RFCXK)
 "Aleppo, forgive us".
 Taken from [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/9RFCXK\)](https://goo.gl/9RFCXK), posted on Dec 18, 2016



"يا حلب سامحينا". نشرت في 18 كانون الأول 2016 على موقع [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/9RFCXK\)](https://goo.gl/9RFCXK)
 "Aleppo, forgive us".
 Taken from [beirutwalls.wordpress.com \(https://goo.gl/9RFCXK\)](https://goo.gl/9RFCXK), posted on Dec 18, 2016

Protest pictures from the protest "Together in the face of racism", July 18, 2016

صور المسيرة من تحرك «كلنا بوجه العنصرية» التي جرت في 18 تموز 2016

The day after her arrival to Beirut from a previous post in Iraq, Catherina attended her organization's mandatory security briefing. There, she received an ordinary tourist map of the city (see fig.1) on which a line had been drawn by the Security Officer using an orange highlighter. This line served to indicate a so-called "red zone": the parts of the city where she was not allowed to go. The map was accompanied by a briefing on the historical context of Beirut and its sectarian conflicts. Interestingly, a large section of this red zone traced exactly the city's historic Green Line¹.

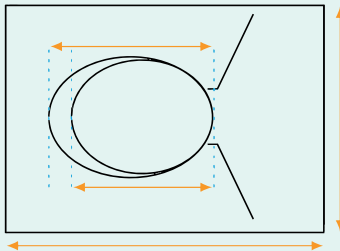
When I asked her how she went about choosing a place to live, Catherina said that being able to walk to work was the most important consideration. However, the office building where she works is situated along the Green Line and when I asked her specifically about the areas on the other side of the - in her case, Orange - Line, she replied,

"OK, so no... This side (west of the Green Line) I wouldn't have been looking, because this side we cannot go to. I can't go there... A taxi, walking, nothing. So I definitely didn't look for apartments there."

Contrary to popular imaginings of international aid workers as privileged city-dwellers who can freely move about, Catherina and many of her colleagues are quite severely restricted in their movements. The organizations they work for label entire parts of the city (and the country) as 'dangerous' and therefore 'off-limits'.

This restriction enforced through security policies has a number of important effects on how aid workers navigate their everyday environments. Firstly, it offers international newcomers to the city an accessible and trustworthy means to navigate a potentially dangerous context. Catherina surprised me by saying

بطاقة شخصية
Personal Profile



الاسم: كاترينا ميلانو*
Name: Catherina Milano*

العمر: 35
Age: 35

الجنسية: إيطالية
Country of Origin: Italy

مكان الإقامة: بيروت، لبنان
Current Residence: Beirut, Lebanon

مدة الإقامة في البلد المضيف: أربعة أشهر
Duration of Stay in Host-Country: 4 months

* For reasons of personal security and privacy, this article uses a pseudonym.
* لأسباب تتعلق بالأمن الشخصي والخصوصية سيتم استخدام أسماء مستعارة في هذا المقال.

في بيروت، كاترينا ميلانو، 35 عاماً، من إيطاليا، تعمل في منظمة إنسانية دولية. بعد وصولها من العراق، حضرت اجتماعاً أمنيًا إلزاميًا حيث تم توزيع خريطة سياحية للبيروت مع خط أحمر يحدد مناطق ممنوعة. خط هذا الخط أحمر يتطابق تمامًا مع الخط الأخضر التاريخي في بيروت. عندما سألتها عن كيفية اختيار مكان السكن، قالت إن القدرة على المشي إلى العمل هي الاعتبار الأكثر أهمية. ومع ذلك، فإن مبنى المكتب الذي تعمل فيه يقع على طول الخط الأخضر. وعندما سألتها عن المناطق على الجانب الآخر من - في حالتها، خط البرتقالي - قالت،

«نعم، لا... هذا الجانب (غرب الخط الأخضر) لم أكن أبحث عنه، لأننا لا نذهب إلى هناك... لا نأخذ سيارة أجرة، لا نمشي، لا شيء. لذلك بالتأكيد لم أبحث عن شقق هناك.»

على عكس التصورات الشائعة عن العاملين الدوليين في مجال المساعدات الإنسانية كمواطنين ميسرين في المدن، فإن كاترينا ومعظم زميلاتها مقيدون بشدة في حركتهم. المنظمات التي يعملون لها تسمي أجزاء كاملة من المدينة (والدولة) بـ «خطوط حمراء» و«مناطق ممنوعة».

هذا التقييد المفروض من خلال سياسات الأمان له تأثيرات مهمة على كيفية تنقل العاملين في بيئتهم اليومية. أولاً، فإنه يوفر للمبتدئين في المدينة وسيلة سهلة وموثوقة للتنقل في سياق خطير. كاترينا أدهشتني بقولها

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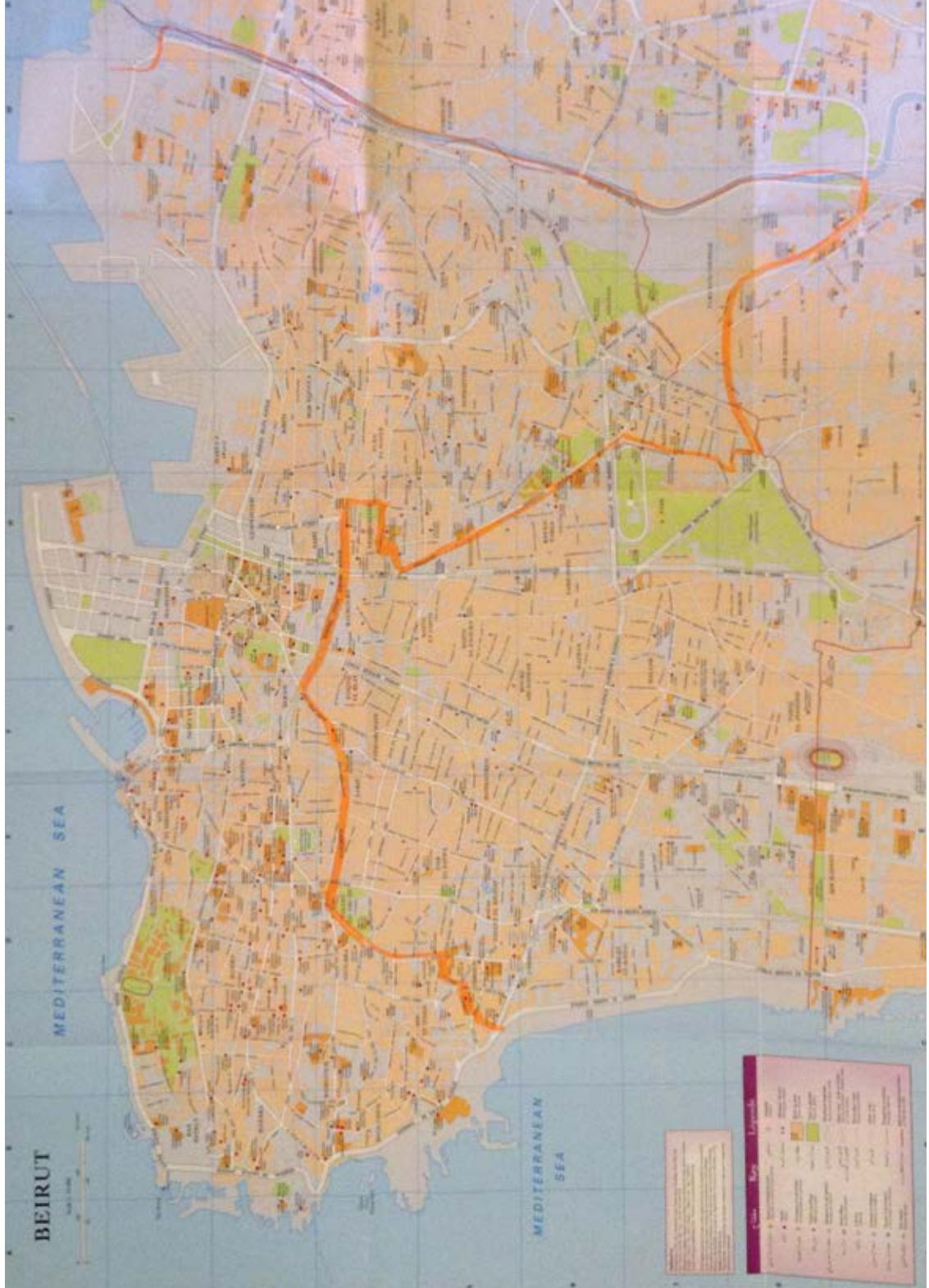
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that she actually *preferred* her previous living situation in Iraq, although according to most objective measures this was a more dangerous environment. She told me:

“In Iraq it was clear, let’s say, where I could and couldn’t go, because it was just one suburb where I could stay, and you could strongly differentiate it from the rest. It was fairly landmarked. Here in Beirut it’s not.”

Catherina admitted that navigating Beirut’s security landscape was confusing. Here, she did not live in a walled compound but in a ‘normal neighborhood’ and was free to choose her own means of transportation, rather than being transported by a driver in convoy. Ironically, it was the fact that she had more freedom of movement here than she had in Iraq that made her more uncomfortable. It meant that she had to familiarize herself with the new environment in

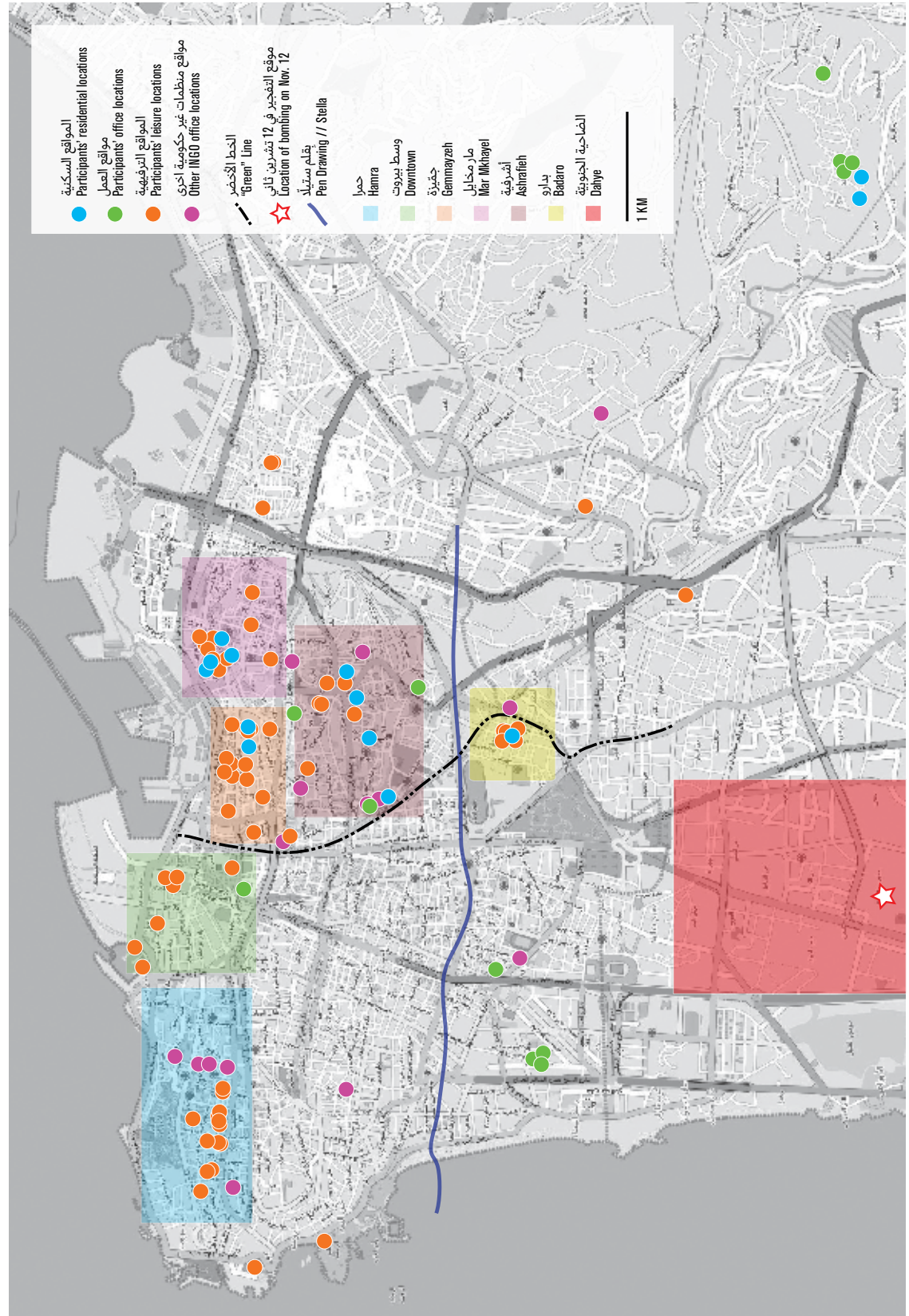


1. Scan of the map given to Catherina
الخريطة التي أعطيت لكتيرينا

raphies of the aid workers themselves, but also have repercussions for the spatial and social fabrics of the city around them.

A map of the activities of the 14 international aid workers I interviewed (see fig.2) shows clearly how they are concentrated in a few specific neighbourhoods in the city: Ashrafieh, Gemmayzeh, Mar Mkhael, Hamra, and to a lesser extent Badaro and Downtown. The interviews revealed that through

an interplay of organizational policy and personal preference, large parts of the city simply do not play a role in participants' regular comings and goings. In other words, the city is practiced by these international aid workers as a patchwork of safe/familiar and unsafe/unfamiliar areas. In safe areas, international aid workers enjoy freedom of movement and do not worry much about their safety; they meet up with friends at bars and restaurants and generally feel



2. Map compiling the daily travels of 14 international aid workers in Beirut
خريطة تجمع معلومات عن التنقل اليومي لـ 14 عامل في الإغاثة أجانب في بيروت

quite comfortable. The areas designated or perceived as 'unsafe', however, are often not even considered as possible destinations, and may in fact be so far removed from people's minds that even a bomb attack in one of those areas does not shock them or affect their daily patterns. This segregated geography is not accidental, but follows existing socio-spatial fault lines in the city: partly the historic, well-documented East-West divide, but also increasingly the North-South divide which pits 'cosmopolitan' Downtown and East Beirut against 'Shiite' South Beirut. Through their security-driven tendency to only make use of particular parts of the city, international aid workers are (inadvertently) reproducing existing forms of class and sectarian segregation in the city.

By now it should be clear that the common perception of international aid workers as privileged, limitless travelers who are never bogged down by their local context and leave no traces behind is a fanciful illusion. Instead, we have seen how Catherina and her colleagues are restricted in their movements and often confused, or even threatened, by the city around them.

These findings are about more than simply 'busting the myth', however, and have important relevance to the central theme of this publication. Aid workers' spatial limitation impacts the work they are able to do. As Lisa Smirl wrote, "experience of space and place are fundamental to humans' understanding of the world".³ For international aid workers in Beirut - and across the globe - these experiences are increasingly circumscribed within isolated, securitised perimeters, leading to fragmented and limited understandings of the context they are working within. As a result, the "policy made at headquarters is... spatially

constrained by an overly narrow understanding of the place that is being assisted."⁴ In other words, where international aid workers live, work, and spend their free time directly affects their ability to provide aid to the refugees they came to assist.

And so, while the headlines may continue to bombard us with one-sided talk of the 'heavy burden' of refugees, this story works to balance the scales. It reminds us that through their common use of the city, the fates and practices of aid worker and refugee are intimately connected.

¹ The Green Line divided the city into East-Beirut and West-Beirut during the various (un)civil conflicts that took place between 1975 and 1990. Since 1991, however, the Green Line has no security relevance.

ⁱⁱ On November 12, 2015, two suicide bombers detonated explosives in Bourj al-Barajneh, a neighbourhood in the predominantly Shiite southern suburbs of Beirut. ISIL claimed responsibility for the bombings, which killed approximately 40 people; the most severe bombings since the end of the Lebanese civil war.

¹ Redfield, P. 2012. "The unbearable lightness of ex-pats: double binds of humanitarian mobility." *Cultural Anthropology* 27 (2): 358-82.

² Pelgrim, R. 2016. Security and segregation: the everyday geographies of international aid workers in Beirut, Lebanon. Masters' thesis. Utrecht University.

³ Smirl, L. 2015. Spaces of aid: how cars, compounds, and hotels shape humanitarianism. London: Zed Books, p. 8.

⁴ Smirl, L. *Op. Cit.*, xiii

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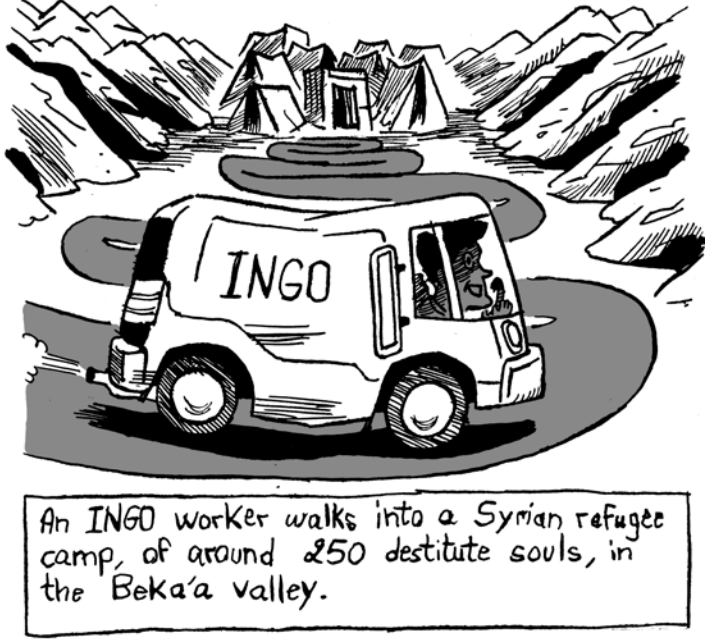
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An INGO worker walks into a refugee camp

GHADI GHOSN + YAZAN AL SAADI



إيدخل عامل في منظمة غير حكومية دولية إلى مخيم للاجئين السوريين يعيش فيه نحو مئتان وخمسون شخصاً معدماً، في سهل البقاع

{لديه مهمة للتنفيذ في هذا اليوم}

- جيتا نساعدكم!

- اه؟ جايين أكل؟

- لا

- وظائف؟

- لا

- مي نظيفة؟

- لا

- تعليم شامل وبلدش لكل أولادنا؟

- لا

- رح تأمنولنا طلعة من هون تكون آمنة؟

- لا

عدي غصن + يزن السعدي
يدخل عامل في منظمة غير حكومية دولية إلى مخيم للاجئين



- طريقة لتطور وتحمي ونساند ونبني وسيلة لتمثيل اجتماعي وسياسي كرمال الحق بتقرير المصير يلي هو المسألة الأساسية من كل هاد الموضوع وسبب أنه نحننا لاجئين؟

- أكيد لآ أنا هون كرمال شغل مهم كثير رح يغيرلكن حياتكن!!!

- أنا هون لعلمكم كيف تستعملو الصابون! الدونرز كثير بيهمهن الموضوع.

- To hell with you and the donors. We are not cattle.




03 | Dwellers

(110) Mona Fawaz + Dounia Salamé + Alina Oueishek  Inhabiting the City, Remaking its Quarters

(118) Abdulhalim Albakkor | A Refugees' "Little Syria" in Istanbul

(121) Jana Traboulsi + Hashem Adnan  The Sleeper

(136) Kamel Doraï + Pauline Piraud-Fournet | From Tent to Makeshift Housing

(140) Sibylle Yasmeeen George  Stories


(144) Faten Kikano | Informal Settlements as Social Places of Life

(151) Sam Dinger  Beyond Emergency


(156) Ieva Saudargaitė Douaihi | Life Despite Here

(156)  الحياة رغم هنا

(151) ما وراء الطوارئ

(144)  الحياة رغم هنا

(140) ما وراء الطوارئ

(136)  الحياة رغم هنا

(121) ما وراء الطوارئ

(118)  الحياة رغم هنا

(110) الحياة رغم هنا

a home in Getawi, it is because of the large number of empty and relatively affordable apartments in this aging neighborhood that provided a stock of affordable housing in an otherwise prohibitively expensive city. An area of narrow streets and difficult circulation, Getawi has so far been avoided by developers who have found in nearby Mar Mikhael and Gemmayzeh more attractive spaces. As such, it is safe to say that the availability of an affordable housing stock in good condition for rent was attractive to our respondents. In fact, the experiences we recorded on processes of housing acquisition among this group of refugees parallel those of Lebanese youth thrown in the similar situation of securing adequate quality, affordable shelter in a city that fails to provide appropriate housing options for the majority of its dwellers. Many described a trajectory of multiple displacements where they fled poor quality rooms and/or homes because they suffered from weak lighting, lack of ventilation, frequent electric outages and salty tap water. To these, they added additional contextual factors such as the racism of neighbours, the harassment of local strongmen, a nearby checkpoint that

made coming home a daily apprehensive moment... as well as the mundane experiences of youth moving out of the parents' block: breaking up with a partner, a fallout among friends, and/or a roommate travelling to Europe typically throws any of these young men back on the housing market.

Tracing back their residential trajectories, first comers –or those whom friends call jokingly “residents zero”- recounted they were relieved to locate an affordable yet accessible housing option at a time when rents were skyrocketing everywhere else. Many spent months in the city's suburbs, in Ayn el Remaneh, Furn el Shebbak, or as far as Aley but the cost and inconveniences of commuting encouraged them to look again for locations closer to work and/or friends. In addition to affordability, Getawi's proximity to Mar Mikhael where many of these young men spent their evenings rendered the neighborhood more attractive, as did the availability of affordable grocery stores, the quietness, lower density, and the quality of the water – less salty than other areas of the city. Soon, friends followed, making eventually the presence of this network of individuals the main attraction factor to moving in.

Based on interviews with 8 young Syrian men living in Getawi, the map next page shows how interviewed youth produce new representations of the city and the quarters they inhabit. Interlocutors were asked about their residential trajectories since they arrived to Lebanon, the places they go to for leisure, socializing, work and medical care, and the landmarks they are familiar with in their vicinity. The map charts the data collected in two ways:

The geographical part of the map shows the mentioned areas, places and landmarks, and excludes all other information about the rest of the city, rendering visible the young men's “lived” spaces exclusively. Through shading and line thickness variations, the neighborhoods and the different locations are coded according to the number of mentions, without attending to any sentiments that might be associated with each of them. The density of landmarks in Hamra and Getawi shows that the young men have a better knowledge of these neighborhoods than the rest of the city, yet this binary does not reflect an actual equilibrium, as outlined in the text that narrates this research.

The legend part of the map lists the names of the mentioned locations and categorizes them into types. For the neighborhoods (or sectors/zones), impressions of the mentioned areas are counted and classified as “positive” or “negative” based on a discourse analysis of the interviews, which allowed for a “score” to be attributed to each neighborhood. The neighborhoods are then arranged on two axes: number of impressions and score, which provides an additional reading based on relevance and popularity. Dahieh, for example, is mentioned almost as many times as Getawi but has a much lower score since it was mainly discussed as a place to avoid. Read against the geographical coding, this is further emphasized by how the two are similar in “intensity” while Getawi holds a significantly higher density of landmarks.

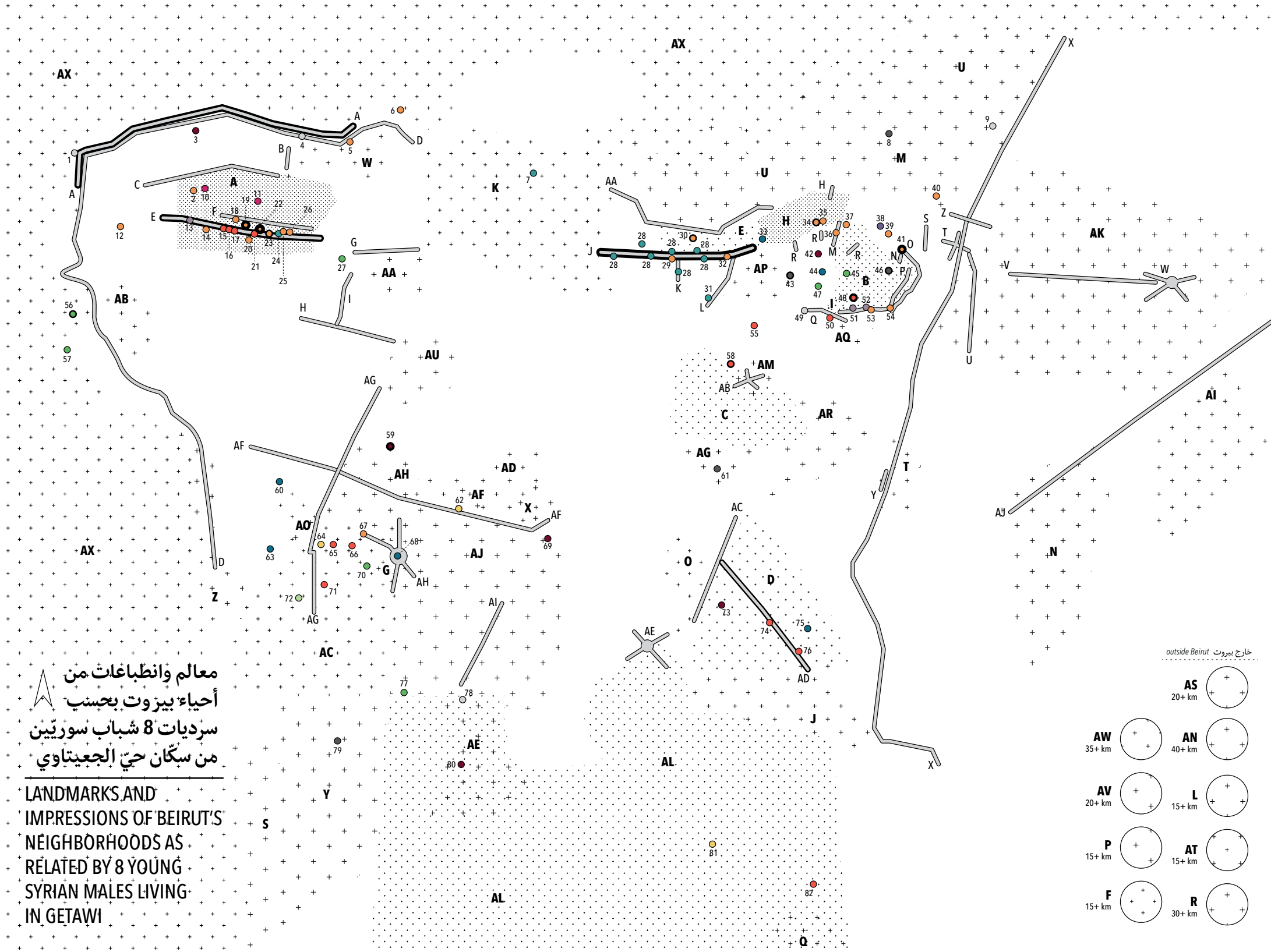
استناداً إلى مقابلات مع ثمانية شبان سوريين يعيشون في منطقة الجميناوي، تظهر الخريطة على الصفحة التالية كيف ينتجون صورة جديدة للمدينة والأحياء التي يقطنون فيها. لم تدخل المقابلات في انطباعاتهم عن أحياء معينة، لكن تم سؤالهم عن الطرق التي يتبعونها للوصول إلى منازلهم منذ بدء عيشهم في لبنان، والأماكن التي يقصدونها للترفيه ولقاء الناس والعمل والعناية الطبية، والمعالم والأماكن التي يعرفونها في محيطهم. تحتوي الخريطة بطريقتين مختلفتين المعلومات التي جمعت:

الجانِب الجغرافي من الخريطة يظهر المناطق والأحياء والمعالم التي تحدثوا عنها، ويستثنى كل معلومات أخرى عن المدينة، مركزاً على الأماكن التي «عاش» فيها الشبان بشكل خاص عبر جعلها مرئية. عبر التظليل والتغييرات في سماكة الخط، يتم تمييز كل حي ومنطقة مختلفة وفق عدد المرات التي ذكرت فيها، من دون التركيز على أي مشاعر مرتبطة بها. إن كثافة المعالم في الحمرا والجميناوي تظهر أن الشبان يعرفون هذه المناطق أكثر من المناطق الأخرى في المدينة، لكن هذه الثنائية لا تعكس توازناً حقيقياً، كما هو مبين في النص المرافق لهذا البحث.

تفسير الخريطة يعدد أسماء المناطق التي ذكرت ووصفها وفق الأنواع. بالنسبة لأحياء (أو القطاعات / المناطق)، يتم احتساب الانطباعات الخاصة بالمنطقة وتصنيفها «إيجابي» أو «سليبي»، وفق تحليل المقابلات التي سمحت بإعطاء «علامة» لكل منطقة. ثم يتم تجميع المناطق وفق محورين: عدد الانطباعات والعلامة، التي تعطي قراءة إضافية تستند إلى الأهمية والشعبية، على سبيل المثال فإنّ الصاحبة مذكورة تقريباً بعدد المرات نفسه كما الجميناوي، لكن مع علامة منخفضة، لأنها تذكر كمكان يجب تجنبه فقط. حين يقرأ ذلك مع التصنيف الجغرافي يتم التركيز أكثر على كيف أن المنطقتين متشابهتان في «الكثافة»، فيما الجميناوي فيها كثافة معالم أكثر.

معالم وانطباعات من
 أحياء بيروت بحسب
 سرديات 8 شباب سوريين
 من سكان حي الجعيتاوي

LANDMARKS AND
 IMPRESSIONS OF BEIRUT'S
 NEIGHBORHOODS AS
 RELATED BY 8 YOUNG
 SYRIAN MALES LIVING
 IN GETAWI



خارج بيروت outside Beirut

- AS 20+ km
- AW 35+ km
- AV 20+ km
- P 15+ km
- F 15+ km
- AN 40+ km
- L 15+ km
- AT 15+ km
- R 30+ km

STREETS, BRIDGES, STAIRS

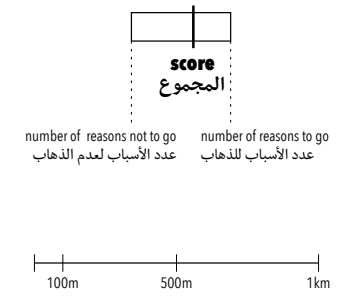
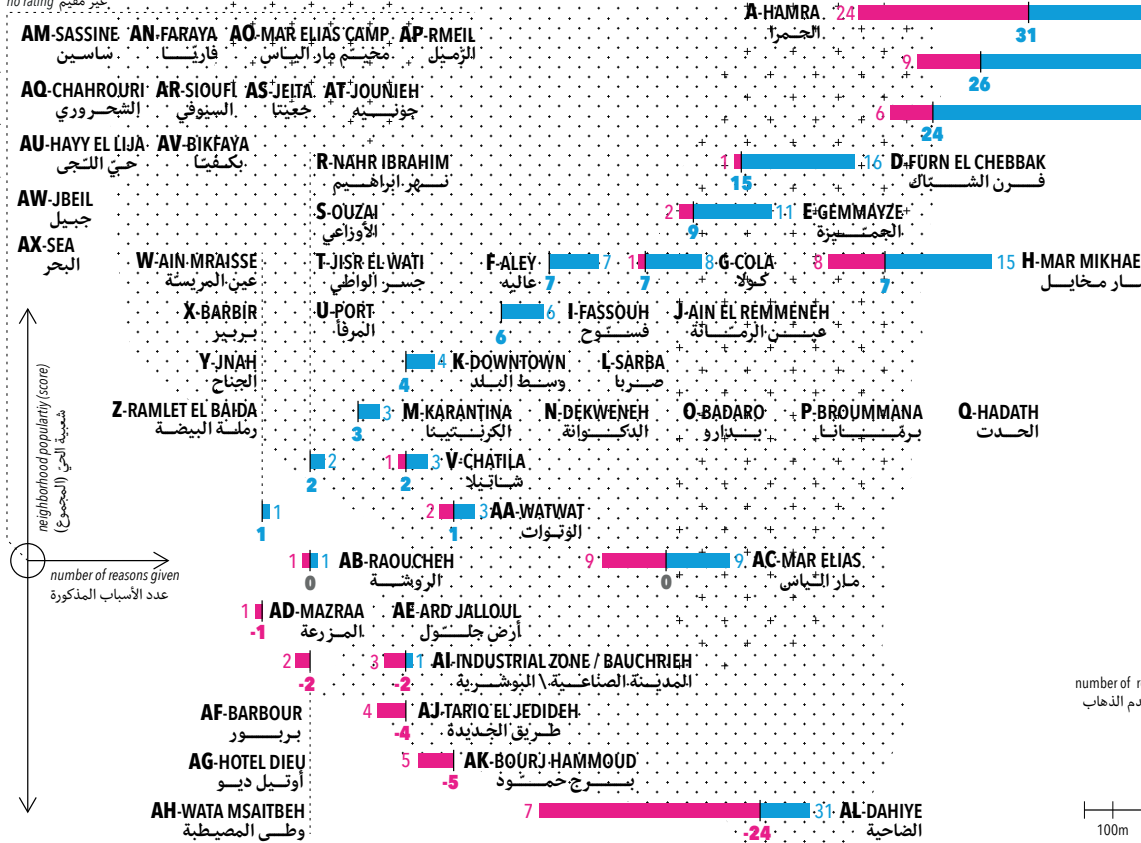
شوارع، جسور، درج

NEIGHBORHOODS, SECTORS, ZONES

أحياء، قطاعات، مناطق

مفتاح CODING

- A- Còrnjchê El Maṅarâ كورنيش المنارة
- B- AUB stairs درج الجامعة الأميركية
- C- Bliss street شارع بلس
- D- Sea road (Ras Beirut) الطريق البحرية (راس بيروت)
- E- Hamra street شارع الحمرا
- F- Makdisi street شارع مقدسي
- G- Spears كركون الدرّوز شارع سبيرز
- H- Karakon El Druze كركون الدرّوز شارع سبيرز
- I- Karakon – Sanayeh street شارع الكركون - الصنائع
- J- Gemmayze شارع الجميزة
- K- Mar Nicolas stairs درج مار نقولا
- L- Accawi street شارع الكعكوي
- M- Geara stairs درج جعارة
- N- Bachir Gemayel stairs & statue درج وتمثال بشير جميل
- O- Getawi back road شارع الجعيتاوي الخلفي
- P- Getawi BLF street شارع البنك اللبناني-الفرنسي
- Q- Street of the old MTV building نزلة ال ام.تي.في القديمة
- R- Getawi stairs دراج الجعيتاوي
- S- Jisr El Hâdîd جسر الحديد
- T- Bourj Hammoud crossroads تقاطع برج حمود
- U, V- Bourj Hammoud souk سوق برج حمود
- W- Dora rotundabout مستديرة الدورة
- X- Beirut river نهر بيروت
- Y- Souk El Ahad سوق الأحد
- Z- Karantina bridge جسر الكرتينا
- AA- Sea road (port) الطريق البحري (المرفأ)
- AB- Sassine square ساحة ساسين
- AC- Sami El Solh street شارع سامي الصلح
- AD- Furn El Chebbak souk سوق فرن الشباك
- AE- Tayouneh roundabout مستديرة الطيونة
- AF- Mazraa - UNESCO road طريق المزرعة - اليونسكو
- AG- Spinneys street شارع سبينيس
- AH- Cola bridge سوق صبرا
- AI- Souk Sabra سوق صبرا
- AJ- Dekweneh highway اتستردا الدكوانة



neighborhood mentioned by حي قام بذكره

- 8
 - 7
 - 6
 - 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
- participant(s) مشاركة

occupancy الإشغال

- bank مصرف
- hotel فندق
- public space مكان عام
- café, restaurant, bar قهوة، مطعم، بار
- public institution مؤسسة عامة
- place of worship مسجد
- ngo منظمة غير حكومية
- cultural ثقافي
- gas station محطة بنزين
- hospital مستشفى
- educational institution مؤسسة تعليمية
- retail تجاري
- other غير

LANDMARKS AND POINTS OF REFERENCE معالم وأماكن مرجعية

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|--|--|---|
| 1- Lighthouse المنارة | 13- Bank Audi Hamra بنك عودة الحمرا | 25- Old Mezyan مزيان القديم | 37- Enab restaurant مطعم عنب | 49- Old Mtv ال ام.تي.في القديمة | 61- Hôtel Dieu hospital مستشفى أوتيل ديو | 73- Faculty of fine arts كلية الفنون الجميلة |
| 2- Marroush Chicken دجاج مزوش | 14- Cafe Younes Hamra كافه يونس الحمرا | 26- Coffee Bean and Tea Leaf قهوة كوفي بين اند تي ليف | 38- United gas station Mar Mikhael محطة اليونانيد | 50- Le Caddie Supermarket سوبرماركت لو كادي | 62- Al Taqwa mosque جامع التقوى | 74- Abou Moussa market دكان ابو موسى |
| 3- American University Of Beirut الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت | 15- H&m Hamra اينتش اند ام الحمرا | 27- Sanayeh Garden حديقة الصنائع | 39- Beirut Café Racers بيروت كافيه رايسرز | 51- Byblos Bank بنك بيبلوس | 63- Mar Elias army point نقطة جيش مار الياس | 75- Old city hall البلدية القديمة |
| 4- Ain Mraisse boat tunnel نفق عين المريسة | 16- Eldorado Hamra إلدورادو الحمرا | 28- Art galleries Gemmayze معارض فن الجميزة | 40- B018 بي اوه ايتين | 52- Banque Libano-Française البنك اللبناني-الفرنسي | 64- Husseiniye Mar Elias حسينية مار الياس | 76- Fahed supermarket سوبرماركت فهد |
| 5- McDonald's Ain Mreisse ماكدونالدز عين المريسة | 17- Antoine bookstore Hamra مكتبة انطوان الحمرا | 29- Le Chef restaurant مطعم لو شف | 41- Riwaq رواق | 53- Noja Café كافيه نوجا | 65- Vegetable shop Mar Elias خضرجي مار الياس | 77- Cola/Jnah stadium ملعب الكولا\الجناح |
| 6- Zaitunay Bay زيتونة باي | 18- Bodo بودو | 30- Café Em Nazih كافيه ام نزيه | 42- Immaculate Conception مدرسة الحبل بلا دنس | 54- Nakashet نقشت | 66- Cola alcohol mini markets محلات كحول الكولا | 78- Chatila camp entrance مدخل مخيم شاتيلا |
| 7- Beirut Souks cinemas سينما أسواق بيروت | 19- T Marbouta ت مريوطة | 31- Sofil صوفيل | 43- Roum hospital مستشفى الروم | 55- Spinneys Ashrafieh سبينيس اشرفية | 67- Khalife falafel فلافل خليفة | 79- Hariri hospital Chatila مستشفى الحريري شاتيلا |
| 8- Karantina hospital مستشفى الكرتينا | 20- Kahwet Laila قهوة ليلي | 32- Ghattas bakery فرن غطاس | 44- Kataeb headquarters بيت الكتائب | 56- Raouche الروشة | 68- Cola military checkpoint حاجز عسكري تحت جسر الكولا | 80- Basme W Zaitoune بسمة وزيتونة |
| 9- Karantina slaughterhouse مسلخ الكرتينا | 21- Red Shoe رد شو | 33- Électricité du Liban كهرياء لبنان | 45- William Hawi garden حديقة وليم حاوي | 57- Dalieh الدالية | 69- Al Makassed المقاصد | 81- Mar Mikhael church كنيسة مار ميخايل |
| 10- Alsheikh hotel فندق الشيخ | 22- Mezyan مزيان | 34- Radio Beirut راديو بيروت | 46- Jeitaoui hospital مستشفى الجعيتاوي | 58- ABC Mall مجمع تجاري ال ا.بي.سي | 70- Cola garden حديقة الكولا | 82- Karout mall مجمع فاروط التجاري |
| 11- West House hotel فندق وست هاوس | 23- Costa Coffee Hamra قهوة كوستا الحمرا | 35- Bottom's Up بوتومز اب | 47- Jesuit/Jeitaoui garden حديقة الجعيتاوي اليسوعية | 59- LIU الجامعة اللبنانية الدولية | 71- Spinneys Jnah/Mar Elias سبينيس جناح مار الياس | 83- Karout مستودعات فاروط |
| 12- Abou Elie pub بار أبو إيلي | 24- Masrah Al Madina مسرح المدينة | 36- Café on Geara stairs الكافيه على درج جعارة | 48- Karam hairdresser/"Syrians' building" حلاق كرم ا بناية السورية | 60- UNESCO اليونسكو | | |

In Closing

Given the volatility of politics in Lebanon and the aggressive campaigns recently conducted by right-wing Christian parties against refugee presence in Lebanon, it would not be surprising if Getawi’s role as refuge comes under threat, or at least that the conditions that make it desirable are weakened. Yet the growth of this social network of Syrian refugees to which numerous Lebanese individuals have grafted over the last few years leaves space for hope. Without idealizing, we noted that the politics that dominate the interactions of young Lebanese and Syrian individuals in this network converge in their aspiration for more inclusive, just and free forms of social organization. Meanwhile, the network has already spatially materialized in the reinvention of a city’s neighborhoods and its revitalization. This can only be positive for both its old dwellers and new ones.

¹ Khayat, T. 1997. “La Rue Getaoui et la Croissance de Beyrouth,” in: J. L. Arnaud (Ed.) Beyrouth, Grand-Beyrouth, Beirut: CER-MOC, pp. 81-88.
² Seidman, S. 2012. “The Politics of Cosmopolitan Beirut: From the Stranger to the Other” in: Theory, Culture & Society 29(2): 3-36.

¹ Khayat, T. 1997. “La Rue Getaoui et la Croissance de Beyrouth,” in: J. L. Arnaud (Ed.) Beyrouth, Grand-Beyrouth, Beirut: CER-MOC, pp. 81-88.
² Seidman, S. 2012. “The Politics of Cosmopolitan Beirut: From the Stranger to the Other” in: Theory, Culture & Society 29(2): 3-36.

باعتبارها كإحدى أحياء بيروت القديمة، فإن الحيّ الذي كان يُعرف باسم حيّ السرايا، والذي كان يمتدّ بين شارع السرايا وشارع الخديعة، قد أصبح الآن جزءاً من حيّ الخديعة الجديد. وهذا التغيير في التسمية يعكس التغيرات الحاصلة في هذا الحيّ، والتي تشمل التوسّع العمراني والتجديد الحضري. إنّ هذه التغيرات تعكس الدور المتزايد للقطاع الخاص في تطوير المناطق الحضرية، وكذلك التغييرات في نمط الحياة والقيم الاجتماعية. إنّ هذا التغيير في التسمية هو جزء من عملية إعادة تشكيل المدينة، والتي تهدف إلى تحسين البنية التحتية وجعل المدينة أكثر جاذبية للسكان. إنّ هذا التغيير في التسمية هو أيضاً انعكاس للتغيرات في نمط الحياة والقيم الاجتماعية، والتي تشمل التوسّع العمراني والتجديد الحضري.

الخاتمة

ABDULHALIM ALBAKKOR

A Refugees' "Little Syria" in Istanbul

Similar to the different effects an artwork can create in the minds of its observers, Istanbul has different versions in the minds and hearts of those dwelling in it. A mega city with a population roughly equal to the population of Syria, the city is considered to be a refuge to a big community of Syrians. The size of this community is so large it could easily make up a city of its own.

My experience with the city is full of memories gathered during the past four years. In each and every step of my challenge, as a refugee who arrived in

the city in 2013, the city changes as my perception changes. And I claim that the city I live in lives in me too. When I arrived to Istanbul, I was just another Syrian seeking a job and a home for my family, so the city I knew back then was mainly the neighbourhoods that were known for their factories and textile shops. I knew the places where working class residents of Istanbul thrived.

I settled in Esenler, a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by Turks from hundreds of kilometres far from Istanbul, and a large community of Kurds who were displaced during the eighties, a time known for its oppression, destruction and censorship. Now, that dark period is topic for anecdotes amongst those who shared the same experience in prison or to those who shared a similar attitude towards the Turkish state back then.

As a newcomer to Istanbul, I continued to discover the city while searching for a job. The majority of Syrians came through networks of relatives and friends, so the process of shared experience and map-



Mazaj Café, a corner for Margilia smokers in Istanbul, Fatih Neighbourhood.



Buuzecedi, traditional Damascene falafel restaurant at Fatih Neighbourhood.

...the city changes as my perception changes. And I claim that the city I live in lives in me too. When I arrived to Istanbul, I was just another Syrian seeking a job and a home for my family, so the city I knew back then was mainly the neighbourhoods that were known for their factories and textile shops. I knew the places where working class residents of Istanbul thrived.

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ping starts by learning from those who came before. Gradually the newcomers share their experience with their relatives, who followed them to Istanbul or arrived thanks to their help, resulting in creation of a small replica of their network back in Syria or their previous neighbourhoods.

During this process of getting familiar with the city and settling after finding a job, refugees constantly find similarities between the neighbourhood where they settled in Istanbul, and the regions they left in Syria. Those places gradually become favourite spots for the socialization of members of the Syrian community in Istanbul, which leads to people starting to call them 'Syrians' Street'. Aksemsttin Street in Faith neighbourhood for example, was the first mark of Syrians' visibility in Istanbul, where dozens of Syrian shops, restaurants and cafes opened their door.



مقهى المختار، من أول المقاهي السورية في منطقة الفاتح، يقدم حلويات ووظة شامية.
Muhtar Cafe, One of the Earliest Syrian Cafes at Fatih Neighbourhood. serves Damascene desserts and icecream.

The Establishment of Little Damascus

Coming to Fatih is very important to me, that's why I go there several times a week, Syrians meet at Muhtar café for coffee or to buy Syrian desserts. Others might go to Buuzecedi to eat the proper Damascene falafel, I personally love to go to Sarouja, to have my dinner then smoke nargile with my friends at Mazaj café. It reminds me of the markets of my city Homs. I can shop while meeting my friends and communicating in my language and if I needed help or information about anything, I ask my friends who live in Fatih.

(Saed, a Syrian student in Istanbul).

After settling in the city, the process of normalization in a new country starts. As the community grows larger, some members seek to make a living providing a service to the community. The earliest businesses opened by Syrians all around Turkey were in the food industry. Syrian restaurants were started simply to provide food to Syrian young men, who were forced to



مطعم الموصلي المختص بالشاورما.
Musilli Restaurant,
specialization in fast food,
Syrian Shawarma.

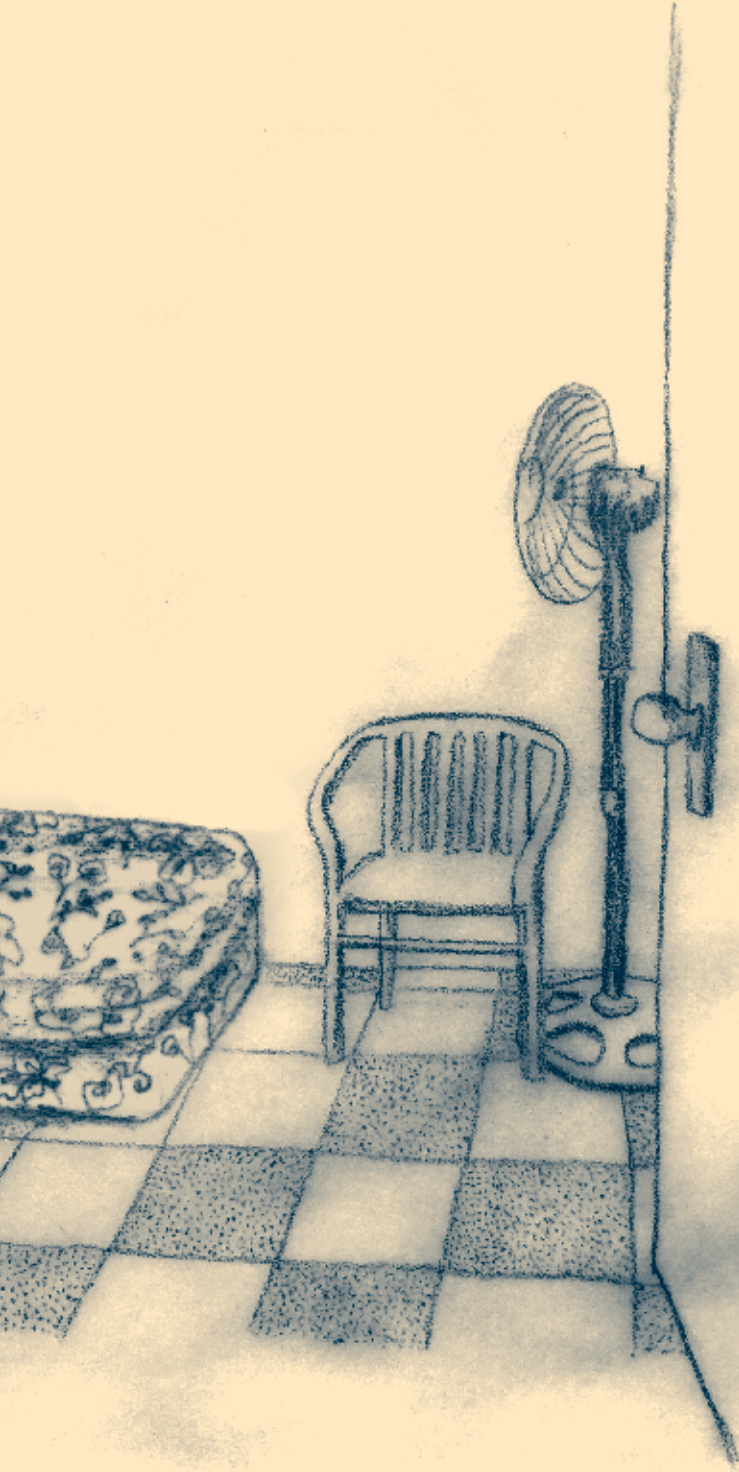
...إذ بدأوا يفتخرون بـ"شارع السوريين" في حي الفاتح، حيث تفتح أبواب المقاهي والمطاعم التي تبيع الحلويات السورية التقليدية. هذا الشعور بالانتماء والتواصل هو الذي يجعل من حي الفاتح نقطة التقاء هامة للمغتربين السوريين في إسطنبول، حيث يجدون في هذا الحي ذكريات عن بلادهم، ويتواصلون مع بعضهم البعض، مما يساهم في بناء مجتمع متماسك.

تأسيس المطاعم والمقاهي

منذ وصولهم إلى إسطنبول، بدأ السوريون يفتخرون بـ"شارع السوريين" في حي الفاتح، حيث تفتح أبواب المقاهي والمطاعم التي تبيع الحلويات السورية التقليدية.

...في البداية، كان السوريون يفتخرون بـ"شارع السوريين" في حي الفاتح، حيث تفتح أبواب المقاهي والمطاعم التي تبيع الحلويات السورية التقليدية. هذا الشعور بالانتماء والتواصل هو الذي يجعل من حي الفاتح نقطة التقاء هامة للمغتربين السوريين في إسطنبول، حيث يجدون في هذا الحي ذكريات عن بلادهم، ويتواصلون مع بعضهم البعض، مما يساهم في بناء مجتمع متماسك.

النّام



جنى طرابلسي
وهاشم عدنان

The Sleeper
Jana Traboulsi + Hashem Adnan

The sleeper
Lying on the pavement in front of the bank
Dead
In the doorway of a hospital
She gives birth
Wide awake
A child without a sponsor*

The Waiter

The one who waits
A watchman
Watching over the sleep of others
A night-guard
Guarding the families in the building above
A construction worker
He sits

Beneath the bridges of the city after sunrise
He sits
Wandering the city after sunrise
She sits
Wandering the village before sunset

The Wanderer

In the villages
The wanderer
is forbidden
No movement will be tolerated
To preserve our security
In our villages our towns our municipalities
From our podiums

The itinerant vendor,
The wanderer, the traveler, the nomad, the pilgrim
All are forbidden
In the interest of their safety

In the interest of our safety
Always transient, never fixed

The Bystander

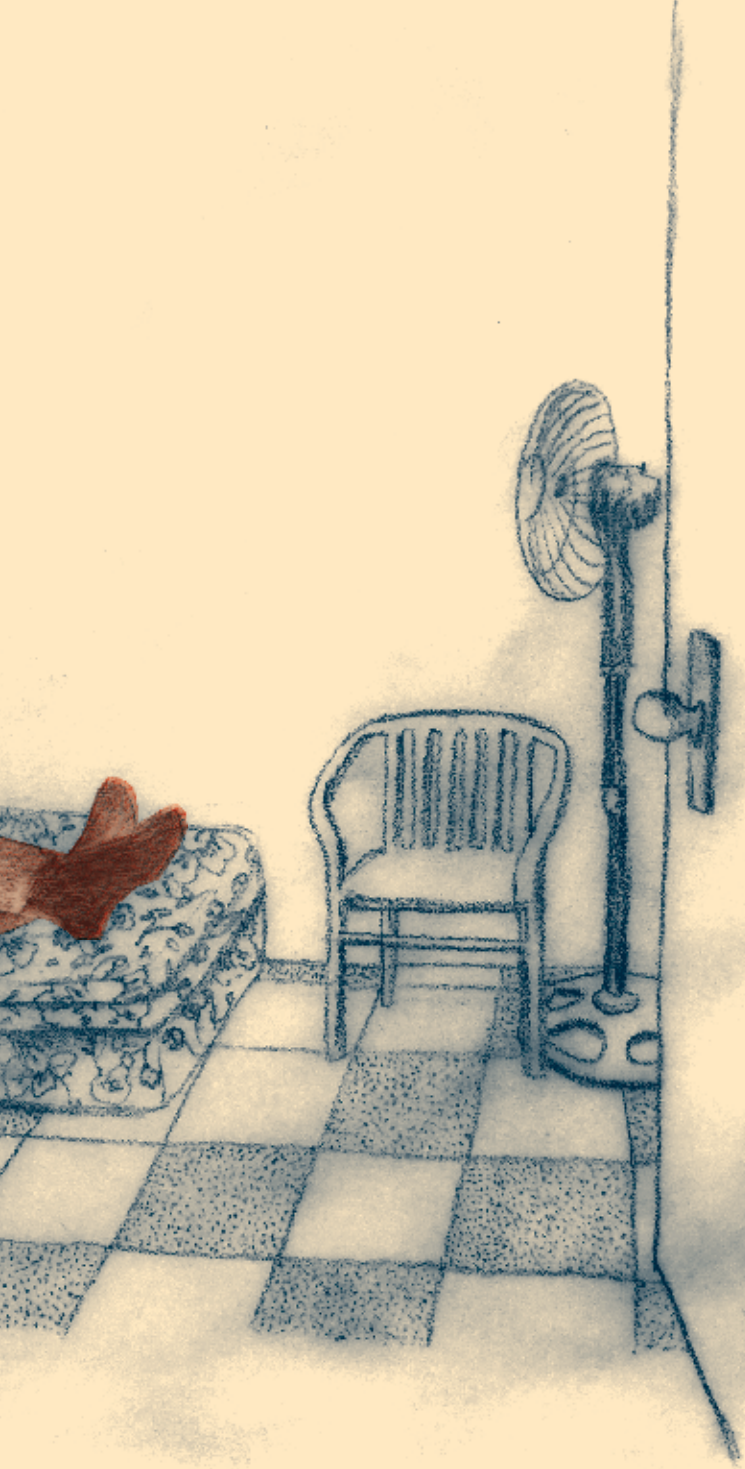
The soldier at work, standing at the checkpoint
The worker passing through
Impossible to tell
Who is standing at the checkpoint
Who is terrified at the checkpoint
Who is arrested

Stopped at the checkpoint
A standoff
Between an arrested worker in an insecure state
And a state security worker in an arrested regime
Who is given permission
Who gives permission

Who is standing still;
Who is still standing.

*The Kafala system requires that every migrant worker secure a national sponsor in order to obtain residency.

النّائم



النّائم

على رصيف المصرف

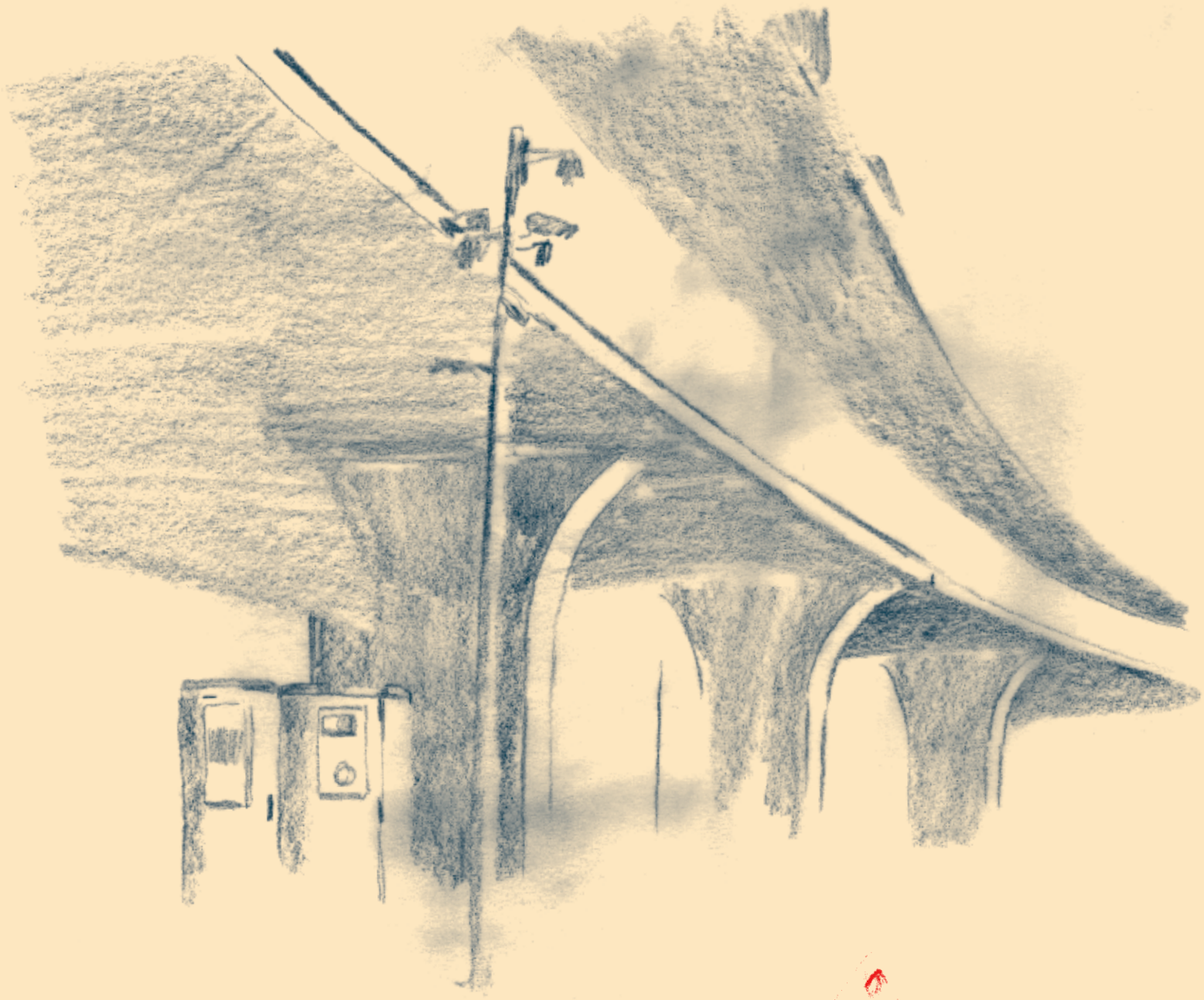
ميت

أمام باب المستشفى

التي تضح مولودها

الفائقة

الولد ليس لديه كفييل





النّاطر



النّاطر

ناطور

حارس نوم أهل البناء

السّاهر ، حافظ على أمن المبنى

الجالس

عامل في البناء



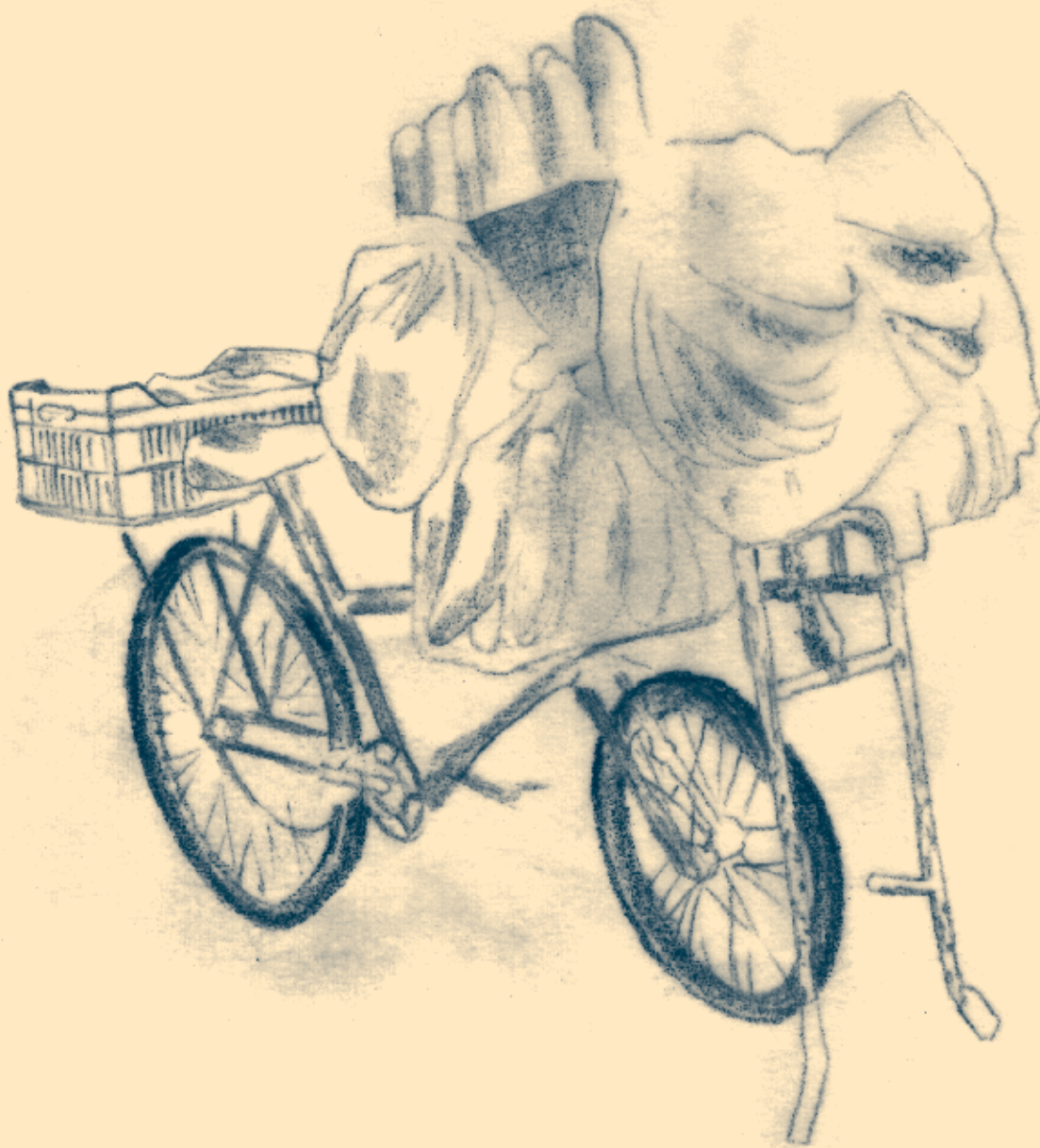


تحت جسر المدينة بعد شروق الشمس
جالس

متجول في المدينة بعد شروق الشمس
جالسة

متجولة في الضيعة قبل غروب الشمس





المتجول

المتجول

في الضيـح

ممنوع

حفاظاً على أمننا

في الضيـح والبلدات والبلديات وعلى المنابر

البائـح المتجول

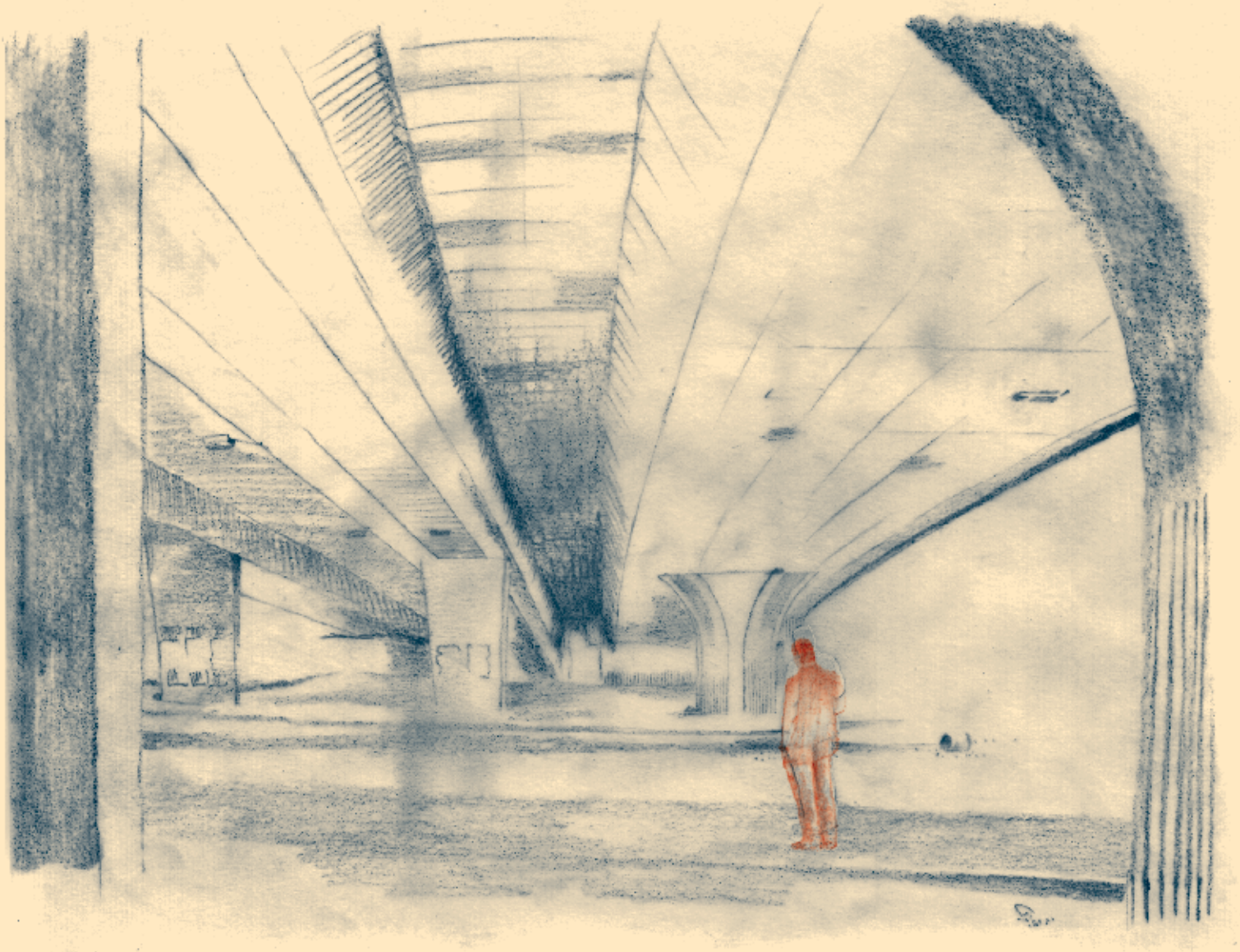
الجوال

ممنوع

حفاظاً على أمنه

حفاظاً على أمننا

المتجول



الواقف



الواقف

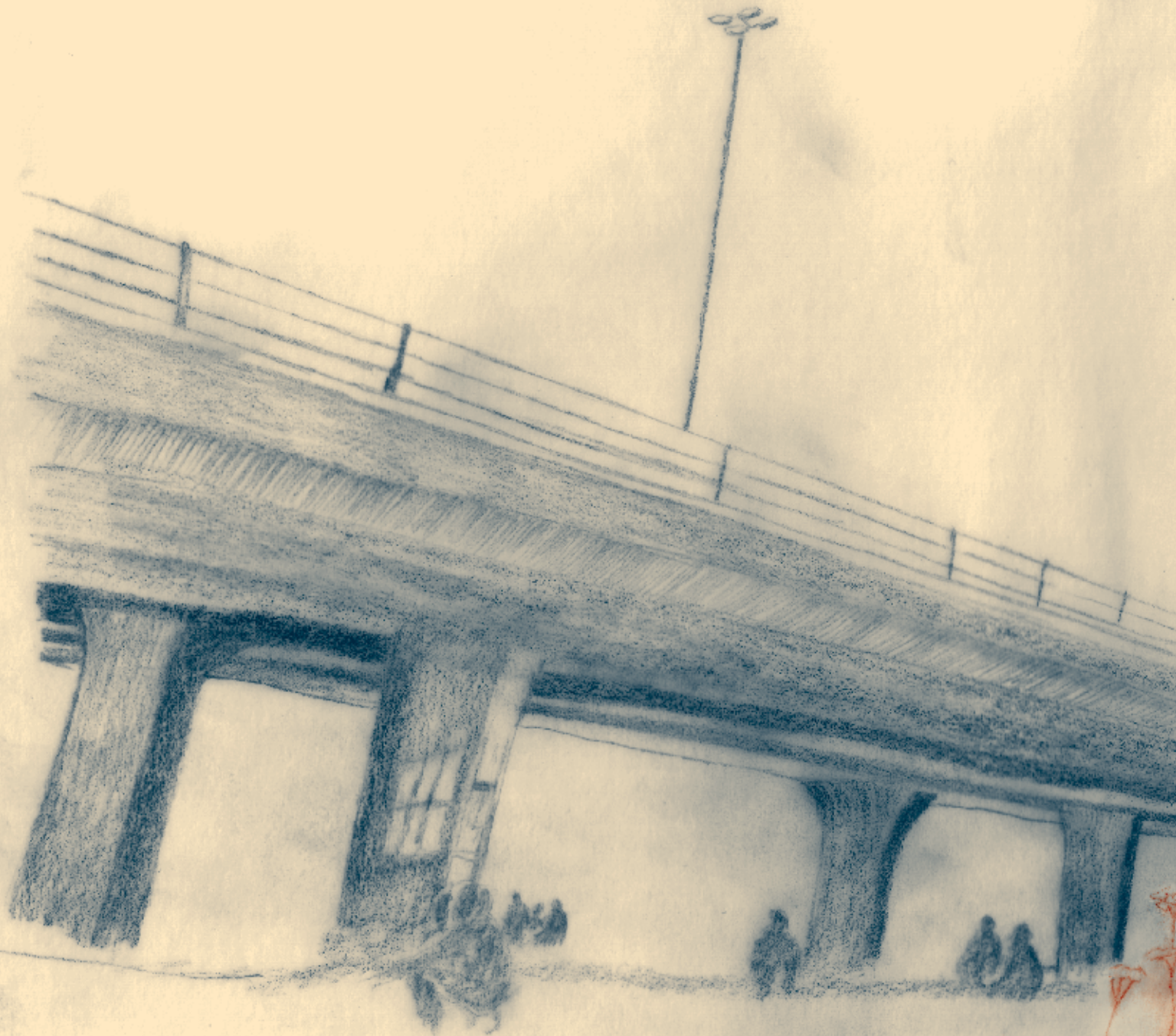
العامل على الحاجز
العامل العابر على الحاجز
لا يبدو عليه
الواقف على الحاجز والمرتعب على الحاجز

الموقوف



المتوقّف على الحاجز
الموقف المتوقّف
الموقوف الموفّق
العامل في أمن النظام المتوقّف
الذي لا يمتلك أوراق
الفائق
الفائقة





Case study - Faysal's family in Zaatari camp

During regular visits in Zaatari camp between 2012 and 2017, we interviewed several refugee families and conducted housing surveys. This revealed some aspects of refugees' daily life, the problems they face and the coping strategies they developed to circumvent restrictions and economic difficulties.

Faysal, his wife and four children left Bosra in October 2012. At this time, informal crossing point were still open between Syria and Jordan. Similar to all the refugees who entered Jordan after July 2012, the family was directed towards the Zaatari refugee camp. In May 2017, they were resettled in France and left the camp.

In Syria, Faysal lived with his parents, brothers and family in a small house in the ancient and medieval town centre of Bosra. Each family had a room set around a small courtyard. A large garden next to the house belonged to the family. In October 2012, Faysal, two of his brothers and their families were forced to leave Bosra because of the war. Upon their arrival in the Zaatari camp in October 2012, the family was given a tent by the UNHCR in the third district (Fig. 2, n°1). Sometimes, several families had to share

one of these tents - almost 6m long and 4m wide, 24 m2. At that time, the kitchens and the sanitary blocks (showers, toilets, laundry) were collective and built in concrete. Because of the lack of space inside the tents, families used to spend a significant part of their daily life in the only space available, the streets; the tent was used for eating meals, as a bedroom and a *madhafeh*. A few months later, refugees began to transform their tents by themselves, adding a wood-



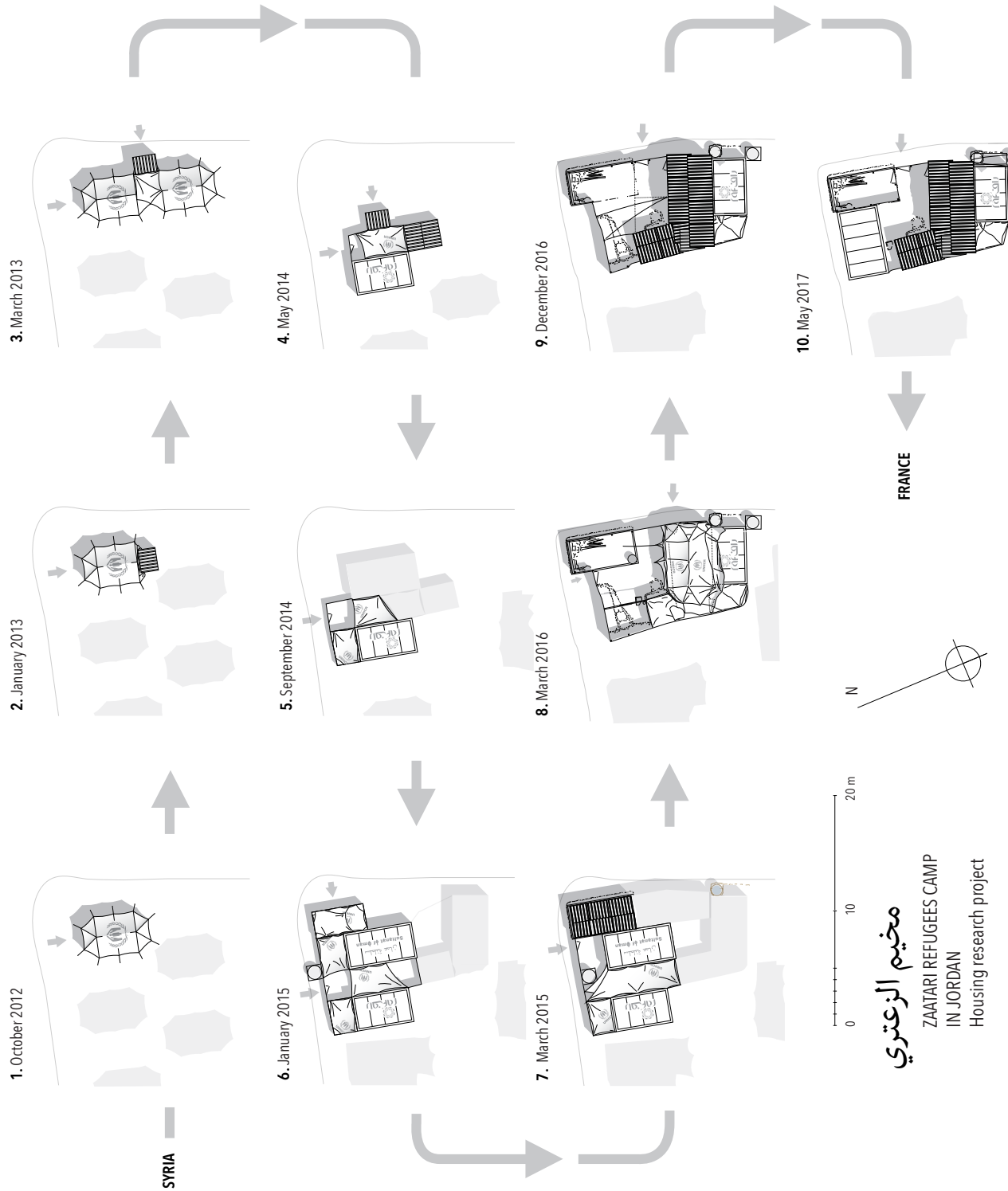
1. Zaatari. The main street of the camp, called Shari' as-Souk, in 2017 (P. Piraud-Fournet 2017).
مخيم الزعتري، الشارع الرئيسي الذي يدعى شارع السوق، في 2017 (ب. فورنيه، 2017).

... (The text continues in Amharic script, describing the living conditions and the transformation of tents into makeshift housing.)

... (The text continues in Amharic script, describing the living conditions and the transformation of tents into makeshift housing.)

en structure, used as a store room, with walls and roof in corrugated iron (*zinco*) (Fig. 2, n°2). In March 2013, Faysal acquired a second tent that he connected to the first (Fig. 2, n°3) and doubled the surface of

its housing. One served as a bedroom, the other as a kitchen and bathroom. The corrugated iron construction was transformed into a small informal shop, next the tents, where Faysal started selling second



استبيان للخطط المتلاحقة لمنزل فيصل بين عامي 2012 و2017 (ت فورتيه وب - فورتيه، 2017).
 2. Measured survey of the successive plans of Faysal's house between 2012 and 2017
 (T. Fournet and P. Piraud-Fournet, 2017).

...التي استخدمها كغرفة نوم، والآخر كغرفة مطبخ وحمالة. تم تحويل البناء من الحديد المجعد إلى متجر صغير بجانب الخيام، حيث بدأ فaisal ببيع...

...house. One served as a bedroom, the other as a kitchen and bathroom. The corrugated iron construction was transformed into a small informal shop, next the tents, where Faysal started selling second...

TALIANE CAMP

Syrian Family originated from Raqqah, Syria.
Flew away from Syria because of Daesh.
Now live in Bar Elias Refugee Camp
September 5, 2015

Visit of the "Taliane" settlement of approximately 70 shelter tents.
Land Owner: Massaad Taliane

Each family pays a monthly rent of 140,000 L.L.

TALIANE CAMP LAYOUT

Owners House, Camp Entrance, School (Ghaha), EMPTY LAND?, Taliane Camp Layout (Google Maps)

FUNCTIONS

Functions on site:
- Refugee UNHCR Tents
- Small shop + Dargah
- School + Ghaha + Project by AUB
- Owners House

INFRASTRUCTURE

- Water Provided
- Sewage System

None of sewage pipes Best condition: Broken because of building techniques

Floor made of sand & gravel to get muddy in winter.
Access - Easy
Electricity: 170,000 L.L./month

BUILDING TECHNIQUES

In the Camp, some men responsible of building self-made structures
Each tent that is built to make money income.

The temporality of the camp vs the permanence of floor foundations.

The Base of the structures are made out of concrete.

ZAHLE CAMP

From tent made out of "The best" Nylon left: "good" Nylon.

TYPOLGY

ROOM, STORAGE, KITCHEN, CEILING BEAMS/FRAMES

MATERIALS:

- Wood for structure (beams...)
- Nylon for the tent and partitions.
There are 2 types of Nylon used. But of course, one is better than the other.

NEEDS?

- Gathering place
- Playground for kids
- Markets
- Activities for women such as sewing.

THE VENTILATION SYSTEM

Lifting the nylon sheets using ropes to enable cold air to come in and ventilate the space.

STRUCTURAL SYSTEM

WOODEN BEAMS/FRAMES

CAMP/UNITY RELATION

Proximity to Sea & Air
Rent: 4,000,000 L.L./year

ZAHLE CAMP LAYOUT

UNICEF School, Sewing Workshop, Water Tanks, Electricity Counter

INFRASTRUCTURE

- Septic Tanks
- Toilet
- Ground covering the floor
- Water Tanks and Electricity Counter

BUILDING TECHNIQUES

Material:
1- Nylon
2- Wood
3- Tires and rubber
4- Rubber/Ropes
5- Fabric (Some)
6- Net

SOCIAL DYNAMICS

STRUCTURE

Mostly wooden structure
- Stands of 500cm for structure (vertical)
- Stands of 100cm easy to 100cm

Each man builds his own house.
Ropes tied to the nylon and buried to the ground to keep the tent steady.

Self-made Concrete Base

BUILDING TYPOLGIES

Each tent acts as a complex to host several members of a family (Cousins, Brothers, Sisters...)
- Benefits: cheaper, heat

House of Bahad, Mohammad Al Khayat
Number of residents: 8

My name is Bahad, I have been here since the beginning of the war, we arrived in the camp in 2011, it has been five years...
My name is Bahad, I have been here since the beginning of the war, we arrived in the camp in 2011, it has been five years...
My name is Bahad, I have been here since the beginning of the war, we arrived in the camp in 2011, it has been five years...

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My name is Bahad, I have been here since the beginning of the war, we arrived in the camp in 2011, it has been five years...

In this careful and sensitive mapping of one of Qabb Elias' informal tented settlement housing 13,000 Syrians since 2011, architect Sybille Yasmeen George reminds us how, by examining their everyday struggles in accessing a home and related basic services, displaced Syrians manage to demonstrate remarkable agency—albeit material and symbolic challenges.

Elaborated during her final year architecture thesis research (2015) as a BArch candidate in the Department of Architecture and Design at the American University of Beirut, Sybille traced in her sketchbook which we feature here, plans, sections, sketches, details, and photographs... Through these, she tells rich, multi-layered stories of how displacement takes place, how camps are laid out, what building techniques are used, how architectural and infrastructural systems are elaborated and adapted to different land conditions, how spaces are distributed inside homes to account for public and private needs, and variations related to gender, age and social norms. She also reveals how amidst these processes, displaced Syrians' skills (e.g. construction, agriculture, sewing, mechanics) determine the establishment of shops and small enterprises inside and outside the camp.

In her architecture thesis intervention entitled *Qossass* (Stories), which we do not showcase here, Sibylle proposes the building of a municipal community center and series of open spaces that would encourage social, cultural and economic interactions among Syrians and Lebanese—this center would be located close to the vegetable market of Qabb Elias and would operate as a porous interface welcoming people in. She imagines the project to include a community kitchen, a café and restaurant, indoor and outdoor landscaped interactive areas where cultural and playful events led by Syrians can be organized: she features story-telling as one such activity where bridges are created between tellers and listeners, creating an intimacy where healing can take place. The project would be built using a similar process to camp-building, relying on Syrian workers and using ecological light-weight structures.

ፎቶ ላይ ጽሑፍ

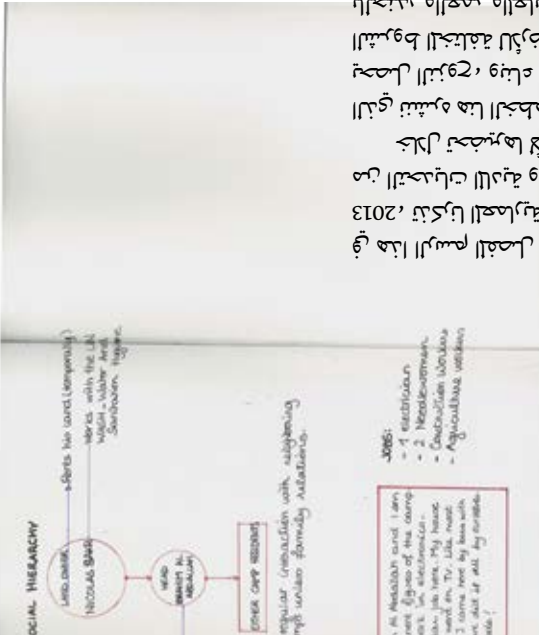
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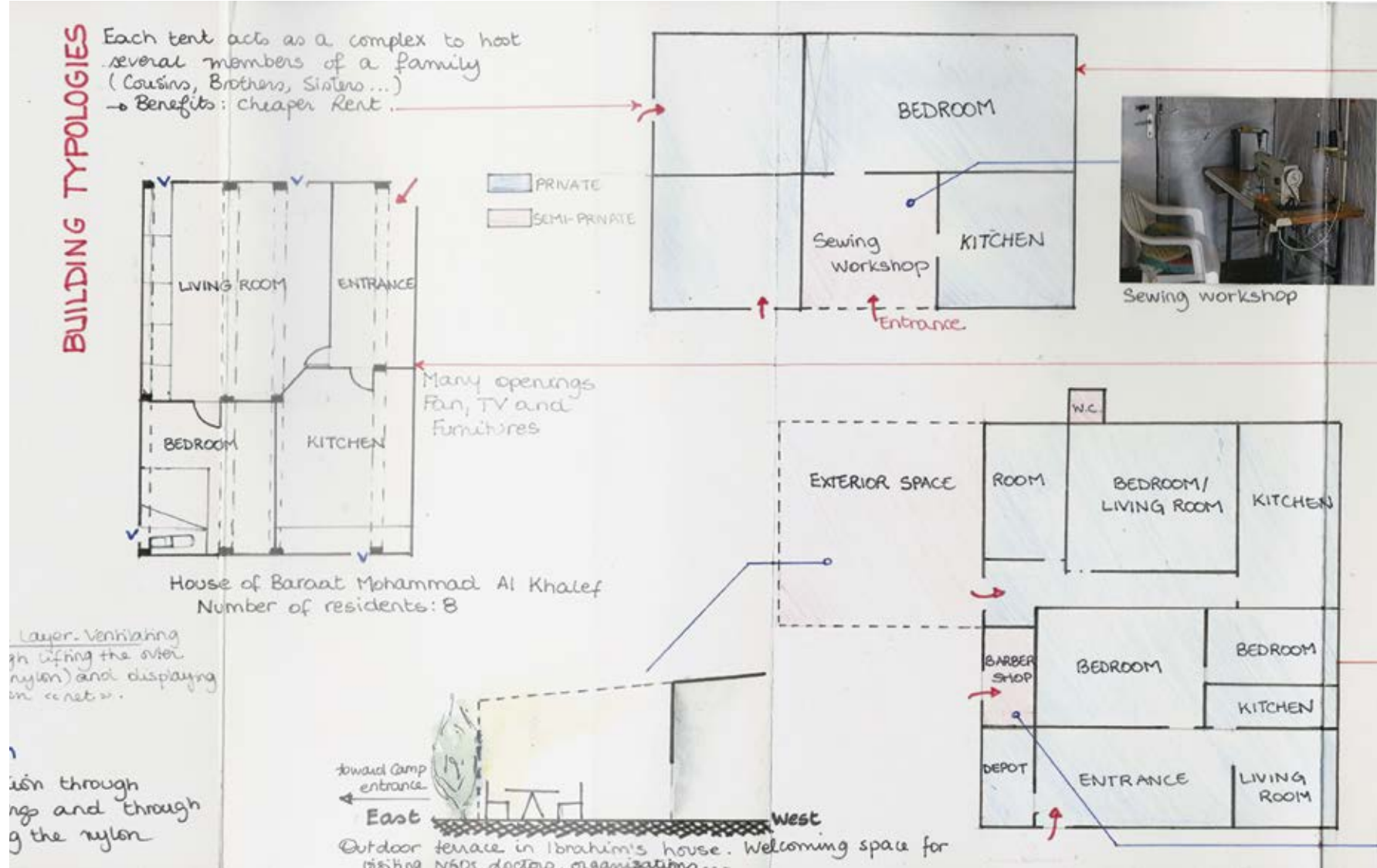
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ፎቶ

መገኘት ለማግኘት ስጦታ





أنواع البناء
 كل خيمة هي تجمع لاستضافة كثير من أفراد العائلة (أبناء العم، الأشقاء، الشقيقات...). تشمل عدداً من
 فتحات، وتضم غرفاً خاصة، مثل غرف نوم ومطابخ، وغرفاً نصف خاصة، مثل مشغل خياطة أو حلاق
 Building typologies, Quossas' sketchbook (Sibylle George, 2015)

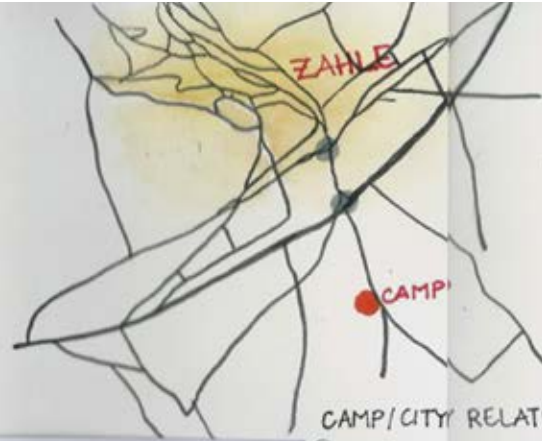


Right: Tent made out of the "bad" Nylon
Left: "good" Nylon.

NEEDS?

- Gathering place
- Playground for kids
- Materials
- Activities for women such as sewing.

ZAHLE CAMP



CAMP/CITY RELATION
PROXIMITY TO ZAHLE AND ITS FACILITIES (BY FOOT)
Rent: 1,400,000 L./year



ZAHLE CAMP LAYOUT



« We come from Raqqa.
My husband used to have a car workshop. Then Daesh came, and we had to escape. We crossed

the desert for week and, since out of it, we walked for 4 days before finding a car. It took us in a small village, in which we were able to sleep 2 days before escaping once more. During this journey, we barely slept, we didn't have access to food. We then reach Homs where we found a truck - you know these trucks that carry gravel. And, finally we reached the Syrian Border. The clothes we were wearing were as good

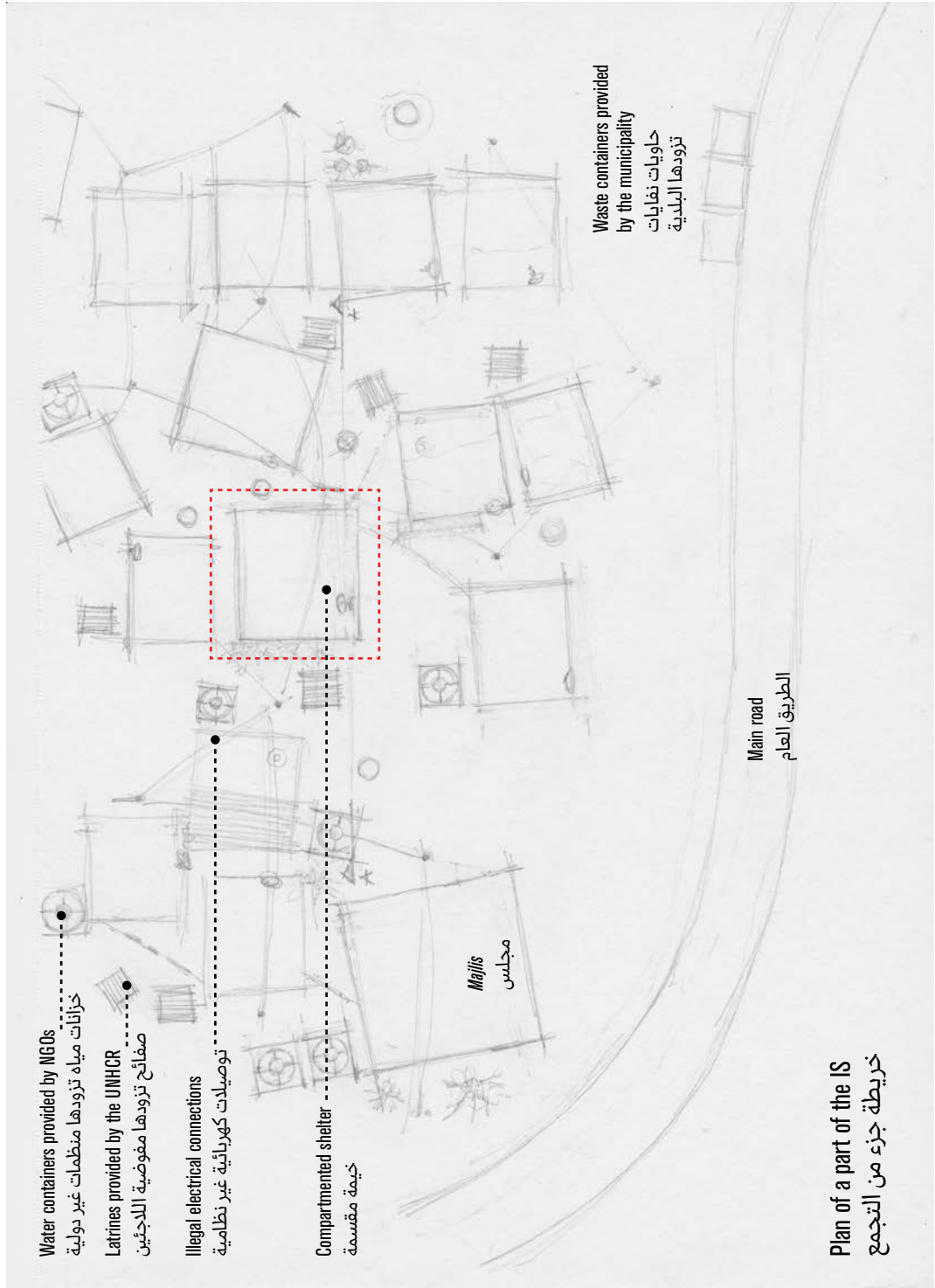
as trash. We also spent 4 days there, at the border, where we were told they were distributing clothes, sponges and stuff like that. But we didn't get any. Thank God today we are fine.

Number of tents: =
FUNCTIONS ON SITE
• Housing
• School (UNICEF)

مخيم زحلة
العلاقة مع المدينة: يمكن لسكان المخيم الوصول الى زحلة سيراً على الاقدام. الإيجار 1.400.000 ل.ل. في السنة «أتينا من الرقة. كان لزوجي ورشة لتصليح السيارات. ثم أتت داعش واضطرتنا للهرب. عبرنا الصحراء لأسبوع وحين أنهيناها مشينا أربعة أيام قبل أن نجد سيارة أخذتنا إلى قرية صغيرة حيث تمكنا من النوم ليلتين قبل أن نهرب مرة أخرى. خلال هذه الرحلات، بالكاد استطعنا النوم، ولم يكن لدينا طعام. ثم وصلنا إلى حمص، حيث وجدنا شاحنة - تعرفين واحدة من هذه الشاحنات التي تحمل الحصى وفي النهاية وصلنا إلى الحدود. ثيابنا كانت قد أصبحت مثل القمامة. بقينا أربعة أيام هناك على الحدود، حيث قيل لنا إنهم يوزعون الثياب والإسفنجة وأموراً مشابهة. لكن لم نحصل على شيء. الحمد لله أننا اليوم بخير»
Zahle camp and a woman's story, Quossas' sketchbook (Sibylla George, 2015)

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

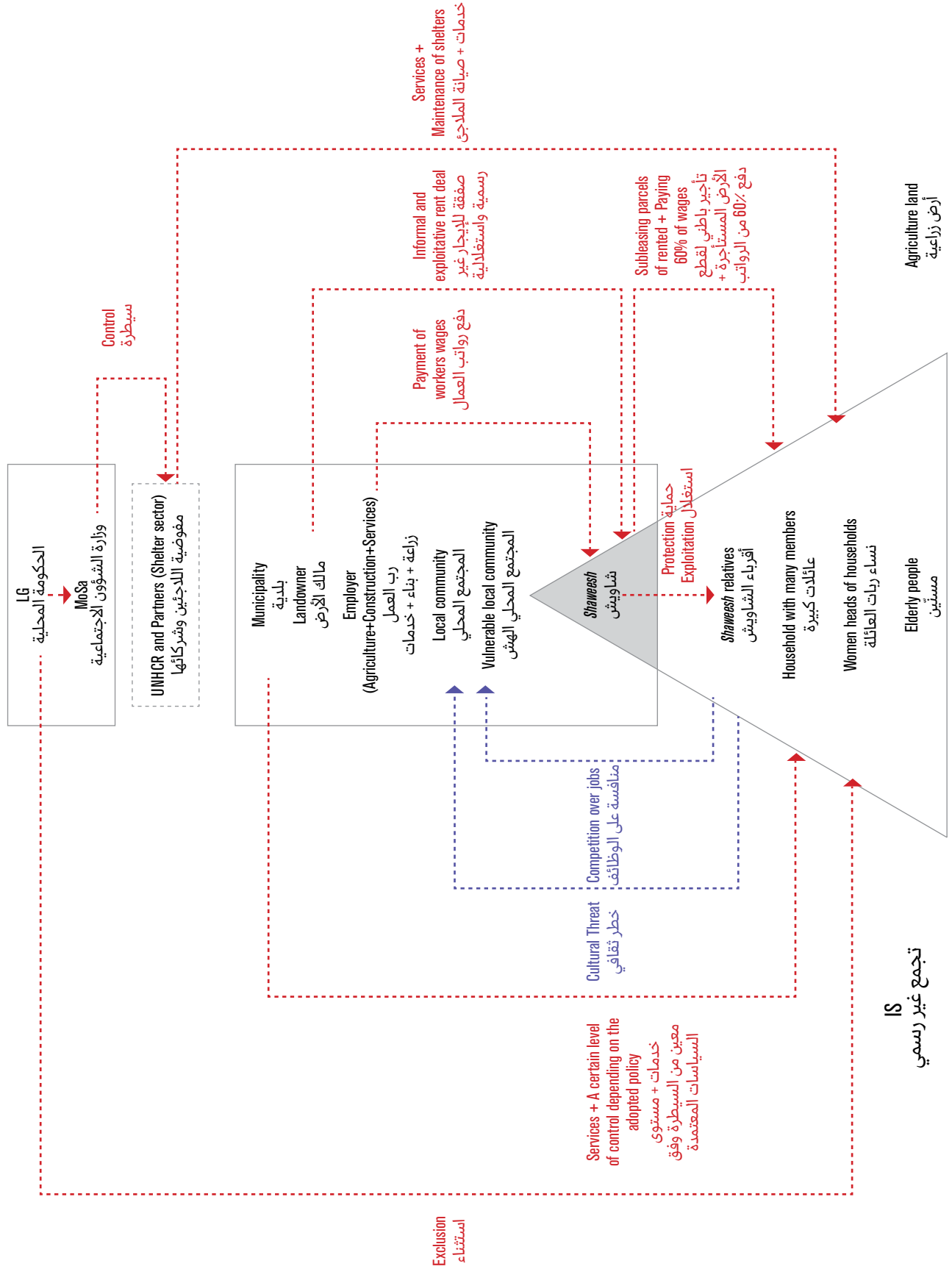
canopy. A thorough study of these 7-years-old settlements however shows that they now vary from one to another, as do shelters within each settlement on economic and social levels, and from an architectural and an urban perspective. Many variables, including



... of the settlement, the plan shows a dense arrangement of structures. The highlighted area in the red dashed box is a 'Compartmented shelter', which is a tent divided into sections. Other features include 'Water containers provided by NGOs', 'Latrines provided by the UNHCR', and 'Illegal electrical connections'. A 'Majlis' (council) is also indicated. The settlement is situated near a 'Main road'.

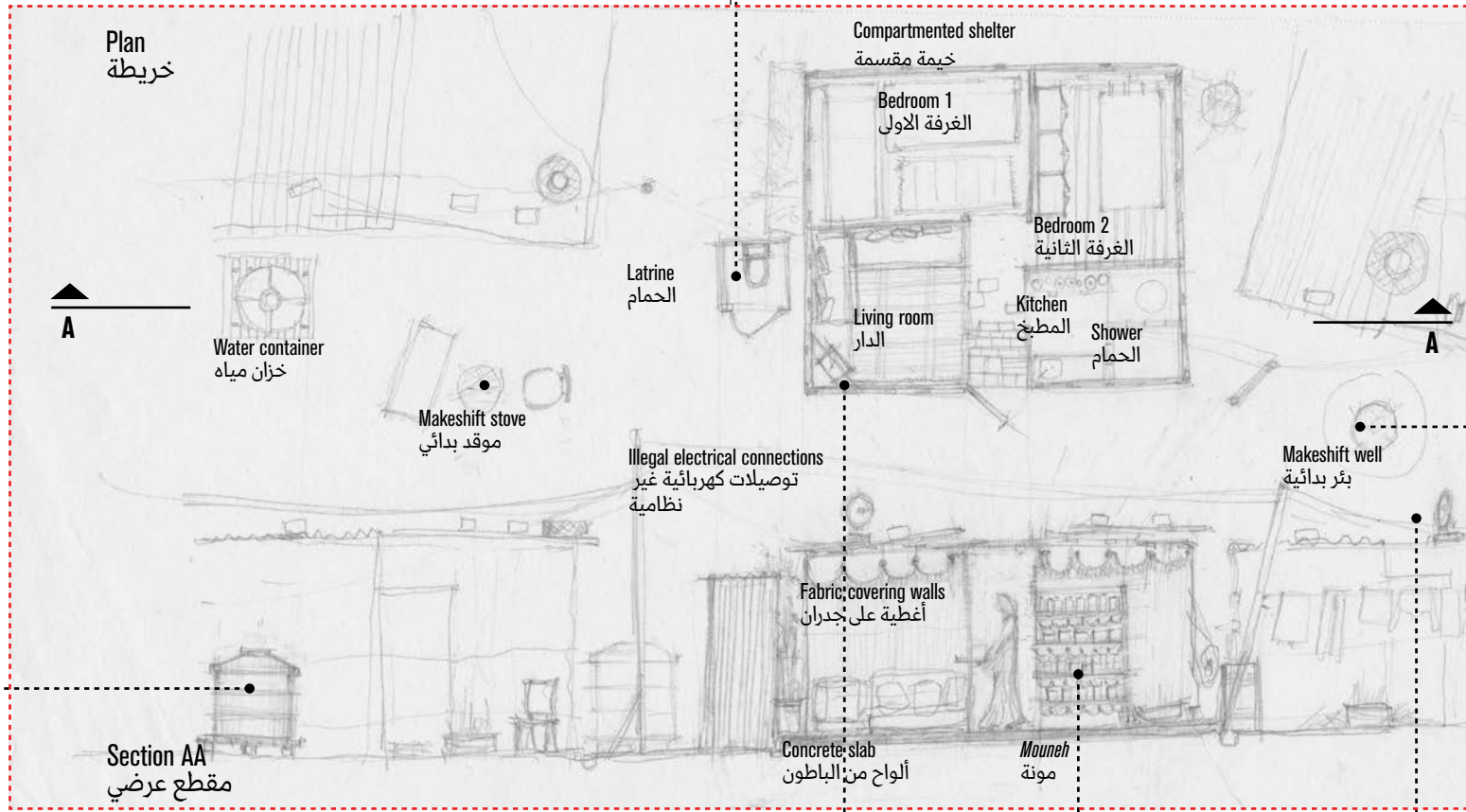
... of the settlement, the plan shows a dense arrangement of structures. The highlighted area in the red dashed box is a 'Compartmented shelter', which is a tent divided into sections. Other features include 'Water containers provided by NGOs', 'Latrines provided by the UNHCR', and 'Illegal electrical connections'. A 'Majlis' (council) is also indicated. The settlement is situated near a 'Main road'.

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



the power of different stakeholders over space cause these disparities^{3,4}. This article aims at understanding ITSs as places of life where refugee communities form a defined hierarchy, and develop organization-

al systems and creative coping mechanisms⁵. It also seeks to analyse the role of different stakeholders in the organization of these places and the dynamics of their evolution.



and security forces—that could begin to account for this kind of variation on the ground? And how do these relationships influence the circulation of refugees within the valley?

The weeks following the announcement of the Riyaq evictions saw a flurry of activity from both humanitarian and security actors. The UNHCR, UNICEF, UNDP, and the Ministries of Social Affairs (MoSA) and Interior and Municipalities (MoIM) established a task force to coordinate humanitarian assistance, advocate with the LAF for delays, and reach out to municipalities to secure relocation sites. Partner organizations reverted to an emergency footing, performing rapid needs assessments within the eviction zone and reporting back through weekly sector meetings and daily situation reports (SitReps)

and data spreadsheet updates. And while the LAF offered nothing beyond vague “security reasons” as justification for the evictions², these coincided with two underreported developments in the valley’s security landscape. Social media posts on April 18 observed American military transport planes landing in broad daylight at the Riyaq airbase, an unprecedented sight³. A week later, Lebanese pilots arrived at Fort Benning in Georgiaⁱⁱⁱ to receive training on six ‘Super Tucano’ aircraft that will be delivered in 2018 as part of a \$462 million American military aid package.⁴

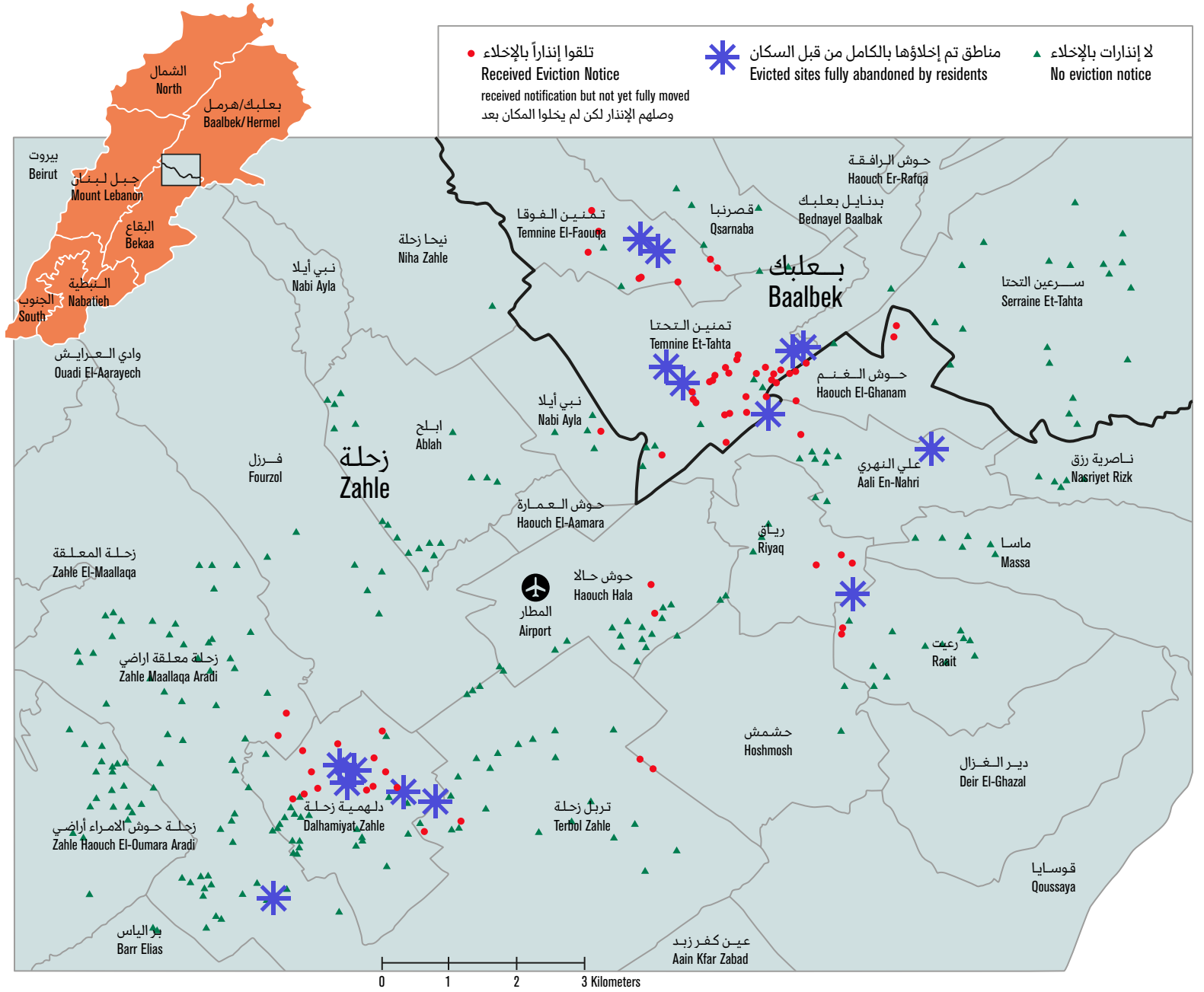
Despite the generalizing rhetoric of both emergency and security, the evictions proceeded with significant site-by-site variation. Camp 067 was divided into two sections—designated “A” and “B”, each with their own *shawish*—and was part of a cluster of four

تجمع غير رسمي قرب الدلمية تم إخلاؤه أجيراً، 2 أيار / مايو 2017، المكان كان يضم نحو ثلاثين خيمة.
 A recently evicted informal settlement on the outskirts of Dalhamiyya, 02 May 2017. The site was formerly home to approximately 30 tents.



عالي النصب في وزارة الطاقة والمياه: «لا نريد لهذه المستوطنات غير الرسمية أن تبقى حيث هي الآن لتصبح حالها حالها كحال الخيميات الفلسطينية»، وقد ربطت نظرية الترتيب المادي هذه الأنايب الدفونة بحتمية الاستيطان الدائم، وهي نتيجة تسعى التشريعات الحكومية المتعلقة بالبنية التحتية ومحلات الإقامة إلى منعها بتأتم صرح عمال الإغاثة اللبنانيون والدوليون على أفراد بأنهم لا يستطيعون أن يفعلوا الكثير بشأن عمليات الإخلاء إلا توزيع الطعام والبطانيات وإجراء المفاوضات. وشكا بعضهم من سلسلة الاجتماعات التي لا تنتهي وأُكد آخرون أن الرد كان رمزياً في أحسن

الأحوال. كذلك عبثوا عن قلقهم من أن الإخلاء يشجع على حدوث إخلاءات أخرى في أسوأ الأحوال. وشك آخرون في أهمية عملية الاستجابة الإنسانية، إذ أن عدد السوريين الذين اتصلوا بالخط الساخن للطوارئ التابع للأمم لم يتجاوز الـ12، بينما انتقل الآلاف من اللاجئين بدون مساعدة من منظمات غير حكومية. كما قال صديق يعمل عن قرب ضمن عملية الاستجابة في رياق: «يقولون إن الوضع طارئ ولكنه ليس كذلك»، وبحلول منتصف أيار/مايو، خُصّصت الأمم المتحدة وشركاؤها الجهود في عملية الاستجابة السريعة، وأشار الجيش اللبناني إلى أن عمليات الإخلاء أوشكت على الانتهاء.



خريطة عن مناطق التجمعات غير الرسمية التي تأثرت بأوامر الإخلاءات في رياق في أيار / مايو 2017. هذه نسخة من خريطة لمفوضية اللاجئين في الأمم المتحدة تمت مراجعتها وقدمت في 19 أيار / مايو 2017 خلال لقاء تنسيقي حول الاستقرار الاجتماعي في زحلة في البقاع. (هذه الخريطة مقتبسة من «لقاء وكالات مختلفة 2017\05\19» من <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/57348>، وفق اتفاقية Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 International License. يمكن الاطلاع على تفاصيل الاتفاقية على <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/igo/>.)

A map depicting informal settlement sites impacted by the Riyaq eviction order in May 2017. This is a revised version of a UNHCR map presented at the 19 May 2017 social stability sector coordination meeting in Zahle, Bekaa. (This map is adapted from “Interagency meeting presentation 19.05.2017” available at <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/57348> under a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 International License. Full terms available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/igo/>.)



أنتظرك قرب البركة يا أخي
Waiting for you by the 'birke', brother



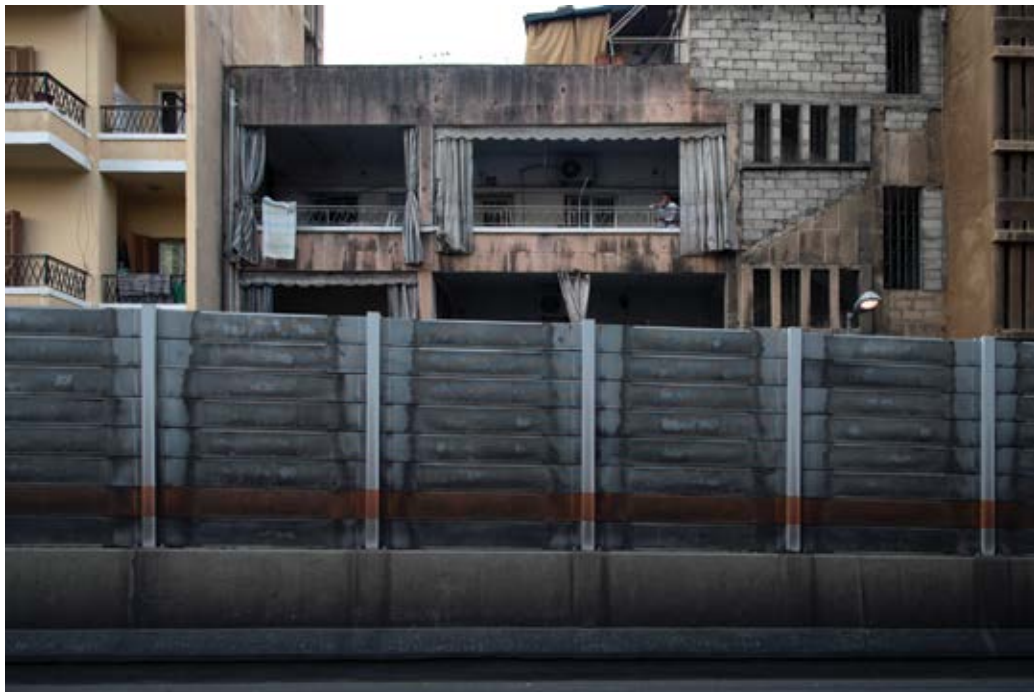
صلاة العصر، أحد الشعانين
'Salat al-asr', Palm Sunday



انتظرنني في المحطة يا أخي
Wait for me at the station, brother



أحلام يقظة
Daydreams of home



شيء تتطلع إليه
Anticipating something to look forward to



منزل جديد، وظيفة جديدة، ليل طويل
New home, new job, long night



الرحيل والعودة
Arrival departure

More than five years into the “refugee crisis”, popular discourses and media debates in Lebanon still lack the vocabulary to describe the impressive competence of individuals and groups fleeing a war-torn country and the resilience they have demonstrated in facing difficult residency in nearby host countries. In this collection of essays, scholars, writers, designers and artists have set out to contest the stereotypical representation of Syrian refugees as destitute, powerless and passive aid recipients. Through original research, direct documentation, analytical representations, and visual investigations, they present a kaleidoscope of refugees as workers, entrepreneurs, dwellers, visitors, artists, artisans, students, drivers and –mostly– as active agents in the reconstruction of their livelihoods, as well as political subjects engaged in a reflection about the future of their country and the significance of their presence in today’s Lebanon. In doing so, the authors invite readers to reconsider the widespread conception of Syrian refugee presence as “a burden”, highlighting instead their important contributions in reimagining and enacting Lebanon’s cities and towns as places of refuge and diversity. Throughout these narratives, we read about coping mechanisms, ingenious schemes, but also abusive official policies and discriminatory legal frameworks that polarize social groups and undermine possibilities of collective reorganization and emerging solidarities.

בשנים האחרונות, הפכה התמונה הציבורית של הפליטים הסורים בלבנון לזו של אנשים חסרי יכולות, חסרי מוטיבציה וחסרי אונים. אולם, במסגרת אוסף מאמרים זה, מנסים חוקרים, כותבים, מעצבים ואמנים להפריך את התפיסה הסטריאוטיפית של הפליטים הסורים כקבוצה חסרת יכולות, חסרת מוטיבציה וחסרת אונים. באמצעות מחקר מקורי, תיעוד ישיר, ייצוגים אנליטיים וחקירות ויזואליות, מציגים המחברים ספקטרום רחב של הפליטים הסורים כעובדים, עוסקים, מתגוררים, מבקרים, אמנים, מלאמי, סטודנטים, נהגים ו –בעיקר– כסוכנים פעילים במימוש חיי היום יום ובבניית קהילות חדשות. במסגרת אוסף זה, מוזמנים הקוראים לשקול מחדש את התפיסה הרווחת של נוכחות הפליטים הסורים בלבנון כ"נטל", ולהדגיש את תרומותיהם החשובות במימוש חיי היום יום ובבניית קהילות חדשות. במהלך הסיפורים הללו, נקראים על גבי מנגנוני התמודדות, תוכניות מבריקות, אך גם מדיניות רשמית אכזרית וסגורה המשקיעות את הפליטים הסורים בקטגוריות שונות המפרידות את החברה ומחלישות את האפשרויות לקהילה חדשה ומוטיבציה.

