



ARCHITECTURE IN EMERGENCY:

RE-THINKING THE REFUGEE CRISIS

November 17-19, 2016

Istanbul Kültür University, Faculty of Architecture

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KÜLTÜR
UNIVERSITY



Bergen Arkitekttegskole
Bergen School of Architecture

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Host School | Istanbul Kültür University

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*The Editors do not hold themselves responsible for opinions expressed by authors.

RE-VIEWING ARCHITECTURE IN EMERGENCY

Refugee problems, related with having to flee from the country of origin because of the fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, have been a concern for the whole world for a long time. Displacement is even a wider problem, because this comprises the process of having to flee to different parts of the same country. At present, almost 60 million people are displaced by war and conflict worldwide. Unfortunately, this number has increased sharply because of the war in Syria. Since March 2011, which is the date when the civil war in Syria started, almost 12 million people have fled from their homes in Syria, with 5 million becoming refugees in other countries.

While many countries in the world receive an increasing number of refugees, the spatial practice related with hosting refugees on the move, in transit, and in various forms of habitation has found diverse, new and improvised forms. These forms reflect a vast landscape of negotiating spatial practice along formal regulations, informal initiatives, enforced policies and spatial exploitations.

Turkey is the country which hosts the biggest Syrian refugee population in the world. According to official records, there are approximately 2,800,000 Syrian refugees living in Turkey in 2016. There are 26 camps constructed in various cities in Turkey, where basic services such as education and health are met. However, only 10% of the Syrian refugees live in these camps, and the real problem is with those “urban refugees” who live outside these camps. The biggest difficulty of refugees living outside camps is accommodation, because these people cannot find the necessary money to pay their rent. The second major difficulty is finding employment. The legal status of the refugees is another problematic issue. Turkey has become a party to the Geneva Agreement of 1951 with geographical limitations, as a result of which Turkey can give the refugee status only to those coming from Europe. Turkey has implemented an “open door policy” since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, and has not rejected the Syrians who want to come to Turkey for a long period of time. However, they are not accepted as refugees, but rather as asylum seekers under the heading temporary protection, which does not cover the natural rights of refugees.

As the refugee crisis is affecting the world globally, the spatial maneuvers by refugees, authorities and the public and private stakeholders need to be understood within a broader field of spatial discourse. The diverse reinterpretations of values of belonging and attachment are constantly negotiated, and architecture, planning and other related fields need to challenge both the ongoing praxis and take part in shaping the premises for the future accommodation of attachment within the socio-spatial context for a growing refugee-originated population. Because of the new, urban contextual challenges, the architectural profession has a responsibility to re-think the functions related to shelter, site and settlements in crisis responses.

With this aim in mind, several schools of architecture, related with the EAAE, are in the process of developing proposals for increasing awareness in relation to the refugee crisis, and adapting their capacity to answer the physical needs of the refugees. In this context, proposals have been developed for introducing courses at Graduate and Undergraduate levels in several Schools of Architecture in Europe.

This symposium entitled “**Architecture in Emergency: Re-thinking the Refugee Crisis**”, co-chaired by Prof. Dr. Neslihan Dostoğlu and Dr. Cecilie Andersson, taking place at Istanbul Kültür University in November 17-19, 2016, is another effort for evaluating this humanitarian issue. Thematic sessions will question and reshape research and practice agendas, challenges and strategies for the identification of innovative approaches from various disciplines to respond to current refugee crisis.

I would like to thank the Organization and Scientific Committees for all their efforts, especially Assoc. Prof. Dr. Evren Enginöz and Asst. Prof. Dr. Serhat Kut, the Secretariat of the Symposium, Dr. Cecilie Andersson, Rector of Bergen School of Architecture and the Co-Chair of this Symposium, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Şener Küçükdođu, the Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, and Prof. Dr. Siddika Semahat Demir, the Rector of İstanbul Kültür University, for their continuous support in making this event possible. Last, but not least, my thanks go to all the keynote speakers, and the participants who presented valuable papers, and to everyone who has contributed by their comments in this conference.

Prof. Dr. Neslihan Dostođlu

Head of Department of Architecture İstanbul Kültür University

Co-Chair, Architecture in Emergency Symposium

ACİL DURUMDA MİMARLIK ÜZERİNE YENİDEN DÜŞÜNMEK

İnsanların doğdukları ülkeden ırk, din, milliyet, belirli bir sosyal gruba üyelik veya siyasi görüş ile ilgili olarak öldürülme korkusu nedeniyle kaçmak zorunda kalması sonucunda oluşan mülteci sorunları, tüm dünyayı uzun bir süredir kaygılandırmaktadır. Yerinden edilme daha da yaygın bir sorundur çünkü bu konu aynı ülkenin farklı bölgelerine kaçmak zorunda kalma sürecini kapsar. Günümüzde dünyada 60 milyon insan savaş veya çatışmalar nedeniyle yerlerinden edilmiştir. Ne yazık ki bu sayı Suriye'deki savaş nedeniyle hızlı bir şekilde artmıştır. Suriye'de iç savaşın başladığı Mart 2011 tarihinden itibaren 12 milyon kişi evlerinden ayrılmak zorunda kalmış ve bunların 5 milyonu diğer ülkelerde mülteci / sığınmacı olmuştur.

Dünyada birçok ülkede mülteci sayısı giderek artarken, hareket halindeki, transit geçiş yapmakta olan veya çeşitli biçimlerde yerleşen mültecileri konuk etmekle ilgili mekansal uygulamalar farklı, yeni ve doğaçlama biçimler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu biçimler, formel düzenlemeler, enformel girişimler, zorunlu olarak uygulanan politikalar ve mekansal uygulamaları kapsayan geniş bir panoramaya sahip mekansal tartışmaları yansıtmaktadır.

Türkiye halen dünyada en fazla sığınmacı/mülteci barındıran ülke konumundadır.

Resmi kayıtlara göre 2016 yılında Türkiye'de yaşayan Suriyeli sığınmacı sayısı 2,800,000 civarındadır. Türkiye'nin çeşitli kentlerinde 26 adet kamp inşa edilmiş olup, bu kamplarda eğitim ve sağlık gibi temel hizmetler verilmektedir. Ancak, sığınmacıların sadece %10'u bu kamplarda yaşamaktadır ve asıl sorun kampların dışında yaşayan "kentsel sığınmacılar" ile ilgilidir. Kampların dışında yaşamakta olan sığınmacıların karşılaştıkları en büyük zorluk barınmadır çünkü bu insanların ev satın almak veya kiralamak için ayırabilecekleri bir birikimleri bulunmamaktadır. İkinci büyük sorun iş bulmaktır. Sığınmacıların yasal statüleri ise bir başka problemidir. Coğrafi sınırlama ilkesini içeren 1951 Cenevre Sözleşmesi'ni imzalamış olan Türkiye, ancak Avrupa'dan gelenlere mülteci statüsünü verebilmektedir. Türkiye'de Suriye krizinin başladığı tarihten itibaren "açık kapı politikası" izlenmiş, Türkiye'ye gelmek isteyen Suriyelilere uzun bir süre herhangi bir kısıtlama getirilmemiştir. Ancak, gelenler mülteci olarak kabul edilmeyip, geçici koruma başlığı altında, mültecilerin doğal haklarını içermeyen sığınmacı statüsünde değerlendirilmektedir.

Mülteci krizi dünyayı küresel olarak etkilerken, mülteciler, yetkililer, kamusal ve özel sektör paydaşları tarafından alınan fiziksel önlemlerin daha geniş bir mekansal söylem dahilinde anlaşılması gerekir. Aidiyet ve bağlılıkla ilgili değerlerin farklı bir biçimde yeniden yorumlanmaları sürekli olarak müzakere edilirken, mimarlık alanı hem devam eden uygulamaları sorgulamalı, hem de giderek artan mülteci kökenli nüfus için sosyo-mekansal bağlamda ilişki kurmayı destekleyecek barınma ortamlarının şekillenmesinde rol almalıdır. Kentle ilgili yeni bağlamsal zorluklardan dolayı, mimarlık mesleği krize yanıt verecek şekilde barınak, yerleşim yeri ve yerleşkeler ile ilgili fonksiyonları yeniden düşünme sorumluluğunu taşımaktadır.

Bu amaç doğrultusunda, EAAE (The European Association for Architectural Education - Avrupa Mimarlık Eğitimi Birliği) bünyesindeki bazı mimarlık okulları mülteci kriziyle ilgili farkındalığı arttırmak için çeşitli öneriler geliştirmekte ve mültecilerin fiziksel ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak üzere kendi olanaklarını değerlendirmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Avrupa'da çeşitli mimarlık okullarında lisans ve lisansüstü düzeyde ders önerileri geliştirilmektedir.

17-19 Kasım 2016 tarihleri arasında İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi'nde Neslihan Dostoğlu ve Cecilie Andersson eş-başkanlığında gerçekleştirilen "Acil Durumda Mimarlık: Sığınmacı / Mülteci Krizini Yeniden Düşünmek" başlıklı sempozyum da bu insani meseleyi ele alan bir başka girişimdir. Bu sempozyum, devam eden mülteci krizi ile ilgili farklı disiplinlerden yenilikçi yaklaşımların belirlenmesi için araştırma ve uygulama gündemlerini, zorluklarını ve stratejilerini sorgulayan ve yeniden şekillendiren tematik oturumlardan oluşmaktadır.

Bu vesileyle, Organizasyon Komitesi'ne ve Bilimsel Komite'ye, özellikle de Sekreteryaya görevini üstlenen Doç. Dr. Evren Enginöz'e ve Yrd. Doç. Dr. Serhat Kut'a, Bergen Mimarlık Okulu'nun Rektörü ve Sempozyumun Eş-Başkanı Dr. Cecilie Andresson'a, Mimarlık Fakültesi Dekanı Prof. Dr. Mehmet Küçükdoğan'a ve İstanbul Kültür

Üniversitesi Rektörü Prof. Dr. Sıddıka Semahat Demir'e bu etkinliğin gerçekleştirilmesindeki destekleri için teşekkür ederim. Son olarak, sempozyumdaki tüm çağrılı konuşmacılara, değerli bildiriler sunan katılımcılara ve sempozyuma yorumlarıyla katkıda bulunan herkese şükranlarımı sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Neslihan Dostođlu

Mimarlık Bölüm Başkanı, İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi

Acil Durumda Mimarlık Sempozyumu Eş-Başkanı

GET USED TO IT!

In regard to refugees, policy makers and developers have explained their decisions and actions with the unforeseen, the unpredictable, the instable, and the impossible. Considerations have been argued up against numbers displayed as uncontrollable crowds and attacking waves. Rivalry among politicians in charge, to enforce policies that are seen as more hostile and less welcoming than that of their neighbour country, to attract less refugees, have been seen as acceptable behaviour and economically considerate actions in many countries, mine included.

In Norway we counted 31 145 asylum seekers last year according to official numbers, but the vocabulary used to address them were of another reality. A reasonable question within this political discourse became how to cope with a catastrophe, and the means and approaches used, were those of crisis-management. Setting standards aside was suddenly part of acceptable policy measures and providing a basic bed in an ad hoc refugee reception centre could earn a ruthless contractor tenfold of the price of a classy hotel bed, if intended for an arriving refugee.

The main policy question turned from how to cope with the arrivals towards how to cope with it somewhere else? The solution was found through the enforcement of international agreements, resulting in a harsh reality of closed borders. Now we see no refugees. We can return to the thinking that this is not anymore our issue. Creating a seemingly normalized situation has been our response to the biggest refugee challenge of our times.

The landscape of negotiating arrivals has been strongly configured as an on-off mechanism. Unprepared as we have been to face the other mode, unprepared as we have been to manage the unpredictable. In Norway we have lately witnessed another absurdity on print; with newspaper articles claiming there is a new crisis on the countryside in small communities that had prepared to accommodate a large amount of refugees. They are confronted with economical loss due to a standstill in the arrivals. It was not written that it only puts even more pressure on the situations of equally small places in Turkey and elsewhere. Places that have to cater for the many.

As planners and architects, students and researchers we need to address the spatial implications and challenge the discourse with well-argued research and critical questions, nurturing practices of building inclusive communities grounded in socio-spatial considerations on the importance of attachment.

We need to acknowledge that while arrivals can be spatially framed by implications of the temporary, unsettling and insecure, in its mode it is as final and absolute as a borderline crossing. It is a new start that needs to be spatially facilitated.

He who has arrived has a long way to go¹

Act on it. React on it. Get used to it!

Dr. Cecilie Andersson

Rector of Bergen School of Architecture,

Co-Chair, Architecture in Emergency Symposium

¹ (This sentence appear several times throughout a poem by Thomas Tranströmer in his book Klanger och Spår. Original sentence in Swedish; Den som är framme har en lång väg att gå)

RE-THINKING

More than any other country in Europe, Turkey has been affected heavily by the 2015-2016 refugee crisis. However, all European countries and their policies for immigration have been challenged by the situation, and the crisis has caused most Schools of Architecture to somehow involve and discuss how our discipline and practice can be relevant in dealing with the situation.

The challenge is acute and hopefully temporary, due to wars. Actions have to be taken to provide for food, housing and health care for refugees in transition. But the situation may also be conceptualized in relation to effects of economic, cultural and socio-spatial globalization.

Using concepts from the Oslo Architectural Triennial 2016 (OAT): Global circulation of people, information, and goods has destabilized what we understand by residence, questioning spatial permanence, property, and identity—a crisis of belonging. Circulation brings greater accessibility to ever-new commodities and further geographies. But, simultaneously, circulation also promotes growing inequalities for large groups, kept in precarious states of transit.

Probably this is what re-thinking refugees in post-crisis processes is partly about: to gain insight by analyzing the ways of staying in transit and the definition of our contemporary spaces of residence. At the same time, there is a need for developing and testing intervention strategies.

The European Association for Architectural Education is more than satisfied to support this conference on Architecture in Emergency hosted by the Istanbul Kültür University.

Prof. Dr. Karl Otto Ellefsen

President of EAAE,
The Oslo School of Architecture and Design

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CAMP: DECOLONIZING ARCHITECTURE

Pelin Tan

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Abstract

The paper is based on the argument that the notion of "camp" is one of the practices of dwelling that could anchor architects, urbanists and spatial practitioners introducing new forms of infrastructure, public space, relation to existing cities and as well as methodologies. The everyday life practice of a refugee community in a camp is often applied by a normative design approach. Its public space is being understood as tabula rasa, an empty bowl. The refugee camp literature in architecture, which is limited, the basic argumentations are about the urbanization process of refugee camps, spatial practices and understanding the space of camp as state of exception. Through the problematization of public space he claims that the camp has a potentiality as a "anti-city". Under the frame of this theoretical discussion, this paper will exemplify a comparative local condition of camps in West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon and Southeast Anatolia, which the authors are conducting since the last years.

Keywords: Right, Shelter; Refugee, Architecture, Language, Homelessness

Camps as post-Exceptional spaces

A camp is often described as a spatialization of exception. Space of exception refers to judicial condition of where normal law is suspended by structures of sovereignty. The main argument by Carl Schmitt is that "state of exception" is decided and determined by sovereignty and this argument based on political and judicial power. For Agamben, "The state of exception is not a special kind of law (like the law of war); rather, insofar as it is a suspension of the juridical order itself, it defines law's threshold or limit concept." (Agamben, 2005, pp.49). Hence, by analyzing Carl Schmitt's theory of state of exception Agamben inserts that "being-outside" and "belonging" is the "topological structure of state of exception", and only because the sovereign, who decides on the exception" (Agamben, 2005, pp.35). Thus, basically in relation to space or topos, "exception" is a practice of hegemony of de-territorialization by territorializing it. A form of practice of excluding by including it. For Agamben, the original political relation is "the ban (the state of exception) as zone of indistinction between outside and inside, exclusion and inclusion" (Agamben, 1998, pp.181).

If we look at it in perspective spatial practice; it is a formation of demarcation of space. Since the last ten years, the discussion and interpretations of "exception" in terms of topography and urbanism are extended with examples of extra-territorialities of civil war, occupied territories, liquid borderline, islands, buffer zones, curfew cities, state-led urban transformation, eviction and others (Franke, 2003). There is argument from a spatial perspective; for example, defining a space under state of

exception where law is suspended and human rights violation is possible, is creating a determinist approach between the defined space (and the subjectivities who are victimized under it). This argument is not only based on a linear justification of the power of the sovereignty but also assuming that the sovereignty is an unclear body of power and its affiliation is directly often the nation – state. However, such an approach could generalize the existing empirical cases. In most interpretation is likely the other way in which the contemporary experience of "exception" as a form is a multiple constellation that exists in tension between territorial facts, objects, and subjectivities.

Refugee camps are often described as the spatialization of exception—the infrastructures of sustenance such as dwelling, food, health, and emergency issues are the basic forces of zoning for a tabula rasa camp plan. This form of dwelling and its zoning is a production of space whose process reflects the continuous negotiation of public space, based on things like border politics and their juridical justification, the negotiation of humanitarian aid, and political agencies. The design program of a camp aims to supply the needs of a community at the spatial scale of a neighborhood, a village, or a small city in which the community is seen as a homogenous entity (with particularities like kinship, religion, and tribal networks having been disregarded). These camps, as the anthropologist Michel Agier puts it, "gradually become the sites of an enduring organization of space, social life and system of power that exist nowhere else. These are paradoxical devices, hybrids that, for lack of an appropriate term, I shall call city-camps (campsvilles)" (Agier, 2002, p.322). While the link between the

concepts of camp and city paradoxically signifies the problems of normative design—a term that describes an early twentieth-century approach to urban planning based on social normative engineering as well as upending public participation in planning processes—Agier conceptualizes camps as an urban space with a heterogeneous everyday life, as well as a biopolitical space, with its networked practices of the actors and agencies. According to his research on refugee camps in African nations, architect Manuel Herz claims that refugee camps are not “non-places” as has been often described in the social sciences. Rather, in keeping with Agier’s idea of the city-camp, it is a settlement, a territory of political, economical, and judicial relationships that also transforms the relations of the world outside the camp. For Herz, the entirety of this relationship between inside and outside expresses the “spatialization” of the camp-territory. But Herz goes further, claiming that refugee camps are the direct materialization of a dynamic political act against those urban forms that are idealized by the West (Herz, 2008). Seen as a biopolitical space of an anti-colonial city, the camp for Herz becomes a potential spatial practice against Western-oriented modernism and global colonial dwelling forms. The architect Alessandro Petti—whose practice DAAR, with Sandi Hilal, focuses instead on public space and ways of commoning in refugee camps—asks a counter-question:

“If a citizen’s political identity is played out in the public space of the city, what is found in the camp is its inverse: here, a citizen is stripped of his or her political rights. In this sense, the camp represents a sort of anti-city, a constitutive void of a political order. But what effect does this anti-city produce on the public and political space of the city? (Petti, 2008)

Through the problematization of public space, Petti claims that the camp has a potentiality as an “anti-city.” As a biopolitical space, camps cannot be conceptualized through a dichotomy of inside/outside—it is beyond such a dualistic structure. Moving past more Western discussions of public space and nation-state citizenship, Petti and Hilal focus on a new term—a practice called Al-Masha. The meaning of the word is equivalent to the English “common,” and the practice has an Ottoman legacy of cultivating land as a collective. The notion of Al-Masha could help reimagine the notion of the “commons” today: “How to reactivate common uses beyond the interests of public state control? (Petti&Hilal&Weizman, 2014, pp.183) Al-Masha offers Petti and Hilal a potential new formation of citizen and space beyond the usual public/private dualism (Tan, 2015, pp.212).

Refugee camps in Turkey are started to establish in 2013 according to the outcome of the migration of the Syrian civil war. Beside self-organized municipal supported camps, AFAD as a state administrative body designed tent and container camps in which UN is supporting. Since the last few years, refugees in several camps reorganized their spatial organization according to their everyday life and family, gender and relative structures. Therefore, we do witness self-organized structures in several camps. For example, in the self-organized Diyarbakır municipal supported camp in Çınar that hosts around 1100 Ezidi Iraki refugees, is a tent structured settlement where Ezidis are organizing their own designed spatial structures such as kitchen, bathroom and common

public spaces as well vegetable gardens. Urbanized camps in Palestine or Jordan provides established examples of life forms that we might see the first steps of communing structures and practices in the recent camps in Turkey.

A New Urban Form: Al-Fawar Camp

It seems to be clear that the way of reaction against the occupation has been transformed in the decade as well as camps that have historicity of sixty-six years of exiled in Palestine. This reaction have been produced / experienced through changing morphological structure of camps and sociality. A new form of urbanism could also be interpreted as a major paradox of these transformations. Even if this conceptualization seems to be positive effect of recent alterations, it will be very meaningful to discuss this kind of urbanism through scale formulation. Every scale of urbanism actually reveals many domains, which could not be juxtaposed (Güneş, 2014).

For example, some urban problems, which modern cities do also face, could be found in the West Bank refugee camps only if all camps must be analyzed in the scale of 1/1000. In that scale, there are many dynamic relations based upon politic, social and economic bonds as well. During daily life, many camp-dwellers are significant actors of cities where they are working as a tutor or a taxi driver, where they are socialized, where they are going to school and also where they are shopping. Although, for camp-dwellers, they experience daily transition from the city -where they have integral and active role in routine life- to the camp where they live and produce counter-hermeticness through the idea of the right to return home. Moreover, new generations living in camps experience the space in the scale of 1/1 when they daily get back to the camp. In that scale, however, they conceive the camp through its structural characteristics such as narrow streets, introverted of the camp (enclave), reflection of temporariness of buildings constructed with permanent material, and lack of urban infrastructure controlled by Israel.

Additionally, the scale of 1/1000 is not quite meaningful beyond politically reading place and finding some similar physical features between the camp and the city. Although, physical environment have been dramatically changed in the camp. For example, almost every each wall is converted to “public space” or “objection wall” through cartographies including Palestine flags, martyrs, and many religious symbols such as Kaaba and the Dome of Rock. Furthermore, images of martyrs are of the crucial symbols that enable camp-dwellers to keep the exile alive. Both “the right to return home” and “being camp-dwellers” are handed down from generation to generation through all public images depicted on the wall, and oral history. All interpretations about camps relied on the scale of 1/1000 do not overlap with interpretations based on the scale of 1/1. It is an undeniable fact that there are precise and inevitable incongruities between these scales. Therefore, it could be argued that there is a new form of urbanism through scale formulation. Al-Fawwar refugee camp, located at the outskirts of the city of Hebron, is quite remarkable example to discuss these disparities.

Fawwar refugee camp located eight kilometers far away from the city of Al-Khalil is in-between Israeli settlement (Hajeya) and military base. Due to its location, the camp actually seems to create "uncanny relationship" with the city. Main axis extending in an east-west direction describes the main entrance of the camp, transportation and trade axes. At the entrance of the road, however, the Israeli checkpoint is located, albeit uncompact. Even if daily transportation seems to be flexibly operated, this checkpoint gives Israel unpredictable the right to close the camp as in February 25, 2014. Urban infrastructure, such as water supply system, sewage system, telecommunications and electricity, has been established, however it cannot provide a framework supporting an entire structure of the camp. Despite a growing population, the perpetuation of being camp-dweller is a triggering element for shaping the camp environment beyond the borders. Because of this, immediate vicinity of the camp have recently been turned into a place that is hosting camps' elites and it relatively reflects more qualified visuality than residential areas in the camp. Nevertheless, social transformation is quite notable as well as spatial changing over the camp. Herein, it can be consequential to argue obviously different perceptions between generations because this tension actually re-describes, re-shapes and re-define the camp in terms of urbanism as well.

Even though the camp is not a structural component of the city of Hebron, it provides the city many social, political and economic urban actors. Particularly, economic and social relation with the city can be conceived as major element threatening the spatial introversion of the camp. Moreover, daily schedule/transportation from the camp to the city re-produces this way of relationship in every minute. In this sense, it is quite outstanding that new generations have produced a new way of "identity" that is "changed" even during "the day". For example, they are one of the major actors in Hebron during the day and also they are free to experience the city as a "flaneur". On the other hand, when they get back to home, they become camp-dwellers who are attached to maintain the right to return home, who pass through check points, who experience the "introverted" space and who face images depicted on walls.

Older generations, however, are inclined to construct counter-hermeticness through living in the camp, even if they have sufficient prosperity to satisfy with living standards in Bethlehem or to buy a new house in Hebron. It seems to be clear that leaving the camp is centralized in lives as equivalent to lose their meanings of existence by older generations. In other words, it is equal to justify sixty years of exile, so-called state of Israel and all the sins of Zionism as well. That is why any spatial changes or leaving the camp could "jeopardize" the right to return home. Even so, new generations have recently produced "objections" against this perception. To paraphrase Petti;

"The prolonged exceptional temporality of the refugee camps could paradoxically create the condition for its transformation: from a pure humanitarian space to an active political space, the embodiment and the expression of the right of return" (Petti, 2014)

Therefore, this tension produced by new generations is very significant and meaningful. It can be pointed out as remarkable transformations that have triggered the creation of a new image of refugee worldwide. In the first hand, they are the active participants of the institution that is Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency (DAAR) founded in Dheisheh refugee camp located in the city of Bethlehem, through which they have represented a new model of refugee by politically changing the physicality of camps and constructing a new form of individual. In the second hand, for example, they are very involved urban actor of Hebron mentioned above and also they could be interpreted as major generating subjects who have begun to transform their camp. To illustrate, project designed by young generations was started to construct a public space in the camp. Counter-hermeticness in this sense would be represented through this public space where all camp-dwellers can attend a meeting or an organization in the plaza (public space), whereby they eventually "become" active common actors. In beginning, Al-Fawwar have been re-experienced, re-described, re-produced and re-read on the basis of this phenomenon. Lives are also as flexible and variable as places, despite the fact that worlds of mind and daily practices are moulded by the instinct of being "flaneur" and "absoluteness" of the right to return home. Furthermore, very undeniable contradiction between the scale of 1/1 and 1/1000 re-produces stimulating conceptualization of "urbanism" in every minute. This production, however, limitlessly produces counter-flexibility by its own uncanny and changeable structure.

Conclusion

In conclusion, discussing theoretically the concept of the refugee camps and analyzing empirical examples from different geographies (either urbanized or recent temporary camps) provide us to understand the camps as new spatial form that might stand as a criticism of normative design, urbanism and architecture. Moreover, it could open a new discursive realm of architectural elements and structures of decolonization that could challenge our design methods.

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