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Refugee women and the Right to Inhabit

Reconceptualising refugee women's Right to the City in Bourj Hammoud, Lebanon

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Reconceptualising refugee women's Right to the City in Bourj Hammoud, Lebanon

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Abstract. With an ever-increasing majority of refugees living in urban areas, new questions are being raised about the meaning of citizenship and rights in the city. As a right for anyone who inhabits the city, Lefebvre's *Right to the City* (RTC) concept provides a useful entry point to understand the particular struggles of refugees in negotiating their rights in a new 'host' city, however it is yet to be used to study the particular experiences of refugee *women*. In this paper I endeavour to fill this gap in the literature by analysing the struggles of refugee women in Bourj Hammoud, Lebanon (many of whom are residing in the city without legal residence permits) in negotiating their principle 'Right to Inhabit'. Specifically, I study their struggles in negotiating 'three components of inhabitance', namely the rights to housing, property and urban social life through the construction of a theoretical framework based on the "right to appropriation" and feminist critiques of the RTC. Through this framework, I reveal how patriarchal power relations implicate refugee women's negotiations of these rights and I argue that the Right to Inhabit provides a useful framing to study how they negotiate their rights beyond the scale of the city alone.

Content

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List of acronyms

IDP - Internally displaced person
GBV - Gender-based violence
GoL - Government of Lebanon
LCRP - Lebanon Crisis Response Plan
NGO - Non-governmental organisation
NRC - Norwegian Refugee Council
PRL - Palestinian refugees in Lebanon
PRS - Palestinian refugees from Syria
RTC - Right to the city
UN - United Nations
UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
UN-Habitat - United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WFP - World Food Programme

1. Introduction

The "urbanisation of refuge" (Sanyal, 2014) is a significant trend in contemporary human migration; that is, an ever-increasing majority of refugees are living in urban areas, as opposed to 'traditional' camps (UNHCR, 2017a:55). This is unearthing new questions about the meaning of citizenship and rights in the city, and is leading scholars to adopt 'tools' created in the urban studies disciplines to study the experiences of urban refugees. Henri Lefebvre's *Right to the City* (RTC) concept is one such tool which is resurfacing as a way of understanding how migrant populations negotiate their rights as urban dwellers.[1] However, emerging studies are yet to consider the particular experiences of refugee *women*.

This working paper aims to confront this gap in the literature by building on Lefebvre's RTC and feminist critiques of the concept to study the everyday experiences of displaced women in Bourj Hammoud, an eastern district of Beirut, Lebanon. Specifically, a framework entitled the 'Right to Inhabit' is developed to understand the most important rights which refugees must individually and collectively negotiate in order to make their first claim to rightfulness in a new 'host' city. Expanding on Lefebvre's 'right to appropriate' urban space, the Right to Inhabit incorporates the rights to housing, property and urban social life and considers how patriarchal power relations affect refugee women's abilities to realise these rights.

Bourj Hammoud provides a suitable case to explore the Right to Inhabit with respect to different experiences of displacement because of the presence of a large number of refugees who arrived from Syria in recent years.[2] The locality is also one of the most vulnerable in Lebanon since over half of its inhabitants (Syrian and Lebanese) are living in financial distress. Through the Right to Inhabit framework, the main findings of this study in Naba'a are:

- Syrian refugee women's use of public urban space is strongly connected to their household duties and severely hindered by concerns over their safety.
- Legal residence status has positive effects on Syrian refugee women's use of public space as it gives them a sense of entitlement.
- Syrian refugee women tend to lack social support networks, meaning they have no one to turn to if they have a problem in the home or household. Those without residence permits are afraid to turn to NGOs and other service-providers for support.
- A large number of Syrian refugee households initially acquire a place to live through social networks established by a male family member. Studies are yet to investigate how female-headed households confront this limitation.
- Gender is not the only social identity affecting Syrian refugee women's everyday experiences in Naba'a, with ethnic identities, household structures and other factors also influencing how refugee women negotiate their rights.[3]

Based on these findings, I argue that critically re-engaging with the RTC notion, which includes building upon the vast body of literature developed since its original conception, can provide new and innovative ways of studying the struggles of different groups of people in cities. In this case, the 'Right to *Inhabit'*, as opposed to the 'Right to the City', might allow for a more appropriate study of the multiple scales at which refugee women's most urgent inhabitance rights are simultaneously denied and negotiated.

1.1 Methodology

The empirical data studied in this paper is drawn from a wide range of primary and secondary sources, including academic literature, NGO research studies, UN reports and government documents. Additionally, a 10-day fieldtrip to Bourj Hammoud was conducted in July 2017, which included observational research and interviews. My observations were carried out at different times of day, in Naba'a neighbourhood particularly, and involved watching how women and men of different ages used the spaces of the city; whether they were mostly stationary or mobile; what activities they were engaged in and how they were interacting with other people and social groups.

My interviews with refugee women were conducted at the Howard Karagheusian Centre, an Armenian primary health care, childcare and social support centre in Bourj Hammoud which offers its services to people

from all backgrounds but has seen a mounting number of Syrian refugees in recent years.[4] I conducted semi-structured interviews with 15 refugee women from Syria at the centre and I interviewed one Syrian-Armenian refugee woman at her home in Naba'a.[5]

Utilising a feminist ethnographic research methodology, the questions largely revolved around women's everyday experiences[6] in the city, including their daily routines, but also included questions about how they came to acquire a place to live, their perceptions over the tenure security and living conditions of their housing and their general senses of comfort and safety in the local area and the city (see Annex 3 for an outline of the interviews and Annex 4 for the research findings).

Where possible, uncertainty from the research sample has been avoided by cross-checking conclusions with at least one other published source or by triangulating findings in the field with another relevant party (e.g. an NGO with experience of working with refugee women; see Annex 5). Practical limitations and ethical concerns relating to the research are summarised in Annexes 1 and 2.

1.2 Structure of paper

In Chapter 2, I explore the *Right to the City* (RTC) in relation to the experiences of refugees and I develop a theoretical foundation for the Right to Inhabit. In Chapter 3, I consider feminist critiques of the RTC, which consider how patriarchal power relations interfere with women's use of space in multiple ways, in order to complete the Right to Inhabit framework. In Chapter 4,I introduce the case study area and I adopt the framework to analyse the different struggles of Syrian refugee women in claiming their Right to Inhabit. To conclude, I assess the usefulness and limitations of the framework in understanding the experiences of refugee women.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Investigations which utilise the RTC have so far only taken place in contexts where migrants or refugees are either already accorded some legal recognition by the hosting state or are mobilised in some form of civil society group, e.g. Lyytinen (2015) in relation to Congolese refugees in Uganda (see section 2.2), and a number of articles in the journal Cities which discuss migrant action in London (Vacchelli and Peyrefitte, 2017), Paris (Hancock, et al. 2017) and Buenos Aires (Bastia, 2017).
2. The ongoing multi-sided armed conflict in Syria, or the Syrian Civil War, escalated in 2011 with civilians rising up against the Syrian government led by President Assad, among a wider wave of Arab Spring protests.
3. It is important to note that Syrian refugees are far from a homogenous group; they include, among others, Syrian-Armenians, Syrian-Kurds and Palestinian Refugees from Syria (PRS).
4. Conversation with an employee at the centre (see Annex 5).
5. I also conducted household visits to the homes of two Lebanese Armenian households in Naba'a. While the interviews conducted here have not directly influenced this research, they provided an insight into the living conditions, opinions and experiences of the 'host' community and have been included in Annex 4 for reference only.
6. As I will discuss in Chapter 3, feminists have long been concerned with the "everyday" as a way of understanding the spatial and temporal natures of women's daily routines and how these are shaped by certain social relations and structures.

2. The Right to Inhabit

2.1 The Right to the City

The *Right to the City* (RTC) concept, first conceived by Henri Lefebvre in 1968[1], reconsiders political belonging not in terms of legal status, but based on a normative definition of inhabitance in the city (Lefebvre, 1996, p.153).[2] In other words, it is a right for anyone who resides in the city, making it an appropriate entry-point to study how urban refugees negotiate their rights. The notion has received much attention from academics, NGOs and social movements over the years as a way of framing urban injustices and resistance against these. Broadly-speaking, the RTC sets out a vision of how urban life should be lived, with a fundamental shift in the powers that control the production of urban space (specifically those of the state and of capital) towards urban inhabitants. It is "both a cry and a demand, a cry out of necessity and a demand for something more" from those who are discontented by urban life and who aspire for more (Marcuse, 2009, p.190). In the words of Lefebvre (1996, p.173, emphases in original):

"The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and *appropriation* (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city."

The right to participate in the production of urban space and the right to appropriate urban space are core elements of the RTC (Purcell, 2003, p.57l). The right to participation involves "centrality" in all decision-making processes which surround the production of urban space, whether these be policy decisions under the state, investment decisions under capital, or any other decisions affecting the city (Purcell, 2002, p.102). The right to appropriation includes "full and complete usage of urban space in the course of everyday life" (Lefebvre, 1996, p.179), or the right to use, access or occupy city spaces, revealing the importance of the use-value of urban space over its exchange-value (Purcell, 2003, p.578).

2.2 The rights to housing and urban social life

For urban refugees, the right to be present in the city is the first, and often the most important right claimed by them, as the politics of presence can be a "potential resource to be tactically and carefully employed in the practice of negotiating claims to rightfulness" (Darling, 2017, p.191). I would argue that the right to inhabit the city and the right to appropriate urban space therefore emerge as principle rights that refugees must first and foremost negotiate against the powerful forces which seek to exclude them. However, what Lefebvre precisely meant by the 'right to inhabit' is left somewhat unexplained. Yet bringing together his original ideas with contemporary interpretations of these rights, it is clear how the right to inhabit and the right to appropriate converge in two crucial ways, so much so that it can be argued they are the same. Firstly, as Mitchell (2003, p.19) has argued, the right to inhabit implies the right to the uses of city spaces which is quite simply the definition of the right to appropriation.

Secondly, the right to inhabit and the right to appropriate urban space both imply the right to collectively participate in the social construction of a place. For example, Lefebvre (1996, p.76), tracing the historic definition of the term *inhabitance*, reveals how the word used to mean "to take part in a social life, a community, village or city", an idea he seems to celebrate. Expanding on this concept, Vilarrodona (2016, p.2, emphasis in original) argues that, for Lefebvre, "*inhabiting* is understood as belonging to a social collective experience linked to the site of residence". In a similar way, the right to appropriation implies more than just the individual right to access city spaces, but also the right to collectively participate in the *oeuvre* of the city precisely through its everyday usage (Purcell, 2003, p.578). Based on these two readings, the right to inhabit can be understood as both an individual right to appropriate/*use* urban space and a collective right to appropriate/*participate* in the social construction of the place, or the city as an *oeuvre.*

In her study of Congolese refugees' security in Kampala, Uganda, Lyytinen (2015) interprets the RTC as both the right to appropriate city spaces and the right to participate in the formal production of protective spaces. However, in this case, an analysis of participation is made possible by the fact that the refugee community was already well-established and mobilised. In the case of refugees in Naba'a, mobilisation is not so strong as many refugees are just trying to "make ends meet" (El-Alam, 2014, p.116), therefore I would argue that it is more pertinent, at this time, to study their negotiations of the right to appropriate urban space. This right to par-

ticipate differs from the one discussed previously as it is a right gained *implicitly* through the appropriation of space by different groups of people and their daily routines, rather than being an active claim to "participation in the political life, management, and administration of the city" (Dikeç, 2001, p.1790).

Based on the 'double' understanding of the right to appropriation as the right to use and the right to create the *oeuvre*, two vital 'components' of the right to inhabit emerge. Firstly, the right to urban spaces that can facilitate social life, which, for many feminist scholars, involves the neighbourhood, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Secondly, the right to housing, as one form of appropriation of urban space, is crucial to guarantee the right to inhabit (Mitchell, 2003, p.9) and is also often viewed as a "gateway" to other rights in the city (Rolnik, 2014). In the words of Vilarrodona (2016, p.7):

> *"If the right to inhabit is executed from the right to have a space to live –to reside–, under inhabitable conditions –to form an active part of the social construction–, and with a guarantee of the right to do it, it is undeniable, thus, that the concept of inhabiting needs guaranteed housing [...]"*

However, we must be careful not to conflate housing as something which has use-value, with property which only has exchange-value (Ibid). Lefebvre saw the regime of property rights under Capitalism as "an *expropriation* of urban space" as it separates land from local users, alienating urban space from its inhabitants (Purcell, 2014, p.149, emphasis in original). Therefore, the radical interpretation of the RTC simply does not accept property rights as claims to urban space, rather it calls for a normative right to inhabit all the spaces of the city, including the inner urban core (Ibid).

2.3 The right to property

While the complete eradication of private property might indeed be a crucial step towards Lefebvre's (1996, p.158, emphasis in original) revolutionary "transformed and renewed *right to urban life*", it becomes problematic when we consider the immediate needs of specific groups such as refugees and women who simply want to "obtain the benefits of existing city life from which they have been excluded" (Marcuse, 2014, p.6). Moreover, the only practical example of complete resistance against the property regime that has emerged so far is the act of squatting[3] (Mitchell, 2003), yet in Naba'a refugees mostly access the right to housing through informal markets which, as we know, do not operate in isolation from formal property markets (Fawaz, 2016). These informal housing markets are both the reason the area has been able to "absorb" such a large influx of refugees and the cause of their vulnerabilities to problems such as poor living conditions and tenure insecurity (Ibid).

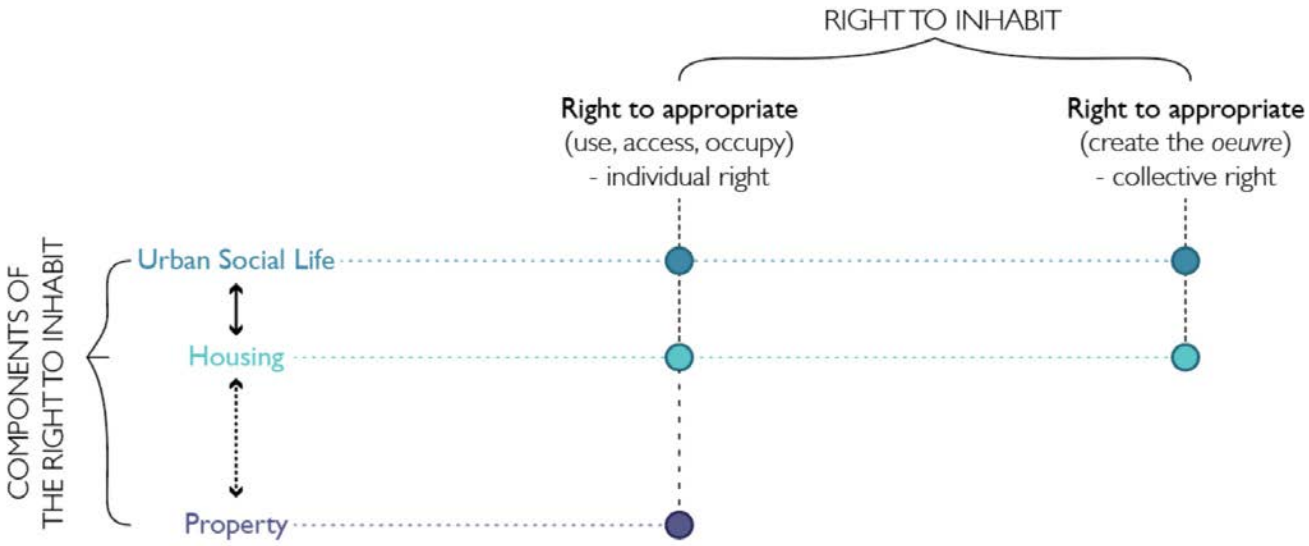
In this sense, the right to property emerges as a third necessary component of the Right to Inhabit, especially when we consider that both migrants and women have traditionally been excluded from the dominant property regime (Sayne, 1992), and are more affected by the problems associated with its fluctuations, such as those just mentioned. However in this framework, the right to property does not simply imply the formal right to own a private property, rather it is considered as the right to live in a secure and affordable place, whether this is provided by legal property rights and formal housing markets or informal agreements over property.

It is worth mentioning here that while informality[4] is generally defined as a condition which falls outside of the regulations of the state, current debates tend to problematise this understanding, highlighting instead the complex interconnections between informality and formality (e.g. McFarlane & Waibel, 2012), therefore property rights can rarely be defined as purely informal or formal. Additionally, the right to property is intrinsically tied to the right to housing which, emphasising use-value over exchange-value, one might define as having an 'adequate', or habitable, place to live. I shall discuss the gendered meaning of 'adequacy' more in the next chapter, however it is important to note here how property markets reciprocally affect housing conditions.

2.4 Components of the Right to Inhabit

Based on the discussion above, an underpinning theoretical framework can be established to conceptualise refugees' Right to Inhabit. This is summarised in figure 2.1. Building on the work of Lefebvre it meshes the 'active' rights to appropriate/inhabit with the associated rights to urban social life and housing. As mentioned above, the practical dimension of what is possible to achieve in the dominant property regime has also been considered, by including the right to property in the framework. However, unlike the other rights, the right to property does not intersect with the right to appropriate/create the *oeuvre* as property is exactly what Lefebvre (1996, p.172 in Purcell, 2003, p.578) argues suppresses the *oeuvre* since it means that urban spaces are only valued as commodities, taking away the ability of users to create the city as a work of art.

Figure 2.1. Intersecting elements of the Right to Inhabit. Source: Author.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. In 'Le Droit à la Ville' (Lefebvre, 1968).
2. As the RTC has been well-debated in urban studies literature, providing a full account of its various interpretations is not possible here.
3. Nur and Sethman (2017) have recently explored how migrants in Rome are claiming their rights to housing through the act of squatting as a response to the inadequacy of the state's public administration.
4. The term was first coined by Hart (1973) in his study of the urban informal economy in Ghana.

3. Towards a gendered Right to Inhabit

3.1 Feminist critiques of the Right to the City

Despite decades of feminist critiques arguing for the importance of including gender in urban theory, mainstream urban literature still fails to engage with feminist urban scholarship (Bastia, 2017, p.2). However, in critiquing Lefebvre's RTC, feminist writers have provided insightful contributions into the ways in which patriarchal power relations can hinder women's ability to realise their urban rights in various ways. In this chapter I build on the theoretical foundation constructed in the previous, in order to establish a conceptual framework that can make sense of the specific struggles of refugee women in accessing the Right to Inhabit.

3.2 Public space/private space

Lefebvre's RTC only refers to the public spaces of the city which inadvertently sets up a dichotomy between public and private domains whereby the private (the home), 'traditionally' the space of women, is rendered invisible (Fenster, 2005). Feminists have long dismissed this binary logic of public/private space (Yuval- Davis, 1991, p.63), arguing either for a complete erasure of the distinctions between these spheres or simply for the deconstruction of the hierarchical dualism they set up (Young, 2013, p.186). In her prominent critique, Fenster (2005, p.221) opts for the latter, emphasising "the necessity to discuss the right to use at the home scale as part and parcel of the discussion of the right to the city" (2005, p.222). Specifically, her study of the everyday experiences of minority and majority ethnic women in London and Jerusalem reveals the ways in which social patriarchal power relations not only deny women the *oeuvre* of public space as Massey (1994) has contended, but also the complete usage of the private; their homes.

Fenster (2005) also observes how women's gendered sense of urban belonging is linked to their access and control over resources in the home and in the city. As the everyday appropriation of space is clearly linked to a gendered division of labour or household duties, women's right to use public space is connected to fundamental rights related to access to resources such as food, health and shelter (Kaplan, 1997 in Fenster, 2005, p.223). Moreover, Chant (2012, p.255) explains how discriminations between gender and housing reinforce one another to support the gendered division of labour in the first place. On the one hand, gender inequalities dictate who owns or controls housing and who must engage in the reproductive work of the household; on the other, aspects of housing such as tenure, adequacy, location, services etc. themselves have an impact on women's household duties, rights and resources.

One of the most severe forms of patriarchal oppression in both the private and public spheres is expressed in the form of gender-based violence (GBV). However, while the convergence of unequal gendered power relations and urbanisation, inequality and poverty may be the root-cause of GBV, it can be exacerbated further by inadequate access to particular assets and the intersection of gender with other social identities such as age or ethnicity. McIlwaine (2016) argues that GBV is primarily triggered by the erosion of assets relating to basic needs, including housing, followed by assets relating to social capital. For example, poor or overcrowded housing conditions together with unequal inheritance and property rights can heighten the risk of GBV (2016, p.153), while lack of social support networks make it more difficult for women to leave (2016, p.155). Additionally, lack of women-friendly public spaces and local infrastructure can also increase the risk of GBV (2016, p.154). Moreover, whether *real* or *perceived*, women's own sense of risk to GBV may equally impinge on their ability to use urban space.

3.3 Neighbourhoods and everyday life

In trying to enhance the RTC without dismissing its potential, attention has been paid to the agency and everyday experiences of women in order to understand how they negotiate their rights, through which daily practices and at which scales.[1] Vaiou and Lykogianni (2006, p.735) argue that the everyday can be viewed as "both a perspective and a question of methodology". As a perspective, the everyday reveals the "ways in which the organisation of social relations and structures forms and defines people's everyday practices". As a methodology, it uncovers the engagement of urban inhabitants in "various practices and processes and their different uses... of space and time" (Ibid). In this sense, the eve-

ryday might offer a view of both the forces that deny city dwellers their urban rights and their own struggles against these. In fact, Lefebvre himself contended that urban inhabitants had the possibility to overcome the alienation of everyday life within the everyday itself (Lykogianni, 2008, p.135).

Within feminist studies of women's everyday lives, the neighbourhood emerges as an important spatial scale at which their daily routines play out, especially for those who take on traditional roles as 'homemakers' (Vaiou, 2013). For these women, their homes and the spaces between are often important "places of encounter" during the course of their daily lives, as is revealed by Erman (1996, p.767) in her study of women living in Çukurca, Turkey and Joseph (1978) in her now historical analysis of women's social networks in Bourj Hammoud itself. However, more recent analyses of women's everyday lives tend to emphasise the need to understand the neighbourhood scale as part of a "constellation of social relations" which may be supra-local or even international, rather than merely a "bounded place" (Vaiou and Lykogianni, 2006, p.731).

This is especially the case for migrant women whose migratory flows link local spaces like the neighbourhood with transnational or even global processes (Vaiou, 2013). In the case of migrant women living in Athens, Greece, Vaiou's study uncovers how women in particular try to familiarise themselves with their neighbourhoods, forming relationships with neighbours and identifying safe ways to navigate the city. Through these daily routines and appropriations of neighbourhood space, the women exert their presence on urban space (2013, p.62), forming the city as an *oeuvre*. However, it is important to recognise that migrant experiences are inherently contextual, with different migration policies, circumstances and identities affecting their abilities to utilise urban space in diverse ways (Peake and Rieker, 2013). Therefore, the same freedoms possessed by migrants in Athens may not be granted to refugees in Lebanon.

3.4 Women's right to housing and property

Buckingham (2010, p.59) argues that housing is "the most important aspect when considering habitat within the city" as it facilitates women's ability to use or appropriate nearby urban spaces on a daily basis, especially in their multiple roles as mothers, carers, employees etc. Similarly, recent interpretations by local and international NGOs have tended to highlight how the right to housing cannot be restricted to the physical structure of the house itself, but must be understood within a much broader context which includes such rights as access to basic services, transport, green spaces, sources of employment etc. (e.g. Rolnik, 2014, p.294).[2] In many ways, by taking the use-value of housing and the everyday lives of women into consideration, these criteria also emphasise the link between the right to housing and the right to urban (social) life. That is to say, these elements (and more) must be present and easily accessible if women are to feel comfortable using and occupying 'public' urban space in order to claim their individual right to urban life. Only when a significant number of women begin realising this right individually can they begin fulfilling their collective right to urban social life and ultimately, the city as an *oeuvre.*

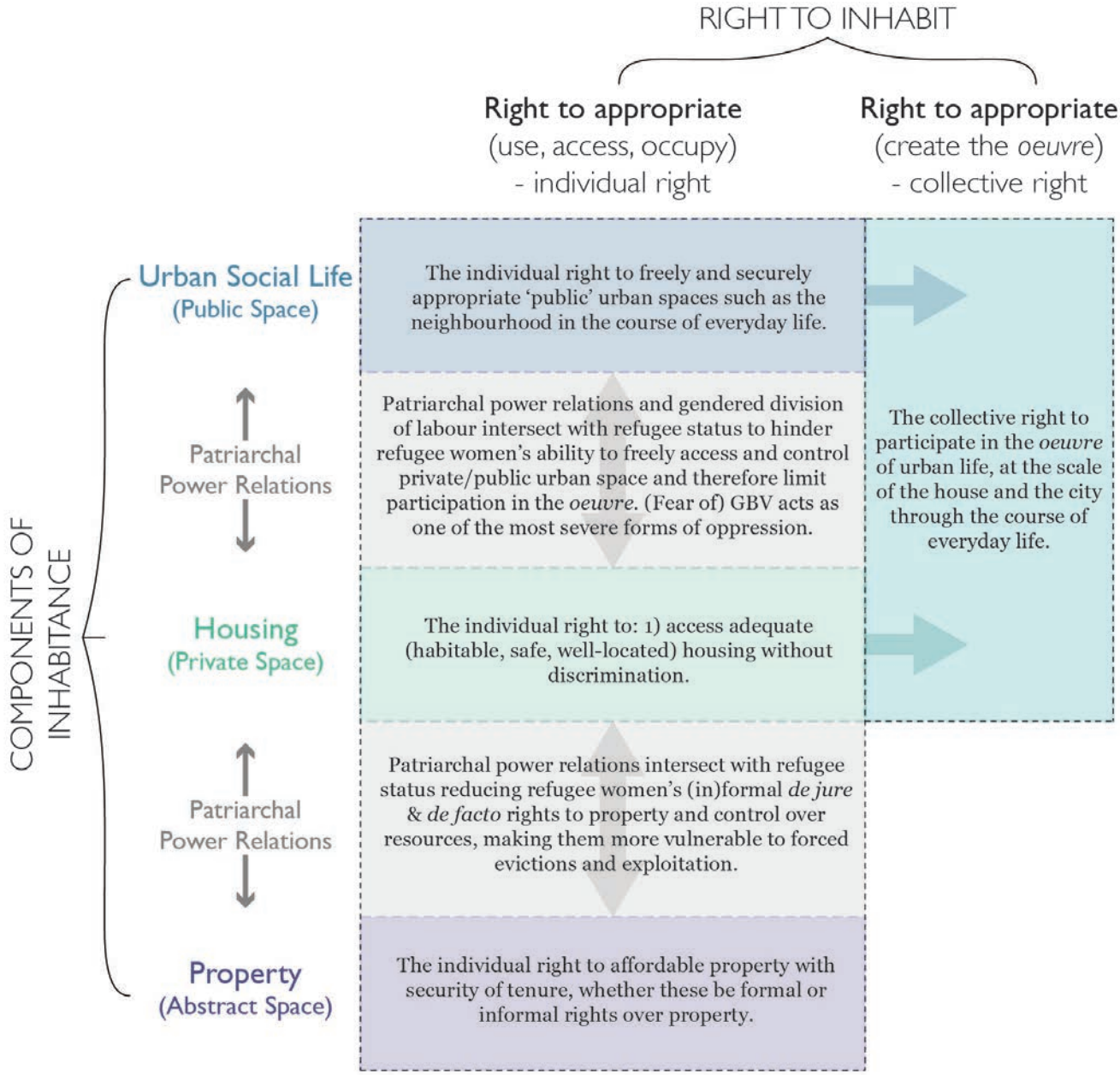
Just how these individual negotiations might become collective action remains unclear. However, Gibson (2001) has argued that through the occasional "breaks" which inevitably emerge among subjective forces, "fugitive energies" can be triggered in individuals, instigating moments of protest which, when harnessed in space, can encourage collective action against such dominating forces. In this vein, perhaps refugee women's everyday use of urban space, no matter how limited or restricted, might at a certain point in time, trigger collective participation in the *oeuvre.*

However, as stated in the last chapter, the right to housing and the right to urban social life alone are not enough in the context of the dominant property regime whose patriarchal ideologies have traditionally excluded women (and migrants) (Sayne, 1992, p.98), and have led to gender discrimination in tenure rights and inheritance rights (Rakodi, 2016). Therefore, before Lefebvre's revolutionary call for the abandonment of property rights altogether, there is a more urgent need to address women's right to property in the current context. This does not necessarily require a formal de jure right to own private property which is forbidden for refugees by Lebanese law (Dahdah, 2016, p.5), rather it must broadly include the right to an affordable place to live with security of tenure, whether this is achieved informally, formally or somewhere in between.

3.5 Refugee women's Right to Inhabit

The discussions above reinforce the importance of the three components of the Right to Inhabit constructed in the previous chapter, namely the right to housing as well as the rights to property and urban social life. Building on the theoretical foundation constructed in the previous chapter, it is now possible to overlay a gendered perspective which defines the three components of inhabitance with respect to refugee women and provides insights into how patriarchal power relations impinge on their abilities to realise the three components of inhabitance, and ultimately the Right to Inhabit (see figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Conceptual Framework: refugee women's Right to Inhabit. Source: Author.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Feminist scholars have been concerned with the gender dimensions of everyday life since the 1970s (Lykogianni, 2008, p.134)

2. Raquel Rolnik was a UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing from 2008-2014.

4. The case of Syrian refugee women in Naba'a, Bourj Hammoud

**The names of all women in this chapter have been changed to protect their anonymity.*

4.1 Background: Syrian refugees in Lebanon

Syrian refugees[1] are not granted any form of legal protection in Lebanon as the government of Lebanon (GoL) does not recognise them as formal refugees, but only as displaced people or *de facto* refugees (Sanyal, 2017:117). Under the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, a refugee is considered to be someone outside of their country who is unable or unwilling to return because of "a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion".[2] However, as Lebanon is not a signatory of this international agreement, nor its 1967 Protocol,[3] both Syrian citizens and Palestinian refugees from Syria (PRS) seeking safe refuge must obtain valid entry and stay papers in order to be legally recognised by the GoL (NRC, 2016:2).[4]

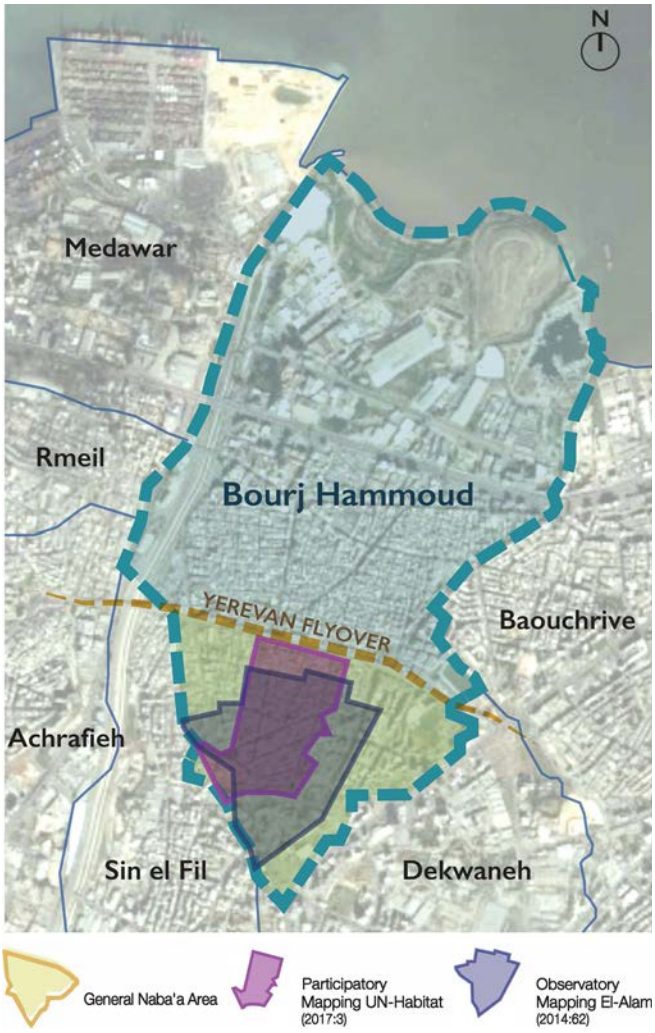
There are two main routes through which Syrians can obtain legal residency: sponsorship by a Lebanese citizen or the renewal of an existing residence permit obtained with a UNHCR registration certificate (GoL and UN, 2017:116).[5] Both of these options come with their own challenges and costs, making it difficult for refugees to secure their legal stay, leading to almost one third of refugees residing in Lebanon 'illegally' (UNDP and UNHCR, 2016:28),[6] with this having a range of implications on the struggles of refugee women in negotiating their rights, as will be discussed.

4.2 Naba'a neighbourhood, Bourj Hammoud

Bourj Hammoud is a district in the Greater Beirut region, only 3 km to the east of Beirut's city centre (see figure 4.1). It falls under a separate jurisdiction, with the municipality of Bourj Hammoud forming part of the Metn *Qadaa*[7], which belongs to the Mount Lebanon Governorate (Harmandayan, 2009, p.3). The area hosts a large Lebanese-Armenian population who began settling from 1921, following the Armenian Genocide. Since their arrival, Bourj Hammoud has seen the inflow of many more migrants, including Palestinian refugees after the creation of Israel in 1948; Syrians, Egyptians and Iraqis in the 1960s/70s, and African, Asian and Arab migrants since the 1990s (Madoré, 2014). Recently, the district has also seen the influx of around 18,000 Syrian refugees who now constitute roughly 20 percent of Bourj Hammoud's population (UN-Habitat, 2017, p.6). The area has been an attractive destination for Syrian refugees due to job opportunities provided by local factories, garages and nearby construction sites, its large stock of rental housing (Madoré, 2014), and social networks which have connected refugees to the area (Fawaz, 2016a).

There are nine 'quarters' or neighbourhoods within the district of Bourj Hammoud (Harmandayan, 2009, p.3). The neighbourhood of Naba'a has been identified by

Figure 4.1. Varying definitions of the boundaries of Naba'a neighbourhood Source: Author, using maps created by UN-Habitat, 2017, p.3 and El-Alam, 2014, p.62.



UN-Habitat (2017, p.1) as being particularly vulnerable due to its high concentration of refugees, poor socio-economic status and stressed basic urban services. Here the population of Syrian refugees is estimated to constitute 63 percent of the population, with the remainder mostly being Lebanese people, including Lebanese-Armenians (UN-Habitat, 2017, p.5).

Naba'a neighbourhood does not have a formally-defined administrative boundary, therefore there are some discrepancies in spatial definition among the literature as indicated in figure 4.1. It is worth noting that most of the *quantitative* data about Naba'a presented in this chapter comes from UN sources, therefore the boundary indicated as UN-Habitat (2017) generally applies. For *qualitative* data about the neighbourhood, including my own research, the broader region to the south of the Yerevan Flyover (in yellow) can be taken to apply. Informal conversations with local NGO workers (Annex 5) confirmed that this road is generally considered to separate Naba'a from the rest of Bourj Hammoud (see figure 4.2 for a photograph of this dividing road).

Figure 4.2. The Yerevan Flyover separating Naba'a (image right) from the rest of Bourj Hammoud, which is also demarcated by many Armenian flags hanging from apartment balconies (image left). Source: Author.

4.3 The right to property

The vast majority (an estimated 93 percent) of all households in Naba'a (Lebanese, Syrians[8] and other nationals) are accessing the right to property through the rental market (UN-Habitat, 2017, p.17). This is unsurprising given the fact that property prices in this area have rapidly increased since the arrival of Syrian refugees in 2011 with investors looking to make quick and lucrative profits out of the growing demand (Fawaz, 2016, pp.105-106). In fact, a substantial number of buildings have been taken over by just three realtors who manage the properties on behalf of absentee landlords, the strongest of whom takes care of 81 buildings or 2400 apartments (Fawaz, 2016, p.107). These factors have increased rental prices sharply, as noticed by Layal, a Syrian refugee who has lived in the area for 8 years, and Nour a Syrian refugee who has lived in the Eastern district of Beirut for 3 years and has been forced to move houses 3-4 times as a result of the ever-increasing rental costs (see No.5 and No.7, Annex 4.A). Indeed, a study by UNHCR and UN-Habitat (2014a, p.60) found that the average rental cost of a one room apartment in Naba'a reached US$ 300 per month in 2014, while a fully serviced apartment reached US$ 600 per month. An inability to cover these rental costs creates the greatest threat of eviction in Naba'a (UNHCR and UN-Habitat, 2014, p.60). As a result of this, landlords and realtors in Lebanon are particularly reluctant to rent their properties to Syrian female-headed refugee households whom they believe to have less secure sources of income and therefore consider to be less reliable tenants (UNHCR, 2014, p.17).

Trying to initially 'appropriate' or access the right to property can therefore be a particular challenge for these women. Besides, even if female household-heads do manage to find a place to live, they are more likely to suffer from forced evictions than male household-heads as their income-earning capacity is less than that of a man, making it more likely that the women cannot keep up with rental payments. This is partly due to structural gender inequalities which mean that Syrian refugee women in Lebanon earn on average 40 percent less than refugee men (ILO, 2013, p.9). In fact, Haya, the mother of a female household-head who has been living in Naba'a for 1.5 years, informed me of the struggles her family face meeting rental costs, as her daughter only earns US$ 500 a month working in sales, while the rental costs are US$ 300 per month excluding bills (see No. 4, Annex 4.A).

In this case, Haya is able to support her daughter by looking after her grandchildren and taking care of the home while she works. However for female household-heads who do not have this support, balancing their multiple roles as mothers, housekeepers and breadwinners poses a huge challenge as they are unable to work enough hours to cover the rent and support their families, increasing their vulnerability to eviction. In fact, all the refugee women I interviewed reported that they were unable to work because they have to take care of their children and homes while their husbands are at work. A local social worker also informed me that part-time work is hard to come by for refugees living there (see Annex 5). These

factors likely contribute to the high unemployment rates among refugee women in Lebanon, standing at 68% (ILO, 2015, p. 36). For some refugee women and their families, the high costs of living in Lebanon combined with their inability to work, leads to severe coping mechanisms such as restricting food consumption, "survival" sex and engaging their children in employment[9] (NRC, 2016, p.25). For Sara, a Syrian refugee woman who has lived in Bourj Hammoud with her family for 2 years, the high living costs have meant that they can only afford to send one of their three children to school (see No.12, Annex 4.A).

For refugee women in general, social and familial patriarchal power relations can intersect with their inability to pay rent, leading to verbal and physical harassment from landlords and male relatives. For example, NRC's (2016, p.24) in-depth interview with a refugee women living with her husband in Bourj Hammoud uncovered how she was being verbally threatened by her landlord as her family had been missing rental payments. Additionally, my conversations with representatives from ABAAD, an NGO which works with refugee women facing domestic violence problems, revealed how in some cases, where the inability to meet household living costs has led to refugee women adopting "changing gender roles" by working and earning money themselves, this has led to domestic violence incidences due to the husbands' loss of gendered identity as the household provider (see Annex 5.A) (Oxfam, 2013).

In Naba'a, refugees' security of tenure is compromised further by the fact that approximately 75 percent of Syrian refugee tenants do not have written rental contracts with their landlords (UNHCR and UN- Habitat, 2014, p.58). While these informal arrangements do involve clear rules and expectations between both parties such as annual rental agreements during which the rent is not expected to increase and notice-periods of one month if the rent were to increase, the lack of a written contract can heighten refugees' vulnerabilities to forced evictions and further exploitation (Ibid). Moreover, research into the housing, land and property rights of Syrian refugee women in Lebanon by NRC (2016, p.26) revealed that women are rarely included in settling verbal agreements with landlords, and moreover, when a written agreement does exist, the women's names are rarely included, giving them almost no form of tenure security should their husbands or male relatives die or leave, virtually denying them the right to property completely.

These factors reconfirm the incompatibility of the right to property with the collective right to participate in the city as an *oeuvre* described in Chapter 2, since the very appropriation of Naba'a's propertied landscape by refugees has led to their own tenure insecurities and poor living conditions. In other words their use of property is paradoxically leading to their own exclusion from the *oeuvre* of everyday life in the city. It is therefore impossible to participate in the *oeuvre* of property.

4.4 The right to housing

Refugees' denial of the right to property (affordable, with security of tenure) is directly linked to the denial of their right to adequate housing, not least due to the fact that the primary importance placed on the exchange-value of property in the dominant regime has contributed to the decay of the use-value of housing as refugees are forced to live in poor and overcrowded conditions. Upon the new arrival of refugees in 2011, landlords and realtors in Naba'a started to subdivide their apartments and build roof constructions illegally in order to increase the rental stock to match the growing demand and maximise profits (Fawaz, 2016, p.105). As property prices started to increase, refugees were forced to share these smaller units with their extended families or even with other households in order to distribute the high rental costs between more people (Ibid). Because of this, overcrowding is now a serious problem in Naba'a, with Syrian households tending to be very large, with an average of 6.3 individuals (UNHCR and UN-Habitat, 2014, p.55).

In my interviews, Shayma and Zeinah (No.9 & 10, Annex 4.A) cited overcrowding as one of their biggest challenges since moving to Naba'a. They have both lived in Naba'a for three years having moved directly from Syria, and they share their two bedroom apartments with seven and ten people respectively. Overcrowding can also have more severe complications as it can heighten conflict among family members, leading to incidents of domestic violence (Oxfam, 2015, p.19).[11] Household visits uncovered some of the conditions which refugees in Bourj Hammoud must live in, including high humidity levels, damp walls and ceilings, and in some instances, fairly severe structural damage. Haya also spoke of bad living conditions, including a cracked ceiling which was causing bad water leakages, and rodent infestations which she showed me on her mobile phone.

With at least one in ten apartments in Naba'a lacking individual bathroom and kitchen facilities, many women are forced to leave their apartments if they need to use a lavatory or wash, which also increases the risk of GBV (UNHCR and UN-Habitat, 2014a, p.5). This was the case for Yeva, a Syrian-Armenian refugee woman, whose home I visited in Bourj Hammoud (No.16, Annex 4.B.). She explained how she has to leave her apartment to use a makeshift bathroom and kitchen on her rooftop which makes her feel exposed, especially at night time. Yeva also complained that in the summer she is unable to spend the midday hours in her home as her metal roof makes the whole apartment extremely hot.

What emerges from these narratives and observations is the unequal burden refugee women face in coping with poor and overcrowded housing conditions due to a gendered division of labour which determines that they are responsible for household duties, and due to a fear of

using public space (as will be discussed in the next section), which means they spend the majority of their time in the home. A manager of the Naba'a branch of the NGO Basmeh & Zeitooneh, revealed how refugee women are beginning to challenge this gendered division of labour by getting involved in their training initiatives and learning how to make different handicrafts which they can sell to local shops (see Annex 5.D). She explained how this is empowering women by enabling them to work from the home while being able to look after their children. This indicates that the use-value of housing for refugee women might in some instances fit well with the idea of housing as something with *productive* value.

If we consider the collective right to appropriate housing as an *oeuvre,* apart from the everyday reproductive work of women in trying to maintain some level of cleanliness and order out of their poor living conditions, there are relatively low levels of investment in housing by refugees in the area (El-Alam, 2014, p.95). According to El-Alam, the reason for this is not so much linked to the property status or duration of stay of refugees, but more a personal sense of confidence in their ability to stay, based for example, on their rental contracts or relationships with their landlords (Ibid). Interviews revealed how residency status also has implications on refugee women's levels of investment or participation in the *oeuvre*. This will be considered more in the next section.

4.5 The right to urban social life

Research in the field uncovered the extent to which the majority of refugee women do not leave their homes; or in other words, are denied the "right to appropriate urban space", and therefore to participate in urban social life. This is revealed in the vast majority of the narratives of women's everyday life in Naba'a in Annex 4.A. with many women citing safety concerns as the main reason why they do not leave their homes.[12] Where the women interviewed did reveal that they leave their home on occasion, this tended to be in relation to their roles as mothers and housekeepers. For example, Nour and Zeinah explained that they only leave their houses if they urgently need to buy something from the shops or if they need to take their children to school or the hospital (see No.7 and No.10, Annex 4.A).

A recent map created by UN-Habitat (2017) as part of their neighbourhood profile of Naba'a reinforces this (see figure 4.3). The map highlights the gathering spaces of refugees by gender, revealing that there are no gathering spaces for women and that they only use the main streets where the majority of shops are. My observations in Naba'a confirmed this as women tended to walk along pavements next to shops carrying bags of groceries or household goods, rather than being stationary or standing (unlike the groups of men which were seen sitting outside shops and on the sides of pavements). This indicates how patriarchal power relations from within the home also dictate refugee women's use of public space through a gendered division of labour, as Fenster (2005) has also argued in the context of London and Jerusalem. This was extremely explicit in the narrative of Amena, a 15 year old Syrian refugee whose husband does not allow her to leave the home unless she needs to for her housework, not even to see her friends, although this is a very specific case (see No. 14, Annex 4.A).

While I did not spend time in Naba'a late at night, there did seem to be a temporal aspect to women's use of space, with less women frequenting the streets in the evening. Indeed, in my interviews, Layal and Aya stated that they would not leave the house at night time, unless their husbands were there (see No. 5 and No. 6, Annex 4.A). There seem to be two interlinked reasons for this, namely the women's own fears, and their husband's fears over their safety. This shows how patriarchal power relations within the home (from their husbands' concerns) and outside of the home (from social structures which create fears over safety) come together to hinder refugee women's right to appropriate urban space in the first place, but also dictate how they use space (through a gendered division of labour).

Figure 4.3. Gathering spaces in Naba'a neighbourhood by gender. Adapted from: UN-Habitat, 2017, p.13 [multiple diagrams merged into one].

In some instances, safety concerns come from refugee women's experiences of verbal and sexual harassment in Naba'a (UN-Habitat's, 2017, p.9). This was echoed by Haya (No.4, Annex 4.A). However, the spatial form and infrastructure of the neighbourhood also creates fears over safety, with many women avoiding its narrow quiet streets (Matn Files, 2012 in El-Alam, 2014, p.68). Poor lighting at night time also exacerbates safety concerns with lighting in Naba'a being limited to the main streets where the municipality have distributed lamps and in places where some households have managed to 'illegally' connect projectors to light additional paths (Dagher and Samaha, 2016, p.10).

The informal policing of urban spaces by young groups of men belonging to politically-affiliated groups such as the Arakadz, a branch of the Armenian Tashnak group, at the entrances of predominantly Armenian neighbourhoods (see figure 4.4), might act as a further threat to refugee women, especially as their primary role is to ensure that refugees do not access these spaces.[13] However for Yeva, a Syrian-Armenian refugee, this policing provides a sense of security in her 'camp' as the gates are closed and policed at night time. This uncovers how refugee women's ethnic or cultural identities also influence their everyday experiences in the city and the importance of acknowledging how other social identities intersect with gender to bring about diverse experiences of refuge, especially among refugees from Syria, who are far from a homogenous group.

Figure 4.4. A gate at the entrance to an Armenian neighbourhood which prevents Syrian refugees and other "threats" from entering. Source: Author.

Aside from the gendered division of labour and safety concerns, both of which are linked to patriarchal power relations, my interview with Sara (No. 12, Annex 4.A) uncovered the implication that refugee women's residency status can have on their own senses of entitlement to use urban space and also their mobility in urban space. Sara explained that she often visits friends, goes shopping in Beirut and even goes to the beach. She stated that this is because she feels like she has the right to do so. Notably, while Sara was explaining this, two other Syrian refugee women in the waiting room spoke up to agree that being in possession of a legal residence permit would give them the same sense of freedom to use urban space. Moreover, research has shown that the many checkpoints which are scattered around Greater Beirut and are controlled by the Lebanese Army create fears over arrest for refugees who do not have legal residency visas (UNICEF, UNHCR and WFP 2016). According to Alsharabati and Nammour (2015 in Plural Security Insights 2016, p.16), 34 percent of Syrians in Beirut have reported having issues at checkpoints. For newly arrived refugees, a lack of proper knowledge of the neighbourhood means that they can often confuse police forces with the army or Hezbollah rendering them unable to assess the legitimacy of the authority confronting them (UNHCR and UN-Habitat, 2014b, p.61).

The numerous obstacles in refugee women's ability to negotiate their individual right to appropriate urban space prevent their collective participation in the *oeuvre* of the city because social and familial patriarchal power relations from inside and outside the home, intersect with their social identities and 'legal' status, to deny them "full and complete usage" of urban space (Lefebvre, 1996, p.179) Because of this, their right to urban social life is also denied. This is epitomised in the case of Nour (No.7, Annex 4.A), who explained that she is completely isolated in her home and feels depressed because her husband is away at work all day and she has no friends in the area.

However it is not just refugee *women* whose right to the *oeuvre* is suppressed. As Samaha (2017, p.1) argues, the more powerful in Naba'a's social structure such as the 'host community', make stronger claims over space. In this sense they have an unequal share of the *oeuvre* of the city. Similarly, patriarchal power relations render male refugees more powerful so their presence in, and claims on, urban space are stronger. This reveals the practical complications of the concept

of the *oeuvre* in the reality of urban life in which there are unequal power relations among individuals and social groups.

4.6 Discussion: The Right to Inhabit

Bringing together the three "components of inhabitance" discussed in this chapter, property, housing and urban social life, it is possible to identify at least three ways in which they intersect with each other and are influenced by patriarchal power relations to create further struggles in refugee women's negotiations of the 'Right to Inhabit'. Firstly, refugees' ability to fulfil their right to 'appropriate' *property*, or to find a place to live in Naba'a, is inherently linked to their achievement of the right to 'appropriate' *urban social life*, both in Bourj Hammoud, and back in Syria. This is because the majority of Syrian refugee households in Naba'a find a place to live through social networks, either following an immediate family member to the neighbourhood, or building on the social networks created by Syrian migrant workers who lived in Lebanon well before the war in Syria started (Fawaz, 2016). Most of the women interviewed, stated that they had either found a place to live through a friend of their husbands, or they had followed their husbands who had already been working in Bourj Hammoud from a few months to many years; in the case of Layal's husband, 15 years.

The 'masculinity' of these social networks is brought to light, begging the question of how female-headed households initially find a place to live in Lebanon; Do they rely on the same forms of social networks? Are these as easily accessible to them? Unfortunately the data required to answer these questions is not yet available. Nevertheless, this factor uncovers the cruciality of viewing the 'Right to Inhabit' as a right that must be negotiated at multiple scales, not only from the household, neighbourhood and city scales, but also transnationally, between destination and departure countries/cities.

Secondly, for refugee women who are facing particular challenges in negotiating their rights to property and housing (for example, problems like forced evictions or poor living conditions), their lack of fulfilment of the right to urban social life, severely minimises their social networks and therefore the support available to them. This is reflected in the narratives of a number of refugee women who told me that when they have a problem, either relating to their homes or their family, they would have to resolve it themselves or they would turn to God. Moreover, Haya and Shayma, two Syrian refugee women who do not have legal residence permits, explained that they would not turn to NGOs or other organisations for support because they believe they may get into trouble with government authorities or the UN (No. 4 and No. 9, Annex 4.A). This was also found to be the case in a research group in Naba'a led by Plural Security Insights (2016, p.16) which found that Syrian refugees without formal residence status do not feel comfortable seeking support from local service providers or reporting crimes to the police.

The root of this problem is exacerbated by a third factor which has strong implications on refugee women's right to property, housing and urban social life alike, namely the specific complications refugee women face in securing a legal residency visa in Lebanon in the first place. As the renewal of an entire family's residence permits is based on the renewal of the household head's permit, usually a husband or father, a woman's ability to obtain legal residence is largely dependent on a male family member. This can put women into precarious situations should the male household head die or decide to leave the family (NRC, 2016, p.20). Furthermore, this legislation poses a particular challenge for female household-heads to renew their residency visas as they have to provide additional proof from a local *Mukhtar*[14] that they are not living with a husband or son over the age of 18 (NRC, 2016, p.20). Securing a residence permit as a refugee in Lebanon is already extremely challenging, as discussed in section 4.1, however this factor makes it even more difficult for refugee *women.* This, in turn, complicates refugee women's negotiations of the 'Right to Inhabit', and particularly their collective participation in the city as an *oeuvre*, as it effects their individual senses of entitlement to use urban space (as discussed in relation to Sara in the previous section). Legal status therefore emerges as a major determinant of *whether* refugee women feel entitled to use urban space, and therefore *how frequently* they do so.

Additionally, if the indications of this research are indeed true for a large majority of refugee women in Bourj Hammoud and they do, on occasion, break against the multiple forces which seek to keep them out of public space in order to fulfil their household duties, then, these small 'moments of protest' or "fugitive energies" (Gibson, 2001) may be the first step towards fulfilling their collective right to participate in the city as an *oeuvre.* As refugee women repeatedly appropriate urban space individually over time, and witness others doing so too, their senses of entitlement are likely to increase and social networks will begin to form between the women, which could in turn encourage more and more women to step into the public realm. In this sense, the main streets of Naba'a which are lined with shops, or areas around schools, may become the first 'stages' for refugee women to collectively 'play out' the *oeuvre* in their primary roles as housekeepers and mothers.

Nevertheless, while refugee women's household duties may lead them to momentarily disregard their own hesitations to use urban space, based on their legal

status or security concerns, it is crucial to acknowledge that this act is itself not free from the influences of patriarchal power relations. This means that power relations from within the home, which strongly determine refugee women's roles and responsibilities, could prompt their collective participation in the *oeuvre* of public space through their individual execution of their duties. However, until refugee women are completely free from the patriarchal power relations which determine *how* they use urban space, this can only be seen as a pseudo-*oeuvre* as it does not grant them "full and complete usage" of the city (Lefebvre, 1996, p.179).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. It is important to note that Syrian refugees are far from a homogenous group; they include, among others, Syrian-Armenians, Syrian-Kurds and Palestinian Refugees from Syria (PRS).
2. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (adopted 28th July 1951, entered into force 22nd April 1954) 189 UNTS 137 (Refugee Convention) Art 33.
3. Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (adopted 31 January 1967, entered into force 4 October 1967) 606 UNTS 267 (Protocol) Art 2.
4. The GoL is however a signatory of other international human rights laws which should implicate the living conditions and treatment of refugee women in Lebanon, such as the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) (NRC, 2016:13-14).
5. In May 2015, the GoL requested that UNHCR stop registering any further refugees.
6. In using the terms 'legal' / 'illegal', I refer to regulations under Lebanese legislation, rather than international law.
7. A qadaa is a larger administrative district or division.
8. Lebanese law forbids refugees from owning property in Lebanon (Dahdah, 2016, p.5).
9. According to the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (GoL and UN, 2017, p.103), female household-heads are 62 percent more likely to engage their children in work.
10. 2016 statistics from the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan showed that 71 percent of reported incidents of GBV among refugees in Lebanon were perpetrated by family members and 79% took place in the victim's home (GoL and UN, 2017, p.119).
11. See Bana (No.2), Amira (No.3), Aya (No.6), Nour (No.7), Asil (No.8), Shayma (No.9), Zeinah (No.10), Riham (No.11), Hanan (No.13), Amena (No.14) and Aïscha (No.15).
12. Conversation with a local Lebanese-Armenian woman and NGO worker (see Annex 5.C).
13. A locally-elected community representative.

5. Conclusion

In establishing a framework based on individual and collective rights to appropriate urban space, I have endeavoured to make sense of refugees' most urgent or immediate claims to citizenship in a new place of residence. This 'Right to Inhabit' includes, but also goes beyond, the idea of *presence* as a right to be negotiated by displaced people, by taking into account their right to *use* urban space in the course of everyday life. Building on Lefebvre's 'Right to the City' (RTC) concept and numerous reinterpretations, the rights to *housing* and *urban social life* emerge as essential components to the notion of *inhabitance.* By incorporating a gender lens into the framework and exploring feminist critiques of the RTC, the right to *property* emerged as a third necessary component of inhabitance for refugee *women* in the context of the dominant property regime, and the implications of social patriarchal power relations on refugee women's ability to realise these rights were revealed.

A consideration of how Syrian refugee women in Naba'a, Bourj Hammoud, negotiate their 'Right to Inhabit' uncovered their multiple struggles in everyday life, including poor living conditions, insecurity of tenure, fear or reluctance of using public space and securing legal residence permits in the first place. The framework also revealed the multiple ways in which patriarchal power relations intersect with refugee women's individual rights to appropriate, use and access the rights to housing, property and urban social life. For example, a gendered division of labour in the home strongly determines *how* refugee women use urban space, while safety concerns restrict their use of it. Furthermore, this inability to participate in urban social life leads to weak, or even non-existent, social networks among refugee women, meaning they have no one to turn to if they have a problem relating to their negotiations of the rights to housing or property.

However, it is crucial not to generalise the experiences of refugees along gender lines alone, as research with a female household-head and a Syrian-Armenian refugee highlighted. Household structures and other social identities greatly influence refugee women's everyday negotiations of their 'Right to Inhabit', including the challenges they face and the social support networks available to them. For this reason, analysing Syrian refugee women's collective right to participate in the city as an *oeuvre* proves problematic, as this 'collective' is not homogenous and the *oeuvre* itself is not equally accessible to all people.

Nevertheless, using the RTC concept as a theoretical foundation from which to analyse refugee women's everyday experiences enables an understanding of how they negotiate their rights as city dwellers, regardless of their legal status. Moreover, feminist critiques of the RTC enable a reframing of the notion to take into consideration refugee women's struggles at the household and neighbourhood scales, as well as national and transnational levels. For instance, in the case of Naba'a, national Lebanese laws determine who can obtain residence permits and how, with strong implications on refugee women's senses of entitlement to use urban space and therefore their appropriation of it. Additionally, many refugee households have negotiated their right to property through 'masculine' social networks which transcend the scale of the city, linking Syrian migrant workers (predominantly male) to Bourj Hammoud through space and time.

As Iveson (2011:250, in Lyytinen, 2015:596) has stated: "what 'RTC' means simply cannot, indeed should not, be answered in the same way in different times and places". This working paper echoes this statement and in doing so, has reinterpreted the 'Right to the *City'* into a conceptual framework entitled the 'Right to *Inhabit'* in order to better study the multiple scales at which refugee women's most urgent inhabitance rights are denied and negotiated.

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Annex 1. Ethical considerations

As part of the process of being able to conduct primary research for this paper, I was required to complete an ethics application by University College London. The most critical ethics considerations relating to my research are summarised here:

1. Research Participants

   - The research participants were refugee women who have found residential accommodation in Bourj Hammoud.

2. Safeguarding Participants

   - All personal information or confidential information was anonymised in my research through the use of different names, unless the person had specified otherwise.

   - I used 'gatekeepers' from a local NGO to reach my research participants who also helped me with interpretations.

   - In some cases, such as my conversation with a married minor "Amena" (Annex 4.A), my research involved discussion of sensitive topics. In this instance, language and questions were delicately phrased and certain subjects were not approached. Additionally, I was accompanied by a social worker with experience of working with children under the age of 18.

3. Informed Consent

   - Where possible, consent was obtained through signed participant information sheets/consent forms.

   - Where literacy, time or other concerns prevented this, verbal consent was received in the presence of at least one other party (from a local NGO).

4. Personal Data

   - All my research has been stored and protected through security-protected word documents or excel files (and were backed up securely).

   - As already mentioned, all names in this paper have been changed.

Annex 2. Research limitations

- As my interviews were conducted in a waiting room, they varied in length with some being very short, leading to possible discrepancies in the information received.
- Since the interviews were conducted in the presence of other visitors to the centre, the women may have been reluctant to speak openly about certain issues.
- While I was assisted with interpretation by two social workers at the Karagheusian centre, there are limitations associated with not being able to speak Arabic myself, predominantly my inability to personally and directly convey and interpret information.
- The presence of an interpreter may have also influenced how openly the interviewees spoke and the information they were willing to provide.

Annex 3. Interview outline

1. **Profile of Interviewee**
   - Where do you live? Who do you live with?
   - How long have you lived here/there for? Have you lived here since you moved to Lebanon?
   - How old are you?
   - Do you work/what do you do?
   - Do you have a legal residence permit?

2. Process of accessing Housing
   - Why did you move to this neighbourhood/area?
   - Do you live in a house or apartment?
   - How did you find your current house/apartment?
   - What were the biggest challenges in finding a house/apartment here?

3. Questions about Security
   - Do you rent your room/apartment?
   - How long is your lease? Do you have a written tenancy agreement?
   - How often do you pay rent? Do you find it easy to make these payments on time?
   - How is your relationship with your landlord?
   - If you have a problem with your landlord, who would you turn to? (e.g. local government, local community groups, religious institutions, NGOs, friends?)

4. Questions about Adequacy
   - Are you happy with the condition of your apartment?
   - How many people do you live with? How many bedrooms are there?
   - If something is broken or wrong, what do you do? Do you fix it, does your landlord or do you go to friends?

5. Questions about Everyday Life
   - Can you describe an average day in your life here? (e.g. where do you shop, who do you visit, where do you go etc.?)
   - Do you feel safe as you go about your daily routines/in your neighbourhood?
   - Do you have many friends here? Who are they?

Annex 4: Interview narratives

The findings from my interviews with 15 Syrian refugee women are recorded in this annex. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in the Paediatrics Department waiting room at the Howard Karagheusian Centre in Bourj Hammoud. The timeframes available with each of the women varied from between approximately 2-10 minutes and therefore there are some discrepancies in the information available. **The names of all of the women have been changed.**

4.A Interviews at the Howard Karagheusian Centre 10th-13th July 2017

1. Rima, 31 years old.
    - Location: Has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 3.5 years.
    - Household: 2 daughters and her husband in 1 room. There are no other rooms. No residence permits.
    - Access: They found the room through a friend of her husband's.
    - Adequacy: The room is okay but it is too small.
    - Security: Tenants. They chose Bourj Hammoud because it is cheap.
    - Everyday Experiences: She used to be a cleaning lady in Syria but now she stays at home and looks after her children and the house. She used to miss Syria but now she has started to feel better living here, she feels more at home.
    - Other: She does not know anyone women who are here without their husbands but she thinks life must be very difficult for them.
2. Bana, 27 years old.
    - Location: Has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 1 year.
    - Household: 2 children and her husband in 1 room. There are no other rooms.
    - Access: She found her room through her husband who had been living in the area for many years before as a migrant worker.
    - Adequacy: She likes the room, it is fine.
    - Security: Tenants.
    - Everyday Experiences: She does not work, she stays at home looking after the house and children. Her neighbours are all Syrian refugees too which she likes.
3. Amira, 32 years old.
    - Location: Has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 1.5 years.
    - Household: 2 children, her husband and 3 of his friends in an apartment with 2 rooms and 1 living room.
    - Access: They found the room through a friend of her husband's. No residence permits.
    - Adequacy: The room is okay but it is too small.
    - Security: Tenants. The main challenge in the area is the high cost of rent.
    - Everyday Experiences: She does not work. On her average day, she wakes up early and stays at home all day doing her housework, cleaning, cooking etc.
    - Other: She does not know any women who are here without their husbands or male family members.
4. Haya, 45 years old.
    - Location: Has lived in Naba'a for 1.5 years.
    - Household: 1 daughter and 1granddaughter in 1 room.
    - Access: No residence permits.
    - Adequacy: The room is in terrible condition – there are rats everywhere, there is water and damp ev-

erywhere, the ceiling is even falling down due to the damp (see Annex 6, figures A-B).

- Security: Tenants. The price is too high. They pay 300 dollars a month + electricity bills just for 1 room. Her daughter works and only earns 500 dollars a month in sales, so they really struggle to make payments and afford to buy food every month. Her and her daughter face issues of bullying and harassment because they are in Lebanon alone.
- Everyday Experiences: NGO's do not even support them because they are not here with their husbands. Only refugees who are there with their entire families get support. She stays at home and looks after her granddaughter while her daughter works.
- Other: She only knows 1 other woman who is here without her husband or father.

5. Layal, 30 years old (with her husband)

- Location: She has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 8 years, since before the war.
- Household: 3 daughters and her husband in an apartment with 2 rooms and 1 living room.
- Access: Her husband had lived here for even longer – 15 years as a migrant worker, so he already had a place to live. They do not currently have residency papers.
- Adequacy: When they have problems with the house, they do not ask the landlord or anyone else for help, they try and solve all of their own problems.
- Security: Tenants. Since she has lived here, she has noticed how things have become much more expensive, especially the rent. She feels safe in the area but does not leave the house alone if it is too late. Her husband says he does not either. In Syria, they would have gone out, but here they do not feel safe because they are not locals.
- Everyday Experiences: She used to be a housekeepers but now she stays at home and looks after the children and the household as there is no one else to look after the children.
- Other: She only has one female friend who is here on her own. She does not have any problems apart from sometimes, when her children are sick, she cannot afford the hospitals. The friend does not work.

6. Aya, 34 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 2 years.
- Household: 4 children and her husband in 1 room with a mini kitchen and small bathroom.
- Access: Her husband had already been here for 5 years.
- Adequacy: The room is very crowded.
- Security: Tenants. She feels safe in the area but would only go out in the evening if her husband was there.
- Everyday Experiences: While her husband works, she stays at home and looks after the house and her children.
- Other: She does not know any women living there without their husbands or families.

7. Nour, 29 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Achrafieh for 3 years.
- Household: 3 children and her husband in 1 room.
- Access: They initially lived with relatives for 2 months, then they asked around among their friends and eventually found another place to live.
- Adequacy: She lived in a much bigger and nicer place in Syria, but here is okay except there is never enough water or electricity.
- Security: The biggest problem is that the rent is so high. The landlord keeps increasing the rent every 3 months. They have had to move 3-4 times in total since living in Lebanon.
- Everyday Experiences: She has no friends in the area, no one to turn to. She only has God. She feels isolated and depressed and is always alone in the house as her husband is working. She nearly always stays at home doing household duties.

8. Asil, 34 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Bahabdah for 5 years.
- Household: 4 children and her husband in an apartment with 1 bedroom, a kitchen and living room. There are 7 other Syrian refugee families in the same block.

- Access: They found it through a friend of her husband's. They do not have residence visas.
- Adequacy: It's fine.
- Security: Tenants. She only leaves the house when one of her children is sick or when she needs to take them to school because she does not feel safe. She pays the rent monthly however they do not have a written tenancy agreement.
- Everyday Experiences: She usually stays at home doing the housework.
- Other: She has no female friends in the area that are there alone.

9. Shayma, 26 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Naba'a (Bourj Hammoud) for 3 years.
- Household: She lives with her child and husband and another family in an apartment with two rooms and 1 living room – they are 7 people in total.
- Access: They chose Naba'a because it is cheap. Her husband found the apartment through a friend that used to live there. They want to move somewhere else now but they cannot find another place in the area. They do not have residence permits.
- Adequacy: The apartment is not in a good condition and she feels it is overcrowded. If they have a problem with the flat, her and her husband are too scared to complain to the landlord or to seek help from an NGO in case they get into trouble with the government or the UN. They have to solve all of their own problems in the flat.
- Security: They pay rent monthly to the landlord but they do not have a written contract. She has to pay her water and electricity bills separately to the owner of the entire building.
- Everyday Experiences: She spends her days doing cleaning, washing, cooking and looking after the children. She only feels safe in the area because she always goes out with her husband – she never goes out without him. They are only friends with other Syrians.

10. Zeinah, 38 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Naba'a (Bourj Hammoud) for 3 years.
- Household: 5 children and her husband + another family with 4 people (10 people in total) in an apartment with 2 rooms, a kitchen and a living room.
- Access: They found the place through relatives that used to live there. They chose it because it's cheaper than other places. They are now trying to find somewhere else to live because it is too small and crowded, but it is very difficult as everywhere is very expensive. No residence papers.
- Adequacy: Overcrowded and they often run out of water.
- Security: They pay monthly without a contract. the landlord is not very good when there is a problem, but they are too afraid to tell anyone that something is wrong in case they are kicked out.
- Everyday Experiences: She spends her days at home doing the housekeeping. She only ever leaves the house if she has to buy something quickly for the household, or if her child is sick.

11. Riham 36 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Naba'a (Bourj Hammoud) for 1 month.
- Household: 2 children and her husband plus another couple without children in 2 rooms.
- Access: They chose Naba'a because their relatives already lived there and they could not find a place anywhere else.
- Adequacy: It's a really old building and lots of things are broken. In the summer there is no water (water crisis). She has no choice – she has to like it, but she would much rather be back in Syria if it was safe.
- Security: Tenants. She has no rental contract, but pays her rent monthly.
- Everyday Experiences: She does not visit any places outside of her home or street. She only knows other Syrians.
- Other: She does not know any refugee women who are there without their husbands.

12. Sara, 28 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 2 years.
- Household: 3 children and her husband in an apartment with 1 bedroom and living room.

- Access: Her mother-in-law is Lebanese so she found the room through her.
- Adequacy: She lives in an old building, that's the biggest problem.
- Security: Tenants. Her landlord is good but she has no rental contract, but pays her rent monthly. She has a legal residence permit so says she feels safe and free to do what she likes (Riham and Zeinah who are in the waiting room still agree that this would make them feel more free too).
- Everyday Experiences: She often goes out after she has dealt with the children – she visits friends, neighbours etc. around the city. Sometimes she even goes to the beach. She feels like she has the right to do this because of her permit. She even feels safe to go out at night, although most evenings she is at home.
- Other: She only has one child that goes to school, it is too expensive for the other two. She only knew one woman who was here without her husband and life was much more difficult for her as she has no one to look after her or protect her, and she had to find a way to work and look after the children.

13. Hanan, 29 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Naba'a (Bourj Hammoud) for 1 year.
- Household: 1 child and her husband in 1 room, but expecting another child soon.
- Access: They chose Naba'a because her husband had already been working here for 3 years.
- Adequacy: The room is okay but she is worried it will be a bit crowded when the baby is born.
- Security: Tenants.
- Everyday Experiences: She stays at home most days and looks after the house.

14. Amena, 15 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Lebanon for 4 years (with her parents in the South before), and in Bourj Hammoud for 1.5 years, since she married her husband.
- Household: She shares a room with her husband and 8 month old baby. The apartment has 3 other rooms where her husband's parents and 3 siblings live, one of which also has a wife and child (10 people).
- Access: Her husband already lived there with his family before she got married.
- Adequacy: If they have a problem with the house she has no one she can turn to, they have to solve it themselves.
- Security: Tenants. She has no rental contract, but pays her rent monthly. She would feel safe in the area, but she never leaves the house on her own.
- Everyday Experiences: Her daily routine revolves around housekeeping and looking after the baby. She has other Syrian friends in the neighbourhood who she wants to go out and see, but her husband's family do not allow her to – she only gets to seem them sometimes.
- Other: The social worker asks if someone is hurting her in the house, but the girl does not want to answer.

15. Aïscha, 34 years old.

- Location: She has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 3 months.
- Household: 5 children, her husband and her mother-in-law in 1 separated ground floor room.
- Access: She found the place through her husband that lived here 9 months prior to her arrival. They do not have residence permits at the moment.
- Adequacy: She does not like it – the room is too small the building is old. In Syria, they lived in a 3 bed flat with a living room.
- Security: Tenants. They have no formal tenancy agreement.
- Everyday Experiences: She does not visit many places, she usually stays at home. Sometimes she goes and see her Syrian neighbour, who is her only friend.

4.B Household Visits in Bourj Hammoud, 13th July 2017

I conducted three household visits in Naba'a with a worker from the Howard Karagheusian Centre. One of the families were Syrian-Armenian refugees, while the other two families were Lebanese-Armenian, or in other words, members of the 'host community' (marked with an asterisk: *). I was advised that the living conditions in these homes are in many ways similar to those of Syrian refugees in the area so I have included them

for reference purposes, however I have not included them in my analysis. Again, the names of all interviewees have been changed.

16. Yeva and her 3 sons (Syrian-Armenian refugee household)

- Location: She has lived in Bourj Hammoud for 2 years.
- Household: 3 sons and her husband in a makeshift rooftop apartment with 2 rooms and an outside kitchen and toilet.
- Access: She found it with the help of the Karagheusian Centre. They could not find anywhere else.
- Adequacy: At lunchtime in the summer, the apartment gets so hot they cannot stay inside because of the tin roof. They have tried to pile some rubbish on top of the roof to prevent it but it has not helped.
- Security: Tenants. They should be paying 300 dollars a month but they pay less with the help of the centre. They feel safe in this "camp" because the gate is closed and policed at night time.
- Everyday Experiences: She does not work as it would cost too much to send the children to a day care centre.

17. Arda, her husband and son (displaced Lebanese-Armenian household)*

- Location: They have lived in Bourj Hammoud for 2 years.
- Household: Just her son and her husband in a 2 room apartment. They pay $450 a month.
- Access: The centre helped them find the place. It is really difficult to find a place in the area.
- Adequacy: The apartment is just too small.
- Security: They only pay 100 dollars a month but even this is too expensive for them. Everything is too expensive now.
- Everyday Experiences: The husband does not even want to speak Arabic anymore because the Syrian refugees have made it so difficult here. He does not even want his son to learn Arabic at school.
- Other: Most of the small schools in the area have now closed and been replaced by one larger school. They would be happy to travel elsewhere with more opportunities. The husband used to like in Lebanon but now he would be happy to leave and be a refugee like they are.

18. Mariam and her disabled daughter (local Lebanese-Armenian household)*

- Location: They have lived in Bourj Hammoud for over 10 years.
- Household: Just her husband and her daughter who is disabled in one room.
- Access: Another local Armenian NGO helped them find it.
- Security: They only pay 100 dollars a month with the help of the NGO.
- Everyday Experiences: She is at home all day looking after her daughter. She sometimes fixes dresses or clothes working from home. She gets bored looking at the same view in the room every single day, so sometimes she rearranges the furniture to get a different view. Everyday life is difficult now, she cannot afford medication for her daughter and even basic food items like milk and cheese are too expensive now.
- Other: They do not get any support from the UN.

Annex 5. NGO interviews

5.A Meeting with Representatives from ABAAD, 7th July 2017

ABAAD is an NGO working towards gender equality and women's empowerment. I met with two of their representatives to discuss their research on refugee women and GBV issues in urban and camp settings throughout Lebanon. A summary of the discussion is provided here:

- ABAAD has recently started an emergency safe housing project for refugee women and Lebanese women alike. Initially women were referred from UNHCR, then the women started to tell each other about it and word spread.
- The project accepts women of all ages, including women with children. Minor girls aged between 12 and 18 who are without their parents require approval from the juvenile court.
- The shelters are only meant to be temporary, 1 day to 3 months, then the women must move out independently or move to longer-term shelters.
- After an initial 2 week housing period, needs, wishes and priorities are established, and a safe exit plan is developed – high, medium and low risk women are identified.
- There are only 2/3 long-term shelters so there is very strict criteria. Leaving the shelters is easier for Lebanese women or Syrian women who had been in Lebanon previously, as they have stronger social support systems.
- Lots of men are not working and traditional gender roles are changing.
- Many women are beginning to work in agriculture and even construction jobs. Most work in the informal sector where they are at risk of exploitation.
- Meanwhile men are beginning to feel aggressive due to a loss of their traditional masculine roles as the primary breadwinner.
- There is a big mixture of migrants in Bourj Hammoud, it is a "migrant hub". Here they have heard of a number of cases of harassment and abuse against women on the streets, and also many cases of corruption among the local police and political groups.

5.B. Meeting with Workers from the Karagheusian Centre, 7th July 2017

Before beginning my fieldwork at the Howard Karagheusian Centre, I two social workers to discuss their experiences of working with refugee women. and their general knowledge of the local area. A summary is provided here:

- Many refugees in the area are now working which means that the Lebanese have no work.
- Refugees and Lebanese people are forced to live in terrible conditions, paying 300-400 dollars a month. They are always on the move as they are evicted when they cannot pay any longer, and then have to move again.
- Rooms are frequently without a toilet – toilets are often on the other side of the corridor.
- There are often a few families living together.
- They have seen many cases of domestic violence among refugee women but they often tried to hide this from the workers.
- Syrian women originally found it difficult to work so they could not send their children to school.
- The problem is that they often do not have qualifications. When they do work, it is usually in sales. Here the payment is low, hours are long, and what do the women do with the children?
- They often ask if they can work part-time, or just a half-day, but this kind of work does not exist in Lebanon.
- Women do not go out alone in some areas.
- The Tashnak and other political groups generally do a good job in the area – they are unofficially policing. Hezbollah is more hidden in the area.

- Housing is already a huge problem – rents had never changed until the influx of refugees.
- People have installed gates to close off the Armenian neighbourhoods/homes after 6 o'clock.
- The Karagheusian Centre has undergone a huge change – adding doctors and other workers to cater for the large influx of refugees from Syria.

5.C. Walk around Naba'a with Worker from the Karagheusian Centre, 7th July 2017

After the initial meeting inside the centre, one of the social workers kindly offered to take me on a tour around Bourj Hammoud, and particularly Naba'a. Having grown up in Bourj Hammoud, she was able to point out how things have changed since the refugees arrived. Here are the some of the key elements she pointed out:

- The different areas and streets of Bourj Hammoud are named after places in Armenia, but where there used to be Armenians owning different shops, now there are only Syrians.
- When asked who they meant by Christians and non-Christians, the social workers confirmed they generally meant Lebanese- or Syrian-Armenians, and Syrian refugees or PRS respectively.
- At the "entrance to Naba'a" (on the other side of the Yerevan flyover), a social worker explains that the further you go down the streets (South), the less Christians there are.
- I noticed that there were virtually no women on the streets (at about 4 o'clock).
- The Christian/Armenian neighbourhoods are proudly demarcated with crosses, statues or Armenian flags.
- They point out all the shops that are now owned by Palestinians and Syrians.
- They also point out the difference in cleanliness between the neighbourhoods of Armenians and those of refugees.
- As we walk, a social worker meets an old lady and family she knew from her childhood:
    - The family are living in the St Jacques Camp neighbourhood near Naba'a.
    - In this area, the Arakatz (an Armenian political club linked to the Tashnak) monitor the streets which makes them feel protected.
    - The Arakatz is usually groups of boys and young men who monitor the area 24 hours.
    - The old lady has no problem with the Syrians, they are all human! She often gives them teas and coffees and chats to them in the streets.

5.D. Walk with Local Worker from Basmeh & Zeitooneh, 12th July 2017

Basmeh & Zeitooneh (B&Z) is a local NGO with a number of branches in Beirut and also around Lebanon and Turkey. The NGO was set up in 2012 to help Syrian refugees, empowering them by teaching them skills so that they can make a living. I met with a manager of the branch in Naba'a. She provided me with some invaluable insights into the lives of refugee women in Naba'a and in some of the camp settings in which B&Z operates. These are summarised here:

- Some refugee women are here waiting for their families to come to Lebanon too– they are not all here alone because their husbands have died.
- In Beirut there are not many female-headed refugee households. More in Bekaa and other areas.
- In places like Shatila and Naba'a, there were already many Syrian men working here – the women and children joined after.
- In Naba'a there are some women who work – participating in workshops to get incentives, e.g. women (and men) learning how to sew so that they can sell their goods from the home or to local shops.
- Refugee women are more likely to work than men in the refugee camps, as men feel more restricted by the various checkpoints. However, in Bekaa, people live their entire days in the camp, living and working.
- When the refugees first came here, women were kept at home. Later they started to work.
- It takes a lot for men to speak out about their feelings about these changing gender roles.
- B&Z have started "peace education" – positive parenting. Now women are more open to talk about their abuse – yet the manager believes that NGOs need to respect their traditions; all they can do is teach women and then they have to decide for themselves.
- The manager thinks the problem is that there is not enough focus on men. Women and children

are always dealt with in the centre, however men are neglected which leads to more violence.

- In the centre they have started pilot sessions which refugee men can attend. It has been very successful – 5/6 men attended the first session. It was advertised as open – talk about whatever you like, then the session leader approached the subject of gender roles and domestic abuse.

- It is not just women who are taking care of children (and now having to work), men are also doing this, e.g. The manager knows a woman is now managing a small bakery and her husband stays at home with the children.

- There are of course cases of gender abuse/harassment. E.g. 3-4 women working in a sewing factory were abused by their Syrian employer (not just host employers exploiting their workers).

- In Naba'a there are lots of teenagers with children – there is no law in Lebanon stating a minimum age for marriage.

- In Naba'a, they go to women's houses to communicate with them in their homes – they can invite their friends for breakfast/chatting – mobile projects.

- They also educate families on sexual health. Over 120 women have now been seen.

- Naba'a and Bourj Hammoud are now very expensive – some refugees are moving around as they cannot afford the rent, but the manager thinks that most of them are not – staying in same place.

- 1 room can cost around 300 dollars – Syrians like it here because they used to live here before. There are not as many checkpoints too.

- There are lots of political groups operating in and monitoring the area, not just the Tashnak. They are meant to protect the area, and in many ways they do, but they are also threatening to refugees.

- NGO's are supporting the municipalities.

- Naba'a area can be defined as being on the other side of the Yerevan bridge.

- The Syrians are in fact contributing a lot to the economy! In Bekaa, refugees pay roughly 60 dollars per tent – most landlords look after about 20 tents – that's a lot of money.

- The cleaning lady at the centre is Syrian, her husband did not want her to work.

DPU WORKING PAPER NO. 197

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