Step towards upgrading perspective for Shuafat Refugee Camp – Jerusalem

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Abstract: The estimated age of old Jerusalem is 5,000 B.C. The city holds special significance for all three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Palestinian residents of Jerusalem lack access to adequate water and sanitation infrastructure and services primarily due to the Jerusalem Municipality's strict housing and urban planning regime which places strict criteria for entitlement of these services. The study uses a qualitative approach in order to provide a deeper understanding of living and housing conditions in the refugee of Shuafat. The vulnerable and miserable situation in the camps has badly affected the innocent refugees. In case there is an international support for upgrading through proper donation, the main living and housing condition in the Shuafat refugees' camp can be improved. This paper explores the current living and housing conditions in the Shuafat refugee’s camp of. This paper will give clear recommendations and various scenarios for upgrading housing and living conditions in the refugee camps of the west bank and Jerusalem.

Keywords: Refugee camps, UNRWA, Urban forms, Urban Structure Pattern, renewal strategy, Renovation strategy.

1. Introduction

Refugee camps are designed to be provisory architectural and social environments that serve as a temporary solution in a situation of emergency. Despite the similarities among different refugee camps around the world, and the fact that they are all areas of refuge for displaced persons in transit, there is no complete symmetry between the different refugee camps around the world. For the last 65 years, the 59 Palestinian refugee camps in the Middle East – the oldest existing refugee camps in the world – have been the scene of ongoing tension between permanent or definitive settlement (in the camps) and the camp as a temporary or transitional solution. This tension is defined as the Palestinian refugee problem. In order to analyze this problem, one must not ignore the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict which created it or the lengthy period of time that has lapsed since the emergency situation in the beginning of the 1950s which brought about the building of the camps. These 65 years are characterized by the refugee population’s refusal to abandon their demand to return to their lands in the territories that became the Jewish State and the resulting refusal to consider their situation as permanent. During these years the Palestinians have been subjected to ongoing pressure by the perpetrators and their successors, aimed at forcing the refugees to abandon the right of return and to transform the camps into a definitive solution for their problem.

Focusing on the refugee camps and the refugees, may lead to ignoring the crime which brought them about and its perpetrators, separating the result (the establishment of the camp structure and the refugee status) from the cause (the population transfer) leads to considering the refugees and the camps as a human rights juridical issue which is independent from the political questions that it raises. In 65 years the camps have expanded and become more complex in their structures; from simple gridlines occupied by tents, they nowadays contain multiple storey concrete buildings, mixed land uses and street patterns, creating a great diversity of plots and buildings. UNRWA supplied educational and health facilities, a micro-business support program, basic sanitation, housing, and more recently also urban infrastructure and land management. Its role as a planning authority has changed from a strict control during the first period 1948/60, when the Agency provided 80m2 plots for each refugee family, to a more “laissez faire” attitude between 1960/80, characterized by building extensions decided upon individually by the families without any special permission [1]. Shuafat suffering from the growing and overcrowding is huge and space constraints sharp with a total area for the strip equal of around 0.2 square kilometers approximately. This research concentrate of upgrading programme for the living and housing conditions in the refugee camps of Shuafat. The regulation of OSLO doesn't give a solution for the Refugee Question-everything is...
postponed to an unforeseeable time. On the other hand the question today is: must and can the Palestinian National Authority change the situation of the Refugee, especially in the camps–without a definite solution?

1.1 Objective of the research

This paper will define housing problems in refugee camps Shuafat, and try to find scenarios and visions for solution, through three steps;
1) Collecting available data and information from UNRWA, PCBS, and other published reports.
2) Analyzing and evaluation for these data.
3) Establishing a strategy for upgrading program in order to create a minimum standard of healthy housing models for all people in camp within the next five years. This can alleviate the suffering of refugees and enhance their living conditions. On the other hand, who believe, that the solution of the Refugee Question might arrive very soon, is blind and ignores reality .we feel, that not to care and not to try to upgrade the living conditions in the camps is irresponsibly. The researcher understood the upgrading program proposal as part of a future housing policy and program as part of a complex and comprehensive spatial planning activity, that reflects housing healthy and to claim adapted development, land use and building. In particular, the study aims at achieving the following Objectives:

- Analysis of the historic and physical development of Refugee Camps
- Evaluation of the Refugee Camps in terms of social-economic, physical, environmental and architectural aspects
- Determination of possibilities and means of integration of Refugee Camps with the urban environment of adjacent cites. (Social, Urban, Cultural etc.).

2.0 Refugee Camps definitions

A camp, according to UNRWA's working definition, is a plot of land placed at the disposal of UNRWA by the host government for accommodating Palestine refugees and for setting up facilities to cater to their needs, Areas not designated based on the above definition, are not considered camps. The plots of land on which camps were set up are either state land or, in most cases, land leased by the host government from Local land owners. This means that the refugees in camps do not 'Own' the land on which their shelters were built, but have the right to 'use' the land for a residence [2].

2.1 Evolution and Characteristics of Shuafat Camps. The Shuafat RC was established in 1965-1966, the last of all the Palestinian refugee camps established in the West Bank [3] see related figure1 .It was created to house Palestinian refugees (from the 1948 War) who were living in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions in the M’askar (also known as the al Mu’askar) refugee camp inside the the Old City (near the Western Wall). With the subsequent outbreak of the 1967 War, Shuafat RC soon came to house additional refugees created by that conflict,
too. Camps are also in relation for working, leisure and commercial exchanges with neighbor cities see related figure2[4].

Shuafat is the only refugee camp that lies within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem and its refugees are entitled to the Jerusalem identity card. Since card holders are not affected by the closures imposed in the Territories, many refugees who had optimistically left the camp following the beginning of the Oslo process have subsequently returned in recent years. The official number of refugees currently registered by the UNRWA as residents of the camp are 11,000, but it is estimated that the real number is around 18,000, on a surface of around 0.2 square kilometers, which was originally leased from the Jordanian government before the 1967 war. In an attempt to provide accommodation for their families, refugees are constantly building taller structures on foundations originally designed to hold one or two-storey shelters, layer on layer[3].

2.2 Refugee Camps Urban form and Extension

Refugee camps can become parts of urban areas, as it is the case of many Palestinian refugee camps in the Middle East, or become themselves urban centers due to their demographic weight and the variety of activities developed, such as socio-economic activities, political centers of decision, and the central role they play in the Palestinian society in exile. In some specific cases, the categorization depends upon the institution in charge of the refugees. The traditional structures of Arab society, based on family ties and wealth, had been damaged by the population upheavals of the war, but soon reasserted themselves within the camps. Within a few years, only the poorest Overpopulation and urban extension is also a real Problem into the camps. Camps are usually built on place. But the growth of population has lead to situations of overpopulation for fifty years that you can find it in the scale of every house, every block and every Camp specially in Shuafat. The growth of population is being done in a closed place that has borders. Out of these borders, it is not the camps, and it’s another land use and housing rules(See related figure 3 and 4).

Overpopulation is in the same time a consequence and a fundamental element of the environmental issues. Overpopulation breeds environmental bad functioning, and environmental bad functioning breed overpopulation. Overpopulation has positively or negatively affected the human life; it can be all kind of migration, evolutions of housing, social and economic functioning. It can be war or
epidemic illness. If overpopulation doesn't find any solutions, people will go slowly and surely to an irremediable poverty. Mostly refugees in camps are trying to get new peripheries for an extension of housing [4]-[5].

2.2.1 When camps are included?

The camp is increasing inside itself and within its borders and peripheries. The houses built on peripheries are more spacious and usually have a small garden. They are linked to the neighbor camp by identities of the builder and daily migratory (school, health and commercial). Sometimes peripheries have a number of blocks, but are not really under the rules of UNRWA. The first difference is that people living on camps peripheries are owners of their land parcels. On peripheries, land use rules are depending on municipality if the land is belonging to a municipality, or there are not really land use rules if it's considered like private lands. The land property will be a great problem, where all actors will be involved and interested. The land property is certainly the problem where every plan of development, every plan on environmental issues will be stopped. The land belongs to an actor; the land use rule belongs to the UNRWA. The populations are living on refugee camps deals in unofficial ways with the laws, you have a municipality, anyway there are relations between actors in camps and Israel Authority, and finally people are a little individual in their communitarian way of life and a little collective in their own way of life. Urban forms in the camp are the result of two processes of urbanization: the evolution of the built itself and the evolution of infrastructures.

Building process in the camps in west bank and the

Gaza Strip camps have experienced similar temporal evolution (1&4) - 1948 - 1960 was the period of distribution of parcels of around 80 m2 by the UNRWA to heads of families and construction of barracks of concrete blocks.
- 1960 to the end of the 1980's was a period of architectural diversity where each one made personal modifications to their lodging: adding an extra outside room, built on the public space of roads, a special water reservoir transforming roofs into terraces, opening windows and supplementary doors[5].
- 1994 sets in a period of dramatic transformations

signified a process of homogenization. The main feature of this stage was the multi storey concrete buildings. The research proposes to study the Shuafat refugee camps as urban settlements low urban quality compared to the adjacent of surrounding cities. The main objective is to establish means to redesigning and structuring refugee camps to fit into urban structure of cities.

3.0. History

For Palestinians, Jerusalem has always been perceived as the heartland of Palestine. The evolution of the city’s spatial settings, as well as those of the surrounding region, particularly during modern history, is characterized by its dynamic and continuously changing character. Jerusalem’s transformation leading up to the modern period started post the Ottoman epoch (1516-1917), during which nearby Palestinian communities were drawn into Jerusalem and socio spatial relations between the city and surrounding regions were intense as reflected in socio-cultural and morphological developments. During the British Mandate period (1918-1948), connectivity between nearby Palestinian communities and Jerusalem became weaker, especially during the final days of the Mandate, which witnessed high rates of Jewish immigration to Jerusalem. During the Jordanian Administration (1948-1967), the spatial relations between nearby placed on Palestinian access to East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank. Israeli attempts to change the city’s demographic and geopolitical landscape have had a profound effect on both its environs and the Palestinian communities living there [5&6]. One Israeli tactic that has been used by the Israeli Authorities to exercise power in East Jerusalem involves literally redrawing the map of the city, as well as introducing an engineered language manufactured to compete with and ultimately usurp the prevailing Arabic map, thus working to veil a Palestinian presence and history through the politics of toponymy [6]. In the post-Oslo period (since1993), nearby Palestinian communities have been almost completely severed from the city as a result of Israeli separation and fragmentation policies on the ground translated by building the separation wall and posting numerous checkpoints that control and limit access to the city. Shuafat is the southernmost Palestinian neighborhood along the Ramallah Road, connecting between northern Jerusalem and Ramallah. The
neighborhood is bordered by the French Hill Junction to the south, Highway 60 to the east, the Palestinian neighborhood of Beit Hanina to the north, and the ultra-orthodox Jewish neighborhood of Ramat Shlomo (built on Shuafat land during the height of the Oslo period), to the west. East of the neighborhood, beyond Highway 60 and the Separation Barrier, is the Shuafat refugee camp, built on part of the original lands of the village. Originally, Shuafat lands extended to the edge of the adjacent villages: Beit Hanina, Anata, and Lifta. Refugees from Lifta (whose village center was entirely depopulated during the 1948 war and remained on the Israeli side), built homes on agricultural land abutting Shuafat, then under Jordanian control; today these homes are trapped within the post-1967 Israeli neighborhood of Givat Shapira (commonly known as French Hill). Today Shuafat lies on either side of the Ramallah Road, and the historical core of the village is located to the west of the road. Shuafat developed over the last century as a wealthy suburb between Jerusalem and Ramallah. After 1967, when the neighborhood came within the municipal border of Jerusalem, Shuafat continued to develop as an upper-middle-class urban neighborhood. Along with Beit Hanina, it became an attractive housing destination for Palestinians, citizens of Israel and Jerusalemites alike, in particular due to its urban character, relatively low residential density, and available land for construction. Until the beginning of the 1990s it was primarily Palestinian citizens of Israel who moved to Shuafat, however with the outbreak of the second intifada and the construction of the Separation Barrier, the neighborhood began to see substantial migration from Palestinian suburbs of Jerusalem that were cut off from the city by the Barrier. The urban center along the Ramallah Road began to grow. High demand led to skyrocketing housing prices and growing density, and today, many Palestinians have to seek housing solutions elsewhere. Nonetheless, demand for housing in Shuafat remains high, especially among the better off.

3.1 Refugee Camps and Urban Extension

The growth of population in the refugee camps has lead to situations of overpopulation for sixty five years that you can find it in the scale of every house, every block and every camp. The growth of population is being done in places that are closed by borders and that have other land use and housing rules. Overpopulation is in the same time a consequence and a fundamental element of the environmental issues. Overpopulation breeds environmental bad functioning, and environmental bad functioning breed overpopulation. But overpopulation has successive outlets that are positive or negative for the human life. It can be all kind of migration, evolutions of housing, social and economic functioning. It can be war or epidemic illness. If overpopulation doesn’t find any outlets, people go slowly and surely to an irremediable poverty. they can, actors and populations of camps are trying to get new peripheries for an extension of housing. When camps are included inside cities, it is not possible to find vertical building extensions - like it happens in Jabalya and Khan Yunis camps in Gaza Strip possible - or to find more migratory outlet [7]. When camps are a little isolated in a rural zone or a not crowded urban zone, it is possible to extend the camps with peripheries. The camp is increasing inside itself and on its borders and peripheries. On peripheries, land use rules are depending on municipality if the land is belonging to a municipality, or there are not really land use rules if it's considered like private lands. The land property will be a great problem, where all actors will be involved and interested. The land property is certainly the problem where every plan of development, every plan on environmental issues will be stopped (See related figure 5). The land belongs to an actor; the land use rule belongs to the UNRWA. the population are living on refugee camps deals in unofficial ways with the laws, you can find a lot of political representation, sometimes you have a municipality, anyway there are relations between actors in camps and National Palestinian Authority, Finally people are a little individualistic in their communitarian way of life and a little collectivistic in their own way of life. To cover all the system, you have the Israeli army and government that are doing the weather in the daily life of Gaza Strip and West Bank populations. But the very good point in Palestinian Society is that people are interested by the environmental issues.
They do care with the land. And particularly inside camps where they are supporting now a lot of environmental dis-functioning consequences due to many years of conflicts. The ongoing work includes performing in-depth analyses of existing refugee camps, especially typology of camps, type of land, quality of housing, variation in socio-economic status, etc. as well as, analyzing different scenarios for the upgrading and integrating of the camps in order to develop policies and programs for the rehabilitation and integration of the refugee camps. This political background is still affecting the way of dealing with such camps in terms of rehabilitation or upgrading. The governmental Palestinian agencies think that any attempt or intention to interfere with these camps means offering a solution to these areas and a kind of canceling the right of return of the people living in the camps to their initial homelands and migrate to other places. To conclude up, we can say that the attempts to deal with the refugee camps in terms of providing services, improving and upgrading the living conditions as well as rehabilitating the builtup environment and integrating the camps with the adjacent urban areas should be thought as a political solution to the refugees’ issue and elimination of the right of return. Therefore, we as planners and architects are responsible for providing physical solutions not providing political ones, and our role is related with the development and improvement of the whole urban environment, i.e., the city with its physical, social, and economic structures.

Changes to the map of Jerusalem since the advent of Israel’s occupation have intentionally sought to secure a Jewish demographic supremacy through the expropriation of Palestinian private lands that accounted for more than 95 percent of the total land mass included in the Ottoman-defined Jerusalem District boundary for the year 1947 [8]. In 1973, Israeli authorities adopted a recommendation made by the ‘Gafni Committee’ to maintain the city’s demographic ‘balance’ at its 1972 ratio; that is, not allowing it to drop below 74 percent Jews to 26 percent Arabs [9]. Israeli policies in East Jerusalem have largely been guided by this recommendation ever since. The Israeli authorities are not opting to maintain the current demographic balance; rather they are opting to reverse the demographic balance to that in 1972. Despite this, the demographic balance has continued to tilt back towards a greater share of Palestinians living in the city (Figure 6). The Palestinian community has quadrupled since 1967, and today comprises just under 40 percent of the total population in the city. The neighborhood plan includes an additional main traffic artery known as Road 21, for which Shuafat land was expropriated. This route is planned to run through Shuafat and Beit Hanina, parallel and to the west of Ramallah Road, connecting the neighborhoods to the Atarot Industrial Zone. In Shuafat, the road is planned to connect to a new access road for Ramat Shlomo (and its completion is prerequisite for that neighborhood’s expansion. The road is currently being implemented, and the residents fear that construction will only go as far as the junction with Road 20, recently completed in Beit Hanina (for the purpose of connecting the Israeli neighborhood of Pisgat Zeev with the Jerusalem-Modi’in Road, leading to the coastal plain). Jerusalem-Modi’in Road, leading to the coastal plain). Whether built partially or entirely, the road could bring benefits for the residents of Shuafat, in part because more intensive construction would be enabled along it. Overcrowding is a major problem. UNRWA’s technical and safety building regulations have been ignored. Increasing numbers of refugees construct three- or four-storey shelters on foundations that originally were constructed to hold one- or two-storey structures (See related figure 6).
4.0 Urban Structure Pattern

One such place is the Shu'fat refugee camp. While the fact that it is the only Palestinian refugee camp in East Jerusalem makes it unique, Shu'fat's reality reflects a number of key Israeli strategies in East Jerusalem and the West Bank as a whole: it is surrounded by illegal Jewish-only colonies, choked by the wall and checkpoints, and considered "separate and unequal." The camp dates back to 1965, when it was established on land from Shu'fat village. At the time, the refugees were being relocated from a camp in Jerusalem's Old City, but its residents originally came from dozens of villages in pre-1948 Palestine. UNRWA lists around 11,000 registered refugees in Shu'fat camp, but the population is now around 20,000. The area of the camp also has more than doubled in size over 40 years. As residents within the Israeli-defined Jerusalem municipality, most Palestinians living in Shu'fat camp hold Jerusalem ID (although some Palestinians with West Bank ID live in the camp). Yet conditions in the camp are a world away from the streets of West Jerusalem—overcrowding and sewage problems being just two examples [10].

On opposite sides of the camp are the Israeli settlements of Pisgat Ze'ev and French Hill. To the east, Shu'fat camp and the neighboring Palestinian village of Anata are hemmed in by an Israeli-controlled road, a military base, and the municipal boundaries of the enormous settlement of Ma'ale Adumim. Visit the camp today, though, and the most striking definition of the camp's outer limits is Israel's apartheid wall. Despite the fact that the camp is part of the Jerusalem municipality, the wall's route has been designed to leave Shu'fat on the "wrong" side, meaning the camp's residents share the same fate as some 50,000 Palestinians with Jerusalem IDs who now must cross military checkpoints in order to enter the city. same time, UNRWA garbage trucks are hardly visible in the refugee camp. Although the Shu'afat refugee camp is under the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem Municipality, one look at the lack of basic infrastructure, the sewage running in the streets and the unsafe conditions reveal that it is part of a different world [11]. But the new neighborhoods, where roughly half the inhabitants live, Ras Shahada and Dahiyat al- Salaam were constructed by the Jerusalem municipality. The people who live here are not necessarily refugees, but Palestinians who came from the camp or from areas in the West Bank such as Hebron and Nablus. The proximity to Jerusalem and low prices of apartments brought quite a few families to live here, opposite the Mount of Olives. Because this area of land belongs to Jerusalem, the municipality is supposed to provide for the residents’ problems of sanitation, electricity, education and so on. But despite the municipality’s efforts, the solutions it provides are partial and limited at best. A long traffic jam stretches in the mornings along the main road that divides the camp’s residential buildings from the new neighborhoods, or between the area that is Jerusalem and the area that is not (See related figure 8). The cars wait to reach the checkpoint at Shuafat’s entrance. There are hardly any properly paved roads or sidewalks. In the new neighborhoods, which warrant daily trash collection, the municipal contractors remove it only twice a week. Should Palestinian refugee camps have public spaces? Is the sense of belonging to a street or neighbourhood within a refugee camp an identity worth preserving? How can individual choices be balanced to the interest of the entire refugee community—including the right to refuse to participate in camp improvement? Should refugee camps have attractive public spaces? The answer should be a big yes.
5.0 Developing a general renewal strategy for each building

For each house there will be an adapted renovation program integrated into general plan for the quarter and for the camp as a whole. The program has to differentiate between long- and short-term activities, minimal and maximal aims. If possible, standardization should be realized. Short-term activities are related to the most urgent changes like unsafe roof, humidity in wall and roofs, unbearable hygienic conditions in the facility rooms, wastewater treatment. Long-term activities mean the general solution like renovation of a part of the house, demolishing part or the whole house, building up floors, changing the structure and type of house, standards, neighborhood and quarter renewal. All steps should be shown with their financial consequences [12]. Generally, the zinc and asbestos house should be removed. New buildings as well should be included in programs to use local material, local handicraft and construction methods. New technologies should be used to save material, energy, and water, and to recycle garbage materials. Solar-energy systems, small PowerStation, small disposals and recycling areas might be proved and implemented in that model [13]. For the whole process in such a very sensitive area as the Refugee Camps, each step must be carefully discussed, proved and finally implemented after mutual agreement between involved people and all stakeholders. First of all women and children have to be highly respected by experts in housing, because they are suffering much more than men from bad housing conditions (See related figure 8-10). So their participation is of very high importance and must be realized. That means a proper planning of meeting room, timetables and participants. Administrators as well as social workers must be part of the stuff doing researches, interviews and giving advice. These stuff members have to be very close to people in camps. That means; some offices or rooms to be maintained in the camps for the communication purpose, during the office hours, people can find time and space for consultations and experience exchange. Regular meetings must be arranged continuously and regularly in the different quarters in the Camps as a whole in order to develop successful strategies and talent strategies [14].
Needed Activities For implementing; plans, programs, concepts, laws and regulations are
needed. Many of them do not exist yet and must be created as soon as possible. It needs discussion, conferences, money and time. Decision must be constructed and taken by the Local Authorities, Governorates and Ministries. The public and interested parts of society must be involved. Universities and researchers as well as politicians should be involved from the beginning to benefit from all capacities of the society. This is the holistic approach in solving housing problems.

6.0 Summary and Recommendations

The fact that camps have not expanded beyond their original boundaries and the increasing Population densities are the two main causes of overcrowding in the camps. Overcrowding is more acute in camps located near municipal boundaries where rental costs are exorbitant. Overcrowding in the camps is expected to continue to increase. Nearly half the refugee Population is under 14 years of age and the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza has one of the highest fertility rates in the world, at 5 percent per year [15]. There are insufficient programmes on the part of NGOs, and insufficient resources allocated, to address social and psychological effects of overcrowding (See related figure 12-13).

- Enhancing the overall living situation for the resident community there by providing them with better facilities, services, job opportunities, easy communication with the different parts of country and to avoid any aspects (considered previously as Problems) in the original location

- Preparing the required social and human studies for the re-located community in the new location to make sure that the new arrangement, which residents living in, harmony and accommodated very well in the new environment with the all needed facilities such as (green areas, schools, health centers, Infrastructures systems, electrical network, Insurance systems…etc.) all to be subjected to the horizon plan criteria.

- Evaluation of the existing building’s situation and finding categories. To solve this problem a round table with experts should be formed. They will propose standards, minimal and maximal demands as adapted framework for the Camps as long as they exist. They should do that with the idea, that these regulations may be good also for other poor and low cost housing areas with high density. Renewal strategy for each building must be done in accordance with these regulations.

- Preparing the technical and financial studies for the new development by many parties (Architect Planners, Civil Engineers, Mechanical Engineers, administrators and others.)

- Renovation strategy for each building.
Each house needs its own renovation plan. Besides that standard, typical situations will be found and classifications should be proposed in order to found out variations and alternatives [16]. To do so the experience made by UNRWA during their emergency case programs should be used, and led to a self-help programs. UNRWA should help to establish this program and help with construction material to develop these model strategies, a round table should be established with experts and representatives.

- Developing the camps and improving their living conditions, including health and education as well as generating job opportunities will reinforce and enhance the living and housing conditions in the refugee camps.

- Establishing a national committee for the support of the renewal process in the Refugee Camps. This committee should support the whole process by informing the public, looking for donors and international help look for the communication between the involved persons, institutions and parties and control the financing. All involved groups should send representatives into this committee. Besides that independent personalities should lead the committee.

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