



Norwegian University  
of Life Sciences

**Master's Thesis 2019 30 ECTS**

Department of International Environment and Development Studies  
(Noragric)

# **Hospitality, refugee camps and contested relations: The case of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon, 1948 – 2000s**

Samuel John Menzies Davis  
Master of Science in International Relations



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samjmdavis@gmail.com  
Noragric  
Department of International Environment and Development Studies  
P.O. Box 5003  
N-1432 Ås  
Norway  
Tel.: +47 67 23 00 00  
Internet: <http://www.nmbu.no/noragric>



**Declaration**

I, Samuel John Menzies Davis, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....



## **Acknowledgements:**

Writing this thesis has been a long personal journey. It began in during my NRC internship through a discussion with a colleague, about what determines the kind of welcome a refugee receives. This led to my discovery of hospitality to explore such questions. Since then, there's been a lot of hard work and head scratching. I've learnt about my subject matter, but also about the work and dedication that needs to go into a personal project like a thesis, which will no doubt be helpful to me in the years to come.

I would like to personally thank my supervisor Kristi Stuvøy for her patience, understanding and willingness to always give insightful feedback. You have pushed me all the way to very last moment of this project, and for that I am very grateful. I have enjoyed our discussions and always found myself leaving your office filled with optimism and determination about the next steps ahead of me. I would also like to thank my peers who provided ideas and feedback during the seminar sessions.

I must also thank the excellent librarians at NMBU and the loan service which has always delivered my requested books. I apologise if my continued extended renewals caused any problems.

A big thanks must also go to my pillars of support in Ås and Oslo. Close friends who have been there when times have been hard, to talk to and lend a supportive ear. To all of those I have shared the space of U402 with for the past few months, I salute you and all your hard work. Looking over and seeing you as the picture of concentration would always motivate me to get back to work when I found myself wandering off.

Despite not seeing them since I left home, I would also like to thank my friends and family from Aotearoa New Zealand. While they did not provide direct input to this thesis, just being there to talk to and chat with was a big help for me personally.

While I have many people to thank for their support and guidance, the responsibility for errors, omissions and mistakes is mine alone to which I take full responsibility.





## **Abstract**

Hospitality provides a lens for understanding spatial relations of power and ethics. It seeks to unpack these relations through an examination of everyday practices, in which relations between the guest and host subjects are often contested.

Refugee camps are a site where the dynamics of hospitality, ethical relations, the constitution of power and governance of migrants can be studied. As a case study I have examined Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Palestinian refugees have lived in Lebanon since 1948, and in that time the relationship between the guests and assembled hosts has transformed. I will look at the role of the state and UN as hosts for the refugees, and the ways in which subject and spatial relations changed as Palestinian resistance groups vied for control of the camps. I will analyse the spatial boundaries of the camps, the refugees' relationship to these spaces, their hosts and how together they have shaped the collective refugee identity.

I used two ethnographic studies on the Shatila refugee camp to study this case. Together, these sources provide insight into the lived experience of refugees in Lebanon, through their everyday lived experience and relations with the camp hosts.



## Contents

1.	Introduction .....	13
1.1	Thesis outline .....	15
2.	Global refugee politics: Ethics, Practices and Hospitality: A conceptual frame .....	16
2.1	Global governance of refugees and refugee camps .....	17
2.1.1	international law, humanitarian intervention and refugee containment .....	17
2.1.2	Refugee camps.....	19
2.1.3	Counter-hospitalities in the camp.....	20
2.2	Ethics.....	21
2.2.1	International Ethics.....	21
2.2.2	Rethinking ethics.....	24
2.3	Everyday practices .....	25
2.3.1	Feminist approach to the everyday international .....	26
2.3.2	Everyday practices in refugee camps.....	27
2.4	Hospitality as an analytical lens .....	28
2.4.1	A universal practice with distinct differences.....	28
2.4.2	The law and laws of hospitality.....	29
2.4.3	Hospitality as a spatial relational practice with affective dimensions.....	32
3.	Methodology.....	34
3.1	Case study approach .....	34
3.2	Secondary analysis .....	36
3.3	Case Study Sources (Ethnographic material) .....	36
3.4	Justification of source material.....	39
3.5	Content analysis.....	40
4.	Case study: Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon, 1948 – 2000s .....	41
4.1	Historical overview.....	41
4.1.1	On the legal status of Palestinian Refugees.....	44
4.2	1948 – 1968: UNRWA as caring host and guest dependency .....	44
4.2.3	UNRWA – humanitarian care and construction of the refugee identity .....	45
4.2.4	Rations .....	46
4.2.5	Identity and ration cards.....	47
4.2.6	Enumeration and Classification .....	47
4.2.7	Education .....	48

4.2.8	Palestinian identity in relation to UNRWA.....	49
4.2.9	Camps themselves .....	50
4.2.10	Village identity – attempts to resist constructed refugee identity .....	51
4.3	1968 – 1982: Contesting the ‘assembled host’, counter-hospitalities and camp transformation ...	53
4.3.1	Emergence of new host .....	53
4.3.2	changed relationship with UNRWA through education .....	54
4.3.3	rations .....	55
4.3.4	closer ties .....	55
4.3.5	Reorganisation of camp space .....	56
4.4	1982 – 2000s: Renewed host dependency, everyday resistance and changing guest identity.....	58
4.4.1	changed Lebanese host relations .....	58
4.4.2	Reconfiguring camp space and place.....	60
4.4.3	Relation to UNRWA.....	61
4.4.4	Stealing Power .....	62
4.4.5	relationship with state .....	62
4.4.6	Legitimising illicit activities .....	62
4.4.7	Contested identities – pragmatism and the Right of Return .....	63
5	Conclusion: Hospitality, Refugee Agency and Transformative Refugee Politics .....	65
6	References .....	68

## List of abbreviations and acronyms

CNDD: Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie

GCS: Global Civil Society

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

PC: Popular Committee

PLO: Palestinian Liberation Organisation

SOSS: Society of Sovereign States

UN: United Nations

UNCCP: United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine

UNRWA: United Nations Relief and Works Agency

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

## 1. Introduction

Imagining hospitality brings to mind certain, commonly understood practices. Hosts are expected to provide some form of welcome and follow a code which we might recognise as that of a 'good host'. Guests likewise are also expected to follow certain norms and protocols, in the way that they receive a welcome and conduct themselves in the host's home. While we can easily imagine subtleties of form within these roles, one seemingly ever-present part of hospitality is time. Whether it is a friend for dinner, a visiting tourist or exchange student, there is an understanding that the enacted hospitality will only last for the duration of the guest's stay. If we reimagine hospitality as an extended practice, its temporary nature extended indefinitely for an indeterminate amount of time, then we can start to imagine an increasingly strained relationship between a host and a guest who cannot or will not leave. This imagined dilemma is realised in world politics, manifested in the ongoing issue of refugees, and inspires this thesis' focus on refugee governance and the challenges of hospitality.

The case of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is the example I use to understand the problem of hospitality within refugee global governance. According to UNHCR's 2018 figures, refugees made up 25.4 million of the total 68.5 million forcibly displaced people. Of the 25.4 million refugees, Palestinians make up 5.4 million registered to UNRWA in Near East countries (UNHCR, Figures at a Glance, 2018). Palestinians refugees have been in exile since 1948, making them the oldest refugee population in the world (Suleiman, 2006) Of the UNRWA registered Palestinians, the refugees in Lebanon face some of the most difficult living conditions. They are restricted in the forms of employment they can have, are prevented from owning property and are denied basic civil rights (Bowler, 2017). Many of the camps they live in are sites of overcrowding and poverty. They are a highly marginalised group in Lebanon, with 66.4 per cent of the refugees considered to be poor. Their overall poverty rate was four times higher than the rest of the Lebanese population. Of the 66.4 percent, 6.6 per cent were extremely poor, living on less than \$2 a day. The group of extremely poor, labelled by UNRWA as 'special-hardship cases', was the highest percentage of cases compared to any of the other areas that UNRWA operate in (UNHCR, The Situation of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon, 2016, p. 6).

With current displacement of Palestinian refugees beginning in 1948, it is the extended nature of this case which makes it suitable to analyse how hospitality is managed, controlled and transforms over time. It provides an opportunity for studying the relationship between host and guest over time, observing continuity and change.

This thesis therefore asking the following research question: 'How can the relationship between Palestinian refugees and their assembled hosts in Lebanese refugee camps be understood through the lens of hospitality?'

The primary hosts in the camp are UNRWA, the humanitarian agency responsible for their survival, and the Lebanese state. Thus, there is not only one hosts, but an 'assembled host'.

This thesis will also explore how the refugees generated a host subject from within the camps, the PLO, in an act of counter-hospitality tied to UNRWA and supplanting the state's presence in the camp, albeit temporarily.

I draw on Bulley's understanding of hospitality to construct an analytical lens that examines the relations between the refugee guest and assembled hosts. Through his book *Migration, Ethics & Power* (2017), Bulley sought to reconceptualise hospitality in such a way that he could understand the practice beyond the moment of encounter. Bulley's conceptualisation of hospitality as a 'spatial relational practice with affective dimensions' looks at how the practice is managed and controlled in cases where hospitality is extended (Bulley, 2017, p. 7). An important component of hospitality for Bulley is its ethical dimensions; hospitality is a form of ethics because it stems from what we do in every moment in relation to ourselves and others, it is an expression of a manner or way of being.

Bulley's use of hospitality as a guiding framework to understand issues of migration situates his work in an emerging area of migration-research in International Relations. Migration has become an area of increasing focus for IR scholars in the post-Cold War era and following the events of September 11, 2001, as the discipline began to recognise the effect international population movements can have upon state sovereignty and security (Hollifield & Wong, 2015, p. 247). Yet while this emerging focus has approached migration from traditional schools of thought such as realism or IPE (Hollifield & Wong, 2015), every day, often mundane practices like hospitality have often been overlooked by IR's focus on the overtly violent and exceptional. Bulley stresses the importance of hospitality in understanding migration because it is about more than just states deciding whether to grant asylum or set a refugee quota; everywhere people cross boundaries migration occurs, and thus hospitality is seized, offered or refused (Bulley, 2017, p. 3). Hospitality can therefore be seen as reorienting international relations toward addressing the relations between people as the essence of the field. Thus, it posits the field of international relations to address beyond relations between states also the everyday relations between people. Thus it shifts, it shifts international relations from a large space that can only be understood structurally from a distance, to a small space constructed by the day-to-day actions of its members (Onuf, 2001, p. 82).

The sources used in this analysis are multiple, but two are worthy of particular mention. In order to explore hospitality, it is necessary to understand relations between people and how they form and change. Two ethnographic studies of the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut, *Landscape of Hope and Despair* by Julie Peteet (2005) and *Refugees of the Revolution* written by Diana Allan (2014) are very important for the depth of the analysis. Both researchers seek to reveal how Palestinian identity and relation to place is shaped by their existence in exile. Peteet's work is written in the early 1990s and explores Palestinian memory of existence in the camps which produces an historical overview of how their lives have changed while living in Shatila. Allan's work takes place in the early 2000s, as she spent a year exploring Palestinian lives through their everyday struggle in the camp and how they try and cope with this. Allan's focus on the everyday reveals the difference in

Palestinian identity between the performed and practised narrative tied up with nationalism and the right of return, versus the desire for better living conditions in the camp and alleviation of conditions of poverty. These studies are important to my own work because they provide an account of refugees' lives throughout the time frame of my case, and they provide an avenue for my study to explore hospitable relations across the entirety of the case study.

## 1.1 Thesis outline

This thesis, in applying hospitality as analytical lens, shows how host-guest relations played an important role in shaping Palestinian identity as a community in exile. Following the introductory chapter that introduces the research question and situates the analytical approach of hospitality within the issue of global refugee politics, chapter two broadens the topic of refugee politics. The current challenges that arise from governance to contain displaced people are discussed, before entering the sites of containment themselves, refugee camps. Many of the challenges are embedded in ethical discussions, in which different understandings of ethics theorise how refugee issues may be addressed. Many of the ethical dilemmas surrounding refugees can be understood through everyday practices, as daily relations between refugees and the actors that manage and care for them play out. With the topic and its ethical and everyday dimensions illustrated, I then introduce my analytical lens. Here I provide the philosophical underpinnings of hospitality, before presenting Bulley's understanding of the social practice. Here I breakdown the key concepts within Bulley's understanding of hospitality and connect these to the topic of refugee politics. Chapter three outlines my methodology. The chapter presents my case study approach. I introduce the ethnographic sources I have used and justify why they are suitable for my case. This chapter finishes with a description of my content analysis approach, and I outline how I have used my analytical lens to interpret the ethnographies and extract data for my case. Chapter four presents my case, that of Palestinian refugees in Lebanese camps. The chapter starts with an historical overview, before moving into the three chronological phases I have identified. It is in these three periods where I apply my analytical lens of hospitality to the case. My case analysis demonstrates how relations of hospitality have transformed over time, which is reflected in the transformation of the camp space itself and shifting Palestinian identity. The case also highlights the interconnected and fluid nature of the host and guest subjects in Lebanon. I conclude by reflecting on some of the main findings of my analysis and offer some thoughts on how hospitality as an analytical lens can be suitable for future research.



## 2. Global refugee politics: Ethics, Practices and Hospitality: A conceptual frame

Migrants and refugees figure prominently in contemporary global politics. In 2018, over three million refugees had fled Venezuela in neighbouring Caribbean and Latin American countries (UNHCR, 2018). The large influx of Venezuelan migrants into Brazil resulted in the state briefly closing its border with Venezuela, with authorities claiming that migration had overwhelmed public services and contributed to a rise in crime (BBC, 2018). Further north, United States President Donald Trump threatened to close the country's border with Mexico in response to migrant "caravans" from Central America which have sought to asylum in the United States. The President proposed the border closure despite the negative economic impact it would have, claiming the country's security was more important than trade (Tankersley & Swanson, 2019). In the Bangladeshi refugee camps in Cox's Bazar, more than 1.2 million Rohingya refugees live in squalid and overcrowded conditions, having fled military attacks in Myanmar (Jazeera, 2019).

These examples highlight the international dimension of migration politics, as states and humanitarian actors seek to find solutions to effects of migration and displacement. They also illustrate the contestation of borders, as states attempt to shore up or secure boundaries against the perceived threat that refugees and migrants are deemed to embody. These reactions underscore ethical relations to refugees, and the form of welcome which states practice in regard to strangers. How a stranger is welcomed or not welcomed across a border is an important dimension of hospitality. This chapter will discuss the global governance approaches to refugees, the ethical dimensions of these relations and the everyday practices where refugees directly experience the forms of governance constructed to control and condition them. The chapter then introduces hospitality, through the philosophical laws which underpin it, before outlining Bulley's conceptualisation of hospitality and how it can help us to reinterpret refugee politics and relations.

## 2.1 Global governance of refugees and refugee camps

### 2.1.1 international law, humanitarian intervention and refugee containment

The signing of the 1950 Geneva Convention defined refugees as international legal issue. The 1951 convention bound signatory states to offer refuge to people displaced due to conflict or displacement in their home country. Consequently, the ability for states to retain absolute control over whom they included or excluded from their territory was weakened. The subsequent creation of the UNHCR in 1951 represented the global effort to manage and oversee the refugee populations created in the aftermath of the Second World War. From the outset, the global framework for refugees was placed in a Eurocentric understanding which has led to the highly uneven geography of refugee asylum that exists today (Hyndman, 2000).

The 1951 convention definition of who could claim refugee status was set in the post Second World War, ideologically divided world of the early 1950s, argues Hyndman (2000). It engendered a hierarchy of rights, with civil and political rights privileged over economic, cultural or social rights. The convention gave priority to individuals who fled in search of Western political values, contrasted to those of the Soviet Union. In Hyndman's view, the convention outlined European refugees as the focus, and any assistance to non-Europeans was optional (Hyndman, 2000, p. 9). Despite the 1967 Protocol addressing some of the spatial restrictions, and regional attempts in Africa and the Americas to expand the refugee definition, large numbers of refugees remain excluded from the scope of the legal framework. It is a framework which, in Hyndman's view, works to the behest of states to exclude. Hyndman argues the UNHCR is the humanitarian vehicle which state use to enact exclusion of refugees.

Crossing a border to provide humanitarian assistance is a political act (Hyndman, 2000). For a displaced person to claim refugee status in a host country is a challenge to the state and the sovereign control it has over its borders. Advances in technology and communication during the 20th century have advanced human mobility. Concurrently, these advances have, "given rise to perceived threats of invasion by multitudes of poor strangers, providing a strong impetus for exclusionary measures and stricter border controls." (Hyndman, 2000, p. 6). In addition, these technological shifts have also affected humanitarian assistance, its mobility expansion being predicated on greater speed of capital transfer. Hyndman notes that this enables humanitarian actors to respond to displacement faster than the affected people can move from a conflict environment to one that is more hospitable. Ignatieff described the UNHCR's evolution from an organization that "consisted of some lawyers in Geneva...(to)...a global rapid-reaction force capable of putting fifty thousand tents into an airfield anywhere within twenty-four hours, or feeding a million refugees in Zaire..." (as cited in Hyndman, 2000, p. 15). These changing dynamics, coupled with the asymmetric

global development in the later 20th century, have seen wealthy and militarily powerful states use humanitarian organizations to exert influence on smaller and less wealthy states. In their interest to keep the displaced (non-European) masses from reaching their borders, these powerful donor states have shaped the direction of the UNHCR to prevent displaced peoples from becoming refugees.

Preventative protection describes the shift in governance approach to managing displaced populations, which has moved emphasis from the “right to return” to notion of “right to remain” (Hyndman, 2000, p. 17). The UNHCR’s mandate was transformed from the original definition of “protecting refugees... and of seeking permanent solutions for refugees” (Hyndman, 2000, p. 9) to assisting in broader emergency displacement situations because, “...it is able to do so” (Hyndman, 2000, p. 19). The agency’s increased resource capacity and deployment ability enables it to enter conflicts to provide care and assistance, regardless of the displaced peoples status, because they are “equipped to do it.” (Hyndman, 2000, p. 18). This called the UNHCR to increasingly aid internally displaced persons as well as refugees. The act of crossing a border, which determines refugee status, has become an act which the United Nations Refugee Agency now tries to prevent.

This strategy of containment, which Hyndman identifies as emerging in the 1990s following the first Gulf War, has politicised border crossings and legitimised new spaces for humanitarian intervention. Referencing the former UN High Commissioner Sadako Ogata, new preventative spaces inside an affected state ensure, “people no longer feel compelled to cross borders in search of protection and assistance.... rather.... establishment of “safety zones” or “safe areas” inside the country of origin where protection may be sought. It relates therefore to the protection of nationals in their own country.” (as cited in Hyndman, 2000, p. 18). Disturbingly, such safe areas or zones supported by the UNHCR and other UN agencies have proven to be less than safe; the massacre that took place during the 1995 Srebrenica siege highlighted the ineffectiveness of such spaces. The UN’s inability to protect the city’s inhabitants was demonstrated when 30 of its Dutch peacekeepers were kidnapped by Bosnian Serb Forces (Hyndman, 2000).

Hyndman’s argument for the governance of refugees and displaced peoples reaffirms the place of the state in international refugee law, albeit unequally. Wealthy donor states enable humanitarian intervention in poorer states, with the aim of stabilising their own welfare states by avoiding the apparent economic and political cost of accepting refugees themselves. Donor backed preventative protection and the creation of safe spaces legitimises humanitarian interventions into sovereign states, weakening them as a political entity, yet also reinforces the position of the donor states who seek to regionalise displacement and keep it at arm’s length (Hyndman, 2000, p. 28). Competing arguments in broader migration debates highlight the effect globalisation has upon migrant flows (Hollifield & Wong, 2015), specifically the rise of the global economy and transnational networks which enable mobility and weaken borders. Yet the authority of the state to determine nationality and citizenship through its territorial control remains pertinent in determining the outcomes for displaced peoples. The symbol of displacement, the refugee camp, is the manifestation of

the humanitarian response to try to control and manage refugees. However, as many researchers have demonstrated, they can provide useful cases to demonstrate contestation between the humanitarian and state authorities, and the refugee guests.

### 2.1.2 Refugee camps

Refugee camps are spaces of contested meanings. By their very design they are meant to be temporary, set up in response to an emergency, yet their temporary nature is often extended and lasts far beyond the initial emergency period. Guided by humanitarian non-political principles of neutrality, they are meant to demarcate spaces of protection and neutrality. Yet they can become sanctuaries for guerrilla fighters, allow drug or arms trafficking (Agier, 2002). Despite their intention to provide shelter and security, they sometimes fail even this basic function (Bulley, 2017). This is problematic for refugees as they trade in their rights as citizens in exchange for protection under international law, host governments and humanitarian organisations (Hyndman, 2000). Another form of contestation can be understood in the humanitarian governance of camps. By its very nature it “privileges dignity and responds to the suffering of humans” (Bulley, 2017, p. 44) and is therefore concerned with the “life and health” (Turner, 2005, p. 313) of the refugee population. But this form of care is limited by design, as humanitarian care is only meant to minimally optimise the state of life for the stranger (refugee) (Bulley, 2017, p. 45). They are reduced to what Turner (2005, p. 313) calls “bare life”, living in a space of exclusion from the rest of the host country. This life within the camp is strictly managed, regulated and controlled; notably in the limited rations, layout of shelters and segregation of housing blocks (Bulley, 2017; Turner, 2005 & Agier, 2002). The form of humanitarian governance found in refugee camps denotes a particular form of host, and its attempt to control the space and manage a heterogenous, displaced guest population.

While acknowledging the connection between the desires of Western states to control and distance displaced peoples from their own borders, as Hyndman emphasises, Bulley (2017) claims that this understanding only highlights one aspect of humanitarian camp governance. By examining camp planning handbooks produced by the UNHCR and other agencies, Bulley examines what he calls templates for “governmentalized production and management of hospitable humanitarian spaces.” (Bulley, 2017, p. 40). The analysis of the handbooks reveals the attempt to create homely, yet temporary spaces for the guest population. Utilising the Foucauldian idea of domopolitics, Bulley discusses three mechanisms used to govern the displaced populations. In producing a guest population, a statistical profile is developed to offer a secure welcome. Such information is collected through registration stations positioned en route to the camp. It demonstrates a form of care and control; initial provisions are offered at the way stations while information is gathered to form a displaced ‘population’ profile. Production of a displaced population gives a humanitarian agency accurate statistical information, transforming the displaced mass stranger into a thoroughly known group of strangers (Bulley, 2017, p. 47). This production of a population through

way stations also reveals the second control mechanism, regulating mobility. The presence of registration centres outside the camp demonstrates the attempt to control refugees beyond the borders of the camp space itself. The handbooks offer mathematical methods to construct a camp depending on the number of displaced people, determined by the statistical information collected through the way stations. Refugees are often also restricted by their remoteness from the local host population, with movement outside the camp space controlled through the use of passes and identity papers (Bulley, 2017, p. 49).

The third mechanism reveals the generation and restrained sense of comfort that is produced in the camp environment. Crucially, the handbooks indicate that the attempts to create a home should be tempered by “discomfort, unease and insecurity.” (Bulley, 2017, p. 52). Providing more comfort than is necessary may develop refugee dependency, destabilise local economies and attract members of the local population to the camp, thus growing the camp population. Attempts to develop a community within the camp occurs through attempts to minimise the guest’s reliance on aid, instead developing their own independence and enhancing their self-sufficiency. Bulley (2017, p. 52) claims that this conscious attempt to limit the homeliness of the camps underlines their nature as “in-between places”, often situated on land that is only temporarily ceded by the host state. Many camps are left off maps entirely, despite their size and length of time they have been in place, underscoring their temporary nature. The camps attempt to secure themselves while facing existential insecurity; further conditioned by the overarching search for durable solutions which would place the displaced back into a “state-based home” (Bulley, 2017, p. 52). Humanitarian agencies attempt to control and manage displaced populations and contain them in refugee camps. In camps they can control the displaced and provide care to ensure survival of the displaced. However, the restrictive attempt to control and contain also make refugee camps a sight of contestation and counter-hospitality between the camp host and the displaced guests.

### 2.1.3 Counter-hospitalities in the camp

Turner’s (2005) ethnographic study of the UNHCR administered Lukole refugee camp in Tanzania demonstrates how Burundian refugees seek to counter the humanitarian ethos by reintroducing national politics into the camp. Politics generates meaning, bringing ideological struggles from Burundi into the Tanzanian camp which has been suspended in a temporary, apolitical form. The UNHCR’s attempt to erase political identity from the refugees and instead create a community of victims are undermined by the reintroduction of the mystical, clandestine power refugees instil into politics (Turner, 2005). Turner cites a conversation with one refugee, who complains that his apparent affiliation with the Palipehutu party prevents him from being employed at a local NGO, who are almost entirely affiliated with CNDD, the other camp party. Political affiliations are also shown to influence availability of health services and community security (Turner, 2005, p. 327). The reintroduction of politics into the Lukole refugee camp run counter to the ideas put forward

by Agamben (1998) who portray camps as depoliticised spaces of exception that stunt agency of the inhabitants (Bulley, 2017, p. 41).

Turner's findings also reveal the important role "big men" play in the camp; refugees who have strong networks inside the camp and can broker access to resources for other refugees, despite not having an official position in the camp. They also are called upon for conflict resolution or solving problems with camp bureaucracy. Turner claims that these examples demonstrate how refugees are able to create their own "pockets of sovereignty" outside of the humanitarian and state authorities' reach in the camp (Turner, 2005, p. 330).

The global effort to govern refugees reveals an unequal process. Refugees remain highly regionalised in their location, kept at bay from the Western states which seek to prevent them from reaching their borders. Humanitarian agencies are simultaneously expected to carry out their mandated goal to protect refugees and care for them, while also increasingly being asked to intervene in states experiencing conflict to prevent people from becoming refugees, thereby reducing the risk that they reach the Western donor states that fund humanitarian operations. Humanitarian agencies are used as a buffer between these states and the suffering of the displaced masses, masses who are contained indefinitely in camps which seek to provide a minimum level of care while also strictly controlling the camp residents' lives. This form of governmentality seeks to engender a group of helpless victims who will comply with the conditions of hospitality they experience in the camps. Yet despite attempts to render these spaces as apolitical and to bare life, through daily mechanisms of control, monitoring and regulation, refugees have demonstrated that they can contest and counter the host's control over the camp.

Hyndman's critique of refugee governance suggests an unequal process. States with means and resources have increasingly tried to shape how humanitarian agencies like UNHCR respond to displacement. Efforts to contain and prevent people from claiming legal refugee status by crossing a border indicate UNHCR's operations are influenced by the states that fund it. Poorer developing states find themselves the site of humanitarian interventions where camps spaces are created to contain and control displaced populations. This form of governance works to limit where and how refugees might find permanent refuge. Having given up the protection and rights of their own citizenship, they find themselves in a precarious position. The following section will discuss how ethics play a role in shaping relations in international politics, and the difficulty refugees as strangers face in state-based system that provides rights based on national citizenry.

## 2.2 Ethics

### 2.2.1 International Ethics

In his introduction to political morality, Amstutz (2013) claims that two main groups of thinkers can be identified; communitarians and cosmopolitans. Communitarians charge states with the moral duties in international relations, while cosmopolitans argue that individuals, who share the same universal rights, are the major moral actor. Amstutz illustrates the communitarian position using the argument of Michael Walzer, who claims states are imbued with political morality through the “domestic analogy”; that sovereign states are vessels to represent the rights and interests of the individuals within their domestic society (Amstutz, 2013, p.15). Taken to the international arena, this morality is embedded in normative actions which the society of sovereign states adhere to. These include the right of political sovereignty, non-aggression, non-intervention in other state’s internal affairs and the protection of human rights. The Cosmopolitan view, according to Amstutz, challenges the moral duties the society of sovereign states are charged with upholding.

The cosmopolitan position claims that state anatomy is qualified by the moral claims of the individuals within it (Amstutz, 2013, p.16). As the state depends on the rights of individuals, it is the human rights held by the individual which are prioritised over state sovereignty. Much of the contemporary cosmopolitan thinking stems from the Immanuel Kant’s philosophy and legal framework for establishing a form of cosmopolitan law, which would for instance entail all citizens to the right to cross borders and receive hospitality, albeit temporarily (Harvey, 2009). Kant argued that such moral cosmopolitanism in the nation state model of global relations would encourage peace and better understanding towards those existing outside another state’s borders (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999). At a minimum this would also protect citizens from harm inflicted when crossing into the borders of another state. Frost (2009) further develops the communitarian and cosmopolitan positions by discussing rights within the SOSS and GCS, while arguing for the need for ethical competence in international politics.

Frost develops the argument that ethical discursive practices are vital for states and international actors to maintain their standing, power and influence as well as to justify their actions or behaviours. Actors that are ethically competent can more effectively advance their interests, while those incompetent actors struggle and even risk losing prestige or authority (Frost, 2009). He puts forward the claim that ethical language and justification can even help opposing actors understand, interpret and react to each other’s argument through common use of normative terms that relate to sovereignty, self-determination and non-aggression. This common framework provides the mutual comprehension basis for ethical arguments to be developed. As a result, state actors must be wary of putting forward ethical cases which opens themselves up for criticism, often when they themselves do not adequately measure up to ethical commitments they invoke. Frost also points out that ethical argument inflates the standing of actors who might be weak in conventional terms but are recognised for upholding commitments to global ethical norms (Frost, 2009).

Such an argument indicates that actors thus recognise and constitute each other through their shared recognition of ethical and normative values. Frost situates this argument within practice theory, itself a form of constitutive theory where actors co-constitute each other in

recognition of these shared values. He describes the two main global practices in which, “all people are participants: the SOSS and GCS.” (Frost, 2009, p. 94). SOSS is characterised by the community of states, and the citizens who participate within them. The balance of power to maintain peace, opposition to aggression and war and the use of diplomacy to conduct their everyday affairs are commonly recognised values within the SOSS (Frost, 2009). Central to these values are freedom and diversity; states may freely pursue chosen ideals on the condition that they recognise other SOSS members are entitled to the same right. This freedom allows states to work towards diverse aims and objectives; varying political ideologies, economic and foreign policies. State citizens are subject to internal state rule, which is determined in combination by shared values and the plurality of diverse pursuits found in the SOSS. The freedom enjoyed by citizens of democracies are seen as the shared common goal amongst all citizens according to Frost, while as global society participants are constituted mutually through recognition of universal human rights.

Irrespective of nationality, race, creed or religion, rights holders within the GCS may claim their rights irrespective of who or where they are (Frost, 2009, p. 96). While precise rights may be disputed, the core universal rights that constitute the GCS are found in international human rights conventions. People within the GCS implicitly or explicitly claim these rights, and object when these are infringed upon. The practice of claiming these rights does not guarantee the right to enforce them; Frost points out participants will rely on states, international organisations, others or self-help in attempts to safeguard their rights. These rights are manifested by participants in everyday practices globally; including the right to associate freely, to free speech, choice of employment and practice of religion. Participants can also encourage their states to support international conventions on human rights, often doing so through participation in civil society (Frost, 2009). Frost links these two spheres by claiming that all people whether citizens of states or the GCS, states themselves, international organisations, non-governmental organisations or multinational corporations all participate in international affairs.

Common throughout the positions illustrated thus far is the role that the state plays in shaping ethics and ethical relations in international politics. As a unified sovereign entity, it holds the power to determine how it should interact with other states, and what language it may use to do so. As a territorial entity it shapes the ethical values and practices within a space, and between other state territories. There is also a key role to be played by the global citizen; their activity and participation in international affairs may determine how states may conduct their affairs and seeks to expand rights beyond those at the state level to a universal minimum. Both Amstutz and Frost illustrate the attempts made to theorise and develop ethics, to create common or universal understandings which are shared and developed through co-constitution in the practices of GCS and the SOSS. As Niebuhr states, “(when) analysing the ethics of group behaviour, it is feasible to study the ethical attitudes of nations first, because the modern nation is the human group of strongest social cohesion, of most undisputed central authority and of most clearly defined membership.” (Niebuhr, 2013, p. 80). The state undoubtedly remains at the centre of contemporary politics as it did



at the time of Niebuhr's writing in the nineteen thirties, and as far back as Emmanuel Kant's attempts to develop universal ethical relations.

### 2.2.2 Rethinking ethics

However, the state is also deeply problematic as actor for basing ethical understanding on, not least so because of its pursuit of self-interest. How does it interact with people within its borders who are not citizens? Are they entitled to the same treatment as citizens? How does a state deal with persons who hold no citizenship or fixed home address? How are ethics considered within the state if its sovereignty is contested? These types of questions enable us to critique and examine how the figure of the refugee, one without the benefits of citizenry, a home or a sovereign responsible, fits into this state centric configuration of an ethical world of international relations. Further, we must examine the motivations for the theorisation of an 'Ethics' of international affairs; forged in abstract, noumenal arena to then be applied to any space, empirical case or arena? Who benefits from such universal ethical codes? Do such forms of 'Ethics' adequately incorporate the differences in relations, power dynamics and spaces? Such questions directed towards international ethics are raised by critical scholars Shapiro and Campbell (1999) who seek to reassess international ethics of relation, placing spatially at the forefront of their approach.

Shapiro and Campbell carry out an important critique of ethics in world politics. They sought to move away from approaches that seek to develop a fictional universalism which aims to unite humanity. Their work contests the presumption of state space, which seeks to lay claim to embody the essence of man; a philosophy of the people of that state or nation (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999, p. XVII). Instead, they promote a form of ethics of encounter that does not commit to finding resolution or closure. They focus on the relationship between space, subjectivity and ethics, arguing that the radical entanglement between moral discourses and spatial imaginaries generate differing forms of moral spaces. Such spaces are continually negotiated and can never be secured because the encounters that take place within them are subjective and historically contingent. It is only when this far more complex, contingent approach to ethics is considered that the authors argue the key dilemma can be addressed: our relation with alterity; the other or the stranger. It seeks to challenge the normative assumptions that the field of International Ethics engenders. They describe their approach as a contribution to ethical relations in the, "habitus within which we dwell" and a, "recognition of alterity's worthiness of respect" which cannot be approached through an "externalised moral calculus" (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999, p. XVIII). To further detail this rethinking of ethics and world politics, Dillon (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999, p. 92-124) positions the refugee as a "scandal" to world politics in the way it produces subjects and identity.

While the understandings developed by Frost and Amstutz place states and citizens at the centre of international ethics as rights holders, Dillon argues the refugee figure instead undermines the state-nation-territory construction of modern politics (Campbell & Shapiro,

1999, p. 103). The refugee as a stranger represents a form of *inter* or *in-between*, they are neither national nor co-national, located in a territory of estrangement (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999, p. 101). They are denaturalised with no means of identification or no fixed address; they are left in an indeterminable waiting place like a camp or detention centre. They have fled home because of the violence of displacement, carrying memories of their home while searching for a new home. The notion of home is problematised by the refugee Dillon argues, because the home that was could not have been the secured place they recalled otherwise it would not have been susceptible to dispersal and displacement (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999, pp. 101-102). Dillon argues that the refugee is an unsettled figure, merely an administrative category which has come to represent otherness. This otherness or alterity is what the state-nation-territory uses as an “outside” to articulate the inside, people or demarcated space, which it draws legitimacy from (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999, p. 103). Dillon claims that the harder a politics attempts to produce a material, coherent identity or subject, the more it seems to produce political abjection, embodied most visibly as the refugee. As the constitutive outsider in world politics, the refugee demands attention as the consequence of the exclusionary nature of the state-nation-territory (Campbell & Shapiro, 1999, p. 103). It is therefore deeply problematic to assume ethical competencies or relations derived from the state, if it is to violently estrange the outsider.

Dillon’s argument supports the critical call for a re-thinking of ethics in world politics. The complex entanglement of space, identity and relations need to provide the basis for an understanding of relation with the stranger. The final section of this chapter covers the everyday practices, where members of the international community interact and produce meaning, as an alternative starting point for ethical relations.

*The everyday practice of hospitality, a form of ethical relation, can in this light be used to gain a new perspective on the figure of the refugee, the most disruptive form of alterity in international relations. It invites us to consider spaces outside the state centred understanding, those post-sovereign spaces where no one actor holds absolute sovereign. Hospitality asks how ethics differs in particular relational practices; how are subjects or identities changed, transformed depending on the historically contingent nature of the space. Most importantly it investigates how the stranger, in this case the refugee, changes the identity of the space and the identity of the host once they have crossed from the outside to the inside (Bulley, 2017).*

### 2.3 Everyday practices

The field of International Relations has a strong interest in events. Wars, terrorist attacks, genocides and state collapse; numerous examples of such phenomena are often used to guide or support arguments or theories within the discipline. This at times myopic focus characterises what some identify as IR’s overtly masculine and violation fixation on the

‘exceptional’ (Bulley, 2017, p. 3). This has increasingly been increasingly critiqued, with everyday practices receiving increasing attention. A new focus has been placed on what were once considered marginal matters in the discipline. Such former marginalised subjects include garbage (Acuto, 2014), daily diplomatic practices (Pouliot, 2011), asylum seekers (Steindl, Winding, & Runge, 2008), refugees (Bulley, 2017) and the role of women in international politics (Enloe, 1990). One of the first to take a critical approach to IR’s masculine focus on the exceptional was feminist scholar Cythnia Enloe.

### 2.3.1 Feminist approach to the everyday international

Calling into question the lack of focus and gendered positioning of women in international politics, Enloe presented a new framework for critiquing what is considered natural in international politics (Enloe, 1990). This utilises a feminist lens, which had been traditionally overlooked in analysing practices and arenas of international politics. It explored the important and previously overlooked role women played in international politics, most noticeably through everyday practices which engendered larger and more noticeable phenomena. These included practices in the contexts of tourism, diplomacy, agribusiness, fashion, domestic care and colonialism. Her findings demonstrated the unequal, gendered processes which reinforce or perpetuate positions for women (Enloe, 1990).

The role of nannies evolved into an international, professional and organised process undertaken by young, white, mobile women is clearly differentiated from domestic servants or housekeepers. People in these roles, often women, come from developing countries and are forced to emigrate due to economic pressures in their home country. They provide domestic help to other women in Western and developed countries. Because of the indebted nature of their home country to international financial institutions, much of what they earn is sent home in the form of remittances. This profoundly shapes the economy of their home country; dependent on an exported feminised workforce whose financial ties to home help pay off loans to the International Monetary Fund. These domestic workers in turn find themselves in precarious positions; beholden to their household for a legal way to stay and help them navigate the bureaucracy of the foreign country (Enloe, 1990).

Such reliance on a foreign feminine workforce can also be seen in the health sector. Bulley (2017, p. 70) describes the “parasitic” reliance London has on nurses from Sri Lanka to deliver babies and provide healthcare. As these nurses are trained in Ghana and Sri Lanka, they are effectively subsidising reproduction in the global city, while Sri Lanka and Ghana lose skilled health workers who they invested resources into to train. Such unequal flows of labour provide one example of the everyday practices can reveal wider asymmetric issues in international relations.

### 2.3.2 Everyday practices in refugee camps

Conducting an ethnographic study of an Austrian refugee camp in Vienna, their findings illustrated the everyday struggle female refugees faced in their restricted environment (Steindl, Winding, & Runge, 2008). Routine activities including meals, socialising and showering were all confined by the environment of the refugee camp. Set times for meals, lack of contact outside the camp and communal living arrangements affected the daily practices of the refugees. These restrictions were highlighted thematically by what the researchers determined as loss of choice, self-control, relations and privacy (Steindl, Winding, & Runge, 2008, p. 39). Combined, these restrictions were placed within the broad theme of “Daily occupations: A struggle against restrictions” (2008, p. 38). This can be re-interpreted as the intersection between the spatial dynamics of the camp and everyday practices of the refugees living within it.

The second theme within the study of Steindl et al is “Travelling towards the future”, which requires further discussion. Here, they identify the temporal dimension to the refugees’ lived experience in the Viennese camp, which are elaborated upon through the sub-themes preparing for the future, driving away the present and being in touch with the past (Steindl, Winding, & Runge, 2008, p. 40). To prepare for the future, the women tried to learn German and get jobs in the camp, which would provide a form of economic security and give them a better chance of being employed after leaving the camp. The restrictive, constraining conditions experienced in their daily camp routines were endured so long as they did not inhibit their personal goals. The women’s past lives still shaped their present camp existence; encounters with familiar activities from the past brought happiness of good memories but also sadness for also losing those things. In addition, past activities linked to identity were continued in the camps. For instance, despite lack of financial resources the women still spent money on make-up and hair products, because they had been valued in the past (Steindl, Winding, & Runge, 2008, p. 40). This temporal analysis reveals the motivating factors for the refugees which enabled them to cope with and overcome, the obstacles and challenges which their physical environment presented them with. In addition, it highlights the link between their identity and the connection with past and future, in an attempt to overcome their present difficulties. More broadly, we can put this case in the context of everyday practices which constitute the relationship between a guest and host. This is not a static relationship, but one which changes through constant interaction, contestation and countering of relations between the two subject positions.

Building upon identified spatial struggles and temporal dimensions identified by Steindl, Winding and Runge in refugee camps, Bulley (2017, p. 54) discusses practices of counter-hospitality found in the Kenyan Dadaab camp which displaced people use in an attempt to “fix their identity as a population” in relation to the camp host. To secure extra rations refugees would double-enter names, add fictional family members or mis-report deaths or departures. Ration cards could also represent economic value, as something to trade at local markets. Cards could also be traded for Kenyan identity cards, allowing the refugees to travel freely outside of the camps. It would also give local Kenyans access to food rations in

the camps. Such examples demonstrate the connection between the everyday actions of refugees or guests and the undermining of regulatory control the camp host, in this case the UNHCR, had over the guest population.

There are several themes to highlight from this brief discussion of everyday practices. Firstly, they can reveal the role played by actors often excluded or ignored in international politics; Enloe highlights this with her focus on the involvement of women. Secondly, Steindl et al. reveal that daily routines can invoke the past and strive for a future goal, in attempts to overcome the restrictive and stressful conditions of the present. The case of reproductive services in London reveals larger unequal relations between developing countries and global cities. Finally, such practices help to shape identity and can be used to counteract a highly controlled environment, as Steindl et al. and Bulley demonstrate. The examples from Steindl et al. and Bulley also incorporate aspects of refugee governance and the ethical dilemmas it presents. The use of camps to contain and control migrants in Austria and Kenya highlight how humanitarian agencies govern the camp space and people living in them.

Thus far, the sections of this chapter have highlighted the global approach to governance of refugees. This discussion has revealed how refugees are controlled and contained in spaces often in developing countries, while more wealthy states seek to use humanitarian agencies to prevent refugees and displaced people from reaching their borders. The section discussing ethics presented some of the established ethical relations and theories based upon the state system of modern politics, while also offering a critique for the exclusionary nature of the state and how it related to alterity. Understanding world politics through everyday practices allows relations with alterity or marginalised groups to be better understood, how they play important yet often overlooked roles in producing relations in world politics.

The second half of this chapter introduces hospitality. Firstly, through universal philosophical dimensions of the practice before presenting Bulley's conceptualisation of hospitality as a spatial relational practice. I will then discuss how I use Bulley's understanding of hospitality as a conceptual lens for my case study.

## 2.4 Hospitality as an analytical lens

### 2.4.1 A universal practice with distinct differences

Hospitality has long been the subject of philosophical scholarship and has more recently generated interest from a wider range of academic disciplines (Bulley, 2017). It is a practice that can appear universal in nature, given its importance across cultures and throughout history. Yet when more closely examined, hospitality reveals diverse and complex forms of "...codes, rules, norms and laws... (that) at the very least temper, if not explode, strong universality claims." (Bulley, 2017, p. 6). Bulley gives two examples which demonstrate

that hospitality is not a uniform process but contains various practices. The “strategic, generous, ‘ironic and irreverent’ hospitality practiced by mobile Afghan traders in... Central Asia” would seem at odds with “Ancient Greek hospitality based on a fear of the gods and maintenance of elitist social structures (2017, p. 6). This can be further diversified with Shryock’s (as cited in Bulley, 2017) description of the politics of hospitality in Balga Bedouin of Jordan:

Hospitality... is not simply a matter of offering tea, cigarettes, and pleasant conversation to guests. It is also a test of sovereignty. The man who is *karim* (hospitable, generous, noble) is able to feed others, project an honourable and enviable reputation, and protect guests from harm. Hospitality, as Bedouin describe it, is a quality of persons and households, of tribal and ethnic groups, and even of nation-states. (2017, p. 96)

This diversity of hospitable practices makes it difficult to arrive at a common definition or shared features. However, Bulley claims that these various practices of hospitality are united by the idea that they are ‘torn’ between absolute openness and levels of closure (Bulley, 2017, p. 6). To expand on this idea, he introduces concepts from the French philosopher Jacques Derrida to differentiate between *the* law and laws of hospitality.

#### 2.4.2 The law and laws of hospitality

Derrida claims *the* law of hospitality is unconditional, unquestioning and open. It is not limited or restrained towards any subject. However, this unconditional hospitality cannot exist in its pure form, for it would be impossible to organise, likely destroy the host and offer nothing to the guest, given the host has no mastery or control of their space (Derrida and Durfourmantelle, 2000, as cited in Bulley, 2017, p. 6). Therefore, the unconditional law of hospitality must co-exist with the conditional *laws* of hospitality, those conditions which interrogate, de-limit and regulate the law of hospitality. Bulley explains that these two concepts, the unconditional and conditional hospitality, cannot exist without one another. The unconditional hospitality alone would be lethal for the host and given that there is no master of the space, would not offer nothing of value or assistance to the guest, certainly none of the ‘goods’ of hospitality. By conditioning hospitality, the conditional laws threaten to leave the realm of hospitality itself. But they remain laws of hospitality instead of merely being laws because they retain the idea of unconditional law as a reference (Derrida, 2003, as cited in Bulley, 2017). Despite this, the laws of hospitality will never fully condition the unconditional law as, ‘no regulation finally can master the exposure to the visitation of others’ (Hagglund, 2008, as cited in Bulley, 2017, p. 6).

Through Derrida’s conceptualisation of hospitality as an unstable and everchanging practice, Bulley identifies a universal characteristic of hospitality; it is the constant negotiation and renegotiation between the unconditioned law and the conditioned laws of hospitality (Bulley, 2017). It is this struggle that unites differing forms of hospitality yet is conversely also the reason for its variety of forms and manifestations. A host cannot offer unconditional

hospitality to a guest, otherwise it would risk its own destruction and lose mastery of the space it controls. If the host did not have mastery of the space, there would be nothing for the guest to receive in turn.

Utilising this understanding, we can begin to re-examine acts of international hospitality. It is the everyday-ness of hospitality which Bulley claims explains why it has been long overlooked in the field of International Relations and in international politics. Decisions made by powerful elite and violent incidents often draw the attention of international media and political commentary over the common, everyday acts of hospitality, which become a blind zone (Bulley, 2017). Whenever a border or threshold is crossed, hospitality is offered, refused, assumed or seized. Rich or poor, guests can be migrants or refugees. But they can also be tourists, workers, spies, state officials, businesspeople, students, slaves or athletes (Bulley, 2017, p. 3). All experience hospitality in different ways, in some cases the host's welcome may feel almost unconditional in nature while others may see and experience the restricting conditions of their arrival. Despite the different ways it is negotiated, hospitality forms two subject positions: host or guest. Importantly, it is an act which always involves space, power and ethics (Bulley, 2017).

To expand upon this ethical – hospitality relationship Bulley refers again to Derrida, who goes as far to claim that hospitality is 'ethicity itself, the whole and the principle of ethics' (Derrida, 1999, as cited in Bulley, 2017, p.7). This powerful idea is related to the ongoing negotiation and renegotiation of the unconditional and conditional; every outcome of this process is an expression of an ethos 'our way of being, the residence, one's home, the familiar place of dwelling, the manner in which we relate to ourselves and to others, to others as our own or as foreigners' (Derrida, 2001, as cited in Bulley, 2017, p.7). Imagining a home as a common space of hospitable interactions, differing degrees of openness are negotiated depending on our position and relation to the other. How a salesperson might be welcomed up to the front door, yet not inside the home. A friend may be given greater access yet certain areas may be implicitly or explicitly restricted, while a stated or unstated temporal limit may condition their visit. Similar yet different conditions may exist for a wider family member. The common feature is the negotiation of the law and the laws of hospitality, which generates or produces space, and channels or filters how a guest may be guided or constrained in the space (Bulley, 2017). Derrida's claim can be better understood in this view, understanding hospitality as ethics not because it is what we ought to do, but because it is what we *do* do, as the way of being in regard to ourselves and to others (Bulley, 2017, p.7). Hospitality is a practice of ethics, expressing a way of being or manner of being 'answering for... one's identity, one's space, one's limits' (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000, as cited in Bulley, 2017, p.7). While hospitality is understood through Bulley and Derrida's interpretations as a constant practice of ethics, it also produces relations of power, often seen through the relations between the host and guest subject positions.

Only through abstraction Bulley points out, can ethics be freed from power relations. Once concrete practices or innate examples are used, power's influence can be analysed. The example of humanitarian aid often assumes the provider of aid has an abundance of goods,

such as expertise, knowledge or conscience. Linked with the apparent stated or unstated lack of moral capacity of those receiving help have, a moral hierarchy of actors is established (from those lacking at the bottom those with an abundance at the top). This entrenchment of moral positioning can be used to extend power into surveillance, channelling aid, intervention and governance (Bulley, 2017, p.11). By examining these practices, Bulley observes that power can be drawn out to better understand how it is operating and what it is doing, through claims to compassion, humanitarianism and obligation (Bulley, 2017, p. 11). Hospitality does not require the subject with the abundance to move towards the other who might be lacking, it may even be a passive or inadvertent act. The host can be disrupted by the guest, made to feel insecure or threatened by their presence in or around the host's space (Bulley, 2017).

An empirical focus on hospitality in the everyday reveals more fluid ways of understanding relations between guests and hosts. In practice, this focus reveals the legal hurdle that citizenry has presented in philosophical approaches to hospitality. Emmanuel Kant's ideas of cosmopolitan rights to universal, unconditional hospitality towards the other is linked to the 'other' holding citizenship (Ramadan, 2008). In her reading of the 'French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen' French philosopher Julia Kristeva points out the document's simultaneous claim that man is independent of all government yet is simultaneously also a citizen of the nation. She problematises the rights determined by citizenship, posing the question of whether one is entitled to "the rights of man" or even belong to mankind if they do not hold citizenship (Kristeva, 1991, p.150). Derrida's very basis for his ideas on hospitality are grounded on sovereign mastery of the space or home. Without absolute control over the inside, the outside cannot be allowed to enter in Derrida's view, as hospitality could not operate or offer anything of substance (Bulley, 2017). Mastery of the self, the space and self-identity rely on absolute control of the decision to welcome or reject. Both understandings of hospitality reveal positions that are derived from a conventional state sovereign position, or "state-orientated mode of global space" (Campbell and Shapiro, as cited in Ramada, 2008, p. 663). These reflections on universal rights to hospitality being bound to citizenship also highlight the problematic space stateless people and refugees find themselves in, and whether these understandings of hospitable relations apply to them. When further critiqued, the claim that sovereign mastery is required to offer hospitality generates further contradictions.

The first contradiction is established by the fact that the sovereign mastery must place a limit on that which cannot be limited. Derrida notes there is "almost an axiom of self-limitation or self-contradiction in the (unconditional) law of hospitality. As a reaffirmation of mastery and being oneself in one's own home, from the outset hospitality limits itself at its very beginning, it remains forever on the threshold of itself" (Derrida, 2000, as cited in Bulley, 2017, p.13). Sovereignty is preserved by the conditional laws applied to the unconditional law; they are essential to hospitality yet limit what is offered. To offer unconditionally, to allow a guest to 'make themselves at home' gives up the position of dominion and reverses the original subject positions (Bulley, 2017, p.13). The second apparent contradiction emerges as no matter how conditional; any act of hospitality undermines the subject who



holds dominion or sovereignty. Once the other or stranger enters the space, and the threshold is crossed, the home is no longer the same, as its ethos is transformed and even made vulnerable. The host shifts from being at-home-with-themselves to being at-home-with-the-other.

In the act of hospitality, the host sovereign opens their home to another who has the potential to endanger or even destroy, regardless of the rules placed on them. This destabilises the subject positions, as the guest is imbued with power while the host's power is dissolved. This transforms the subject(s) into a new role, *hôte*, a French term that is both guest and host, yet neither fully one nor the other (Bulley, 2017, p.13).

This deconstruction of the sovereign mastery of hospitality by Derrida requires further exploration. Due to these contradictions Bulley notes Derrida's focus on hospitality remains on the threshold; the moment of encounter, the decision to include or exclude (Bulley, 2017). This can be linked to the idea that hospitable encounters are only meant to be temporary, that the process of negotiating the degrees of openness and conditionality are carried out on the understanding that the guest will depart at a point in time. This would allow the host to return to their self-same state and remove the potentially destabilising effect the guest may bring. Kristeva mentions this in her discussion on meeting the foreigner, that it "owes its success to its temporary nature, and it would be torn by conflicts if it were extended." (Kristeva, 1991, p.11). The removal of hospitality's temporality would nullify the conditions the laws of hospitality impose and threaten the host's apparent mastery of the space. Both may seek to establish or re-establish sovereign control but would also end hospitable relations in doing so (Bulley, 2017).

This underpinning feature of hospitality becomes increasingly strained with refugee guests, where hospitality is required legally yet their displaced stay can become a period of extended temporariness. Living in camps designed to reinforce their temporary identity, hosted by humanitarian agencies which ensure their survival yet offer little in the sense of belonging and securitised by the state host. Refugees are subject to a complex, ongoing process of hospitality which places a high degree of stress on the foundational concept of hospitality.

### 2.4.3 Hospitality as a spatial relational practice with affective dimensions

To move beyond the temporal thresholds of Derrida's understandings of hospitality, Bulley explores the concept by extending the spatial and temporal boundaries, to examine how "hospitality is managed and controlled; indeed, how ethics itself is governed, secured, immunised and made less risky." (Bulley, 2017, p. 14). He argues for a new understanding of hospitality, as a spatial relational practice with affective dimensions, emphasising the combination of the spatial and affective which make hospitality a complex interaction between ethics and power relations (2017, p. 7). Central to the ethical and power relations of hospitality are the host and guest subject relations.

Hospitality constructs host and guest subjects as well as the relations between them. These relations can produce identity/difference, welcome/refusal safety/threat, which shape relations of power and resistance between the host and guest (Bulley, 2017, p. 4). These subjects are not fixed, instead they are fluid and changing. Examining a refugee camp illustrates refugees as guests, yet they can gain employment in the humanitarian agency running the camp. Hosts may be singular or multiple, refugee camps are shown to often have an assembled host including the state, international humanitarians, local NGOs, poor host state citizens and can include militant resistance or political groups. Through counter-hospitalities and resistance, the two subjects can switch positions – with the guest taking on the host role. Because of the continual contestation of power between them, neither guest or host can be entirely sure of the others' intentions or capabilities (2017, p. 5). They therefore both employ strategies and tactics to manage, surveil, evade, resist and govern the other. The moment a space is opened to the other it is “destabilised and thrown into question, for good or ill, along with the subject-positions and power relations of host and guest.” (2017, p. 5).

This understanding also enables a shift beyond Derrida's abstract conceptualisation of hospitality within spaces of undisputed sovereignty or mastery, which can be applied to concrete post-sovereign spaces, such as refugee camps on the margins of the international system, where multiple hosts exist of which the state may only be one of several actors.

The crossing of borders and thresholds denotes the spatial practice of hospitality, which generates an inside and outside that constitute boundaries, although their exact demarcation may be contested or blurred. For hospitality to take place these borders must be crossed or breached, whether they are the fixed walls or expanding boundaries of a city. The outside must move inside, whether invited or unannounced (Bulley, 2017, p. 7). Using Massey's understanding of space as a sphere of coexistence characterised by multiple subjects coming into contact with one another (as cited in Bulley, 2017, p. 7), Bulley outlines hospitality as a practice that seeks to manage a space; a practice that attempts to organise, delimit and tame the space of coexistence, while regulating and channeling the trajectories and contacts allowed to take place. Hospitality therefore produces space by determining and regulating it, transforming it from an indeterminate sphere of coexistence (2017, p. 7). Hospitality cordons off spaces, making it *this* rather than *that*; domestic instead of international, private rather than public. It ensures the outside is within the inside, creating a permeable boundary that attempts to welcome or reject (2017, p. 8). But this permeability also disrupts the space, allowing for contestation or disruption of the inside by the outside. It can transform the private into the public, the domestic can become internationalised (2017, p. 8). Thus, a space is constructed that is contested and contingent, as hospitality disrupts the space it produces.

The conceptualisation Bulley argues for demonstrates why hospitality is a suitable approach to analyse refugee issues. Hospitality is *spatial* because it must occur in concrete contexts, such as a refugee camp. It is *relational* because hospitality is an ongoing negotiation of relations between host and guest subjects. As a practice it is seen through the everyday, often mundane routines that together constitute hospitality as a practice. Hospitality is what we do. This is what makes hospitality a form of ethics because it is not what we ought to do,

“but rather it is what we *do* do, in every single moment, as a way of being in relation to ourselves and others.” (2017, p. 7). Crucially for understanding relations with refugees, hospitality is the process “in which ‘we’ practice everyday relations with difference” (2017, p. 4). The *affective dimensions* signify that hospitality does not occur in non-meaningful spaces, instead hospitality produces and generates space, how open or conditional hospitality is produces an ethos within a space. The space of a home is an important conceptual tool to imagine a space that is closely tied to identity and sense of self versus difference. As hospitality filters, regulates, controls, enables and restricts, it generates feelings of belonging and non-belonging, inclusivity and exclusivity. How a host generates hospitality is then an expression of an ethos of a space because it is a manner of being, as it is an answer for one’s identity, one’s space, one’s limits (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000, as cited in Bulley 2017, p. 7). Equally, relations of hospitality when extended are shaped by the guest as it attempts to resist or challenge the host in generating or shaping the contested space. The contest for control over the space and its ethos are a contest for power; power to shape identity, to secure a place and control the borders or dimensions of a space or home.

### 3. Methodology

This chapter presents the methods and approach I have used for this thesis. I will argue for and discuss the use of a case study approach. This is followed by secondary data analysis which I use as a method. The ethnographic sources I use *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian refugee camps* (2005) by Julie Peteet and *Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian exile* by Diana Allan (2014) are introduced and discussed in detail. In the following section I justify my selection of these sources. It concludes with a description of the content analysis I used for ethnographies as document sources.

#### 3.1 Case study approach

Case studies are commonly used for social science research, as they enable detailed and intensive research of a single case (Bryman, 2016, p. 60). The case study approach is focused on multiple perspectives of a complex reality and aims to disclose the particular nature and nuanced understanding of a case (2016, p. 60). To situate my case study approach, I use Thomas’ discussion and definition of case study typology.

Thomas’ also notes the popularity of case study approaches in social science research, and while its generalising “power” has received significant focus, there has been less written on aspects of its construction (Thomas, 2011). Acknowledging the contributions of other authors, Thomas develops this definition to acknowledge the typology of the case study:

*Case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the **subject** of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame-an **object**-within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates. (2011, p. 513)*

The subject contains the “practical, historical unity” while the object represents the “analytical or theoretical frame” (2011, p. 513). For the case study I carry out the subject of inquiry are Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, specifically those living in refugee camps. The subject is not necessarily representative of other refugee populations, but it is revealing in this case because of the length of time that Palestinians have been refugees in Lebanon. Therefore, this subject represents a “key case” because it of its capacity to “exemplify the analytical object of the inquiry” which is the conceptualisation of hospitality (2011. P. 514). Thus, the object constitutes the analytical frame within which this case is viewed and can be understood (2011. P. 515).

Furthering my case study approach in line with Thomas’ typology, the case presented is a single case, looking at the subject over time and seeks to explain or illustrate change. Using a category of time-use suggested, this case presents a longitudinal or diachronic study to show change over time, capturing data over two or more collection points (2011, p. 517).

While understanding that a case study provides a good option for intensive, detailed research of one example, I also selected this approach based off my reading of Bulley’s *Migration, Ethics & Power* (2017). Bulley uses several different cases to analyse hospitality practices in different environments and spaces, and the different affective dimensions between them. These include post-colonial states, homelands and the European Union. One example he uses is the city of London, in which Bulley identifies an open welcome with freedom for guests to move about the city as they like. Through his analysis, Bulley reveals that the city’s universal welcome to all guests is reliant on what he calls (g)hosts – these are guests who help to welcome in other guests, who are usually tourists or wealthy visitors, but (g)hosts are also often migrants in low-skilled or part time jobs. His analysis thus demonstrates a unique relationship between hosts and guests in the city space and identifies a new subject that is generated in the renegotiation of hospitality in the city.

The case study comprises three different periods in which relations between the Palestinians and their assembled host have changed and transformed over time. And these are presented in chronological sections. It begins at the period of 1948 to 1968, the years following initial exile from Palestine. The period 1968 – 1982 saw the rise of the PLO and resistance movements strongly linked to the camps. The last period from 1982 – 2000s sees the withdrawal of the PLO and resistance from the camps during the Lebanese civil war.

### 3.2 Secondary analysis

Before presenting the sources further, I will discuss the broader approach to conducting secondary analysis in qualitative research.

Using ethnographic studies inform my research presents both advantages and limitations for conducting my analysis of the case study. Advantages include cost, time, quality of the sources and the opportunity to offer new interpretations through analysis (Bryman, 2016, p. 310). As both sources were available via the library, cost of potential field-based data collection was negated. This also provided more time to conduct analysis and collect data, than I otherwise would have if primary data had been collected. The extensive written observational accounts offered in both sources provide a large quantity of material to reanalyse.

Despite having analysed the sources, I am not familiar with the data to the same degree as the researchers themselves. Outside of the fieldwork methods described, I am not able to verify how data was collected, to what level of accuracy and what data generated was also omitted from the books themselves.

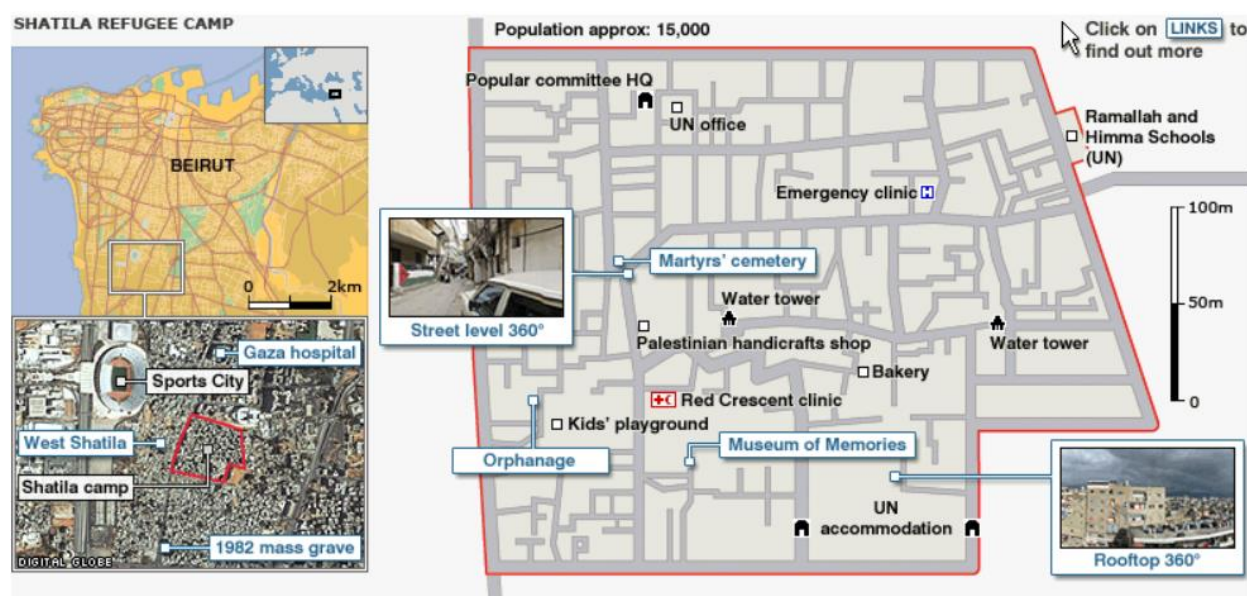
Bryman notes that secondary analysis of qualitative data is a growing area for discussion and interest as it presents the opportunity to mine data that was not previously investigated and enable new interpretations of the existing data.

The example of Hodson's content analysis of workplace participation schemes where secondary sources were used to carry out qualitative research. Hodson's use of 'book-length ethnographic studies based on sustained periods of direct observation' produced findings relating to different levels of job satisfaction through the analysis of 156 texts (Bryman, 2016, p. 304).

### 3.3 Case Study Sources - Ethnographic material

To draw out details of the relations between Palestinian refugees and their hosts in Lebanon, I selected ethnographic studies to use as secondary sources of analysis. The two I selected ethnographies are Julie Peteet's *Landscape of Hope and Despair* (2005) and Diana Allan's *Refugees of the Revolution* (2014).

Ethnographies provide a view into lived experiences. As sources for research they can provide insight into communities which may otherwise be out of reach or inaccessible. Ethnographies, or participant observation, entail the “extended involvement of the researcher in the social life of those he or she studies.” (Bryman, 2016, p. 422). Researchers are often immersed in the group they are studying for “an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions.” (2016, p. 423). One of the key determinants for undertaking an ethnographic study is gaining access. The two ethnographic studies took place in the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut between the early 1990s and early 2000s but had different focuses on the camp and its residents.



1Map locating Shatila refugee camp and providing locations of camp landmarks. Source: (BBC, 2008)

Julie Peteet’s *Landscape of Hope and Despair* was published in 2005 while the ethnographic work was carried out in the early 1990s. Peteet’s ethnography uses the themes of place and identity to understand how the two are linked over time through the violence, resistance and power among the Palestinians in Lebanese camps (Davis, 2006). Peteet discusses the recreation of Palestinian village identity in the camps, which replicate familiar social structures. The resistance era with the increased autonomy gave rise to a more unified national identity, which incorporated the village identities. Following the withdrawal of the resistance and PLO, the village identities again became important support structures for the Palestinians. Through her focus on identity, Peteet reveals how the Palestinian refugees have depended upon, resisted and at different times internalised the identities which have been imposed upon them by their hosts, such as the state, UNRWA and resistance movements (Davis, 2006). Through lengthy interviews with camp residents, Peteet explores transformation of place and identity through the memories of refugees. She used the snowball method to conduct further interviews with friends and family of the first

Palestinians she spoke with (Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*, 2005, p. 18). While supported with document sources, through interviews Peteet captures the lived experience of the refugees who have directly experienced the transformations in the camps and the relations with actors who are involved in the everyday management of the camp space. Peteet's focus on memory allowed her to characterise the different eras during the camps, to show how life for the refugees has changed since their initial arrival in Lebanon.

Diana Allan's *Refugees of the Revolution* was published in 2014, while her work in Shatila was conducted in 2001. Allan's initial project had been to produce an archival project about *al-Nakba* (the catastrophe) with the first generation of refugees, but her work became an ethnography focusing on the everyday struggle of refugees in the present context. It pays special attention to the younger generations of the camp, and the tension Allan discovered between the overarching nationalist discourse centred on right of return and the absolute poverty find themselves living in. Her ethnographic work documents politics of commemoration, new forms of solidarity, social rituals such as dream talk, new forms of resistance and the refugees' view on right of return. Through her focus on everyday practices, Allan discusses the political economy of the camp. She uses the example of electricity siphoning from outside the camp, to illustrate how the refugees can contest relations with the state while it seeks to exclude them through restricting the camp's access to the main grid. The other section which I have looked at in detail is the chapter which discusses the increasing strain between the right of return narrative and desire for better rights in Lebanon. It highlights how the guest identity has increasingly been shaped by their relations with the host in the camp, and the increasing role Shatila itself plays in shaping their identity.

Where Allan's work differs to Peteet's is her focus on the present and day to day struggles of Palestinians living in Shatila. She herself lived in the camp with a Palestinian family, and despite being a foreigner she was brought into the family environment, often referred to as auntie, sister or being from "our house" (Allan, 2013, p. 20). Allan studied the everyday occurrences in the camp, and the various coping strategies refugees adopted to adapt to issues such as lack of water, poor electricity provision and struggle to make ends meet (Allan, 2013, p. 21). Allan argues that her focus on the day to day allowed her to shift her attention away from "the purely verbal and performative to the existential." (2013, p. 21). Here she refers to the performative acts that often embody or produce the right of return and nationalist narrative, which Allan argues can overshadow alternatives which may improve conditions in the camps in Lebanon.

Both ethnographies offer insights into the lived experiences and everyday lives of Palestinians living in Shatila, which illustrates how relations have changed with the Lebanese, UNRWA and the role of the PLO in shaping the ethos of the camp itself. Peteet's historical focus fits well with the case itself and how I approach it. Allan's study does not take the same approach, but instead seeks to place a focus on the everyday actions and strategies Shatila residents employ to survive in the camp. Importantly her work

demonstrates how the refugees are still able to resist and contest the state in the post resistance era. Allan also places special attention on the performed narrative versus the realities of life in the camp space. This focus allows me to interpret how guest identity is shaped by hospitable relations and the camp space in which these interactions occur.

### 3.4 Justification of source material

The ethnographic studies of both Peteet and Allan are both reputable and authoritative sources on the lives of Palestinian refugees in Shatila. *Landscape and Despair* offers Peteet's analytical insights and research material of a scholar who has studied Palestinian identity as a subject for over thirty years (Davis, 2006, p. 464). Her analytical perspective provides an account of "the changing social and spatial structures in the camps from the 1950s to 1990s within the context of the instability, poverty, and violence that characterised refugee life" (2006, p. 464). While noting that the chapter on Zionist production of knowledge about Palestine and later focus on the correspondence from the American Friends Service Committee in Gaza may seem out of place with the overall theme, Davis states that Peteet's book is appropriate for graduate students in the humanities, and illuminating for scholars of Palestinian politics and society (Davis, 2006). Fischbach also commends Peteet's first-hand fieldwork experience and the insight into Palestinian identity that *Landscape and Despair* produces, and the historical approach the book employs to document the lived Palestinian experience in Lebanon (Fischbach, 2006). This historical approach is guided by the references the refugees use themselves to periodise eras, such as "days of UNRWA" and "days of the revolution" (2006, p. 1640). Peteet's historical account of the Palestinian experience in Shatila places focus on the refugees' relationship with UNRWA, the PLO and the Lebanese state which constitute the assembled host in the research question. Thus, this source enables me to analyse relations between the guest and assembled over time.

*Refugees of the Revolution* takes place in the most recent chronological period of the case study. Allan's study provides "a rich portrayal of life in the camp, centred on the everyday material and affective practices with which its residents engage." (Monroe, 2017). Monroe further states that Allan's study reflects critically on the nationalist narrative utilised by political factions, to shift focus towards "the local material realities of live lived in long-term displacement and economic hardship." (2017, p. 152). Hagopian supports this view, arguing *Refugees of the Revolution* "challenges the reigning paradigm framing refugees as a coherent body singularly committed to nationalist resistance activities and campaigns." (Hagopian, 2015). Both Monroe and Hagopian argue that Allan's book places emphasis on the local and everyday material realities of the refugee experience in Shatila, which offers a critical view on the return narrative and how it is employed. This focus supports my research focus on the everyday practices which constitute guest and host relations, which in turn shapes identity. While acknowledging the "superb" ethnography Allan produced, Schiocchet



suggests her claim of primacy of everyday survival over political or nationalist imagination is at times sporadic, and that Allan may overstate the taboo nature of criticising the Palestinian return cause (Schiocchet, 2015). Allan does not take the same historical approach as Peteet and does not place the same emphasis on the assembled host actors I have identified. However, her book captures the everyday practices which occur in Shatila and how these reflect on Palestinian identity in the current period, that Peteet tracks through an historical account.

Other ethnographic studies have been carried out in the Shatila camp, with Rosemary Sayigh's (1994) *Too Many Enemies: The Palestinian Experience in Lebanon* a foundation text which both Allan and Peteet refer to in their sources I have selected. Sayigh is an authority on the experiences of Palestinians in exile as an eyewitness to crucial moments in their history (Talhami, 1996). Sayigh's work extensively covers the transformation and growth of the camp from its creation, through the oral history of the camp's residents (Peteet, 1994). Peteet refers to Sayigh's work to support the quotes from refugees she uses in *Landscape of Hope and Despair* that recall the early years of Shatila's existence. In addition to the Shatila's beginning, Sayigh extensively covers the conflicts with Shi'a militia known as the war or "Battle of the Camps" and the personal narratives of those who survived the conflict (Talhami, 1996, p. 627). Unlike Peteet, Sayigh's work does not cover the period after the conflict and the relations between host and guest which are affected by this period of violence. Sayigh's account of Shatila is not as comprehensive as Peteet's and does not place emphasis on the everyday material factors which Allan's work does. It was therefore not a source for my own analysis, but Sayigh's foundational work on Shatila helps to inform both *Landscape of Hope and Despair* and *Refugees of the Revolution*.

### 3.5 Content analysis

The conceptualisation of hospitality outlines how I developed my analytical lens of hospitality, which I then apply to my two ethnographic studies of the Shatila camp. My method for then extracting my data from the sources was to carry out a content analysis, interpreting and identifying data from the books which I could use to explore the relations of hospitality within my research question. To develop this, I wrote a guide containing some of the key terms which I would look for in the texts. These included guest, host, space, home, camp, identity, relations, power, time, hospitality and difference. This guide also included some key ideas from Bulley's explanation and discussion of hospitality. When reading the texts themselves, I annotated and underlined in pencil. These notes were usually my interpretation of the text through my interpretation of hospitality lens I used. I would then write these notes down on paper. This process produced 6 small documents of notes and direct quotes from the texts then guided the themes and areas of focus for my analysis of the case.

This summarises my coding process, which enabled me to make sense of my data. Through my process, I can identify several of the steps Bryman outlines as part of a generic approach to qualitative data analysis. These include reading through the materials, coding the materials, elaborating them into themes, examining possible links between concepts and writing up insights from previous stages to provide a narrative for the data (Bryman, 2016, p. 588).

## 4. Case study: Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon, 1948 – 2000s

### 4.1 Historical overview

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and other displaced Palestinian diaspora in the Near and Middle East are linked to the creation of the state of Israel in May 1948 (Suleiman, 2006). The foundation of the Israeli state by the United Nations created a ‘homeland’ for Jewish people from Europe escaping victimization and the genocide of the Nazi regime. UN and British government estimates put the number of Palestinian refugees who left the British controlled Mandate of Palestine between 726,000 and 810,000. They fled as a result of ethnic cleansing, forcible eviction and actual and continued threats of massacres aligned to the Israeli state (Suleiman, 2006, p.4). Of those, it is estimated 100,000 fled from mainly coastal areas into Lebanon. The forced displacement of 1948 is referred to by Palestinians as *Al-nakbah*, the disaster or calamity, and the following period of exile from their homeland as *Al-ghurbah*. The experience of exile for Palestinians in Lebanon has been marked by periods of violence, instability and changing political dynamics.

Since their arrival, Lebanese have perceived the Palestinians with difference and seen them as a threat to the delicate balance of their sectarian society. They were looked down upon by ordinary Lebanese and government officials who saw them as different, threatening or even contemptible (Hirst, 2010). These conditions were reinforced by some refugees who believed their exile from Palestine was only temporary. Some protested against any alleviations to their conditions, what Hirst (2010, p. 77) calls a “masochistic zeal”. But this resilience faded as the camps barely evolved beyond the tents they had on arrival. Any permanent structure, requiring nails or built of concrete, was forbidden by Lebanese authorities and discouraged by other refugees. The poor living conditions were exacerbated by the labour restrictions placed on them by the state, limiting the PRL to casual labour. The role of the international humanitarian regime is also highlighted during this period.

To help accommodate the refugee populations, UNRWA was established by the UN General Assembly resolution 302 in 1949. It was mandated to provide relief and large-scale labour projects (UNRWA, n.d.). Along with the Lebanese state, UNRWA formed a governing body for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian*

Refugee Camps, 2005). To provide shelter, 12 UNRWA refugee camps were set up across Lebanon to house the refugees.

Frustrated with the lack of support from the wider Arab world for a solution to their exile despite the heightened sense of pan-Arab nationalism, Palestinians were galvanised by the idea of taking vengeance against Israel, perceiving them as the cause of their exile. The refugees would form the “vanguard of the Arab nation” in seeking vengeance (Hirst, 2010, p. 80). The PLO, the leading organisation amongst the Palestinian resistance, would go on to launch several attacks against Israeli targets. Despite limited strategic success, their well-publicised strikes helped rally the Palestinian nationalist movement, strengthened by the cause of martyrdom which was developed within the refugee camps (Hirst, 2010). The resistance organisations based themselves from Lebanon due to the unique nature of its confessional political system, designed to ensure political representation for its sectarian society. Once there, the Lebanese state struggled to control the PLO as they found support in the country, particularly within the Muslim Lebanese society. The first official PLO representative to the Lebanese state described the country as, “...a garden without a fence.” (Hirst, 2010, p. 86).

The actions of the resistance groups and PLO helped to generate increased autonomy and independence for PRL and the camps they inhabited. They were granted increase political autonomy after the signing of the Cairo Agreement or Accords in 1969, which gave the PLO the ability to govern the camps. The number of camps in Lebanon grew to 17 and permanent facilities were constructed; tents and shacks were replaced by brick houses, public latrines were replaced by private toilets and water distribution systems replaced the previous system which relied on UNRWA tankers to deliver water from external sources (Sirhan, 1975). In the Beirut camps of Sabra and Shatila, the resistance groups created, “quasi-governmental bureaucracies, welfare and medical organisations, social, cultural and educational institutions, research centres, and the economic planning or industrial development boards of what was fast becoming the wealthiest resistance movement in the world...”, and was likened to a “state-within-a-state” (Hirst, 2010, p. 87).

However, this would be high-water mark for Palestinian political strength in Lebanon, which was gradually eroded and finally extinguished following the Lebanese civil war. The rise of the Palestinian resistance groups had disrupted the delicate sectarian balance of politics in the country. In addition, Israel launched retaliatory attacks against targets in Lebanon following strikes carried out by the Palestinian groups. It held Lebanon primarily responsible as the sanctuary for the Palestinian resistance movement. Israel’s goal was to, “inflict sufficient pain to persuade the ‘host’ to turn against the ‘guest’ ...” (Hirst, 2010. P 94) and therefore encourage other sects within Lebanon to turn on the Palestinians.

Civil war broke out in Lebanon in 1975 and officially ended in 1990 with the signing of the Taif Agreement. A combination of internal tensions and multiple regional developments led to the outbreak of war and breakdown of government authority; the cause of the war was neither solely internal or external (Krayem, 1997). It featured a host of actors and groups whom during different phases of the conflict held ascendancy. Hirst (2010) describes two

halves to the conflict; the first being Palestinian, ending in 1982 and the second marked by the rise of Hizbullah. The Palestinian half was brought to an end by the Israeli invasion of 1982, which dealt a staggering blow to the Palestinian resistance (Krayem, 1997).

Politically, this was marked by the official withdrawal of the PLO, Arafat and the majority of resistance fighters following the Israeli siege of Beirut (Hirst, 2010). The second blow with the Sabra and Shatila camp massacres. With the Israeli Defence Forces still occupying Beirut following PLO withdrawal, Lebanese-Christian Phalangist militia entered the camps. For three days, they brutally killed camp inhabitants, and levelled many of the remaining buildings that had survived the earlier civil war years. It is estimated that as many as 3,000 died, with many buried in mass graves (Hirst, 2010, p. 160).

The mid 1980's brought further conflict to refugee camps in Beirut and the south of Lebanon, in a series of battles known as the "war of the camps" with Shi'a 'Amal militia. Three years of fighting and sieges brought further death and destruction to the camps, with Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh both sustaining high numbers of casualties as well as severe structural damage (Peteet, 2005).

Palestinian refugees in the post-1982 era have seen their living conditions worsen and further restrictions placed upon them or reimposed by Lebanese authorities. In contradiction to international law, Lebanon has placed severe restrictions on the rights of refugees to work legally. Categorized as foreigners, any employment required a work permit. In the two decades prior, Palestinians were able to circumvent this due to high demand for labour and the rights entailed to them by the Cairo Agreement. However, since 1982 these laws have been strictly enforced, with an additional government decree that restricted the work available to foreigners and those with working permits to menial and low-paid labour. This has increased unemployment in the camps, with UNRWA figures putting Palestinian unemployment at 40 per cent, while other sources have put the figure up to 90 per cent (Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*, 2005).

Following the withdrawal of the PLO and resistance fighters, living conditions in the camps have worsened and the refugees have been subject to state policies which restrict their access to the labour market, ability to buy property and access Lebanese social services (Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*, 2005).

As stateless foreigners, Palestinian refugees are forbidden from owning property in Lebanon (Irfan, 2017). They are denied basic civil rights and access to social security, which require Lebanese citizenship to obtain. In combination with the lack of economic opportunity, restrictions on mobility and the dilapidated nature of the camps, Palestinians are now faced with extreme poverty at a rate four times higher than their Lebanese counterparts. In addition, PRL are considered the poorest and most deprived Palestinian community worldwide. The "Special Hardship Cases" adjudged by UNRWA to be the refugees most in need are increasingly common in Lebanon, now estimated at 12.1 percent, exceeding the number in Gaza (Allan, 2013, p. 16).

Unlike other host countries in the Near East region, Lebanon has proved a reluctant host to Palestinian refugees. Today Lebanon is home to an estimated population of 450,000 Palestinian refugees registered to UNRWA (Bowler, 2017) (UNRWA, In Figures 2018, 2018), although the exact number is disputed. It is estimated that over 230,000 or more than 50% of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (PRL) still live in UNRWA camps (Allan, 2013), a figure significantly higher than in Jordan or pre-civil war Syria. These camps are characterised by, “a climate of instability, physical threats, sporadic fighting and limited access to safety and justice.” (UNHCR, 2016, p.3).

#### 4.1.1 On the legal status of Palestinian Refugees

Palestinian refugees are treated differently under international law groups owing to the specific protection regime that was set up for them (Suleiman, 2006). In addition to UNRWA, the UNCCP and UNHR. While UNRWA is mandated to provide continued assistance for relief, notably in the form of social, economic and education services, it does not have a directive to provide legal protection. The UNCCP was instead given a dual mandate to find a permanent solution to the Palestinian refugee problem and protect their rights, including property rights and the right to return (Suleiman, 2006, p.9). Due to the failure of the UNCCP to find permanent solutions or fulfil its mandate, Palestinian refugees are left without the same rights and protections afforded to refugees under the 1951 Convention or 1967 Protocol. This has led to the ‘Protection Gap’ (Allan, 2013) (Suleiman, 2006) which, in addition to lack of protection offer by the Lebanese state, leaves Palestinians without the same rights as other refugees. As Jaber Sulieman (2006, p.10) argues, this has left Palestinian refugees with inadequate and limited protection with respect to everyday rights and in finding durable solutions to their displacement. Allan echoes this concern, highlighting that the lack of international protection underlines the fact that Palestinians have no country to return to, and the ongoing problem is grounded in the belief that Palestinian refugees only seek repatriation, as opposed to a third country option (Allan, 2013).

#### 4.2 1948 – 1968: UNRWA as caring host and guest dependency

The chaos and violence caused by Al-Nakba displaced hundreds of thousands of Palestinians across Lebanon and the surrounding region. Peteet quotes Um Fadi’s experience (2005, p. 104-106), a first-generation Palestinian whose family fled their home in 1948. She recalls her family fleeing their village as Jewish militia began destroying their houses, crossing back and forth between Palestine and Lebanon times before being moved to refugee camps by the Lebanese army. Hassan, a former fedayeen (resistance fighter), remembers his family being forced out of the El-Mina neighbourhood in Tripoli to the

Beddawi refugee camp (2005, p. 107-108). Samir recalled how his family were encouraged to move to a camp planned by the Lebanese government and UNRWA:

*They decided to gather all the Palestinians in the area. They coordinated with UNRWA to build this camp for these stray groups of people near the border area. They attracted them in a number of ways. My father was the mukhtar of our village. So, they said to him, “we have places for you and your people – you are not obliged to pay rent and there will be a school (2005, p. 108)*

These quotes describe the unexpected and uncontrolled arrival of the Palestinians refugees into Lebanon. Their sheer number was had a destabilizing effect upon their Lebanese hosts and the unwelcome arrival was met with a military reaction, by declaring the border a military zone they prevented Palestinians from concentrating near the border. They were then forcibly moved away from the south of the country, to UNRWA camps in the east and north of the country (2005, p. 107) to control and fix the location of the refugees.

During the initial period of displacement, Peteet notes that the Lebanese press and government cast relations between the refugees and themselves through the language of traditional Arabic hospitality:

*refugee-host relations as those of guest (dayf) and host. While Arabs are widely known for their generous offerings of hospitality, which mandates that hosts do not inquire of their guests as to the length of their stay, the underlying assumption of both parties is that the guest will eventually depart. More important, it is incumbent on the guest to respect the host, his home and resources. (p. 110)*

This direct link to cultural conceptions of hospitality can be reframed in Bulley's conception. The host seeks to produce a space for their guest, a space of home which both subjects recognize due to a shared cultural identity. The Lebanese sought to make the space less risky by outlining the terms of hospitality; the Palestinians would be welcome provided they respected Lebanese's mastery of their own home, the goods and services of the state and most importantly that their guest would abide by the mutually held understanding that the act of hospitality would only be temporary. The Palestinians were not expected to make their stay in Lebanon permanent. While the Lebanese had used the military to determine the space where Palestinians could live, UNRWA oversaw the day to day control of the refugee camps. The camps delimited and secured the places where the Palestinians were able to live and became a space for a humanitarian management of the refugees.

#### 4.2.3 UNRWA – humanitarian care and construction of the refugee identity

As the UN body created in response to Palestinian refugees in the Near East, UNRWA played a significant role hosting Palestinians in the refugee camps in Lebanon. It was responsible for their “...survival...providing education, rations, shelter and medical care, and to oversee their rehabilitation until a settlement could be reached.” (p. 50). Its other task

was to transform Palestinian identity into a governable subject. Becoming a refugee embodies a certain experience, as Peteet describes:

*“Deprived of sustenance and protection, the body is in a heightened state of distress...in the wake of crisis, when the body is “altered profoundly,” it becomes “an unknown terrain that must be relearned; flawed and distorted, it becomes the focus of identity, a shaky ground on which a new order... must be built”” (p. 54)*

UNRWA’s goal was “the project of refashioning and managing Palestinians, collectively and individually... and how refugees were categorized, administered and thus rendered governable...” (2005, p. 47). This new identity was shaped in the camps via the relief apparatus, which provided “spatialized strategies for governance and reconstitution.” (2005, p. 47).

The transformation of Palestinians from “angry, potentially volatile refugees to docile recipients of ... aid...overrode regional differences due to proximity and participation in the same set of institutions and practices.” (2005, p. 76). These strategies indicate how UNRWA attempted to control the Palestinian collective across camps in Lebanon, engendering a particular form of identity which would become reliant on the humanitarian host for their survival. This form of hospitality and the disciplinary power enacted through it can be understood as a technique of Foucault’s biopower concept, which “proceeds on the basis of knowledge of an aggregate population, and its operation requires “continuous, regulatory and corrective mechanisms”” (2005, p. 70). Understood in the everyday practices carried out by UNRWA in the camps, these mechanisms were produced through rations, identity cards, collection of statistical information and providing education for Palestinian refugees.

#### 4.2.4 Rations

Rations were a tool for shaping the Palestinians’ daily lives in the camps and helped produce the dependent, helpless refugee identity. Rations were “the line between survival and death... Rations meant dependency, reminded them of the abnormality of refugee life, and make vividly tangible the ruptures in modes of subsistence. Household, autonomy and relation to the land...” (2005, p. 76). No longer having the ability to cultivate their own food as they would in their Palestinian villages, refugees were transformed into “consumers in a cash-based economy as well as recipients of international aid.” (2005, p. 77).

Rations severed Palestinians ties to food, removing cultural identity as they were expected to “consume anything just to stay alive” (2005, p. 78). Rations were calculated based on the minimum calorific intake necessary and extra nutrition was provided to those who were deemed in need. “...1,592 calories a day of flour, pulses, rice, oil, sugar, and occasionally fish or meat. Supplements of powdered milk were distributed to children and pregnant women. (2005, p. 77)

Many refugees rejected the culturally inappropriate food and sold it for preferred food items. Selling rations perpetuated the stereotype of the cheating refugee (2005, p. 78), in rejecting the food given to them by UNRWA. In selling rations, Palestinians gained some level of control over their consumption and economy, although this only developed in later decades with remittance support and increased employment (2005, p. 78-79)

The act of giving out rations generated a relationship of dependency between the refugees and UNRWA. UNRWA could control the types and amount of food they would receive, ensuring they were given the bare minimum needed to survive and live. The refugees lacked the ability to determine what they ate and cultivate their preferred food, further severing their ties to their homeland and reinforcing the abnormality of their stay in the camps. It also reinforced their lack of permanency in the camps, depending upon on UNRWA for sustenance and lacking the ability to determine or produce what foods they ate.

#### 4.2.5 Identity and ration cards

Identity and ration cards produced by UNRWA and the Lebanese state contained identity affirming capacities for Palestinians (2005, p. 64). They provided a “definition of a refugee that was the criterion for determining access to refugee status, rations, and health and education services.” (2005, p. 64). For Palestinians, who often lacked any form of former national identity document, UNRWA’s identification documents connected their statelessness to the claim they had upon a land they were exiled from. “UNRWA registration... endowed them with an official refugee status and thus a legal identity referenced to Palestine.” (2005. P. 74). In the eyes of the Lebanese host state, the identity cards reinforced the refugees’ guest status in the country, differentiating them from the rest of the populace. Peteet refers to a conversation with a refugee called Rafiq who differentiates the two cards:

*The ration card was a badge of identity while the identity card was derided by Palestinians. It was the host state telling you “you don’t belong here, you are an alien.” The ration card had the opposite meaning. It meant international recognition. It said: “You have lost your land. You have a temporary status until your return.... The UN is giving you a ticket home, a claim to your right to return. If you have it, it means you are a Palestinian.” (2005, p. 74)*

#### 4.2.6 Enumeration and Classification

Determining the number of refugees and classifying those who were “real refugees” was an important task for UNRWA. It helped the agency “determine the amount of aid needed, and ascertain the channels of distribution” (2005, p. 70) and was used to “press the case for additional resources in the areas of education and medical care.” (2005, p. 74). The repetitive processes of numbering, classifying and counting refugees to produce knowledge



reveals biopower exerted by UNRWA. These practices played a role in reshaping the Palestinian identity and subjectivity, emphasizing their numerical label over their name or cultural belonging. Peteet emphasizes this effect by referencing Palestinian poet Mahmud Darwish's poem "Write down I am an Arab, my card number is 50,000," (2005, p. 73). For Palestinians enumeration also ensured their access to UNRWA services, food, shelter, medical care and education. But it also underscored the precariousness of their identity; UNRWA "had and still has the ability to confer and take away refugee status." (2005, p. 73). The forms of control enabled by practices of enumeration and classification underscore UNRWA's role as a host; it constructed a camp space which Palestinians could survive in, yet it sought to remove their previous Palestinian identity and reconstruct them as refugees who collectively became a "body as a project of intervention" (2005, p. 53), to be transformed in the image of modernity. Education was a key tool used to reshape and modernise the Palestinian identity, fit for new purposes.

#### 4.2.7 Education

Ensuring refugee survival was UNRWA's primary objective. Its second objective was to rehabilitate and reshape the Palestinian identity to find permanent resettlement solutions for the refugees. The Works part of UNRWA's name represented initial plans to send Palestinians to other Arab countries to support infrastructure development projects. Through work "refugees would acquire a new sense of self and come to terms with permanent displacement" (2005, p. 48). However, such projects were met with resistance from Arab states and Palestinians themselves, who saw any attempts at resettlement as a threat to their legal claim to a return to Palestine (2005, p. 64). These ambitious projects were replaced, as UNRWA then shifted its rehabilitation focus to education services provided in the camps.

Peteet outlines the efforts by UNRWA to reshape the Palestinian refugees:

*UNRWA embarked on a long-term project to enable refugees to support themselves and form a mobile regional labour force. They shifted resources away from relief into rehabilitation and education. They did so through a well-regarded education educational system that had strong vocational and academic components. (2005, p. 86)*

The educational system provided by UNRWA contrasted to that which had existed in Palestinian villages, further transforming the Palestinian refugee population from their pre-1948 identity. Education in Palestine was highly gendered and shaped by religious learning:

*The village religious schools where the previous generation of rural men had learned to read and write.... Rather than sacred knowledge and sources of authority... a standardised curriculum with examinations to ascertain learning, an array of subject matter and texts... established the foundations of respect and authority based on modern secular knowledge... introduced students to a new world of knowledge, attitudes, and pedagogical practices. (2005, p. 87-88)*

By establishing free schooling in the camps, UNRWA further compelled those Palestinians still living elsewhere in Lebanon to move to the camps (2005, p. 87). UNRWA education transformed traditional gender roles, with girls now receiving the same access to schooling as boys. By the 1960s, it was common to find young girls in UNRWA schools. They were often the first literate female member of their family, which opened up new opportunities such as higher education, previously only available to males (2005, p. 88).

Mass education proved to be transformative for Palestinian refugees, providing them with new language skills and understanding of bureaucracies, which enabled them to enter the international economy (2005, p. 86). The quality of UNRWA education was considered superior to that provided by the Lebanese government for its own citizens (2005, p. 64). The education provided by UNRWA had a modernising effect on the refugees, in the sense that it introduced them to massified, secular education. Peteet describes education achievement as a new form of cultural capital for the “peasants-turned-refugees”, a form of cultural recognition to replace land and country as component of honour. “Education, it was concluded, would facilitate survival in an uncertain future.” (2005, p. 129).

Education did rehabilitate refugees, as it provided literacy and language skills which equipped them with the abilities needed to work internationally. This supported UNRWA’s goal of finding resettlement solutions for the refugees. But education also collectively rehabilitated Palestinians in ways unanticipated by UNRWA. It provided the foundation for a new national identity, that would prove to be integral to launching the era of revolution, ‘Ayyam al-thawra (2005, p. 64).

#### 4.2.8 Palestinian identity in relation to UNRWA

Palestinians had an uneasy relationship with UNRWA during the 1948 – 1968 period. UNRWA’s benevolent presence in the camps constituted a humanitarian ethics of care within the camp spaces. It ensured the refugees’ day to day survival albeit to a minimum standard required, bare life, which underlined their lack of permanency and sense of belonging in the camps. Yet through education programmes it also fostered social development and prevented further fragmentation of the exiled community (Peteet, 2005, p. 50). UNRWA gave Palestinians official status as refugees, which ensured a minimum level of recognition internationally and a connection to their homeland. Simultaneously UNRWA constructed the Palestinians as a collective refugee body, classifying them as subjects requiring humanitarian assistance and intervention (2005, p. 51). Their refugee status became a “depoliticised space” in contrast to the Palestinians insistence that they were “primarily a political rather than humanitarian issue” (2005, p. 50). While it gave the refugees some form of international recognition, Palestinians also distrusted UNRWA as an extension of the UN because of the UN Resolution 181. This resolution “mandated the 1947 partition Plan, dividing Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. War ensued, and Israel eventually came into possession of much of the area allotted to the Palestinians.” (2005, p.

62). Thus, UNRWA was a continual reminder of Palestinian exile and partly at blame for their statelessness.

Employment began to blur the distinct lines between the refugee guest and UNRWA host subjects. UNRWA's forms of disciplinary biopower, for instance keeping statistical information on the refugees, required a skilled and literate workforce. The education services it provided in the camps produced much of this workforce. Despite a demand from Lebanon for cheap labour at the time, UNRWA became "the largest employer of Palestinian labour among registered refugees" (2005, p. 75). This created a "Palestinian bureaucracy in exile", and elevated UNRWA employed refugees to gatekeeper and intermediary positions amongst camp residents (2005, p. 75). UNRWA employment signifies how overlaps between the guest/host subjects began to occur between the refugees and UNWA. New "client-like relationships" began to appear between refugees and UNRWA employed refugees, as "new lines of patronage took shape." (2005, p. 75).

#### 4.2.9 Camps themselves

The refugee camps in Lebanon varied in size and formation, yet many had been located according to the sectarian logic of the Lebanese state (Peteet, 2005, p. 106-107), placing the mostly Muslim refugees in parts of the country with already existing Muslim populations. The Lebanese state also attempted to prevent Palestinians from giving the camps any semblance of permanency. Until the 1960s, many camps did not change from their original tent form, exposed to the elements. Peteet includes a refugee's recollection of her early years in Tel al-Za 'ter camp:

*The tents were full of holes, the ground was wet, and everything was infested with ants and mosquitoes. We could not sleep at night... Finally, we went to the police station and told them we had no home... The police came and checked it out and were surprised that other people had been able to live in these tents. They gave us a new tent. Eventually we built tin walls – the government did not allow us to build with stone – and spread the tent over the top to make a roof. (2005, p. 103)*

Only in the early 1960s over a decade after initial displacement, did the tents start to disappear, as more permanent, cement structures were slowly constructed. Yet roofs remained forbidden by the government, "because they conveyed permanency, zinc roofs were a potent symbol in a rich lore about early camp life. Invariably, these narratives make explicit references to roofs to highlight the repression of the Lebanese government." (2005, p. 109).

The camps were a physical embodiment of the extended, yet temporary hospitality Lebanon provided to the Palestinians, a controlled and unhomely space carved out for uninvited strangers. Sustained efforts were made to confine the Palestinians to the camps, to ensure they were excluded from Lebanese society:

*Within the camps, surveillance was pervasive. Initially the Lebanese Army and police watched peoples' comings and goings. Keeping an ear open for information about political organising; in 1958, the Lebanese Intelligence took over these tasks. Controlling mobility from the exterior was not very efficient, so the visually apparent controls and surveillance were moved inside as the maktab al-thani and Lebanese police recruited informers. (2005, p. 111)*

The state tried to spatially confine the refugees to the camps, while the aid regime managed and controlled their daily lives within the boundaries of the camps (2005, p. 110). Mobility outside of the camp was strictly administered and filtered through checkpoints manned by security forces.

The barbed wire fences surrounding some camps and the pass system were boundary-maintaining practices to control and monitor external movement. In the early 1950s, Shatila camp had two points of entry and exit both controlled by the Lebanese. Residents had to put their names on a list when they exited and note the expected time of return. (2005, p. 110)

These examples demonstrate the tactics and forms of control the state enacted upon the refugees, as it securitised the presence of the refugees and attempted to make the refugees less risky through surveillance and monitoring their mobility. At the same time, it also reveals the insecurity of the Lebanese state as a host. The large number of predominantly Muslim refugees presented a potentially destabilising threat to the delicately balanced sectarian nature of Lebanese society.

#### 4.2.10 Village identity – attempts to resist constructed refugee identity

Living in spaces that were tightly controlled by the state, where the everyday livelihoods were contingent upon the services of UNRWA, Palestinians sought to retain a connection to their homeland by reterritorializing Palestine onto the camps. Refugees did this by recreating the villages of Galilee in the refugee camps, contesting the ethos of the camp and attempting to maintain elements of Palestinian society in Lebanon (Peteet, 2005, p. 111). Village areas within camps were often established by families or clans that settled together, coming from the same areas of Palestine. Exiled villages would sometimes find themselves adjacent to one another in a camp, collapsing geographic space and enabling closer ties (2005, p. 112). “Social relations of neighbourliness, with intensive visiting, intermarriage, and the exchange of goods and services cemented this long-term relationship.” (2005, p. 112). Therefore, the recreated villages helped to structure social interactions, and gave meaning to the camp spaces, while maintaining connection with the Palestinian homeland itself. It also preserved a tie to memory, which transcended temporal and spatial distance:

*Settlement by villages, however partial, asserted an intimate claim to now distant, re-landscaped and occupied space, forging a connection between time and space which was inherited by successive generations through dwelling in these camp areas... In a sense,*

*village areas have been the physical and symbolic memory, transmitting the space of Palestine to the present, giving the displaced a deep visceral and everyday connection to past time, place, and social relationships. (2005, p. 112)*

Through the analytical lens of hospitality, the recreation of Palestinian villages in the camps demonstrate how the refugee guests attempted to develop a sense of belonging and contest the ethos of their home. Village identity gave a sense of permanency in re-establishing relations from the homeland, and remade boundaries of belonging in the camps. The camps were recreated as pockets of Palestine inside Lebanon, offering a different understanding of the outside coming inside. It demonstrates how the Palestinians attempted to turn a space of non-belonging into one of belonging. Village identity can also be understood to add a layer of permanency to their lives, which were otherwise constituted by their hosts' attempts to reinforce their temporary, insecure lives in Lebanon.

For Palestinians, this period following displacement was defined by the strictly controlled camps they inhabited, which were excluded from the rest of Lebanon. UNRWA organised and managed the refugees' lives through techniques of biopower, to discipline govern and reshape the collective refugee body. While these services managed and administered, they also provided an avenue for refugee empowerment through the provision of education services. While education helped to reshape the refugee identity and modernise them, it would also have unforeseen consequences.

Interpreted through the lens of hospitality, this time period reveals the relationship between the Palestinian guest and the assembled host made up of the state and UNRWA. UNRWA managed the daily lives of the refugees in the camps, through provisions of rations and education services, it ensured refugee survival while also rehabilitating them for the goal of resettlement. UNRWA was able to control the Palestinians by constituting them as a collective refugee body through enumeration and profiling. The guests were largely dependent on UNRWA during this time yet attempted to counter the ethos of the camp by recreating village social structures which provided a sense of belonging and connection memory of home. The state sought to tightly control the camp spaces, surveilling activity inside and monitoring mobility in and out of the camp. Lebanon perceived the Palestinians as a potential threat to the power arrangements in its sectarian society, and therefore sought to securitise them by exclusion from the rest of Lebanese society. These host practices of hospitality generated an ethos of difference in the camps, a space where they attempted to reshape and control the refugee guests.

The following period from 1968-1982, will analyse the period of profound change in the lives of refugees in Lebanon. I will argue that the 'Resistance', which was embodied by the PLO and its member organisations, emerged as a host subject in the camps. It competed with and sought to displace with the Lebanese state's presence, while both cooperating with and displacing the position of UNRWA.

### 4.3 1968 – 1982: Contesting the ‘assembled host’, counter-hospitalities and camp transformation

A time of revolution and era of resistance, the 1968 – 1982 period was defined by the emergence of the PLO as a political actor representing Palestinians. Their militancy and insurgent activities resulted in increased autonomy and empowerment for Palestinian refugees by providing social safety nets, infrastructure and creating new networks. Their arrival signalled a dramatic change in the nature and dynamic of the refugee camps, reconfiguring the space and extending their borders. This era was characterised by “extraordinary violence” (Peteet, 2005, p. 131) in Lebanon, marked by destruction of camps, civilian massacres, the onset of civil war and culminated in Israeli invasion of Beirut in 1982. The PLO and many of the fedayeen were forced to withdraw from the country and shift their operations to Tunis. Shortly after their withdrawal, the Shatila refugee camp and adjacent neighbourhood of Sabra were the sight of a massacre carried out by a Lebanese Christian militia group, killing “anywhere from 800 to 3,000 Palestinians and Lebanese civilian victims.” (2005, p. 151).

#### 4.3.1 Emergence of new host

The resistance movement grew in secret, with refugees leaving camps to be trained outside Lebanon. Rafiq recalled this period:

*In the early days, the resistance was extremely secretive. Young men disappeared from the camp and nobody knew where they went. Rumours circulated that so-and-so joined the resistance which meant he went to Jordan because that’s where the training bases were... In the beginning, we heard these fantastic stories about guerrillas. They were the first to go and in the camps there was a kind of agreement to keep things secret. (2005, p. 131)*

Many of these refugees were motivated by a new sense of identity, a Palestinian national identity. Peteet links this formation of this new identity to the education services provided by UNRWA. “Refugees found in secular education the means to transmit a Palestinian national identity, and UNRWA inadvertently prepared a generation of educated youth for secular, militant nationalist activities.” (2005, p. 88). “Secular education prepared the way for the emergence of the resistance movement in the camps.” (2005, p. 89).

The late 1960’s saw increasing conflict between resistance movements and the Lebanese army, while at a regional level they gained credibility following unexpected success in combat against Israeli Defence Forces in Jordan in 1968. These events helped to grow political support and interest in the resistance across the Arab world (2005, p. 132). In 1969 the Cairo Accords were signed between the Lebanese government and PLO. This formally

acknowledged the resistance movement's increased autonomy in Palestinian camps, as the government formally recognised the:

*Openly armed presence and control over the camps. Immediately, armed resistance forces entered the camps and Lebanese government personnel fled or were escorted out as crowds of Palestinians cheered. The abrupt change in the power equation launched the relandscaping of the camps as well as a new era of institution building and internal autonomy. (2005, p. 132)*

This change indicates a form of counter-hospitality in the camps. Aided by the education given to them by UNRWA, the refugees generated a new movement which would take over control of the camp spaces. Their collective identity was also changed, from a vulnerable refugee body to an armed resistance movement intent on violently reclaiming their homeland. The PLO and resistance movements as a host subject, sought to exclude the Lebanese state's presence from the camps and change the role played by UNRWA. Theirs was a destabilising presence for the Lebanese, as the PLO challenged state control over the camps and surrounding areas.

#### 4.3.2 Changed relationship with UNRWA through education

The resistance takeover of the refugee camps was linked to UNRWA. Its education services had provided the means for the development of a new sense of identity and empowerment amongst the Palestinians. It provided a sense of choice and possibility in their lives, despite the other constraints imposed on them by daily life as a refugee (Peteet, 2005, p. 88). The creation of the resistance was also linked to blurring of distinction between the Palestinians and UNRWA, as refugees were employed in its camp services like education.

Palestinian teachers in the camp classrooms were often members or supporters of resistance movements or the PLO itself. As the curriculum in UNRWA schools reflected that of the host country, subjects related to Palestinian history, geography or social studies were omitted in Lebanese camp. At the risk of losing their jobs or being discovered by Lebanese intelligence, Palestinian teachers "... smuggled in Palestinian history, geography, and a national narrative." (2005, p. 90). Rafiq recalls how the classroom became a site of fostering a new national narrative:

*The teachers managed to slip in all sorts of information about our cause, what had happened, how it had happened, what the Israelis did, and what the Arab governments did. So we were always fed this information unofficially; it wasn't part of the curriculum. Yet this was a chance to learn it... As if it were a class that wasn't in the curriculum but you were getting an education about it. On national occasions, like the Partition of Palestine and the Balfour Declaration Day, the teachers were not supposed to do anything, otherwise they would be suspended. Yet they managed to make sure that the students were aware so that they would do something on their own to commemorate the day. (2005, p. 90)*

UNRWA became a site of contestation and a platform for the resistance movement to develop a new national identity, while Lebanese authorities monitored political activity and attempted to recruit students and teachers for information or intimidate them (2005, p. 90). Education became a contested relation between the guest and assembled hosts; for UNRWA and the state it was a means to regulate and reshape the refugees into an educated, mobile workforce that would eventually be resettled. Palestinians and the emergent resistance host co-opted it as a means to transform the refugee identity into an identity unified by Palestinian nationalism that supported militancy to achieve eventual return to Palestine. While their intent differed, the assembled hosts all perceived the camp and its services as part of temporary hospitality in Lebanon before a move towards permanent solutions elsewhere.

#### 4.3.3 Rations

For refugees living in camps, UNRWA rations were a constant reminder of their exile, dependency and abnormal existence (Peteet, 2005, p. 82). They also differentiated refugees from the host population (2005, p. 81). With the arrival of the resistance in the camps, refugees and their families became less dependent on these rations. Increased remittances from relatives working abroad and the growth of the local economy, dominated by the PLO, meant rations were no longer a necessity for survival (2005, p. 82). Decreased reliance on rations and increased economic means reflected a shift in ethos produced by UNRWA and the PLO. UNRWA's humanitarian ethics of care, ensuring refugee survival through shelter and sustenance, also produced relations of refugee dependency and sense of helplessness. The PLO sought to breakdown that dependent relationship, instead empowering refugees' economically and enabling self-sufficiency.

#### 4.3.4 Closer ties

The PLO and UNRWA increasingly cooperated inside the camps during the 1968 – 1982 period. As the largest employer of refugees in Lebanon, UNRWA also worked more closely with the resistance movements, as its refugee workers were often members or supporters of the groups (2005, p. 83). This went against UN policy that prevented its staff from being members of political organisations, and UNRWA was forbidden from aiding refugees in the Palestinian Liberation Army, the official military wing of the PLO. Despite this, the PLO and UNRWA would go on to cooperate in the daily running of the camps:

*A modus vivendi was achieved due, in large part, to the PLO's superiority in arms and its recognition and appreciation of the role of UNRWA in daily refugee life, particularly education. The PLO and UNRWA cooperated in numerous areas. The PLO provided security and access to the camps during the civil war in Lebanon. The two cooperated to*



*maintain services in the camps and the PLO lobbied the Arab states for increased contributions. (2005, p. 83)*

The PLO and resistance movements became part of the assembled host of the refugee camps during this period. By doing so they not only changed the identity of refugees themselves, but also the identity of UNRWA through its refugee employees supportive of the nationalist cause. This internal change within UNRWA was perceived as sympathy and support for the Palestinian cause by critics in the United States, Israel and Lebanon, who accused UNRWA of violating the “rule of separation between UN facilities, employment and political activities (2005, p. 86). Interpreted through an analytical hospitality lens, this changing dynamic indicates the fluidity between host and guest subjects, which are constantly changing in relation to each other, and indicate the shift in relations of power during this time as the refugees influenced the identity of the humanitarian host. During this period, the resistance movement cooperated and competed with UNRWA in hosting the camp and generating its spatial dimensions.

#### 4.3.5 Reorganisation of camp space

The resistance movement drastically reshaped the camp spaces and their ethos (Peteet, 2005, p. 132). They became embodiments of the Palestinian nationalist identity, with new PLO infrastructure and institutions often named after places and landmarks in Palestine (2005, p. 137). The PLO developed offices, clinics, nurseries, vocational training and literacy centres, and clubs. These sites valorised the resistance and created new forms of public space in the camps (2005, p. 132). In Shatila, these new sites became part of everyday camp life alongside the mosque and UNRWA facilities (2005, p. 132). Checkpoints, which had previously been symbols of exclusion that the state used control and monitor refugees with, became symbols of nationalism with Palestinian flags flying above them (2005, p. 133).

These forms of permanency brought into the camps by the resistance benefited the refugees in their everyday lives. “...people began building with stone, expanding their small homes and adding private bathrooms to replace the common latrines. Cement roofs replaced the sheets of zinc, and second floors to house expanding families were adding with impunity. (2005, p. 133). These developments alarmed the Lebanese who would perceive the conditions of their hospitality being taken advantage of, as the threat of Palestinian permanency materialised in the camps. On the contrary to this view, Peteet describes the refugees’ response, ““We will leave them (houses) to the Lebanese when we leave.” As self-perceived guests and seekers of refuge in Lebanon, they thought to reciprocate long-term hospitality.” (2005, p. 133). This demonstrates that despite both Palestinians and Lebanese sharing a common understanding of Arab cultural hospitality norms, the Palestinians did not perceive the development of the camp and improvement of their living conditions as violating that ethical code. They still viewed themselves as guests with the intent of leaving once they had achieved the goal of securing return to Palestine.

The village mapping of camp space that occurred during the first period receded during resistance era. The national Palestinian identity became more prominent, as the camps welcomed in Palestinians from outside the Galilee region where many of the villages were located and initial refugees had come from. Beyond both the regional and national, the camps became increasingly cosmopolitan as “non-Palestinian Arabs and Euro-Americans worked and lived in them as part of an internationally based solidarity campaign.” (2005, p. 134). These shifts indicate that not only were the spaces of the camps being reorganised, their boundaries of meaning were renegotiated by the resistance as well. As a host, they allowed outsiders and non-Palestinians into the camps if they supported the nationalist movement.

In Shatila, which became the heart of the resistance in Lebanon, the PLO extended the services it offered refugees beyond the camp’s borders. In the 1970’s, they offered services to the local Shi’a community to downplay the advantages refugees were perceived to get from UNRWA and offer support to a poor community that had shown support for the refugees in the past (2005, p. 81). Not only did this extend hospitality beyond the camp borders, the PLO also attempted to generate a “political rhetoric of sameness as victims of dominant economic and political systems.” (2005, p. 82).

The militarised presence of the resistance changed the previously sharply defined borders of the camp in Shatila, allowing Palestinians to move outside the camp with a sense of security:

*The newly guarded borders kept out strangers (non-Palestinians). Recognised from the inside, they were ringed by the newly formed Palestinian police force... an armed force whose task was to ensure safety by patrolling the camps’ borders, defending them from external assault, and controlling entry of outsiders. Non-resident, including Lebanese military or police, government officials, and civilians could not just enter at will. (2005, p. 143-135)*

As flexibility and permeability of the borders increased, so did mobility for the Palestinians. Many migrated to Europe or Arab gulf states for work. Yet the camp populations also grew, as PLO services were made available to poor Lebanese. Coupled with the new infrastructure and housing, the camps became economic zones for low-income groups and communities (2005, p. 135). The camps even hosted displaced Lebanese. Following an earthquake in the southern city of Saida, families were offered housing in development project next to the ‘Ayn al-Hilweh camp (2005, p. 135).

The presence of the resistance transformed the camps spaces. During the earlier period, the camps been sites of exclusion, keeping the refugees separated from the rest of Lebanon. The inadequate tents reinforced their insecurity and reminded them of the temporary, discomfoting condition of their stay. They had been confined, both by UNRWA’s techniques of management and control and the state’s constant surveillance and securitisation. The arrival of the PLO shifted the landscape from “despair and anticipation... into a new one of hope and struggle.” (2005, p. 133). The camps became spaces of autonomy, militancy and community self-sufficiency (2005, p. 133). What constituted the

inside and outside of the space also transformed. Where they had been spaces for strangers to be kept in, the camps became spaces for Palestinians to regulate and filter which outsiders or strangers were permitted to come inside the camps. The resistance hosts constituted the welcome which could be given to people not associated with the camps. They became “small but militant and autonomous islands in the midst of another state.” (2005, p. 133).

This destabilising presence and the contested relations of power would have serious implications in Lebanon. Increasing religious tension with right wing and Christian groups would lead to direct conflict with the PLO and its supporters in 1975. This conflict would become Lebanon’s civil war, which officially ended in 1991. This protracted conflict would draw in political and religious groups from across the country, as well as regional and international factions and state forces. The camps themselves would become sites where particular forms of violence would unfold (2005, p. 142), and this period of counter-hospitality would come to an end in 1982 with the withdrawal of the PLO and the majority of its fedayeen.

This period of resistance is shaped by the emergence of the PLO as a direct form of counter-hospitality to that which the refugees had experienced previously with UNRWA and the state. The PLO changed the ethos of the camp, empowering refugees and reducing their reliance on humanitarian care. Through development of infrastructure and improved economic opportunities, the PLO improved conditions for the refugees in the camps and produced a new national identity that directly contested relations of power with the state. The boundaries of the camp as a home became more flexible and fluid, creating new relations with communities outside the camp. The camps became inclusive places for those who supported the Palestinian nationalist cause of return, as the PLO also excluded the state’s presence from the camp. This period also reveals how education became an important connection between the refugees, PLO and UNRWA, as a means to transmit new identity and blur the distinction between the guest and host subjects.

#### 4.4 1982 – 2000s: Renewed host dependency, everyday resistance and changing guest identity

##### 4.4.1 Changed Lebanese host relations

Refugee camps in Lebanon during the mid to late 1980’s were sites of intense violence. Following the Shatila Sabra massacre in 1982, the war of the camps raged from 1985 – 1987. These campaigns were launched at Palestinian camps in Beirut, Sour and Saida by Shi’a Amal militia and Shi’a forces within the Lebanese Army. This prolonged campaign was an attempt to completely remove any trace of the PLO and resistance, with the ultimate aim of forcing Palestinians to leave Lebanon (Peteet, 2005, p. 151). In the aftermath of the civil war, many in Lebanese society and the government saw the Palestinians as responsible

for the conflict and moved to strictly re-confine them to their destroyed and dilapidated camps.

The post-civil war sentiment in Lebanon was one of increased nationalism, shifting to a coherent identity rather than one of sectarianism (2005, p. 173). The experience of foreign invasion and influence in Lebanon leading up to and during the civil war had renewed a focus on the need to maintain Lebanese sovereignty and identity. With a large portion of the blame for the war directed to “outside elements”, the government moved to reduce or dilute the presence of foreigners in the country. The popular slogan of the time “Lebanon for the Lebanese” distilled this feeling (2005, p. 174). Efforts were made to draw distinctions and differences between Lebanese and outsiders. Palestinians were a prime target for the hostility generated by the new Lebanese nationalist identity.

With the PLO withdrawn and resistance mostly disarmed, the Lebanese no longer viewed the refugees and their camps as a destabilising threat as they had during 1968 – 1982 period. The government shifted to contain Palestinian in the camps and restrict their rights and access to employment. Anything which might be perceived as an improvement for their daily lives in increased permanency or improvement in conditions was seen to be a new form of resistance or threat to the state (2005, p. 173). Targeted by new economic and political policies, Palestinians believed the Lebanese were “strangling” them, with the intent to make their lives so unbearable that they would leave their camps and emigrate elsewhere (2005, p. 174).

In addition to renewed restrictions on camp permanency, Lebanon also restricted employment for Palestinian refugees. Legislation requiring a working permit for refugees and foreigners had existed since the 1960s, however the Cairo Accords and demand for labour in the then growing Lebanese economy had circumvented this. The withdrawal of the PLO and end of the civil war brought renewed reinforcement of these laws. A range of professions and areas of employment were closed to foreigners, while the areas they could still work in were menial and low-paid (2005, p. 175). Palestinians saw this as an attempt to make their lives harder and pressure them to leave:

*Most Palestinians wouldn't take these jobs. The work is too dangerous and too heavy. Few Palestinians can do such heavy manual labour. They are not used to it. And for the Palestinian works, these jobs do not pay enough... (not enough for) paying rent, sending children to school, and feeding a family (2005, p. 176)*

Palestinian mobility was also further restricted. Holding Palestinian travel documents when travelling outside Lebanon did not guarantee re-entry. A 1995 government decree stated that Palestinians carrying these travel documents must obtain a visa to re-enter the country. This decision had the immediate consequence of preventing Palestinians abroad from re-entering Lebanon, effectively reducing the number of refugees living in Lebanon (2005, p. 177). This was another concerted effort by the state to exacerbate Palestinian precariousness in the country, separate families and place further pressure on refugees to leave Lebanon.

Politically, the Lebanese sought to construct a further difference within Palestinian identity. This was referred to as *towteen*, directly translated to implantation or resettlement, which claimed the Palestinians sought to settle permanently in Lebanon. While refugees consistently rejected the idea and insisted on return, it proved to be a rallying call for different sectarian groups to support continued rejection of the Palestinians. “To the Lebanese, *towteen* implied incorporation into the national body of a now demonised other.” (2005, p. 173) This new political concept would be used to justify policies that continued to discriminate against Palestinian refugees in their daily lives. The Lebanese drew a sharp distinction between the Lebanese-self and Palestinian-other. *Towteen* was invoked to reinforce the non-belonging of the Palestinian guest in Lebanon and justified the need to securitise the camps and supported the decisions which kept Palestinians in their abnormal state of extended temporality.

#### 4.4.2 Reconfiguring camp space and place

Checkpoints which had become camp symbols of security and openness under the resistance, once more came under the control of Lebanese forces or ‘Amal militia. They signalled danger and proclaimed the territorial dominance of the state and Shi’a militia over the camps. Checkpoints once again became devices to contain and regulate Palestinians and their movement (Peteeet, 2005, p. 170). During a visit to Shatila in the early 1990’s, Peteeet recalled the experience and effect it had upon Palestinians:

*The soldiers at a Lebanese Army checkpoint recorded drivers’ and passengers’ names and identity card numbers, and cars’ licence plate numbers for cars entering or exiting the camp between 9:00 pm and 6:00 am. We stopped at the checkpoint and the soldiers performed the requisite registration.... The checkpoint and the registration require harken back to the 1950s and their parents’ or grandparents’ experiences. The intent was the same, surveillance and management, and the effect was similar, humiliation and rage. (2005, p. 172)*

Shatila itself “resembled a ruralised holding centre in the midst of a teeming post-war city.” (2005, p. 171). The militarised presence of the fedayeen had disappeared with the resistance, as had the services provided by the PLO. Employment opportunities were scarce. It was a gendered landscape, with men glaringly absent, working abroad, keeping a low profile or killed in conflict (2005, p. 171). The population had also decreased significantly from the height of the resistance era. This would change in the mid 1990’s as cars were allowed into the camps and the population began to expand again. With the resistance no longer present as hosts in the camp, and a breakdown in the village networks, camp residents perceived their home as an “insecure place” (2005, p. 177) over which they no longer had control over.

The camp borders which kept Palestinians confined, were permeable for new non-Palestinian residents seeking to move in. With the growth of the Lebanese economy, the camps became attractive for poor Lebanese seeking cheap housing (2005, p. 177). For

Palestinians who had lived in the camps for generations, the arrival of these strangers further reinforced the perception that Palestinians had lost control of their home. The lack of knowledge about who these people were or what their views towards the refugees were, cast them as a risk to the community's safety (2005, p. 178). Thus, movement within their home and public space was restricted due to fear of strangers, destabilising any notion of being at home that the refugees had had in the post-resistance era.

#### 4.4.3 Relation to UNRWA

In a cyclical turn, the withdrawal of the resistance and its services meant the Palestinians were again highly dependent upon UNRWA for their daily survival. It is also re-established reliance on their refugee identity, with their national political identity suppressed by the state and weakened by the withdrawal of the PLO. Peteet claims the "self-characterisation as "refugees" was a barometer of sorts, indexing power, dependency, and more ominously, vulnerability." (Peteet, 2005, p. 210). The restrictions placed upon them by the state, the absence of political representation, and high unemployment meant it became a strategic necessity to use their status as refugees to ensure basic survival once again (2005, p. 210-211).

A clear connection back to the period of 1948 - 1968 can be made, seen through the renewed dependency and helplessness the refugees once again experienced. There is one difference which distinguishes the post war era, and that is the increased significance UNRWA had to the Palestinian identity. It was still part of the UN and perceived as responsible for their original exile, yet it too also faced a precarious existence. Budget restrictions severely cut back the quality of the camp services it offers (2005, p. 64-65). The school system which had helped to educate the resistance movement and skilled migrant workers now faced "overcrowding, substandard facilities and a lack of supplies have been compounded by a prolonged conflict that has destroyed school building and interrupted the academic calendar." (2005, p. 64). Cutbacks to its services and rations signalled its possible demise, which the refugees interpreted as resulting in a transfer to another camp or pressure to emigrate (2005, p. 65).

UNRWA holds responsibility for issuing Palestinian identity cards. Were they to lose that, they would also lose their only legal form of identity and legal reason to stay in Lebanon (2005, p. 82) For Palestinians, UNRWA remains the international platform to confirm their existence and legal claim to right of return to Palestine. This renewed sense vulnerability for Palestinians is now intricately linked to their host's status. UNRWA, which both is and isn't a Palestinian space, is increasingly linked to their collective identity. It is an institution that is an integral part of their home and struggle, yet also a daily reminder of their exile and prolonged stay in Lebanon. This exemplifies the complex relationship between the guest and host subjectivities, and how they can change over time.

#### 4.4.4 Stealing Power

The withdrawal of the PLO from refugee camps weakened the militant nature of the Palestinian resistance, but it did not signal the end of communal efforts for solidarity and resistance to the state. In the 1982 – 2000s period “the iconic image of the Palestinian resistance fighter has been superseded by the more prosaic figure struggling to make a living and access basic services...” (Allan, 2013, p. 101). As the overcrowding has become a growing problem, increasing pressure has been put on services such as water and electricity (2013, p. 102). Unpredictable electricity supplies make power cuts a common, daily occurrence in the camp. The PC was created by the PLO to manage camp utilities like electricity, is increasingly seen as corrupt and incapable of offering solutions to issues like electricity shortages. As a result, Palestinians have increasingly taken to illegally siphoning electricity from the municipal supply outside Shatila (2013, p. 102).

#### 4.4.5 Relationship with state

The Palestinians are “doubly disenfranchised” in trying to secure municipal resources like electricity. The clientelist nature of Beirut means that electricity is bartered for in exchange for services. They lack the organisational power to disrupt in the way that Lebanese urban poor do, through strikes and protests, which is unavailable to them as refugees. Secondly, UNRWA and the state have been reluctant to develop infrastructure in the camp. This is linked to the “policy of non-integration intended to underscore their temporary and transitory nature.” (2013, p. 103). Making a similar link to Peteet’s discussion of towteen, Allan claims the government has sought to condemn the camps and their residents as lawless and beyond its control. These accusations then justify the policies which regulate camp organisation and prevent their socio-political and spatial assimilation (2013, p. 104). Stealing electricity is therefore seen as a legitimate response to the marginalisation and discrimination Palestinians face from the state.

#### 4.4.6 Legitimising illicit activities

The daily practice of “hooking up” to the municipal grid is seen as part of the camp resident’s daily struggle against host that seeks to actively marginalise them. It is also a form of protest against the PC, who refugees see as corrupt in their clientelist relationship with the state electricity company, while also representing Syrian political interests in the camp (2013, p. 118). In legitimising their illicit practices, refugees claim they are “morally entitled” to electricity as a discriminated and excluded population (2013, p. 111). Their act of resistance is also a critique of the state’s continual neglect and denial of their home, and the unequal way in which electricity is distributed. In addition, the perception of PC not

being a legitimate mechanism to air their grievances supports their move to “street politics”, where refugees attempt to find solutions to everyday problems without involving the established political factions.

The struggle for electricity in Shatila embodies the everyday politics of struggle, which continues in the post 1982 period of the camp space. It demonstrates that the refugees position their activities as an ethical argument, in the face of the host state’s denial of adequate resources for their survival. Power siphoning also reshapes the camps borders, tapping into resources outside the camp in an attempt to remain independent. In addition, the spectral presence of Syria controlling the camp via the PC indicates a wider regional contestation for power occurring within the confined space of the camp and its everyday relations.

#### 4.4.7 Contested identities – pragmatism and the Right of Return

Underpinning the continued presence of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, the refusal of the state to grant them civil rights, the rise of militant national movements like the PLO and the camps dotted across the country is the ‘right of return’ narrative which is almost inseparable from the Palestinian identity. They remain steadfast in the face of discrimination, poverty and extreme violence in the unshakable belief that they will one day return to Palestine, as they are given the right to under international law. Much of the international support generated for the Palestinians is politically driven, usually framed in relation to Israel. “Because Palestinian identity is still rooted in territory, and in a traumatic history of expulsion, return to the land of Palestine seems to be the means by which a “natural” order of existence would be restored.” (Allan, 2013, p. 191). Voices of first generation who directly experienced exile from their homeland provide a living connection to this land, their stories are handed down through the generations of Palestinians born and raised in camps.

However, this narrative can be problematic. Refugee sentiment towards the right of return is often cast monolithically, assuming all refugees would return and that all are in favour of return to Palestine (2013, p. 192). It presumes that second, third and fourth generations of refugees would rather leave their home and return to a place they have never lived, rather than have seek improved lives in Lebanon or emigrate another country (2013, p. 194). For younger refugees, the right of return was equally important for reasons of justice and existential restoration (2013, p. 195). For some it is more symbolic; right of return would give a refugee the right to knock on the house that belonged to his father, ask the people now living there to acknowledge this fact, “Then we can sign a paper saying the house now belongs to them and they can give me one dollar to finalize the contract. Then I will feel that my dignity as a human being will be returned.” (2013, p. 196).

Right of return is used by political groups and factions to justify the abject conditions of the camps, claiming that it demonstrates refugees’ steadfast character and resilient refusal to assimilate or naturalise (2013, p. 202). The Lebanese government also supports the right of



return, but for different reasons. The state continues to recognise the refugee right to return, while also negating any forms of civil rights, such as the right to own property, freedom to seek employment and access to social services like health and education. The Lebanese state argues Palestinians should be denied any form of permanency. Otherwise, according to the former minister for the displaced, “When Palestinians live with a roof over their head, they’ll settle down and forget Palestine.” (2013, p. 201). The continued support for the right of return fits with the towteen discourse, rejecting any possibility of Palestinian naturalisation or implantation in the country. Allan describes how this taboo topic was raised during the 2011 March of Return, when a protestor from Shatila broke with the crowd by shouting, “Shit to the right of return; we want to live” (2013, p. 201).

The return narrative plays a crucial role in the ongoing dynamics of hospitality seen in Lebanon. For refugees, it has reaffirmed their belief that Lebanon would never be home for them, that the refugee camps would only be temporary spaces. It strengthened their resolve while they lived in abject poverty and survived on the minimal rations provided by UNRWA. While secular education provided the vehicle for creating the resistance movement, they were motivated by symbols and stories of Palestine that they would seek to return to, at the price of violence and militant struggle. The mandate of UNRWA was built upon the renewed UN resolution which states the Palestinians would have the right to return to an Arab state in the Mandate of Palestine. The Lebanese government provided a welcome which was always contingent upon the temporary stay of the refugees in their territory and would become part of the justification for the policies and laws which would deny them basic civil rights. Ultimately it underscored and reinforced the temporal dimension of their stay in Lebanon, suppressing any calls for improvement in their conditions, to develop any sense of belonging to the camps that have become their home.

The final time period presents different issues through the two sources. Through Peteeet’s work, the harsher relations with the Lebanese host are portrayed. The end of the civil war gave rise to a new form of Lebanese nationalism which sought to target or demonise outsiders who played a role in the conflict. The Palestinians and the refugee camps were reconceived as threats to the emerging Lebanese nationalism, and the state moved to reshape relations with them. Policies restricted their mobility and ability to co-exist through restrictions on employment, property ownership and access to social services. The state re-confined the refugees to the camps, once more constructing them as a space of surveillance and control. The refugees’ relation to UNRWA as a host once again changed, relying upon the refugee identity which engendered dependency through reliance on provisions such as rations again. As a host subject, the Palestinians increasingly tie their insecurity to UNRWA’s uncertain future as it faces budget cuts and struggles to provide adequate services. Allan’s focus indicates that the Palestinian guests are still able to contest power relations with the state, through everyday coping strategies such as stealing power from the city grid. This also indicates that the refugees are still able to cross the camp border, despite it being securitised by the state.

## 5 Conclusion: Hospitality, Refugee Agency and Transformative Refugee Politics

By analysing the case of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon using the lens of hospitality, this thesis has attempted to provide an understanding of how relations between the refugee guest and their assembled host has changed over time. Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention focused on the spatial nature of the camps (Ramadan, 2013), the discrimination against refugees and lack of civil rights (Bowler, 2017) and the disputed legal and political status of the Palestinians in Lebanon (Al-Natour, 1997).

In this thesis, the choice of hospitality as an analytical lens was inspired by Bulley's reconceptualization of hospitality and growing concern with migration in international relations. Within this international relations concern with governance of migration, a case study approach to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon over the extended time period of 1948-2000s was chosen. The case study aimed to provide in-depth insight into people's experiences and to draw on this to discuss broader ethical concerns in the governance of global migration.

The case study demonstrated how refugee camps like Shatila can transform as spaces of belonging and non-belonging for their residents. The camps begin as uncomfortable tent sites, which the state tries to maintain to prevent any sense of permanency, while securitising and surveilling the borders of camp. They slowly become places of meaning and belonging, as refugees reimpose the geography of their homeland upon the camps as recreations of Galilean villages. This sense of belonging grows during the PLO period of 1968 – 1982. Infrastructure and services provide meaning and a sense of being at home in camp, and the convention of providing names after sites in Palestine strengthens this connection to the camp. Despite their destruction during the last period of the case, the camps retain a sense of belonging through the memories they contain; memories of resistance but also of extreme violence like the Shatila Sabra massacre which has become part of the camp's identity.

The fluidity and permeability of the camp boundaries was another finding from the analysis. As a home, the boundaries of the camp shifted as did their permeability. During the first period of the case study, camp boundaries were determined by the Lebanese host. Those going outside the camp were restricted in their mobility through monitoring of movement times. When the PLO became part of the assembled host, the boundaries of the camp expanded. Neighbouring communities were included within the home through distribution of services. Opening the camp to international supporters of the nationalist cause represented a change in permeability of the boundaries, effectively creating a new door to those who supported the Palestinian identity and struggle. The PLO as a host also shifted the inside and outside of the camp, by controlling outsiders who would seek to come inside, while allowing

the residents inside greater freedom to move inside and outside the camp. The boundaries were fixed again following the PLO withdrawal, as the state closely monitored and controlled Palestinians leaving and re-entering the camps.

Another finding is the fluidity and interlinked nature between the refugees and UNRWA. Through UNRWA's education services, the Palestinian guests were able to develop a new sense of national identity which led to the creation of the PLO. This informed the rise of the PLO from the camps as a part of the assembled host and signifies a movement of counter-hospitality. While the refugees' lost political representation and military force with the withdrawal of the PLO, they have demonstrated through stealing electricity that they are still able to contest power of the state, which they legitimise through the discriminatory policies they are subject to by the state.

Through their connection to UNRWA, the Palestinians increasingly tie their own future and hopes for a return to Palestine to the uncertain future of UNRWA, which has increasingly faced shortages in funding and resource cuts since the 1990s. Another important finding in the analysis collective refugee identity derived from their legal right to return inhibits improvements in their conditions in Lebanon, including civil rights. The Lebanese state, on their side, uses this collective right of return narrative to justify continued marginalisation and discrimination of the refugees, claiming that any attempts at ending their extended temporariness in Lebanon might undermine their claim to returning to Palestine.

This analysis also revealed how the Lebanese state as a host has changed its relations with the Palestinians. Following the end of the civil war, it increasingly began target and blame Palestinians for their part in the conflict. This was accompanied by a new political rhetoric of naturalisation or towteen which generated further distrust of the refugees. These behaviours reflect a change in host identity, as it began to develop a more unified national identity which downplayed its sectarian political make up. Lebanon's insecure state identity and unstable sovereignty, evidenced by a colonial past, series of invasions and strong political proxy presence of neighbouring states, have determined its role as host towards the refugees. It has sought to employ technologies and tactics of control, such as surveillance and checkpoints, to secure the refugees' and make them less of a risk to itself. Going forward, the state will need to consider the changing identity and goals of the refugees and whether by continuing its current relations it may risk forcing greater acts of counter-hospitality-

UNRWA's mandate to ensuring the refugees' survival reveals an ethics of care, that shapes Palestinian identity through imposing a refugee identity and an increased dependency for UNRWA services. Importantly, this analysis also reveals how the refugee camp as a space of hospitality shapes relations of hospitality. Through a humanitarian ethos, they are constructed as a space of discomfort and temporariness. In attempts to enforce a sense of non-belonging and discomfort, the Lebanese state has tried to enforce this extended temporariness preventing Palestinians from repairing or improving camp infrastructure.

Hospitality was a useful analytical lens in this case study because it revealed how relations between the Palestinian refugees and Assembled host have been contested in Lebanese refugee camps. The everyday practices, such as an imposition of village social structures, distribution of rations or teaching in a classroom, contested or produced an ethos in the camp. Understood through hospitality, ethics are produced the practices what we do in relation to the other, or stranger. Hospitality as an analytical lens revealed the complexity of relations in this case, and the effects they had on the host and guest over time. At the broader governance level, it reveals how everyday practices such as hospitality are often overlooked or misunderstood. Policies may determine how migrants flow or are restricted in certain spaces. But if global governance approaches are to be improved, and our fear of the stranger or other is to be addressed, they must consider how the stranger is welcomed, who will host the welcome and how the host(s) generate a home space. Attempts to control migrants through confinement in extended temporality and discomfort prevents any sense of being-at-home and may lead to efforts to counter the hospitality on offer.

IR can also inform new understandings through a focus on the everyday and mundane practices like hospitality. As the case reveals, hospitality enables an analysis of different actors in contested relations of power. Through subject positions and reimagining of space as a home, hospitality can be useful to reveal the fluidity of subject positions in relation to one another, and the effect these subjects can have in the production of the home. Hospitality can help to understand post sovereign spaces often on the margins of the international system, where a sovereign state host may only have partial mastery. It informs new ways of looking at contestations of power through the relations of people who often remain in the blind zone of the international community.

In conclusion, hospitality provides a versatile approach to conceptualise refugee governance through a focus on the everyday. The use of guest and host subjects focus on space and relations of ethics and power can be employed in other contexts where people are displaced. These could include asylum or detention centres. It could be used in more dynamic environments, such as migrant routes in Africa or the context of Mediterranean boat crossings. Hospitality provides an important perspective for International Relations, as it allows relations with the stranger and difference to be more closely examined.

## 6 References

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**Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet**  
Noregs miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet  
Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Postboks 5003  
NO-1432 Ås  
Norway