Comprehending refugees' space negotiations

- An analysis from a spatial perspective -

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"What you do makes a difference, and you have to decide what kind of difference you want to make."
— *Jane Goodall*

Abstract

This study analyses refugees' space negotiations, by the use of an spatial perspective. The scientific purpose of this study is to investigate the interplay between humanitarian agencies and the refugees. Furthermore there is the purpose to explore the application of a spatial perspective and to contribute to a further conceptualisation of Thirdspace. The social aim is to provide deeper insights on how refugees negotiate their space to create a better life. The definition and theory of space are explored, with a specific focus upon the theoretical framework of Edward Soja. During this research the emphasis lies on the dimension of space, the dimension of multiplicity. In order to understand shifts in society, Edward Soja makes use of three dimensions of space, Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace. Through including incompatibles into binary thinking, hence looking at Thirdspace, the knowledge to understand space and society will increase. Thirdspace is understood by stimulating trialectically thinking. The approach that the Tanzanian authorities and the humanitarian agencies have on refugee management has a significant influence on the daily life of refugees. The multiplicity of the camp comes to the fore within Thirdspace, the totality of the camp. The UNHCR wants to establish social order within the camp, this is visible within Firstspace and Secondspace, moreover it is noticeable that the refugees question this order. These two spaces reveal how all these practices that occur simultaneously stimulate refugees to reconstruct their *lived* space within the camp. The transition of the refugee camp to a more permanent solution is causing that refugee camps evolve. Therefore not only the relations within this camp are analysed but as well the relationships that stretch beyond the refugees boundaries and impact neighbouring communities. There is a constant negotiation between humanitarian agencies and refugees. Comprehending these tensions through spatial thinking can elaborate on the transition of refugee camps from temporary solutions to permanent sites. Further ethnographic research on spatial practices of refugees is recommended. A spatial approach triggers to think differently, search for other angles to explore the development of society.

Keywords: *refugee camps, sociology of space, Edward Soja, Thirdspace, spatial thinking, multiplicity, humanitarian agencies, refugees, Tanzania, Lukole*

Preface

In front of you lies my BSc thesis, entitled 'comprehending refugees' space negotiations'. An analysis from a spatial perspective. This thesis represents the final part of my graduation from the Bachelor International Development Studies at Wageningen University. Since the beginning of May until the beginning of July I have worked on this thesis.

To explain why I am interested in refugees I will take you back in time. During my sixth year of high school I got the opportunity to apply for the function of youth ambassador of World Vision. Giving me the chance to visit projects in Ethiopia, this experience stimulated me to enrol in International Developments studies. Looking back at this year, this experience was life changing. After my journey to Ethiopia, it was difficult being back, I got frustrated about society and the gap between rich and poor. I couldn't forget the people I met, nor shake off the feeling that I left them behind while I got back to my comfortable life. My study in Wageningen helped me to deal with these issues. Still, I struggled with my naivety, the tendency to always see the good in people, who am I to think that I can make a difference? My study thought me to understand complex problems, approach situations from different angles and through diverse lenses. I learned to be aware of world issues but to always be critical, and emphasized my desire to work in the humanitarian field. Fortunately, I got accepted for the Master International Humanitarian Action, which will hopefully, hand me the tools and knowledge to eventually work in this field of preference.

This year I studied at the University of Helsinki, enrolled in different courses, including subjects of politics of rights, mobility and peace- and security studies. Back in Wageningen, I started to think about my thesis subject. In February, after I participated at the Humanitarian Summit in the Hague, I decided to write my thesis about refugees. In one of my major courses the concept of space was discussed, this lecture triggered me to combine thinking of space with refugee studies.

I wish to thank those who supported this thesis project. In particular, my supervisors Bram J. Jansen and Joost Jongerden. Thank you, Bram and Joost, both of you for the confidence you had in me and the support throughout this thesis research. Bram, your knowledge and stories about Africa inspired me and learned me much about the daily realities in refugee camps. Joost, every time I got 'spaced' by my thesis and literature I could knock on your door for help, thank you for this. Our meetings where always useful; after each meeting I was hopping through the corridor full of new ideas and energy. In addition to my supervisors, I wish to thank my fellow students of the thesis ring for their feedback during this research and Rosa de Vos, supervisor of the ring. Special words are due to my family, who supported me all those years, during my studies and my adventures abroad and throughout my AIESEC board year.

My time in Wageningen was the best, a great place to study, because of its closeness, dedicated and passionate teachers and the many chances to explore my potential. Nevertheless, I am excited for my future and to start with the next phase of my life. Then, it only remains me to wish you much pleasure reading my thesis.

Rivka van Mastrigt
Wageningen, 6th of July

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List of abbreviations

CNDD: National Council for the Defence of Democracy

EAF: African Education Foundation

ECHO: European Community Humanitarian aid Office

MHA: Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

TRCS: Tanzanian Red Cross Society

USAID: The United States Agency for International Development

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WFP: World Food Programme

1. Introduction

In June, year 2014, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Global Report showed the number of 51.2 million persons who are forcibly displaced worldwide, this number includes; refugees, internally displaced people, asylum-seekers and stateless persons. The main task of the UNHCR, that is described in their mandate, is to ensures the basic refugee rights of people who are uprooted or stateless in their countries of asylum or temporary residence, and prevent that people have to return to a country against their will because they fear persecution. On the long term, the organization aims to develop durable solutions for refugees, by stimulating the safe return of refugees to their homelands, support integration in countries of asylum or help them reset in third countries. Refugee camps are the topic of this research, refugee camps are temporary settlements built to receive refugees. This thesis will analyse several situations that occur within refugee camps through a theoretical framework, with a focus on the Thirdspace. This so called Thirdspace results from passion and the desires of people, when these desires and wishes are located outside the campsite, refugees may travel towards them. The product of these links and/or ties between places can impact the surroundings of the camps. Besides the perspective of the refugees, the perspectives of humanitarian agencies on the formation of space will be analysed. The refugee camps that are analysed are located in Tanzania. This chapter will identify the problem and introduce the research question. Upcoming chapters will describe the theoretical framework, the background of the problem situation and will sketch an spatial image of camp Lukole in Tanzania and how the camp has impact on surrounding local communities.

1.1. Problem statement

Refugee camps are excluded and included sites within a state; included sites because refugees, for example in camp Lukole, repetitively referred back to their homes in Burundi and the political field, hereby they linked the camp to their home country. Yet, camps are also excluded sites: while a part of a nation, a camp is deflection in time and place; they can be viewed as a waiting room for refugees until they can return back to 'normality' (Turner, 2010, p.10). Despite UNCHR's attempts to foster life of refugees, refugees try to create sovereign power outside the reach of the UNCHR. There are two perspectives: the first one is the UNCHR perspective that sees refugees as passive and as victims of violence that need to be helped. However refugees do not always meet up with this given role and by scheming and plotting in camps they contest this given role. These activities produce frictions between humanitarian agencies and the refugees. Problematic is that refugee spaces are established as temporary solutions, they prevent refugees from proper integration and are waiting for a solution to be found. But these camps are increasingly becoming permanent solutions, where more is happening underneath the surface. Refugees are reconstructing this refugee-site, this means that there is constant negotiation for power and meaning, this also influences refugee-being which is linked to identity challenges. These negotiations are creating competing spaces, whereby the refugees form their own sovereignty which is undermining the UNCHR's power. Analysing these practices of negotiation hidden under the grid, a rich image can be created which may change the image of refugee camps as 'waiting room' and may suggest how we can change this image.

This thesis will focus on refugees in Tanzania. Tanzania has been a safe haven for many people who fled from conflicts in Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Refugees who fled to Tanzania are obliged to live in refugee camps, consequently they face several constraints; no rights to freely move or to seek safe and legal jobs (Asylum Access Tanzania, 2015). As a result of the high number of refugees, camps are often too crowded and suffer from unsanitary living conditions. Therefore, many refugees choose to live outside of these camps in self-settlement or more urban regions. So far, only a small number of refugees have legal permits to leave the refugee camps. Subsequently, most refugees outside camps have no rights, are unprotected and have no legal status (Asylum Access Tanzania, 2015).

The UNCHR and other humanitarian agencies were responsible for the day to day 'care and maintenance' of the refugees (Turner, 2010, p.44). Their main concern is to control through care and contain the refugees while keeping them alive and healthy. However, this attitude changes when camps are becoming more permanent solutions. Refugees are waiting for the day that they may return home, to 'normality', only then will refugees regain the status of citizens. As a consequence of this counting, controlling and catering, the refugees are 'framed'. The refugees are 'framed' as they are not allowed outside the camp, have no say in what to eat or even how they can build their own huts. Furthermore the humanitarian agencies frame the refugees as innocent victims without a past and political identities, since in order to help the refugees they need to be the victim of history instead of being the producer. UNCHR tries to display refugees as helpless victims who are in need of empowerment. This is explained by one refugee as "*We are like babies in the arms of the UNCHR*" (Turner, 1999, p. 6). Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the image of 'the refugee' is not merely formed through framing. This image is also created through state practices and through the caring governing systems of humanitarian agencies. Another consequence these practices and governing systems cause, is that refugees are reduced to living '*bare life*'. Giorgio Agamben (1998) explains the production of refugees' '*bare life*', this is a life that is stripped of any rights and value. Agamben argues that refugees are the result of the separation between birth and nation, and therefore they are between citizens and human being. This results in human beings without any rights, without political subjectivity, and no value. Therefore they become object of aid and protection. Humanitarian agencies and the state are creating 'the refugee', with the purpose of safeguarding the lives of the refugees (Turner, 2010). This image of 'the refugee' is formed through the UNHCR, humanitarian agencies and the state to create a person who is dependent, innocent and helpless. Due to the expansion and transition from a temporary solution to a more permanent one, refugee camps are evolving. Agamben points out the importance to recognise the rationality of exception infusing in our societies. A refugee site is conceived as "*a piece of land that is placed outside the normal juridical order*" (Agamben, 1998, p. 170). With the transition of the refugee camp to a more permanent solution it is important to understand how this impacts the local surroundings of the camp. How are refugees connected to their surroundings? It is crucial to understand the limitations that refugees face and how refugees cope with these limitations. Understanding can help to support the refugees to maximize their livelihood, and additionally decrease the burden of the receiving country and humanitarian agencies. It is important not to overlook the influence refugees have on other actors such as humanitarian agencies and citizens, however, keep in mind that this is an interplay. With interplay is meant that both, refugees and humanitarian agencies, influence each other's behaviour and decisions.

Analysing spatial strategies of refugees can elaborate how these refugees cope with several difficulties depending on their situation. These refugees face numerous struggles concerning; employing livelihood strategies and access to adequate services or protection. This research will give understanding into the social practices of refugees, the institutional forces and material complexity of how refugees interact with their surroundings. These interactions will be referred to as *spatial* practices. What kind of spatial strategies do refugees create and use to overcome difficulties in order to improve their livelihood? And how are these strategies stimulated or prevented by other actors? Other actors may be humanitarian agencies, UNHCR, or the Tanzanian state and citizens. The scientific purpose of this research is to provide deeper insights into the way in which refugees negotiate their environment to create a better life.

The scientific intention of this research is to investigate the interplay between humanitarian agencies and the refugees who try to improve their livelihoods. How does this interplay affect the spatial strategies of refugees and does this have any subsequent effects for the state and citizens of Tanzania. This problem statement lead me to the following research question:

How do refugees negotiate space?

In order to answer my research question this literature research will contain three sub-questions.

- *How do refugees shape their environment within a refugee camp?*
- *How does the camp impact it's local environment?*
- *What do these local impacts mean for refugees in Tanzania?*

This thesis will focus on the dimension of space rather than the dimension of time. When studies focus upon time, they focus on transition. Time is the dimension of succession, in which things happen after the other. While space is the dimension of things being, thing exist at the same time, simultaneity, this is the dimension of multiplicity (Massey, 2013)[1]. This research will focus on spaciousness, and thereby to the relations that people have with each other but also with their environment. The humanitarian agencies and UNHCR are forming relationships with the refugees, through the camp, through their care and control framework. However, at the same time refugees build relationships with each other, these relationships have an influence on the development of the camp. Refugees also build relationships with others outside the camp, this influences the development of the camp and as well impacts the local surroundings. Everyone; the refugees, UNHCR, people who live outside the camp, are all constructing relations that interrelate. Analysing these relations shows spatial thinking; painting a rich image of all what is happening, showing the multiplicity of the camp. When studies focus upon time and thereby transitions, it is assumed that the camp has a preconceived goal. This goal is not reached because the camp is developing, not only in a way that it is planned, planned by bureaucrats, politics, humanitarian agencies. In addition, the camp is developed by the multiplicity of actions, actions of the refugees themselves. This multiplicity is often missed. The importance of this research is to explore this multiplicity, which helps to change the current image of refugee camps as a 'waiting room'.

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[1] Podcast: http://www.socialsciencespace.com/2013/02/podcastdoreen-massey-on-space/ listened 04-07-2015

1.2. Research methods

Because this is a BSc thesis, my research is constructed on literature instead of fieldwork. To be able to answer this qualitative research question, several methods were used. This chapter debates and justifies the methods used in this qualitative research. First, it debates how the literature review has been conducted. Second, the camp site is analysed, where several case studies were conducted. Herein, the daily realities in a refugee camp, that are hidden under the bureaucratic model of humanitarian agencies, are examined. Moreover, the camp surroundings are analysed.

The literature that is consulted during this thesis has been conducted through several methods. The method of backward snowballing is applied during this thesis, searching for articles via the reference lists of articles found. Additionally, the method of forward snowballing has been useful, finding citations to the papers (Webster & Watson, 2002). Furthermore, information has been gathered via database searches, with the use of search results.

The analyses of the refugee camp and the surroundings with the host communities are as well conducted via backward- and forward snowballing. The cases that are sketched in chapters 4 & 5 are selected based on purposive sampling which is characterised by a targeted selection of cases (Boeije, Hart & Hox, 2009), these cases are gathered via the literature. This research will end with a debate; if we look at refugee studies from a spatial perspective what are the outcomes? Does this give more understanding or does it create room for further research? In this debate, the findings of this research will be presented and discussed.

The method of forward- and backward snowballing guarantees that most of the related literature is included. However, there is always the risk that not all relevant literature is included. Which could weaken the representability of this research. The validity of this research is increased by method triangulation, which improves the reliability and validity for qualitative research. By consulting varied information sources, such as: media, reports, scientific literature, documentaries, government documentations and blogs the validity of this research is enhanced.

2. Analytical framework

This research is focussing on the spatial practices of refugees. An analysis is conducted with the use of the framework Edward Soja offers. Soja's research of space and social spatiality concerns the concepts of *Firstspace, Secondspace* and *Thirdspace.* Soja argues that this trialectically thinking is crucial in understanding space; he mentioned that this is difficult because of the conventional modes of thought that are commonly binary. (Soja, 1996) Research of Edward Soja, with a focus on Thirdspace will be the main theoretical framework that is used to analyse how refugees shape their environment. This chapter will provide understanding in the theory of space and will narrow down to Soja. First the background of sociology of space and the definition of space will be discussed. Secondly, the theory of Henri Lefebvre comes to the fore, as Soja builds further unto his work. Analysing Soja's research on space helps to define the Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace for refugees. Using sociology of space can give a more abstract notion of a camp, reveal structures that are not noticeable at first. Theory of Soja is used to show the interaction between the refugees and their environment, and how this environment is build.

The concept of space is used in many different scientific articles, this concept is related to the sociology of space. This sub-discipline of sociology, sociology of space, examines the social and material structure of spaces. It is focussed on understanding the social practices of people, the institutional forces and material complexity of how people interact with their surroundings. Instead of focussing on people in general, I will rather focus on refugees. The concept of space is often used in scientific articles, but is not set and greatly varies. Studies habitually have a focus upon time, with a time perspective where the focus lies upon transition. With the term of transition it seems that this is the dimension of succession (Massey, 2013), where things happen one after another. This research will focus into spaciousness, upon the dimension of space where things exist at the same time; the dimension of multiplicity. Thereby the relations that people have with each other but also with their environment is studied. The concept of space needs further explanation, in order to create a specific theoretical framework. This following section of this research will first go into depth on the meaning of sociology of space, zooming in on the scholar Lefebvre, before moving to the theory of Soja.

2.1. Theorization of Space

This section will define the term 'space'. Through understanding space we can comprehend more about social actions of individuals but also collective actions. As this term is used in many disciplines of social science, it is defined by various scientists. In the introduction it is mentioned that as time is the dimension of transition, time is the dimension of multiplicity. Massey (2013)[2] explains how space is often referred to as materiality: the land out there. However, she urges that there is also the dimension of space that is equally abstract as the dimension of time. Space concerns our relations with each other, therefore space is social. And social space, according to Massey is the product of these relations and connections. Build further upon this explanation, this research used the definition of space of Henri Lefebve:

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[2] Podcast: http://www.socialsciencespace.com/2013/02/podcastdoreen-massey-on-space/ listened 04-07-2015

"*Itself is the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others*" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 73).

With social space, Lefebvre denotes to the relations that were also mentioned by Massey, that makes space social. Thus, besides the material dimension of space, space is what people make of it, it is a human creation that is not occurring within a vacuum but is influencing people. Hence, space can be defined as the social space in which people live and relate with other people, humanities and surroundings. There is the existence of different dimensions of space, on which will be elaborated later, and these spaces can exist next to each other and interrelate with each other.

2.1.1. Spatial sociology

Spatial sociology explores the various connections between 'space' and 'society'. Previously sociologists demonstrated mainly that all social life exist in the notion of space. In relation to the subject of this thesis is the effect of refugees on camp environment and vice versa; how does the camp affect refugees?

Space has played an inferior role within sociology. Sociologists tried to explain the making of the world, the shaping of society was studied through a time-axis. This assumption was at the heart of modernization theories, where the Western world was the end destination of the development roadmap. This consideration is based upon the idea that the whole world is developing economically, politically and homogenous in the same manner, and is ultimately becoming identical (Gambetti & Jongerden, 2011, p. 376). In the 1980s there was the realisation that shifts in society cannot be fully explained, and that in order to fully explain social components of life space needed to be included into the theory formation of sociology. This new movement in perspective is denoted as the *topological turn* and was primarily set by English and French speaking sociologists, human geographers and philosophers. The reason for this renewed interest was an essay of Michel Foucault in 1976, this was the start of his turn. The name of this essay was '*Of Other Spaces*'(1976), herein Foucault touches the history of the relationship between conceptions of space and science's history. Questioning the construction of space brought new attention to this category of sociology, nonetheless the focus has shifted. Currently the interest is concentrated on space as culturally constructed and space seen as a social product (Hess-Lutich, 2012). The usage of the term space is ambiguous, it is a concept that has been defined through many areas; mathematics, geometry, phenomenology, sociology, cognitive science, psychology and cultural and communication studies. Still, the spatial turn is granted as a defence when there are loose references between these areas. Massey stated that 'space' is one of the most recognisable of things which is mobilised as a word in various different contexts, but whose potential implications are all too rarely explained or touched upon (1999, p.27). Furthermore there was Henri Lefebvre's influential work '*La Production de l'Espace*' (1974), Lefebvre brought back consciousness of space into social sciences. Lefebvre provided spatial theory on which several scholars, including Edward Soja, have further built on. With his theory, he assembled the basis for Marxist spatial theories.

Marxist theories of space, which are predicated on a structural, i.e., capitalist or global determinants of spaces and the growing homogenization of space, are confronted by action theoretical ideas, which stress the importance of the physical placing and the perception of spaces as although habitually predetermined but subjective constructions.

Lefebvre

Marxist theories of space are based on structural spaces that are steered by capitalist or global determinants. Lefebvre's book *'La Production de l'Espace'* got translated in English in 1991. 'The production of Space' pursues to 'explode' everything by readdressing the divisions and cuttings of space. Fragmentising and dislocating several concepts serves particularly ideological ends. According to Lefebvre, separation is ensuring and allowing the misunderstanding around space that is stimulation of the neglection of space into social sciences. Space is not an object or a thing, it is not dead but it is alive. It flows and is ever-changing. By exposing and decrypting space, Lefebvre aims to update and enlarge Marxist spatial theories of production, Marxist theories are built on the structural and global factors of spaces and the growing homogenization of space. However, these theories of space are confronted by theoretical ideas built on action, that note that the perception of spaces is predetermined by subjective creations. As the Marxist theories were structural build were confronted Lefebvre aimed to expand Marxist spatial theories of production. Lefebvre suggests that 'social space' is where the relations of production are produced (Lefebvre, 1973). Space can be constructed by recognizing various frameworks that all are legitimate but leads to contradictions. He argues that dialectical contradictions were not temporal but rather spatial. He sees the production of space by society as a interaction that is dialectical between three factors that constitute space:

- Spatial practice, 'meaning space as reproduced in everyday life'
- Representation of space, 'meaning space as developed cognitively'
- Spaces of representations, 'complex symbolisations and ideational spaces'

Lefebvre argues that space is a social product, or a complex construction that is based on social values and the production of meaning. These products are affecting spatial practices and their perceptions. Lefebvre (1974) explains in his book *'La production de l'Espace'* that space has a multitude of intersections. He points out how important it is to consider that these intersections relate to each other. Space is continually produced, while at the same time it is forming the basis for construction. Not only is space subject to production but also to reproduction. Lefebvre points also out that space is consequential, spatial development is creating tensions and imbalances that were not there before the space was formed (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 99). In his book he argues that there are three aspects to our social existence: first space (*perceived* space), second space (*conceived* space) and Thirdspace (*lived* space). In the last decades of the 20th century there was a redirection of the mainstreams of modernist thought and actions, Lefebvre's spatialization of sociology had a tremendous impact on this movement. Indirectly his work led to a new transdisciplinary field in cultural studies, which is based on the multifaceted spatialities that occur in social life. By creating a transdisciplinary field, Lefebvre aimed to prevent spatial knowledge and practices to be fragmented and classified as a specific speciality. Human life is spatialized, therefore it needed to be merged into every discipline and discourse instead of in one discipline; such as geography or architecture. "*There is no unspatialized reality*" (Soja, 1996, p.46), social processes are always spatial, however, they are often hidden. Edward Soja was intrigued by the work of Lefebvre and build further on the three spatialities, *perceived, conceived* and *lived* space.

2.2. Edward Soja

Edward Soja wrote his book 'Postmodern Geographies' in 1989, this book challenges the paradigm of time with one of space. When Lefebvre's work '*The Production of Space'* got translated, the renewed interest in Lefebvre's writings and ideas stimulated Edward Soja to re-appropriate this book. New opportunities are presented and brings Lefebvre's contributions to debates that are running today on the theorization of space and social spatiality. The purpose of Soja's work is to explore '*The Production of Space'* and create better understanding of the meaning and definition of Thirdspace. Soja argues that our environment is not just a product of history but is a construction of human geography; *"a social construction of space and the continuous reshaping of geographic landscapes"* (Hess-Lütich, 2012, p. 3). With his book he aims that the reader is triggered to think differently about the meanings and importance of space, that creates and embraces the essential spatiality of human life. Soja argues that the spatial dimension of peoples life is highly significant to today's reality. In their daily routines people are dealing with problems; such as discrimination, inclusion & exclusion and environmental degradation. According to Soja (1996), people are nowadays more aware that they are spatial beings, contributors that are active in the social creation of their life and their environment. This awareness of the collective influence that people have on the creation of spatiality and the social concerns, stimulates to make (theoretical & practical) sense of our present-day world that we live in, and how this influences throughout at all scales (Soja, 1996).

In his book *'Post-modern Geographies'*, Soja argues that old perspectives on structuring space, that were mainly constructed on first and second space theories, are no longer adequate to deal with how this world works. This thought is built upon his belief that spaces are not limited within one social category, spaces may include aspects of several categories. He uses the example of two different cultures combined together. When they emerge a third culture is established. The original- and new values and perspectives are constituted within this third hybrid space. This space is different from the first two spaces. In his other book '*Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-And-Imagined Places*' Soja debates that discovering Thirdspace can help explain the complication of poverty, social exclusion and social inclusion, gender and race questions. Related to refugees, analysing Thirdspace in camps will help to gain insights into the lives of refugees and into the practices that cause tensions between humanitarian agencies and the refugees.

Soja compares Thirdspace with the 'Aleph', Aleph is a concept, developed by Jorge Luis Borges, of spatial infinity. Lefebvre used this concept also to define Thirdspace, Aleph is limitless, for time there is eternity, for space there is the Aleph (Borges, 1971). Within Aleph, boundaries are not assumed. Planners design and build walls that function as boundaries. However, from an analytical perspective a place is not self-contained. Relations are stretched beyond these walls, which makes them part of a network of relations. This is related to the multiplicity of the character from the dimension of space.

As mentioned before, Lefebvre described three spatialities: *perceived, conceived* and *lived space*. This lived space is similar to the Aleph, a space full of risks, opportunities, simultaneities. The space of radical openness where social struggle is established. Politics, hopes, dreams and ideals are settled within this space, intertwined with what is real and what is imagined. Social relations of (re)production, exploitation, domination and oppression are clarified by material spatial practices. These practices are driven by capitalism, racism and patriarchy. These spaces are where social struggle, liberation and emancipation is happening because they are dominated spaces that originate at all scales. Examples of these spaces can be found at the 'Third World', spaces of the peripheries, the marginalized and the margins.

2.2.1. Firstspace, Secondspace & Thirdspace

Soja re-appropriated Lefebvre's triad of interrelated spaces; *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* space, he described three spaces: Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace.

Firstspace

This dimension is focussed on the 'real' material world, it is the world viewed from the top of a skyscraper. According to Soja (1996) Firstspace is usually interpret at two levels, the first level focuses on the accurate description of the surface appearance, while the other level examines for spatial explanation in social and physical processes. Perceived space and spatial practices are analysed within Firstspace. These practices are material and physical spatiality, that is directly understood by measurable formations, therefore this space is more empirical. It contains the absolute and relative locations of activities and objects, sites and situations. Spaces and places in this space are concrete and mappable that exist in our worlds; stretching from our emotional and behavioural space to spatial organization of social practices that are more complex. These practices shape our daily actions in households, schools, buildings and worldwide geopolitics. Material forms of things in space are fixated by Firstspace. Primarily, human spatiality is seen as a result or product of these practices.

Secondspace

Within this space the conceived space is central, with the contained assumption that by extensively developing representations of space, spatial knowledge is produced. This spatial knowledge is produced through the mechanisms of the mind. This space is completely abstract, conceived or imaginations are creating projections into the world that is empirical. This space is highly; reflexive, subjective, introspective, philosophical, in short this space revolves around the individual. The Secondspace elucidates the world by representations of the world that is 'imagined', the world of subjective imaginaries. Thus, this is the space of planners and bureaucrats.

Thirdspace

This space can be described as ascending by deconstructing and empirical reconstruction of the duality between the Firstspace and Secondspace. Soja defines Thirdspace as:

"Everything comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconsciousness, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history." (Soja, 1996, p. 57)*.*

Thirdspace can be re-described as arising from the sympathetic deconstruction and empirical reconstitution of the Firstspace-Secondspace duality. Thirdspace is for Soja the privileged space of analysis (Alan Latham, 2011). Although, the three dimensions are inherently privileged *a priori*, there is emphasis, special attention given to the Thirdspace, the *lived* space by Soja but also by Lefebvre (Soja, 1996). People give meaning to Thirdspace, a constant and rapidly changing space in which we live; Thirdspace is therefore the experience of living. This space has the strategic location from which all is included, can be understood, and even potentially transform the other spaces all together. The lived social space is limitless, more than the other spaces, Lefebvre's Aleph, as mentioned before this is the space of social struggle, possibilities and threats. An example that can be used to describe Thirdspace is a market square. When the market is seen as a geographical area, the centre of a town, this would be Firstspace. On the other hand, this area is also a place where goods are exchanged by buyers and sellers, this is the Secondspace. With a Thirdspace perspective, this place is seen as a place where people come together, they socialize, gossip and local and regional products are purchased. By

doing so, there is meaning given to this place, although individual experiences can differ. In order to keep continuing the practical and theoretical understanding of Thirdspace, Soja argues that there is the necessity to expose an additional theme; a perilous strategy of *thirding-as-Othering*.

Thirding-as-Othering

In order to analyse and understand Thirdspace, trialectically thinking is essential, this way of thinking is stimulated by *thirding-as-Othering*. Soja suggest that this theme, *thirding-as-Othering,* is crucial to the Thirdspace meaning and knowledge. Lefebvre already started with reducing the decoy of binarism (1974), binarism is the opposition between two terms; subject-object, mental-material, natural-social, local-global etc. By persistently introducing an-Other term Lefebvre introduced a third option that joins the original two, nonetheless it is not a just a combination or an position in between the two terms. This thirding presents a critical choice that is 'other-than' the other two, it expresses and evaluate through its 'otherness'. This term derives from; disordering, deconstruction, and tentative rebuilding the totality that is presumed of the other two options, therefore thirding produces an alternative that is open to similarity and differentiation. Thus, thirding-as-Othering is the primarily and vital step to transform binarism, according to Soja(1996). Thirding-as-Othering stimulates trialectically thinking, that is essential in analysing and understanding Thirdspace.

Lefebvre (1974) continuously worked in triads; three terms that are interrelated, dependent on and independent of one another. He produced *trialectics of space* (figure 1)*;* the *perceived* space*, conceived* space and the *lived* space.
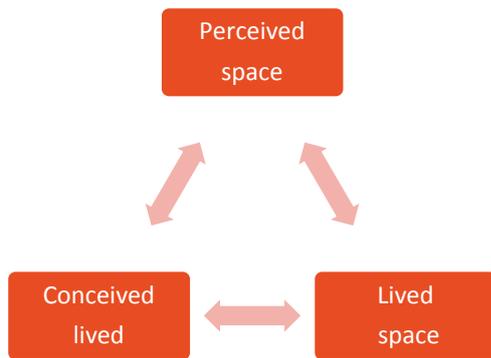
Figure 1: Lefebvre 's trialectics of space   **Figure 2: Soja 's trialectics of space**
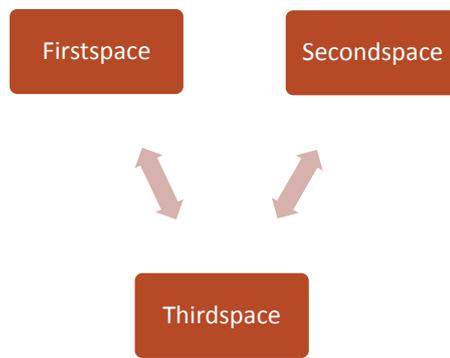
Although, Soja further explored Lefebvre's work, his approach is slightly different. Soja (1996) assumes that Thirdspace is formed by deconstructing and empirical reconstructing the duality between the Firstspace and Secondspace (figure 2). Thirdspace as a concept is not sacred, by this critique Soja meant that it is important to not stop at three, it's not his purpose to build a holy trinity. He argues that it is necessary to build further, to proceed and continuously expand producing the knowledge afar from what is currently acknowledged.

2.3. Concluding remarks

As described above, the central theory of Thirdspace is an adjustment to the traditional geographical dialect between historicality and the social. Thereby the perspective of Firstspace is focused on the real material world and the Secondspace interprets the world by 'imagined' representations. Soja (1996) creates spatiality by inserting Thirdspace. Thereby a trialectic way of thinking is stimulated through *thirding-as-Othering*, wherein Thirdspace is a space of openness and a place of critical exchange. Previously, before binary thinking was addressed, perspectives could be considered mismatched. Through including incompatibles into binary thinking, hence looking at Thirdspace, the knowledge to understand space will increase.

Propositions with a modernist perspective offer the choices of 'either/or'. However, when the dichotomies and polarities of for instance; race, class, local, global and gender will be combined there will be a formation of 'both/and also' analyses. These choices are offered by a post-modern way of thinking, thus Thirdspace has the potential to provide a theoretical manner in which refugee camps can be viewed.

Initially Soja was motivated by the increased problems concerning environmental degradation, poverty, racism and world conflicts. Since the initial publication of his book around Thirdspace, this concept has attained even larger significance. Since, the problematic cases and spread of these problems have amplified and continue to spread. (Soja, 1996) The level of significance will be analysed by following chapters that concern the case of refugee camps in Tanzania.

With this theoretical background of Soja, this thesis will look into how a refugee camp is planned and how refugees act. How the camp is planned with a specific purpose, and how do refugees respond to this? And in particular, how does this tension influence the development of a refugee camp. This theoretical framework of Soja, brings these tensions between planners and refugees to the fore, revealing the tensions that are not visible at first sight. How refugees behave is dependent on the planning and materiality of the camp, these two concepts are closely related. Nonetheless, this thesis will target the dimension of experience, the dimension of Thirdspace. This dimension that reveals the multiplicity displays the practices of refugees. Through showing the multiplicity of ongoing, simultaneous, occurring practices the totality of Thirdspace comes to the fore. Emphasizing the refugees' negotiations.

3. Tanzania: refugees haven

In order to understand how refugees shape their environment in refugee camps in Tanzania, it is necessary to understand why they arrived at these sites and what the refugee management strategy is from the Tanzanian government & UNHCR. UNHCR's Tanzanian operation is mostly concerned with refugees who fled from Democratic Republic of Congo (DR Congo). These refugees had to flee due to the civil wars that occurred since 1996 in the eastern part of the DR Congo, and who have yet been unable to return. Additionally, there are many Burundian refugees who are still found in need of international protection since they fled their villages in the 19990s. These refugees are additionally to the ones that fled due to the genocide in 1972. In January 2015, there were 37,790 refugees originated from Burundi and 59,440 refugees originated from DR Congo, 160 refugees are from other countries (Global Appeal 2015). A brief overview of backgrounds that forced people to flee to Tanzania will be discussed in this chapter as this is of great influence on the refugee approach of the government of Tanzania. As most refugees originated from Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo, first the background of Burundian refugees will be discussed and the background of Congo hereafter. This chapter will end with a paragraph that will discuss the refugee approach of the government of Tanzania.

3.1. Background of Burundian refugees

Burundi has suffered from 40 years of violence since the country gained independence from Belgium in 1962, this violence involved the state's two main ethnic groups: Hutu and Tutsi.

In response to an attempted Hutu rebellion on 29 April 1972, the Burundi army, mostly members of the Tutsi minority group, initiated mass killings of the majority Hutu ethnic group (Malkki, 1995). An estimated 3.5% of the country's population, 100.000 people at that time, were killed within a few weeks. During the year 1988, groups of Hutu reorganised themselves and led attacks against the Tutsi in the north of the country. As a reaction, the Tutsi-led army murdered thousands of Hutus, the number of murdered Hutus is estimated between 5.000 till 50.000 people.

When Melchior Ndadaye got elected in 1993, he became the first democratically elected Hutu, and run a pro-Hutu policy. However, during the same year in October, Ndadaye got assassinated by Tutsi soldiers, and another round of violence started. After the newly elected Hutu president Cyprien Ntaryamira got killed early in 1994 and the plane with the Rwandian president Juvenal Habyarimana got shot down, the violence worsened into a genocide. The increased violence that followed after this murder resulted into approximately 300.000 people that died. These waves of violence forced many people to flee to Tanzania.

3.1.1. Current situation in Burundi

In November 2003 the ceasefire agreement got signed by the Forces for Defence of Democracy (FDD), the major Hutu rebel group (Insight on Conflict, 2015). The last Hutu rebel group, the Forces for National Liberation (FNL), officially stopped in 2009 as an armed group and converted into a political party. Currently the government is ethnically mixed according with the constitution with 60% Hutus

and 40% Tutsi's, this government is led by president Pierre Nkurunziza. The political situation, however, remains very fragile. Next presidential elections are scheduled for 15 July 2015, and Nkurunziza declared to run for a third term, even though the constitution allows a maximum for two presidential turns. There was an attempted governmental takeover during May 2015. The major barriers for stability and peace in Burundi are; extreme poverty, lack of law and the ongoing violations of human rights. Another barrier is the difficulty for former rebels to integrate in state institutions. The effect of armed conflicts might continue long after the end of war (Voors, 2013). One of these effects are the huge number of persons who fled the country to Tanzania.

3.2. Needs and humanitarian strategies of Tanzania

This section will draw an impression of Tanzania's approach to form durable solutions for refugees. First, there is Julius Nyerere's approach (1962 till 1985) and Benjamin Mkapa (1995 till 2005), then recent shifts in Tanzania's approach under Jakaya Kikwete (2005 till present) will come to the fore.

3.2.1. Self-sufficiency approach

Tanzania is one of the most politically stable countries in Eastern Africa, therefore Tanzania received over the years a large number of refugees (Turner, 2010). When the first Hutu refugees fled Burundi, they got resettled in scarcely populated areas far from the border. By giving them large plots to farm and cultivate Burundian refugees became self-sufficient through self-settlement, they even produced a surplus for the local market (Malkki, 1995). Tanzania's preparedness to host Rwandan and Burundian refugees has been linked to the perspective that refugees represent opportunities to attract the necessary resources, to increase the economic development by settlement in scarcely populated regions of the country (Milner, 2013). Tanzania got commended for their hospitality and their approach towards the country's management of refugees. Refugees got perceived with the general agro-developmentalist framework of Nyerere's *Ujamaa* (Turner, 2010). Nyerere's was the president of Tanzania, from 1961 till 1985, his politics was guided by African socialism by three central principles: sharing of the resources which are produced by the efforts of all people, work by everyone in an economy that is based on agriculture, nobody get exploited. These three principles would lead to equality and respect for human dignity . *Ujamaa* stands for socialism in the sense of familyhood (Odei Ajei, 2007). A highlight for this hospital approach happened in the year 1980, when 36.000 Rwandan refugees got naturalised, they were granted citizenship in Tanzania.

3.2.2. Shift to temporary care and maintenance

The country adopted a firmer approach towards refugee management in the 1990s after Benjamin Mkapa got selected as president (Turner,2010). There was a shift to an approach of 'temporary care and maintenance' management rather than self-sufficiency. Instead of allocating land for agriculture, land was mainly made available for housing. This was the response after the renewed conflict and genocide in Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire, that occurred during the mid-1990s. As this happened within a short period of time, this event is often used as justification for the dramatic change in Tanzania's

approach to refugees (Turner,2010). The first change in policy occurred in March 1995 when the government decided to close the border with Burundi, afterwards the government announced that all Rwandan refugees were required to leave Tanzania by the end of 1996. This led to the returning of 483.000 refugees to Rwanda in 1996, sometimes with the use of force (Milner, 2013).

In the year 1996, there was a new beginning of multiple parties in the government of Tanzania, the new president Benjamin Mkapa got elected. With the start of multi-partyism some changes occurred in the Tanzanian foreign policy. President Nyerere was keen to host a refugee population actively in contrast to the oppressive regimes in their origin country, this was frequently financial supported by regional relations and occasionally at the expense of the security of Tanzania. The new different Tanzanian regime pursued an active policy of upholding respectable relations with all neighbouring countries, regardless of their philosophy (Milner, 2013). Giving priority to regional relations, Tanzania adopted a policy for the region of cooperation and conciliation. In order to maintain good relations between Kigali and Dar es Salaam, this policy carried out through the expulsion of Rwandan refugees.

Emphasizing how Tanzania's approach toward refugees has changed in the 1990s is crucial. The focus on self-sufficiency through local settlement got swapped by an emphasis on exile and integration of refugees into the community replaced by exclusion (Milner, 2013). The event of expulsing Rwandan refugees was the beginning of this policy of exclusion into Tanzania's refugee policy. During the year 1997 Burundian refugees who lived outside the camps got round-up, justifying that this was necessary to protect Tanzanians who lived in the areas near the borders. During the *Ujamaa* refugees were opportunities for economic development, but with this shift in refugee politics they are rather a security issue (Turner, 2010). In 2003, Tanzania's National Refugee Policy classified many restrictions; including restrictions on the freedom of movement and economic activities. Furthermore, the granting of citizenship as a durable solution for refugees was dismissed, identifying the best solution for the refugee problem was voluntary repatriation (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 2003).

3.2.3. Tanzanian's refugee management approach, a new phase?

The option of naturalization emerged again during the elections of 2005. Point 10 of the manifest of party CCM, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution), was a promise to make Tanzania 'refugee-free' by the year of 2010 (Nordic Consulting Group, 2010). This may have been a continuation for the National Refugee Policy of 2003, and used as an incentive to vote for CCM. In line with upcoming elections the national government of Tanzania promised to close the remaining camp for Burundian refugees, Mtabila, by stimulating voluntary return to Burundi. This promise did not include the old settlements of Burundians who remained in self-settlement camps: Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu. However, during a meeting in 2006 the governments of Burundi and Tanzania stated their need to close both, the camps and the self-settlements. As the self-settlements were not included into the UNCHR program, UNCHR was caught off-guard but responded with a strategy known as the Tanzania Comprehensive Solutions Strategy. UNHCR accepted the closure of both the camps and self-settlements, however UNHCR questioned the durability of the solution to repatriate the refugees from self-settlements. Instead, they looked into the possibility for a neutralization process and stated that adequate resources were crucial to complete the neutralization process by the end of 2008 (Milner, 2003). The number of 162.000 Burundian refugees got into this neutralization process.

However, in June 2011 the Minister of Home Affairs acknowledged that there had yet to be any relocation from the self-settlements. He stated that in response to several concerns expressed by several actors, the government will consider their decision, and that the relocation action remained under review. No relocations had occurred from the settlements and no new plan has been presented by the government in 2012. Again, the Minister of Home Affairs stated in September 2012 that the process of naturalization would need to be reconsidered in the light of the various concerns (Milner, 2013).

The process of naturalization for Burundian refugees came in brighter light during September 2014, when the President of Tanzania authorized the relevant authorities to start the issuance of naturalization certifications. More than 162.000 Burundian refugees would get this certifications, leading to the necessity for UNCHR to find permanent housing solutions for this population (UNHCR, 2015). Together with partners, the UNHCR stated that they will support the Government of Tanzania with the implementation of programmes that will support livelihoods and the local integrations into the old self-settlements Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu, at these sites the former Burundian refugees will be located (UNHCR Global Appeal 2015). Refugee camps are mostly located in the border areas of Tanzania, the refugee camps are located typically north-east.

3.3. Concluding remarks

The shift from self-settlement to an approach of temporary care and maintenance management is important to comprehend as this influences the way in which refugees negotiate their space. This shift in management has several impacts for refugees and can stimulate the rise of tensions between the refugees and the humanitarian agencies. These shifts in management approaches cause several implications for the *lived* environment. Repatriation of refugees and the closing of refugee camps can rise tensions in the remaining camp as these become under pressure under a new influx of refugees. These consequences has a high influence on the Thirdspace as this is the space where social struggle is established.

4. The exceptional space of a refugee camp

This chapter describes the spatial dimensions of the refugee camp. Through introducing the camp through Thirdspace, the struggles of refugees are revealed. The Thirdspace offers room for refugees to recapture and reconstruct their *lived* space. Within this thesis Thirdspace is the totality, whereas Firstspace and Secondspace are analytical dimensions. When Thirdspace gets pulled apart, Firstspace and Secondspace are deducted. Firstspace will give an image of a refugee camp from a birds-eye point of view, showing the daily practices that happen in the camp, emphasizing patterns. How a refugee camp is planned and conceived is described in the Secondspace, starting off with the standard model of a refugee camp before zooming in on camp Lukole in Tanzania. By dint of pulling Thirdspace apart, analyses of Firstspace and Secondspace can be progressively constructed. The image of refugee camps as waiting rooms is contested through spatial thinking.

4.1. Thirdspace

Refugee camps are full of dynamics. A refugee camp is carefully planned by UNHCR and the Tanzanians authorities. Creating this place of neutrality, based upon the idea that human rights and needs are universal and identical. However, this idea of neutrality is not compatible to the desires and ideologies that the refugees brought with them. Desires and ideologies are based upon relations. These relations have a hierarchic character; between sexes, generations and between rich and poor. Living at a refugee camp has the consequence that these old structured are contested, changed or restructured. Different dynamics are occurring in refugee camps, pin pointing the multiplicity of the camp. The dynamics in camp Lukole stretch beyond sections such as: food ratio's, allocating plots and providing a 'normal' life for refugees. This refugee camp is full of hectic dynamics; places that arise that were not planned, feelings of tension occur that were not predicted, motions of politics happened that were not visible. Rules were carefully made by UNHCR and humanitarian agencies. Most time of the humanitarian staff was spend on designing rules and systems to ensure that refugees did not break them, while refugees spend their time to bend this rules in a way that would meet their desires and ideologies Turner, 2010). These dynamics show the multiplicity of camp space. This is Lukole's Thirdspace, the 'lived' dimension of space. This space offers room to resist, subvert and re-imagine (Soja, 1996). Everyday realities and hegemonic ideologies get re-imagined, the potential to make or re-make space is offered. Through critical transformation and civic participation generative possibilities remakes reality. Within this dimension the multiplicity of a refugee camp comes to the fore.

As mentioned in chapter 3, Thirdspace is a deconstruction and reconstitution of the duality between First- and Secondspace. Therefore descriptions of the First- and Secondspace of refugee camps are needed to understand this duality. After describing the First- and Secondspace, four cases show the three dimensions of space in Camp Lukole and will zoom into different relations that are contested.

4.2. Firstspace

Firstspace is considered the space of daily practices, locations, routines, infrastructure and about relations that are established and reproduced (Lefebvre, 1991). Soja (1996) refers to this as dubbed 'Firstspace', space where everyday practices are 'perceived' as normal. This space aims to ensure continuity and cohesion. Firstspace is described from an eye-perspective, all that is perceivable. This includes accurate descriptions of surface appearances but also daily practices, activities and patterns. Lukole's camp community consists of several tents, the camp is divided into camp blocks, where each block represents a community; resulting in a final complete camp of different sectors. Which offers housing to 20.000 refugees in the most idyll situation. Each sector of the camp has specific services, this is based upon a planning approach established on hygiene and order. These services contains: latrines, feeding- and health centres, distribution points and a hospital. Each camp sector has an exact number of latrines and a school, water taps can be found at a central place within each camp block. Camp units are often designed as rectangle areas, this creates a hierarchical matrix. This matrix of spaces is created from the smallest unit of the tent, to the whole camp area. Communities and blocks are separated by smaller paths, whereas the larger camp sectors are divided by larger roads for motorized traffic (Handbook for emergencies, 2007, p. 215). Turner provides a detailed description of Lukole's camp planning from a bird's eye perspective. This perspective gives perfect intel into the Firstspace of this refugee camp. The plots are equally sized in a square shape, arranged along broad roads. Looking at the uniformity of the tents, gives the impression that refugees have little influence in planning their space. From the outside of the camp, the first view are the straight lines of blue and white tents. The neat grid of tents gets broken by a few larger structures, mainly the food distribution centres. At these centres the trucks of the World Food Programme (WFP) unload their sacks of corn from ECHO (European Community Humanitarian aid Office) and USAID (The United States Agency for International Development). The planning of the UNCHR is designed to give a concrete and mappable image of the management of a refugee camp. When a refugee registers at the entrance they received a ration card and a clearly defined plot with a street, block and plot number. At this plot they would build their hut, according to given regulations. First the refugees had to dig a pit latrine, with certain measurements from a specific distance of their hut. Refugees received food rations and basic household belongings, such as pots, jerry cans, blankets and plastic sheeting. At the refugee camp was also one large market. As Turner (2010) mentioned; they were kept alive and expected to do as little as possible (p. 16). When the fences are left behind, while entering the camp, there is an enormous energy and hustle, the streets show the image of a Third World city. People walking and cycling around, shouting to one another, drinking and hanging on the streets. This description from a bird's eye perspective, supports the analysis of the perceived space and spatial practices within Lukole. The material things within this camp are fixated within Firstspace, the spatiality of the refugee is the result, nonetheless contested by Secondspace.

Remote sensing studies

Remote sensing studies can provide an detailed (perceived) image that contributes to an analysis of the Firstspace dimension of refugee camps. Soja (1996) argues that spatial science is currently increasingly focussed on Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and remote sensing. These two tools collect and organise massive data banks that help to describe the empirical content of Firstspace (Soja, 1996, p.76). European Commission's research centre initiated a joint research from the Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen and the Institute for the Environment and Sustainability (S.

Giada , T. De Groeve, D. Ehrlich & P. Soille, 2003). This research collected data from refugee camp Lukole in September 2000, at the same time the European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) of the European Union reported that over 130 000 refugees lived in the camp. Collected statistics on refugees are required to estimate and justify the resources that are needed to collect from donors. Not only for donors, but governments as well use statistics for security purposes and to predict the impact of refugees, socially and economically. The information that is collected through satellite can significantly complement the information that is traditionally derived from observations in the field (Bjorgo, 2000). The number of tents give an accurate estimate for the number of refugees in camp Lukole. As this study is derived from satellite images, it provides a clear image from the Firstspace dimension in camp Lukole. Lukole viewed from the top of a skyscraper, that shows the conceived space. Accurate maps, formed by these images can provide measurable formations that contribute to describing the empirical content of Firstspace (S. Giada , T. De Groeve , D. Ehrlich & P. Soille ,2003). Manual counting by a human operator is practical not feasible, due to the high number of tents at the Lukole refugee camp. The study of S. Giada et all, used a statistical extrapolation technique in order to estimate the number of tents. The number of refugees that is derived from the statistics is estimated between 119 970 and 162 804, the study of ECHO obtained the estimates of occupancy rates per tent (5-6 person).

4.3. Secondspace

This space, Secondspace, is the 'conceived' space. According to Soja (1996), this space is the representation of power and ideology, of control and surveillance. This space shows the 'ideal' of how society should be or has been planned. The design of a refugee camp was deliberated and ordered so that the space itself stimulates discipline.

4.3.1. Refugee camp, unique form of habitation

How is a refugee camp planned and designed? The way in which human settlements are designed are a potential tool of governance (Stevenson, 2011). According to Stevenson, refugee camps are temporary spaces created between war and city, therefore they position a unique place. The way in which the environment of refugee camps is built, is a primary mediation in refugees access to services, feelings of safety and their ability to connect with networks that stretch outside the camp. As mentioned above, Secondspace is the representation of power and ideology, of control and surveillance. Malkki (1995), argues that the Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and the international humanitarian agencies, pursued to create a spatial order by hosting the refugees into camps. This spatial order would provide the basis for creating further kind of order: medical and sanitary, social and economic, documentary and legal. Malkki stated that to gain regularization of the refugee status and the creating of a 'normal' life for refugees, the spatial ordering of refugees was a necessary condition. According to Stevenson (2002), the planned layout of a refugee camp is a the primary mediator in refugees access to services, it provides feelings of safety and a connection to the wider community.

Standard model for a refugee camp

There are worldwide millions of people considered refugees, and there are currently nearly a thousand refugee camps (Herz, 2009). Architects and planners of the UNHCR usually plan refugee camps. In the "UNHCR Handbook for Emergencies" the standard model for a refugee camp is described. The fundamental planning approach for camps is characterized by (perceived) neutrality, this is based on the idea that human rights and human needs are everywhere universal and identical. Site selection is based upon several issues that are taken in consideration: accessibility, health risks and climate. The handbook presents a tool named 'the masterplan' (p. 215), which helps the planning of the physical organization of the refugee camp. The smallest basic unit that is taken part of the standardized plan, is a tent and the refugee family. After this small unit the handbook is moving towards a 'camp community' approach, this section is named modular planning

The handbook is developed on an technical level, even though the setting is highly political and full of conflicts. Herz (2009) states that the handbook largely ignores political and social consequences that planning decision cause. He correspondingly argues, that overall the image of a refugee camp suggests an idealized city of the 1920s with a structured organization, low density, and clear separation of functions and uses. Focus of the management of a refugee camp lies upon order and hygiene. The concept of hygiene is noticeable at a direct level, the importance of health conditions, sanitations and transmittable diseases is clear in the planning and camp management.

4.3.2. Camp Lukole in Tanzania

Camp Lukole is planned by UNHCR's site planner and gives the impression of a an extremely well structured space (Turner, 2010). All funds from donors for managing the camp are channelled through UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies, this shows how important UNHCR is for the governance of the camp (Turner, 2010). The driving forces behind this planning are efficiency and bureaucracy. Camp Lukole was planned to mix the refugees and allocate plots according to their time of arrival, notwithstanding of their place of origin or ethnic race. Turner mentions that humanitarian agencies prime concern is the well-being of the refugees, for example the morbidity rates et cetera. While the Tanzanian government is mostly worried about the threatening effects of refugees, consequently every move of refugees is obstructed. The registration, food distribution, health, education and roads were taken care of by humanitarian agencies, although the restrictions imposed on the refugees was done by the Tanzanian's Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA). All these categories were carefully planned. UNHCR was responsible for registration, Tanzanian Red Cross Society (TRCS) divided the household plots, World Food Programme (WFP) organised the food transport (food donated by USAID and ECHO) hereafter TRCS distributed the food into the two food distribution centres, and the African Education Foundation (AEF) was in charge of the education. To emphasize the temporary character of the camp, the Tanzanian authorities did not allowed building secondary schools. AEF was also responsible for health services; running three hospitals, and 'community services. The refugee population was divided into several sub-groups, this division was depending on the refugees degree of vulnerability.

Planning to keep the refugees in camp Lukole was successful, keeping them alive and safe. However, the humanitarian agencies got worried that their work would produce passive people who would suffer from a 'dependency syndrome' (Turner, 2010). Dependency syndrome is caused by the structural limitations to which refugees are bounded in camps (Abdi, 2005). Refugees' social and economic

networks are interrupted, therefore humanitarian agencies are concerned that long-term living in a refugee camp can have a negative impact onto the future reintegration of refugees into their home countries. The UNHCR responds in an attempt to combat dependency by trying to increase participation: '*Refugee participation helps build the values and sense of community that contribute to reducing protection problems*'(Turner, 2010, p. 50). To promote refugee participation each block, street and village had a leader, this leader was elected by the refugees. Their tasks were to mediate between the refugee population and the agencies, and spreading information from the agencies to the population.

4.4. Cases

As described above, the spatial dimensions of the refugee camp are identified. However, if specific situations are analysed through spatial thinking a rich image of all what is happening can be created. Presenting the multiplicity of the camp. A refugee camp has a preconceived goal, planned by bureaucrats, Tanzanian authorities and humanitarian agencies. Nonetheless, this goal is not reached since the camp is continually developing. The camp is developing by the multiplicity of actions, these actions are made by the refugees themselves. Through analysing these specific four cases, this multiplicity will come to the fore. By starting off with the Thirdspace, exposing the struggles and attempts of refugees to recapture camp, lived space becomes prominent. By dint of pulling Thirdspace apart, gradually analyses of Firstspace and Secondspace are constructed. Through spatial thinking the image of refugee camps as waiting rooms is contested.

4.4.1. Case I: Market, a heterogeneous space

Thirdspace
The market, had an urban atmosphere; containing different allures and temptations. At the market people got drunk, stepped out of their misery (Turner, 2010). Turner describes that this was the place where people felt free from all the bonds and norms that limited people in the villages back in Burundi. There was space for anonymity, prostitution and promiscuity. The market threatened the morality and Burundian customs and was therefore highly dangerous. Although, refugees social position determined the perception of the market. The man who baked *mandazi (*form of fried bread) in camp Lukole, explained that women could better avoid to visit the market (Turner, 2010, p.74). If they went to the market to enjoy themselves, they would be considered prostitutes. On the contrary for men it was not a problem to go to the market and listen to music or have a drink, women got subjected to the image that they needed to be controlled, they couldn't resist the freedom and temptations of the market.

Firstspace
At the market people sat down and drank Pepsi or bottled beer, and eat brochettes in little restaurants La Vedette and One-One Love Bar (Turner, 2010). There were also less fancy bars, most refugees here drank maize beer from plastic cans which they shared, they would sit in the open air or in improvised shelters of plastic sheets. Turner (2010) describes that when walking over the market, you would hear

refugees talking; rumours and gossips. At the market place refugees would watch movies or listen to music. At some bars, little rooms could be rented for an hour, men would go in here with women.

Secondspace

The UNHCR and Tanzanian Red Cross Society (TRCS) decided where the market would be located (Turner, 2010). After this was settled, several ways of regulation were planned. Each vendor at the market had to pay a daily tax to the camp commandant. Among the traders several committees were established, for regulating the organization of different kind of activities. The market was divided in several sections, one section for the bars, maize dealers in another section, and the butchers far from the other sections for hygienic reasons et cetera. These committees were also responsible for hygiene issues and planning the guarding shifts for the nights. The MHA ordered that the shops had to close by 6 P.M, and the bars by 9 P.M (Whitaker, 2002b). Furthermore, trading outside the designated markets was prohibited. Refugees could enjoy themselves at this marketplace. Finding fortune by starting businesses.

4.4.2. Case II: Gender relations

Thirdspace

At the forefront of the concerns of refugees were sexual relations. Due to the 'excluded side', a place outside Burundi, as well outside Tanzania, there is the image of a place that is lawlessness where there is high social and moral decay. In camp Lukole there were several issues; naming polygamy, wife-beating, underage sex/marriages and as mentioned earlier prostitution. Social and moral norms were disappearing (Turner, 2010).

Not unexpectedly, the traditional male role in Burundian society was challenged by many aspects of camp life. Precisely, many male refugees complained that their role in the household was effectively suppressed by the UNHCR, "*UNHCR now provides housing for my family, food for my kids, and clothing for my wife. What use am I anymore?*" (UNHCR, 1999). As their traditional role was challenged, this led to feelings of anger, frustration, uncertainty, and helplessness among the male refugees. Which occasionally led to violence against women in the refugee camps (UNHCR, 1999). The different pressures: uncertainties, housing, security, food and other difficulties that refugees face in camps increased domestic situations, stimulating the increase in violence. One specific section of the refugee camp system that challenged the traditional male role, was the food distribution system.

Firstspace

Women often worked for the NGO's as a teacher, medical assistants or community workers. When the wife earned the money, she bought clothes for her husband and children. Living in a refugee camp caused individuals to act in a certain way. Women split their wages, giving half to their husband and kept the other half. Some of the male head of the households repeatedly acted foolishly; selling food for cash on the streets, taking a second girlfriend or second family. Spending money on girls at the market. Their wife and children left behind, when women questioned such behaviour they faced the risk of getting beaten or threatened. When the ration card got issued in women's names, this couldn't stop the domestic situations. Visibly, bad domestic situations happened indoors, where UNHCR had no control over what happened. Husbands still sold food for cash on the street. Even after the adjustments to the food distribution system, this couldn't control what happened to family's ration cards within households.

Secondspace

Numerous programmes of the UNHCR, targeted specific vulnerable groups, such as women, elderly, youth and children (Turner, 2010). As explained before in section 4.3.2., the camp was divided by the UNHCR into groups that were selected on their level of vulnerability. Refugee women were encouraged to take up roles as street leaders, security guards or working for the NGO's. Women were imaged as less difficult and less into politics than men. These roles asked a lot of responsibility of women and gave them certain power.

This approach of the UNHCR to empower women was against the refugees' image of the ideal Burundian woman, who obeys and respects her husband. In public women were supposed to be shy and quiet, working hard at the house and decently dressed (Turner, 2010). According to Burundian customs, noisy women are considered prostitutes and less-likely to be a good wife. Refugees interpreted their surroundings in relation to these customs, and acted upon these interpretations.

The food distribution system was organised by the TRCS, and ensured that each head of the family, male or female, received the food ration on behalf of their family. Women have the right to obtain their own ration cards, but caused by fear of their husband's reaction they are unwilling to do so. As a response, the food system got adjusted to include more women in the food committees.

4.4.3. Case III: Politics in camp Lukole

Thirdspace

Any political activity was banned in refugee camps in Tanzania. However, two rival Hutu opposition parties were actively recruiting members in camp Lukole (Turner, 2001). Leaders of political parties were feared in the camp by other refugees. These leaders created a goal for themselves, and took their future into their own hands. They defied the UNHCR and Tanzanian law, lived by their own rules. By getting involved in underground politics, they felt as they took back their dignity from the UNHCR, and revived their masculinity. For the UNHCR these young men were potentially dangerous, as they threatened the image of refugees as victims. The isolating space of the camp was transformed into a lived space that made sense to the refugees, and these young men played a crucial role in this transformation. They recaptured or reinvented the camp by breaking with the stereotype of Hutu naivety, this way they also broke the image of eternal victims (Turner, 2010). Because politics operated underground it was dangerous and interesting. Politics had a dangerous note as it was illegal, however, it was interesting as it offered an alternative to the bureaucratised space of the humanitarian agencies. Merging politics in a refugee camp pointed towards a broader horizon (Lischer, 2000), it revealed the dynamics behind the food rations and the UNHCR women's committees. Within this Thirdspace a constant struggle is taking place, where refugees try to avoid the genocide label that is pinned upon political antagonists. While refugees also try to shake off their position of victims. Inside this struggle, the probability rises that old ethnic stereotypes re-emerge (Malkki, 1995). This can happen in new and unexpected manners, they are unexpected because they arise in a different environment under new structures. Nonetheless, they often reverse into their original meaning that is related to the conflict in the country of origin, Burundi.

Firstspace

Mostly, young men found jobs within NGO's, these jobs held equally important positions in the camp. By taking these jobs these men gained access to different resources and power. They were the intermediaries between NGO's, their functions were to provide medical assistance, education, social services and security. Their position as mediating between the NGO's and the refugees population enabled them to build op networks, horizontal networks with each other and vertical networks of support. The formal leadership of the camp was interconnected with these networks, and strongly linked to underground political parties. Leaders of a party showed strength and earned respect of other refugees, they walked around with pride. Political activity was banned by the camp authorities, thus it happened underground and hence it got a criminal nature to get involved into politics. The camp was split through rumours and violence into two territories for the party National Council for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD) and Palipehutu. In 2004 this split caused widespread violence in camp Lukole (Turner, 2010).

Secondspace

Antagonisms fuel civil wars, when these antagonisms cross state boundaries they can appear into refugee camps. These antagonisms are linked to the country of origin. When ethnicity becomes politicized, political violence can be the result (Lischer, 2000). The vulnerability to civil war of a state can significantly increase through the influx of refugees from neighbouring countries. Thus, UNHCR banned all political activity in refugee camps, as the history of the Burundian refugees formed a threat. Lischer (2000) argues, political violence is a tool for competition for power and resources among refugees, different ethnic groups form the basis for making claims on and seeking compensation from the political system. Mostly the elites, make use of this political violence. Young men in camp Lukole stepped in on the position of elites, by getting involved in networks.

When a young man became member of a political party, his chance to get a job at a NGO would increase. Becoming a member of a political party was a strategic move, as it would strengthen the refugees' position in the community. Moreover, it gave the refugee a sense of an identity. Political party leaders distinct themselves from other young men, whom just played cards and get drunk at the market.

4.4.4. Case IV: Movement

Thirdspace

Lived space is created by movement, by footprints of refugees moving through the camp. Not only through the camp but also outside the camps, refugees didn't remain in the isolation zone; waiting to be fed and clothed. Therefore they risked to get caught by guards or local vigilant groups, when they left the 4 kilometre zone.

Firstspace

The image of Lukole seen from the air reveals the humanitarian bureaucrat's dream (Turner, 2010). Showing a well-ordered grid of red concrete roads, straight lines of blue and white huts and the fences that divide the huts from the compounds of the humanitarian agencies. Turner showed an image that presents an organised, but limited space. From above footpaths are easily spotted. Made by thousands pairs of usually bare feet, moving around and finding their way through the camp. They break the strict geometry of planned roads. The rules were not only defied within the camp, in all directions footpaths

disappeared into the bush. Marking that refugees didn't stay in the seclusion zone of 4 kilometres, but for example gathered firewood outside the fences that surrounded the area. Once refugees decided to permanently leave the camp the footpaths couldn't be followed (Turner, 2010).

Secondspace

During 1994 and 1995, few restrictions for movement were known between refugees and Tanzanians. (Whitaker, 2002b). After the influx of refugees in 1996, the Tanzanian authorities tightened control on the movement of refugees, due to the increased level of crime and banditry. The government also planned these restrictions to keep a good relation with the Burundian government, as Burundian government was afraid that rebels would use the refugee camps to launch cross-border attacks (Whitaker, 2002b; UNHCR, 1999).

The new restrictions had the purpose to decrease movement. Visitors needed to request passes to enter, and refugees needed to request passes to leave. Refugees needed fourteen-day leave passes before they were able to leave without the fear of being arrested. All movement to enter and leave the camp was regulated, by means of barriers and guards and the entrances of the camp (Malkki, 1995). The authorities in camp Lukole tightened the movement zone to 4 kilometres (Turner, 2010). When refugees gathered firewood outside the seclusion area, they risked to be caught by security guards. They were not allowed to leave the zone of 4 kilometre around the camp without permission, this permission had to come from the camp commandant (Turner, 2010). He obtained the highest legal authority in the camp and was the local representative of the Tanzanian government. The commandant eagerly controlled who left or entered Lukole.

4.5. Concluding remarks

In all cases: places, situations and tensions formed that were not planned or foreseen. The planning, the bureaucratic ideas of humanitarian agencies and even the ideas of refugees themselves are struggling with the material world and the practices. The duality between First- and Secondspace construct Thirdspace, were the struggles to reconstruct or reshape daily reality is visible. The possibility of prostitution at the market was never the purpose when UNHCR and TRCS decided where to place the market. Empowering women, giving them power was in contrast to the norms of Burundian customs leading to social decay in the Thirdspace. The ideology of the UNCR of gender equality was perceived by the refugee men as a threat to their masculinity. Reduced in their status by the UNHCR, who took their place in the households by feeding and clothing the women.

Inhabitants of the refugee camp sought to recapture the camp, transform it into lived space. Different strategies to recapture Lukole were directed against the UNHCR planning of the camp. For the refugees these strategies aimed to gain cultural coherence and reconstitute the ideally Burundian customs. Refugees try to make the most of the liminality of the camp, carving space for themselves through political activity, trading or working for NGOs. The social order that was foreseen by the UNHCR and humanitarian agencies is seriously questioned by the refugees.

5. Refugees' impact on the local environment

Camps are increasingly becoming permanent solutions, refugees are not merely waiting at the camps to return to their homeland. More and more is happening under the grid as refugees reconstruct the camp. As described in chapter 4, there is continually a negotiation for power and meaning between the UNHCR and the refugees. However, the presence of refugee camps also affects surrounding areas. This chapter will describe how there is another negotiation occurring between the local communities and the refugee camps. Especially when refugees are not merely waiting but get involved in the lives of the people living in the local communities.

5.1.   Varied positive & negative impacts due to refugee influx

The impacts that refugee influx and the establishment of refugee camps have on the host communities are diverse. How these impacts affect host communities is nevertheless lacking due to the minimal exact knowledge (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009). Refugee camps are commonly established in remote areas with poor or underdeveloped conditions. Often the local population is struggling to sustain their own livelihoods (Whitaker, 1999). As described in chapter 4, the UNHCR is the leading organization in managing and planning the establishment of refugee camps. As a consequence, they are mostly concerned with the refugees rather than the local communities. There has not been a lot of elaboration in the literature on the impact that refugee camps have on local communities. Whitaker (2002b), examined the impact of refugees origin from Rwanda, Burundi and Congo on host communities on the Western part of Tanzania. She argues that the burden and the benefits were not equally distributed among the local communities and explained that the shift in refugee management, discussed in chapter 3, affected the livelihoods of the local Tanzanians. The tightness of the restrictions did not mainly affect refugees but also the local communities. Crisp (2003) points out, that the local communities near refugee camps are often experiencing similar difficult situations to the ones that refugees suffer from, however, these local communities receive a small amount of attention and assistance.

In the beginning of the refugee influx it was most likely that food prices would rise, as imported food assistance is not completely implemented yet. This situation had positive and negative effects on the local communities. For farmers who sell their products this had a positive outcome, though for the people that depend on buying food supplies it had a negative impact. The refugee presence in host communities was causing difficulties regarding to access and availability of food, with the increase in refugee numbers the amount of food available get scarcer. On the other hand, when relief food became available it may also had positive effects on the local communities. At the local market in camps a small amount of the food that was distributed among refugees, was sold or exchanged for different goods. The amount of food that is sold or traded is not clarified, as Whitaker (1999) argues that the percentage of food rations that was distributed among refugee camps in Tanzania were sold at local markets is close to 75%. UNHCR and WFP(1998), however indicate that this percentage is closer to 20% or 30%. These percentages show that the local communities as well benefit from the presence of refugee camps. Notwithstanding, at the beginning of the arrival of the refugees schools were

damaged when refugees slept in classrooms or burned the school desks as firewood and filled the latrines (Whitaker, 2002a).

Increase in deforestation imposed a problem to both the refugees and the Tanzanians. There were several struggles about water resources between the authorities of refugee camps and villages near the camp, as water depletion affected both. Camp development implied the cultivation of land, this resulted in exploitation of grazing land, trees, firewood and water. Due to the rise in the number of refugees in 1996, environmental degradation increased causing tensions between local Tanzanians and the camp management (Whitaker, 2002b). When resources were limited, even before the influx of refugees, host communities felt like they lost out their resources and this cause a source of hostility towards the refugee population.

Maystadt and Verwimp (2009) argue that the health and sanitation services in refugee camp benefit the hosting communities as well. Data that is collected between 1991 and 2001 from refugee camps in Tanzania, indicates that close to 30 % of people who received health service were local people.

The presence of a nearby refugee camp can have positive outcomes for the surrounding areas of the refugee camps in Tanzania. Refugee camps can offer cheap labour, though sometimes illegal as explained in chapter 4 due to the limitation of movement, this can stimulate the economic development of the hosting area. Furthermore, the establishment of a refugee camp can have positive influence on the infrastructure. Improving infrastructure can benefit economic activity in the host area by building new roads which improves the accessibility to goods and markets. There is also migration through the arrival of humanitarian staff which gives the area further opportunities to increase economic possibilities (Whitaker, 2002b).

Placed in a social perspective, Tanzanians established also relations with refugees. Refugees and people from the local communities socialized, visited one another and attended social gatherings (weddings and funerals). Tanzanian men choose refugee women as wives (Whitaker, 2002b). But, social relations between the refugees and host communities had also negative consequences. Different reasons cause tensions and conflict between refugees and the host communities. Locals tended to disappear into the camps, sometimes did not return home for hours or even days. Refugee camps were associated with several problems, such as drunkenness, prostitution, and sexual promiscuity. The elderly of local villages perceived that the traditional social structure was damaged. Since the camp is the main area of services and resources, this was the place where conflicts between refugees and people of host communities happened. Another reason why the conflicts happened inside the camps was due to the restricted movement of refugees (Crisp, 2003). Still, violence and conflict between the two groups happened also outside the camps. Refugees presence outside the camp increased when donor support decreased and they felt forced or tempted to find their fortune in the host communities which generally was prohibited. Due to the more permanent character of the camp, and the fact that refugees are not merely waiting at the camp, refugees interact with life outside the camp and this affected the surroundings of the camp with several impacts, positive and negative as described before.

Especially, camps in Tanzania hosting refugees from neighbouring countries are exposed to political aspects. Refugees in refugee camps are vulnerable for political oppositions that try to use the camp for recruitment and mobilization to execute attacks on their home government. This situation has happened in camp Lukole when refugees got recruited to support attacks of political opposition on the government in Burundi (Turner, 2010).

In general, the rapid presence of refugees and humanitarian agencies changed social and economic opportunities for host communities in positive and negative ways (Whitaker, 2002b).

5.2. Analysing the impacts on local surroundings through spatial thinking

Analysing the impacts of the nearby presence of a refugee camp, can be examined through spatial thinking. Thirdspace is the space of social struggle where all various impacts come together, this shows the totality. Through spatial thinking, the visible impacts come to the fore in the Firstspace while the impacts due to government policies, planners and restrictions will get evident in the Secondspace.

5.2.1. Thirdspace

At the beginning of the refugee influx several struggles became visible between the refugees and the surrounding local communities (Whitaker, 2002b). The refugees and the humanitarian agencies exploited resources that were also required by the local communities. The access and scarce availability of food caused tensions, and water depletion affected both groups. The situation of deforestation imposed a problem to both the refugees and the Tanzanians. Due to the increase in the number of refugees in 1996, environmental degradation increased causing tensions between local Tanzanians and the camp management (Whitaker, 2002b). Violence and conflicts occurred within and outside the camp borders, these conflict imply the continual negotiation between the refugees and the host communities (Crisp, 2002).

5.2.2. Firstspace

Within the Firstspace the positive and negative impacts on the local communities due to refugee camp establishment are evident. Positive impacts can be noticed due to greater economic activity, better infrastructure, the increased availability for health services and rise in food access (Whitaker, 2002a). Negative impacts are visible in the enlarged number of violence, tensions and conflicts, primarily between the local communities and the refugees but also between the local communities and camp management. Moreover, there is the negative impact of deforestation, that accelerated round the camp, refugees rarely put their fires out between meals due to shortage of matches and the long cook-time of the dried food handed out by WFP.

5.2.3. Secondspace

Before 1996, there were only a few trade restrictions between refugees and the surrounding local communities (Whitaker, 2002). However, after 1996 Tanzanians needed permits to conduct business with vendors within the camp and trade outside the assigned areas near the market was prohibited

(Crisp, 2003). Growing vegetables was only permitted on the allocated plots inside the camp, where refugees were also expected to build their homes. This restriction had the purpose to discourage agricultural activity and thereby the ability to trade (Whitaker, 2002). The ability for Tanzanians to take advantage of opportunities created by the camp presence, was influenced by the rules and restrictions of the government policy.

5.3 Concluding remarks

The host communities near refugee camps undergo various impacts caused by the nearby presence of a refugee camp. This chapter described that there are various negotiations occurring between the local communities and the refugee camp. There are negotiations about assets that are required by the camp but also by the community, examples of these assets are food and natural resources. Some of these negotiations started through restrictions, and resulted in violence and conflicts. This chapter pointed out that refugees are not merely waiting to be fed and clothed at the camps, in the contrary, they seek opportunities in nearby communities. Hereby, their *lived* space is stretched as this is part of the refugees negotiations for space.

6. Conclusion & Discussion

The findings of this research are presented and discussed in this chapter. This chapter will look into the outcomes when a spatial perspective is used to look at a refugee camp.

This thesis is constructed upon literature research. The theory of space, has been applied in this thesis on refugee camps, with a focus on camp Lukole located in Tanzania. During this thesis mainly the research of Edward Soja is applied, he build forward on research of Henri Lefebvre's. The purpose was to better analyse and understand how refugees negotiate space through spatial thinking. Revealing the multiplicity of the camp, by pointing out how the camp is developed and developing. This thesis posed the question: *How do refugees negotiate space?*

6.1. Final conclusions

Space is what people make of it, it is not occurring within a vacuum but space is influencing people and people influence space. Soja re-allocated Lefebvre's triad of interrelated spaces; *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* space, he described three spaces: Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace; trying to give meaning and better understanding to the latter concept *'Thirdspace'.* Thirdspace can be understood through the concept of *Thirding-as-Othering*, which stimulates trialectically thinking. The importance of spatial thinking is evident to display the practices of refugees that demonstrate the multiplicity of the camp. The approach of the Tanzanian authorities and the humanitarian agencies has a huge influence on the refugee camps. Subsequently, it was essential to describe the shifts in the approach to refugees, as these decisions have significant influence on the daily life of refugees in Tanzania. This thesis examined the interplay between humanitarian agencies and the refugees. This interplay came to the fore in chapter 4, it was here where the three different dimensions of space within the refugee camp were analysed. First, the totality of the Thirdspace came to the fore, emphasizing the multiplicity of the camp. Tensions between the humanitarian agencies and refugees occurred as refugees tried their outmost to bend the camp rules that would meet with their desires. While the humanitarian staff tried to ensure that the rules were not broken. The section of Firstspace described the *perceived* space of the refugee camp. It indicated how the camp would look like from the top of a skyscraper, but as well from an eye perspective on the ground. Daily routines and practices are analysed as they are part of the day to day processes; registration of refugees, unloading sacks of food, refugees building their houses. Studies of remote sensing offered an detailed image of the camp that showed the perceived map. The *conceived* space comes to the fore in Secondspace. Within this space the planning and design of the refugee camp is explained. The planning and design of refugee camps is primarily conducted by the UNHCR, using the manual "UNHCR Handbook for Emergencies". Spatial order forms the basis for providing further kind of order like medical, economic or social. Camp Lukole is an extremely well structured space, divided each section that concerns the well-being of the refugees over several humanitarian agencies. The UNHCR wanted to establish a social order that is questioned by the refugees and thus refugees tried to reconstruct this social order. The population of Lukole tried to recapture and transform the camp into *lived* space, which came to fore in Thirdspace.

With the transition of the refugee camp to a more permanent solution, refugee camps are evolving. Therefore this thesis not merely looked within the camp and the relations that refugees have with each

other and with humanitarian agencies, but as well into the relations refugees have with the host communities nearby the camp. Especially, how the shift to a more permanent site impacts the local surroundings of the camp. The various impacts that host communities undergo caused by the nearby presence of a refugee camp were examined in chapter 5. Refugees were not merely waiting to be fed and clothed at the camps, in the contrary, they sought opportunities in nearby communities. Stretching their *lived* space outside the camp is another example how refugees reconstruct Thirdspace. Analysing the camp and their surroundings through spatial thinking pointed out that places and situations established that weren't planned or foreseen.

Taken all the above into account, the findings that came to the fore in this thesis give a clear image to answer the research question; *how do refugees negotiate space*? One of the essential notions that has to be emphasised first, is the applicability of spatial thinking throughout this thesis. Understanding, sociology of space, through the lens of Soja, provided the capability to analyse the refugee camp. The ability to look through a spatial perspective to refugee camps has proved to be significant. As a refugee camp and refugees are continually developing, a perspective through space is essential to capture this development rather than the perspective of time. The combination of Soja's ideas about space and the literature that is available about refugee camps in Tanzania unravelled the multiplicity of the camp. This thesis points out that the rules, restrictions, ideas of the humanitarian agencies that appear in the Secondspace are in constant battle with the practices and fixed materials that are part of the Firstspace. This endless battle results into the struggles that are occurring in the Thirdspace. The Thirdspace showed how refugees negotiate space through deconstruct and reconstruct their lived space. As Soja argued: "*Everything comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the differential, … everyday life and unending history*" (1996, p.57). Thirdspace showed the desires of the refugees, this was the space where they gave meaning to. Even when their world rapidly changed, their desires and dreams were not taken away by the humanitarian agencies or the Tanzanian authorities. Refugees tried to bend the rules, negotiate, not only with humanitarian agencies but also with the local communities. The Thirdspace revealed their experience of living. However, the activities that refugees undertake, their practices and relations were not limited by the restrictions of the camp. This research called attention to how a refugee camp is established. It is created as a result of interventions made by humanitarian agencies and the Tanzanian state, and conjointly by the people who fled from their home country. However, the negotiation for space did not narrowed down mainly within the camp. This thesis likewise pointed out that when examining the practices of refugees, it cannot be missed that relations stretch outside the camp and impact the nearby local communities. These impacts on neighbouring communities are a part of this negotiation for space. Shortly, in order to create comprehension about the camp and the negotiation for space it is significant to look at the relations that are occurring within the camp as well as stretching outside the camp.

6.2 Research reflections and recommendations

By using spatial thinking this enabled me to understand how refugees negotiate space. As opposed to time-centred thinkers, this way of thinking supported me to understand how a refugee camp develops, allowing me to identify certain shifts that occur. A time centred approach mainly focus upon transition, whereas space allowed me to comprehend different situations and places that happen simultaneously. This comprehension makes me aware of the different developing trajectories. These trajectories are correspondingly gender, age, class and race specific. On the other hand, time analysis is indispensable when the negotiation process of refugees in the Thirdspace is examined, because Thirdspace is growing within this process. The tensions between humanitarian agencies and refugees are rising over time, which is triggering the feeling to reconstruct *lived* space. However, to grasp why and in what way these shifts occur spatial thinking is crucial.

My work contribute to the literatures on the dimensions of space by Edward Soja as he only sketches this out in preliminary approach, this research adds content to his theory, makes it more concrete. During this thesis project I found few academic research that is making spatial thinking applicable. When a spatial perspective is used, only more questions pop up, because there is not much emphasized on the spatial practices in the literature. Such as mobility in and out the camp, how far do these relations stretch? How often do refugees leave the camp (with and without permission)? These practices are noticed in the literature but there is not brought further attention into. This makes it very difficult to create a rich image of the mobility in and out of the refugee camp. As my case was focused on Tanzania, this limited the ability to look into spatial practices in refugee camps outside this country. As Whitaker (2002) argued, there is small academic research about the impact of refugees and their spatial practices onto the local environment. Minor literature is found where spatial thinking, with the use of Soja's framework, is applied to the study of refugee camps, the findings of this thesis could be of interest to policy makers, UNHCR staff and government authorities as these findings benefit to change the image of refugee camps as a 'waiting room'. Spatial thinking reveals the multiplicity of refugee camps, the concept of multiplicity pointed out throughout this thesis that refugees are not waiting, they take opportunities and change the world around them. With the current situation in Tanzania and the new influx of refugees from Burundi, the relevance of this thesis is significant. With the start of the neutralization process in October 2014 (UNHCR, 2014), many refugees camps are closed, only one camp remains 'Nyarugusu'. This research provides knowledge about the constant negotiation for power and meaning between the UNHCR and the refugees. As a result of the current influx of refugees, the tensions will only rise within Nyarugusu, this thesis could elaborate on how these tensions develop, supporting a solution that is more adjust to the refugee camp as a permanent solution instead of a temporary one.

The literature of Soja illustrated the duality of Firstspace and Secondspace, this is constructing Thirdspace. Soja's work offered me insights in how to look critical to social theory, as throughout his work he offers spatiality as another approach in contrast to the hegemony of historicism. However, I believe that this limits the research as the relation between Firstspace and Secondspace is not elaborated on in the literature that is provided by Soja.

With his research Soja tries to offer another ontology of spatiality, alongside the one of time. However, his notion of social space is concrete while simultaneously abstract. The duality between the real and the constructed is contested throughout his book about Thirdspace(1996), by offering Thirdspace the

forces and struggles are revealed. According to Soja Thirdspace is limitless and contains all. Even though, I understood the theory and his motivations, the totality of Thirdspace makes it difficult to work with. It is difficult to apply as it misses concreteness. The complexity of space is very high which made it hard to implement the theory of space on other literature that described the various relations within a refugee camp, although this pointed out the multiplicity. Nevertheless, the application of Soja's spatial framework forced me to think differently, deliberate in another way about ontology and epistemology.

In order to research the stretching relations of the refugee population and how this interrelates with the local communities, further ethnographic research is needed to fully elaborate on this. If there would be more time to investigate the refugee camp, more emphasis could be put on the spatial discourse used to illustrate the dynamics in in and around the refugee camp; the meaning of multiplicity is one examples of terminology that could have more concrete attention. As a result of my study, I propose that further ethnographic research be conducted on the practices of refugees with a spatial perspective.

The writing process of the proposal was very decisive for the way in which the subject would be approached. Writing the proposal was helpful to dive in to what I wanted to investigate. It was useful to write a clear proposal for the writing process. Although, throughout the whole thesis I still struggled with the theory of space. When I felt stuck is helped to read my theoretical framework again, or check the feedback of my supervisors again. If I still felt stuck, I knew it was time for a short break. The most valuable part of my research was when I realised how much I developed my research skills during my study, and how much I learned. During the process I still felt passionate about the subject, this confirmation was a driving force throughout the thesis.

7. References

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