

Introduction

Places of Partial Protection: Refugee Shelter since 2015

Tom Scott-Smith

Shelter has received surprisingly little attention in Refugee Studies, which is surprising given how important it is to the experience of displacement and the way in which it intersects so closely with so many themes in our subject area. Notions of home and belonging, after all, have long been central to the anthropological literature (Hammond 2004; Korac 2009). Ideas of protection suffuse a range of research from law to politics (Betts 2009; McAdam 2007). There is a vast literature on the subject of camps and their spatiality, which has started to cover urbanism and shelter in more detail (Jansen 2018; McConnachie 2016). However, shelter itself somehow seems too material, too banal, too small-scale and technical to generate a great deal of scholarly interest.

In this edited collection we seek to change that, bringing shelter to the very forefront of analysis. This is, in part, a response to the events of 2015, which marked something of a turning point when it came to discussions of shelter. The arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees into Europe during the ‘summer of migration’ sparked a wave of interest amongst designers, architects and journalists, flooding the media with new and often optimistic ideas. The problem with sheltering, protecting and accommodating large numbers of refugees could no longer be seen as an issue ‘out there’, associated with camps in the developing world; it became an issue ‘right here’, requiring a level of attention that surprised many staff in aid agencies.

Shelter and sheltering rose up the agenda, and it soon became a common theme in exhibitions, design competitions, architectural magazines and other promotional outlets.

This edited collection brings together twenty-one short chapters, illustrating new work on refugee shelter and broadening our understanding about the conditions faced by forced migrants on the move. The chapters cut across a variety of disciplines, from politics, law and anthropology to medicine, history and architecture, but they are united by an interest in the material forms of refugee shelter and their manifold implications. Each chapter has a focus on shelters themselves, offering a detailed analysis of specific examples and exploring how these shelters have been designed, constructed, negotiated and lived in. The volume presents case studies primarily from Europe, while also branching out to Canada, Australia and the Middle East. This geographical balance largely reflects the origin of debates about shelter since 2015, but should not be taken as a limit to this topic. It is, in fact, just the start of a much bigger conversation in Refugee Studies about shelter, protection, and the role of design.

This volume emerged from a series of discussions held at the University of Oxford in the summer of 2018, generously hosted by St Cross College and funded by the Global Challenges Research Fund. I convened these discussions in order to extend a research project founded at the Refugee Studies Centre at Oxford in 2016, funded by the U.K. Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). This project was entitled ‘Architectures of Displacement’, and it engaged in the detailed study of particularly significant humanitarian schemes for sheltering refugees in Europe and the Middle East from 2015 to 2018. The discussions at St Cross College represented an attempt to create links with other scholars interested in the topic, reaching across the disciplines to collect a much wider range of examples and perspectives. These discussions touched on architecture and the limits of design, health and the wellbeing of refugees, humanitarianism and the turn to technology, and incarceration and the rise of border controls. Our interlocutors at St Cross began to unpack what was at stake in this fertile new area of Refugee Studies, teasing out how refugee shelter spoke to so many different debates. Many went onto write chapters for this book, which all have a similar structure: beginning by describing a particular shelter or outlining a particular site, before exploring the issues that arose from this example and the debates that emerged as a result.

Defining ‘Refugee Shelter’

We started our project by establishing a broad definition of ‘refugee shelter’. The idea, from the very beginning, was to be inclusive: looking at all the

places in which refugees and other migrants found a place to stay, whatever their forms and however long they lasted. One of the central aims of 'Architectures of Displacement' was to move beyond humanitarian responses that so often focused on the tent, camp and caravan, and to expand the idea of refugee shelter accordingly. Forced migrants, it seemed, live in a much wider network of accommodation than the phrase often suggests, stretching from the formal to the improvised, the expansive to the compact. Among other things, refugees often stay with friends, construct their own homes, transform abandoned buildings, live in the natural environment, and draw on forms of sanctuary and local hospitality. The term 'refugee shelter', therefore, should never be restricted to what humanitarians provide, but can be seen as an opportunity to think outside the structures and systems that are notionally designed, planned and temporary.

Our first challenge emerged from the first part of that phrase: the word 'refugee'. This has been used very differently by journalists, academics, lawyers and in public discourse over the past few decades. The legal definition, set out in Article 1A(2) of the 1951 Refugee Convention, is relatively narrow, specifying individuals who are outside their country of nationality and who have a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. The colloquial understanding of refugees is far wider, applying to anyone who has been forced from their homes, while some people restrict the term to individuals who have been granted status officially by a state. Language in the media complicates the issue still further, drawing distinctions between 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration, between 'refugee' and 'economic migrant', and ascribing value in the process. It is therefore hard to find a way through these thickets when looking at how people shelter themselves. The word 'refugee', if seemingly simple, immediately generates a problem.

For the purposes of this collection, we decided, in the end, to adopt a deliberately inclusive approach to the word 'refugee'. The chapters in this book tend not to dwell on the legal status, citizenship or label applied by others. Our interest is not on people's reasons for migrating or the borders they have crossed. In contrast, the focus of these chapters is on places, spaces and buildings. We are interested in the shelters people pass through, regardless of how the individuals are categorized or defined. To mark this inclusivity, we sometimes draw on the phrase 'refugees and other migrants', which has the advantage of subverting the dichotomy between forced and voluntary movement. At other points, we use more the general category of 'displaced people', which often stands in as a useful and inclusive alternative. Specific terms, such as 'asylum seeker', have been sometimes employed to mark a specific moment, but in general the word 'refugee' in 'refugee shelter' should be interpreted expansively unless otherwise indicated.

The second challenge came from the other half of the phrase: the word ‘shelter’. This, at least initially, had several advantages. It is a much wider category of structure than a building or a house, and it illustrates how forced migrants find shelter in many different places. Whereas a house has connotations of domesticity, and a building implies something purposeful and solid, a shelter captures how forced migrants live in sites that fit into neither of these categories: within improvised structures, under bridges and sometimes even carved out of forests and fields (see Hagan in this volume). In addition, the word ‘shelter’ is dynamic as well as general. It draws attention to sheltering as an *activity*. Shelter, it is often said, is a process as much as a place; it is achieved with communities as much as individuals (Davis 2011). Therefore, this word captures how refugees often find shelter through social processes. It embraces how refugees often live with relatives, friends, contacts, or how they join forces with citizen activists to produce more collaborative forms of shelter (see Western and Vandevordt in this volume).

On the other hand, the word ‘shelter’ has a disadvantage because it implies an impermanent state. This can be quite misleading. Shelter is meant to be something temporary, but permanence is always relative – both materially and socially. It is materially relative because all permanent buildings decay and deteriorate, while so-called temporary shelters may in fact last for decades. It is socially relative because it is very difficult to declare when something has become permanent, since opinions are bound to differ. How do any of us really know when we have found a permanent place to stay? What does permanency even mean? When do we declare that we have found a place we can call home? These issues are further complicated because some refugees find temporary accommodation in ‘permanent’ structures that are repurposed: refugee shelters in Berlin constitute perhaps the most well-known example (see Baumann, Parsloe and Young in this volume). Alternatively, refugees may stay for many years in structures that were originally intended to be temporary, building and developing seemingly impermanent structures into something far more long-lasting (see Kikano in this volume).

Theorizing Refugee Shelter

During the workshop, we were aware of these definitional difficulties and often explored and discussed what ‘shelter’ meant as a concept. The attraction of this word was always its inclusiveness, generating a wide range of analytical possibilities. Indeed, shelter, as a notion, serves to cut across debates in various disciplines, and the chapters in this volume consequently connect the word to a number of theoretical apparatuses. Among other things, our authors discuss the idea of ‘forced shelter’ (Molnar), ‘shifting

shelters' (Achnich), 'anti-shelters' (Howden) and the 'personal shelter' (Vandevoordt). There are chapters in this book on the 'container model of shelter' (Baumann), 'shelter as cladding' (Martin, Cross and Verhoeven), and 'shelter as a politically crafted materiality of neglect' (Pallister-Wilkins). There are reflections on the 'invisible shelter' (Hagan), the 'sonic shelter' (Western) and the idea of 'shelters for the mind' (Schroeder). Underneath these contributions and conceptualizations is a common thread, which sees shelter in terms of protection. This idea unifies the whole collection, appearing in dictionary definitions that frame shelter as protection from the elements. However, the idea of shelter as protection also generates a series of tensions and ambiguities that make these chapters so rich and fruitful.

What are these tensions and ambiguities? In this book we suggest that shelters are structures of protection in that they offer protection from bad weather, violence or insecurity, but this protection is only ever partial. Shelters are basic, which means that they protect in some ways, but not in others. Shelters can have many positive connotations, but they are not necessarily 'good' because they often expose their inhabitants in more significant ways than they protect. The question mark in our title is meant to highlight this ambivalence about the relationship between shelter and protection. If shelters are structures of protection, there always remains a great deal of flexibility in the dynamics of who is protected, how, and what they are being protected from. As the examples in this volume will demonstrate, many shelters are in reality multifaceted and do not offer protection at all, while others only offer limited protection that benefits some people more than others.

The most obvious example of the latter is perhaps government-run reception or detention centres, which can provide cover from the rain, but they might also serve to contain or restrict people's movement (Pallister-Wilkins). Such buildings might be oriented to a spectacle of deterrence (Mainwaring) or they might serve protection for the state rather than for refugees (Molnar). This, as our authors put it, constitutes a form of 'forced shelter'. There are, however, also more mundane examples where shelters offer protection, but are still squalid and leaky (Altin), shelters that lock people into exploitative relationships (Kikano) or shelters that protect the body but are harmful for mental health (Goh). This is a theme that runs throughout the book: shelters protect in some ways, but not in others. They can be defined by their provision of limited protection, and the way in which this protection is patterned reveals a great deal about the realities of life for refugees.

This volume is divided into three main parts, which consider the conceptual facets of refugee shelter under broad headings. Part I looks at the politics involved in shelter, the dynamics of containment and control. Part II looks at the social lives formed in shelters and the opportunities for resistance. Part III then looks at the material forms, history and design of refugee

shelters. In each of these sections, the authors conceive of a shelter as a place where people seek greater protection than they would otherwise have available, even if this protection ends up being woefully inadequate.

Summarizing Refugee Shelter

Part I of this book, ‘Shelter, Containment and Mobility’, looks at how political authorities can use shelter to contain and manage human movement. It opens with Hanna Baumann’s study of the shipping container: an object that stands as a metaphor for enclosure and rigidity, while simultaneously being portrayed as flexible. The great irony of the shipping container’s popularity as a refugee shelter lies in the contrast between its use for commodities and its use for people. Containers are used to transport objects seamlessly across borders and are then used to prevent people from crossing the same borders. By examining the so-called Tempohomes in Berlin, Baumann teases out some of these ironies and contradictions, drawing attention to the way that shipping containers can become all things to all people. They are standardized yet to a certain extent flexible; they are mobile yet nevertheless stable; they are durable yet easy to remove; they function to isolate refugees while also linking them into urban infrastructures.

These characteristics, which Baumann identifies with a ‘container model’ of refugee shelter, reappear throughout this volume. In Chapter 2, Ćetta Mainwaring scales up the implications to look at how containment functions for Europe as a whole. Focusing particularly on Malta, whose pivotal position in the central Mediterranean plays a crucial role for European border management, Mainwaring opens with a description of the warehousing of refugees inside a military zone behind the international airport. This chapter shows how refugee shelter can serve distinctly political functions, not just by criminalizing migration but also by constructing an image of a unified Europe with a hard external border. Refugee shelter, she shows, can be symbolically constructive as well as materially destructive. Malta then reappears in Chapter 3, where Marthe Achtnich takes a more anthropological look at the lived experience of the Maltese ‘open centres’. She highlights the complicated interplay between containment and the construction of social networks in these centres. In doing so, she draws attention to another recurring theme in the volume: flexibility. Refugee accommodation, she argues, often constitutes a form of ‘shifting shelter’; even when it is restrictive, it is never static. Shelters are emergent spaces and, far from being simple protection from the elements, they are also deeply *social* forms that can protect human relations as well.

As both Mainwaring and Achtnich point out, models of shelter in Malta have been reproduced around the edges of Europe more broadly, not least

in those zones known as ‘hotspots’. Chapters 4 and 5 turn to another hotspot, this time in Greece: the infamous camp of Moria on the island of Lesbos. In Chapter 5, Daniel Howden, a journalist who has been based in Greece for many years, builds an account of Moria as a form of ‘anti-shelter’. Describing the politics of the camp, its context and history, he argues that Moria is an instructive microcosm of broader European border practices, featuring ‘an architecture that is the very antithesis of shelter’, designed to produce a spectacle of fear, uncertainty and danger for possible migrants. This theme is then developed further in Polly Pallister-Wilkins’ chapter, which takes a closer look at the structures of Moria camp itself. Developing the notion of shelter as a ‘politically crafted materiality of neglect’, Pallister-Wilkins shows how poor conditions have become a purposeful deterrent within a wider system of border practices. In other words, refugee shelter is part of an exclusionary politics, which becomes written into the materiality of the shelters themselves.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus more specifically on detention centres, which, in the words of Petra Molnar, constitute a form of ‘forced shelter’. At first glance, this seems to be an oxymoron, yet detention centres simply change the terrain of protection and safety by focusing on the state rather than the migrant. In Chapter 6, Molnar describes ‘forced shelters’ as particularly concentrated forms of state power. Drawing on an example from Canada, she explains how immigration detention often resembles a prison, removing migrants away from the general population, limiting their freedoms and choices, giving them uniforms and placing them behind bars in far-flung locations. This all takes place against people’s will, yet it is still a form of shelter, which comes with a tantalizing possibility of permanent immigration. In Chapter 7, Renana Ne’eman offers a deep and detailed story of another detention centre, this time in Israel: Holot. This centre, she points out, is more than just a form of ‘forced shelter’, because it represents the complex and changing relationship between Israel and the Negev Desert. By looking at political culture as much as material conditions in the centre itself, Ne’eman builds a fascinating account of how forced shelters are coercive, traumatic and exclusionary, while also coming with layers of meaning and ideological significance. In particular, Holot illustrates how Israel manages populations through the desert. After many attempts to ‘tame’ and ‘civilize’ the desert, she argues, the Negev has become a place of banishment. This ‘forced shelter’ did not just contain people, but also demarcated territorial zones of exile.

This brings us to Part II of this volume, ‘Shelter, Resistance and Solidarity’. The chapters in this part look at the other side of the coin: shelter not as a form of containment and coercion, but as an opportunity for creativity, community and social life. They focus on the lived experience of refugees, taking a more optimistic look at the way in which inhabitants are not simply

the passive recipients of political agendas and coercive policies, but end up engaging in political acts themselves. This begins in Chapter 8, where Maria Hagan introduces the concept of a ‘contingent camp’, a barely perceptible form of shelter that has a very light material imprint. In contrast with coercive shelters examined in Part I of this volume – which were marked by the solidity of steel containers, the barbed wired of detention facilities, and a desire for fixed and firm boundaries – Hagan’s contingent shelter is light, mobile and flexible. Her case study is northern France, where the destruction of the Calais ‘Jungle’ has pushed migrants into subtle and hidden forms of living in the local countryside, giving rise to spaces that are ‘lived in but denied material consolidation’, shelters that are ‘in a constant state of becoming and unbecoming’. Here immateriality generates communal strength and invisibility becomes a concrete strategy. Such places are described in the local vernacular as a ‘green hotel’: shelter found in the forest and field. The value of shelter, in this example, comes from human relationships rather than bricks and mortar.

Chapter 9 continues the theme of the immaterial, looking instead at the role of sound. In this chapter, Tom Western highlights what he calls the ‘sonic politics of refugee shelter’, focusing on squats in Athens. The chapters in this collection often examine what protection means beyond the basics, and Western suggests that shelter can be thought of as a place where identities and cultures are protected, sustained and adjusted. Much of this takes place through sound. In his words, ‘shelter is also something that is voiced’, and the squats of Athens are a good example of spaces that have developed their own voices, identities and cultures. Western, once again, draws our attention to shelters as a site of resistance, ways of ‘speaking back’ to structures of power.

The next two chapters look at the way that shelters also generate new and lasting bonds between displaced people and citizens in the host country. Chapter 10 continues the focus on Athens, in which Ashley Mehra discusses two citizen-run shelters: the Melissa Day Centre and the City Plaza hotel, which she identifies as examples of ‘redignification’. These are shelters that take the participation of refugees seriously: whereas camps and formal facilities fail to promote dignity, these shelters are oriented around equality, recognition and the sharing of power and control. As Mehra points out, dignity can be defined as ‘having one’s claims recognized by others’, ‘having some measure of control over one’s life’ and ‘having a say in decisions’ – features, she argues, that should be central to the process of sheltering. ‘If the purpose of shelter is to protect and nurture people’, she concludes, ‘then it must involve inclusion and democratic participation.’ These dynamics then reappear in Chapter 11, where Robin Vandevordt takes us to Brussels to look at another attempt to promote participation and solidarity: a citizen initiative to host migrants in ordinary homes. Vandevordt describes this as a ‘more

personal shelter’, which revolved around strong interpersonal relationships. The hosting programme in Brussels was particularly successful, he argues, because it looked beyond biological needs and responded to the humanity of the displaced. It was founded on social dynamics rather than concrete material forms. Through personal bonds, vibrant virtual spaces and forms of connection into a larger community, shelter was built on human action.

Part II closes with two chapters focused on Berlin, which both show how life in refugee shelters does not always involve democracy, solidarity and resistance; many are also characterized by discomfort, boredom and uncertainty. In Chapter 12, Holly Young turns our attention to the vast International Congress Centre (ICC) in Berlin, an enormous building that was repurposed as a refugee shelter in the summer of 2015 and described by locals as ‘the Aluminium Whale’. Young followed the story over several years and her account shows how the inhabitants had such little certainty about their fates, reduced to waiting for many months. This chapter provides a stark contrast with the more expansive political narratives that unfolded in Part I, focusing instead on the everyday concerns of refugee shelter residents: sleep, food, privacy and hygiene. Such issues reappear in Chapter 13, by Esther Schroder Goh, a medical doctor who examines how life in refugee shelters has a negative impact on mental health. Drawing on the study of another collective shelter in Berlin, Rathaus Friedenau, she shows how the organization and adaptation of these former council offices caused a litany of daily problems, once again centred on food, odours, cleanliness and privacy. Refugee accommodation, she argues, needs to consider the impact not just on physical health, but also on mental health, providing a structure to shelter the mind.

The final part of this collection, ‘Architecture, Design and Displacement’, concentrates on material structures of protection, beginning with three chapters that delve into the history of physical shelters around the world. Chapter 14, by Benjamin Thomas White, provides a biography of two fascinating Australian sites: the old quarantine stations at North Head, Sydney, and Point Nepean near Melbourne. After ceasing to be used as quarantine stations, these structures were used to protect humanitarian evacuees from conflicts as diverse as Kosovo and Vietnam. Drawing attention to the dynamics between protection and isolation in these sites, White argues that site biographies can provide a rich understanding of the human experience of displacement, grounded in the architecture of the buildings themselves. This approach is then taken up again in Chapter 15, by Roberta Altin, who offers a biography of a different site in Trieste: a huge three-storey structure that was built as a warehouse for commodities for the Austro-Hungarian Empire and was subsequently used to accommodate a variety of displaced people, from Jewish concentration camp victims to Italian refugees leaving Istria and Dalmatia, and more recently Afghan migrants moving towards

Western Europe. Altin shows how this structure accrued layers of meaning, serving to both protect and detain people while demonstrating dynamics of mobility and immobility. In Chapter 16, Zachary Whyte and Michael Ulfstjerne then offer a different kind of history, not so much a biography of a site, as a biography of a mobile shelter. Their study concerns the Danish ‘refugee villages’ of the 1990s, which were conceived to house Bosnian refugees fleeing the Balkan Wars, but whose modular, prefabricated forms could be packed up and moved elsewhere. These shelters became reused in various ways: as a part of a state removal facility, a kindergarten, as well as for repatriated refugees back in Bosnia. Again, this chapter emphasizes how refugee shelters can develop deep social meanings as they are re-placed and reinscribed in a variety of different contexts.

The next three chapters move more concretely to look at the role of architecture and design in forming material shelters. In Chapter 17, Craig Martin, Jamie Cross and Arno Verhoeven look at another instance of repurposing refugee shelter, this time from Goudoubo Camp in Burkina Faso. Like the Danish refugee villages, this is an instance of humanitarian design taking on a new life after change and adaptation; however, the authors of this chapter use their example to theorize how a top-down, imposed design can become encrusted with layers of adaptation and creativity, and how shelter can be thought of in terms of ‘cladding’, with a basic structure becoming amended with a range of vernacular additions. Chapter 18 then looks at another story of adaptation and ‘cladding’, focusing on the timber prefabricated shelters erected in Calais and Dunkirk by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) in 2015–16. In this chapter, Irit Katz examines emergency shelters not as end products, but as part of an ‘ongoing spatial process’. By contrasting the way that MSF imagined a particular user in its handbook with the way that this shelter was adapted in practice, Katz demonstrates the reality of what she calls ‘ad hocism’. Chapter 19, while sticking with design, builds on this account by providing an example of how adaptation and design works in practice. Diane Fellows explores how social media can contribute to the process of sheltering and how collaborative designs can be furthered through social connectivity, which she describes as an ‘emotional protective envelope’ constructed through everyday life.

The final two chapters bring us full circle. Written from an architectural angle, they both hark back to themes of containment and immobility. In Chapter 20, Faten Kikano picks up the Middle Eastern focus of the previous chapter and looks further at the dynamics of encampment. Examining the accommodation of Syrian refugees in Lebanon – particularly an informal settlement at Kab Elias, Bekaa – she shows how creativity and self-construction does not necessarily mean freedom from top-down camp controls. The informal settlements of the Bekaa, she argues, were damaging ghettoized spaces, sodden with unequal power relations, poor-quality accommodation

and a great deal of suffering. It is a theme that returns again in Chapter 21, when Toby Parsloe looks back at the subject of our first chapter: Berlin and temporary homes. Examining the spatial distinctions between emergency and community shelters at Tempelhof Airport, he argues that the highly symbolic former airport should be seen as an icon for the ‘inflexibility, unpreparedness and exclusory housing systems of the contemporary European neo-liberal city’. The new urban structures at locations like Tempelhof, he argues, stand as an indictment of a whole continent: ‘incapable, and perhaps even unwilling, to enact the ideals of European liberal democracy’.

Studying Refugee Shelter

The chapters in this collection propose a range of openings into the study of refugee shelter, which we hope will be taken up by others in the coming years. There are a variety of themes running through the collection, with many of the chapters, for example, identifying a central purpose to shelter that could apply more generally: the formation of social ties, the maintenance of border regimes, the creation of solidarity or the isolation of populations in liminal zones, to give just a few examples. Another common theme in the volume is the importance of history, and the way that buildings can put to such different uses over time: from quarantine stations to granary stores and shipping containers, there are a variety of biographical stories in this volume. Furthermore, many of the chapters touch on how sheltering is a process, an activity that changes and evolves, or they return to the idea of social shelter, illustrating how shelter is not just material, but needs to include lived experiences and complex human relationships.

Shelter, in this way, can become an extension of politics, and the different chapters illuminate a range of political positions. Whether it is furthering a liberal framework of rights, a communitarian framework of belonging, or an anarchist politics of radical participation, shelter is a way for identity and ideology to be communicated, a way to construct ideas of unity or fear. Shelter, in summary, can stand for many things, and this volume is just an opening. The examples illustrate how shelter can be fixed as well as fluid, how it can be material as well as symbolic, and how shelter can be public as well as private, a form of coercion as well as liberation. The examples touch on how shelter can encompass everything from substantial forms made from steel and iron to ‘contingent’ shelters that exist through social relations and are hardly there at all. In short, shelter is a place of ambiguity. Yet, beneath it all, shelter is always form of protection, however partial and contingent that protection turns out to be.

Tom Scott-Smith is Associate Professor of Refugee Studies and Forced Migration at the University of Oxford. His first book, *On an Empty Stomach: Two Hundred Years of Hunger Relief*, was published by Cornell University Press.

References

- Betts, A. 2009. *Protection by Persuasion: International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Davis, I. 2011. 'What Have We Learned from 40 Years' Experience of Disaster Shelter?' *Environmental Hazards* 10(3-4): 193-212.
- Hammond, L. 2004. *This Place Will Become Home: Refugee Repatriation to Ethiopia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Korac, M. 2009. *Remaking Home: Reconstructing Life, Place and Identity in Rome and Amsterdam*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Jansen, B. 2018. *Kakuma Refugee Camp: Humanitarian Urbanism in Kenya's Accidental City*. London: Zed Books.
- McAdam, J. 2007. *Complementary Protection in International Refugee Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McConnachie, K. 2016. 'Camps of Containment: A Genealogy of the Refugee Camp'. *Humanity* 7(3): 397-412.