

Housing Conditions and Upgrading of the Refugee Camps in Palestine (West Bank and Gaza Strip)

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Findings, Aims and Strategies

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Palestinian refugees constitute perhaps the largest group of refugees on the globe. Their plight, created in 1948, endures to this day as their children, grandchildren and subsequent generations are yet living in refuge. When one speaks of the problem many aspects come to mind including psychological, social, economic, existential, humanitarian and political ones.

All these, in addition to the political environment refugees reside in, have had a significant impact on the status of Palestinians. The home has big importance for the Arab family, especially in Palestine, where the public space still presents so many occasions of danger and insecurity. To deprive the human being from his right of sufficient housing is a crime. To achieve an adequate housing supply for everybody in Palestine you will find constraints which are familiar to many developing countries: absence of political stability and security, of legal and financial framework; deteriorating economic conditions, high unemployment and poverty rate on the one side, shortage of land, high land prices and high constructing and material costs on the other side; derelict housing quarters, insufficient and unhealthy technical services, insufficient social infrastructure; high density and no space for the individual. This book was one of the important literatures in the Istanbul conference in 2001, UN Habitat and for many others researcher institutes.

According to the desire of many researchers in the refugees camps affairs in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in additions to the desire of many students in the Master programm of Architecture and Planning especially in the Palestinian universities, new revised version will be published soon.

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Preface

The Palestinian Refugee Camps are a fact since the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948. The proclamation of the State of Israel became the catastrophe - the 'Nakbe' - for the Palestinian People. 50 years of Israel are now 50 years of 'Nakbe'.

One third of all Palestinians became homeless, after being thrown out of their origin living areas. Today around 53% of all Palestinians are living outside the country. Only one third are still living in Palestine in the so called Autonomous Areas which form around 10% of their origin land.

More than half of all Palestinians today are considered as registered Refugees. One third of them are still living in Camps, but outside Palestine: in Syria, Libanon and Jordan. About one third of all Refugees live as Refugees in their own country, in Jerusalem, in the Gaza Area or in the Westbank Area (*see: Passiah 1997/1998*). The future of Palestine is not at all clear. Nor could the Palestinians verify their 'right of return', concerning to UN resolution 191, nor does Israel provide the Palestinian with basic human rights, with peace and social security.

The Refugee Camps are the still visible symbol of the national catastrophe and the disastrous development since 1948. The native areas of the Refugee Camp people are the areas of Acca, Haifa, Jaffa, Safad, Lod, Ramleh, Bir Sabaa, Khalil (Hebron), Bisan or Jerusalem and some came from Nablus or Tulkarem Area. From all over the country people fled into all directions to escape from Zionist military attacks and threat between the end of 1947, the year of the UN partition resolution 181 and May 1948, when only the Jewish Organization proclaimed the Jewish State of Israel. This year the Jewish Zionist Organizations did all to hinder the Palestinians to do the same. This year will remain a deep nightmare for all Refugee families, they will never forget.

After fifty years, still there is no solution of the Refugee Question. 50 years of misery for the Palestinian Refugees - payed and kept alive by the international community - and no light shed on this matter. Since 50 years the UNWRA, 'United Nations World Relief Agency for the Palestinian Refugees in the Near East', is responsible for the Refugees and their families - and no change.

The Refugee population increased meanwhile to ten times - while the space of living in the Camps is nearly the same. Until today the number of all registered Refugees increased to 3.5 Million (!) and about 1.1 Million of them are still living in Camps. Living conditions are similar to living conditions in slum areas all over the 'poor world' (*see figure 1-6, chapter 1*).

The Palestinians and especially the Palestinian Refugees have become victims of a crime committed in Europe at the beginning of this century - for what they are not at all responsible. Europe, especially Germany is paying money to whitewash its crime, paying the debt through financial, military and political support for the State of Israel, the Jewish State. The Palestinian People were forced to take the bitter consequences of the Nazi Crime. But the Palestinian People are innocent for that crime committed first of all by Nazi Germany.

The regulations of OSLO don't give a solution for the Refugee Question - everything is postponed to an unforeseeable time. The European historical responsibility is not discussed in the process until now. But everybody knows very well, that there will be no real peace in the Near East without a solution for the Refugees, in and outside the country.

Actually, the Palestinian National Authority is confronted on their actual territory with the unhuman conditions of about 1.3 Million Refugees with about half of this number

living in Camps. The Gaza Region, with about 1 Million people carries the heaviest burden. Around two third of all Gaza people are registered Refugees. Around 420.000, more than half of them are living in high density in Camps. The other 350.000 Refugee people left the Camps for different reasons and found other shelter in the cities and villages of the Gaza Region. Some of them, around 22.000, are living in illegal and very hard conditions, between zinco-walls and asbest-roofs in so called ‚Slum Areas‘. Most of those people were forced to leave the Camp after housing demolition from Israel troupes (*see: Naji/Waltz, 1998*).

In the Westbank Region, with a population of around 1.6 Million and 276.000 in (East-) Jerusalem, 150.000 of them are still living in Camps and 400.000 as registered Refugees outside the Camps. In Jerusalem still around 70.000 people are registered Refugees around 30.000 living in Camps. (*see: Roy 1995, UNWRA 1997, PCBS 1997*)

The question today is: must and can the Palestinian National Authority change the situation of the Refugees, especially in the Camps - without a definite solution?

There are people who say: „no, we cannot change anything, we have to keep the situation as it is. The Camp is the result of the Palestinian catastrophe done by Israel and at first to be justified by the United Nations. How can we eliminate the Camp – the symbol of that injustice and create a situation that leads us to forgetting history? How can we upgrade without having our rights, without a rehabilitation of the injustice, what means return and compensation?“ And there are others who say: „we are comitting a new crime to our people, leaving the Camp people in these unhuman conditions since the Palestinian National Authorites came into power. While other parts of the society are benefiting very visibly and use their privileges and advantages from the beginning of the so called peace process.“

We believe in general, that at first the International Community, the UN, Europe and Israel are responsible for the situation of the Palestinian Refugees. But besides that, there is no doubt, that any Government, and in this case a Ministry of Housing, has to serve with its policy at first the people who live in unhealthy and overcrowded housing conditions and cannot afford to build or renew by themselves with an upgrading programs. In the actual situation in Palestine these people are first of all the Refugees, the main victims of the catastrophe. And as the Refugees, who could do it, themselves started to upgrade their houses as much as they can, it should be a normal policy to support them in their efforts. And this does not mean to give up the demand for justice and rights of return and compensation to the International Community, to Europe and Israel.

On the other hand, who believes, that the solution of the Refugee Question might arrive very soon, is blind and ignores reality. We feel, that not to care and not to try to upgrade the living conditions in the Camps is irresponsibly. We realize, that the people temselves want their living conditions change into better. And we should not neglect people's willing. Unfortunately the UNWRA has not been active to save the housing and living problems in a suffciant way until now. Some people say, the most simple and effective solution is to destroy the Camps and move the whole people to any other place, f.e. to the Jordan valley. Destruction and moving of people might be o n e answer in the long future. But it does not answer the actual needs.

A final solution can only be found at the political level and needs more negotiating and more struggling. But there is a need of interim activities, a mixture of different efforts and policies which on the one side do not harm the struggle for justice and rights and on the other side help to create a more healthy and human living situation for the Refugees in the Camps. As a Government, the PNA has also to take care of the

basic right of equality, that gives to everybody the chance of equal opportunities concerning living conditions and future perspectives. In the Camps this basic right doesn't exist. In contrary - we have f.e. many socially disabled, living in Camps without any chance: big families, old people, singles, young people, sick people who suffer from poverty, illness and unemployment. All of them suffer from unhealthy housing conditions. All arguments are justified in a way, at first the political, but also the economical, the social and the cultural. But there is no argument, that justifies not to give the Refugee people in the Camp the same basic human right: safe and healthy shelter.

The National Government has to combine all efforts to protect their people from social and economic discrimination. It has to provide everybody with sufficient shelter, especially those who are unable to help themselves to have a home. Housing policy and spatial development policy must focus on these efforts. Therefore we need a very soon discussion about policies, measures, programs and activities to make progress in upgrading the living conditions in the Refugee Camps within the following five to ten years. We are lucky to see, that the Refugee Camp Question has become one item in the recently published National Development Plan for the year 2003 (*see: PA 99*).

The following report follows two general aims. The first one is to remind the International Community to its responsibility towards the Palestinians as a Nation to find a just solution of the Palestinian Question, which is at first a Refugee Question and has to be a political and a territorial one. The second aim is to give information and proposals for those nations and governments within the International Community, who wants to help the Palestinian People with housing projects or others. Therefore at first this report give a short summary of the genesis of the Refugee Problem with the available actual figures and the actual information about the misery in living and housing conditions. After that it will describe main tasks and measures necessary to decide for a future upgrading program in housing and infrastructure. The first part should be proved officially, how it serves the international debate and how to address it to the International Community. The upgrading proposals as well should be discussed within the PNA, with the representatives of the Refugee Camps, with the affected Ministries, Municipalities and Governorates and last but not least with the UNWRA and then used in donor conferences or similar. We would like to understand the upgrading program proposal as part of a future housing policy and program and as part of a complex and comprehensive spatial planning activity, that reflects housing needs, job creating needs, needs of infrastructure and spatial development criterias of healthy and to clima adapted development, land use and building.

We hope this report will support the public discussion about the near and the far future of the Refugee Camps with no limits and all freedom to create something good for the affected people. During our work we have seen so very hard cases, such unbearable conditions, such tragedies, that we will never believe that there is not an actual need for changing policies. We are happy to find the upgrading of the social situation in the Refugee Camp included into the National Development Plan as a third priority within the social needs for the following five years.

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Abstract

If there is a final solution for the Palestinian National Question or not – this report follows the central idea of ‚Habitat‘: Healthy and safe Housing is a basic human right and must be guaranteed for everybody. The housing conditions in the Camps for the nearly half a million Palestinian Refugees in Palestine are neither healthy nor safe. The majority of shelter is still in very bad conditions: unsafe construction and unhealthy equipment and facilities in the ‚houses‘. Open sewage drainage, garbage and transportation conditions as well are unhealthy and dangerous in the ‚quarters‘. The main problem in the Refugee Camps is the very high living density.

The average number of Refugee Camp household members according to PCBS 1997/98 is 6.99 in the Westbank Region, and 7.99 in the Gaza Region, average 7,73%. The average number of household members per room in the Camps is 2.45 for the Westbank and 2.77 for the Gaza Region. 30% of the Westbank Camp households have three or more members per room, in the Gaza Region more than 40%. Still around 18% of all households in all Refugee Camps are without bathroom. In 1997, at the end of the first Palestinian Census and a first short evaluation, the PCBS estimated 62.994 households in the Refugee Camps. At the same time it counted only about 55.000 housing units in Camps. That means a lack of around 13% of housing units, or that more than 20% of households are more family households, living in one housing unit only (see: PCBS 1998a). Concerning rooms per household we have the figures for all the Refugee households, not specified for the Camps. Around 31% of the Refugee families in the Gaza Region live in one or two rooms only, while around 24% in the Westbank Region. For sure and related to our experience and visits in the Camps, the percentage for the Refugee households in Camps living in one or maximum two rooms is even higher (see: PCBS 1998). That means, that a quarter to one third of the Refugee households are unable to give boys and girls different bedrooms and parents must share with them. Besides the number of rooms, the size itself is very small. Rooms mostly are around 10 sqm only.

These are the main living conditions in a Refugee Camp Shelter for the last 50 years. The demands for the next 12 years until 2010, without a basic change, is about 65.000 new flats in the Camps, 50.000 for natural increase and 15.000 for compensation of severe overcrowding and dangerous constructions. Outside the Camps we need about 63.000 new flats for new Refugee Camps HH, if the relation between in and outside the Camps remains the same as before (see table 11-15).

Now, since the Palestinian National Authority came and there was a hope, that life in general will be more safe, the families started to invest in upgrading their shelter. Family members, who were expelled from their country, started to come back from outside. Most of all they had money to spend. Therefore meanwhile a not so small part of shelter has been changed completely. Houses were built up to three or four floors. Facilities were upgraded and – within steps – renewed. The process is not finished. Some buildings and constructions were stopped meanwhile because of lack of money. And still half or two third of the shelter – different from Camp to Camp - remained like before, dangerous, poor, unhealthy and very overcrowded.

The main idea of this proposal is, to take very serious the urgent demand for *changing life and housing condition into better*, what means *to reduce density and to eliminate unhealthy constructions and facilities* within the shelter and *to upgrade the infrastructure and the transportation situation* outside the shelter in the living quarters. Our main argument is, that the people have a right to live in a better housing condition – without giving up the right of return and compensation. And we believe, that the society as well as the PNA have to take care for that. Even if we follow the

argument, that the PNA is not responsible for the disaster and will not do anything to change the status quo, the International Community through its institutions, Europe and Israel have to deal with this problem, support programs and activities for an upgrading process, and thus enable the PNA to guarantee healthy shelter in Camps.

Before implementing the upgrading, it needs a political discussion and political decisions to give the green light for a renewing process, supported by the International Community. A campaign must follow to bring different people, organizations and sources together. The Refugee Camps must organize themselves for the whole process and send their elected representatives to the negotiations. As next the biggest problem to be solved is the property. We propose not to give property, as people want, but land use rights and little loan until there will be a final solution to each landholder. This should include a right of building on the land, to inherit and to keep it like family waqf. It should be forbidden to give to others than family members and Refugees. For all investments compensation must be given after the status changed through final decisions. After a final solution the area should remain a low cost housing area for other families or those who will not or cannot move to another place.

Concerning the construction itself we have two areas of activities: the family house and small neighborhood and the public areas in the quarter and the quarter itself.

For houses and quarters the main principles must be:

- A general building up of the whole Camp to four floors, through that we might organize the needed number of flats and compensation for planning purpose – but in the long run the final solution is needed,
- as much renovation as possible, as little as much demolishing of houses or moving people to other areas,
- as suitable and sufficient access to social and technical infrastructure as possible, minimal standards should exist,
- high level of self-help activities and professional support for it,
- as much use of local labour craft, local material and local know-how as possible,
- use of methods and styles of constructing adapted to local and cultural needs,
- fair compensation for demolishing by money, new building or land to build on.

We are sure, that the general building up to four floors will reduce density, give each family a three room shelter and compensate demolishing of parts for planning items.

Concerning the planning process is needed

- A high level of participation for each step,
- binding the process to social aims at first,
- high level of integrated planning and implementing,
- high level of cooperation between Ministries, Governorates, Municipalities and Refugee Camp's Representatives, as well with UNWRA and donors,
- building and constructing in steps related to financial capacities of the institutions and the people within a schedule,
- declare the areas as future low cost housing developing and reconstruction areas, within the local town and village development and land use plans and programs,
- declaration of a building stop for all areas as long as there is no land use plan,
- provide of land reserves for extension and new building areas and infrastructure must be purchased for future use,
- putting the program on the national budget and national agenda for funding.

For all special questions a maximum of open discussion must be achieved and as much as possible social forces should be involved. All national capacities should be emphasized to give their inputs: money, ideas, researches, drafts, labour.

The report gives some hints how to build up houses and how to increase the living space in areas and quarters. It finishes with an action plan for the next five years.

1. The Genesis of the Refugee Camps and Main Problems

The Palestinian Refugee Camps are the living, tragic symbol of the Palestinian National Catastrophe, the ‚Nakbe‘ from 1948. This catastrophe goes back to Europe’s history in the last century. To understand better the Palestinian position and the needs, we want to give a short summary of the genesis of the Refugee Question.

Historical Overview

In 1897, the First Zionist World Congress in Basel decided, to create a Jewish State in Palestine. This decision was done as an answer to persecution and killing of thousands of Jewish people in East Europe (*see: I. Zionist World Congress 1879*). And in 1917 the British Government through the so called ‚Balfour Declaration‘ promised the Zionist Movement to support this project as a Mandate Power (*see: Balfour Declaration 1917*).

While the Palestinian National Movement, after the I. World War and the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, tried hard to create its own Palestinian National State on their land, the Zionist Movement had already organized international support and all means to develop their future state (*see: Waltz, Zschiesche 1986, 1993*). In contrary to that, the Palestinians did not receive the promised help from England and France after the so called Syke-Picot Agreement, in case they would help Europe to conquer the Ottomans. The Mandate Status finally became an important help for the Zionist Movement to prepare the Jewish State. Until 1947, the Jewish population increased to nearly one third of the whole population in Palestine. This was first of all a consequence of the persecution of Jews in Germany and Europe and not a success of Zionist Ideology. Thousands of Jewish Germans and others fled from Europe to Palestine as a last chance to survive.

After many conflicts between the foreign immigrants who took land and water resources, and the Palestinian farmers and workers who became more and more expropriated from land and work opportunities, the United Nations, on the 30. November of 1947, decided the division of Palestine into two states, a Jewish State and a Palestinian State and Jerusalem as ‚Corpus Separatus‘ under international control. This decision was not acceptable. All Arab countries refused this unjust decision, because the Zionist Movement didn’t occupy more than 6% of the whole land, but should have nearly 60% of the country. (*see: UN Res. 181 30.11.47 and map*). The Zionist Movement too, through its representative the Jewish Agency, did not agree with the proposed territorial borders, because they wanted the whole Palestine and especially they wanted sovereignty over Jerusalem. But they worked with it as a first step (*see: Jewish Agency 1947, see: map 1*).

The year ended up with a war, started by the Zionists, who had prepared themselves since long time for military activities. They wanted as much of the land as possible under Zionist control and as little Palestinian people as possible within. Groups like Irgun and Zwa Leumi and the Hagannah, the ‚army‘, terrorized the Palestinian People through massacres and killings thus driving out thousands of people from their villages and towns. The expulsion of the Palestinian People began. None of them could believe that their flight might be for ever. But it became like that.

At the end of the war the Palestinian catastrophe became perfect. After 1948, when the armistic agreements between the Zionists and the Arab neighbours were done, Israel had

taken more than 70 % of Palestine. For the Palestinians only around 23% of the land were left over - under Egypt and Jordan control. Around 418 villages were depopulated and destroyed. Within Israel's new armistic borders only 120 villages were left, most of them located in Jalil (Galilee), on upon 7% of the now Israel lands. After UN officials, 1949 around 726.000 Palestinians were driven out of the country within the armistic lines. Around 32.000 Palestinian still lived within the armistic lines and became citizens of Israel. In the Westbank and the Gaza Region remained only 156.000 Palestinians, who were originally located there.

Photo 1: Palestinian families escaping from Zionist Terror 1947\48 (photo: UNWRA 1998)



After the mass flight of about 850.000 Palestinians from their native places around 470.000 Refugees came in addition to these 156.000. The remaining land was devided into the Westbank, the hilly middel Palestine with 22% of the Palestinian Territory, and

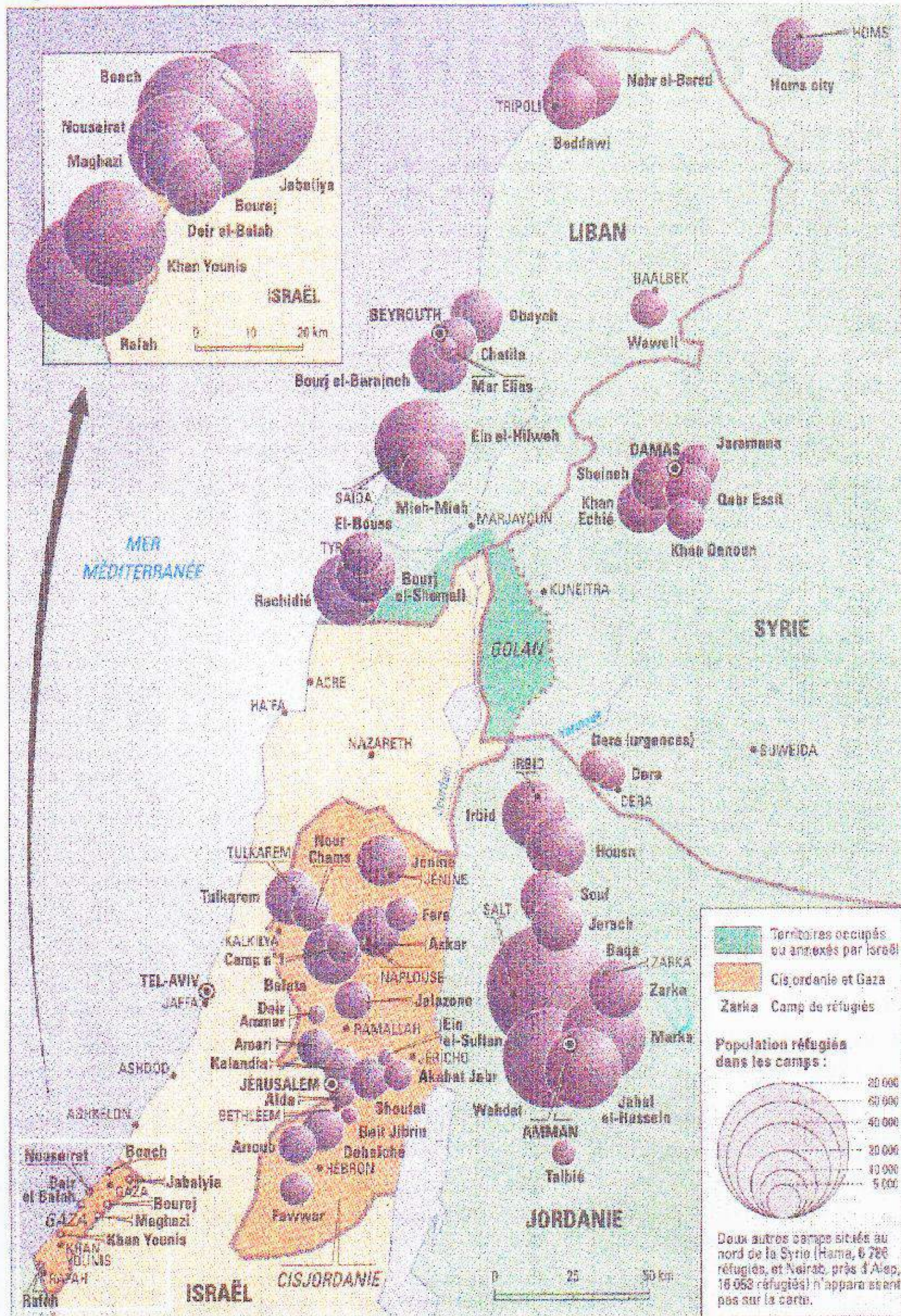
the Gaza Area, a coastal area, near to the desert, with 1,3% of the Palestinian land. (see: PASSIAH 1998, Khalidi 1991, PLO Bonn 1991, Cattan 1988, Flapan 1987, UNWRA 1998, see: map 3)

After UN information nearly half of all Refugees, more than 400.000 people, fled to the neighbored countries like Jordan, Libanon and Syria. From those Refugees remaining in Palestine, about 280.000 Palestinian fled to the Westbank Region and about 190.000 to the Gaza Region (see: UNWRA 1998). The Gaza Region had only 80.000 origin inhabitants at that time. When Israel in 1967 occupied the Westbank and the Gaza Region, there were again about 24.200 Refugees leaving the country. Besides these mass flights before and after this war we have to consider, that every day Palestinians left the country - to study or to find work, because they were deprived from all rights and means to form a future for themselves and their families. We can say, that after 1948, after the creating of the Jewish State of Israel, the Palestinians have become a people of Refugees. Today the whole world is outraged at the killing, the massacres and the expulsion of hundreds and thousands of Bosnian or Albanian in former Yugoslavia. At that time Europe and America accepted the massacres and expulsion of thousands of Palestinians and did not do anything against it, for the securing of the promised Jewish State of Israel.

In 1987 the ‚Intifada‘, the uprising, started, and there was a hope, that finally Israel might be forced to talk about peace. In September 1993 there was a breakthrough in secret meetings and discussions and in 1994 the so called Palestinian- Israeli Peace Process began. In the agreements of Oslo, decisions were made about a lot of details, finally regulating a kind of small autonomy on very little land for the Palestinian National Authority. But there was no regulation included about the Refugee Question, the Israeli Colonies and the Jerusalem Question. In 1999 there should be a final settlement - but until now there is no solution of these important questions to be seen. (see: *The Declaration of Principles 13.9.1993, Oslo I, Oslo II in: PASSIAH 1999*) Israel is still constructing new colonies on Palestinian land, controlling the big majority of country and people. They settle on about not more than 2-3% of the Westbank and Gaza Area, with about 300.000 Jewish colonists, half of them in the colonies in East-Jerusalem, surrounding and strangeling all Palestinian Communities. The Palestinian economy is in a big crisis, only little amount of Palestinians are allowed to serve the Israel labour market. Living conditions and income are decreasing more and more, poverty affects at most the Refugees (see: *PASSIAH 1998, 1994, PCBS 1998, Shaban 1997, Abed 1996, The World Bank 1993*). There is no sovereignty to be seen, the ‚peace process‘ reached a deadlock.

But the Refugee Questions remains still one of the biggest problems to solve. Today UNWRA registers all over the Near East Countries about 3.5 Million Palestinian Refugees. Their yearly natural netto increase is about 3%. Nearly 33% of them live still inside a Camp, 67% outside. 38% of all registered Refugees live still in Palestine, 15,8 % in the Westbank Region and 21.9% in the Gaza Region. In countries like Jordan they form around one third of the whole population. Jordan „hosts“ about 42% of all Palestinian Refugees (see: *table 1, map 1*). All these figures do not include those Palestinians who fled elsewhere, those displaced after the war in 1967, because f.e. they were outside Palestine at that time. It is estimated, that nearly half of the Diaspora

Map 1: Location of Refugee Camps, inside and outside Palestine according to UNRWA



Palestinians do not have official registered UNWRA status and might be forgotten in the Refugee Debate and Final Solution, if they will not become included officially (see: *PASSIAH 1999*)

Table 1: UNWRA Registered Refugees in Palestine and the neighbour countries and proportion of Refugees to local population (UNWRA June 1998)

Location	No. of Camps	No. of Refugees in Camps	Refugees in %	No. of Refugees outside Camps	Total No. of Refugees	Refugees to local populat.
Jordan	10	269.749	18,4	1 193.315	1 463.064	33,3 %
Lebanon	12	198.931	54,6	165.620	364.551	10,4 %
Syria	10	106.748	29,2	258.857	365.605	2,5 %
Westbank	19	147.015	26,5	408.042	555.057	29,7 %
Gaza	8	423.881	54,9	348.982	772.863	75,7 %
Total	59	1 146.324	32%	2 374.816	3 521.140	

Source: *PASSIAH 1999, UNWRA, 9, 1998*

Photo 2: Dikwaneh Camp, Lebanon, 1950 (UNWRA 1998)



In the following figures, we will show the actual distribution of the Palestinians in the Diaspora and inside the country. After that see the changes of the Camps shape from the sixties until today.

Palestinians in the Diaspora, 1997

Figure 1: Palestinians inside and outside Palestine – (total 7,92 Mio)

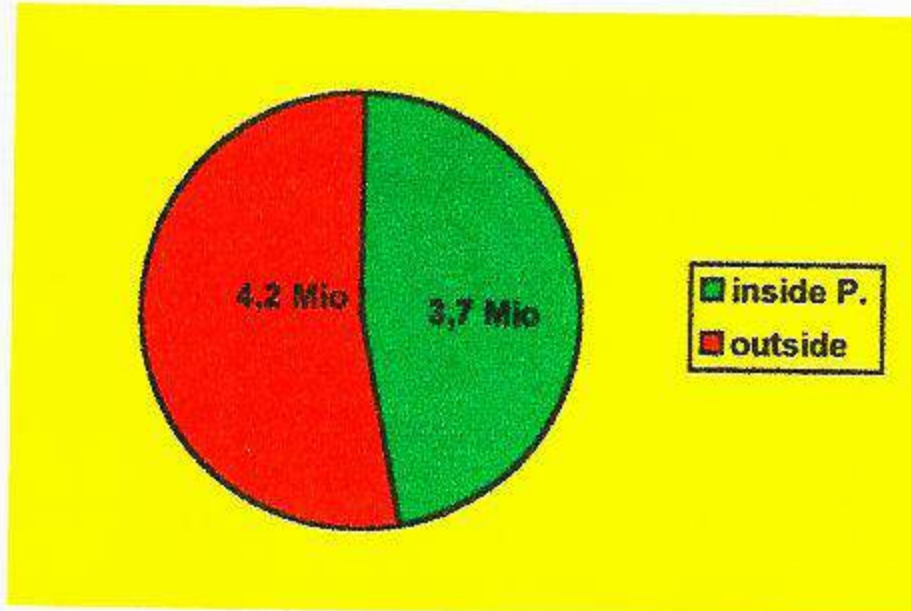


Figure 2: Palestinians inside and outside the country – location in detail (total 7,29 Mio)

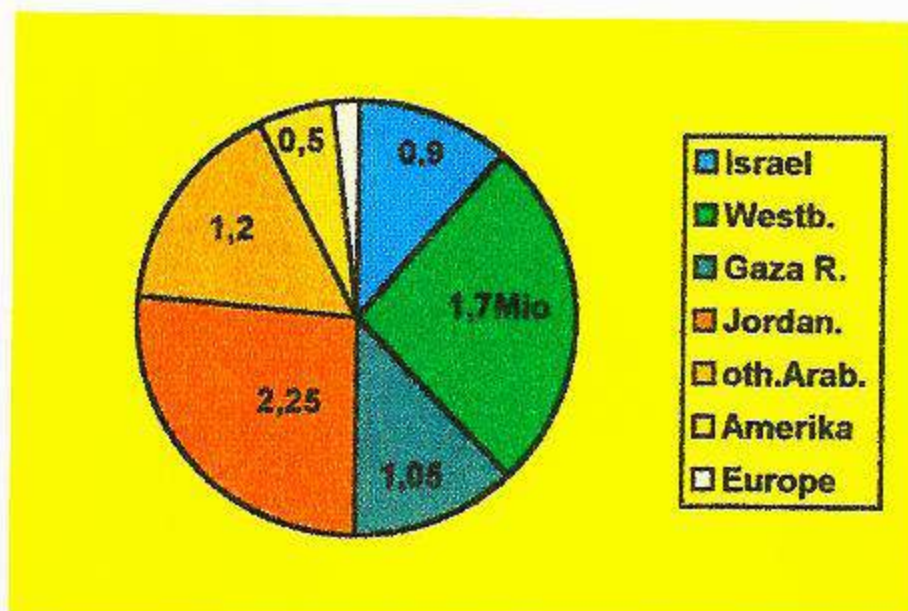
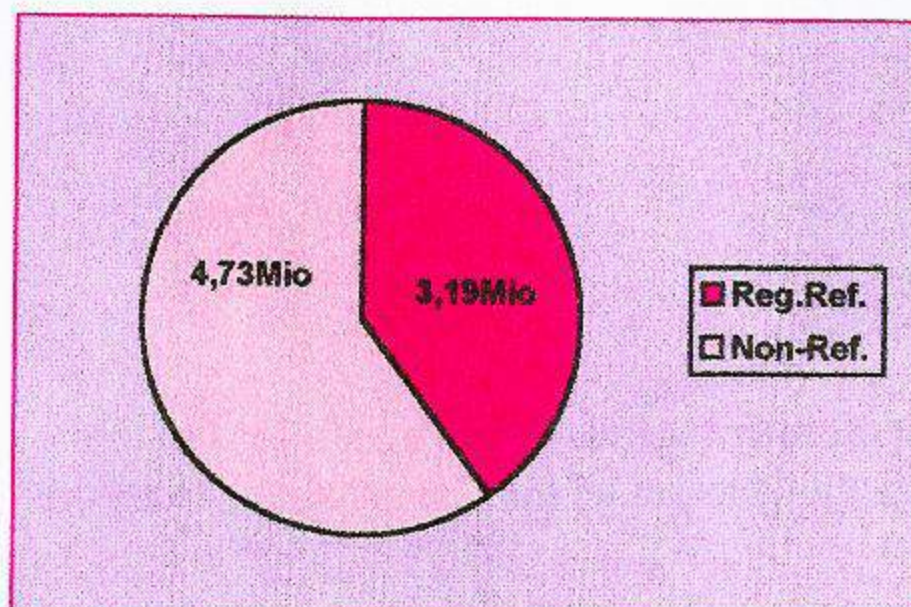


Figure 3: Palestinians, Registered Refugees and Non-Refugees (total 7,92 Mio)



Palestinians in the Diaspora, Registered Refugees, 1998

Figure 4: Registered Refugees, location in detail (total 3,52 Mio)

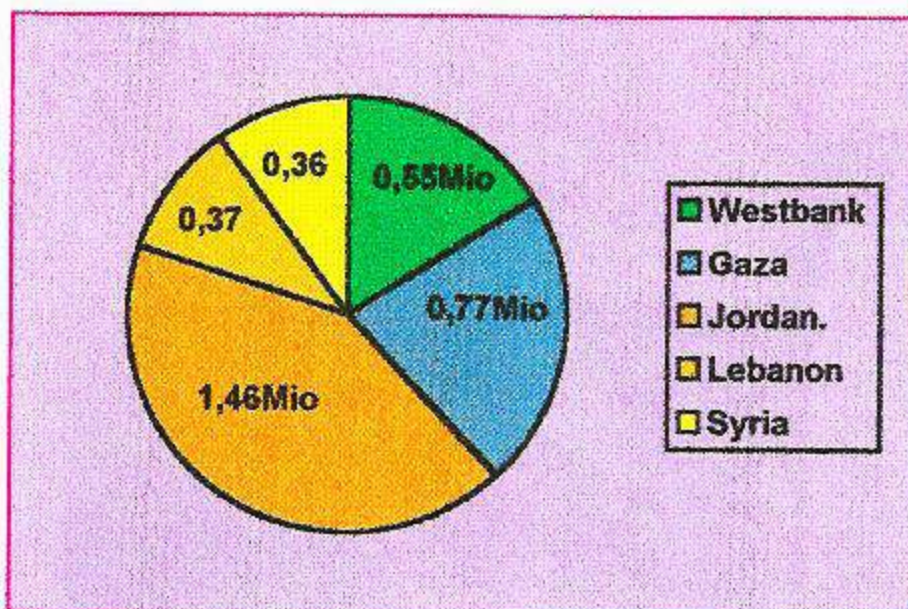


Figure 5: Registered Refugees, in and outside the Camps (total 3,52 Mio)

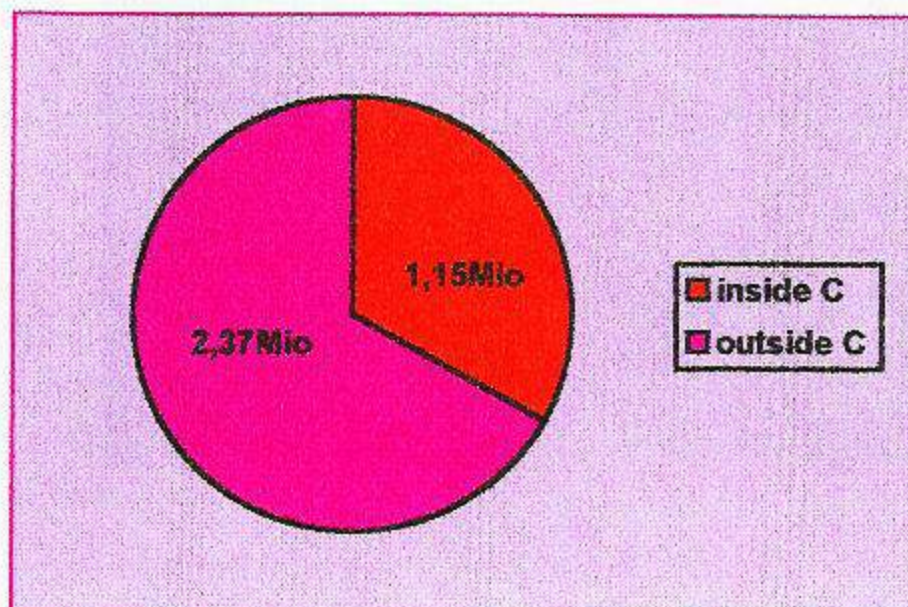
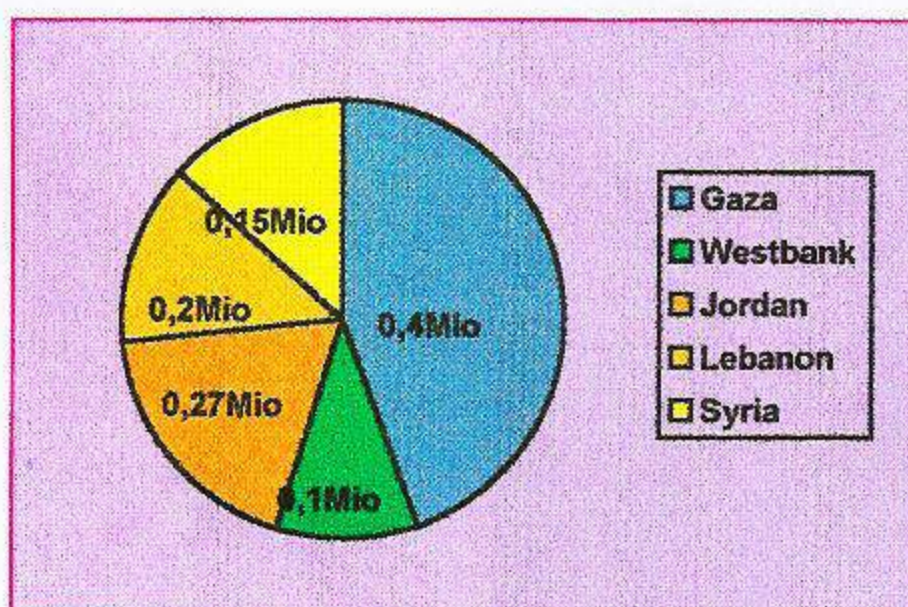


Figure 6: Registered Refugees, only in Camps, location in detail (total 1,15 Mio)



(source: PASSIAH 1998, PCBS 1998, 1999, UNWRA 1987, 1998)

Photo 3: Beach Camp Gaza, 1963 (UNWRA 1998)



Photo 4: Khan Yunis Camp, 1960's (UNWRA 1998)



Photo 5: Jabalja 1998 (Waltz 1998)



Photo 6: Shati at the seaside, 1998 (*Waltz 1998*)



Photo 7: Deir el Balah, 1998 (*Waltz 1998*)



The Refugee Question - especially the Right of Return - is without any solution. It was excluded from negotiation until now. That means, many Refugees will remain in the Refugee Camps and hold their Refugee Status, at least not to lose their rights. In Palestine, since the Palestinian National Authority came in, those who could afford it, started to build up their shelter, to renovate and to reconstruct their homes as well as possible. Those who lost their work and their support from relatives after the Gulf War, still remain in their poor living conditions. The fact, that the upgrading process was left to private initiative only, is meanwhile creating a severe splitting within the Camps. Concerning to quality of the area and the social fabric we have now:

- areas and buildings of renovated and built up houses (around 30 to 40% of all buildings meanwhile are built up to two or three floors),
- areas and buildings, poor as before, with high density, ugliness and lack of hygienic facilities.

The Refugee Camp people are splitted into three groups.

- The first group, nearly one half of all Camp Refugees, left the Camp already and found more or less better shelter outside.
- The second group, forming nearly a quarter to one third of all Camp Refugees, or half of the Camp people, was able to upgrade their housing situation, collecting all money of their relatives from abroad.
- The third group, a big quarter of all Camp Refugees, or more than one third of the Camp people, still live in poor conditions, high density and have no alternative or the means to help themselves for better shelter.

Most of all the last group needs help for upgrading their shelter. Houses and quarters need to reduce density and unhealthy living condition. The Palestinian National Authority should on the basis of the needed International Help decide about an emergency program to level out social and housing differences, to give young families a minimal standard of housing and to better fundamentally the situation for the poorest. This program should help to create a minimal standard of healthy housing for all Camp people within the next five years. That demands improvement and building up the existing housing stock within the Refugee Camps as well as new building and an extension of the Camps.

If the PNA will elaborate the program, aims and principles, that does not mean to eliminate history or to question the right of return or compensation. There must be reparation for the injustice done to the Palestinian People. And those, who caused this injustice and those who decided about the partition of Palestine, have to give rights and compensation: Europe, especially Germany and England, Amerika and the Zionist Movement.

Until this will happen, life in the Refugee Camps must be changed into better for humanity and the forsake of the children and young people. Housing has to be respected as a basic human right, including the right of security, health and chances to create the

future concerning to ones wishes and abilities. That means an emergency program, that helps to reach the following aims:

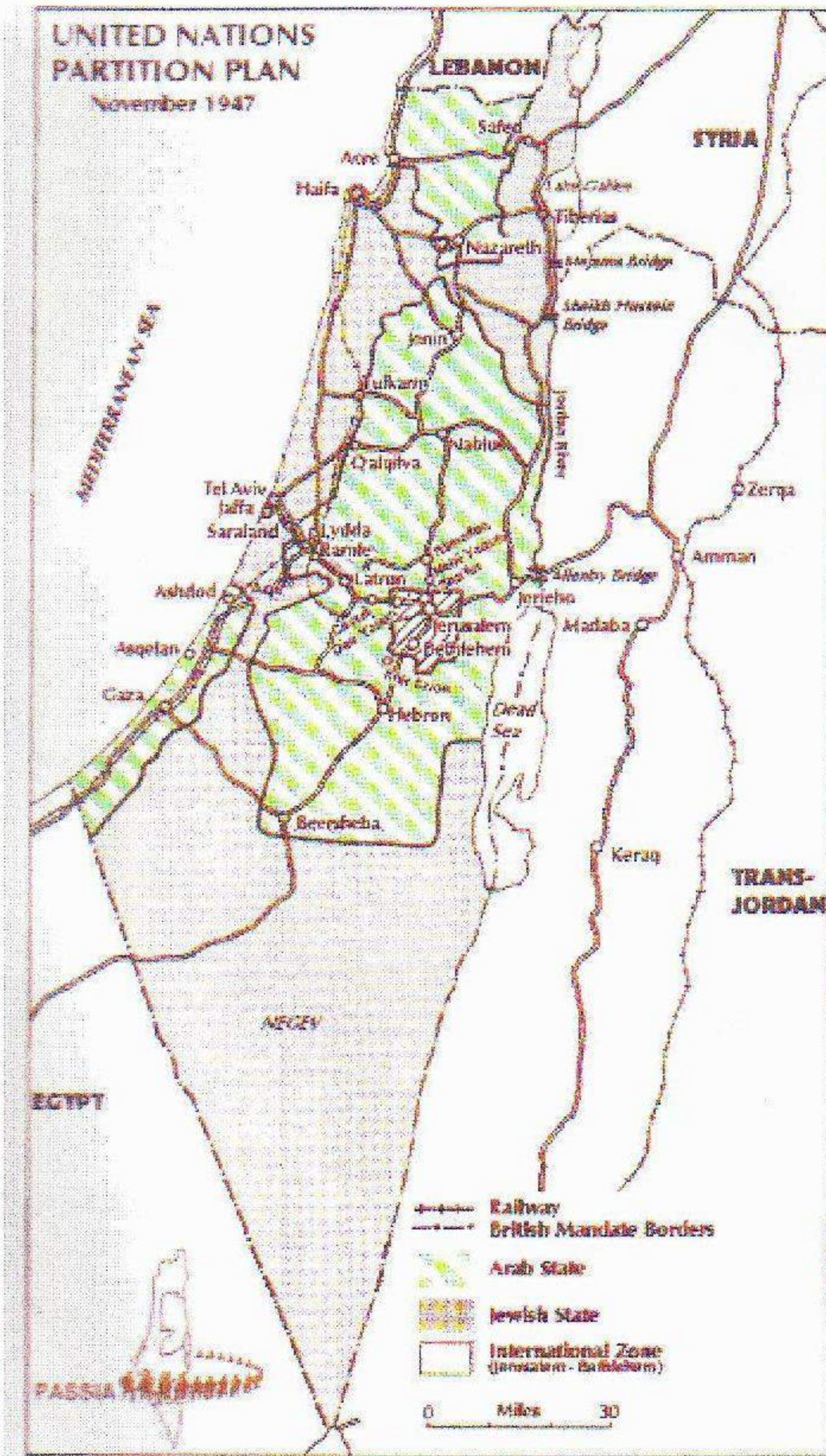
- to reduce density and overcrowded housing,
- to improve building structures and constructions, to eliminate damages and dangerous material,
- to improve the standard of kitchen, toilet, bath and shower,
- to improve the standard of social services and technical infrastructure,
- to enlarge space for free activities, recreation and ventilation,
- to improve security in houses and quarters, first of all for emergency transportation,
- to create income and qualification opportunities.

To be sure, that the people's needs and demands are followed by doners, UNWRA, PNA and the national institutions, the Refugee Camp's Population should form a body to represent their interests and to influence and to control the whole upgrading process. Together, with all people and institutions involved, they should prepare the agreements, set standards, programs and plans. As the Refugees themselves know best the conditions, aims and means, they must have a mighty voice within the process. They should influence the decisions in which areas to start and which cases and situations should be seen as the urgent ones. The Camp People must be envolved from the beginning, during the whole process, until the end and the final evaluation of the whole process.

The future is product of our today decisions. To create a National Housing Policy in a social dimension, the PNA and especially the Ministry of Housing must face the challenge of the Refugee Camps as one example for an urgent emergency housing program.

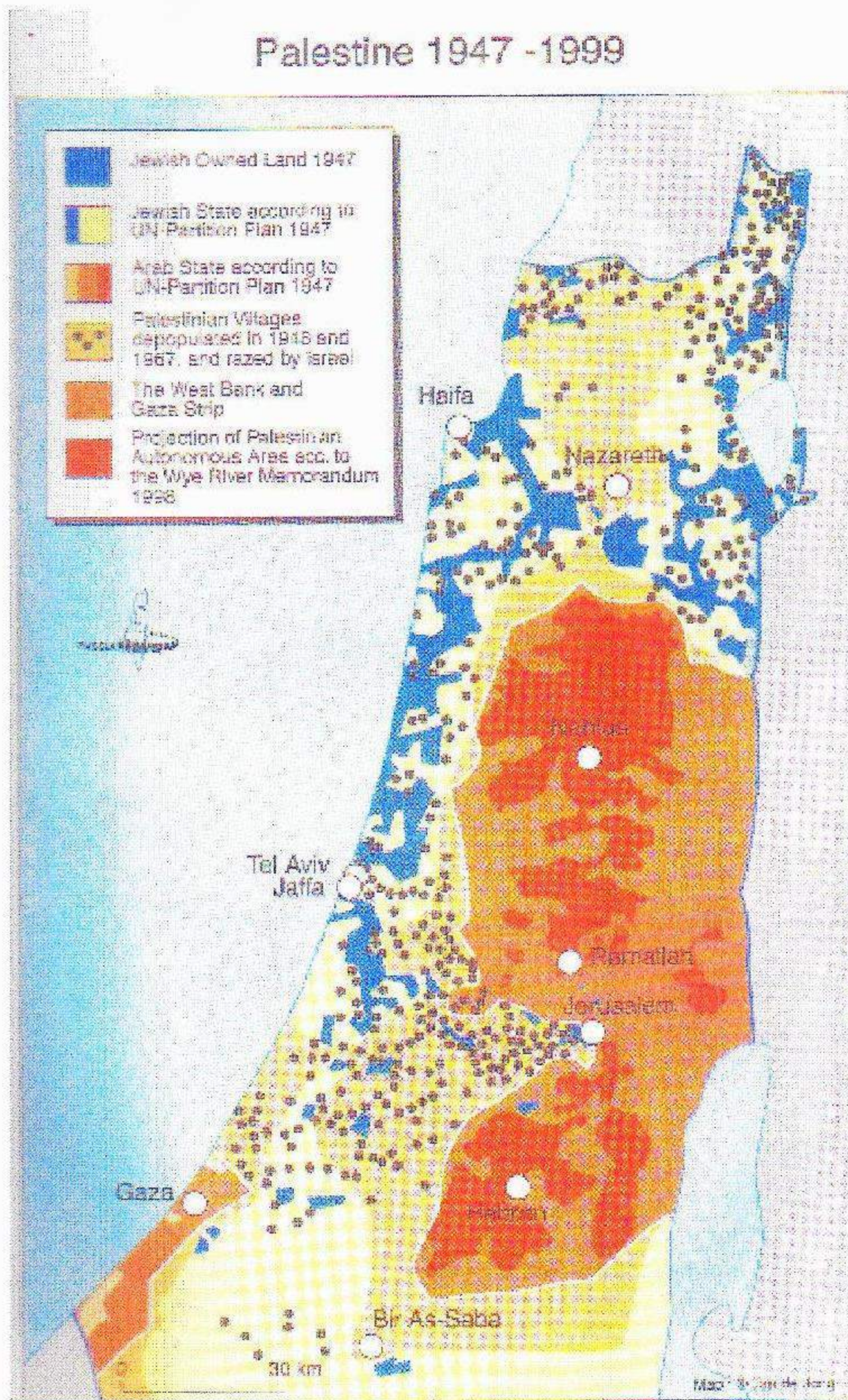
At the same time there can be no doubt about it, that a real peacefull future depends on the creating of a National Palestine State which hopefully will be established soon. The minimal territory of that state must be based on the borders of 1947. What we have now as a splitted area makes no sense as we can see on the follwowing maps.

Map 2: United Nation Partition Plan 1947



Source: Passiah 1998

Map 3: Palestine from 1948 until 1998, proposed „borders“ after Wye-Agreement



Source: PASSIAH 1999

2. The Contemporary Situation in the Refugee Camps in Palestine - a Challenge to Politic and Planning, Inventory

The living and housing conditions in the Refugee Camps are more or less well known. In this chapter we will summarize and analyze those facts and problems, which are most important for the planning process. Here we concentrate on the Gaza Region, because this Region suffers the most from the crucial Refugee Question.

Three quarters of the whole population are registered Refugees. More than one third of all Gaza people and more than half of all registered Refugees of the Gaza Region are still living in Camps. Development aims and planning strategies for the Refugees in the Gaza Region may be nearly the same like for the Westbank Region and Jerusalem. But the size of the problem in the Gaza Region is so much bigger.

Exact figures about sizes of areas, population, increase of population, size of households - all these figures needed for planning - are not easy to find. Not all sources are secure, especially those from Israeli institutions. The most actual figures we have, are from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (*PCBS: 1997, 1998*). But still there are open questions, still the evaluation of the national census from 1997 is not finished in the details. Besides the PCBS we rely on the figures given by the UNWRA, which differ from others, but they seem to us the most trustable. The basic of these figures differ from the figures of the PCBS. Not all figures needed, are available, not all used figures are from the same basic, not all sources are safe. By not neglecting this reservation we nevertheless have to take the following figures as general information, telling enough about the main stream of development and the size of the problems.

2.1 Size and Location of the Refugee Camps

After the war in 1948, most of the Refugee Camps started as provisional small towns of tents, erected in a hurry, to give shelter to around 470.000 Refugees who remained in Palestine - beside those, who fled to Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. From them 280.000 Refugees settled in the Westbank Region, including the East Jerusalem Area, about 190.000 people fled to the Gaza Region (*see: Badawy 1997*). After all, between 1952 and 1955 eight big, solid living areas for the Refugees were built up in the Gaza Region and 20 in the Westbank and Jerusalem Region. They became stable Camps, with small houses, two to three rooms, garden, court and small streets. In 1967, when Israel occupied Golan, Sinai, Westbank and Gaza, again about 20.000 Palestinians fled - most of them out of the country.

Until 1997 the whole Refugee population in Palestine increased to nearly 1,3 Million, one third of all registered Palestinian Refugees in the Middle East today. That means a net increase of 174%, in average 3,5% per year. The Refugees form in 1997 about 44,8%, nearly half of the whole population in Palestine (2.9 Mio in WB, Gaza, Jerusalem E). Within the Camps in Palestine still are living around 570.000 people, what means 42,6% of all Refugees and 19,2% of the whole population. In every Camp we find the same conditions in the majority of shelter:

- High density and no development space,
- not sufficient status of kitchen, bath and toilet, an unhygienic situation,
- not safe and not healthy constructions and construction material,
- not sufficient water and energy provision,
- not sufficient sewage and waste disposal systems,

- transportation problems, especially for emergency cases.

All over we find the same social problems of unemployment, not sufficient provision of social services, lack of free space, centers or places for communication or leisure time.

The deepest changes took place since the establishing of the Palestinian National Authority. Many families started individually to invest into their houses, to change material, to build up some floors or are going to demolish and build a new house on the ground of the former shelter. Most of the money came from relatives from outside, from returnees and from own savings. Finally, after the Israeli military went out of the areas, it made sense to invest in housing, because no more demolishing, no more evacuation of families was expected. Some families even are going to rent flats for other families because of growing space and reducing family size related to permanent migration to foreign countries for work or studies. But in most of the Camps still one third to one half of the houses are in the same bad conditions, or constructions have been stopped and were not finished because of lack of money. Not all people are able to collect the money for renewing. One reason is the unexpected bad economic situation after the closure of borders to Israel and the loss of job opportunities there (see: UNWRA 1997, PCBS 1997).

After this general overview we will show the demographic situation concerning to Regions and Camps more detailed.

2.1.1 Westbank Region and East Jerusalem (borders 1967)

(source PCBS, UNWRA 1997)

In the Westbank Region (incl. East Jerusalem) the Refugee Population represents with around 550.000 Refugees in 1997 around 32% of the whole population (about 1,7 Mio, incl. 0,21 Mio in East Jerusalem). Still 132.375 people are living within the 20 Refugee Camps. That means around 26% of all Westbank Refugees and 7,8% of all Westbank inhabitants are living in Camps. More than 70% of the registered Westbank Refugees are already living outside the Camp .

In the Districts of Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron and Jericho the location of Refugees is like the following.

Nablus District.

In 7 Camps 71.146 Refugees: *Askar*, with 11.171, *Balata* with 16.843, *Far'a* with 5.481, *Camp No. 1* with 5.252, *Nur Shams* with 6.746, *Tulkarem* with 13.587 and *Jenin* with 12.066 inhabitants. That means, that in the Camps of the Northern District are living 54 % of all Westbank Camp Refugees and 13% of all Westbank Refugees. Thus the Northern District is the most affected by the Refugee Problem in the Westbank and Jerusalem Region.

Jerusalem District (east, borders of 1967).

In 5 Camps 30.303 Refugees: *Shu'afat* with 7.833 inhabitants, *Am'ari* with 6.666, *Deir Ammar* with 1.718, *Jalazone* with 7.111 and *Kalandia* with 6.975 inhabitants. That means, in the Camps of the Jerusalem District are living 23% of all Refugees in Camps and about 5,4% of all Refugees in the Westbank and Jerusalem Area.

Hebron District (with Beithlahem).

In 5 Camps 25.422 Refugees: *Deheisheh* with 8.587 inhabitants, *Aida* with 3.489, *Beit Jibrin* with 1.483, *Fawwar* with 5.097 and *Arroub* with 6.766 inhabitants. That

means, in the Camps of Hebron District are living 19% of all Camp Refugees and about 4,6% of all Refugees of the Westbank and Jerusalem Area.

Jericho District.

5.504 Refugees in 3 Camps: *Aqbat Jabr* with 4.133 inhabitants, *Ein el Sultan* with 1.371 and *Nu'eima*, actually with no inhabitants. That means, in the Camps of the Jericho District are living 4% of all Camp Refugees and 1% of all Refugees in the Westbank and Jerusalem Area.

(All figures see: UNWRA 1997, 1998, PCBS 1997, see: tabel 2, see: map 4).

See the following typical views of some Camps.

Photo 8: Typical view of Westbank Refugee Camps: Kalandia (*Bir Zeit 98*)

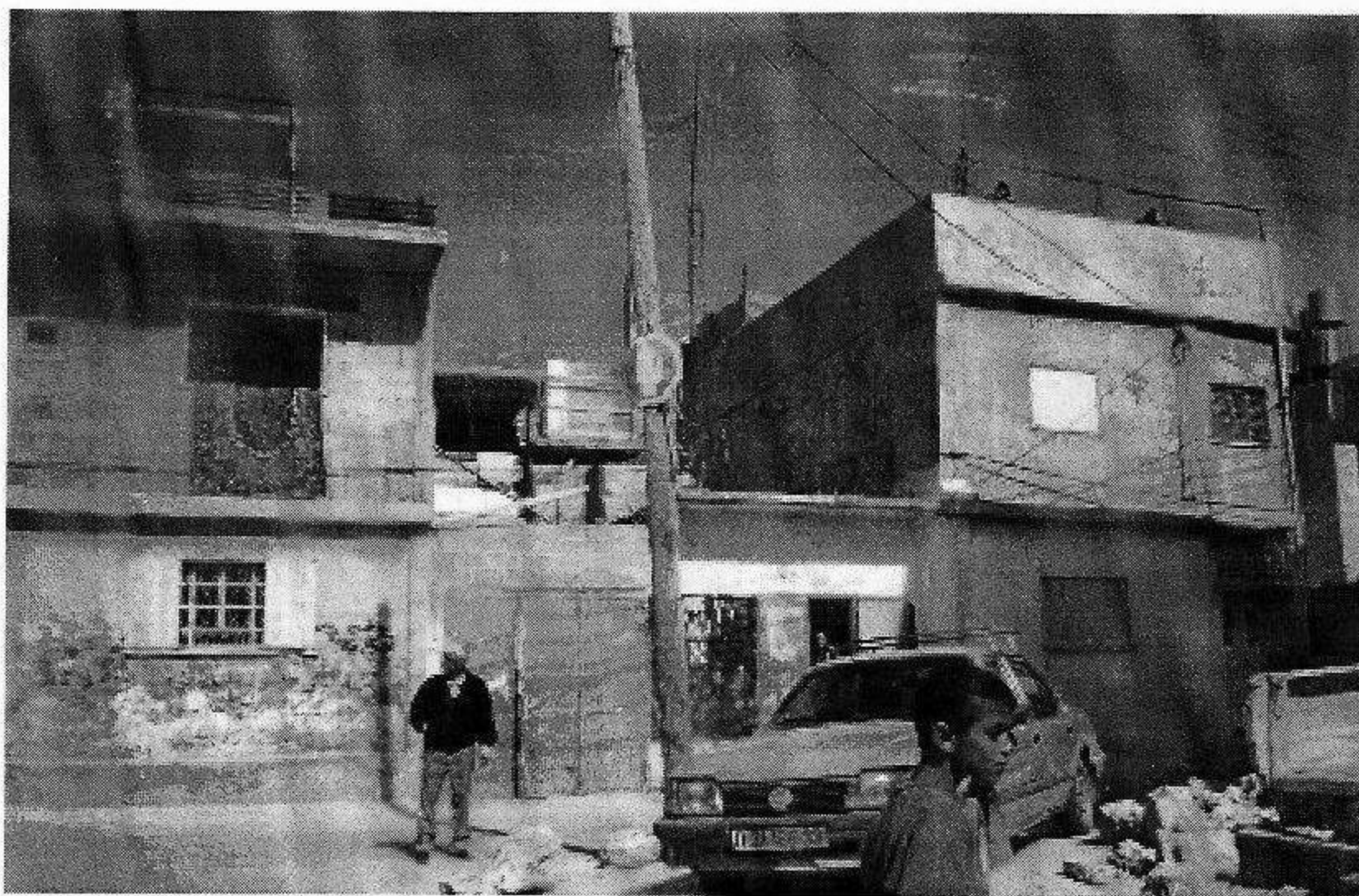


Photo 9: Ama'ari (*Bir Zeit 98*)

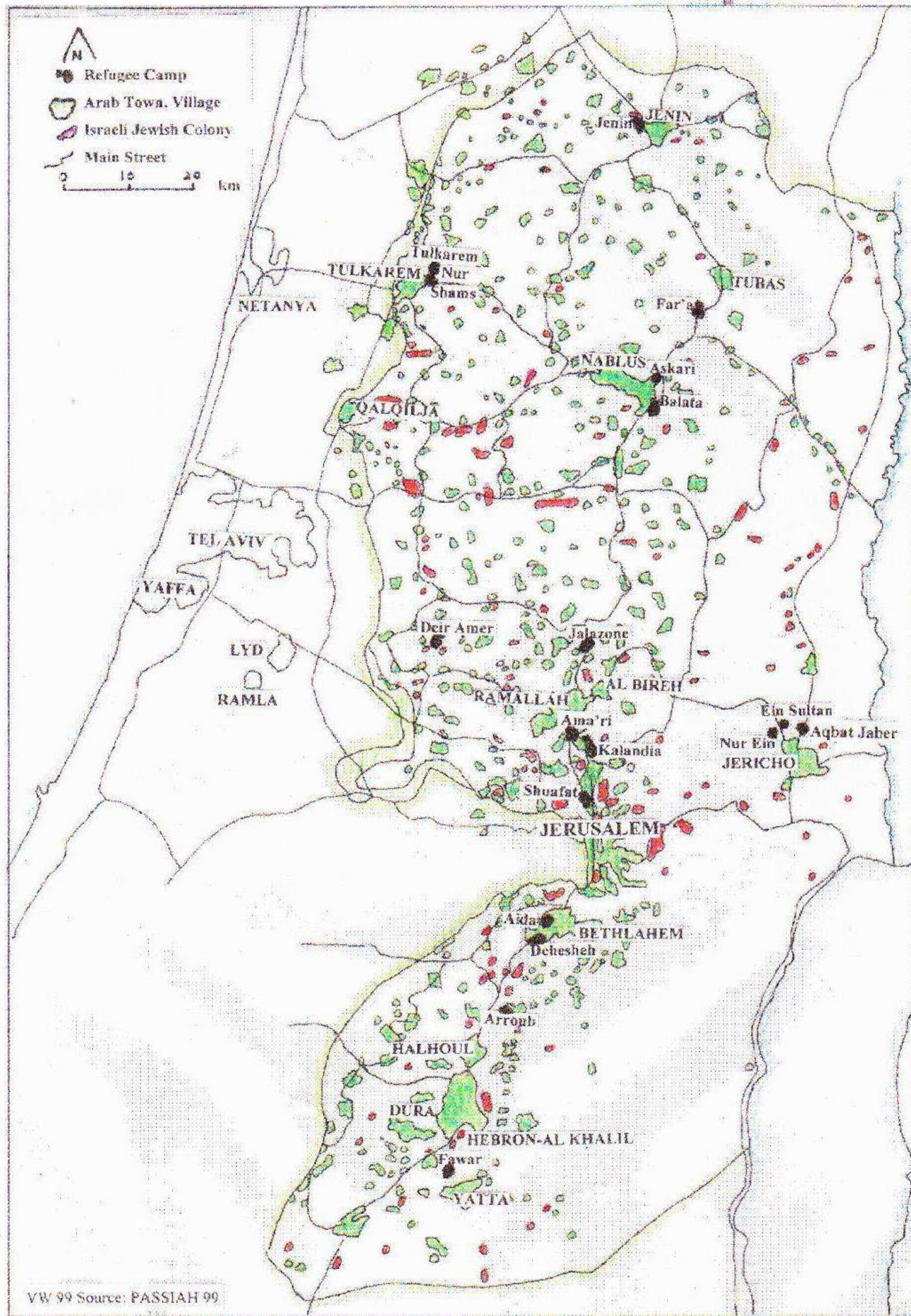


Tabel 2: Distribution of Refugee Population in the Westbank Region, incl. Jerusalem 1997

Area/Refugee Camp	Total Refugee - Camp-Population	% of all Refugees in the Westbank	% of all Refugees in Camps in the WB
Northern District	71.146	13 %	54 %
Askar	11.717		
Balata	16.843		
Fara'a	5.481		
Camp No. 1	5.252		
Nur Shams	6.746		
Tulkarem	13.587		
Jenin	12.066		
Jerusalem District	30.303	5,4 %	23 %
Shu'afat	7.833		
Am'ari	6.666		
Deir Ammar	1.718		
Jalazone	7.111		
Kalandia	6.975		
Hebron District	25.422	4,6 %	19 %
Deheisheh	8.587		
Aida	3.489		
Beit Jibrin	1.483		
Fawwar	5.097		
Arroub	6.766		
Jericho District	5.504	1 %	4 %
Aqbat Jabr	4.133		
Ein el Sultan	1.371		
Nu'eima	0		
all WB Camp Refugees	132.375	24 %	
all WB Refugees	550.000	32% of all WB Population	7,8% of all WB Population

Source: UNWRA 1997, PCBS 1997

Map 4: Distribution of Camps in the Westbank Region and Jerusalem 1998



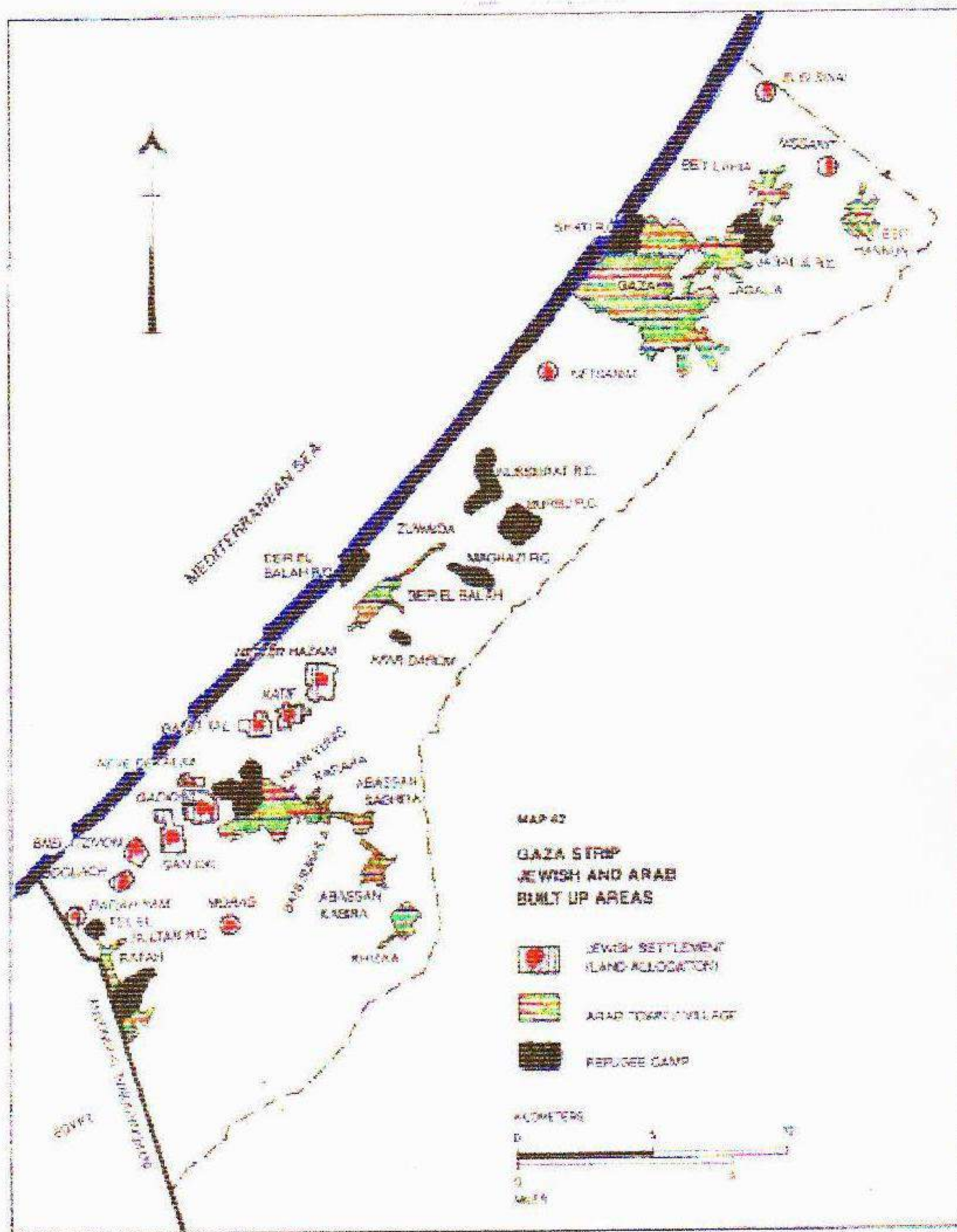
2.1.2 The Gaza Region, distribution of Refugees and Camps

Gaza has a special situation with its little land capacity and its high population density in general and in the Camps. The Camps have nearly no space to widen the area. Concerning to UNWRA plans after 1948, the Refugees were settled near the cities to let them find work either in agriculture or in administration and services. Meanwhile,

in 1998, the number of Refugees increased to more than around 760.000. A majority of them, around 420.000 or 55% of all are still living in eight Refugee Camps. Most of the heads of the families are without jobs or regular income. In many families you find men, husbands or sons, who are still kept as political prisoners in Israeli prisons.

There are two huge Camps in the South and two huge Camps in the North and four others in the Middle Area. Gaza City has 16% of all Camp Refugees in its borders.

Map 5: Distribution of the Camps of the Gaza Region (Westbank Data Base 1988)



The Refugees are distributed as following.

Northern District.

In 2 Camps 154.607 Refugees: *Shati* with 66.847 inhabitants and *Jabalja* with 87.760. That means in the Northern District Camps are living 36,7% of all Camp Refugees.

Southern District.

In 2 Camps 130.403 Refugees: *Khan Yunis* with 53.120 and *Rafah* with 77.283 inhabitants. That means in the Southern District are living 30,9% of all Camp Refugees.

Middle District

In 4 Camps 114.408 Refugees: *Burej* with 27.211 inhabitants, *Nuseirat* with 51.256, *Maghazi* with 19.307 and *Deir el Balah* with 16.634 inhabitants. That means, in the Middle District Camps are living 27,1% of all Camp Refugees in the Gaza Region.

If you look upon the figure of those who do not live any more in the Camp, the figure is not as high as in the Westbank, but still around 45% or about 340.000 registered Refugees are living outside the Camp.

If you compare the figures between Westbank and Gaza Region you will find, that in the Gaza Region - even if it is ten times smaller - are living around 59% of all Refugees in Palestine and 74% of all Refugees living in Camps. So we have to consider the Gaza Region as the most affected by the 'Nakbe'. The Gaza Region has to solve much more severe social, economic and spatial problems than the Westbank, including Jerusalem and suffers extremely from high density in house and quarter, lack of space and free land and people suffer much more from poverty.

(All figures see: UNWRA 1998, PCBS 1997, see tabel 3, see map 5)

2.1.3 The Camps in the Gaza Region, Size of Problems

To figure out the size of the problems it seems to us necessary to show some more details of the Camps. We face the general problem of different information, especially about density and concerning the size of land. Most of all we use data from the UNWRA, but also some information from the Ministry of Housing, actually collected. We wanted to show the development of density and for that we also used some Israeli figures, not as safe as UNWRA information. But what we wanted to show is easy to understand, no matter if the figures are not complete. See in detail.

2.1.3.1 Rafah Camp

The Refugee Camp Rafah: near the city of Rafah, 38 km in the south of Gaza City, located at the border to Egypt (see: map 5). It is the Camp number two, concerning the size of inhabitants. It has been established by the UNWRA. At first Rafah Camp started as a very primitive one with stones and iron sheets. After Israeli statistics there lived in 1967 39.000 Refugees. 1988 they became 50.500 and now, in 1998, Rafah Camp gives shelter to 77.283 people. Meanwhile the size of population increased about 98%, about 3,2% per year - even if there was always migration to the cities or out of the country. (see: UNWRA, 1988, 1998)

The size of the Camp is about 780 dunum (10 dunum=1ha; 1 dunum = 0,001qkm). The Camp has 17 small areas, all of them near the city of Rafah. Population density today is equivalent to 99.023 persons per qkm.

2.1.3.2 Khan Yunis Camp

The Refugee Camp Khan Yunis is the second big Camp of the southern area, located near the city of Khan Yunis (see: map 5). It started with tents, built by the UNWRA. Later the tents were replaced by stones and tiles, after that concrete, iron sheets and asbestos were added. After Israeli statistics in 1967 Khan Yunis Camp was inhabited by 23.475 persons. After UNWRA in 1988 the people increased to 35.500. Now, in 1998 Khan Yunis Camp gives shelter to 53.120 Refugees. The increase between 1967 and 1998 was 126%, about 4,2% per year. (see: UNWRA 1988, 1998)

Starting with a size of 549 dunum (see: *Al Fajr* 16.1.1990:6), the Camp has 13 small areas and is now located at the edge of Khan Yunis City. Population density today is equivalent to 96.582 persons per qkm.

2.1.3.3 Deir el Balah Camp

The Refugee Camp Deir el Balah is one of the four middle area Camps, located southwest of the city of Deir el Balah, near the coast (see: map 5). It was erected by the

UNWRA after 1948 like others. After Israeli statistics in 1967 Deir el Balah Camp was inhabited by 8.059 persons. After UNWRA this number increased in 1980 to 12.000. Now, in 1998, Deir el Balah Camp gives shelter to 16.634 Refugees. The increase between 1967 and 1998 was 106%, about 3,5% per year. (see: UNWRA 1980, 1998) The Camp's size is about 160 dunum. Population density today is equivalent to 103.962 persons per qkm.

2.1.3.4 Maghazi Camp

Maghazi Camp is the second of the four middle area Camps, erected after 1948 in a rich agricultural area (see: map 5). After Israeli statistics in 1967 it had 8.167 inhabitants. 1988 this figure increased to 11.300. Now, in 1998, Maghazi Camp gives shelter to 19.307 Refugees. The increase of population between 1967 and 1998 was 136%, about 4,5% per year. (see: UNWRA, 1988, 1998)

The Camp's size is about 520 dunum. Population density is now equivalent to 37.129 persons per qkm. Maghazi Camp has the lowest density of all Gaza Region Camps.

2.1.3.5 Nuseirat Camp

Nuseirat Camp is the third of the four middle area Camps, erected after 1948 by UNWRA (see: map 5). After Israeli statistics in 1967 it had 17.600 inhabitants. 1988 this figure increased to 29.000. Now, in 1998, Nuseirat Camp gives shelter to 51.256 Refugees. The increase of population between 1967 and 1998 was 192 %, about 6% per year. (see: UNWRA 1988, 1998)

The camp has 11 small areas on 560 dunum. Population density today is equivalent to 91.529 persons per qkm.

See the following table and the pictures about some typical views of the Gaze Region Camps.

Tabel 3: Distribution of Refugee Population in the Gaza Region 1998

Area/Refugee Camp	Population	% of all Refugees in Gaza Region	% of all Refugees in Camps, Gaza Region
Northern District	154.607	20,2 %	38,7 %
Shati	66.842		
Jabalja	87.760		
Middle District	114.408	14,9 %	28,6 %
Burej	27.211		
Nuseirat	51.256		
Maghazi	19.307		
Deir el Balah	16.634		
Southern District	130.403	17 %	32,7
Khan Yunis	53.120		
Rafah	77.283		
All Camp Refugees	399.418 *	52,1 % of all Gaza Refugees	39,7 % of all Gaza Population
All Refugees	766.404	72,3% of all Gaza Population	

Source: UNWRA 1998, PCBS 1997 * without 21.385 employees and women married to non registered husbands

Photo 12: Typical view of the Gaza Region Camps, Jabalia (Waltz 98)



Photo 13: Rafah (Waltz 1998)



Photo 14: Nuseirat (Waltz 1998)



Photo 15: Bureij (Waltz 1998)



2.1.3.6 Burej Camp

Burej Camp is the last of the four middle area Camps, erected in 1952 by UNWRA. (see: map 5) This Camp was located within an agricultural surrounding to give work to the people. Now, in 1998 Burej Camp gives shelter to 27.211 Refugees (see: UNWRA 1998) . The agricultural land is about 7.300 dunum. The inhabited area is about 530 dunum, with 12 small areas. (see: *Union of farming, 1993*) Population density today is equivalent to 51.341 persons per qkm.

2.1.3.7 Shati Camp

Shati Camp (known as Beach Camp) is one of the two big Camps in the northern area, located near the coast and around 4 km to the north of the City of Gaza, within the city borders. (*see: map 5*) Its density and uncontrolled building have big affect to the shape of Gaza City. It was erected in 1951 as a tent city, giving shelter to around 26.600 Refugees. After Israeli statistics in 1967 there lived 30.400 persons. 1988 this figure increased to 42.000. Now, in 1998 Shati Camp gives shelter to 66.847 Refugees. (*see: UNWRA 1988, 1998*) The increase of population between 1967 and 1998 was 120%, about 4% per year.

The size of the Camp is 500 dunum. Population density today is equivalent to 133.697 persons per qkm. Shati Camp is the Camp with the highest population density.

2.1.3.8 Jabalja Camp

Jabalja Camp is the second big Camp of the northern area. It was erected by UNWRA in 1954 for about 35.000 Refugees from south Palestine, with tents, not far from the village of Beit Lahia. (*see map 5*) After UNWRA sources the Camp had 66.710 Refugees in 1983. Now, in 1998, Jabalja gives shelter to 87.760 Refugees. (*see UNWRA 1983, 1998*) The increase of population between 1983 and 1998 was 31,5%, about 2,1% per year.

The size of the Camp is 1.450 dunum. Population density is now equivalent to 60.524 persons per qkm. From size and number of inhabitants Jabalja is the biggest Camp in the Gaza Region.

Résumé

The future of the Refugee Camps is the question the most important for the future of Palestine. However this question will be solved - and the necessity to find a solution for the Refugees is without doubt - the situation in the Refugee Camps will remain the biggest social and demographic problem, a challenge to the Government. There is no other example, no other people in this world, living 40% of them in Camps, with minimum space, minimum of private life, minimum of chances and opportunities. To start now with a program of upgrading and qualifying for better living condition in the Camps is an activity of dignity. It is not at all acceptable, that those who lost their lands and homes, those, who were the most affected victims of history, still have to carry the heaviest burden. For them there is no help, no changing of life into better? To make an end to health suffering, insecurity and danger?

The right of safe and healthy shelter is a basic human right and a need for everybody. To reach this aim especially for the Refugees, is a task for the Palestinian National Authority.

To understand better the needed strategy to come out of the bad situation, we will follow up in more details the description of the different characteristics of the Refugee Camp problem.

2.2 Population Development

Since 1948 the Palestinian population increased rapidly – beside a high migration rate at the same time. This is due to birth rate and big families at first. In the Refugee Camps the size of family in general was always bigger than the average and always bigger than in the cities. 1997 the average family size in Palestine was about 6,95

persons. In the Gaza Region this figure was 7,9 - in the Westbank Region about 6,1. In the Refugee Camps of the Westbank Region the average family has 6,99 and in the Gaza Region 7,9 persons. In all Camps 38,3% of all families even have 9 persons and more (see PCBS 1997 there are differences with 1998 UNWRA figures). The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) has found an average population increase of 3,47% and they estimate a 5% rate of returnees. May be in these times returnees will not be as much as estimated. And may be these returnees in general will not return into the Camp, so that we must not think about a 5% returnee rate in the near future. But for sure the population in the Camps will increase and the population of Refugees will increase in big quantities. We estimated according to UNWRA information for all areas about 840.000 more Refugee's descendants in Palestine until 2010. According to PCBS estimation including returnees and respecting inner migration we should estimate about 700.000 more Refugee's descendants until 2010 (see appendix: calculations).

Referring to Oslo an amount of about 500.000 families will be accepted as returnees between 1997 and 2010, 5.000 persons in 1997, 10.000 in 1998, 15.000 in 1999, 20.000 in 2000 and 45.000 persons annually from 2001 to the year of 2010. All of them will be distributed in a relation of 75% or 350.000 returnees to the Westbank, 15% or 75.000 to the Gaza and 10% or 50.000 to the Jerusalem Region. In case they will have the same average family size of about f.e. 7 members that means, that we have to include to the needs around 50.000 housing units for Returnees in the Westbank, around 11.000 for them in Gaza and about 7.150 for them in Jerusalem Area until 2010 (see PCBS 1998, UNWRA 1998) To see more the up and down of population increase during the last 30 years let us have a look on the past.

2.2.1 Population Development in the Gaza Region, total and Refugees

The Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (ICBS) made its surveys on the population in 1972 and 1983. We have to realize that these figures mostly are not accurate by different reasons (see PCBS 1997).

After Israeli figures the population of the Gaza Region in 1968 was about 356.800 and in 1989 about 603.500. That means an increase about 246.700 persons or around 70% within 21 years, about 3,3% per year. Especially the figures about the average development and their up and down during the years need explanation. Between 1966 and 1968 was a loss about 74.100 persons and in 1972 a big increase of population, what indicates changing, which might be explained with war results, relative stabilization etc. (see: tabel 4).

Tabel 4: Development of total population in the Gaza Region between 1967 and 1988

year (end of)	Population	increase per year	year (end of)	Population	increase per year
1966	454.900	-16,3 %	1974	414.000	+ 3,0 %
1967	380.800	- 6,3 %	1978	463.000	+ 1,2 %
1968	356.800	+ 1,9 %	1983	493.700	+ 3,3 %
1970	370.700	- 3,4 %	1987	560.000	+ 5,2 %
1972	345.100	+ 10,0 %	1988	589.000	

Source: ICBS, Statistical Abstract of Israel, No, 1989: 701

Since the so-called peace process the increase rate has changed deeply. We believe, that first of all the rate of returnee increased a lot. (see: tabel 5) According to these

figures, the population in the Gaza Region increased in average between 1992 and 1995 about 7% per year. Nearly to all figures we have to put a question mark.

Tabel 5: Development of Population in the Gaza Region, acc. to Areas and Camps, 1992-95

Area/Population	1992	1994	1995	1992 - 1995 in % per year
Abasan al Kabira	11.829	13.340	14.332	+ 21,16
Abasan al Saghira	3.943	4.447	4.777	+ 21,15
Burej (Camp)	15.477	17.453	18.751	+ 21,15
Maghazi (Camp)	13.076	14.746	15.843	+ 26,66
Nuseirat (Camp)	49.289	55.581	59.716	+ 21,15
Al Zawaidah	7.886	8.893	9.555	+ 21,16
Bani Suhaila	18.730	21.121	22.692	+ 21,15
Beit Hanun	14.787	16.674	17.915	+ 21,15
Beit Lahia	18.730	21.121	22.692	+21,15
Deir el Balah	31.545	35.572	38.218	+ 21,16
Gaza City	295.736	333.488	358.296	+ 21,15
Jabalja	83.792	94.488	101.517	+ 21,15
Khan Yunis	78.863	88.930	95.546	+ 21,15
Khuza'a	4.929	5.558	5.972	+ 21,16
Rafah	98.579	111.163	119.432	+ 21,15
Gaza Region	747.193	842.575	905.254	per year ca. 7 %

Source: PCBS 1996, 1997, 1998

Sure is the trend, the higher increase during the last years in comparison with the time under full occupation. The tendency in the Refugee Camps is not as high and more different - we compare between 1993, the beginning of the PNA and 1998. (see tab.6)

Tabel 6: Registered Refugees in Camps of the Gaza Region, 1993 and 1998, incr. in%, per year

Camp/ Population	1993	1998	increase 1993-98 in %	Increase in % average per year
Rafah	64.250	77.283	+ 20 %	+ 4,0 %
Khan Yunis	44.158	53.120	+ 20 %	+ 4,0%
Deir el Balah	12.981	16.634	+ 28 %	+ 5,6 %
Maghazi	15.707	19.307	+ 23 %	+ 4,6 %
Nuseirat	37.468	51.256	+ 37 %	+ 7,4 %
Burej	23.467	27.211	+ 16 %	+ 3,2 %
Shati	55.234	66.847	+ 21 %	+ 4,2 %
Jabalja	71.227	87.760	+ 23 %	+ 4,6 %
All	324.492	420.812* (399.418)	+ 30%	+ 5,9 %

Source: UNWRA 1993, 1998

* incl. 21.385 employees and women married to non registered husbands

The lower development rate in the majority of the big Camps in the northern and in the southern area might be a result of the new housing projects of the Palestinian

Housing Council (PHC), who offered at that time new flats for low income groups and especially for Refugees.

Comparing the registered Refugees in and outside the Camps we have to realize a trend, which is to be seen in general in all Refugee Camps. Those who could manage, settled outside the Camp escaping from high density and unbearable living conditions. The following tabel shows the relation between registered Refugees in the Camps and Refugees living outside the Camps.

Tabel 7: Development of the Refugee population in the Gaza Region, in and outside the Camps in different years

Year/Population	No. of all Refugees	No. of Refugees in the Camps	% of Refugees in the Camp from all
1982	377.292	208.625	55,3 %
1984	410.745	226.937	55,3 %
1987	445.397	244.416	55,0 %
1992	560.207	308.301	55,0 %
1994	635.099	346.443	55,0 %
1998	766.404	420.812*	54,9 %

Source: UNWRA 1995, 1998*Incl. 21.385 employees and women married to non registered husbands

Obviously around 45 % of the registered Refugees are living outside the Camps. The different reasons for leaving should be mentioned again. They are first of all related to the occupation.

- Moving of people for bigger roads and space for the Israeli Army.
- Expulsion of families and demolition of their houses as collective punishment for family members who had attacked the army.
- Increase of family size, search for a bigger home.
- Founding of new households for young couples.
- Looking for a better social infrastructure.
- Looking for better social surrounding.
- Looking for more safe surrounding after all the threatening during the Intifada.

Some of those families leaving the Camp, could not find a better alternative. They established poor and provisional shelter on Governmental land in the neighborhoods of the cities, in today so called 'Slum Areas', what is not legal (see: *Naji, Waltz 1998*).

2.2.2 Structure of Ages

To know more about the fabric of a society also the structure of ages is of interest. In general the Palestinian society is young - so much more the Refugee's part. In the Gaza Region around 50% are under 15 years old. 50% are between 16 and 60 years old, belonging to the active labor market. (see: *tabel 8*) If the situation would be normal we might see good chances for development because of these 50% of active men power. But in reality the labor market does not have the needed job opportunities. And as long as the borders between Israel and the Westbank and Gaza Region are nearly closed and as the private sector lacks capital for investment and chances of trading, these 50% will become more a burden than a fortune for the society. Especially if the young people, ready for the labor market and educated, don't find

jobs, it will create social conflicts and depression. Therefore any developing activity must integrate employment and qualification.

Tabel 8: Structure of Ages of all registered Refugees, Men and Women, in 1994, Gaza Region

Age	Male	Female	Age	Male	Female	Age	Male	Female
0 - 1	10.474	10.236	- 21	5.843	5.550	42 - 43	2.889	2.582
- 2	13.454	12.899	- 22	5.380	4.905	- 44	3.242	2.839
- 3	12.923	12.123	- 23	5.080	4.752	- 45	2.695	2.443
- 4	12.046	11.185	- 24	4.574	4.398	- 46	2.304	2.738
- 5	11.572	11.240	- 25	5.014	4.690	- 47	3.407	3.002
- 6	11.455	10.867	- 26	4.259	4.036	- 48	2.956	2.304
- 7	10.548	9.844	- 27	5.362	5.104	- 49	3.619	2.426
- 8	9.709	9.359	- 28	5.217	4.861	- 50	2.441	1.924
- 9	9.358	8.827	- 29	5.139	4.751	- 51	2.879	2.374
- 10	8.819	8.397	- 30	5.134	4.597	- 52	1.758	2.369
- 11	8.901	8.283	- 31	5.150	4.584	- 53	2.441	2.035
- 12	8.211	7.681	- 32	4.607	4.314	- 54	1.484	1.657
- 13	7.960	7.670	- 33	3.816	3.634	- 55	2.195	1.594
- 14	7.220	6.811	- 34	3.646	3.378	- 56	1.561	1.352
- 15	7.173	6.875	- 35	3.437	3.132	- 57	685	1.510
0 - 15	7.226	6.769	- 36	3.547	3.478	- 58	1.968	2.112
all m+f	306.115	45,9%	- 37	2.902	2.704	- 59	1.250	1.744
15 - 16	6.824	6.473	- 38	2.852	2.693	15 - 59	163.719	152.679
- 17	6.413	5.986	- 39	2.605	2.496	all m+f	316.398	47,5 %
- 18	6.442	6.030	- 40	2.793	2.641			
- 19	6.246	5.659	- 41	2.899	2.630	60 +	18.719	25.111
- 20	6.186	5.848	- 42	2.578	2.350	all m+f	43.830	6,6 %
Sum	m + f						339.487	326.856
Sum							666.343	100 %

Source: UNWRA 1994, Report No. 4, 1994: 17

Résumé

The situation of the Refugees in the Camps is a crucial factor for the future development of the Palestinian Society, not only because of the political question, which needs a political and general solution. The demographic development of this part of the people makes it impossible to neglect it in the planning and development process. The Refugee Society increases more quickly than other parts of the whole society. Children and youth are the most important part to look for a national future. Which future will be built for them? Where to find housing for them? Where to find jobs to pay for housing? Where to find the space to build a family? The people in the Refugee Camp must find alternatives to plan their future - for them, their children and for the sake of the whole society. Especially in the housing sector alternatives on the grounds of the Camps and in their neighborhoods must be given. Without a safe and healthy shelter, again women, mothers, children, the young and the elder people - as they are the weakest members of a society - will be still the central victims of history and future.

2.3 Population Density and Density in Houses

In general the population density is a mirror to socio-economic problems and defective circumstances. The figures give us a key to the situation and problems in living quarters. Planning has to take density figures as an indicator. As early as possible the planning institutions have to react if density becomes high and problems

appear. It might react with giving importance to the neighborhoods in serving them with more infrastructure, to find extension space, to support moving from this area to other neighborhoods with better services etc.. For the Camps nobody could do so until now. So most of the people themselves either moved to other places or tried to extend their space on the land of roads, open space, gardens and suffered from higher and higher density in areas, quarters, houses and rooms.

The following figures are from UNWRA sources in 1995. Latest figures exist from the Ministry of Housing which differ from them. We will present both, Ministry of Housing in brackets (). The most important to understand is, that the Camps have a high population density per qkm, like central living quarters in European big towns on the one side - but on the other side with buildings up to one or two floors and nearly no open space and therefore much higher density within the shelter. The average population density in the Gaza Region is about 2.912 persons per qkm. In the Camps this figure is between 60.000 and over 103.000. Especially the Shati Camp has a very high density. (see: tabel 9)

Tabel 9: Population Density in the Refugee Camps of the Gaza Region, 1998

Refugee Camp	Inhabitants	Area in qkm	Density (inh/qkm)
Jabalja	87.760	1,45 (1,12)	60.524 (78.357)
Shati	66.847	0,50 (0,718)	133.694 (93.102)
Nuseirat	51.256	0,56 (0,689)	91.529 (74.391)
Burej	27.211	0,53 (0,294)	51.341 (92.554)
Maghazi	19.307	0,52 (0,599)	37.129 (32.232)
Deir el Balah	16.634	0,16 (0,185)	103.962 (89.913)
Khan Yunis	53.120	0,55 (1,015)	96.582 (52.335)
Rafah	77.238	0,78 (1,122)	99.023 (68.839)
all	420.812	5,07 (5,742)	82.887 (83.000)

Source: UNWRA 1995, 1998, () Ministry of Housing, Department of Governmental Land, 1998

A very sensitive problem is therefore the density within the flats. At first the small living space in very small rooms and small housing units is not at all suitable to host a family with children. But the problem is also, that the Palestinian families and especially the Refugee Camp families are big and the average size higher than the average within the whole society. (see: table 10, photo 18)

As we said, the average number of family members in the Refugee Camps households is like 6.99 in the Westbank and 7.9 in the Gaza Region. The average size of housing unit for such a family mostly is not more than 3 rooms, the room about 10 sqm in general. So we can imagine, that about 30 sqm for an eight person family is not at all suitable for a relaxed family life. Not more than around four sqm per person is unimaginable as standard.

In Germany we find an average of 36 sqm per person. The average number of persons per room in the Camps of the Westbank is 2,45 and 2.77 persons per room in the Gaza Region. In 30% of the Westbank Region Camp households and in 40% of the Gaza Region Camp households are living with three or more members per room.

Photo 18: One room for a young couple and a baby – and after? (Waltz 1998)



Table 10: Social structure and housing conditions, rooms per family, members per household, member per room, 1998

Subject/area	Total Palestine	Westbank	Gaza	WB Camp	Gaza Camp
Aver. Size of family	6,5	6,1	6,9	6,99	7,9
Members/room		1,9	2,1	2,45	2,77
3 or more pers. per room				30%	40%
One or two rooms p. family				24%	31%

Source: PCBS 1998, PCBS 1998a, we took the recently known figures

But as privacy and personal space has not as much priority as in Europe, we have to talk about other indicators of housing density and deficits in addition. We need to know the rooms per household and family. In general the Arab family needs as minimum three bedrooms to can separate boys, girls and the parents. A saloon or living room would be as well necessary – but in poor conditions the family will use this saloon for example as one bedroom for the parents. So the Palestinian family in the Camp should have three rooms at least. The census done in 1997, published at the end of 1998, discovers, that about 31% of the Refugee Camp families in the Gaza Region live in less than 3 rooms, in one or two, and 24% in the Camps of the Westbank Region.

How it comes? We know from the statistics now, that there is a big difference between households in the Camps and housing units in the Camps. The PCBS found 62.994 households living in Camps, but only 55.000 housing units. That means that more than 20% of all Camp families are living with one or more families together in one unit. We saw families with 6 children in one room, all together with two other families and the grand parents in one house with three rooms, a court, a kitchen and shower with toilet in the court and one extra room built up on the roof for the youngest son, just married. And there are still many of such cases.

Résumé

To reduce the high density in each shelter is the central task in the future. Also the deficit of free space for green areas, social infrastructure and leisure time area must be changed. Inside the houses more living space is necessary, to be healthy and to keep privacy and individual needs. In the small quarters emergency cars in case of fire and illness must be able to reach the people. Hygienic and ventilation conditions must be increased. Unbelievable that about more than fifty years the Palestinian Refugees could survive and master these conditions. But there must be an end.

2.4 The General Housing Situation

It is well known that the housing situation from any aspect is the most urgent question in the Refugee Camps. Neither the buildings themselves, the infrastructure nor the size of the flats and their accommodation facilities are sufficient or are adequate to modern demands of human beings. The people survived and adapted to the bad conditions - but always with the hope, that once they will leave the Camp and return to their origin areas, villages and towns.

This thinking, to live in a provisional phase, led to the described situation that UNWRA and the PNA has to face today. The UNWRA's program for emergency cases was never sufficient. The UNWRA's efforts went more to social infrastructure, schools at first, health institutions and projects for job creating. After the PNA came, people started to invest more by themselves - no more suffering from housing demolition from the Israeli military or collective punishment encouraged them. So they spent their savings and savings from relatives from outside. Nearly half or one third of the Camps changed meanwhile into some better by these private activities. All this was done until now without any planning and controlling. And as the analysis until now shows, density is still a major problem for a big part of the households. Besides these private activities of qualifying houses still a lot of problems have to be solved by the Authorities for housing conditions and the living conditions in general in the quarters.

2.4.1 Situation of Houses

From the general shape all Refugee Camps are uniform and poor. Spontaneous settlements like in other poor countries indicate the general socio-economic situation of the inhabitants. Many families have little, unsafe or no income. Most of the new housing projects or flats and buildings offered in the private market are not affordable for the majority of the Camp people. Even if people want to leave the Camp, many of them cannot.

In the first phase of most of the Camps shelter was tents. After that came a very simple construction of mud bricks, one unit of two, three rooms, with outdoor toilets. Houses stood in line, like the 19th century workers colonies in England, had small gardens and sewage water in open channels. Meanwhile, especially since the Oslo agreement, many houses are built up to two, three, sometimes even four floors, many of them still under construction.

Photo 19: Private Building and Renewing in Deir el Balah Camp (Waltz 1999)



Today there is no plan. Ventilation, direction of wind and sun did not play any role. New established houses have been built without permission and not been integrated into planning from the Municipalities. The former ideas of having small houses with garden before and behind, classification of paths, neighborhood streets and big street - all of that became obsolete after that enormous increase of population and so many years. During the 30 years of occupation there was no changing into better. Because of latent poverty and wild planning and building we find today so many different kinds of neglected, renewed and upgraded houses. There is no common shape any more. Bricks exist besides concrete, zinc and asbestos. In many buildings still roofs are not safe, giving a chance to rain and sun as well. Poverty in all means can be seen, if you enter a kitchen, a bath, a bedroom or the so called saloon. Still 18% of all Camp Houses are without a bathroom or shower. Poor and neglected housing units and nice and newly built up units exists just beside each other and in "harmony" – but you feel a big gap between people now. And you can find the differences between people even inside one house.

For example Abu Muhamed family house in Shati, newly built up to four floors and extended a little bit on public space and neighbor's ground, who are out of the country. In the first floor you find the old mother in a very modest equipment like it was in the sixties. She lives with one widowed daughter and her two girls. In the next basic floor you find a very luxury flat for the family of one of her sons, who came from the Emirates and paid all the building and constructing. All furniture, the windows, the doors and tiles are in a very luxurious style. They have only two daughters and one son. On the next floor you will find a flat, medium style but good for another's son family, with six children sharing three rooms. The father works in the police. He has modest income. They did not finish renewing, but hopefully they can change the facilities to a modern kitchen within the next year. Above, in the fourth floor you will find the youngest son, just married, his wife and a baby. They are living beside the roof garden in two rooms, with kitchen and bath. But until now they did not have the money for tiles and plaster. Still they live on cement floor and have no

window glass. Working as a kind of secretary in a ministry his monthly income is about 800 Shekel, not more than 200 \$.

Photo 20: Asbestos Roof, Deir el Balah (*Waltz 1999*)

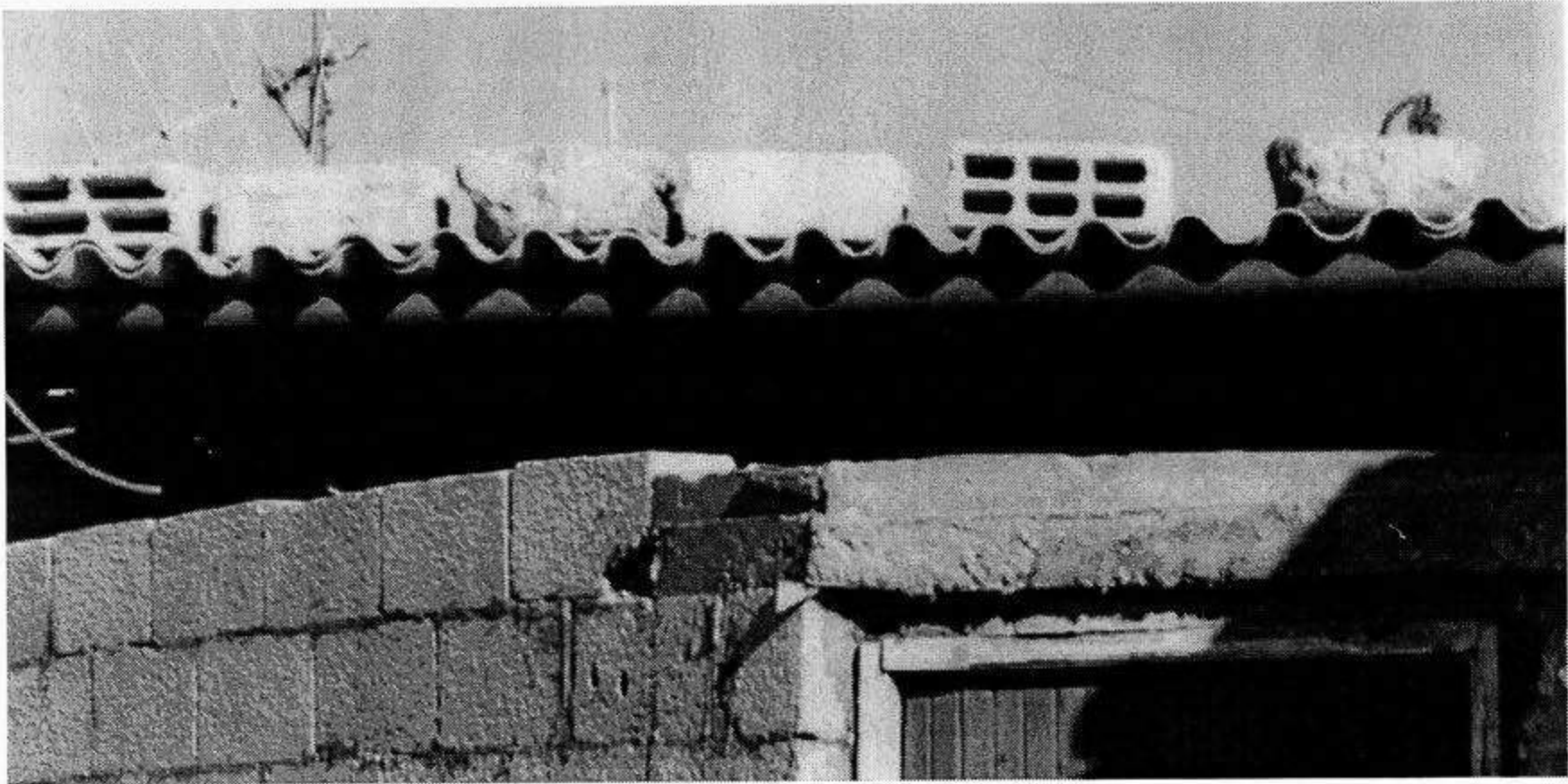


Photo 21: Quarter Renovation in Deir al Balah (*Waltz 1998*)



Photo 22: Poor and good – under construction, Jabalia (*Waltz 1998*)

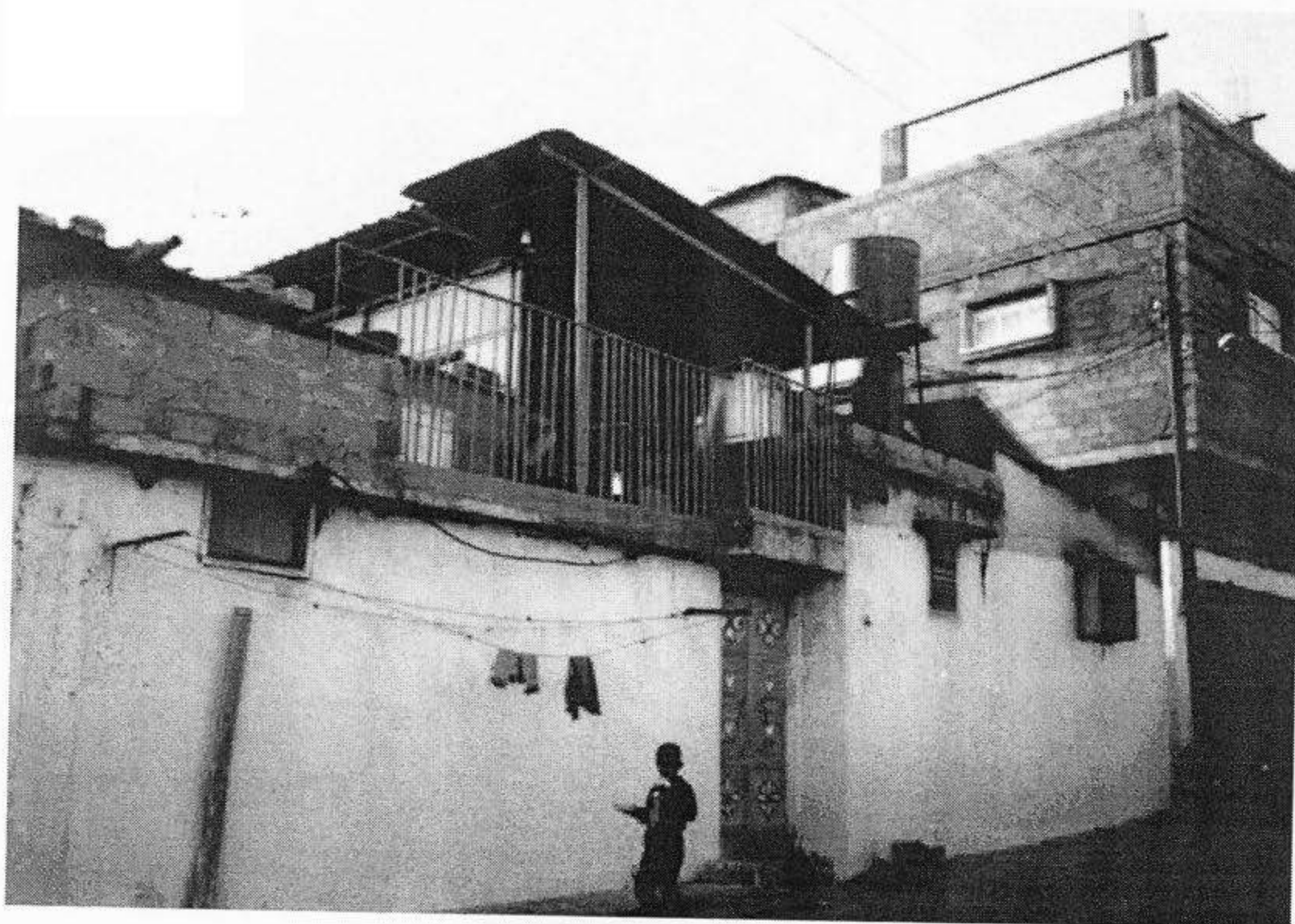


Photo 23: Old and New, Rafah (*Waltz 1998*)

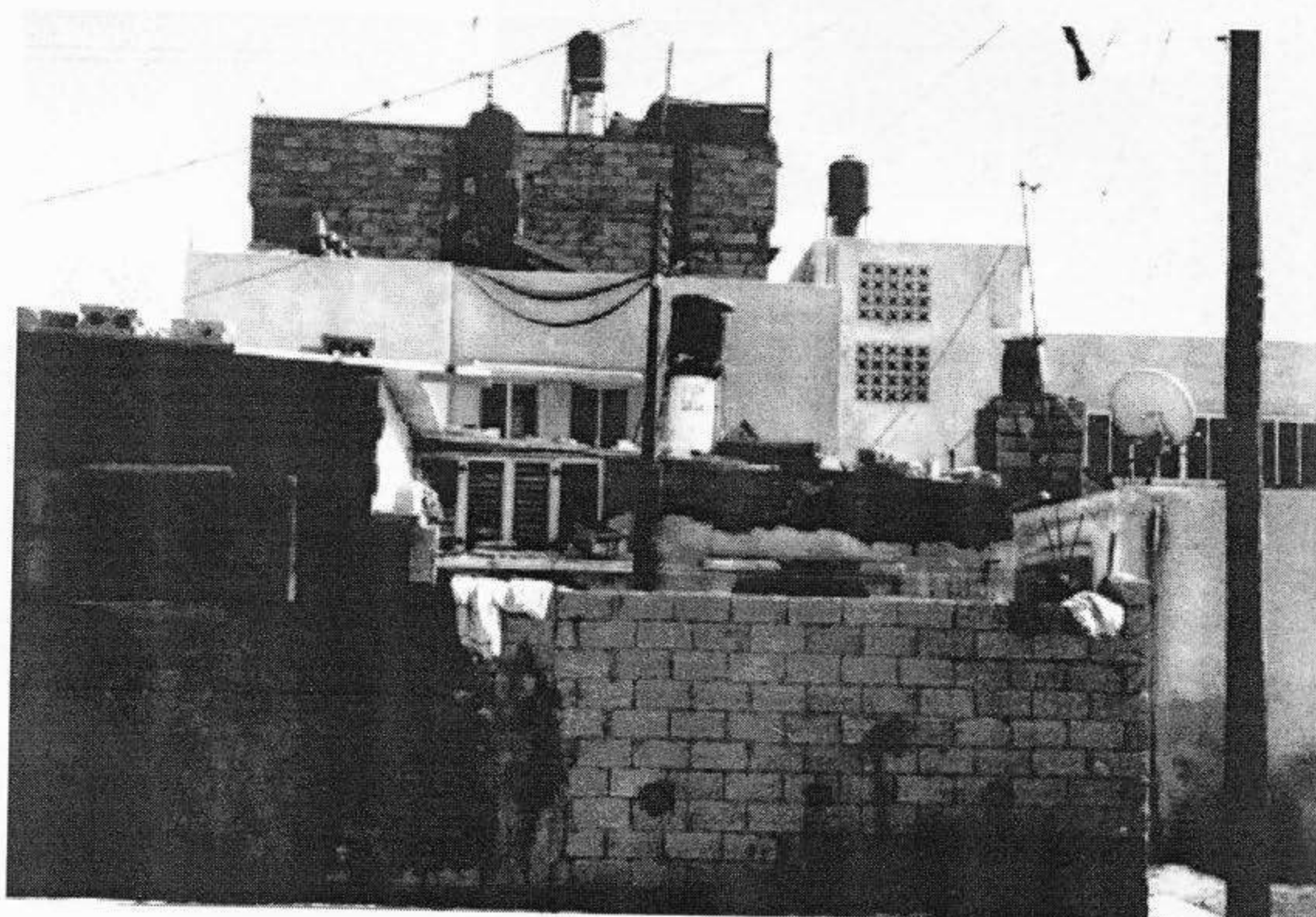
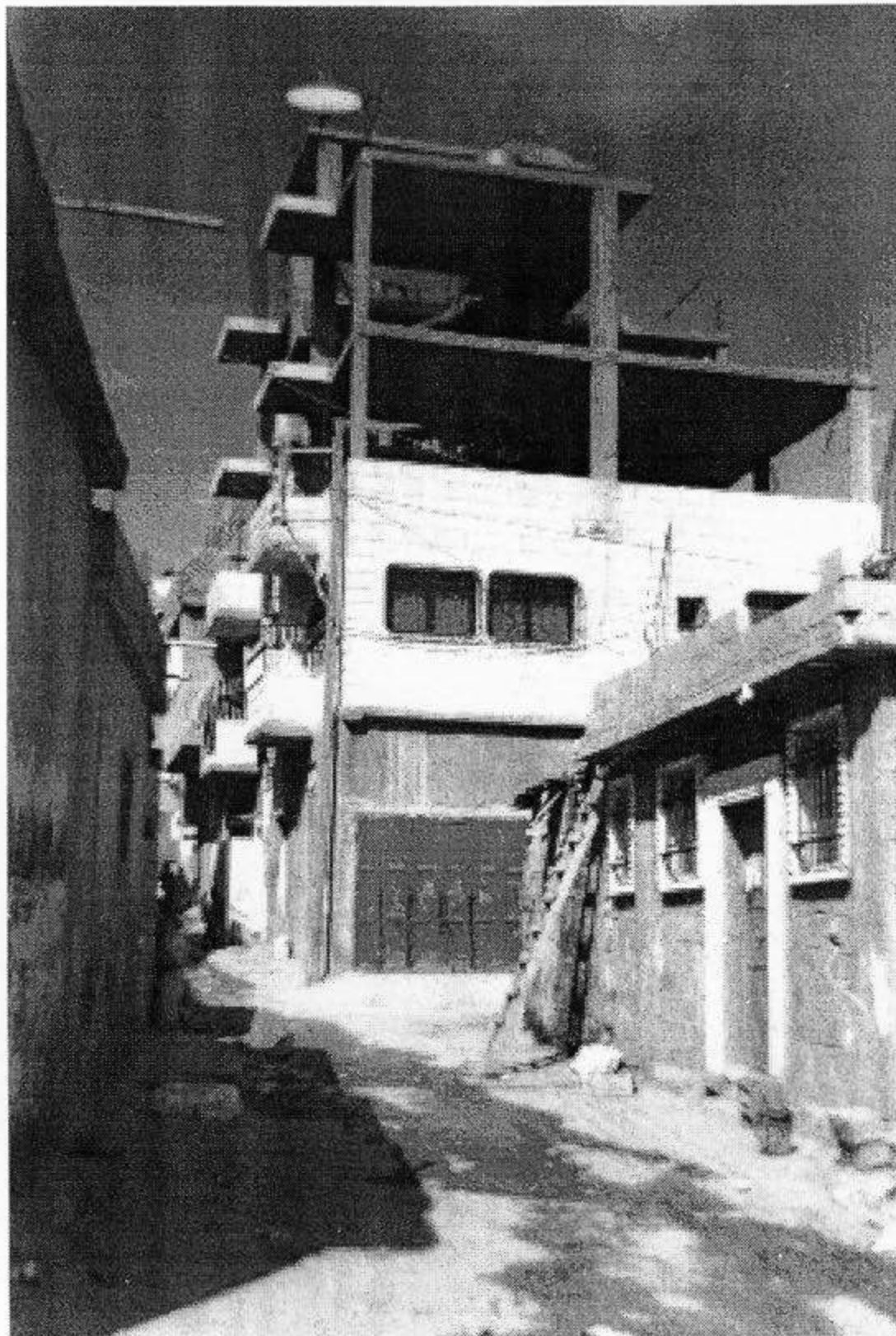


Photo 24: Still poor, Deir el Balah (Waltz 1999)



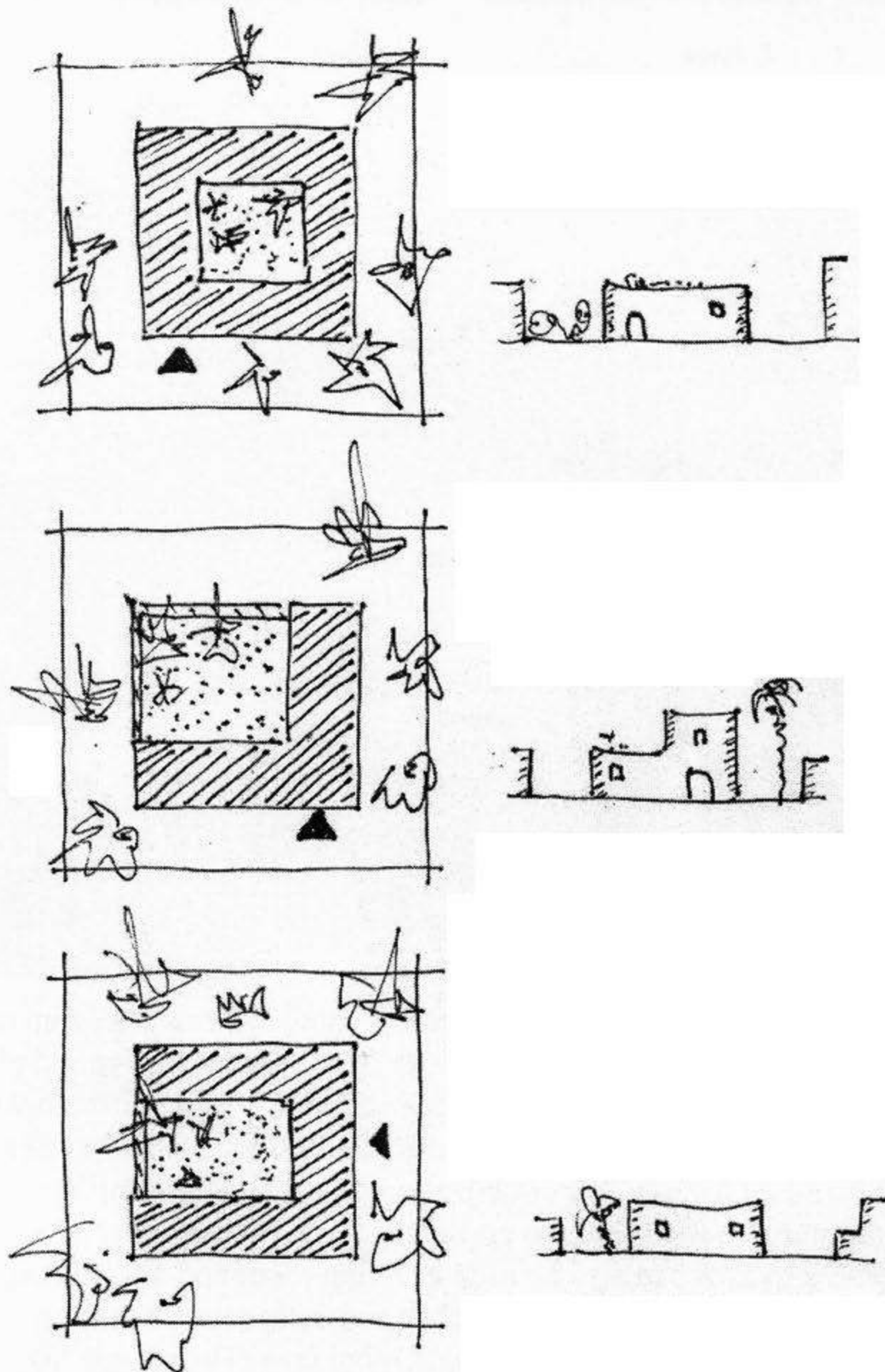
Photo 25: 'High building' and a beginning in Arroub (Bir Zeit 1998)



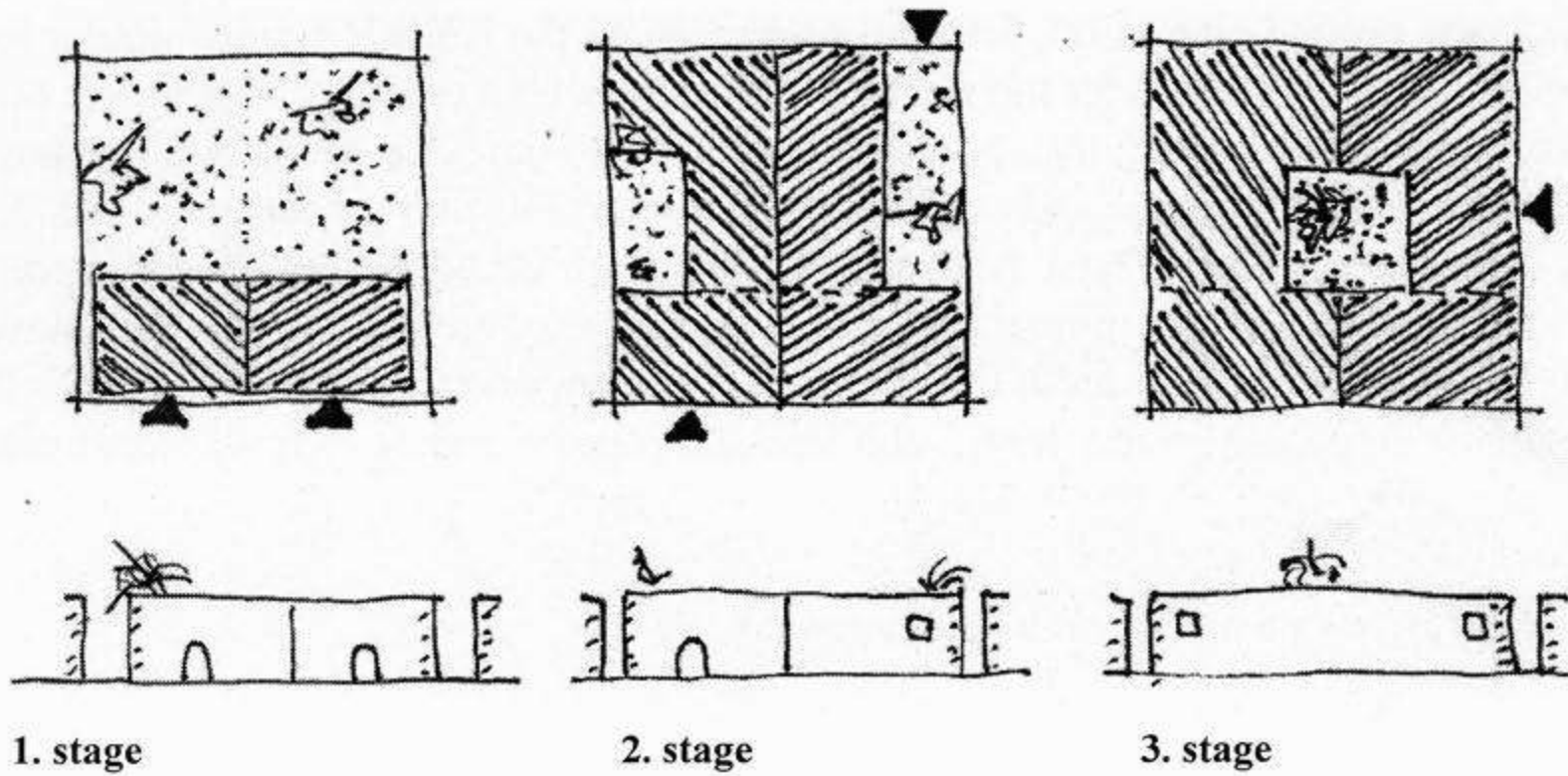
2.4.2 The Arab House and the Camp House

The typical design of a house in a Refugee Camp has changed deeply. As we mentioned, the ground plan of the first houses erected by the UNWRA were similar to a colony house in England for the working class in the 19th century. Meanwhile the family changed and adapted the poor shelter more into the Arab living and housing style: separation of family area and non family area, court or saloon, bedrooms. Beside the core house area, annexes have been added, roofs from plastic, to have more space, if not for the family, then for animals. Size of rooms most of all is about 10 sqm, most of all the housing unit not more than 3 rooms. In many cases, about one third of all Refugee households, girls and boys, children and parents cannot be given separated bedrooms.

Map 6: Typical ground plan of an Arab single house (sketch)

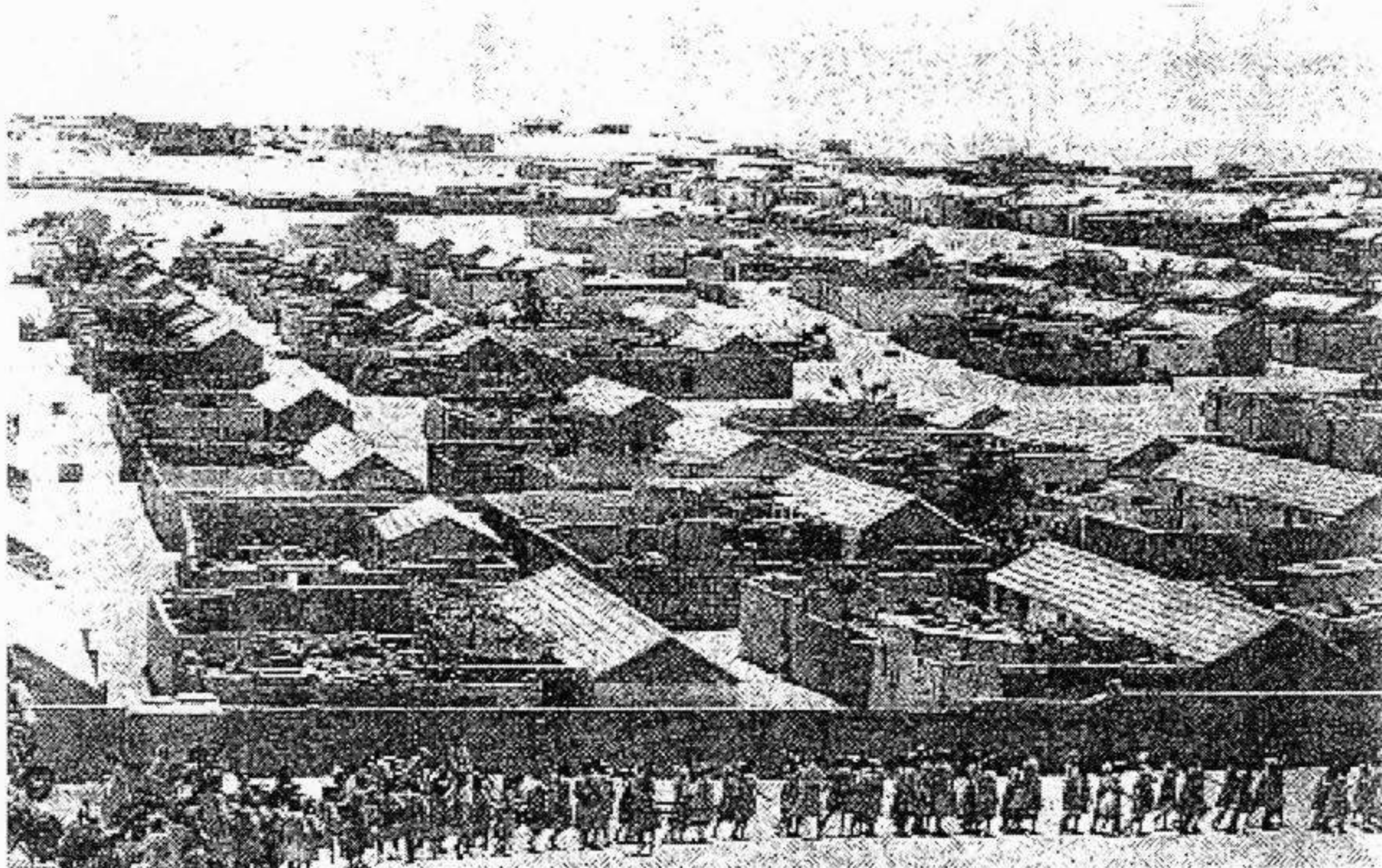


Map 7: The Refugee Camp House – process of changing (*sketch*)



In the following picture you can see the beginning of a Camp, here in Shati.

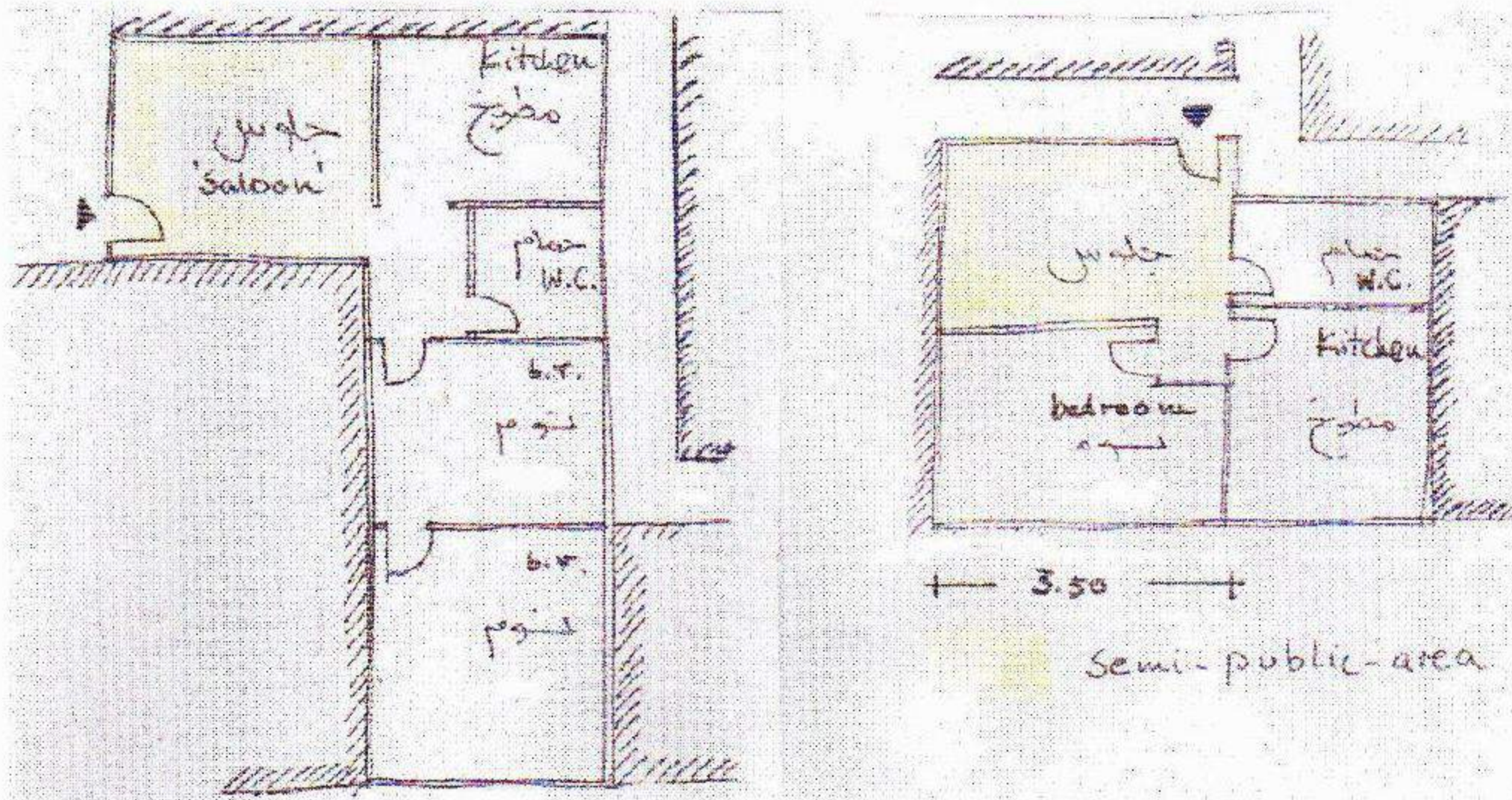
Photo 26: First Stage: Shati Camp in the fifties (*UNWRA 1998*)



During the last fifty years even the smallest court became more and more seldom and nearly each corner or the smallest free space was built up. Very strange ground plan became reality. Families shelter were jammed between neighbors, some of them with only one side open to windows, as you can see from the following sketches of real places. But in each case, as we can see, the organization of a Refugee Camp house is the following: at the entrance you will find the guest area. It can be a special room or it will be the court with a roof. It can also be used as living room and as bedroom at night. If possible you will find a special toilet. Kitchen and bathroom or shower will sometimes be aside in the court and outside the private room area. The people learned to manage daily life within this density and lack of space.

Map 8: Some typical ground plans of typical Camp Houses (Bir Zeit 1998)

Houses in Jalazone



[ul]

Houses in Arroub

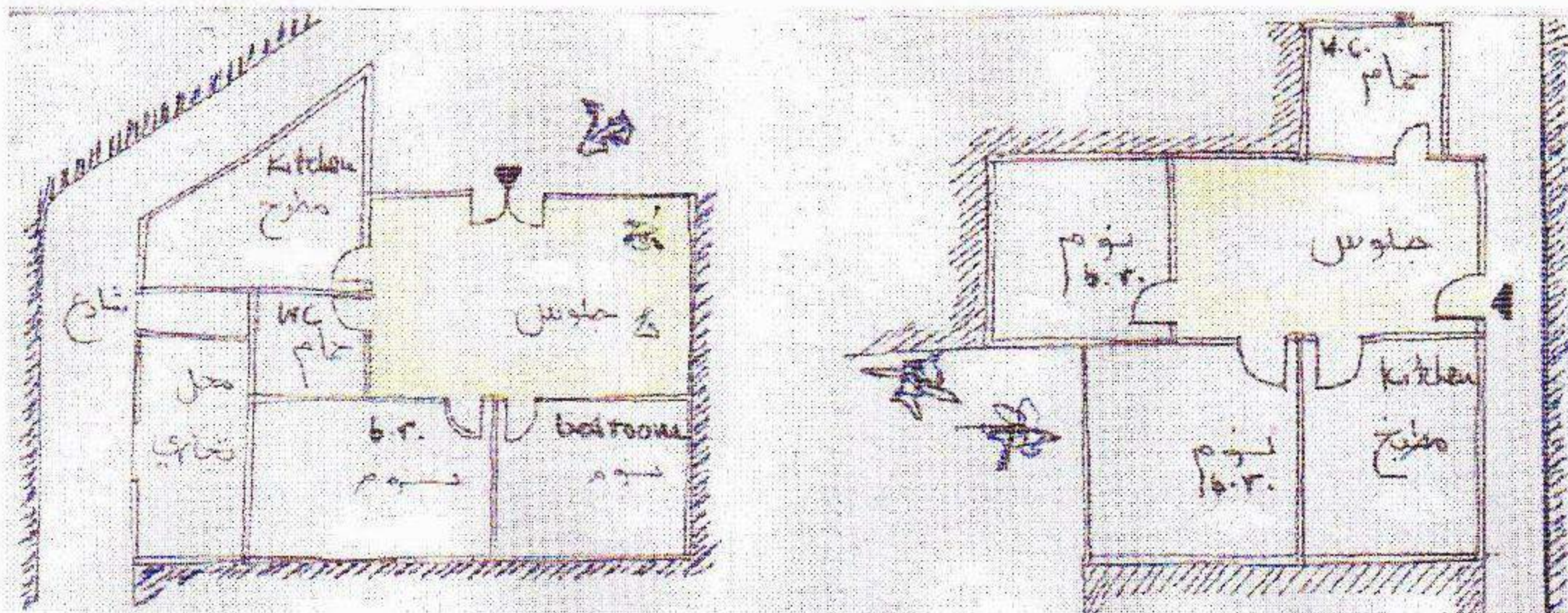


Photo 27: Interview in the court-saloon, Nuseirat (Waltz 1998)



But not only the house suffers from density and deficits. The surrounding living quarters as well serve only the most needed facilities.

2.5 The Situation in the Quarters

Still the Camp People are organized into quarters according to the area they came from. These neighborhoods on the basis of the former village or city quarter survived as still active frame for communication and solidarity. Any process of changing has to respect that and this informal organization should be used as an advantage. Step by step, quarter by quarter the renewal program could be established, after the important people of that area have been convinced.

2.5.1 Socio-political conditions, some aspects

Who ever in 1948 or after found himself a refugee in his own country, was happy finally to find old neighbors and friends and the Mukhtar - the traditional head of his village. Thus it was easier to survive. Today the social fabric changed. But still who wants to marry will try to find his husband or wife out of this area, out of his former village. If somebody dies, the neighbors from once, even if they live since years outside the camp, will come and take part on the funeral ceremonies. And still people respect the Mukhtar. And still most of all the elder people rely on the Mukhtar, if problems are between each other.

Beside that there is no other, democratic institution to represent the Camp and the Camp Quarters. There are political and religious groups but no elected body to organize the people's interests towards the UNWRA, the Municipality or the Government.

Social help and social activities depend on the UNWRA and on help of the Islamic institutions. Families in need will receive help from the mosque, especially in Ramadan, when every Muslim has to give for the poor. For health and education UNWRA is responsible.

The *basic health provision* is given for free by the UNWRA. Beside that the Red Crescent and other non-governmental organizations are running ambulances and clinics. But in general the people are not satisfied with the existing Camp health system. Who needs special treatment, has to go to the Municipality hospital or to private clinics and hospitals. Also there are differences of provision from Camp to Camp. The Camps in the Northern Region and Gaza City are in general better equipped, than those in the south like f.e. in Rafah Camp.

The *basic education system* is also given for free by the UNWRA. UNWRA provides all children with school until the secondary school – but there is no kindergarten system. They study in two shifts like most of the governmental schools in Gaza. For higher education the families must send their children to the public and private schools. There are some projects for job training and job qualification for adults. For women especially we find courses for embroidery.

Other *social activities* like sports, music, and communication centers – all that doesn't exist, if there is no special activity from the people. In the Shati Camp f.e. there exists a private youth sport club, where young men and boys find a play ground and other opportunities to spend their free time. But this is rare, and for girls there is no alternative. Especially the needed space for communal activities should be respected in a renovation and upgrading program for the quarters in the Camps.

2.5.2 Transportation

In general we can say, that the transportation system, inside the camp and concerning the link to the neighborhoods do not fit to needs and standards. The size of paths and ways is most of all not sufficient for urgent transport in case of fire or other accidents.

2.5.2.1 *The Inner Transportation inside the Quarters*

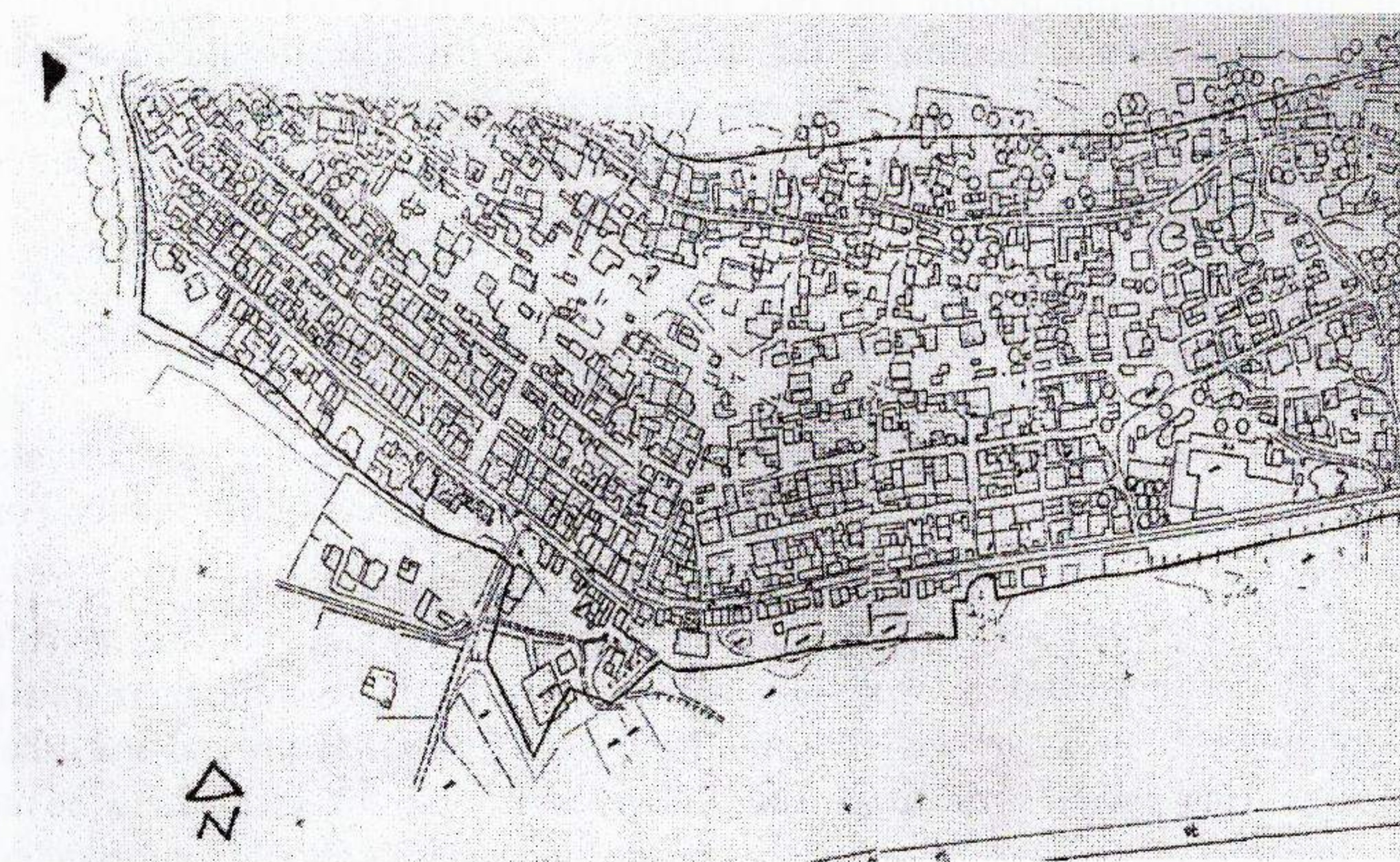
Most of the ways and paths inside the living quarters have not more than one or one and a half meter. Houses are so close to each other, that there is no privacy and no secret between neighbors. Many houses have their windows only to one side, to the narrow street. The already mentioned needed expansion of houses instead of streets and gardens has created the big problem of no coming through. Some of the ways and paths have cement, most of them are from sand. Still we find open wastewater running in small channels in the middle of the streets. Once UNWRA built them for rainwater collecting. Now the household water is flooding the streets. In Camps near the sea, like Shati Camp, these waters are running directly into the sea.

Only the streets crossing the quarters have the size and construction for one car to pass. But these 'streets' are most of all in a bad condition and need repairing of asphalt or cement and channeled waste water.

2.5.2.2 *The general transportation system, external relation to the neighborhoods*

In 1971 the Israeli army was looking for a better access for tanks and jeeps to each small area. Sharon, who at that time was the military governor of the Gaza Region, wanted to control the Camps and the people more and more. He ordered to expand the streets, 'plan' a new rational system and surround the quarters and the whole Camps with bigger roads. From his idea we now have a 'planned' road net outside the small quarters (*see Hasasneh, 1994*). But also these roads most of all are in bad condition today. Beside that there are no signs or visible regulations between pedestrians and car drivers to reduce accidents and make streets safe for children.

Map 9: Main Street System in Arroub Camp, north-west part of the confusing net and some main streets (*Bir Zeit 1998*)



Map 10: System of Paths and Ways in a Living Quarter in Rafah Camp (Badawy 1997)

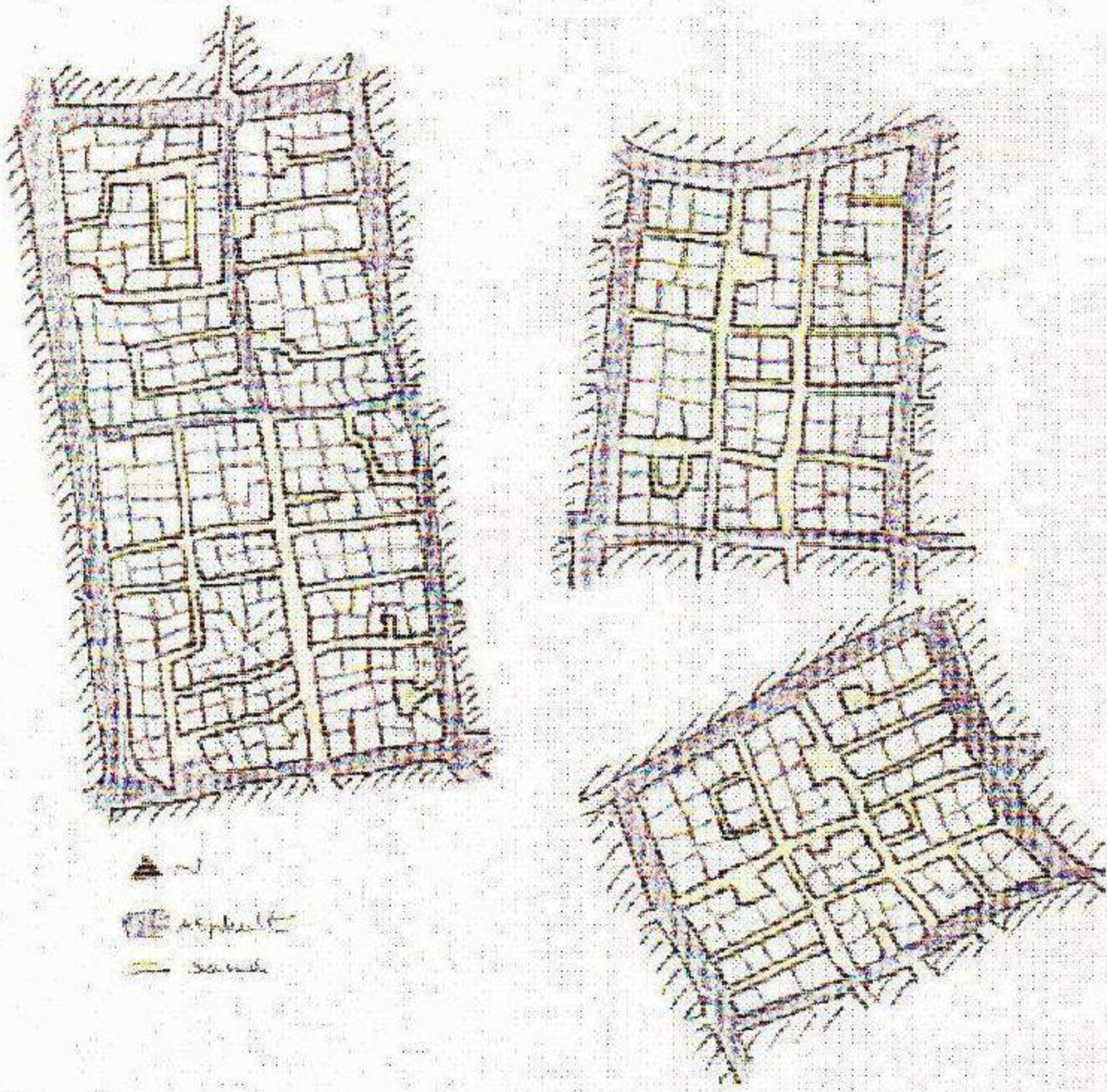


Photo 28, 29: Narrow Streets and running water: Rafah (Waltz 1998)



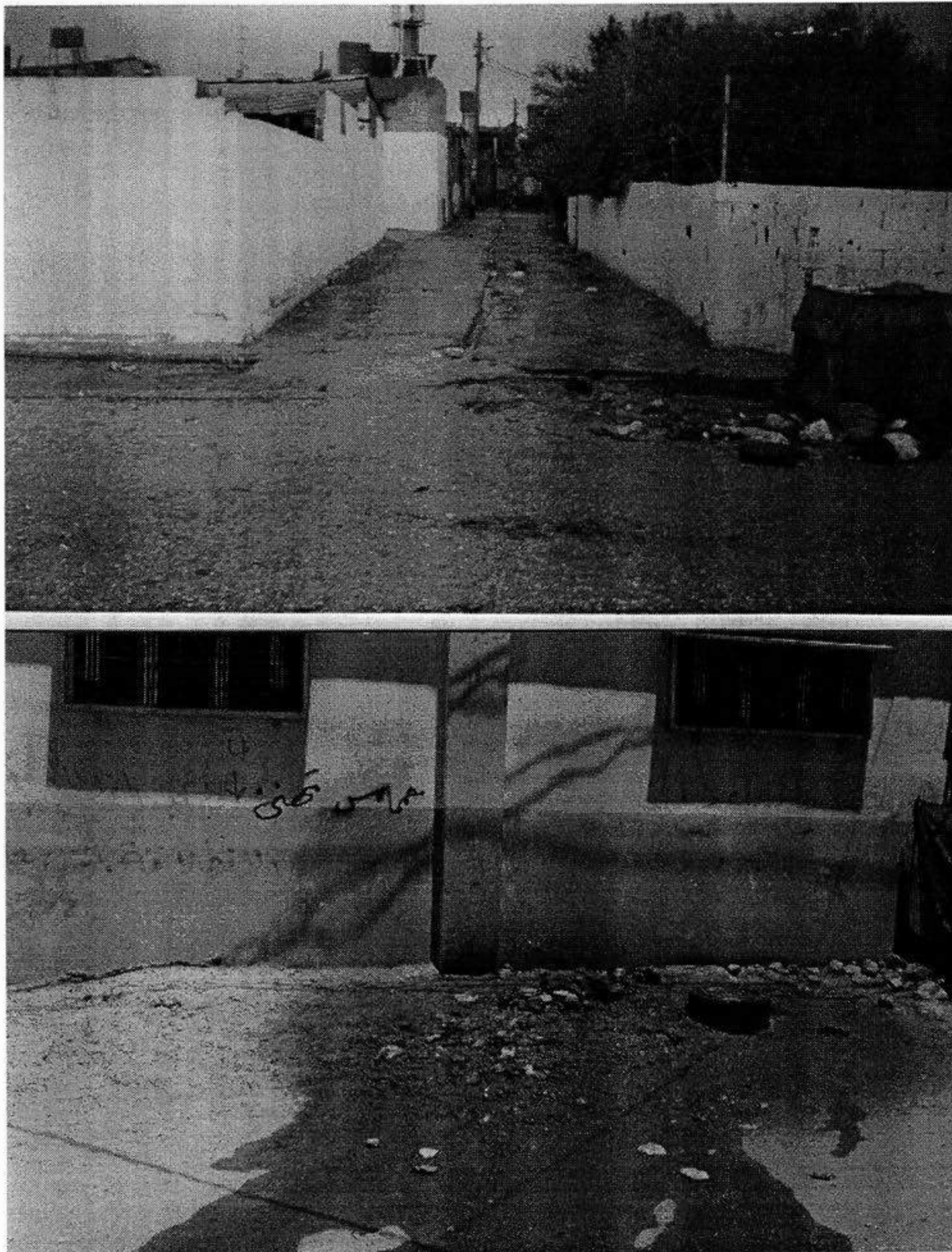
2.5.3 Environment, Wastewater and Waste Disposal

It is normal that under the existing political, economic and social conditions the environment is still a problem in the Refugee Camps. We find waste in general and

over all scattered plastic and other garbage from wind and men. No wonder, as there is high population density and nearly no free space. The central garbage can system in the main streets is not sufficient. It needs collective efforts and education to change awareness about the danger of garbage.

A very big problem is still the sewage. The open wastewater channels make the area stinky, unsafe and unhealthy. Since 50 years nothing substantial has been done to change the situation. Since the Government came, some programs started with international help to centralize the drainage of wastewater – so in Shati Camp. In Rafah people started to help themselves, collecting little money from all families of a living quarter, and establishing a quarter drainage system, linked to the Municipality one. Now the people face the problem, that they have to pay the Municipality for using the public net.

Photo 30, 31: Waste and running water in a Camp, Burej (Waltz 1998)



Résumé, Main Demands

There is no doubt about it that the whole situation in the Camps is a crime done to innocent people. And for sure the only solution can be a political one that includes the right of return and compensation for the injustice.

But in case there will be an international support of upgrading the main living and housing conditions in the Refugee Camps we see the following tasks for solving the main problems within a housing upgrading and town development plan.

1. Reduce of the high density through
 - building up the majority of the houses to three more floors in general;
 - reorganizing the ground plans to have minimal housing standards of 2 bedrooms, 1 living room, kitchen, bath and toilet;
 - supplying each family with three rooms, each family should have an own flat;
 - building of new buildings in the direct neighborhood of the Camps and organizing the needed land for that;
 - providing the outgoing Refugees within the public social housing program with the needed low cost housing units according to the growing population.
2. Upgrading the standard of facilities, like kitchen, bathroom, toilet.
3. Renewing and sanitation of constructions and material , no use of asbestos.
4. Providing the Camps with a basic standard of sewage and waste disposal supply.
5. Providing the living quarters with an emergency case access for cars.
6. Upgrading the existing transportation net of main streets and roads.
7. Providing the quarters with free space, space for communal and leisure activities.
8. Including job and qualification opportunities within the upgrading and renewing process.

Before starting a development of alternatives and future changing, we want to show how the Refugee Camp Question was handled from the different institutions. After that we will demonstrate with scenarios, what will happen, if there is no change of daily life conditions.

3. Perspectives for the Refugee Camps in the Future, Scenarios

Before going deeper into planning aims and measures, we will show now some of the plans and ideas during the last 50 years concerning the future of the Refugees and how they deal or dealt with those mentioned problems.

3.1 The UNWRA

The UNWRA understands itself as a social institution to guarantee the minimal to survive for the Refugees, to register them, to give the official status and to support with shelter, food, schools and health care. UNWRA does not at all try to interfere into political scenarios for the Camps. There is no official version about the future. The UNWRA in Gaza wants to avoid any impression to change anything related to the status of the Refugees and their right of return. UNWRA today prefers to support with qualification and job creation activities rather than to change the housing situation. Even the 'urgent cases' program will be done with sensibility and care, not to give any argument to criticize them. Very urgent cases are those big families without husband or other labor craft and dangerous housing conditions.

But UNWRA should take over responsibility. It was the United Nations who once, in 1947, decided to divide Palestine into two parts (*see: UN Resolution 181, 29.11.1947*). They can not ignore the disaster they created for the Palestinians. And they knew it very well. Too late, at the end of 1948, they confirmed with the resolution number 194 the right of return for all Palestinian Refugees (*see: UN Resolution 194, 11.12.1948*). But - they had not the power or they did not want to reestablish the former situation in Palestine. Therefore the United Nations established the UNWRA in 1950, when it became more and more clear, that the Palestinian Refugee Case will not be solved immediately. Then UNWRA started to give shelter and food to the thousands of displaced people from all over Palestine in the Westbank, the Gaza Region and the neighbor countries. But never, until now, the UNWRA worked as a political institution to solve the Refugee Question.

Besides the political argument the financial situation restricts UNWRA activities. UNWRA receives the money from the UN members. Especially the rich ones like America, like to reduce their duties in general. The UNWRA suffers from financial shortage. Victims of these circumstances are the Palestinian Refugees.

3.2 The Palestinian National Authority, PNA

As the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, MOPIC, responsible for the national planning, explains in the Regional Plan for the Palestinian Governorates, the Refugee Problem will be discussed in the final status negotiations. Until then, no change in the status of the Refugees and the Camps is expected (*see MOPIC 1998*). The UNWRA will remain as the main body responsible for them. Officially there is only one solution: the right of return or compensation within or after a successful struggle for the establishing of the State of Palestine. The basic of this thinking are the three important UN Resolutions number 181, 194, 242 and 338, in which the right of return and Israel's redeployment from the military occupied Westbank and Gaza Region is demanded (*see: UN Resolution 194, 242, 338*). The Refugee Question is like an existential question of Palestine's future. Unfortunately the Palestinian Delegation in Oslo had to accept a postponing of the Refugee Question (*see: Declaration of Principles, 1993*). That means no changing for the Refugee Camp conditions. As Mr. Hurani, advisor of President Yaser Arafat, said in a conference in Gaza: "There is only one solution: Return. Without return there will be no peace. And that means for today: no changing!" (*see: Al Hurani, 1998*).

In the same time most of the responsible people know very well, that Palestine needs a long-term

and an actual answer about the future of the Camps and the Refugee families. Especially in the Gaza Region answers are needed how to reduce population density, how to supply people with the needed housing units and how to deal with the existing housing stock of the Refugee Camps in the future - as a burden or a resource.

Besides all these political and severe arguments recently the PNA prepared figures and projects to improve the situation in the Refugee Camps. In the 'Palestinian Development Plan 1999 – 2003' the PNA describes in chapter seven about sector priorities, especially 'Human Resources and Social Development', 'Improving the Living Conditions in Refugee Camps' as one priority (*see: PA 99: 85*). 22% or 248 Mio Dollar of the 'Human Resource and Social Development' sector total investment budget was 'allocated to the improving process in the next five years'. First of all schools and health institutions will be improved, in quality and quantity. After that we find proposals for the community's activities like youth and children clubs, sport areas, kindergarten, women's centers, or even commercial centers. Within this budget a sum of 9.5 Mio Dollar is dedicated to housing upgrading and rebuilding "Shelter". The Refugee Camps at least are considered to be part of the urban fabric and neighborhoods. Unfortunately there was no funding before this proposal was given to the public in February 1999,. (*see: PA 99: 51 of 73*)

3.3 Other Projects and Ideas

Americans, Israelis, Egyptians, Jordanians, as well as Palestinians speculated to find a final solution for the Palestinian Refugees inside and outside the country. All the following information are from a lecture given by Mr. Abdallah Al Hurani on 4.4.1998 in the Islamic University and from a lecture of Mr. Walid Salim, given on the 22.9.1996 in Berlin, Germany.

The main idea in the pro Israeli proposals is to settle the Refugees for always on any alternative place. In 1949 Minister Ariel proposed to send about 500.000 Refugees to the neighbored Arab Countries and to help them with international funds to settle permanently. In the fifties an American plan (*Johnstone Project*) projected to take over all the emigrated Palestinian workers to the Arab Countries as citizens according to contingents. Syria took 250.000, Iraq 350.000 Palestinian workers, but Egypt and Lebanon rejected the plan. Jordan with the big majority of Palestinian Refugees was out of the game, because they reclaimed the Westbank as their own area of interest. After 1967 especially Egypt proposed to settle all Refugees in the Sinai area as a buffer. Some more strange ideas were, to send the Palestinians to Kurdistan in Iraq. Another idea was, to throw out all Refugees from Palestine and allow only 50.000 to remain within the borders.

After Oslo new ideas and new figures appeared.

The main idea is to give those Refugees who live within Palestine in the Westbank and Gaza Region the Palestinian Nationality. According to that the Palestinian should be redistributed in and outside Palestine to find a better balance of Palestinian population in Palestine and between Palestinians and the main national population outside: f.e. 500.000 Refugees from Gaza Region should move to the Westbank, 140.000 Refugees from Jordan to the Westbank and 280.000 Refugees from Jordan to the Arab neighbors. (Israeli proposal)

Others propose to give all the colonies in the Gaza Region to the Refugees. Concerning Jordan exists a proposal to create a special (autonomous?) region for the Refugees in Jordan as part of Jordan.

Concerning Israel there are proposals to let return only 50.000 and become Israeli citizenship (Israeli proposal) or to let return all who want to live in Israel and become Israeli citizens (Palestinian proposal). There is also a proposal to enlarge the Gaza Region to the Naqab/Negev

Region and to settle the Refugees as compensation for their lost areas and to give them Palestinian Citizenship.

There exists a so called 'Abu Masen Plan', which means:

- Israel admits officially the rights of the Palestinian on their homeland, this right can and most of all should be compensated financially.
- All Refugees can return into the Palestinian State and become citizens of Palestine.
- In the Palestinian Territory all Refugees who want, will be resettled in remaining Palestine, the Camps will be upgraded.
- The PLO decides officially that after this procedure the Palestinian Question will be solved for ever.

(see Al Hurani 1998, Salim 1996)

In the following scenarios we want to show how living conditions might change if there is no activity to change into better (scenario 1 'status quo'), and how it might change after some official decisions and activities from the International Community, the Palestinian Government and donors (scenario 2 'alternative scenario'). As for that we need estimation of population development and needs of housing, we will introduce some figures in the following digression before starting with the scenarios.

Digression

Population development and future housing needs for the Refugee Population in Palestine

The following calculations are based on the Population, Housing, and Establishment Census –1997, and the Preliminary Results, the Current Status Reports Series no.6 of the Housing Conditions Statistics in the Westbank and the Gaza Strip and on the UNWRA Quarterly Report June 1998. (see PNA 1997, PCBS 1998, PCBS 1998a, UNWRA 1998)

Concerning to these information we have the following figures about the existing number of total population and Refugee population in the Gaza and the Westbank region, with and without Jerusalem East (1967 boundaries). (The figures differ between PCBS and UNWRA).

1. Population 1997

1.1 Tot. Population (PCBS)	2 895.683		
Westbank Region	1 597.009		Westbank plus Jerusalem: 1 873.476
Jerusalem (estim.)	276.467		
Gaza Region	1 022.207		
1.2a Refugees 97(PCBS)	1 074.718	=	41,4% of total (without Jerusalem)
Westbank Region	423.207	=	26,5% of Westbank total
Jerusalem	26.942	=	9,8% of Jerusalem total (estim.)
Gaza Region	624.569	=	61,1% of Gaza total
Total Palestine 67	1 101.660		

1.2b Refugees 98 (UNWRA)	1.327.920		(without Jerusalem)
Westbank Region	555.057		
Gaza Region	772.863		
Jerusalem (est.)	70.000		
Total Palestine 67	1 397.920		
1.2c Refugees 98 in Camps (UNWRA)	601.199		796.721 outside the Camps
Westbank Region	147.015	=	26% of WB Refugees
Gaza Region	423.881	=	55% of Gaza Refugees
Jerusalem (est.)	30.303	=	26% of Jerusalem Refugees (est.)

See also the number of households (HH) and the household sizes concerning the different sources.

1.3 Households (HH) 97, (PCBS 98)

1.3a Total number of HH	447.817
Westbank Region HH	262.568
Jerusalem estim.	40.552
Gaza Region HH	101.120

1.4 Household Size 97 (PCBS 98)

1.4a Total average	6,5 persons
Westbank Region	6,1
Jerusalem estim.	6,8 (?)
Gaza Region	6,9

1,4b Camps (all)	7,73 (<i>see: PCBS 1997</i>)	6,6 (<i>see: PCBS 1998</i>)
Camps Westbank Region	6,99	no figures
Camps Jerusalem	6,99 (?)	no figures
Camps Gaza Region	7,99	no figures

2. Population and Household Increase Estimation for the Refugee Population 1997 - 2010

In the following calculation we use the estimation of the total population netto increase (mixed calculation including fertility, mortality, returnees and internal migration) according to the PCBS estimation until 2025 (*see: PCBS 1998*),

From this estimation, 1997 to 2010, the average increase of the total population according to the PCBS figures is about 4,36%. We will calculate with 4%, as we assume that the returnee rate to the camp itself will not be as high as to other areas and internal migration higher than in cities and villages. For the future number of households we are calculating with the average figure of 6,5 members of HH in all Palestine and the figure of 6,99 members per household for the Gaza Region and the Westbank, and Jerusalem Camps. We will calculate for the whole Palestinian population and the Refugees in and outside the Camps in the different regions. We show the differences between UNWRA and PCBS figures (*see figure 11 – this estimation is based on figures without Jerusalem*)

Table 11: Increase of Refugee Population from Dec 1997 to 2010, yearly 4%
Without Jerusalem, household increase estimation acc. to different HH size (Basic PCBS 98)

Year	Total number of population	New inhabitants per year (4%)	New HH per year 6,5members per HH	New HH per year 6,9members per HH
1997	1 074.718	42.989	6.614	6.230
1998	1 117.707	44.708	6.878	6.479
1999	1 162.415	46.497	7.153	6.739
2000	1 208.912	48.357	7.439	7.008
2001	1 257.268	50.291	7.737	7.288
2002	1 307.559	52.302	8.046	7.580
2003	1 359.861	54.394	8.368	7.883
2004	1 414.255	56.570	8.703	8.199
2005	1 470.825	58.833	9.051	8.526
2006	1 529.658	61.186	9.413	8.867
2007	1 590.844	63.634	9.790	9.222
2008	1 654.478	66.179	10.181	9.591
2009	1 720.657	68.826	10.589	9.975
2010	1 789.483			
total	+ 714.765	714.765	109.962	103.587

Table 12: Development of Refugees Population 1998 – 2010 acc. to UNWRA 98
In – and outside the Camp – Westbank Region

Year	All Camp total pop. development	Inhabitants new inhab. + 4 %	Inhabitants total pop. development	Inside Camp new inhab. + 4 %	Inhabitants total pop. development	Outside Camp new inhab. + 4 %
1998	555.057	22.202	147.015	5.881	408.042	16.322
1999	577.259	23.090	152.896	6.116	424.364	16.974
2000	600.349	24.014	159.012	6.360	441.338	17.653
2001	624.363	24.974	165.372	6.615	458.991	18.360
2002	649.337	25.973	171.987	6.879	477.351	19.094
2003	675.310	27.012	178.866	7.155	496.445	19.858
2004	702.322	28.093	186.021	7.441	516.303	20.652
2005	730.415	29.217	193.462	7.738	536.955	21.478
2006	759.632	30.385	201.200	8.048	558.433	22.337
2007	790.017	31.601	209.248	8.370	580.770	23.231
2008	821.618	32.865	217.618	8.705	604.001	24.160
2009	854.483	34.179	226.323	9.053	628.161	25.126
2010	888.662		235.376		653.287	
total	+ 333.605	333.605	+ 88.361	88.361	+ 245.245	245.244

**Table 13: Development of Refugees Population 1998 – 2010 acc. to UNWRA 98
In – and outside the Camp – Gaza Region**

Year	All Camp total pop. development	Inhabitants new inhab. + 4 %	Inhabitants total pop. development	Inside Camp new inhab. + 4 %	Inhabitants total pop. development	Outside Camp new inhab. + 4 %
1998	772.863	30.914	423.881	16.955	348.982	13.959
1999	803.777	32.151	440.836	17.633	362.941	14.518
2000	835.928	33.437	458.469	18.339	377.459	15.098
2001	869.365	34.775	476.808	19.072	392.557	15.702
2002	904.140	36.166	495.880	19.835	408.259	16.330
2003	940.306	37.612	515.715	20.629	424.589	16.989
2004	977.918	39.117	536.344	21.454	441.573	17.663
2005	1.017.035	40.681	557.798	22.312	459.236	18.369
2006	1.057.716	42.309	580.110	23.204	477.605	19.104
2007	1.100.025	44.001	603.314	24.133	496.709	19.868
2008	1.144.026	45.761	627.447	25.098	516.577	20.663
2009	1.189.787	47.591	652.545	26.102	537.240	21.490
2010	1.237.378		678.647		558.730	
total	+ 464.515	464.515	+ 254.766	254.766	+ 209.748	209.748

**Table 14: Development of Refugees Population 1998 – 2010 acc. to UNWRA 98
In – and outside the Camp – Jerusalem Region**

Year	All Camp total pop. development	Inhabitants new inhab. + 4 %	Inhabitants total pop. development	Inside Camp new inhab. + 4 %	Inhabitants total pop. development	Outside Camp new inhab. + 4 %
1998	70.000 (est)	2.800	30.304(est)	1.212	39.697(est)	1.588
1999	72.800	2.912	31.515	1.261	41.285	1.651
2000	75.712	3.028	32.776	1.311	42.936	1.717
2001	78.740	3.150	34.087	1.363	44.653	1.786
2002	81.890	3.276	35.450	1.418	46.439	1.858
2003	85.166	3.407	36.868	1.475	48.297	1.932
2004	88.573	3.543	38.343	1.534	50.229	2.009
2005	92.116	3.685	39.877	1.595	52.238	2.089
2006	95.801	3.832	41.472	1.659	54.327	2.173
2007	99.633	3.985	43.131	1.725	56.500	2.260
2008	103.618	4.145	44.856	1.794	58.760	2.350
2009	107.763	4.310	46.650	1.866	61.110	2.444
2010	112.073		48.516		63.554	
total	+ 42.073	42.073	+ 18.213	18.213	+ 23.857	23.857

Result:

Related to our condition, 4% average increase per year, and on the basis of UNWRA figure from 1998, we have to expect a Refugee population increase of about 60% from 1998 to 2010.

In the *Westbank Region* in 2010 we will have about 333.600 more Refugee people and a total amount of nearly 900.000 people. 90.000 people more will live in the Camps of the Westbank, if the former relation between Refugees in – and outside the Camp will remain.

In the *Gaza Region* there will be 460.000 Refugee people more until 2010, and a total of around 1.240.000. The Camps have to shelter about 250.000 more people, if the relation between Refugees in – and outside the Camp in the Gaza region remain the same like years before.

Concerning *Jerusalem* (67) we have not the exact figures. Related to our estimation the Refugee population will increase until 2010 about 40.000 more people to a total amount of more than 112.000. In the Camps around 18.000 of them might be in addition.

(see table 15)

Table 15: Increase of the Refugee Population 1998-2010, total Palestine, Westbank, Gaza Region and Jerusalem (UNWRA 1998)

Area	All Refugees 1998	Palestine 67 2010	Inside the 1998	Camps 2010	Outside the 1998	Camps 2010
Westbank	555.057	888.662	147.015	235.376	408.042	653.287
Gaza	772.863	1.237.378	423.881	678.647	348.982	558.730
Jerusalem	70.000	112.073	30.303	48.516	39.697	63.554
total	1.397.920	2.238.113 +840.193	601.199	962.539 + 361.340	796.721	1.275.571 + 478.850

In total the Refugee Population in (67) Palestine will increase until 2010 about 840.000 people to an amount of 2.250.000. About 360.000 of the new one will live in the Camps, about 480.000 outside the Camp according to our calculation and UNWRA 1998.

To calculate the Households to find a basic for housing needs, we divided the population through persons per household, as they are known for the different regions: 6,99 persons per Refugee Camp household in the Westbank region, 7,99 persons per household in the Gaza region, and we estimated for Jerusalem the same figure as for the Westbank (9,99). See the following overview.

Table 16: Households 1998 and increase of households to 2010, total Palestine, Westbank, Gaza Region and Jerusalem, (UNWRA 1998)

Area	All 1998	Refug. 2010	Increase	Inside 1998	Camps 2010	Increase 1998	Outside 1998	Camps 2010	Increase
Westb.	79.407	127.133	47.726	21.032	33.673	12.641	58.375	93.460	35.085
Gaza	96.729	154.866	58.137	53.051	84.937	31.886	43.677	69.929	26.252
Jerus.	10.014	16.033	6.019	4.335	6.941	2.600	5.679	9.092	3.413
total	186.150	298.032 +111.882	111.882	78.418	125.551 +47.133	47.133	107.731	172.481 +64.750	64.750

The total increase of Refugee Households in Palestine until 2010 will be according to our calculation about 112.000, around 47.000 in the Camps, around 65.000 outside the Camps, according to UNWRA information 1998 and a population increase of 4% per year. The PCBS related figure was about 110.000 households, average household size was 6,5 persons per household.

Housing Needs

According to these figures we need until 2010 for the increasing population inside the Camp about 50.000 new flats. Outside the Camps about 65.000. Besides that the existing housing stock is not sufficient for the actual people. About 15.000 flats may be needed to compensate families which are living together with one or more family in one flat and a complete renovating of more than half of all units has to be done.

Doing so by constructing in general four floors for most of the units, we may manage the housing needs for the following 10 years. And besides that the needed housing stock outside the Camps must be built. But in general all this lifting and upgrading do not solve

the main problem and not the far future. For that the final solution must be found and decided within these ten years.

See the following scenarios, based on the calculations of this degression.

3.4 Scenarios for the Gaza Region

Scenarios will allow us to see more clear what might happen in the future and show us the way how to come out of a bad or unexpected situation in the future. Within the first 'Status Quo Scenario' we will try to design a future for the Camps that will appear if there are no changes and no political, economic or social solutions. We start from the actual population of about 766.404 registered Refugees in the Gaza Region. We assume a 4% increase rate, according to PCBS figures, which includes inner migration and returnees. We assume an average household size of 7,9 persons as before and expect that the relation between Refugees living in and outside the Camps will remain like 55 to 45%. (*see calculations in the appendix*)

Within the second, alternative 'Pes-Optimist Scenario' we want to show, what must be changed in a modest way, if within the next 12 years the housing situation should be stabile, basic needs fulfilled and the Camps developed into dense but also livable areas of low cost housing. It should be an alternative to illegal settling and provisional shelter. All that might happen, even if the right of return was not fulfilled already. We even are not sure, if the peace process really must have come to an end. We think, there might be a beginning. We will forecast the same population figure, take the estimated needed number of 65.000 new needed flats in the Camps, respect a general upgrading of the Camps with free space and a general size of each flat about 3 rooms for each family. Concerning the economic situation we based on the Palestine Poverty Report 1998 (*see: PNA 98*).

(*All figures see PCBS 98, UNWRA 98, see appendix: calculations*)

3.4.1 Gaza Camps 2010 – Status Quo

The number of registered Refugees increased enormously. In 2010 we have around 1.24 Million of them, around 60% more than 1998, some returnees between them. What a situation! The Camps are horribly overcrowded, about 255.000 people more. The families are suffering. Nearly all of them were forced to build up more two floors, even if the construction was not very safe. Most of them were built up from asbestos, with zinc roofs and look very provisional. Some of the families spent all their money, sold all the gold, only to have a roof over all heads of their growing families. Everywhere children, no space to sit and to relax. Many houses are yet not finished. People live surrounded by concrete walls and with minimally furnished kitchen and bathrooms. Who could buy the expensive tiles for floors and walls? No plaster, no tiles, sometimes no window glass. Six persons per room have become more and more normal.

All these building activities took place without planning or official permissions. Still the UNWRA rules the Camps. Provision with food has again become a big item in the Camps. The PNA could not find an agreement with UNWRA – they remain responsible for the miserable. The so-called peace process has been stopped completely. Gaza Region lives in a kind of status quo – no political changes, neither into worse nor into better.

All Camps look now like deserts of stone and sand, no green, no court, no garden and no tree even. Each centimeter built up for shelter. Ventilation, safety, and emergency needs were not respected. Last week a mother and her baby died in Rafah Camp, when complications appeared to deliver her

baby. They needed to go to the hospital, needed a doctor very urgently – but the ambulance could not reach the house and the mother did not survive the way to the hospital. Such cases do happen more and more often.

The Camp Council is still struggling against garbage and the bad hygienic situation. People do not care, they have other problems. Garbage became a hopeless factor. The overcrowded situation produces more garbage than the containers can take over. The always-going wind distributes plastic and other things into each corner. Household waste is stinking around. And still in many Camps the wastewater is running through the streets. During the winter, after raining, everything is flooded with dirty water, from washing and kitchen, and mixed with the garbage. Health conditions in the Camps became again worse.

And as the economic situation in whole Palestine did not change, also poverty among the Camp People has increased. The average household now needs about 650 \$ monthly for basic expenditures. But more than 70% of the Camp Inhabitants have less than 400 \$. So the majority of the Refugees in the Camps still depends on UNWRA help and support by the Islamic and Foreign Welfare Institutions. Nearly 65000 households of the newly in the Gaza Region registered Refugees tried to find shelter outside the Camp during the last 12 years. But where could they find? The Ministry of Housing built around 50.000 new housing units in the same time – not enough for the needs. And they faced a very serious problem during the last years. Most of the people, who bought flats from the projects of the first 5 years decade, did not pay their debts. There is a rate of 20% repayment only. Also the private sector has become problems. Shortage of land let the price for land increase enormously. Less and less investors can be found. The owners of the high rise buildings of the first years could meanwhile sell or rent most of their flats, but prices fell down. They could not get what they expected because of the bad income situation. Only those who still have work in higher positions in the governmental institutions have good and safe income. Most of them have already sufficient houses. The private initiatives have also stopped because of no laws and programs for the housing sectors to support their activities. These 50.000 new flats did not even solve the problem of giving shelter for the total growing population in cities and villages and for the returnees. So how to find the needed flats and houses for the nearly 26.500 households of the families leaving the Camps?

Mahmud, head of a 5 person's family explained to us: " We had no alternative. In Khan Yunis Camp, in the house of my fathers family there was no space for us. After I married Sousan we lived for three years in one room. And so did most of my brothers. Our 3-floor house had to give shelter for 6 families in 7 rooms, with one kitchen, 1 bathroom, 1toilet and one saloon! Each of my brothers families have 6 or more children. They needed 3 rooms! But how could we manage?

When Jamal, our third child arrived, Sousan asked me to look for a new place. But where should I find? My income as a laboratory assistant in the Nasser Hospital is not more than 400 \$ per month, and I have to support my parents and brothers who have no work. I asked the Ministry of Housing. But their list was long, no chance for me within the next years. And their flats were too expensive for our budget. 150 \$ per month repayment! And 20 years! And maybe in the 8th floor! What could I do? I asked my colleagues, looked around. No solution. And a next child coming!

Then I visited Ibrahim. He was my classmate in the UNWRA School. I heard about him, that he built himself a small house on some Government land called Bir Al Naja between Beit Lahia and Jabalia. After struggling with the Municipality and the Ministry of Housing at the beginning of 2004 the people who lived there since many years, were allowed to complete their houses and develop the area by themselves. Ibrahim had become a kind of speaker for the nearly 100 families, who lived there already. Most of them came from Jabalja Camp during the Intifada. I was lucky to

find Ibrahim just at a time when they looked for more families to settle and to build up that land. I didn't think much about the still not full legal status. I could only win. My family supported the decision and helped to build the first floor. Now we live in modest three rooms, and we have a small garden and good neighbors. We are happy."

Mahmud was lucky to find an area that was put into programs to develop with self-help and small standards. Others were forced to settle illegally on other governmental land without help and care. The housing situation meanwhile have become so bad, that illegal settling has become more and more normal and provisional shelter increased in each of those places. But nobody has the courage to throw the people out of the land, because there is no alternative.

"But I ask you", said Mahmud, "is that normal? What will be our future? We need a more realistic housing policy for those in need. And that must include us, the Refugees!"

3.4.2 Gaza Camp 2010 – Future for the Pes-Optimist, a look back

Winter 2010, the Habitat Commission for the Arab Countries came to visit the Gaza Camps. Still the Camps exist, even if there is since five years a slowly moving and migration back to some areas in Israel according to the agreements. Still people need modest shelter – not only the Refugees from 1947. And as we read in a report before, the former Camp area in 2005 was put into the city development plan as low cost housing area for the next ten years until 2015.

At first our group of international experts went to Rafah – the Camp with the worst conditions at that time. Those between us, who knew Rafah from 12 years ago could not believe what we saw: a confusing variety of three to four and five floors buildings, with roof-gardens, sun collectors, balconies, green plants all over. The shape looked nice, like a newly built up 'kasbah', dense, but in good proportions and proper looking as it seemed to us. No roof of asbestos or zinc could we see any more. What has happened?

We started with the Havuz Maje Quarter, where the upgrading program started at the beginning of the year of 2000. We left the UN cars (UN fulfill now its task until the last step of the final solution within the next 20 years) on a small parking area near the water tanks and walked to the new central place near the school. Small paved footpaths led to it. All houses around were in good shape, some courts became nice corners, where old men were playing 'shesh besh' in the sunny winter afternoon and a couple of children around were watching them. No open running water! No plastic all over! What has really happened?

We were invited to talk with Mr. Ussama, the quarter leader, in the just finished communal center. This building looked very nice with its cubes, arches, and 'mashrabiye'. As our guide, Mr. Abdallah from UNWRA, explained, this building was the outcome of a national architect competition. A group of architect students from the Islamic University in Gaza City was the winner. This group was chosen because of the very nice mixture of traditional and new style. "The students proposed to use also a new building material, a special mixture of mud and cement, and included a program of education for people to work with it. So it became a nice experiment for all of us. And the people who worked with it, established their own workshop and they have a lot of work now all around Rafah," said Mr. Abdallah.

Mr. Ussama, the son of the old Mukhtar of Yibna village near Old Yaffa City, and now the elected leader of the Quarter Committee, welcomed us. He was obviously very proud to can show us 'his' new quarter. "What really happened? I will give you a short overview and than look at our exhibition. There you will find more details and pictures to see what really happened. After that we can make a little tour around and you can talk to our people. Ok?"

“It started at the end of 1999. Everybody was looking for something important. You will remember, Arafat declared the State – and nothing good happened for us, no change. International pressure brought Israel again to the peace process and to bargain with us about our country. The forthcoming was slowly, the Refugee Question again postponed, but this time there was a more detailed schedule. In 2005 there was a first step to the Refugee Question: from 2010, some proportions of Refugees are allowed to return to the Bir Saba (Beersheva) Area. So in 1999 we still hoped. But at the end of the year our leaders declared, we will finally start with an upgrading program for the Camps, because there is no end to be seen very soon. They had already proposed a program within the National Development Plan for the year 2003. Japan again started supporting us – this time in Rafah. Here in ‘Havuz Maje’ were some very poor families with very poor shelter. They had no space for handicapped children, they had a lot of problems, and the UNWRA knew them very well. For that the UNWRA social workers came to us asking, if not we want to start. My father said “we can try, but is there money?”

Money was needed. How could we start without? The Japanese made a feasibility study. It said, that as a basic for each house in average we need about 5.000\$ or 20.000 Israeli Shekel for the main upgrading and building up three floors more. How to find this money? And the finishing not included. Japan wanted to give 2 Million Dollar, including infrastructure and basic water and waste water network. So we had to rely mostly on ourselves. We discussed different models of financing, solidarity fund, revolving fund, small scale credits, – involved banks and the government and we started to think seriously about it. We found out that it is possible for at least most of the families to be involved. Only some families really needed complete support.

The Japanese wanted us to make election and to have a responsible group at first as mediator between them and the people. We had a young architect, Dr. B., from a Yibna family in our quarter, who at that time was very active in the question of renovating the quarter. We asked him to make some proposals for the area and with his maps and pictures we made our first meeting. It was not easy to discuss the matter. You find all different minds: “we will move, why build now”, “the UNWRA must do for us”, “Better not to change anything, not to loose our rights” and so on. I was afraid that nothing would happen. All these nice maps from our Dr. B. senseless?

But after some weeks the young people came to my father’s house, asking him to let them talk and carry the initiative again. They wanted a change. They knew well, that it would be difficult for them to find work and to go out of the Camp if they want to merry. Many of them took it as a chance to think of their own future. So again meeting again discussion. And then we found some people ready to start. We had a lot of meetings, election, going around and a lot of problems to solve. For whom the property? How much money? What does it mean: revolving fund? How can I give for others before starting my own home? Who will be the first? Where to live if the house is under construction? Which houses are good for renovating and building up only? Which houses must be demolished? What kind of infrastructure do we need? Will women stay at home or take part? Do we need a kindergarten or not? Who will compensate former investments of the families if now we demolish or change? We invited people from other Camps, we invited lawyers, universities, experts from all sides. And as the president gave a sign to the whole society on the 4. of May 2000, to support the Refugee’s efforts and to sign for credit papers – we finally found a lot of help. In summer 2000 the Parliament passed a law that force the Municipalities to have development plans, including the Camp areas. So the framework was ready.

It took a year until we could start with the first step of building. If you look around, you can see, that still small living areas are not finished. But what make me very happy, most of the

neighborhoods started after they saw our first results and built up their houses with some more floors and all facilities you can see now. After ten years now we have a very experienced staff of local experts. We can help other Camps and other poor areas with information concerning all the special questions we had to solve: building and property law, adapted construction and material, about environment conditions and the need of light and shadow. You see waste all over like before? No, because after a while, when everything changed slowly, people themselves looked for their surrounding. The green party made a workshop for us in 2004 about environment problems and how to save material, energy and water – and they gave us plants, trees and flowers for the quarter as a gift. And we enjoyed. Now people use the garbage can sorrowfully. We even have special collection for the biological household garbage. It is used as sheep food for our Beduin cousins who serve us with Laban and Jibne.”

“How many families could you provide with safe shelter through your efforts”?

“We had about 3.500 people and about 500 families living in this small area. Meanwhile we have nearly 5.600 inhabitants total and 260 households more, an increase about 60%. Today we might have about 800 housing units. We had in 1998 about 400 housing units only, many families lived with two or three households in one unit only. After our survey we found, that around 20% of the houses were in so bad conditions, that we had to demolish them. We needed space for a communal center, kindergarten, some workshops, and clubs and for enlarging the school, also for some streets for emergency cars to reach all of us. For that we counted about 10% of the houses to be demolished in addition. So we could count only with about 380 housing units to use. Some of them were already built up to three or four floors, 76 houses, or around 20%. Finally our housing stock to work with was only about 304 houses. Most of them had only one or two floors and needed upgrading or complete renewing to have a good basis for the four floors. Our experts estimated, that if we build for each of these three more floors, we will reach about 900 flats in addition. Enough to serve all of us with a house for three or four families. But as we have to realize, that in all our families some of the children will go out of the Camp, for studying, for jobs at first and then may be for ever – we will not grow such much and may be we can even increase personal space in each housing unit. So the idea to build up our houses in general convinced all of us.

So we did - with big support from all sides and also with big energy from our side. The young people finally found work in the building process. We could reduce unemployment a little bit. The local constructing companies made contracts with us to qualify part of our volunteers and benefited from the whole renovating process. Some of the young Shebab started meanwhile with their own renovating companies and they work well. Also the women started. We have small workshops for clothes, also for traditional embroidery and woven fabric. Some European helped them to find the machines financed by the church in Bethlehem. You always need funding and step by step we found from here and there for small activities. One of our women workshop became specialist in wedding clothes. They became famous in Rafah. And who will marry, she will come to our quarter for her dressing.

Our quarter changed a lot into better, not only the houses but also the social and the economic situation. The youth has a playing ground near the old water tanks, there is a girl's and a boy's club. And I think, we can be proud of it.” Yes, we must agree. The result is really impressive.

All what Mr. Ussama described we could follow in the exhibition. Photos from meetings; the first demolishing, the former inhabitants beside it, a little bit worried; different maps about the areas of renovation; a new built up area not far from the Camp for families to move during the construction

period; volunteer students at work; the president on a visit; the architect controlling the details; pictures from the big 'party' after opening the community center.

"And what will happen now, after finally some thousands of Refugees can move to their former lands?" Mr. Ussama sees no problem. "First of all not all of the people will move. Many young families have found their friends, work, and everything they like, here in Rafah. They do not want to move. Others first will see, how the life will be and live in both areas before deciding. All that needs time now. And even if most of us will move, there are still many people who need these kind of shelter. Even if they look now much better than before, they are small and modest. "

And he concluded: "I think the most important of all our efforts is the fact, that we learned to take care of ourselves and to feel responsible for our future. Sure we needed help, but the efforts of our people were great. And this they will never forget, wherever they will live."

Résumé

We hope to have shown, that with some political decisions, international help and national and a local effort and a general program and plan with, the Camps will change a lot into better. Otherwise the Camps will become more and more the most deprived areas in Palestine and through that places of social and political instability. Therefore we think that there is no alternative.

It needs more details in thinking, planning, and calculation. See the following chapters.

4. Principles, Aims and Strategies for Planning in the Refugee Camps – The Example of the Gaza Region

History and the actual situation in the Refugee Camps as described before and the eventual future as demonstrated in the Status Quo Scenario make it evident that there must be activities to change the situation in the Camps into better – even the general political solution is still not realized. Urban defaults are as clear as the miserable situation in the houses and the living quarters. There must be a limit to the suffering of a big part of the society. And as the people are building and changing daily, the uncontrolled and sometimes dangerous constructing must be changed into a planned and more rational development. Any vision of the future of the Camp, if the same Refugee People still will live there or other poor families will replace them, must be taken into consideration for future plans and development ideas. Projecting development measures must respect the limit of financing and must respect the demands and wishes of people. Therefore participation as much as possible is necessary. Take the following aims, principles, tasks and measures as a technical need from the planners point of view. This will not solve the political questions, but is nevertheless a necessary step for the future of Palestine.

Within all development measures the following *aims* should be reached:

- To upgrade living and housing condition to a basic but sufficient standard for each family.
- To give alternative housing to those families who want to leave the Camp.
- To provide all quarters and families with a sufficient minimum of social, cultural and technical infrastructure, to support the youth, women and children at first.
- To offer chances for jobs and qualifications during the renewing process.

Within all development measures the following *principles* should be respected:

- No force, voluntary decision for everybody and a maximum of participation.
- Adapted measures to the economic situation of the majority of the families.
- Encouragement of families to invest all their resources in this process: labor, qualification and capacities as well as finances.
- Self-help activities as much as possible should be encouraged and supported in almost all fields of the process.
- Use of cost saving building methods and materials, use of tradition and culture, also standardization to reduce costs.
- Use of local building materials, replacement of unhealthy or poisoned material.
- Create a unity of constructing, working and qualifying.

In the following part we want to discuss these aims and principles in the context of the main planning problems and tasks.

4.1 Main Problems and Tasks in the Planning Process

If we think about the complexity of the renewal process for the Refugee Camps we have to take a sum of very different aspects of problems into consideration like:

- Wild, unplanned structures.
- High density of quarters and overcrowded houses.

- Very small housing area and bad organized ground plan.
- Bad quality of construction materials and facilities, dangerous material and constructions.
- Not sufficient transportation system, not sufficient safety in case of fire, accident or sickness.
- No free space and space for communication, leisure time and ventilation.
- Not sufficient technical infrastructure in homes and quarters concerning water-supply, wastewater and waste disposal.
- Not sufficient social services, health and education systems.
- No job and qualification opportunities, no safe income sources.
- An unclear real estate and property situation.

That means we have to think of three areas of planning:

1. Planning the renewing process concerning the *buildings*.
2. Planning the renewing process concerning the *living quarters* and the Camp area as part of Cities or Governorates.
3. Planning the renewing process concerning *social and economical conditions* of families and the whole Camp Society.

In detail we should reach the following *aims* through planning in these three areas:

1. The Buildings

- Renewal and upgrading of construction, roofs and walls; replacing of unhealthy material, creating standards.
- Qualifying the standards of facilities: kitchen, bathroom, toilet and shower.
- Creating models for ground plans adapted to climate and family situation, changing of house organization,
- Creating models for expansion, building up new floors, adding rooms.

2. The Living Quarters

- Reduce of density and overcrowding.
- Upgrading the standard and number of social services to average standard.
- Upgrading the standards of technical infrastructure (water, waste-water, energy, garbage).
- Upgrading of daily life services, markets, shopping centers, clinics.
- Increasing the space for free activities, communication, leisure time and ventilation.
- Upgrading the transportation system to a more safe and sufficient standard.

3. The Socio-Economic Situation

- Creating of job and qualification opportunities.
- Creating of an independent body of representatives for the participation process to save the interests of the people.

4.2 The Different Planning Problems and Aspects

Here we will discuss the main problems and tasks summarized before.

Wild, unplanned structures

The genesis of the Camps, the enormous population development and the lack of a planning authority are the reason for the chaotic spatial development in all Refugee Camps. From the very beginning it must have been clear, that the little houses, built up as provisional shelter, would never be sufficient for the thousands of Refugees coming from all the villages and towns in Israel occupied and reclaimed for the Jewish State. No wonder that after so many years more and more even the smallest free space, gardens behind and in front of the houses, streets and courts, became built up for the more and more growing families. The results are the unbelievable density, paths of less than one meter, no free area, not enough space for social services and communal buildings. In addition, the new constructions of the last 5 years changed the shape of the Camps not into better. Different heights, facades, floors, materials and qualities are existing near to each other. Therefore, within the renewal process efforts are necessary to win space and to order demands for a better shape and standards.

High density of quarters and overcrowded houses

The figures shown especially in the Status Quo Scenario make very clear that there is no alternative to enlarging the space of houses and quarters. Three persons and more are not rare in the Camps. Not all families can give their boys and girls separate bedrooms. First of all the needed space can be guaranteed through building up to three and four floors. Each house obviously should have space for three families as minimum. A complete family needs three rooms as minimum and a kitchen and a bathroom. That means, the house organization needs to be changed and typical ground plans must be developed.

Very small basic size and not well organized ground plan

It is very clear that the whole space for the housing needs of an increasing population can not be found within the existing Camp only. The same problem exists with technical and social infrastructure, free space and recreation areas. That means, that the Camps need extension. For the renewing process therefore neighbored, not built up land as much as possible should be provided. And thus, if houses in bad shape have to be demolished, if families will move to these new extensions or go out of the Camp in new housing areas, there will be chances to enlarge the space for the remaining families. Houses can be put together to one or overlapping will give chances to create the needed free space for better ventilation and other needs.

Bad quality of construction material and facilities, dangerous material and constructions

Traditional constructions and material like clay for example are nearly forgotten. Nobody wants to use them. Concrete, steel, asbestos and zinc entered the market. The modern building use concrete. Most of the traditional houses in the Camps still use asbestos and zinc for the roof. These materials must be eliminated. Most of the old constructions cannot carry three or four floors. This means that in many cases the whole basic construction must be renewed, the old house demolished and a new basement be established. The same will happen with bath, toilet and kitchen. The facilities outside the living area in a court must become integrated. If courts have to be eliminated, roof gardens should become an alternative. For ventilation small scale wind shafts may be established.

Not sufficient transportation system, not sufficient safety in case of fire, accident or sickness

After building up every smallest part of land in the Camp, there was not enough space for streets and a sufficient transportation system. Some paths are around 60 or 80 cm. While other streets, once built up by force from the Israeli Army, can be used for two or more cars. There is no balance in size and access. Inside the quarters there is not enough light, ventilation and privacy. Traffic sometimes is too much and dangerous for children in many of the living quarters. In the future it needs a minimal access to all quarters for emergency cases, while some of the big streets might be reduced to win space for other purpose.

No free space and space for communication, leisure time and ventilation

On the one side there is no space for privacy of families or family members and on the other side lack of space for communication, playing grounds or sport activities. Both are necessary. To solve conflicts, to enjoy life, to meet people with similar problems, to exchange experience – all that what is necessary to build up a civil society and keep it alive – it needs space. Also the extreme differences of climate with very hot summer seasons and cold and rainy winters, especially cold nights, have to be respected. It needs ventilation in the summer and absorbing the sun during daytime in winter. The extreme densely built up areas are hindering these demands. So within the renewing process, if space can be gained, climate is a factor to be thought of.

Not sufficient technical infrastructure in homes and quarters concerning water supply, waste-water and waste disposal

Drinking *water* is one of the biggest environment problems in the Gaza Region. It is salty and has high nitrate concentration (*see Arij 1998*). Water is a regional problem and must be solved in the future between Israel and Palestine. Now during the renovation process one must look for healthy tube material and systems to reduce the use of water and to recycle. The same problem exists with *electricity*. All households are connected, but Israel gives the energy. To become independent needs also a national solution. Within the renewing process the use of solar energy should be encouraged and improved. The *wastewater* system needs an urgent solution. No water should run as surface water any more. If there are no programs with foreign money like actually in Shati Camp the self-help activities, which already started in, some quarters should become a program, supported and encouraged by the authorities. At the end of the process, no water any more should run in streets. *Garbage* collection exists. But the system is not sufficient. Containers are ugly, not safe, children and animals distribute the garbage all over the area, the wind spread it out. There must be some changes. Why not find extra places for natural garbage to feed the Bedouins animals with. Besides that environment, education must be organized.

Not sufficient social services, health and education system

The Camp inhabitants are not satisfied with the social services given by the UNWRA. It is only basic, and not very qualified. Concerning health, education and kindergarten new standards must be set and found ways how to realize them. Initiatives may come out of the Camps and should be encouraged. First of all the needed space has to be organized within the renovation process. After that the standards should be decided that are needed to give the Refugee Camps the same chances as other Palestinian areas.

No job and qualification opportunities, no safe income sources

The whole process would fail if job and qualification opportunities were not included. The process should be taken as a chance to increase income and to give young people a chance for jobs in the future. As most of the activities will be constructing, first of all those jobs can be offered. It needs communication and initiatives with the private sector and the companies. However, as well as construction, light industry might be involved. With those, who want to take part in the reconstruction process, contracts might be done about how many people and in which fields employment and education might be offered.

Unclear real estate and property situation

Property rights are very problematic since the beginning of the Refugee Camps. Most of the land in the Refugee Camps is so called 'Miri'-Land, community land, today seen as Governmental land. Other Camps were established on private land, like the Camps Maghazi and Nuseirat, two of the so called 'middle camps'. The inhabitants of the Camps most of all are registered Refugees. The papers they have about their status do not declare their houses or the land as their properties. UNWRA as well cannot be a private owner. So what kind of property do we really have?

The people who live on the land treat this land as their own: they build on it, they rent or sell it, they take key money and they give it to their children. And in general they are right to do so. Still the Islamic Law from Ottoman time is alive. It says, that who build, work and live on a piece of (Miri-) Land more than 15 years, can deal with it as an owner. And this is what people do.

Beside that who can say, that UNWRA is the owner. The UNITED NATIONS own land in any country? This is impossible. The old owners, private owners, from whom UNWRA rented, bought, or expropriated the land, may reclaim the land for their own use. That means we have to deal with conflicting interests. Nevertheless the property question must and can be solved. Problems will also appear, when land for planning and communal use must be provided. We need for example land to replace former houses or land used for gardens and agriculture near the Camps and we have to purchase, to compensate or to legalize.

Whatever will be the formal solution, one aim should be respected: if property rights must be organized in a new way, we have to make safe, that the actual inhabitants will benefit. If compensation must be paid, it should be with low prices. And all that needs regulations.

4.3 Aims and Principles for the Implementing Process and Planning, with Special Respect to the Upgrading and Renewal Process in the Refugee Camps

Aims and strategies of the renewal process in the Refugee Camps should be congruent and become integrated part of the spatial planning of Municipalities and Governorates. Therefore we should put in mind general aims and principles of Regional and Urban Planning which should lead the process between the representatives of the Camps, the UNWRA, the Municipalities, the Governorates and the Ministries.

Aims and Principles in Urban and Regional Development Planning

- The development plan for the Refugee Camps must be integrated into the general urban development plan, the land use plans and the plans for built up areas. The Municipalities and the Governorates should decide about rules and regulation to do so.
- The Municipalities and Governorates should take care about their built up areas not to extend them on the cost of agricultural land, and needed free space. Urban development must be reduced and extension on the horizontal level preferred. The general height of built up areas buildings should be not more than five floors. High rise buildings are not preferred.
- Areas for villas with low density are luxury in the Gaza Region and should not be expanded. Free space for ventilation and public open space must be provided.
- Municipalities and the Governorates have to provide the land for new housing areas, for compensation and urgent cases.
- It needs research, forecast and documentation of housing needs, reflecting the population growth, returnees, inner Palestinian migration and the moving of Refugee Camp inhabitants.
- Urban and rural development and housing programs must include also the existing housing stock and respect needs of renewing, building up or sanitation. This will reduce the need for new building and new land for new built up areas.
- Substitute land is needed for that; the municipality should keep land for exchange, for urgent development. Concerning the Refugee Camps the Municipality and the Governorates should provide the Camps with neighbored land for extension.
- Fragmentation in general and reduce of agricultural land must be avoided.
- The character of existing settled areas should be respected, new areas should fit into the spatial fabric.
- Job creation should be part of the urban planning programs and projects, needed especially for the Camp Renewal Process, but also for other low cost housing areas. Jobs most of all will be found in the building construction sector, and the light industry might be another branch. The land use plans and development programs must include mixed areas and areas for industrial and trade development without harming the housing areas.
- The Camp Renewal Process should be understood as part of a program for low cost housing areas, with special standards and regulations. This makes sure, that even after having solved the political question, the area could be used for other citizens suffering from unemployment and poverty.
- Preserve of nature and nature resources as well as questions of climate needs should not be neglected in the urban and regional development plans. The cultural heritage must be respected as well. If there are contradictions between needed use for housing and other demands, best compromises must be found through discussion between contrahents.
- As long as there is no final solution between Israel and Palestine, political aspects like the saving of land near the colonies must be respected too.
- Very important is to make participation an inherent part within all plans and programs. Participation as much as possible should be established with rules and regulations from the beginning of planning until the implementing and finishing and even for evaluation after implementing. For that, it needs contracts between all partners.

Aims and Principles by Planning a New Built Up Area

- Municipalities and Governorates have the right and are required to set the principles and measures for building and constructing in settled and new building areas within the national development regulations and programs.
- All citizens have the right to be provided with the officially recognized basic needs. These needs must be defined and set as standards for planning areas.
- Main aim is to reduce costs by using local material and cost-saving methods and supporting self-help activities, especially in the low cost building areas.
- The Municipalities and Governorates have to serve the areas with sufficient water supply, wastewater systems, energy and waste disposal systems. Self-help activities have to be sponsored and be integrated. Recycling and use of local resources like sun energy shall be developed and supported.
- Building and building material must be adapted to climate conditions.
- Dangerous and poisoned constructing material will be under control and forbidden in the future.
- Structures and traditional systems and shapes of buildings and constructions should be respected, the new building areas designed in an adapted way.
- The historical unity of living and working, housing and handicraft should be again restored and new building areas should find best models for that.
- Environment should be of big importance in planning. It needs standards and regulations. Unhealthy productions should not be integrated into housing areas, handicrafts and shops within these areas must be controlled regularly.
- All projects for new building areas must be in harmony with its neighborhoods and the whole urban development.
- Coordinating in time and space is much needed. All involved institutions should work within an integrated process and with realistic timetables.
- Participation and regular exchange of problems and experiences are necessary between all involved institutions and partners, and this during the whole planning, implementation and evaluation.

Aims and Principles by Planning and Implementing a Housing Unit

- Renovation and new construction in steps related to the financial conditions of the families must be allowed.
- A maximum of use of space should be reached.
- Each family must have 3 bedrooms minimum.
- A maximum of hygienic and healthy facilities and construction materials must be guaranteed.
- Before final planning, houses must be classified concerning basic construction and housing conditions on the one side and the family situation on the other side.
- For each type, two or three alternatives for renovation or renewal must be developed and proposed, to give choices and priorities to the people and to find models for standardization.
- Self-help models and standards should be researched, need and facilities for qualification of labor must be found out.

- Typical financing models related to typical family conditions must be developed and proposed. They must be adapted to different conditions and follow the low cost, small credits, revolving funds and independence principle.
- Cultural and social demands and structures must be defined and respected.
- Constructions should be adapted to typical life style and building designs and to climate conditions as well.
- Free choice, voluntary decision, alternatives and participation must be a high standard for all decision making.

To guarantee all these principles and aims for the implementation of the Refugee Camp Renewal Process, the administration in the Municipalities, the Governorates and Ministries have to build special units and communication rules between each other and the Camp Representatives. Sometimes also contracts for that process between partners with different interests are useful. The involved institutions have to think also about whom to involve in the different initiatives like job creating, social services from the public sector and from self-help organizations. The private sector, welfare organizations, UNWRA and groups of inhabitants will become active and must be integrated into the planning and decision making process as well as into implementing. Cooperatives may be one kind of self-organization of the Refugees in the Camps and should be encouraged. These aspects must be solved before starting the process. Financing of the process must be done by the Europeans and the International Community as a demand of responsibility.

In the following chapter we will discuss in more detail the proposals for the two levels of planning: the quarter and the houses. We try to show the difficulties as well as ways to solve them.

5. Implementation of the Refugee Camp Renewal Process and Problems of Implementation

We want now to go deeper into the implementation problems. We will do this on the level of the quarters at first and then on the level of the houses. After that, we will concentrate again on the property question, job and qualification opportunities, self-organization and participation. We want to show the difficulties concerning these items and propose some alternatives how to solve them. In each case we will start again with main aims, then come to actors and different steps how to solve existing problems for implementing and then try to figure out, which measures are needed. After all we want to present an action plan, that shows the demands for the Municipalities, Governorates and the Ministries to start and to lead this process until finishing.

Again, we concentrate with some examples on the Gaza Region. But for sure these proposals are as right for the Refugee Camp situation in the Westbank and in Jerusalem as well, as they are useful for any low cost housing area program for people with low income all over Palestine in the future (and not only in Palestine).

5.1 Measures on the Level of the Quarter

On the quarter level, the main problem is transportation. A good balance is needed between the too small paths within each quarter and the mostly too big street between some quarters and around the Camps. Within the renewal of street and paths the renewal of water supply, wastewater drainage, waste collecting and access to social and communal services and buildings must be newly organized. At the end of the renewal process each quarter must have a possible maximum of access to each house, light and fresh air ventilation, free space and access to the needed social services, not more far than 15 minutes walking.

5.1.1 Transportation, Infrastructure, Free Space

In most of the basic living quarters the space between the houses is too small, to build any building in addition to them for the social services or free space. Ventilation and light is too small. In emergency case no car can reach the buildings. The bigger quarters suffer from lack of social infrastructure and free and green areas as well. Some quarters suffer from traffic and dangerous transportation net. (*see map 9, 10*)

Aims

We have a complex system of aims. We have to

- keep the existing housing stock as far as possible, not destroy the houses, which have a chance to be renewed,
- create interim and extension housing areas near the Camp for moving people or for the construction period,
- provide a basic social service infrastructure,
- provide access to each house for emergency case,
- provide access to the existing and the planned social institutions,
- upgrade paths and ways to a safe communication net,
- upgrade the hygienic conditions in quarters and houses through light and fresh air,
- upgrade the public space, paths, ways and streets as well as courts and corners to a better shape,
- regain space for transportation to use for communal activities,

- make the area green,
- look for a financing and implementing process, which reduce costs for the people,
- motivate and enable the people to organize part of the renewal process by themselves.

Actors

- Inhabitants of the Camp
- Municipalities
- Governorates
- Ministries
- Non Governmental Organizations
- UNWRA
- Self-help communities and their advisors.

Implementation

Here we will discuss the two main demands for upgrading the transportation structure in the Camps.

Better access to the internal living quarters.

We know that the people are waiting for a renewal of their quarters and a better access to their houses and services. Especially the small workshops and shopkeeper want a better transportation system. (see Badawy 1997)

Daily life will be easier for everybody if there will be a basic upgrading. A hierarchy of streets must be found, a hierarchy of access of different type of transport must be defined. The central streets should allow transportation with small trucks, but inside only private cars. The small little quarters should be allowed for one emergency car. The inner street system should be paved, asphalt should be dismantled to keep rainwater. Parking, private transport and access to social services should be organized in a radius of ten to fifteen minutes walking. For that, each little quarter and the whole Camp needs a general and an inner transportation plan.

New ways and streets need space. Houses must be demolished. First principle must be, to keep as much houses as possible and to demolish only buildings, which were built up illegally, which are nearly ruined or must be destroyed for urgent urban development reason.

For these plans, we need the "ok" from the inhabitants. People who are affected by the planned measures must be compensated by new houses within the whole renewal program, inside or in the direct neighborhood of the Camp and with free choice given. The Municipalities or Governorates must do the transportation construction with support by UNWRA. If self-help activities are possible they should be supported. Local companies should do the specific work and offer job and qualification opportunities.

Enlarging the inner path system

The small paths are in general an obstacle for the whole renewing of transportation, infrastructure and free space. In addition, the inner paths are in bad shape. Concrete or asphalt is destroyed, some ways and paths are from sand only. Especially during the rainy winter the slippery ways become dangerous for playing children or old people. More light and fresh air, free space and public areas for the people are impossible to organize with paths around one meter wide.

In interviews most of the people agreed to the demand of enlarging the paths (*see: Badawy 1997*). When it came to the question, who will give some space, those who expanded their living area vertically did not agree. But those, who suffer from a very bad housing and want to build completely new or change, are ready to leave their house and move to a better situation and take compensation.

Not for sure all that can be done without an agreement with the people and a high standard of participation. In general, we need researches about every quarter, existing housing conditions and alternative proposals. Parallel to that it needs to prepare the alternative housing areas for compensation and moving people near the Camps.

Needed Activities

To organize the needed measures it needs concepts, rules, laws and discussion before any decision can be made. All actors should be involved in different stages and with different influence. The following items may be added and completed.

- Laws and regulations for minimal sizes of paths, ways and streets, hierarchy of streets and special standards for the Refugee Camps as high-density areas.
- Laws and regulation concerning density of living areas and houses, space between buildings, open space and urban shape and special standards for the Refugee Camps as high dense areas.
- Controlling measures concerning new buildings in the Camp and the added areas, the Municipalities or Governorates take over the responsibility.
- Proposal of a concept for the enlarging of paths and ways, alternatives including the research about housing conditions and proposals for demolishing and alternative housing needs.
- Proposal of a participation concept.
- Proposal of a self-help concept for building the transport system and the included infrastructure.
- Proposal of a concept for job and qualification opportunities.
- Proposal of a financing concept.
- Proposal of a concept for the organization of the process between the actors.

On behalf of the whole Camp should be done

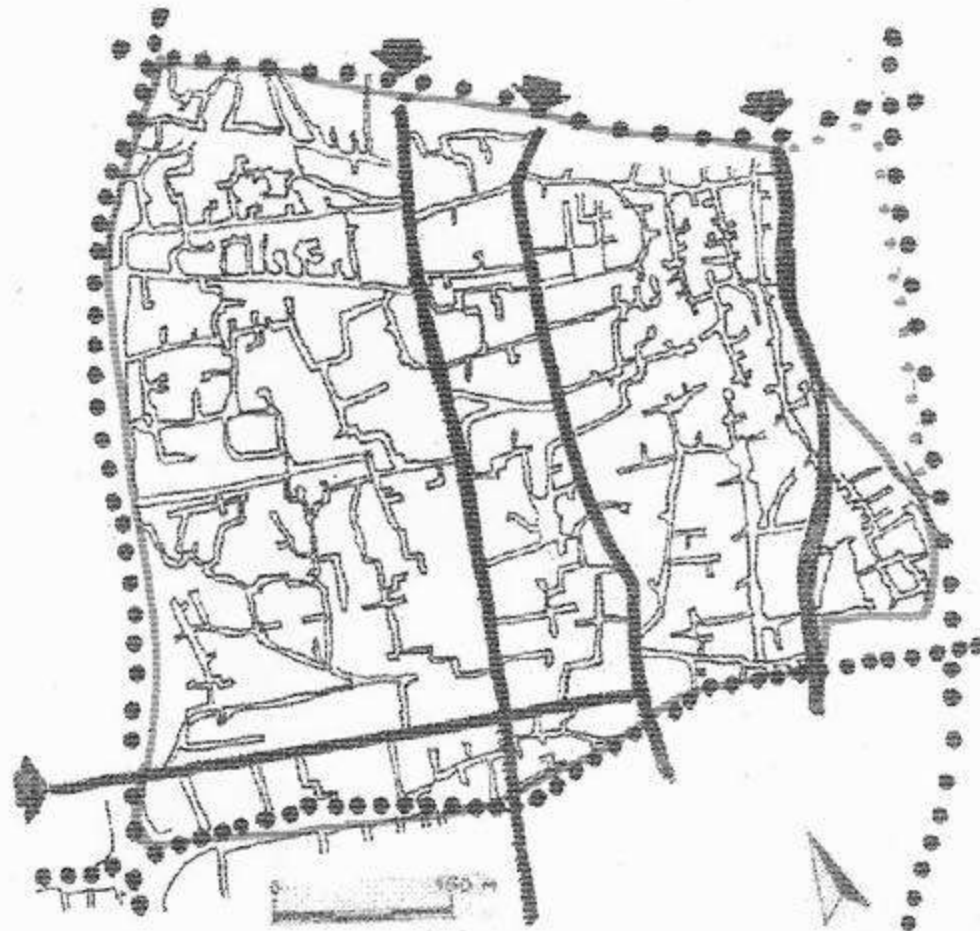
- Establishing a body or an organization to represent the Camp's interest during the renewal process related to small housing areas and clusters.
- Classification of the whole areas into clusters, main quarters and small quarters.
- Concept for the whole wastewater drainage system.
- Concept and standards for free spaces, green areas and public places.
- Concept and standards for the needed number and location of kindergarten, sport areas and areas for community activities.
- Concept and research about existing small industry and handicraft activities.
- Concept and instruments for participation.
- Establishing offices for information and advisors as well as for the people to exchange interests, experience and problems.

Last but not least the renewal process must become part of the urban and regional planning concept and decisions.

See some ideas in the following proposal for Havuz Maje Quarter in the Area of the former Yibna Village in Rafah Camp as one example. This small quarter has nearly

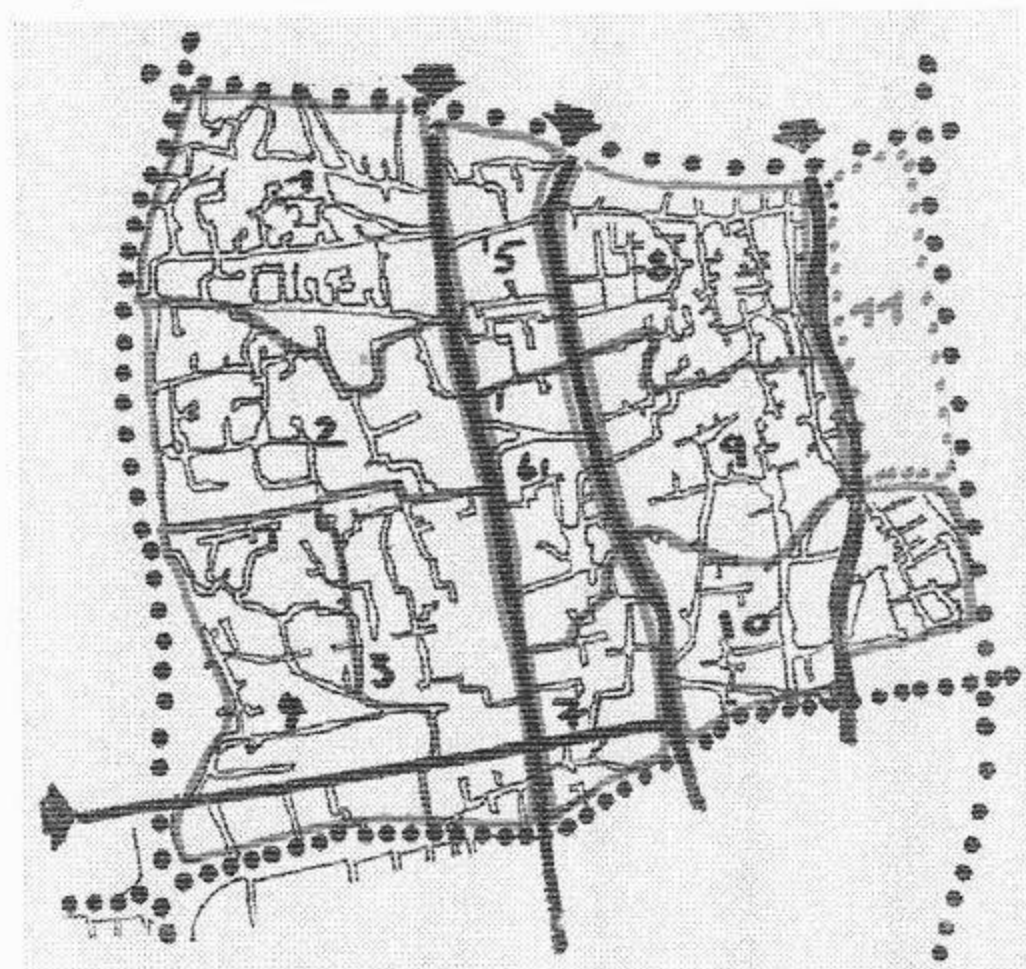
3.500 inhabitants or 500 families - from about 30.000 of the whole Yibna area. See the location of Havuz Maje in the following map.

Map 11: Rafah Camp - Yibna Area, built up area and main streets and links to the city



- Main links to the city of Rafah
- ▼ Main entrance to the Camp

Map 12: Rafah Camp – Yibna area, planning clusters (example)

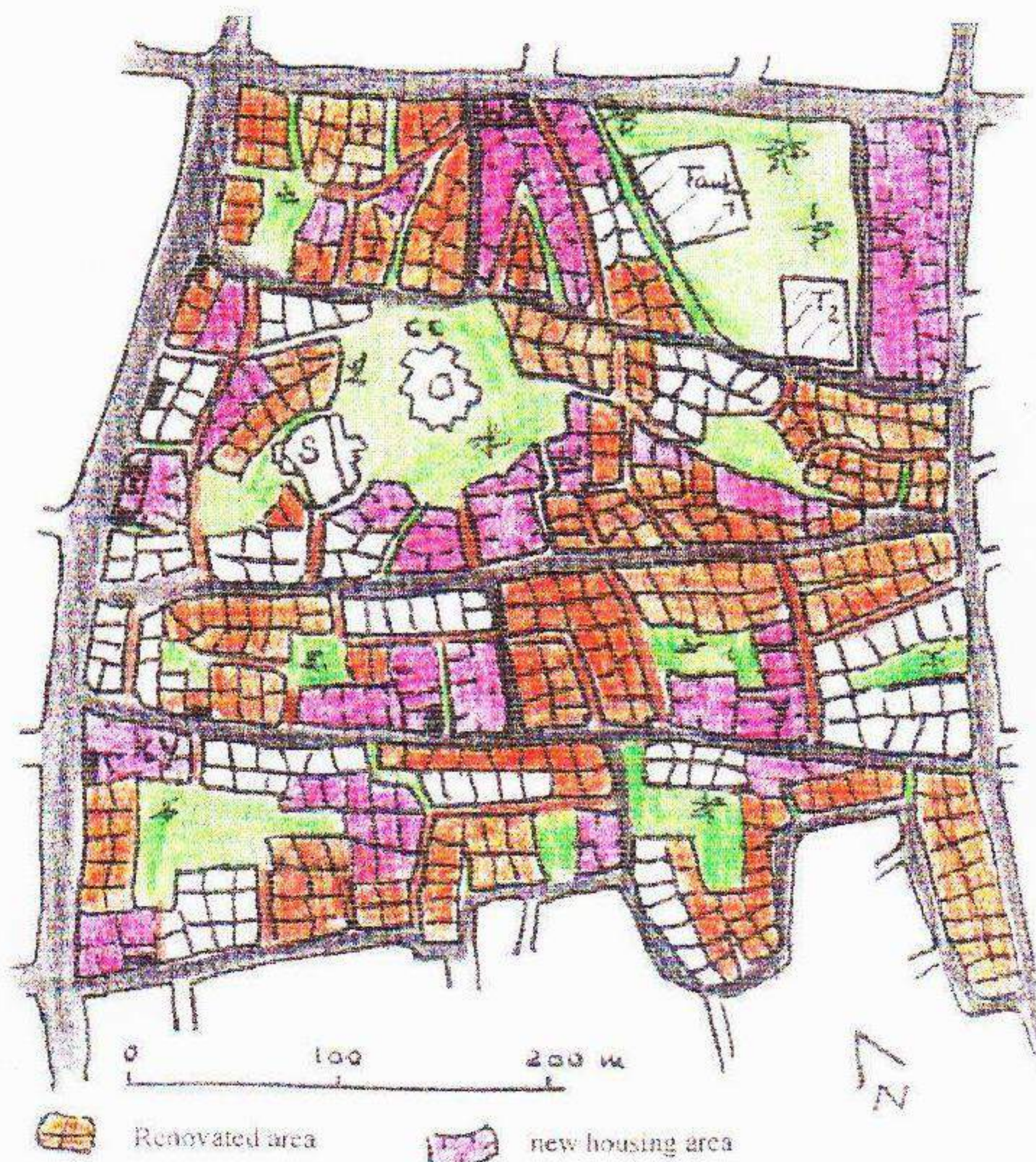


- no. 1 - 10: clusters for renovation program
- no. 1: 'Havuz Maje' Quarter
- no. 11: free space for new building area

In Havuz Maje Quarter we counted about 400 existing housing units. There is only one school, some shops, but no other infrastructure. Around 20 % of the buildings were in very bad conditions and must be demolished.

See the following maps with some proposals how to classify and how to change.

Map 15: Havuz Maje Quarter, renovation and upgrading proposal, areas and infrastructure



Infrastructure: CC Communal Center, Y Youthclub
 K Kindergarten, S School, W Women Center, WS Workshop,
 Green area, main street, access street, footpath

For new transportation access about 10% of the houses must be vanished. About 20% of the remaining housing stock is already built up to three or four floors. For the rest an upgrading and renewing is possible. After building up three more floors we will have reached the demands we estimated before. Some free space will be achieved, a community center, playing ground and parking area on the former fellow land could be provided. For families who need new houses or want to leave the area we can provide with some newly built up houses on the fellow land or on cluster 11 (see map 12). Let us see what might be done on the house level.

5.2 Measures on the Level of the Buildings

The central problem of the house is the high density and the lack of enough space. We have to organize a house for at least three or four nuclear families of a more generation family and to have kitchen and bathroom with toilet for each of them. That means we need a program to enlarge and to add rooms to have a minimum of three bedrooms for each average size family. We have to find alternatives for the different types, building up, adding, replacing and moving to other areas. We have to reorganize the house and to enable roof garden, garden, balcony, veranda or covered court. As the court is an important part in an Arab house to welcome visitors, to prepare food and to profit from ventilation in hot summers, as much as possible courts should be preserved. Dangerous material and constructions must be replaced. Asbestos and zinc must be vanished.

To find the best proposals the research and classification about the existing housing conditions must be done very sorrowfully and in very close communication with the inhabitants. Self-help activities and use of people's resources and qualifications must be respected and encouraged.

5.2.1 Building and Constructing Alternatives

Which alternative is the right one, depends first of all on the existing situation and condition of each house. Therefore we need a very concrete analysis for each house, to build categories and to find out types for standardization and decision of measures. We need criteria adapted to the average housing situation in the Camps. We cannot compare with villa areas for example. We propose to start from three classes of houses. We should find definitions like f.e.:

Buildings with good standard

Houses in a good standard are f.e. those, who have a solid basic ground to build up on it three or four more floors. That does not mean, that they do not need any renewal or sanitation.

Buildings in an average standard

Houses classified as average standard need general upgrading and renewal, but the basic can be classified as solid. The deficits are mostly concerning the equipment and facilities, which have to be renewed and concerning need of renewal of roof and walls. The estimated renovation costs should be not more than half of a new building.

Buildings in bad standard

Houses without a solid basic or nearly ruined should be classified as bad and not proposed to renew. A recommendation to demolish the house and to build a new one should nevertheless be done carefully – after evaluation of all aspects.

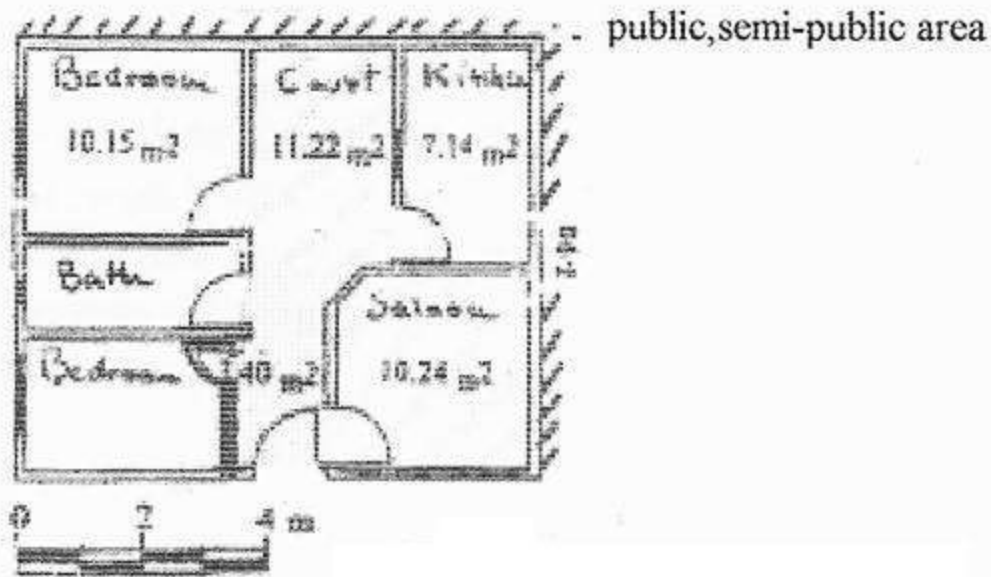
Ziara estimates, that about 60% of the housing stock in the Camps are not renewable (see Ziara 1995). But this figure for sure is too high. Changes have been very quickly during the last four years, so that reality will be different from that time. And it shows that any classification must be done carefully and proved during the process. In general we estimate, that about 20% of houses in the Camps are in bad standard and must be demolished.

The following figures show us how the families and UNWRA changed and built up their houses during the last years. They may be understood as modest examples and adapted to families need and means.

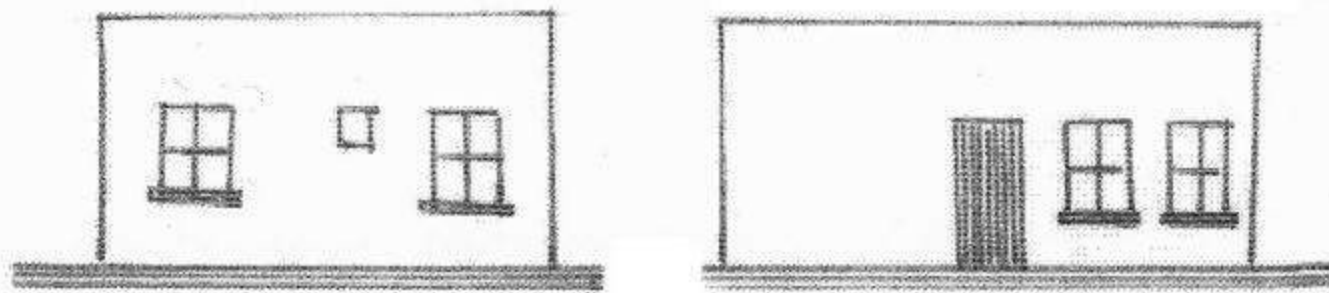
The Process of Changing the Camp House with private initiative.

1. Example: House of Abu Moyn Family, Shati,

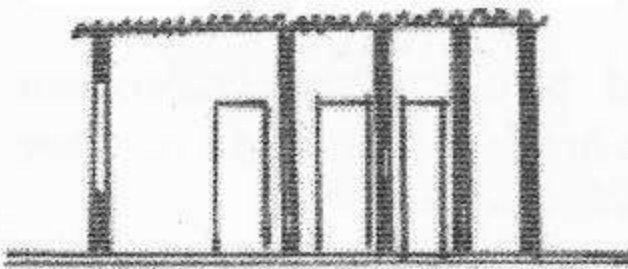
Figure 7: Aby Moin Family, Situation after 1952,
1 floor, 3 rooms, kitchen, bathrom, court, 56 sqm



Groundplan

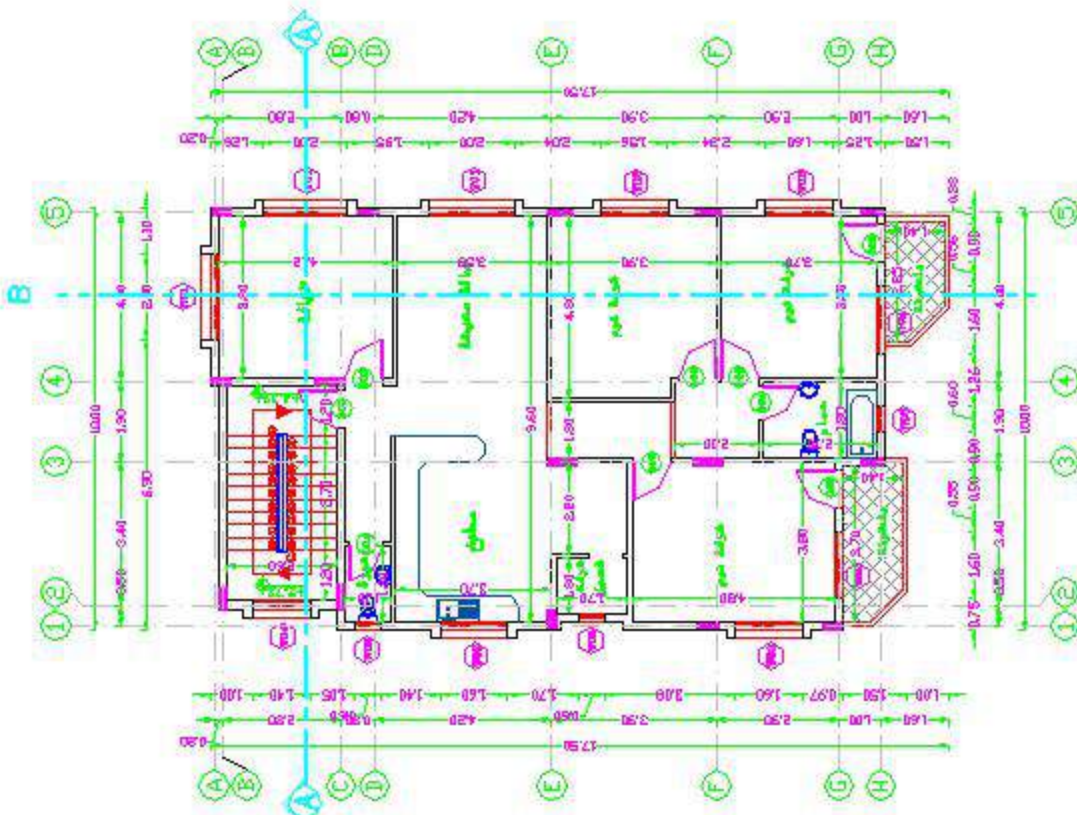


a. elevations

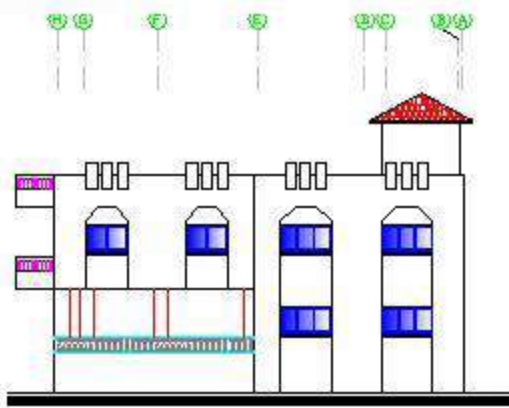


c. section

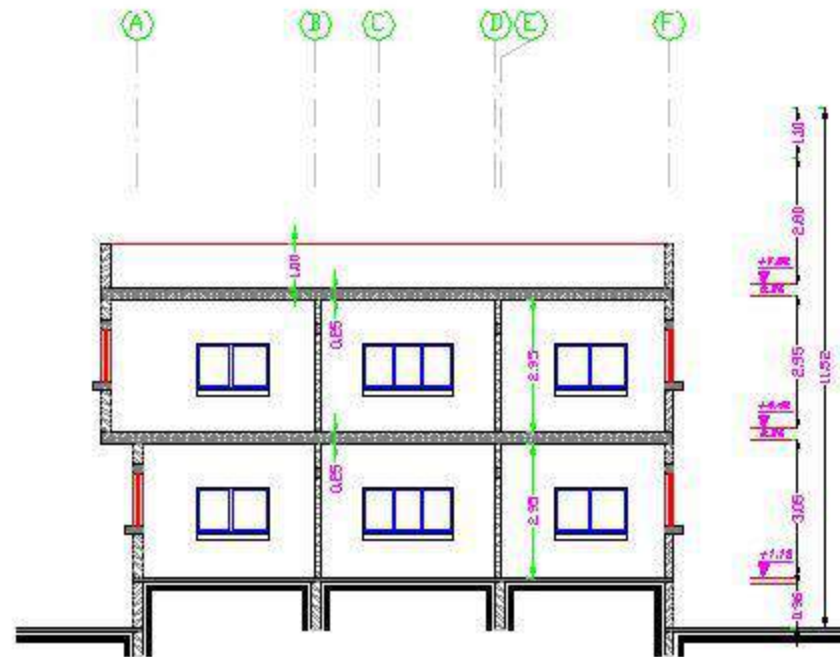
Figure 8: Abu Moin Family, Changing in 1994,
3 floors, each floor 3 rooms, kitchen, bathroom, balcony, 68sqm



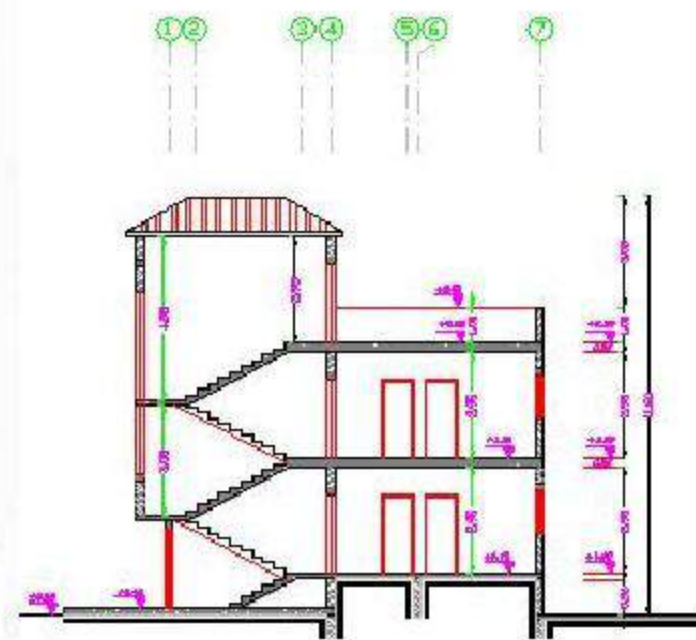
Aby Moin Family



b. elevation



b. section



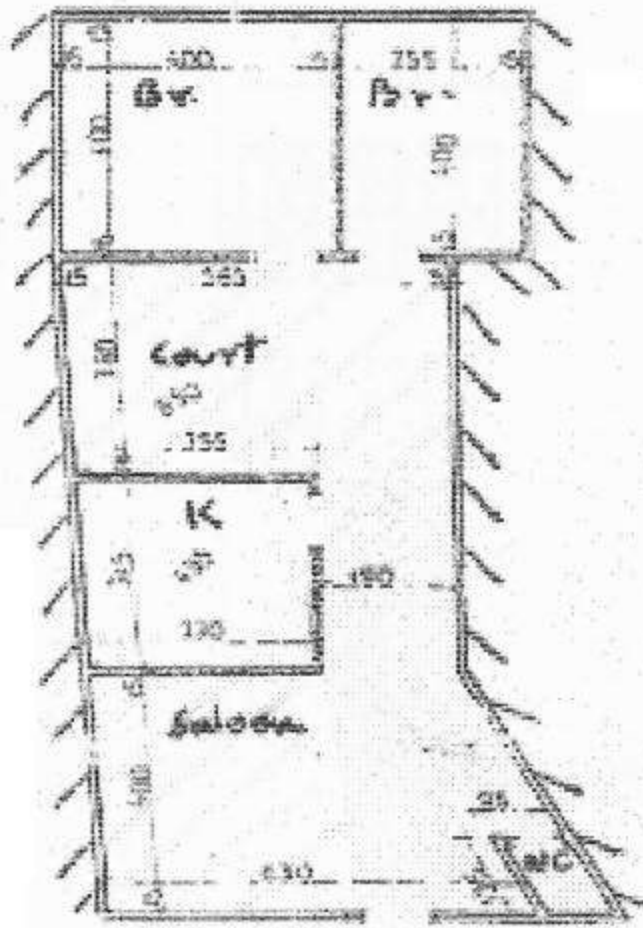
section

The result is not very sufficient, because after renovating and upgrading there is no more court and even the kitchen must serve now as guest room, women's room our saloon. Still there are only two bedrooms in each floor. Before the changing took place 9 people lived in one floor in two rooms: the parents, 1 married son with a baby (1 room for them), and four other children. One son wanted to marry – but without any private room?.

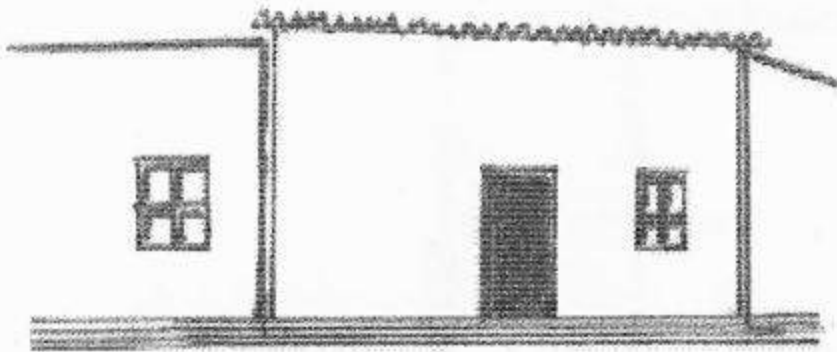
After the change we found: in the first floor the parents with still two girls, in the second floor one son married with his wives and two babies, in the third floor the second son with his wife and one baby. At least there was a changing into some better.

2. Example, Um Adel Family, Rafah,

Figure 9: Um Adel House, Situation from 1952 to 1993
1 floor, 3 rooms. Court, kitchen, WC



- a. Groundplan
- b. elevation



- c. section

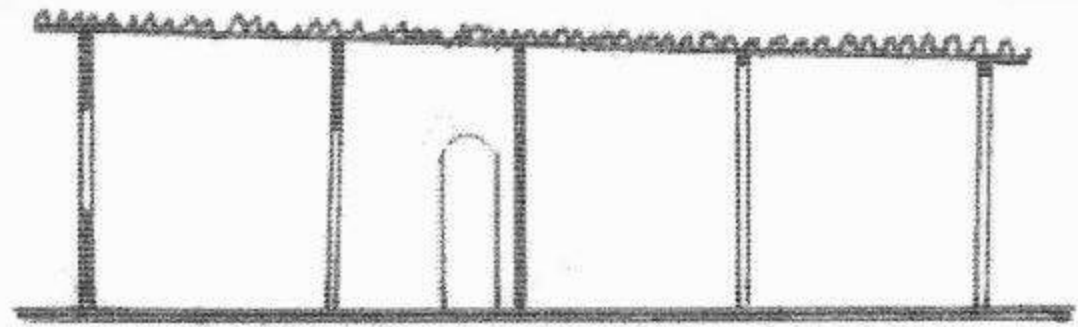
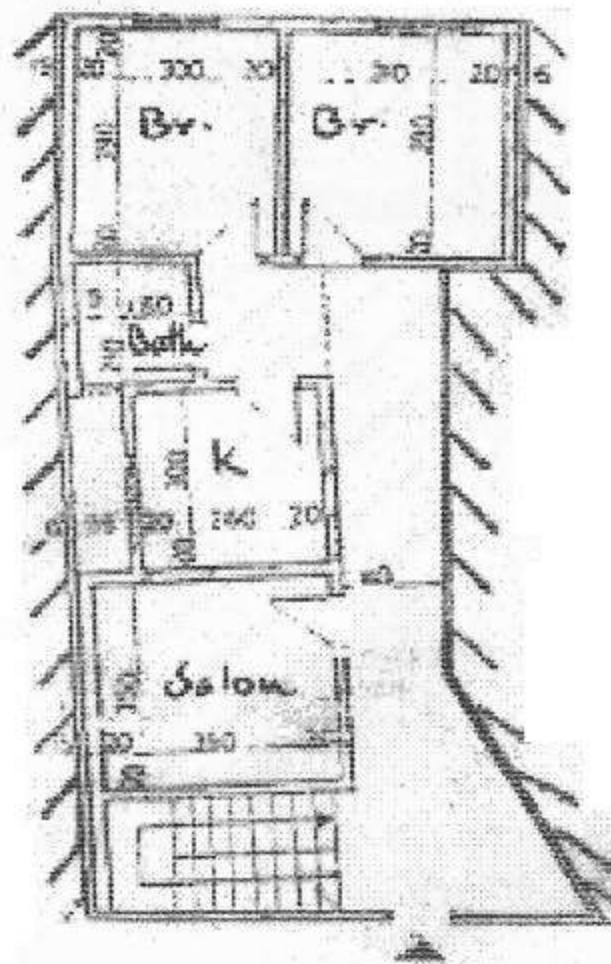
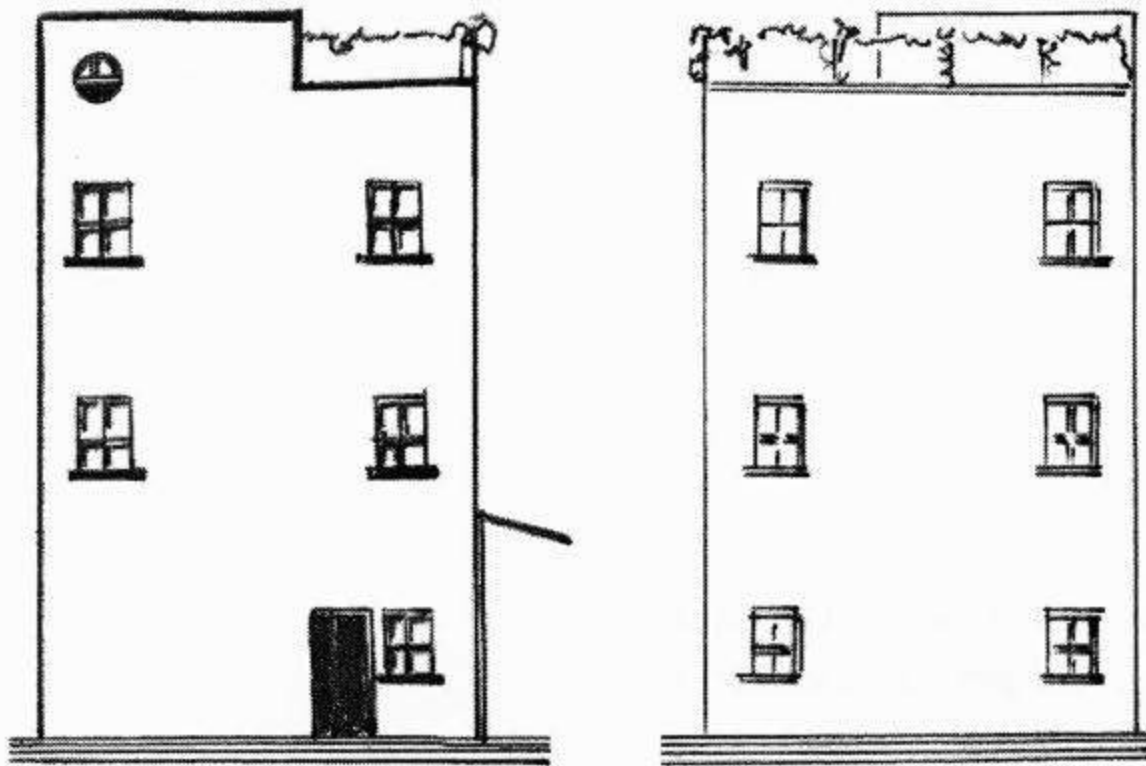


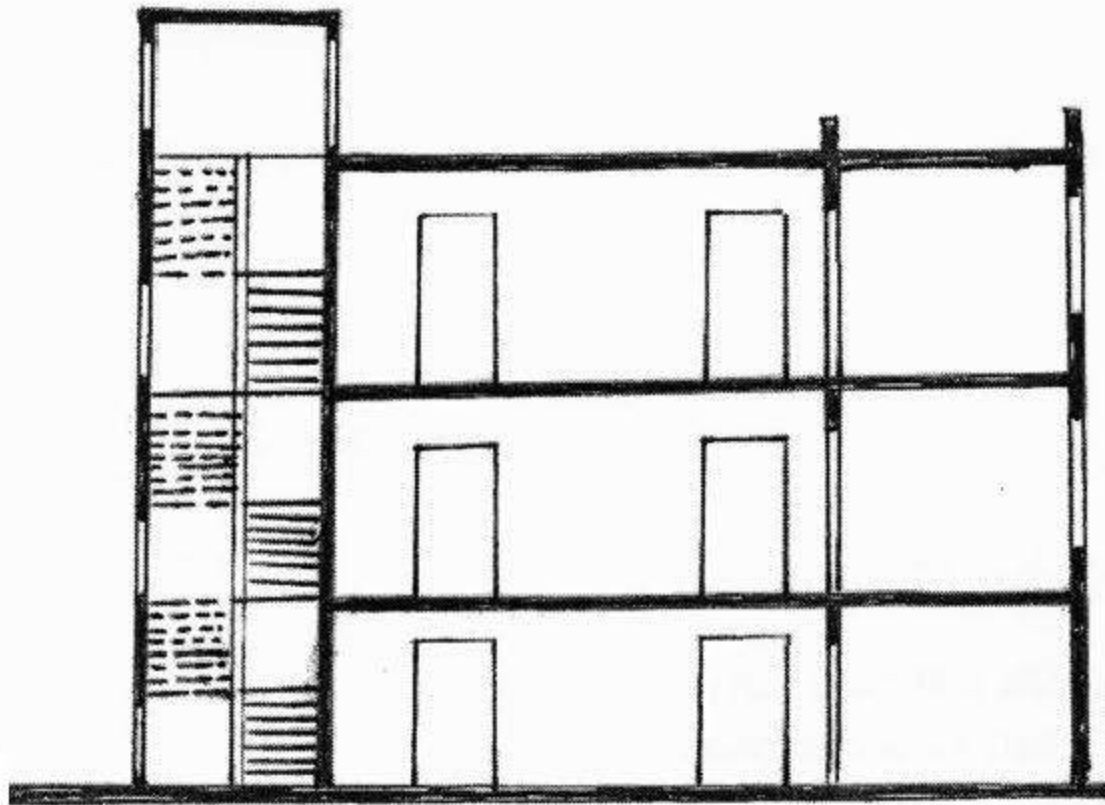
Figure 10: After Changing 1993 by UNWRA, added 1998 by the family



- a. groundplan



b. elevation



c. section

Before the renovation 11 people lived in one floor and three rooms: the grand parents, 3 daughters, 1 son unmarried, 2 married sons with wife and one had a baby. After renovating the grand parents, the daughters and on son finally had their own bedrooms, the two young families lived in their own flat. Also here they lost the court, but managed with a roof garden.

We go back to main aims, that should be respected.

Aims

The renewal process of the buildings must reach a general qualification of the living and housing conditions of each family. That means we have think of:

- Enlarging the living space for a three generation family and as minimum three nuclear families
- Keep courts alive if possible or find alternatives for open space in the house.
- Creating opportunities for extension to have space for newly built families up to four or five nuclear families per house.

- Providing each nuclear family with the needed three bedrooms.
- Providing the more generation family with one saloon and one big kitchen.
- Qualifying kitchen and bathrooms and integrating them inside the house, if possible giving each nuclear family an own bathroom and small kitchen.
- Creating different variation of ground plan to give choices and models for standardization.

Ecological aspects

The proposals should respect:

- Principles of light and ventilation adapted to the climate.
- Use of healthy materials also adapted to the climate.
- Replacement of dangerous and poisoned material.

Cultural aspects

- Traditional styles, designs and materials.
- The whole shape should be adapted to surrounding and traditional housing projects.
- Use of local material and construction methods, clay should be experimented with.

Financing

Financing is a crucial point, as long as there are no jobs, little income and no Governmental programs. That means for the building and renewal process:

- Keeping the existing housing stock as much as possible, to demolish and rebuild as little as necessary.
- Acceptance of a step by step renewing process according to the potentials of the families.
- To use and encourage as much self-help activities as possible.
- To use local material and small local companies.
- To have flats for families who move during the renewal process.
- To develop a very precise and adapted financing plan for each case according to typical situations, small credits should be given with low interests and used as revolving fund for the whole process.

Job creation and qualification opportunities

Within the renewal process should be realized

- A high level of professional qualification.
- A high level of involved private companies for training and qualification.
- A high level of qualified self-help activities with professional advisers.

Participation

All proposals and measures need a very concrete cooperation with the inhabitants. Everybody must have the feeling that he or she really was able to decide about the future development of his or her family and the housing conditions. That means a high level of participation and very strict principles to follow like:

- as much participation as possible, as much agreement as needed,
- as much self organization as needed for the different aspects of the renewal process,

- as much levels and opportunities for discussion, exchange of ideas, experience and problems as possible, round tables, workshops, committee meetings and scenario rounds involving the important actors according to the needs.

Actors

The whole process needs agreements from all sides of the society. That means to involve into the discussions not only the directly affected people and institutions. So we have – and it may be added – the following

- Inhabitants of the Refugee Camps and their institutions
- UNWRA
- Self-help Cooperatives and other Organizations
- Non Governmental Welfare Organizations
- Municipalities
- Governorates
- Ministries
- Research Institutes
- Private Companies.

Implementation

We will discuss, which are the main aspects to organize and which problems must be faced.

Classification of buildings and housing conditions

This process needs several steps and fields. Necessary are

- research and decision about the basic standard of all houses belonging to one living quarter,
- to classify them into the mentioned three categories,
- to make an official protocol about the problems and deficits of each house,
- to describe the actual spatial needs of the family and the ecological and cultural demands.

After that the recommendation must be done concerning renovation, renewal, additions, building new floors, facilities and special measures. Also the research must include the socio-economic situation of the family, financing proposal, qualification and capacities of the family and self-help activities proposal.

Developing a general renewal strategy for each building

For each house is needed an adapted renovation program, integrated into the general plan for the quarter and the Camp. The program must differentiate between long- and short-term activities, minimal and maximal aims. If possible, standardization should be realized. Short-term activities are related to the most urgent changes like unsafe roof, humidity in walls and roofs, unbearable hygienic conditions in the facility rooms, wastewater treatment. Long-term activities mean the general solution like renovation of a part of the house, demolishing of a part or of the whole house, building up floors, changing the structure and type of house, standards, neighborhood and quarter renewal. All steps should be shown with their financial consequences.

Developing a strategy for the qualification of the construction standards

In all houses zinc and asbestos should be removed. Use of clay in combination with cement should be experimented with. New buildings as well should be included in programs to use local material, local handicraft and construction methods. New technologies to save material, energy and water and to reduce and to recycle garbage should be implemented after research and discussion. For the quarters as well solar-energy systems, small PowerStation, small disposals and recycling areas might be proved and implemented.

Developing a strategy for participation and agreement building

For the whole process in such a very sensitive area as the Refugee Camps are, each step must be carefully discussed, proved and finally implemented after mutual agreement between involved people and institutions. First of all women and children have to be respected as experts in housing as they – more than men – are suffering from bad housing conditions at first. So their participation is of very high importance and must be realized. That means a careful planning of meetings, rooms, timetables and participants. Administrators as well as social workers must be part of the stuff doing researches, interviews and giving advice. These staff members have to be near to the people. That means offices in the Camps and adapted office hours, time, people and space for consultations. Official and small agreement building meetings must be arranged continuously and regularly in the different quarters and the Camps as a whole.

Needed Activities

For implementing plans, programs, concepts, laws and regulations are needed. Many of them do not exist yet and must be created soon. It needs discussion, conferences, money and time. Decision must be prepared and passed by the Local Authorities, Governorates and the Ministries. The public and interested parts of society must be informed. Universities and researchers as well as politicians should be involved from the beginning to benefit from all capacities of the society. We will discuss some of the problems.

Evaluation of the building's situation and finding categories

To solve this problem a round table with experts should be formed. They will propose standards, minimal and maximal demands as adapted framework for the Camps as long as they exist. They should do that with the idea, that these regulations may be good also for other poor and low cost housing areas with high density. At the end of work we should have official statements that will lead the process of renovating and upgrading a run down quarter also in other urban contexts.

Renewal strategy for each building must be done in accordance with these regulations.

Renovation strategy for each building

Each house needs its own renovation plan. Besides that standards, typical situations will be found and classifications should be proposed in order to found out variations and alternatives. To do so the experience made by UNWRA during their emergency case program should be used, and led to a self-help program. UNWRA should help to establish this program and help with construction material f.e. To develop these model strategies, a round table should be established with experts and representatives of the

quarters to represent experience and demands of people as well. Here the discussion should take place about types and standards, advantages and disadvantages of different alternatives. All special aspects should be included and respected like, adaptation to family needs, cultural needs, women's and children's needs interests, cost reducing, ecological and climate needs, self-help and qualification opportunities. To enlarge the variety of ideas, competitions can be proposed to involve universities, students, research institutions and private companies. The commission of experts, including representatives of the inhabitants should be the decision-makers. At the end of discussion there might be a general regulation for the shape and the main construction conditions, for basic drafts, that all quarters and each renovation plan for single houses have to respect. Otherwise wild constructing will continue.

Upgrading the building's construction quality

Before eliminating poisoned and unhealthy material alternatives are needed. They should be not expensive and be adapted to climate. This for sure is the fact with clay. You find it in the Gaza Region and it was used about centuries. It might be modernized and become more resistant to climate influence in combination with cement. Also walls must become thinner as in the ancient times. There exists meanwhile a lot of researches and experience about it. But unfortunately nowadays people don't accept the traditional methods and are skeptic if clay constructions will satisfy modern demands. It means we need researches, development and a campaign to convince people for new material and constructions. Universities and experts can do this. Foreign donors may also support development of adapted construction material, because this question has become of international interest. In addition, it needs a Governmental institution for the proof of existing construction material and research for development and controlling the new products. After having results laws and regulation for the use of healthy and adapted material must be decided. For that an expert round table should be established to find out and to propose the needed regulation. The private sector should be involved and participate.

Participation and agreement building

A well-organized participation process needs regulation and sanctions. They must become part of the legislative frame of planning and implementing of measures and programs. The idea of participation has two aspects: to legitimate Governmental doing on the one side and to make sure that the different interests in spatial development are respected and bound into compromises as efficient as possible. This might guarantee better decisions and plans as through singular decision form above. From this thinking we have to follow, that all kinds of participation should be used, roundtables, expert-rounds, discussions, consulting and official participation in decision-making. Most important is an institution that represent the affected people, the Refugee Camp People. They need advocates for their interests, who are experts in property law, construction, social and financial demands for example. During the building process experts and social workers are needed, to lead discussion about the problems and how to find solutions. The administration and the different involved institutions must form a body responsible for the Refugee Camp's renovation process. Coordination between the different groups of interest, decision-making and implementing is the most difficult thing. Regulations for that must be established, contracts between the different partners, to have a "veto" about basic decisions or to be sure that all partners had a chance to give their comments and to influence decisions.

We feel that before starting anything in this process a Campaign must be started to convince the society and the affected people, that this process is necessary. They also must have the feeling, that the different interests and contradictions will be respected. After that hopefully the public and the Refugee Camp People will agree and take part an active part in it.

Now we will come to some special difficulties concerning the implementing of the renewal process.

5.3 Property Question

The property question is and will be the most delicate in the whole process of finding a future solution for the Camps. From all experience all over the world the property question is a key question for the motivation of people to take part in a renewal process in run down quarters and poor areas. Most of all in these areas we find illegal land occupation or unclear property conditions.

Concerning the Refugee Camps in Palestine we know that people regard the land and the house where they live since 50 or 30 years as their own. It has become a second home after loosing their original homeland. But as the right of return is still in everybody's mind, the status of this actual 'home' must still remain provisional. As we said before nevertheless a kind of legalization is necessary if people shall feel safe about their investment of labor and money. It includes also the right of compensation, if a family will leave the Camp now, or once, when they will return and give up the places. Also to save rights of the existing Camp population in case the planning process harms their interests, a legal status must be found. Compensation for demolishing houses or taking land can only be given to owners – families or cooperatives. We will discuss some aspects and ways to solve the problem.

Legalization of house and land property

The interviews done in Shati Camp in 1997 show very clear, that the property question comes at first (*see Badawy 1997*). The people had a lot of ideas about it and we found the following proposals.

- No change of the existing status and to give official land use rights until the Refugee Question found a final solution.
- Give the properties as gift to the existing users.
- Lease of land to the users, life long or 100 years or until a final status, with restrictions to land use, building conditions, law of inheritance.
- Give the property to a public institute, like cooperative, an investor or the Refugee Community, with modification for use and users.

Actors

- The inhabitants of the Refugee Camps and their institutions
- UNWRA
- Former land owners
- Municipalities and Governorates
- Private or public investors.

Activities

In the following we want to discuss advantages and disadvantages of three main ways how to solve the property question.

Properties as gift to the actual inhabitants

This solution was the most preferred in all interviews. People like to have safe property and they feel that they must not pay for anything, because they are the most affected victims of history.

So who will pay to compensate f.e. the former owner of the land? And if the land is Miri or Governmental, will and can the Government give the land for free? This solution will cost and needs funds. May be the former private owner can be convinced to give the land for free as 'waqf' for social interest or to spend it.

Sell of land to the actual inhabitants

To buy the land is very welcome to those families who have the money and want to profit from the ownership in the future. If we consider that about 45% of the Refugee Camp People are suffering from poverty, purchase will deepen the gap between people who can buy and those who cannot. For those who cannot buy, kinds of small credits or loan systems must be established. For the hard cases funds must be found. The land and property price must be controlled, increase of value must be stopped, speculation excluded. Selling to others than to Refugee families must be forbidden. Both proposals include the political problem how to create properties in the Camps and in the same time keep the right of return. People are not sure about this matter.

Leasing and confer of land use rights, lifelong, 100 years, until final solution

This solution seems to us the most adapted to the different interests. It makes investment safe and it keeps the provisional status. Former owners and the Government can even take money for the renting – adapted to income and quantities. This money f.e. could be used for infrastructure and upgrading the net. The strategy must include regulation for the use of land, building conditions, right of inheritance and demands, also to build an organization of the inhabitants for the renewal process.

Whatever the decision will be - to take one or the other strategy or to mix them according to the situation in each Camp and quarter - some principles should be followed.

Main aims in the property question should be

- to make sure, that only the actual Refugee Camp People will profit,
- to make sure, that no speculation or selling to others is possible,
- to make sure, that all activities are based on the agreement of the inhabitants after a democratic process of participation in all basic decisions,
- to solve all problems on behalf of an easy going of the renewal and planning process,
- to make sure, that saving costs is one main principle.

Building a body for the representation of the Refugee's interest during the planning process

For all the demonstrated problems and possible contradictions and conflicts the organization of representatives of the Refugees is of very high priority. It should represent the different groups of the Camps and be able to decide and also based on

democratic principles of consultations and discussions. Here the main interests must be discussed and transformed into general demands. Most of all this body has to represent the final ideas about

- solving the property question,
- the character of the renovation process and the renovation principles and demands,
- the organization of the self-help projects and activities,
- the financial frame and procedures.

5.4 Financing and how to reduce costs – a comment

Within this report we cannot give definite ideas about the financing process. We believe, that financing is a main question of foreign donors, as described in the National Development Plan and the responsibility of the International Community, especially Europe. Figures can be seen in the National Plan.

But as for the Refugee Camps the renovation process will be an interim one and after the political solution these areas may become permanent low cost housing areas, we have to debate some principles and the frame of low cost building.

We believe that costs for leasing the land – the best solution – must be low and the municipalities have invest in the technical infrastructure, the fees must pay part of the costs. That means, that the families have to look first of all for the construction costs. To reduce these costs for them the central key is self-help and finishing done by the families, and in steps according to available money for furniture and material. More than 10 o 15% of the whole costs might be compensated by self-help working-hours. The rest of the costs might be financed through small credits with low fees and interest, given by the donors, if not for free. Also models like revolving fond, established by family groups or quarter committees could be useful. It means, that the included families give regularly many to a mutual fond, but the use of it will be in a certain regulation and time-table for one family after the other. At the end all families will profit and do not pay interests to banks or others.

In all construction phases costs could be reduced by

- costs saving constructions,
- use of locally existing material,
- modest finishing,
- self-help and neighborhood cooperation.

If there are measures in the quarters to establish or upgrade infrastructure the same principle can be used. All inhabitants should become involved in self-help activities and thus reduce communal costs.

To find jobs and qualification in these activities must be another aim. How to do so a lot of experience in other countries can be used. (*see. Trialog 48/1998*)

6. Final Statement – Action Plan

We try to explain, that the unbearable situation for big parts of the Camp inhabitants have to be changed, otherwise it will become worse and a big social-political problem in the future. Mostly the younger people look for alternatives of life. As there are not sufficient and cheap alternatives to live out of the Camps for the majority of them, the solutions must be found in the Camps themselves, to found shelter for the coming new families and to upgrade the living conditions for the actually suffering inhabitants. The following 'action plan' shall be seen as model with steps and fields to start and will hopefully help to see what should be done in the near future. This process model will explain how to prepare and to develop activities needed in the quarters, the Camps, the Municipalities, the Governorates and the Government.

6.1 Politics

Beside a discussion with the International Community about their responsibility, funding and modalities, all involved Palestinian parts should start with workshops and discussions and prepare the decision to start the needed renewal process for the Refugee Camps. They should make clear which problems they have to face and which main aims and principles should be followed to solve these problems. This procedure should be done on each local, regional and national level. This report gives a lot of hints for the procedure.

Before starting special activities towards the public and the affected people in the Camps are necessary.

Public statement about the living conditions of the Refugees in the Refugee Camps

This statement by the Government, the President and the Refugee's representatives should reinforce the official thinking that rights and demands of the Refugees about return and compensation will never be given up. Also it will say, that besides that with the coming of the Palestinian Government all sides agreed, that an upgrading of the living and housing conditions in the Camps is urgent and will be done from now.

Start of a national campaign about the situation of the Refugees and the Refugee Camps and aims and steps of an upgrading process

With this campaign the society will be prepared to serve the renewal process. That might include to convince the administrators to help the Refugees within this process as much as possible, to convince landowners to spend parts of their land, to convince constructors and companies to support the process by reducing their profit to modest degree. Also the researchers, students and private institutions shall be convinced to give their knowledge and capacities, wealthy Palestinians in and outside the country should fill the needed fund.

Self-organization and campaign in the Refugee Camps

In the Camps the people should start to discuss and finally to build cooperatives, unions of quarters, a representative body. The form of that organization should follow the different levels of activities, different aspects of the renewal process and represent the Camp inhabitants as good as possible. Organization is needed on the level of all Camps, on the level of each Camp and on the level of the quarters. Cooperatives might be built for housing, for the technical network, for the social services and for job and qualification in different branches. Committees might be necessary for the

different questions like construction, social services, legal frame and financing, and expert be invited to join them.

Establishing a national committee for the support of the renewal process in the Refugee Camps

This committee should support the whole process by informing the public, looking for donors and international help, see problems and help to find solutions, look for the communication between the involved persons, institutions and parties and control the financing. All involved groups should send representatives into this committee. Besides that independent personalities should lead the committee.

Forming a national and local steering committees of the involved planning and implementing administrations

All Ministries, Governorates and Municipalities and the responsables for the Refugee Question should form this committee and lead the process by meeting and discussing aims, steps, measures, obstacles and solutions. Experts and administrators should continuously have consultations and exchange of experience with the representatives of the Camps.

Result: After these activities main problems are clear, main aims are mentioned, possible and needed measures have been discussed and proposed, so that administrators, decision makers and the affected people are ready for final discussions about implementing strategy and principles.

Final activity: A national workshop with all involved parties took place, the needed bodies are elected and have guidelines for the future, the process of finding the measures and time table can begin.

Time: 8 months

6.2 Laws and Programs

After having decided about main aims and the next steps of procedure – but before the implementation process can start – the necessary regulations, laws and contracts should be prepared and decided. Everything should be seen as a process. Not all aspects will be seen before and not all decisions will be the last one. This process will include:

- Organization of scenarios which show future demands and alternatives of acting and the effect of different decisions and measures. This is necessary mainly for the aspects of property, standards for social services in the quarters, standards for the buildings, cooperative system, self-help programs, financing and qualification programs.
- Developing of the planning process, including phases of planning, priorities, regional main points, integration of local, regional and national interests, measuring need of land and new units for moving people, interim housing during the renewal process.
- Developing of a financing plan and program, which include the different sources from outside, donors, down payments, self-help and community activities – on the local, regional and national level, as part of the national budget.

- Developing the standards for quarters, building renovation and new buildings, infrastructure and transportation.
- Building stop for illegal building without permissions according to the new renovating plan, integrating the renewal planning into the local and regional development and the building and housing planning process and laws.
- Laws for the different kinds of property building like waqf, cooperative property, expropriation for social and urban needs, land-use and loan-contracts, tax-reduction, laws against speculation and benefiting from building value increasing.
- Developing of regulations for participation, leading the whole process as a principle demand from the preparing to the evaluating process.
- Developing of programs and pilot or model projects to give examples for low-cost housing, buildings adapted to climate and local traditions, community and self-help activities and others, competitions.

Result: Laws, programs, regulations, measures to solve the main problems. All of them should be seen as changeable if needed, until experience shows that final solutions are found. Planning is a process.

Final activity: The Cabinet, the Parliament and the Local Authorities made their decision, the affected people have agreed and influenced the decision.

Time: one year.

6.3 Preparing phase (parallel to 6.2, laws and regulation)

To prepare the implementing in the Refugee Camps must be done very carefully. It should motivate people, encourage them and give them a feeling of hope and trust. Also the whole society must believe in the decision and must wish to be involved. We believe the following to be necessary:

- In all Camps an office for the renewal process will open.
- The President starts the campaign to support the Refugee Camp Renewal Program and signs certificates for Palestinians who put money into the national fund for this program.
- The Ministry of Housing starts a competition for the national architects and universities to find alternatives for renovation and upgrading the Camps. Models for housing construction, financing the process and for the development of cheap and local building materials and other complex and difficult questions.
- The results will be publicly discussed and evaluated, the winner will be involved in the renewal process.
- Models for standards in building and planning will be proposed by the administrations. This includes the existing buildings and buildings in new areas beside the Camps.
- Models for financing the different cases will be developed and proposed by the administrations.
- Scenarios and workshop sessions will take place and widen the view about alternative measures and decisions.
- Workshops will be hold and exchange of experience will be done with groups and experts from other poor countries.

- The administration and experts will do feasibility studies for the different alternatives of acting.
- Building of model projects in all Camps, related to typical ground plans, clusters, to give to the people realistic ideas and options.

Result: The most important decisions are done, agreements and compromises are found. The administration can start to build the bodies for implementation. The implementation process is ready to start.

Last activity: Big opening conference

Time: one year.

6.4 Preparing the Implementation

After having done the most important decisions first of all the administration has to prepare the activities of the main process.

- Building an institution in each Camp to lead the process as an integrated, interdisciplinary working team with the different involved administrations, the constructors and the cooperatives.
- Decision about the participation process, phases, rights, demands.
- Decision about the phases of the renewal process, interim evaluation, controlling.
- Evaluation of the models and results of competitions and decision about the alternatives which will be taken.
- Decision about priorities of areas and families to start with.
- Decision about the renewal and new building program in detail.
- Decision about the compensation areas.
- Building a group of social workers and technicians who will work as consultants for the families in all questions concerning the renewal process of their house, eventually put unsolved questions on the table of the local committee for decision.
- Building of the cooperatives.
- Field studies about typical cases and situations, evaluation, proposal and decision.
- Classification of areas, buildings, families, developing typical cases.
- Registration and interviews with the involved 'key persons' in the quarters and with the families, registration of the social and financial situation and potentials.
- Collecting self-help resources and prepare professional help and education with private companies.
- Calculation of land values, preparing the land register, if not available.
- Purchase of neighbored land for expanding and new building.
- Calculation of costs, developing of models for financing.
- Looking for fond, donors and other external financing.

Result: The process finally can start, models are evaluated and decided, everybody knows where to start and how. Each family knows when their renovation and change will start, where to go during the process, the costs and how to finance, what they will give as self-help, who will do communal work and who will be involved in a qualification program. All institutions are established and ready to lead, to decide, to solve problems, to evaluate and what will be necessary.

Time: one year

6.5 Implementing Phase

The implementing will start in different Camps with different conditions, experience and obstacles. So it would be good to follow up the success or the mistakes and held an interim workshop after the first year of implementing. Then conditions, laws and regulations might be changed and updated to the needs, which appeared during the first year.

This procedure should become normal every year of the renewal process. Besides this kind of self-controlling external professionals should be invited to evaluate the progress, the success or failure in the different fields.

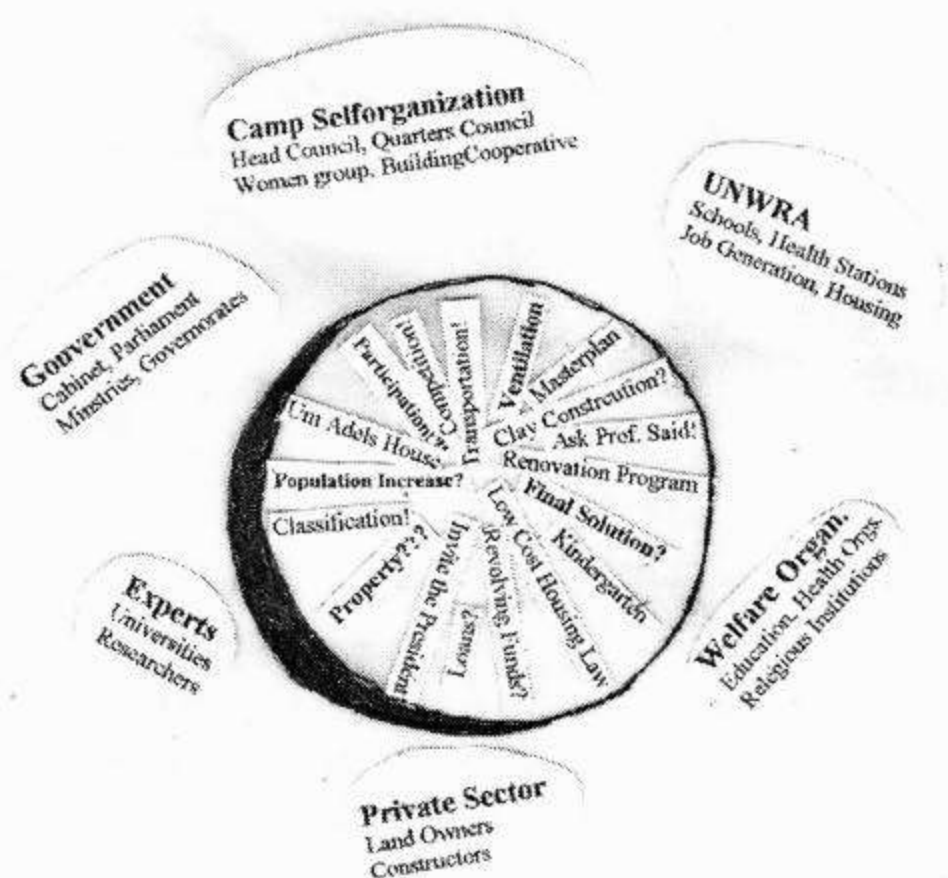
Beside the controlling it will be necessary to inform the public, especially the donors about the efforts and the progress made. The President, the Cabinet and the Parliament should receive reports about the doing and be given a chance to interfere if necessary.

6.6 Final Evaluation

Finally the process might take be 3 to 5 years. Even if the whole process will take a lot of time – at the end there should be a final evaluation. To be able to do so, from the beginning criteria should be worked out how to evaluate. First of all the aims should be proved. Could they be fulfilled or not. As next the aims and standards for families, buildings and the quarters, were they reached or not? Did the process support the chosen target groups? How effectual was the participation process? To discuss them from the beginning will make it easier to evaluate after. And from the beginning the responsible know which parts of problems to watch carefully.

If the whole process will finish successfully hopefully the political solution will be found and the former Refugee Camps will start to be a new housing quarter, livable also for non Refugees, human and healthy, for low income people.

Figure 11: The involved Institutions



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