

9

*Multidimensional  
evaluation tool.*

*(p. 242)*

# 9 *Multidimensional evaluation tool*

## 9.1 *Modification of Safier's four-dimensional model of action space*

It can be summed up that due to its systematisation and its focus on *empowerment*-processes the *four-dimensional model of action space* by Safier provides an insight into tendencies of a project. However, there are deficits in the comparability and the differentiation of the dimensions, which makes an evaluation of a project process and outcome difficult.

Based on this critique and considering the research's focus on community-based projects in the scope of urban agriculture in Palestinian refugee camps, the following steps according to the first two research questions of this thesis seem reasonable:

### 1st research question:

Which recommendations for action can be identified for community-based projects within the scope of urban agriculture in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan?

### 2nd research question:

How can the identified recommendations derived from the investigated four case studies and the analysis of the specific Jordanian context be made usable for planning and implementation practices in the camp?

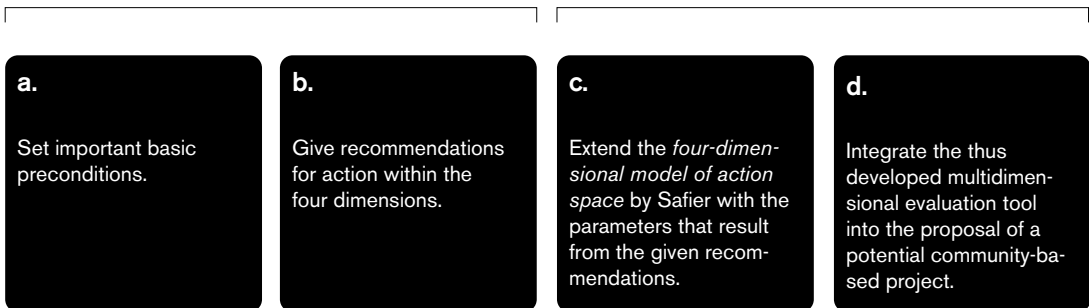


fig. 199: Steps toward answering the first two research questions (own illustration)

The outcomes of this thesis should be used positively for the elaboration of a community-based project design. The empirical and literary research allows to set basic preconditions and concrete recommendations, which should be considered within community-based projects within the scope of urban agriculture in the camp context. The parameters developed from the given recommendations lead to a refinement of the original four dimensions by Saffier and incorporate the gained knowledge into the design and programme of the proposal.

## 9.2 *Development of a new multidimensional evaluation tool*

Since the results of this work are amongst others mainly addressed at external agents within community-based projects, who often enter projects with a tight time budget and little contextual knowledge, it seems sensible to compactly summarise basic preconditions and to provide a basis of useful recommendations regarding urban agriculture projects.

At this point it should be made clear that the recommendations and preconditions listed here do not claim to be complete, but rather serve to create a basis for discussion about such a process. The tool should be kept open for extensions and contextual adjustments.

### **Basic preconditions**

Firstly, the findings of the analysis should serve to define certain basic preconditions for a possible project in the camp context. Especially through the analysis of the case studies and the power structures in camps, conclusions could be drawn for basic preconditions, which should be considered particularly by external agents operating in the field.

### **Recommendations for action**

Secondly, the findings of this thesis are to be transformed into recommendations for action, which are organised along Safier's four dimensions. In a next step, the parameters, which are derived from the developed recommendations are applied to the graph by Safier. The thus established *multidimensional evaluation tool* shows the individual dimensions at a higher level of detail and therefore makes the evaluation of a project more understandable and easier to read. The community-based project and its individual subprojects are to be conceptualised and evaluated right from the start using the redeveloped tool to determine to what extent the perceived *action space* of the project arises and where possible deficits still exist. The aim is not to ensure that every subproject is completely developed within all of the four dimensions, but to cover individually set priorities. The sum of all subprojects, however, should cover the widest possible range of all dimensions. In this way the repetitive application of the tool within an actual project will help to evaluate the project's process and outcome and provides a basis from which the *potential action space* can be sketched and discussed.

# BASIC PRECONDITIONS

A community-based project in the scope of urban agriculture should...

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## 01 (Identify and built on) local interest and dynamics.

A community-based project should always react to existing and detected interests of the respective context and offer a platform for following up on them. The aim is preventing the project and its contents from being too alienated within chosen context. As the term community-based already suggests, whether such a project may arise from an external impulse, above all it must respond to local goals and priorities. Whereas the initial responsibilities might often be assigned to external initiators, a shift of responsibility should take place during the course of the project.

## 02 (Integrate) phasing and steady evaluation.

A community-based project should be set up in various phases, which are subdivided by regular internal and external evaluation processes. Phasing is a useful tool when it comes to detecting real interest and engagement of participants and it helps identifying possible incentives for them. The evaluation results should be integrated loop-like in the subsequent phases. Phasing and evaluation help to get steady feedback by participants about their perception of the project. Working on-the-ground and providing a contact person, who is constantly on-site, can help to build trust and to get honest feedback from the participants. Furthermore, it can enhance the efficiency of the work, accelerate decision-making processes and decrease chances of project failure.

## 03 (Be mindful of) local power structures.

The realisation of any project within the camp context is de facto influenced by existing local power structures. Therefore, it is necessary to be aware of and to understand clan structures, gender roles and the role of main agents in the camp, such as the DPA and UNRWA. Local power structures can influence community-led processes and can hinder especially vulnerable groups from participating. Community-based projects are therefore highly dependent on these power structures, which is why they should be perceived as important background variables of the project's process and outcome.

## 04 (Consider) generational shifts.

A tendency by younger generations towards a more open understanding of traditional values can be observed in the camp. It is important to take the generational shift and the discrepancy between the refugee generations in their way of perceiving the camp into consideration. While especially the youth tries to push gender-mixed activities, the older generations associate it with a threat to their values. Understanding and working with the associated challenges, risks (e.g. knowing and integrating potential opponents who see their traditional values under threat) and potentials (e.g. considering new and innovative ideas and concepts in the camp context) might help reducing inhibition thresholds and increase inclusiveness and participation.

## 05 (Clarify) project aims and (detect false) expectations.

Clarify project aims right from the beginning and detect false expectations. Both have to be reconciled steadily during the entire project period in order to hinder the occurrence of false expectations and to avoid an early drop-out of participants.

# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

A community-based project in the scope of urban agriculture should...

## A

### Improving technical-professional innovations and individual or group ethics and behaviours

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#### a.01 (Integrate) sustainable resource management.

- a. (Integrate) recovery and reuse of water as a resource.
- b. (Integrate) recovery and reuse of waste as a resource.
- c. (Integrate) renewable energy resources.

A sustainable resource management, such as the recovery and reuse of water and waste, as well as the use of renewable energy resources in the scope of urban agriculture will strengthen the local community's resilience to climate change and at the same time contribute to the global agenda of climate change adaptation. Especially at local level, holistic sustainable resource management can help saving on budget expenditure for already scarce resources.

#### a.02 (Integrate) innovative farming techniques.

- a. (Integrate) innovative irrigation techniques.
- b. (Integrate) local, non-genetically modified seeds.

New farming techniques, such as the integration of innovative irrigation systems help to build awareness about an economic use of water and show alternatives to the import of expensive soil from overseas. Furthermore, the use of local, non-genetically modified seeds contributes to the conservation of traditional local plant species and a healthy local ecosystem and reduces the dependence on global monopolies of the seed industry.

### a.03 (Build) awareness for healthy food production and nutrition through urban agriculture.

Within the scope of urban agriculture, awareness of healthy food production and nutrition as well as the careful use of resources can reduce widespread nutritional diseases such as diabetes and increasing independence from national and global import and export trends.

### a.04 Collect, build on and produce) knowledge on urban agriculture.

Existing local knowledge resources on urban agriculture are abundantly available and valuable, and therefore it is crucial to understand and collect them as extensively as possible. In order to build on existing knowledge, further collective knowledge production should be enhanced throughout the project. A constant flow of knowledge is an important basis for the project's development.

### a.05 (Provide) low-threshold practices.

- a. (Enable) easy accessibility.
- b. (Facilitate) self-initiated imitation.

Easy accessibility of community-based projects and setting up low-threshold practices facilitate self-initiated imitation throughout the project or even beyond implementation processes. A conscious selection of formats, materials and techniques can alleviate self-made obstacles or the feeling of not being able to become active.

### a.06 (Create) incentives.

- a. (Create) economic incentives.
- b. (Create) social incentives.
- c. (Create) educational incentives.

Economic, social and educational incentives are giving people a long-term motivation in participating in the project. Target groups can only be reached if suitable or realistic incentives are being defined beforehand. Knowing the respective incentives also helps understanding behavioural patterns during the project process.



## a.07 (Build) capacities.

- a. (Build) entrepreneurial and management capacities.
- b. (Build) handcraft and technical capacities.

In a long-term view, building entrepreneurial and management capacities, as well as handcraft and technical capacities enhances the participant's independence from temporary funding phases. The shift from providing capacities to building capacities can provide a fundamental starting point for any community-based project.

## a.08 (Identify and dissolve) misconceptions.

- a. (Identify and dissolve) technical misconceptions.
- b. (Identify and dissolve) personal misconceptions.

Misconceptions are often a reason, why potential community-based projects in the scope of urban agriculture lack a broader participation. Therefore, it is necessary to detect, resolve or reframe those. Including and working with the scope of technical misconceptions (e.g. the rooftop farm could damage the building structure) and personal misconceptions (e.g. the feeling of lacking capacities in order to become active) can enlarge the scope of potential project participants and enhance inclusiveness.

# B

Extending institutional and inter-organizational reforms – of goals, roles, priorities, procedures and resource allocation

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## b.01 (Consider) long-term perspectives.

In order to enhance the sustainability of a community-based project and to avoid left-over ruins, it is crucial to keep in mind a long-term perspective, which goes beyond the project's duration. Considering potential programmes, a healthy balance should be created between short-term formats, such as inputs by experts, and long-term formats, such as enhancing the establishment of local businesses.

## b.02 (Enhance) inter-organisational exchange and networking.

- a. (Enhance) camp-internal inter-organisational exchange and networking.
- b. (Enhance) camp-external inter-organisational exchange and networking.

It is crucial to understand the camp as an entity within a wider local and national context and to build potential strategic partnerships on a local, national and global level with people who already work in the same field or could potentially counteract. Especially in the context of urban agriculture there are in fact many stakeholders working and experimenting within the same field, yet rather parallelly. Supporting an urban farming network on a local and national level could help to collect and share important knowledge and information on existing challenges, which would enhance progress through synergies by learning from each other. A strategic embedment of the project into a network might scale it up, enhance multiplier effects and contribute to the project's feasibility.

## b.03 (Know the) target group.

- a. (Define) target groups.
- b. (Apply) methods and formats according to the target group's interest.

Each target group pursues different intentions and reacts to different incentives, which motivate to participate in a community-based project. Formats and methods, which are applied throughout the project should therefore be deliberately adapted to the target group's interest. Therefore, it is crucial to define certain target groups. Even though addressing more than one target group might be suitable for some programmes, it can be helpful to focus on one specific target group and provide protected spaces when it comes to vulnerable groups.

## b.04 (Provide) opportunities for the establishment of new community-based organisations

- a. (Define) target groups.
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# C

## Expanding social interaction and mobilization

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### c.01 (Trigger) multiplier effect.

- a. (Enhance) public visibility and discourse.
- b. (Encourage) self-initiative.

Strong public visibility of a project helps to enlarge its outreach, such as increasing awareness and fostering self-initiated imitation processes. Therefore, and in order to reach a broader mass, it is important to bring the targeted topics into discourse. Processes of self-initiative, which will be enhanced by public visibility and discourse of the project will most likely keep the pursuit of project goals alive, especially beyond the funding phase. Therefore, these processes of self-initiative need to be supported, also since they might reflect actual needs of the camp-community.

### c.02 (Promote) inclusion of vulnerable groups.

- a. (Enhance) public visibility and discourse.
- b. (Encourage) self-initiative.

In order to achieve the highest possible degree of inclusion it is crucial to detect and include vulnerable groups already as early as possible from the beginning of the process and respond to their needs.

### c.03 (Support) a sense of ownership and the creation of responsibilities.

Creating a sense of ownership helps to enhance responsibility and appropriation. Therefore, it is important to detect people, who are actually interested in the project right from the beginning. This can be achieved by implementing test phases in order to measure the degree of appropriation and responsibility. Furthermore, binding formats (such as contracts or rules) can help enhancing the creation of responsibilities. A high degree of responsibility by the camp community will have a positive impact on the continuation of a project also after the funding phase.

# D

Enlarging the scope of strategic analysis and tactical response to the dynamics of urban development in time and place

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## d.01 (Integrate into) national strategies.

Considering climate change adaptation, there are already efforts taken by the Jordanian authorities in trying to adapt to and to manage climate change impacts. Community-based projects within the scope of urban agriculture should therefore be embedded in current national strategies and make use of possible funding. Within the camp context, it is important to build on existing strategies such as the CIP and extend those with urban agriculture as a tool for improving the resilience of local communities.

## d.02 (Integrate into) larger economic systems.

If a community-based organisation or individuals within the project aims for economic empowerment in the scope of urban agriculture, it needs to integrate into a larger economic system, which will most likely go beyond the camp borders. This helps to upscale the project and facilitates the generation of income by the participants. Therefore, frequently supporting self-initiated organisations and introducing them to a larger economic system and potential partners on a national level is necessary.

## d.03 (Detect) potential markets.

Detect and make use of global or national trends, such as health trends and the associated promotion of organically and locally produced food. Embedding these trends into potential projects could enhance economical sustainability of the project beyond the funding phase.

## d.04 (Integrate) digitalisation.

- a. (Integrate) social media.
- b. (Facilitate) media production.
- c. (Democratise) knowledge through media.

Especially in the context of Palestinian refugee camps, where camp borders still play an important symbolic and physical role, digitalisation can be seen as a tool of softening these borders within a digital space. The use of social media creates new incentives, especially among the younger camp-community, since a possible scope of action also outside the camp is made tangible. Furthermore, integrating digitalisation enhances the



## BASIC PRECONDITIONS

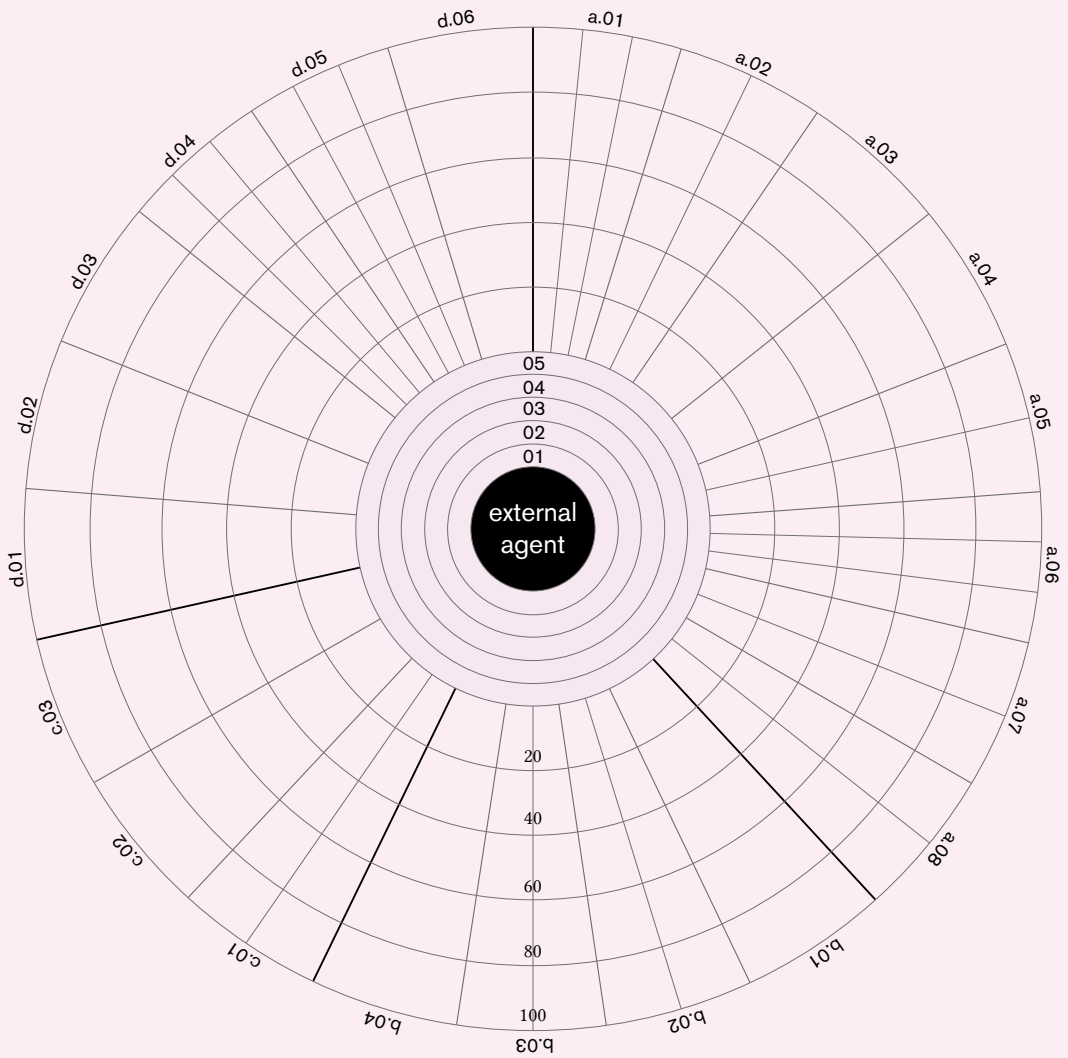
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- 01 **(Identify and built on) local interest and dynamics**
- 02 **(Integrate) phasing and steady evaluation.**
- 03 **(Be mindful of) local power structures.**
- 04 **(Consider) generational shifts.**
- 05 **(Clarify) project aims and (detect false) expectations.**

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

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- a.01 **(Integrate) sustainable resource management.**
    - (Integrate) recovery and reuse of water as a resource.
    - (Integrate) recovery and reuse of waste as a resource.
    - (Integrate) renewable energy resources.
  - a.02 **(Integrate) innovative farming techniques.**
    - (Integrate) innovative irrigation techniques.
    - (Integrate) local, non-genetically modified seeds.
  - a.03 **(Build) awareness for healthy food production and nutrition through urban agriculture.**
  - a.04 **(Collect, build on and produce) knowledge on urban agriculture.**
  - a.05 **(Provide) low-threshold practices.**
    - (Enable) easy accessibility.
    - (Facilitate) self-initiated imitation.
  - a.06 **(Create) incentives.**
    - (Create) economic incentives.
    - (Create) social incentives.
    - (Create) educational incentives.
  - a.07 **(Build) capacities.**
    - (Build) entrepreneurial and management capacities.
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    - (Apply) methods and formats according to the target group's interest.
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- d.01 **(Integrate into) national strategies.**
  - d.02 **(Integrate into) larger economic systems.**
  - d.03 **(Detect) potential markets.**
  - d.04 **(Integrate) digitalisation.**
    - (Integrate) social media.
    - (Facilitate) media production.
    - (Democratise) knowledge through media.
  - d.05 **(Frame and reframe) spatial resources.**
    - (Frame) the roof as a potential productive space.
    - (Activate) potential institutional space.
    - (Activate) potential public space.
  - d.06 **(Contribute) positively to the micro-climate.**



... the tool will be applied exemplary in the end of the next chapter.





10  
New  
*perspectives.*  
(p. 258)

# 10 New perspectives

## *10.1 Derivation of the project topic*

The draft is intended to further embed the topic of urban agriculture in the context of climate change adaptation, since it was recognised from the analysis of the context that although the camp is strongly affected by resource scarcity and the effects of climate change, there is still clear potential within the strategic project environment for a stronger integration of concepts that counteracts this dynamic.

The project has a realistic framework in as much as it is based on informal discussions, project outlines and ideas that emerged from conversations with project managers in the field. The goal is to implement climate change adaptation in community-based bottom-up processes in order to bring the topic more into discourse. The idea is therefore to use the knowledge gained in this research in the field of urban agriculture to enrich it with further focal points of climate change adaptation. It is important to link up with existing, often isolated knowledge networks and to create an experimental space for innovations. The question posed by this proposal is to what extent urban agriculture as a tool for climate change adaptation can be applied.

## *10.2 Exemplary project outline and setup*

The following pages explain the basic features of a possible project structure. This includes statements on team structure, objectives, form and function, location, programme proposals, type of data collection, definition of a time frame and budget. Moreover, four different contextual scenarios are visualised in isometric drawings, as well as six different programmatic scenarios in isometric drawings and floorplans. A further drawing takes up previously analysed flows and represents the integration into the design. Finally, the developed *multidimensional evaluation tool* is applied for testing purposes on the proposed content.



# TEAM

fig. 201: Illustration of the team setup (own illustration)

The team exists of a **core team**, which is complemented by **additional competencies**. The scope of tasks of the core team is divided into three areas (action, research and organisation), which simultaneously define the necessary competencies and professions of the members. The project should be **low-threshold** and **barrier-free**, therefore it is necessary that the members of the core teams, as well as the volunteers should be **mostly native Arabic speakers**. It is desirable that a **local greening CBO** is formed at the end of a cycle, which remains present in the camp in order to further develop existing projects or expand them with new approaches. This CBO should be involved as an important stakeholder in further urban planning strategies. Moreover, this or another group could work as an **ambassador**, to enhance communication and knowledge sharing between the different camps.

**Action tasks** consist of the constant mentoring of the mobile structure, the implementation of the individual project contents together with the camp community and the documentation of those with the help of the proposed multi-dimensional analysis tool.



**Organisational tasks** include the early preparation of the site, making arrangements for the construction and installation of the hub, the submission of any required permits for camp access and the establishment of potential cooperation partners. Furthermore, public communication and advertisement should be carried out inside and outside the camp.



**Research tasks** consist of archiving and evaluating this data but should also cover the area of collecting data in the field of climate change adaptation, which can be used in future community-based urban planning processes in the camp.



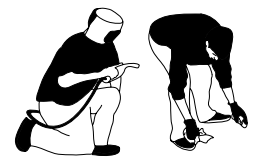
In addition to the three areas of responsibility, one **accountant** within the core team is responsible for creating a cost overview and a documentation of use.



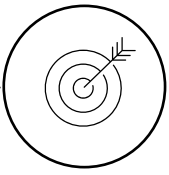
For security reasons, one **guard** is employed locally within the camp community to protect the structure from vandalism, especially at night.



The core team is complemented by an optional team of **volunteers** who primarily play a supportive role by helping with the preparation and implementation of programme content.

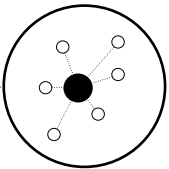


**Local craftsmen** are needed to construct the hub initially.



# OBJECTIVES

- Increasing the **knowledge & capacity** of the local camp community about climate change adaptation planning and tools and sustainable resource management
- Using **community-based participatory approaches** to plan for climate change adaptation locally and regionally
- Decreasing **climate change vulnerability** in local camp communities through positive models on the ground
- Enhancing **self-initiated projects** by the camp community to develop own approaches and ideas with **income-generating perspectives**
- Introduce, among others, **rooftop farming and urban agriculture as a tool** for climate change adaptation
- Concurrently produce, collect and analyse **data in the field of climate change adaption** and greening innovation for potential community-based planning processes in the future



# HUB

The Hub is the heart of the project, a base which moves as a constant from one location to the next, creating an ever-growing archive of knowledge and practices. At the same time, it functions as a reference point for project participants and the camp community.

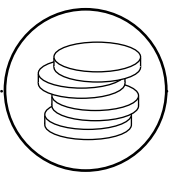
Regarding its function, the Hub as a physical basis of the projects needs to:

- be **mobile, temporary, flexible and adaptable**
- react to **climatic conditions** of the context, such as extreme sun exposure and the lack of water
- react to the lack of open space in the camp with a small **morphological footprint** and allow **flexible options** to extend and adapt to different spatial contexts
- offer different **spatial qualities** concerning space, visibility, security and infrastructure
- offer **secure storage** of equipment
- make urban agricultural processes and related substance flows visible



# LOCATION

- Is the location **well visible** in order to reach a large part of the camp community?
- Can it accommodate programme items **without blocking** roads or blocking necessary access?
- Might there be **potential conflicts** with the current use of the site?
- Is the place **accessible to vulnerable groups**, such as women, children or the elderly?
- Are there **people living close** by who might feel threatened or restricted by the intervention?
- Is there **enough space** outside the hub so that different outdoor activities are possible?
- Has the camp community, local businesses or institutions been **sufficiently informed in advance**? Were possible **points of criticism** included?



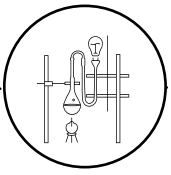
# BUDGET

**Initial costs** arise for the construction of the hub, in form of material costs, such as the recycled container, costs for furniture and technical equipment, as well as for local craftsmen's salaries.

For the transport of the mobile structure from one intervention site to the next, **transport costs** are mainly incurred for the rental of a truck.

**Running costs** consist of the financing of the offered programme, the financing of ideas by the camp community and the financing of the salaries for the core group, the guard and the accountant. The programme is free of charge, but every participating camp-based organization should be financially supported in implementing its own ideas. Events can be self-financed, but invited external experts, especially NGOs, should receive financial support. UNRWA's micro-finance system can be used for the concrete financing of business ideas by the camp community.

**Cost savings** can be achieved through the use of recycled or locally produced materials, which go hand in hand with an economic use resource. The production of furniture or greenhouses during workshops should be directly usable by the camp community or within the project itself.



# PROGRAMME

The project is completely dependent on the programme content and on the willingness and interest of the camp community to participate in and actively shape the project itself. However, all programme items must:

- be in **conformity with general project objectives**
- aim for **productive on-ground outcomes**
- provide **low-threshold practices**
- be productive, to become a **space for analysis and production** of own ideas at the same time
- define **target groups**, consider them in the character of the event and thus, offer appropriate spaces for them, such as protective spaces for vulnerable groups
- in the overall picture **not discriminate** against any stakeholder, especially vulnerable groups
- act **as neutral as possible** in terms of local power structures
- introduce and further develop **rooftop farming as a tool** for climate change adaptation
- enhance the use of **recycled material** in order to work cost-savingly and ecologically sustainable
- prevent **vandalism** and theft especially during night-time, such as by providing a secure guard

The basic concept of the programme structure is that at the beginning of the cycle, knowledge-producing activities dominate on the part of the core group in order to initiate the project. These programme items are gradually replaced by programmes that originate from the community.

The activities can take place outside or inside the hub and can be complemented by excursions inside or outside the camp.

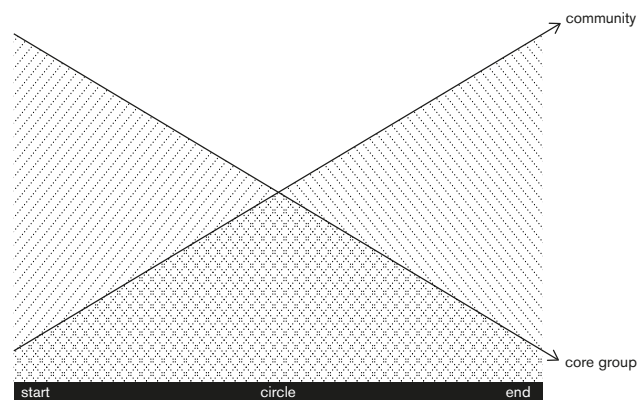
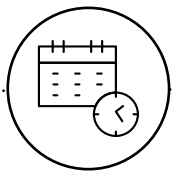


fig. 202: Shift of responsibilities for knowledge-producing activities (own illustration)



# TIME

The entire project is planned for a **period of two years following a one year preparation phase**. Within the first year the project will be further developed and adapted, the core team will be formed, and volunteers will be sought. An agreement must be reached considering the **structure of the hub**, which needs to be constructed before the actual start of the project, in order to be put into operation at the project start.

Within the two years of the project, the hub will launch **four stop-overs** in total: **three stopovers within different camps and one external stopover**, for example during Amman Design week. During each stopover the hub will reside in the camp for four months. Smaller **evaluation phases** are considered between these stopovers. This structure is based on seasonal planting and harvest cycles, as well as on cultural and religious events, in particular Ramadan, which should be considered as a break time. This time should also be used for an initial intensive evaluation phase.

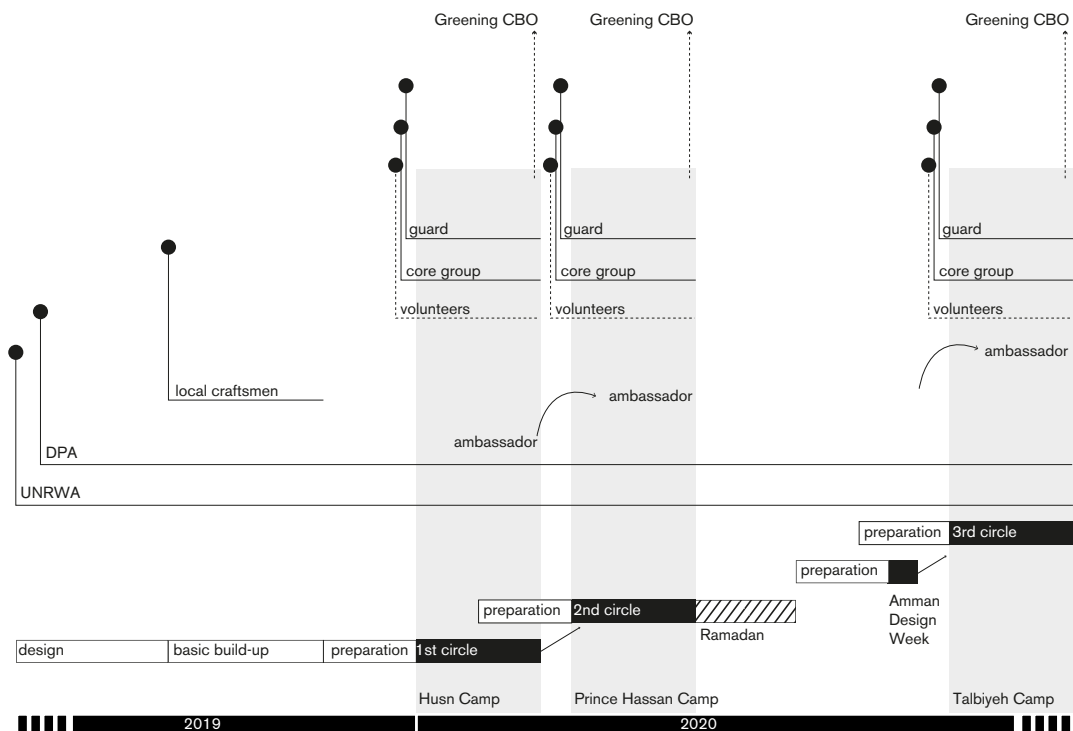
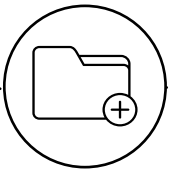


fig. 203: Exemplary time setup (own illustration)



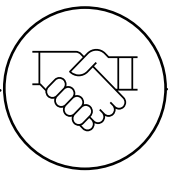
# DATA COLLECTION

The key concept is the **simultaneous and interlinked process of producing, collecting and analysing data**, which might be used in **future community-based urban planning processes in the camp in the field of climate change adaptation**.

Data collection is coordinated by the proposed **research team**. When and how much the camp community is integrated into this project needs to be assessed individually by the research team.

The following methods are suggested and need to be complemented during the process:

- **Participative workshops on identifying local knowledge and local practices**
- **Participative workshops to evaluate potential (spatial) resources** suitable for potential interventions
- **Mapping and data collection of urban systems** which are relevant for the scope of climate change adaptation
- **Application of the analysis tool** for proposed or realised implementations and transformation processes in the camp, and the **successive integration** of those within a broader urban strategy
- **Quantitative surveys** with the camp community
- **Narrative interviews** with the camp community or local experts
- ...



# PARTNERS

It is necessary to seek partners right from the beginning to facilitate:

- **Sponsorship and funding**
- Set-up of **programme content**
- **Integration of existing local knowledge and activities** in the camp

Even though most likely international organisations will provide basic funding, **further sponsorship and funding** will embed the project more regionally. NGOs or other institutions, such as universities might be invited for external inputs or take over certain programme contents in a short- and long-term perspective.





# USER GROUPS



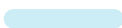



-  research task
-    degree of privacy (thicker = more private)

fig. 204: Weekly exemplary overview of participating user groups (own illustration)

## Excursus: Integration of greening approaches in CIPs

In addition to specify and approach the research object of rooftop farming as a method of urban agriculture, this excursus will investigate to what extent such greening or climate change adaptation related contents are represented in three previous CIP process in Jordan.

First of all, the notion of *greening* is very vague and lacks a definition that makes it understandable what content is hidden behind the term. The reason why it is nevertheless reproduced at this point is due to the fact that it is applied in many cases in the chosen research field. It is no coincidence that it is prominently placed with NGOs such as *Greening The Camps*, as it is an integral part of the vocabulary of many of the actors involved. In order to approach the term in a contextually meaningful way, a short own definition is given here.

Greening refers to a process in which local living conditions are to be improved, not only through the use of planting and plants, but through a general innovative approach to the utilisation of resources, which can range from water treatment and recycling to the generation of solar energy. Often related to the consequences of climate change, greening is regarded as a process that aims to create more resilience in spatial contexts by creating a climate-change adaptability. However, greening does not necessarily only have to refer to the reduction of ecological burdens; above all, it aims to achieve ecological and environmental advantages. As an important subcategory, urban farming practices and thus rooftop farming fall into this category.

Since the CIPs have already created a large amount of useful data with their extensive analyses and the collection of suggestions from the community, these data should be used for the purpose of evaluating to what extent the topic *greening* is represented. Since this thesis examines various rooftop-farming projects and in the last part also makes programmatic and design statements in the form of a *greening* project, evaluation of the material which has emerged from a participatory process is essential. On the one hand, empirical experiences and voices from the field can be compared with the strategic documents and, on the other hand, possible starting point for the later design can be found. Since camp improvement processes have so far only been carried out in three Jordanian camps (Talbiyeh Camp, Jerash Camp and Husn Camp), merely these CIPs will be examined in order to find out to what extent greening or greening-related aspects have already been taken up.

A comparison of the three CIP priority lists, which sum up the most important needs derived from the CIP process, reveals clear similarities. All three priority lists express needs, which address environmental issues. Waste management and water scarcity seem to be major challenges. Few needs go beyond infrastructural improvements in the camp. In Husn Camp, priority is given to a common garden, which should address the strong overheating of the camp in summer and the extremely high amount of dust in the respiratory air. Another aspect addressing the topic of greening at least indirectly is the idea of implementing a central local market with locally grown food. This project proposal reduces the dependency on fluctuating food prices in Jordan, as well as food prices from abroad and thus contributes to a reduction of the CO<sub>2</sub> footprint. On another level, the desire for locally produced food shows that there is a partial awareness and interest in the production of healthy food. As a consequence, it could be argued that such local

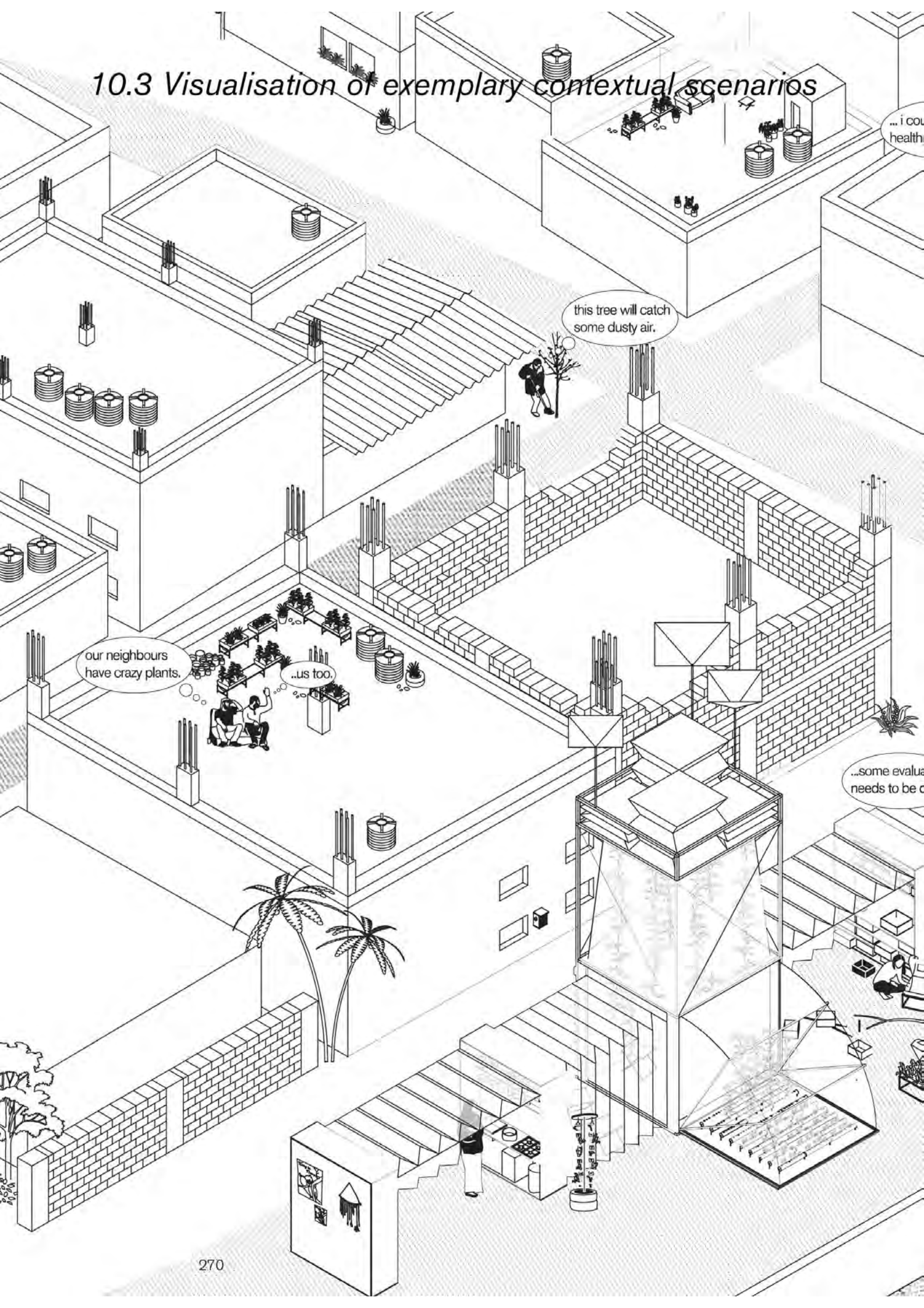
food production has the potential of creating job opportunities. (UNRWA (ed.) & Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (ed.), 2012, p. 76; Infrastructure and Camp Improvement Programme Jerash (ICIP), n.d., p. 59; Laue, 2012, p. 10)

Sami Mura (2018), project manager at GIZ, comes to the conclusion that, „[UNRWA] figure[s] out that the manual is lacking greening aspects in terms of analysing. Analysing the camp structure, they looked more at infrastructures (...) street, CBOs, then area, number of floors, but there was no special focus on greening. There is not only on greening in terms of farming, but beyond the material of greening, this of recycling... solar energy, water harvesting, ecological footprint, all these definitions of greening [...] they are supposed to have this project greening CIP [...], which means let's look back to the CIP and let us have more greening aspects inside, starting from the analysis also. Thematic workshops.“ (Interview Mura, 2018). The above statement criticises the general lack of greening aspects, already beginning with the missing embedding in the analysis phase.

Regarding actual projects, different approaches can be found within the CIPs. In Husn Camp apart from the already mentioned public garden, another greening-related project was implemented by a CBO. However, officially this project does range under the title *greening/ climate change adaptation*, but rather under a campaign to support of CBOs in developing and implementing their own ideas. In this case, the motivation and project design of the CBO coincide with interests of climate change adaptation, which are not recognisable as such in the CIP. In Jerash Camp organic waste treatment of the souq [Arabic for: market] is proposed as a potential implementation project. Additionally, first ideas on collective rainwater harvesting, as well as the integration of garbage collection points exist. In the context of the CIP Talbiyeh, two design proposals of urban gardens were made and several events were held where voluntary youth planted trees in the camp. (UNRWA (ed.) & Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (ed.), 2012, p. 76; Infrastructure and Camp Improvement Programme Jerash (ICIP), n.d., p. 59; Laue, 2012, p. 10)

After considering the three CIPs examined, it is evident that although structural ecological problems are represented especially at the infrastructure level, there is already potential in the analysis to better identify, for example, climatic problems or material cycles. The listed projects, in which apart from the rooftop farming project in Husn Camp, it is largely unclear whether they could be successfully implemented, show a general interest in becoming active in the area of *greening*.

# 10.3 Visualisation of exemplary contextual scenarios



... i cou  
health

this tree will catch  
some dusty air.

our neighbours  
have crazy plants.

..us too.

..some evalua  
needs to be d

fig. 205: Isometric drawing of an exemplary setup of the Hub in Husn Camp (own illustration)

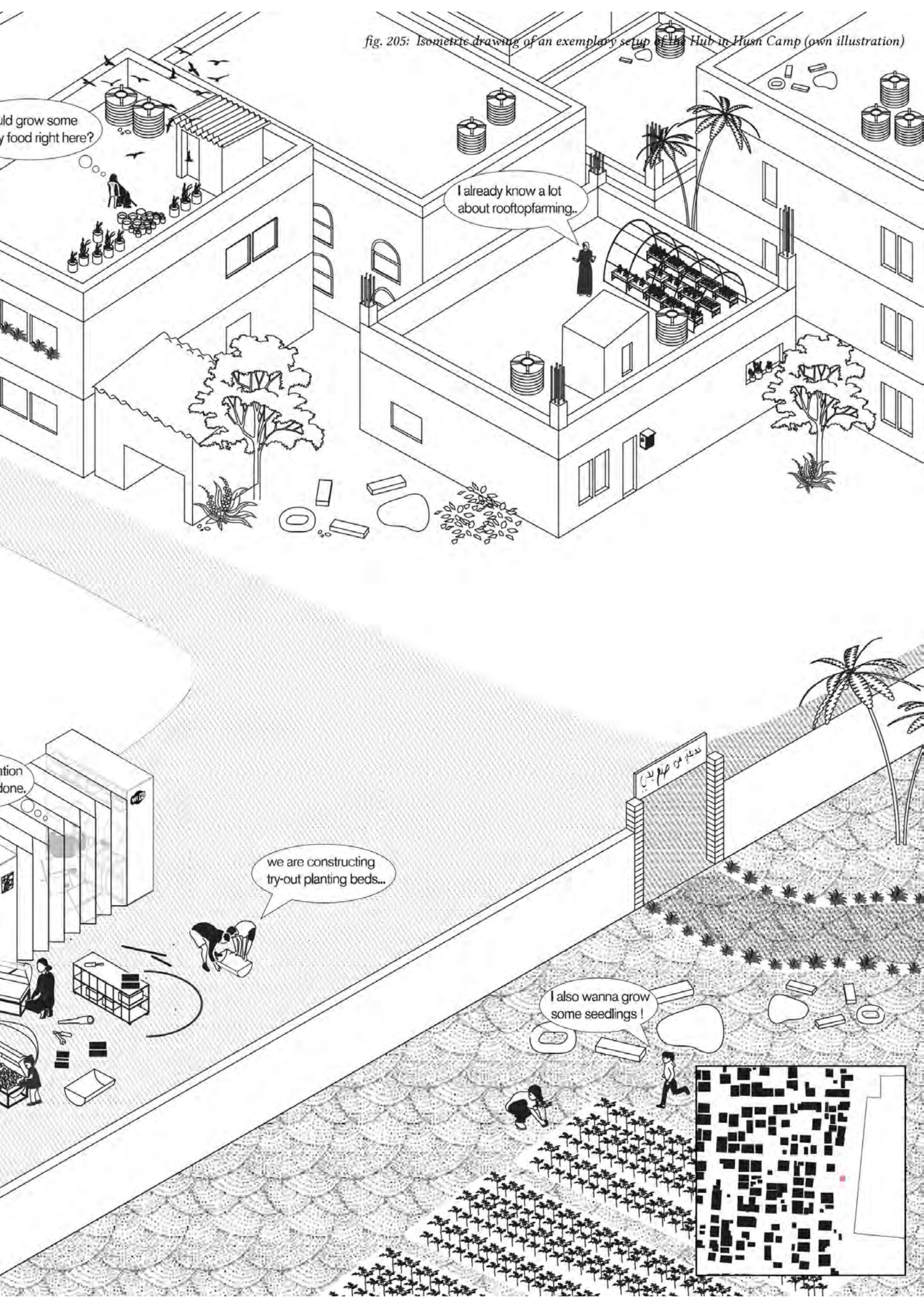
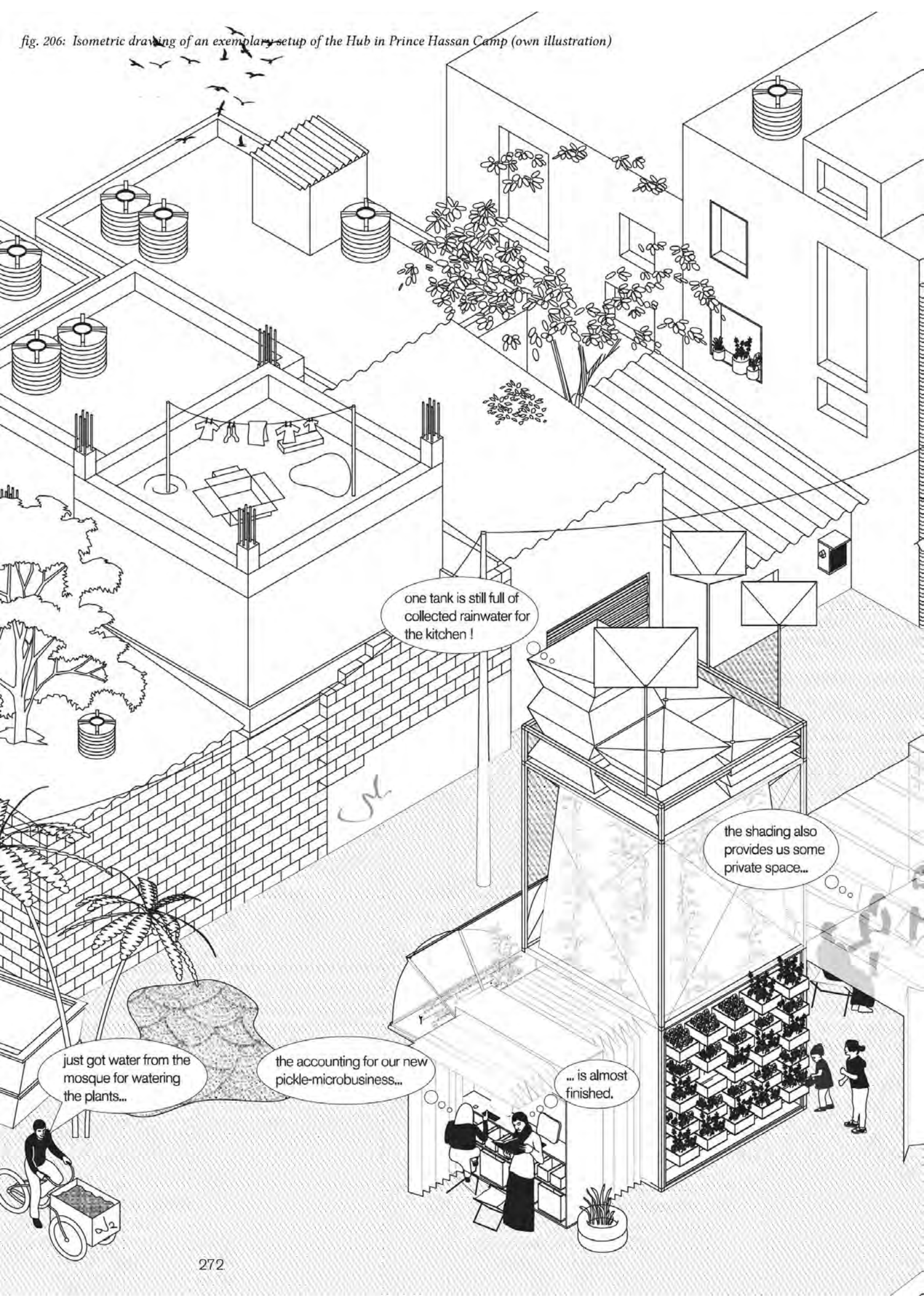
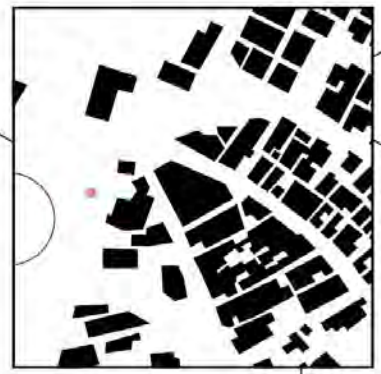


fig. 206: Isometric drawing of an exemplary setup of the Hub in Prince Hassan Camp (own illustration)





maybe I can join the women group?

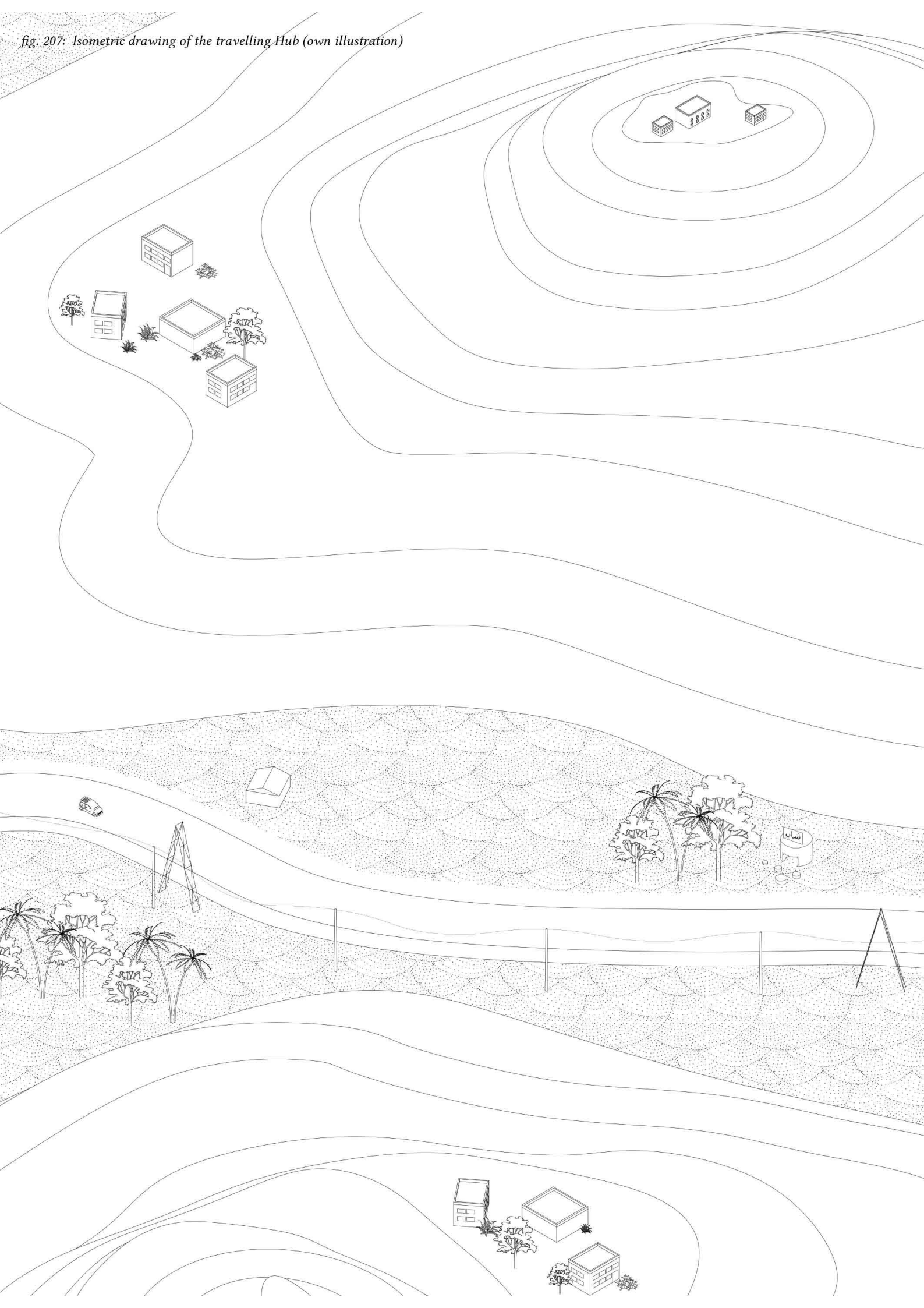
we produce pickles and sell them at the market next door...

we grow the cucumbers in the vertical garden...

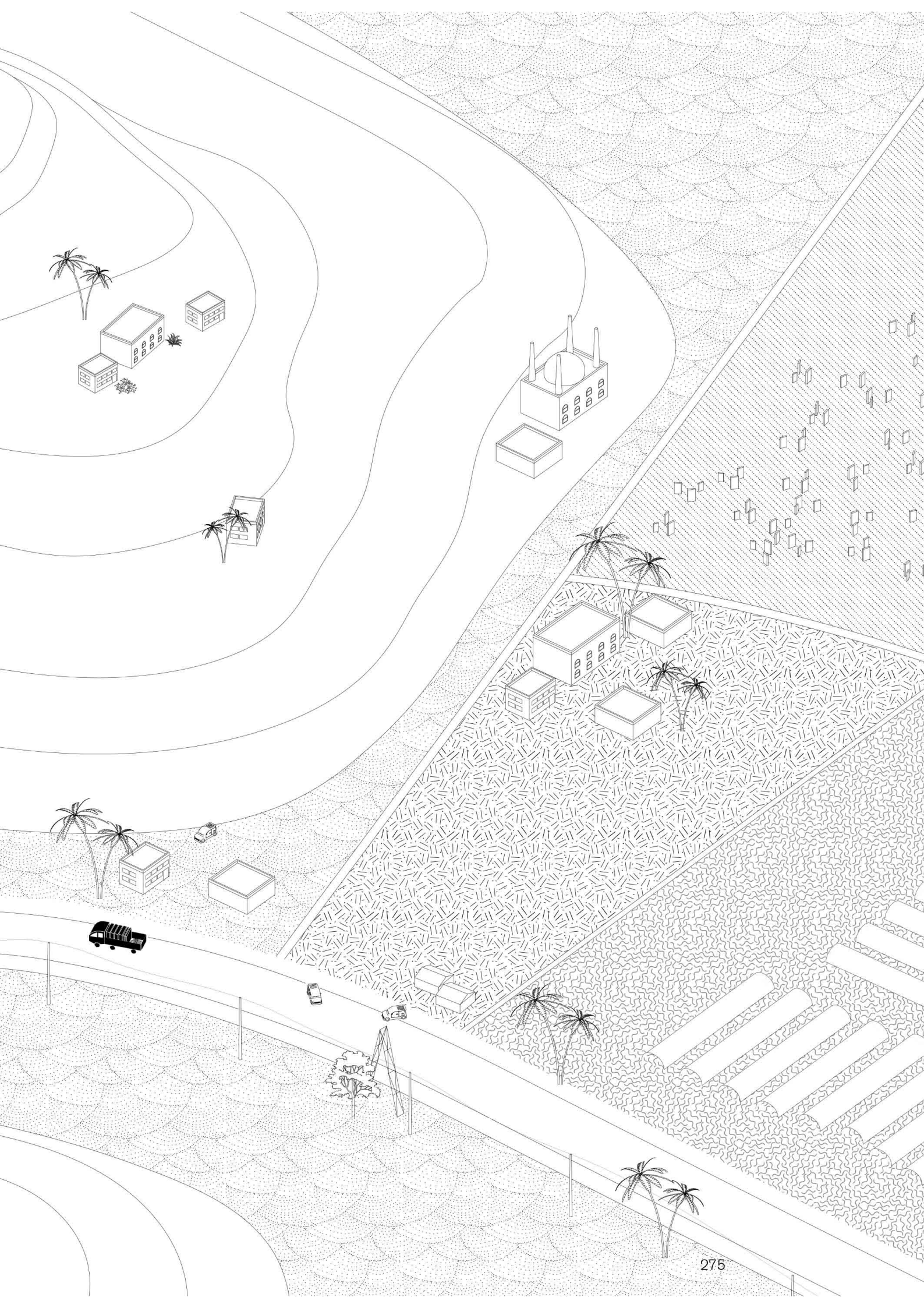
I'm not from the camp but I like to come here!

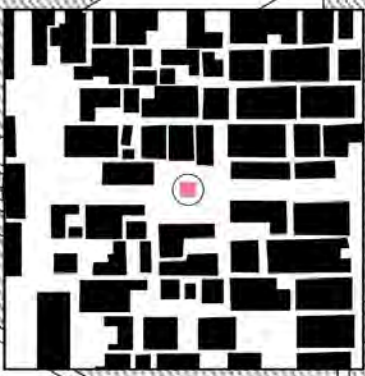
Cucumbers

fig. 207: Isometric drawing of the travelling Hub (own illustration)









with our CBO we produce music and movies for the hub!

wow, so many tomatoes in there

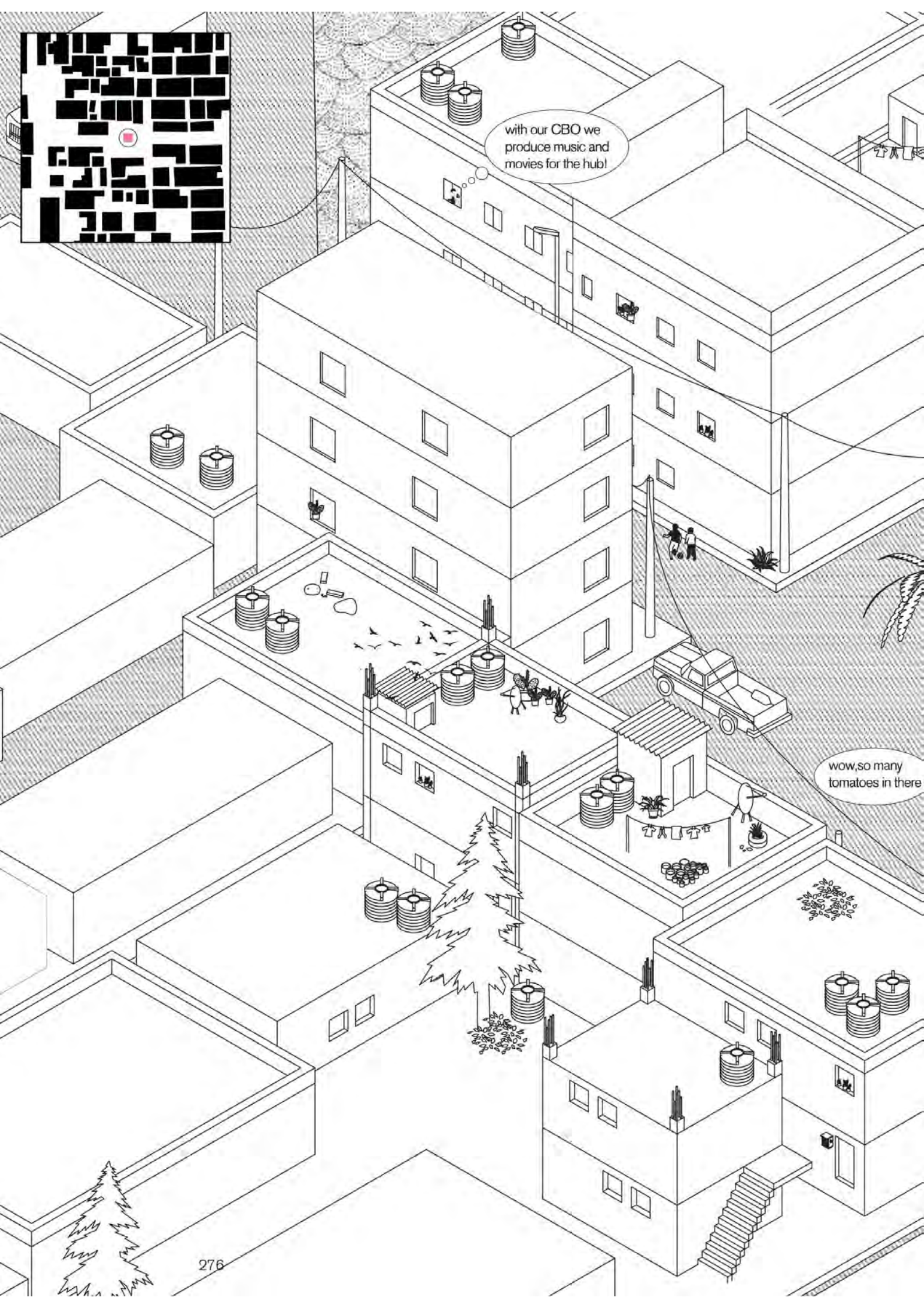
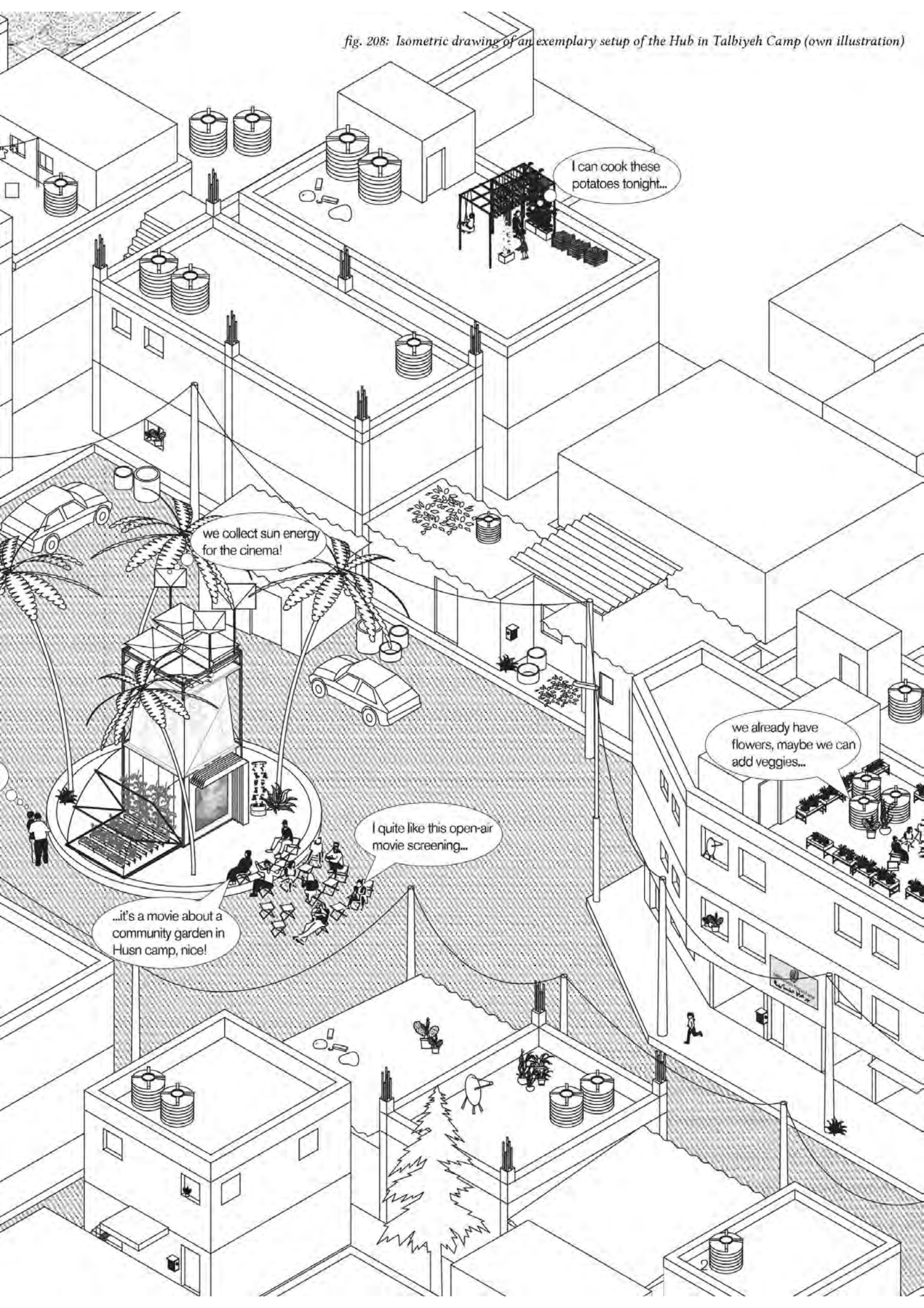


fig. 208: Isometric drawing of an exemplary setup of the Hub in Talbiyeh Camp (own illustration)



I can cook these potatoes tonight...

we collect sun energy for the cinema!

I quite like this open-air movie screening...

...it's a movie about a community garden in Husn camp, nice!

we already have flowers, maybe we can add veggies...

## 10.4 Visualisation of exemplary functional scenarios

209

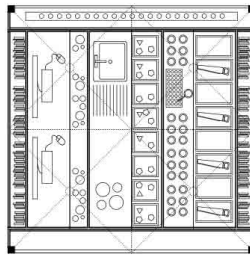
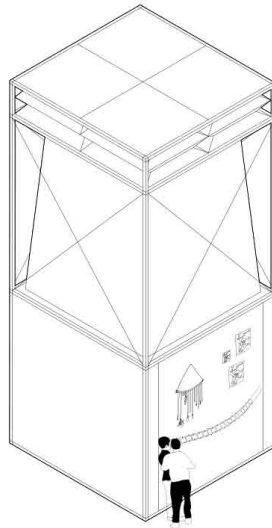
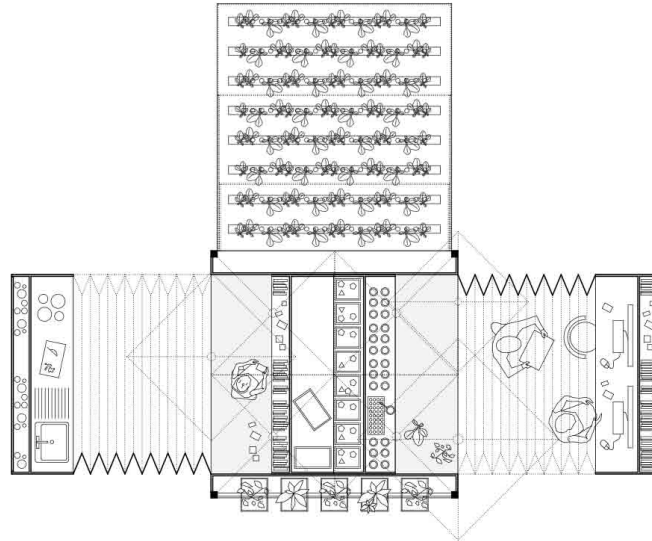
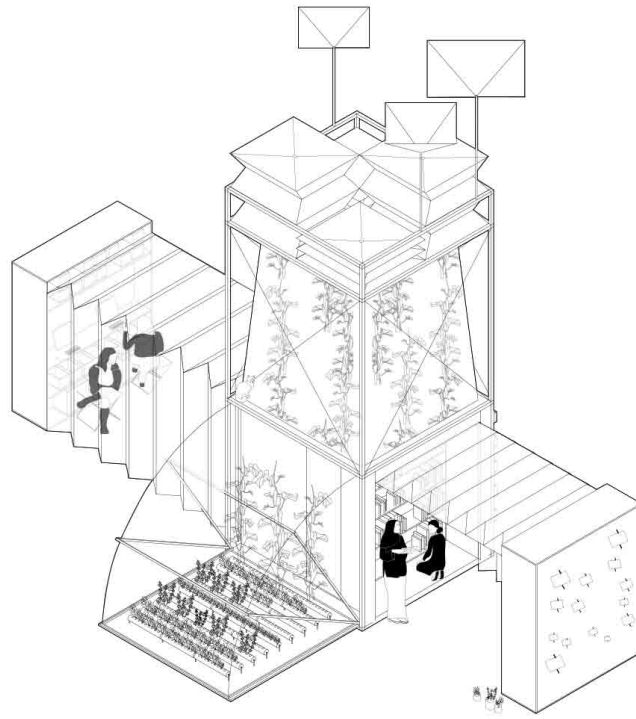


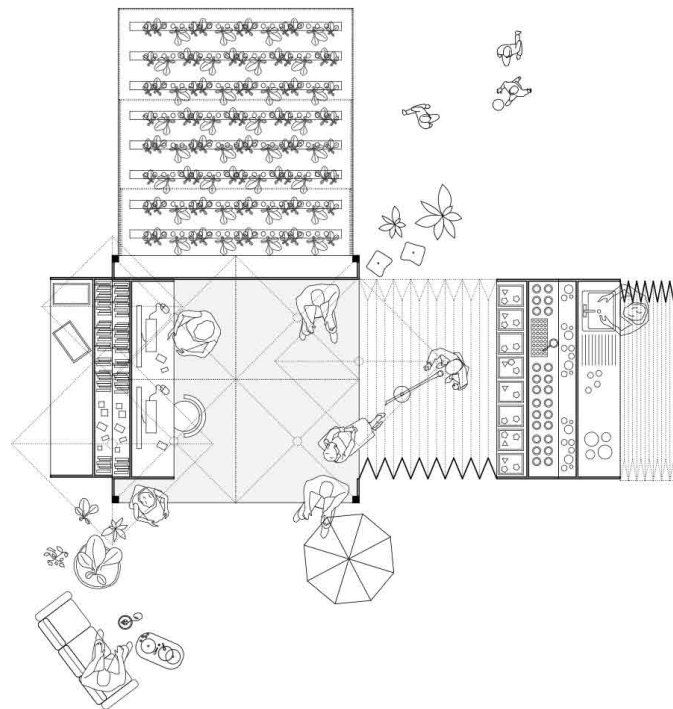
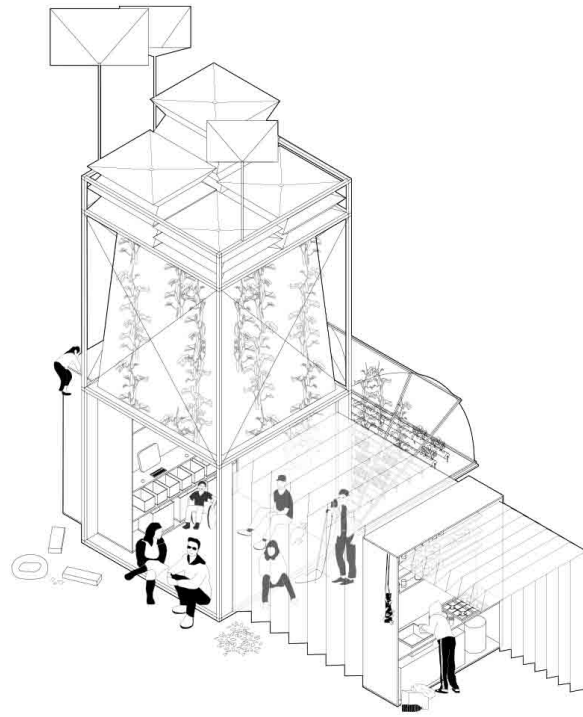
fig. 209 - 214: Isometric drawings and floor plans of possible spatial configurations of the Hub (own illustrations)

**closed**  
scale 1:100



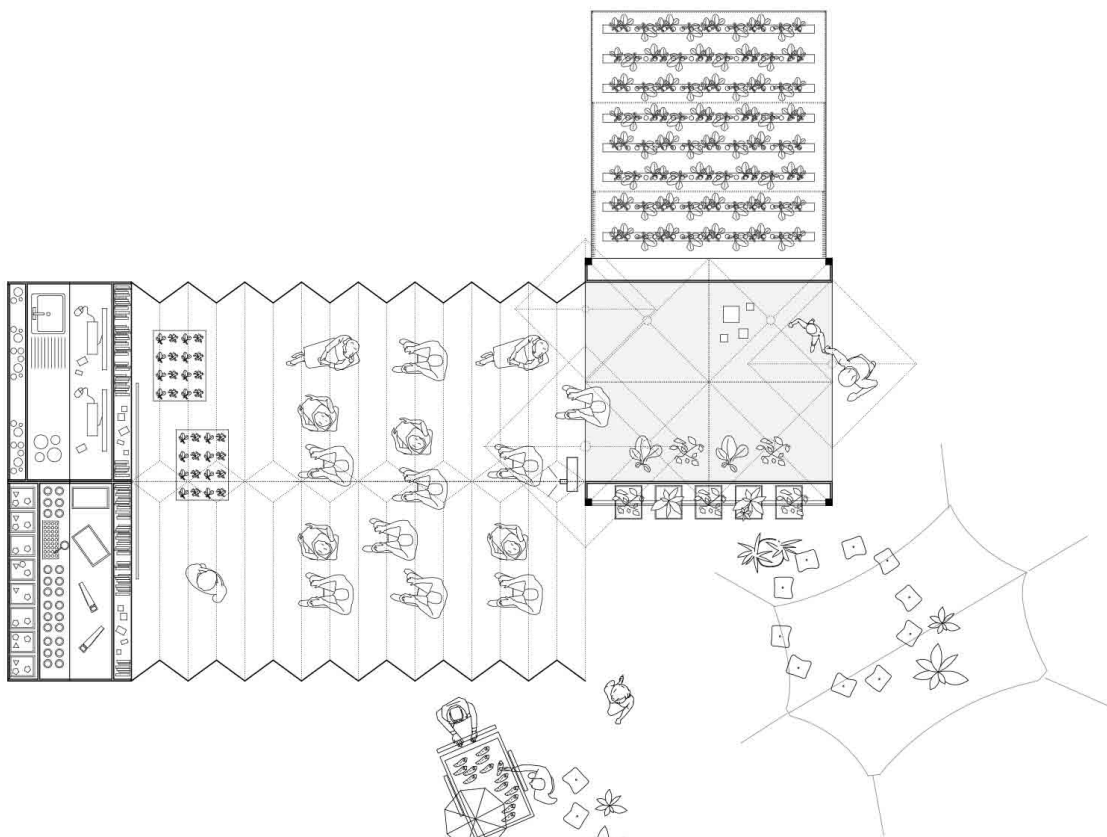
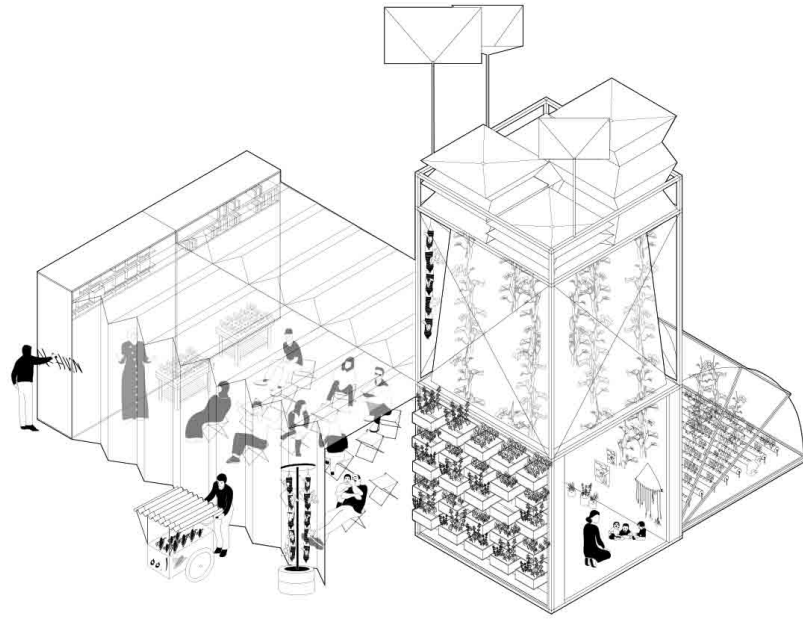
**the hub is closed for the public and used for the collection of data and for an evaluation of past activities**

scale 1:100



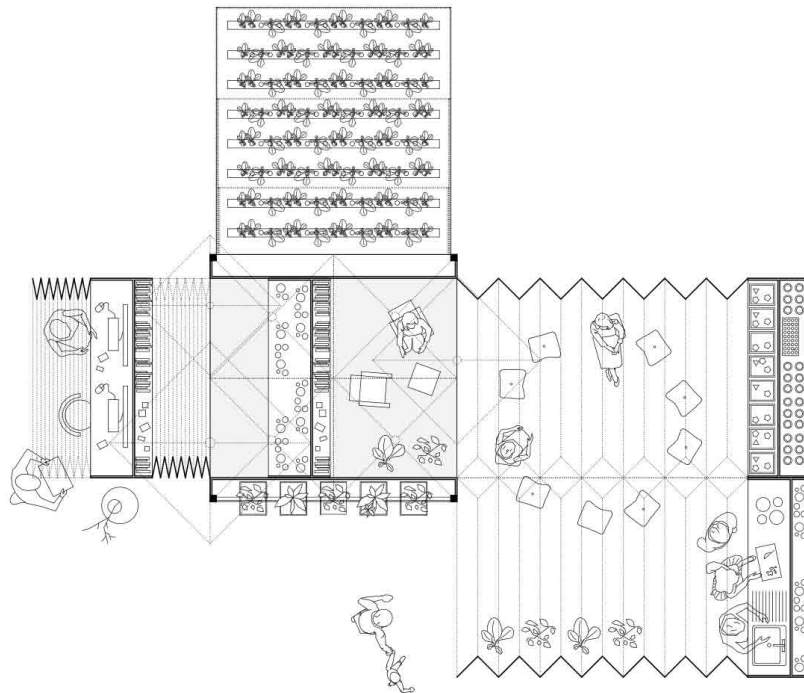
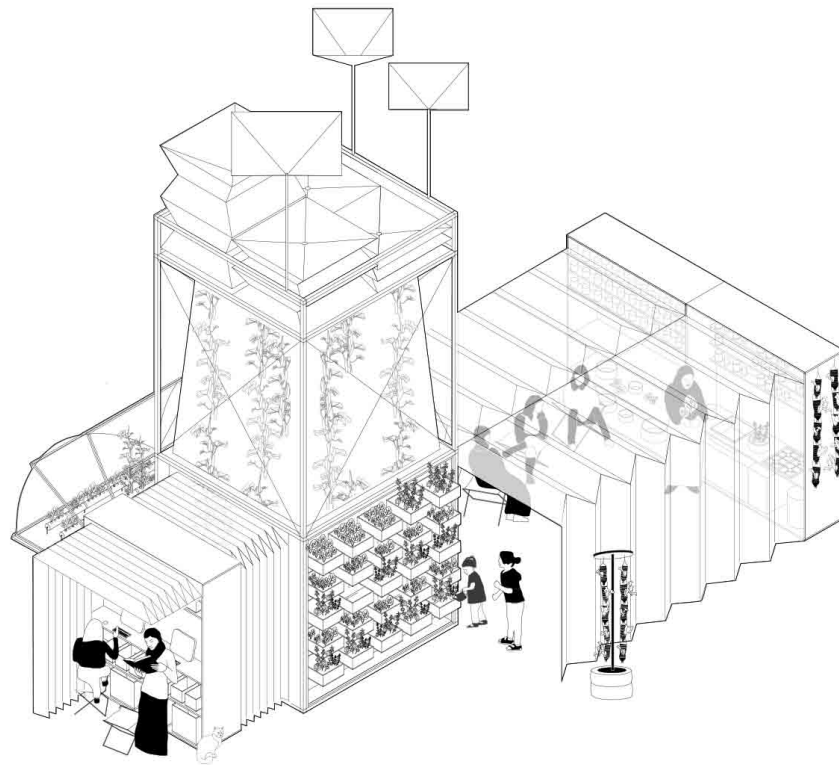
**a youth group is producing a new videoclip for youtube**

scale 1:100



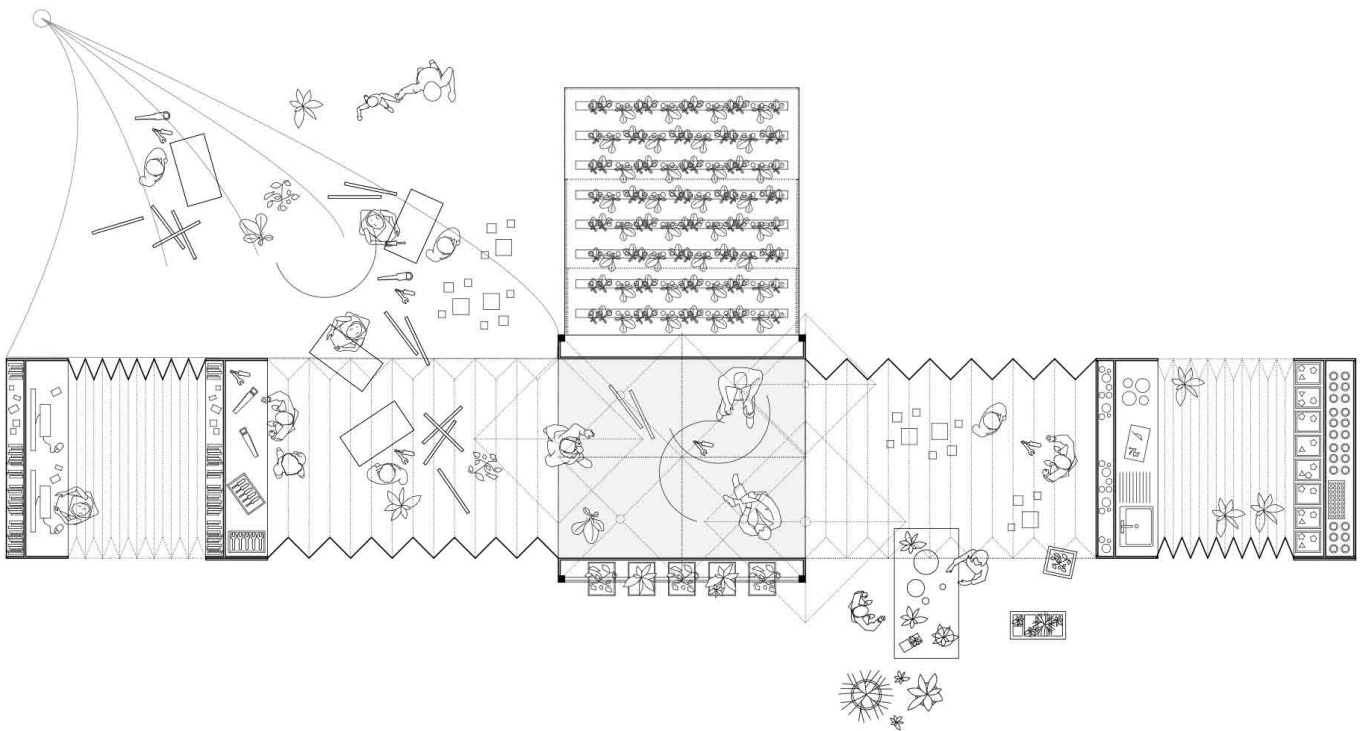
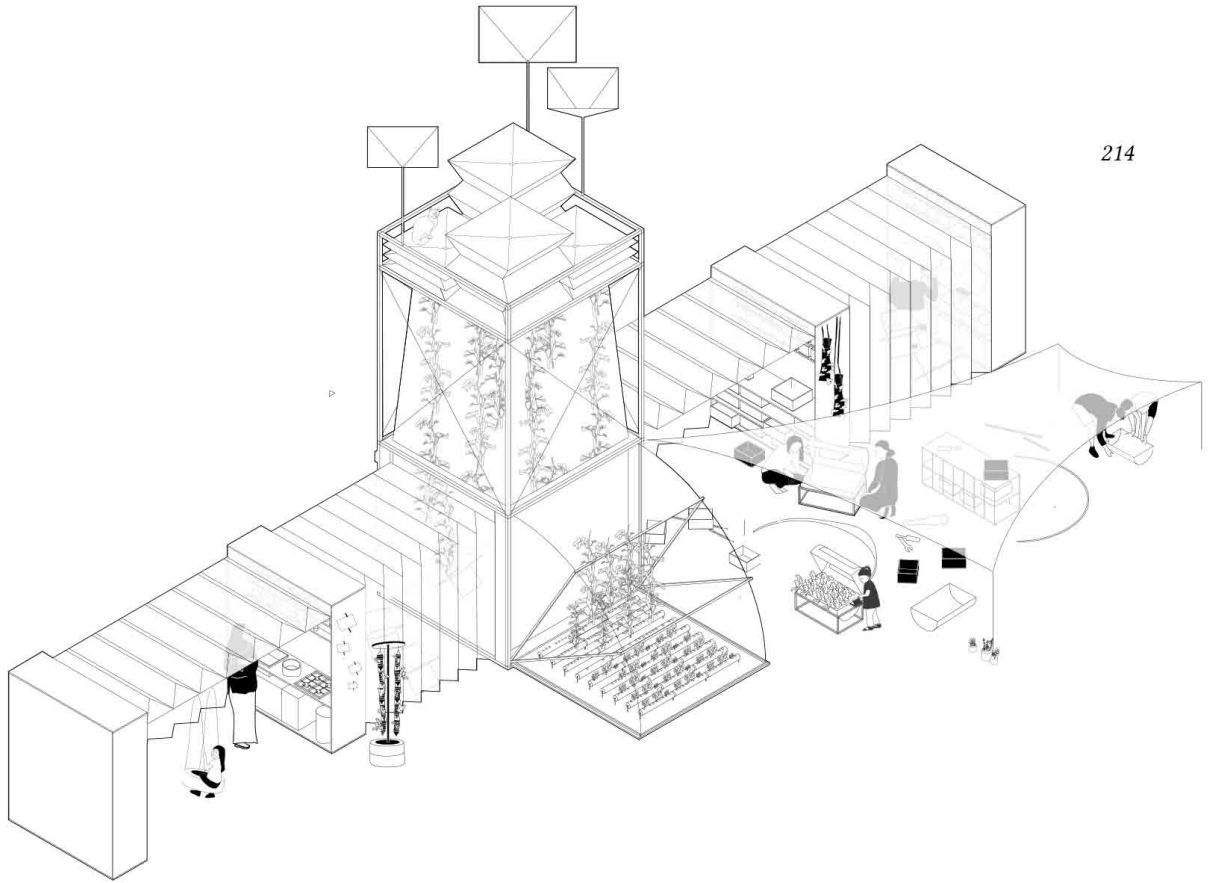
**an expert is giving a lecture on water-saving irrigation techniques, while a camp-inhabitant is selling food outside**

scale 1:100



**a group of women is setting up a micro-business by producing pickles**  
scale 1:100









**a mixed group is proucing plant tubs in a construction workshop and using the tea kitchen, while the research team is evaluating recent activitites**

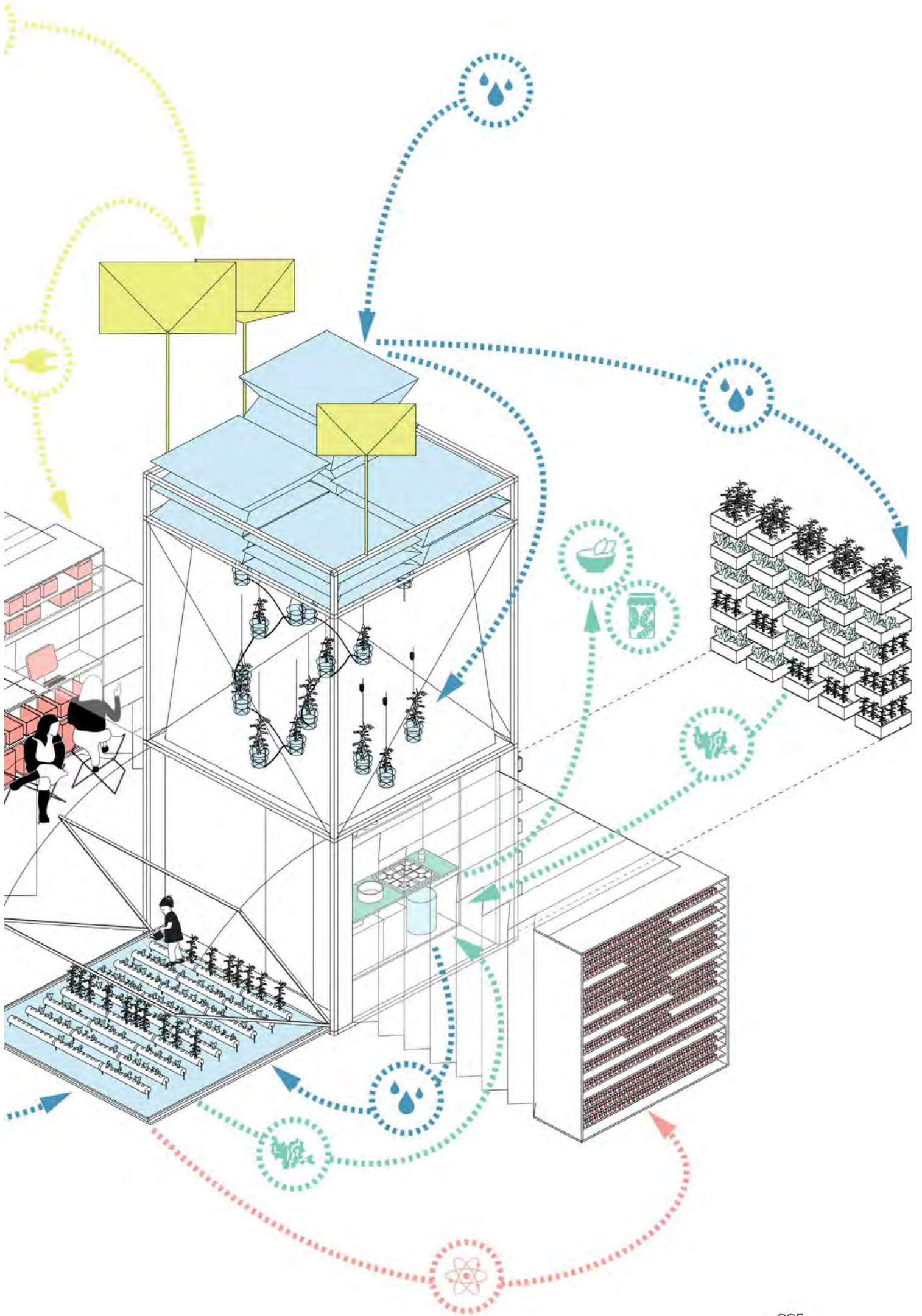
scale 1:100

# 10.5 Material and immaterial flows



fig. 215: Material and immaterial flows of the Hub

-  water flow (grey water, rain water, fresh water)
-  energy flow (solar energy, computer)
-  knowlege flow (books, seed bank, computer, tools)
-  food flow (kitchen, vegetables, pickels)



# 10.6 Application of the multidimensional evaluation tool

garden kit distribution and gardening competition

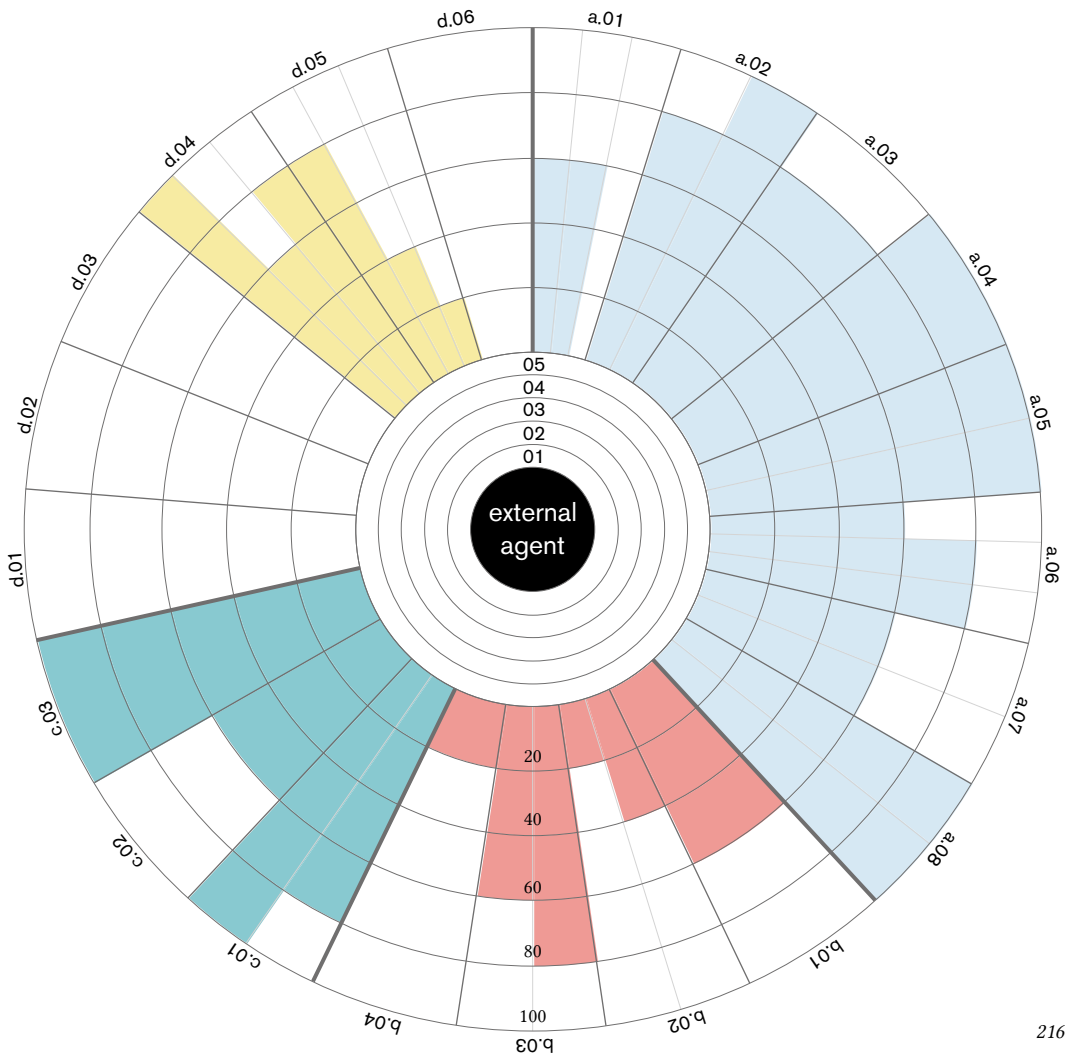
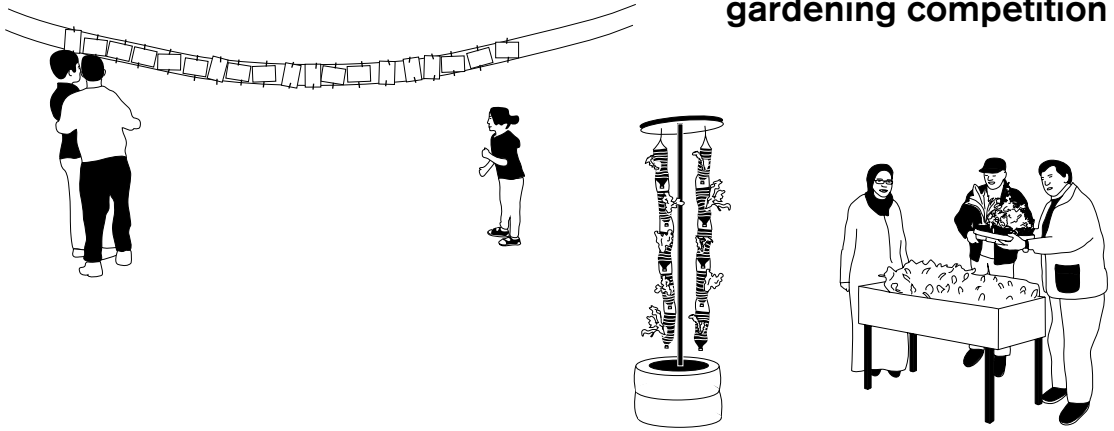
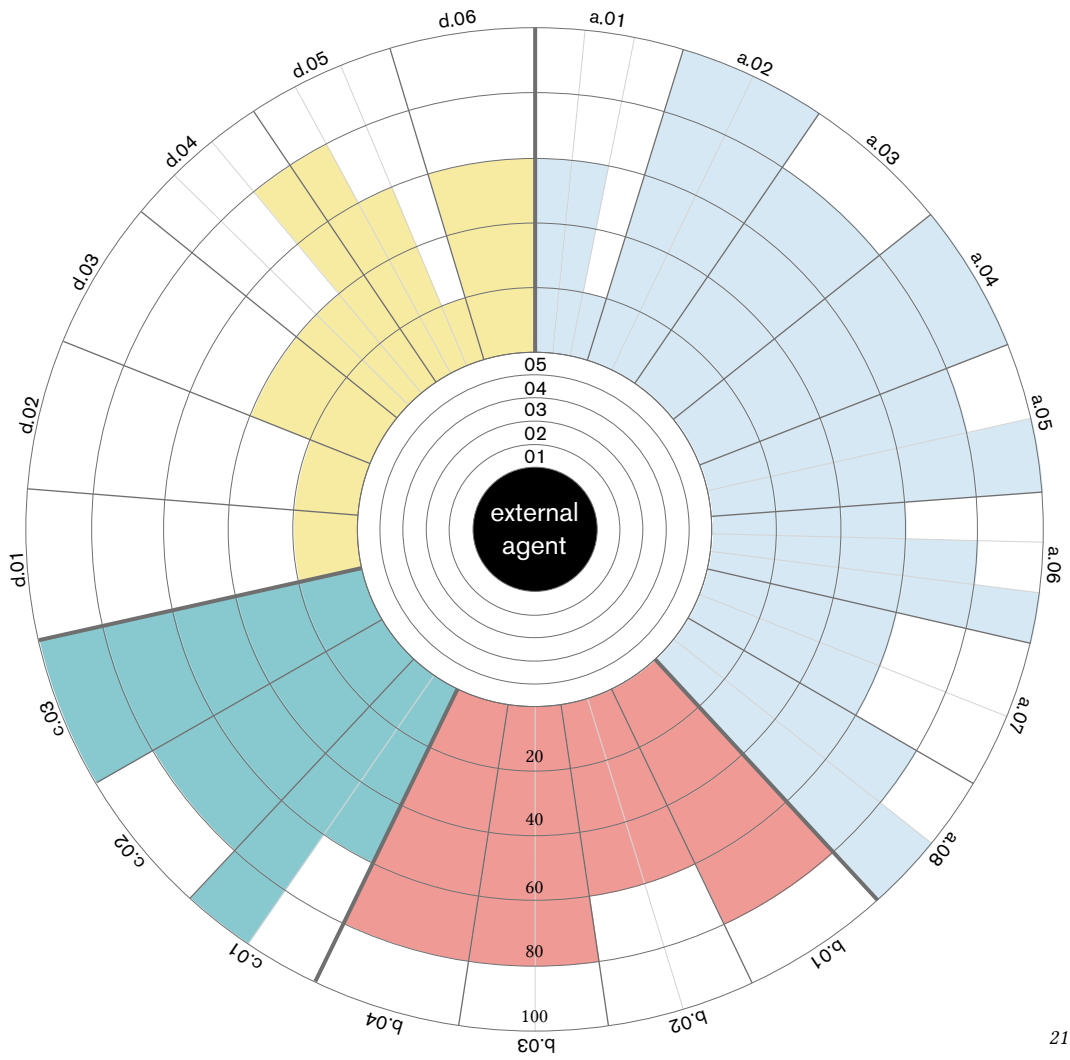
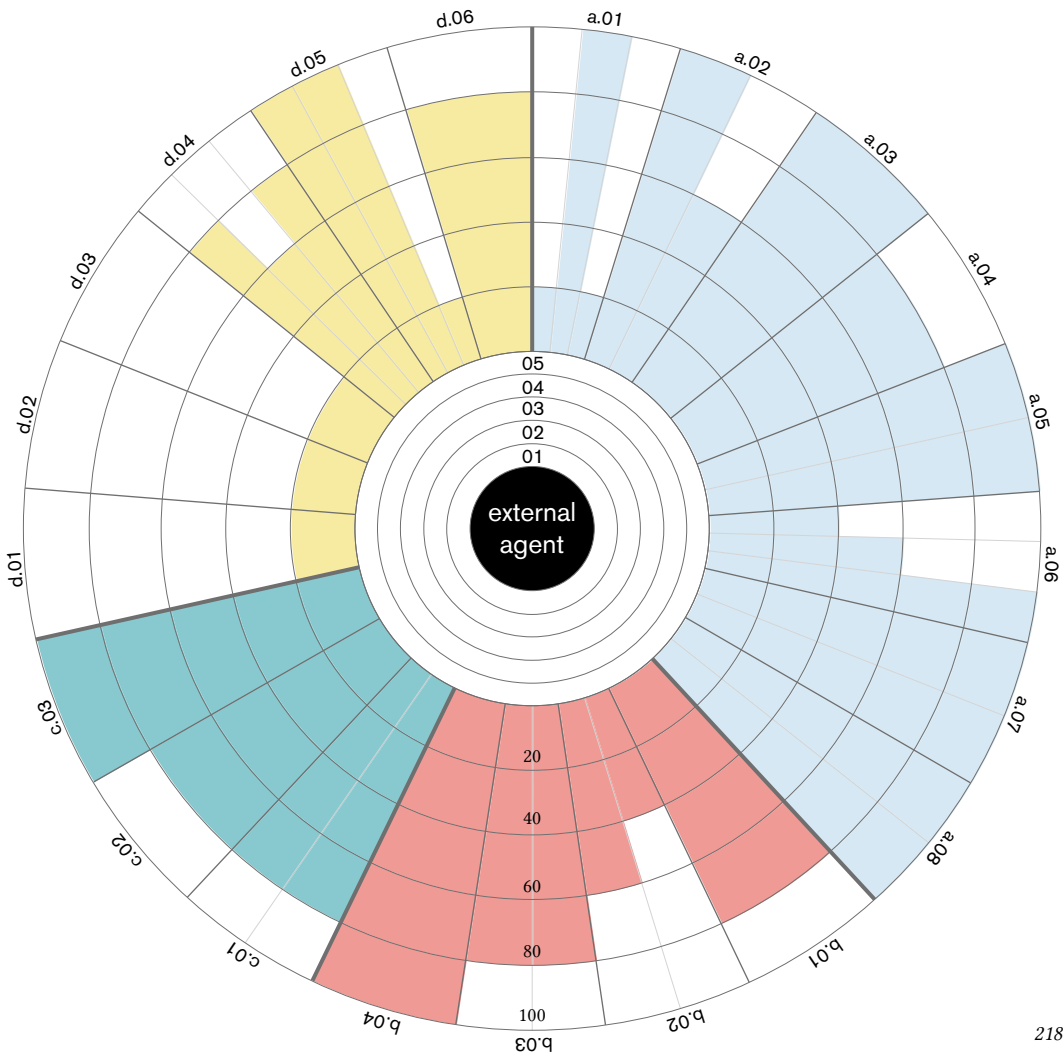
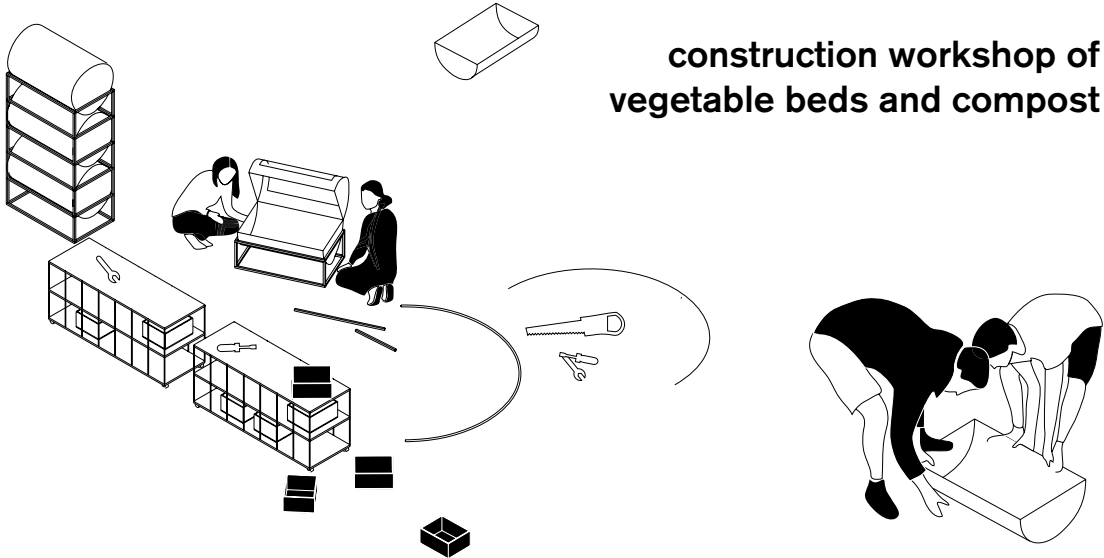


fig. 216 - 228: Application of the multidimensional evaluation tool to exemplary activities and projects in the Hub (own illustrations)

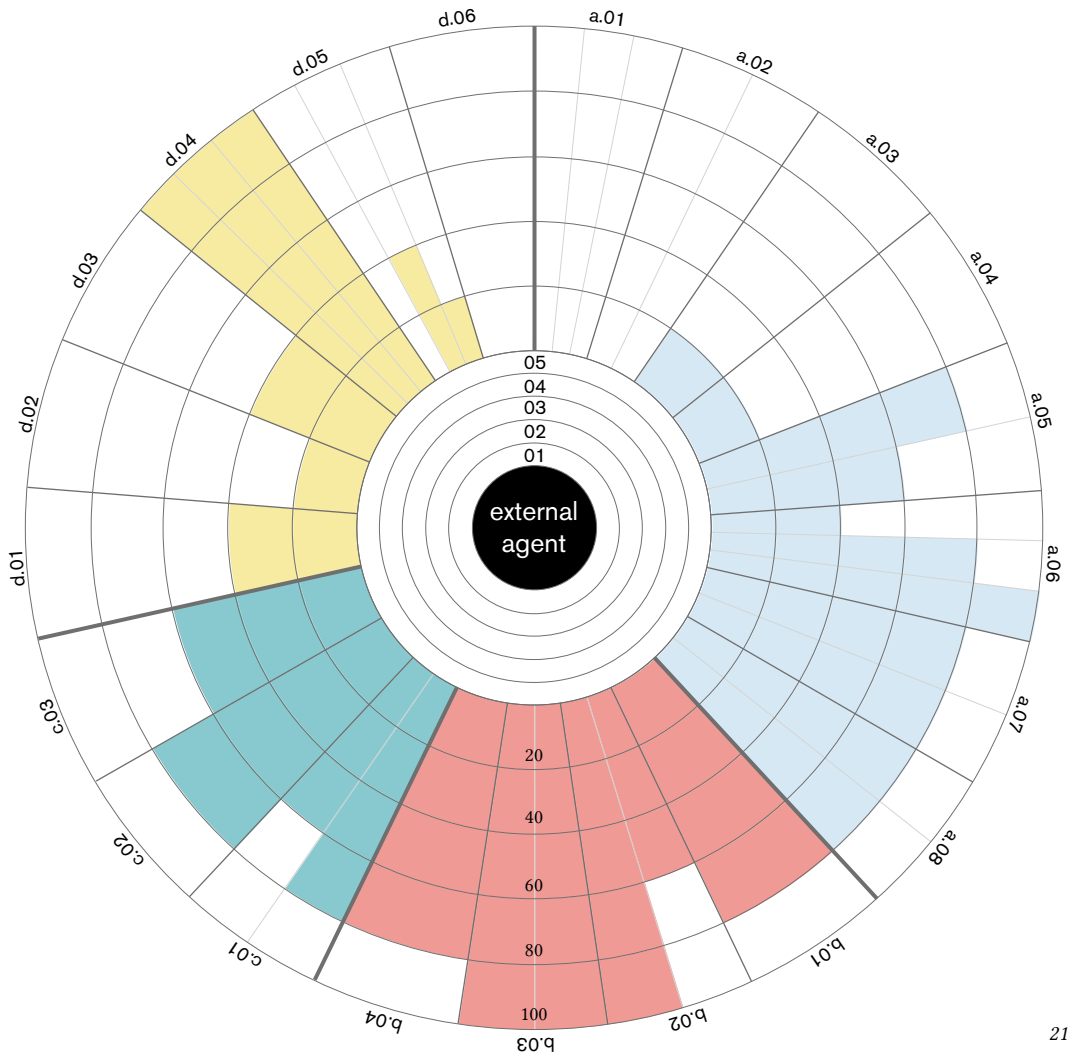
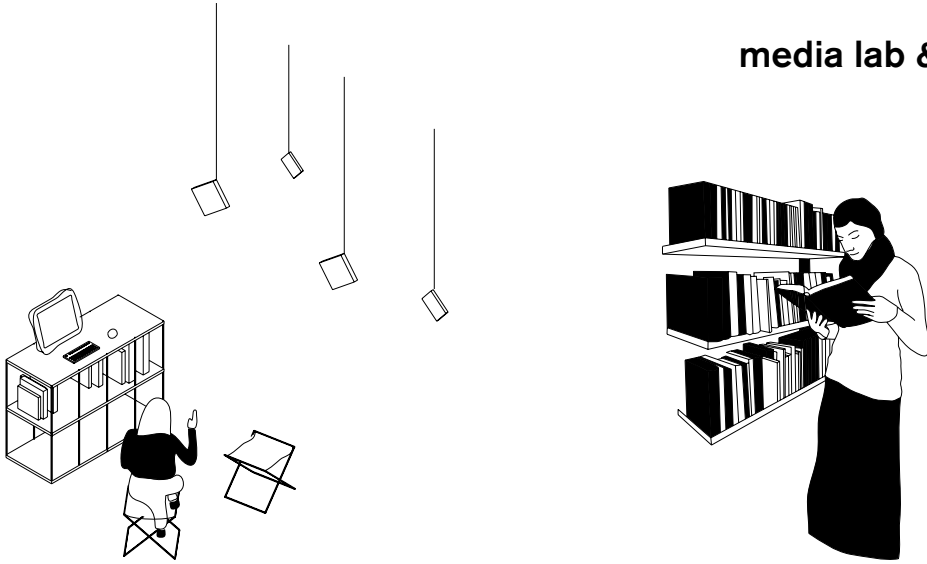
# trial beds and trees



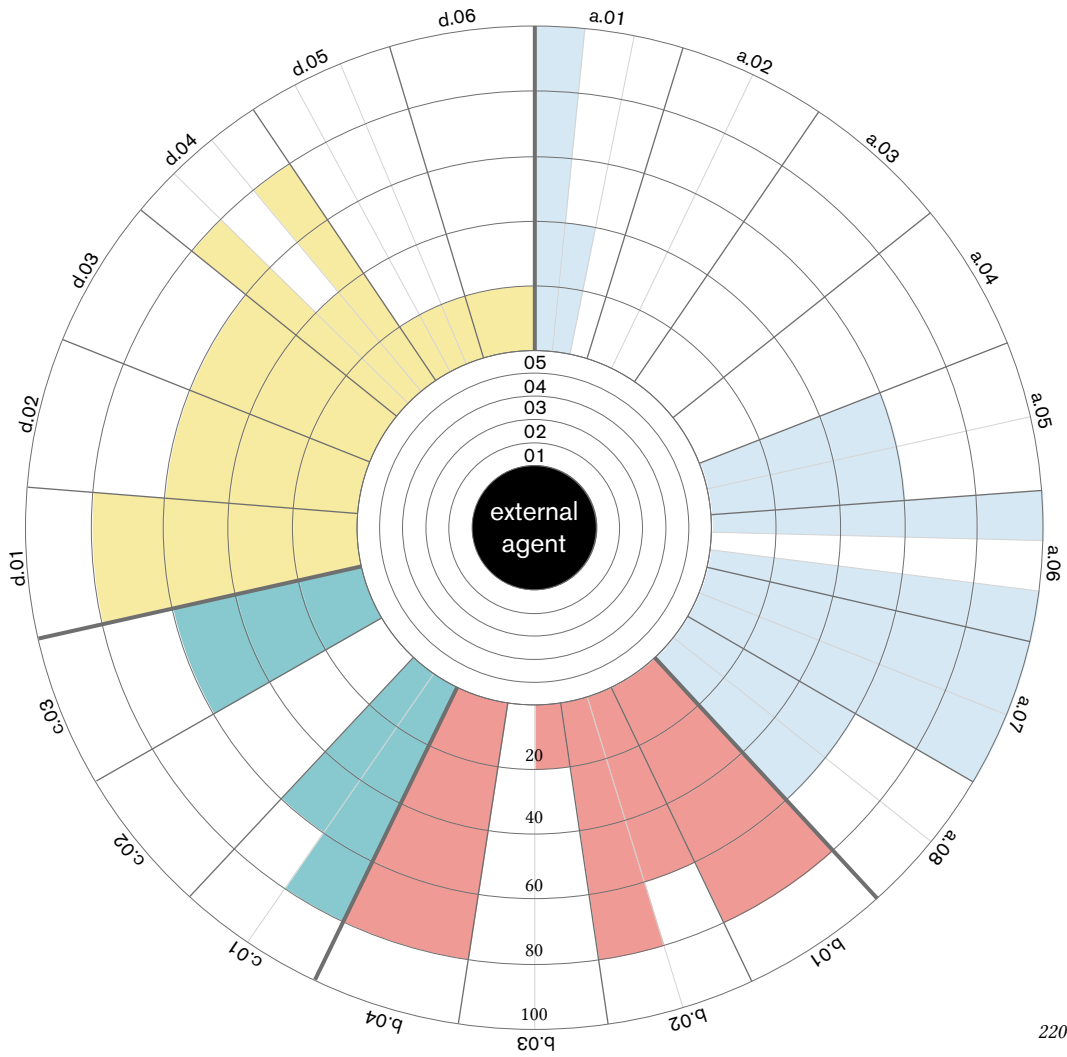
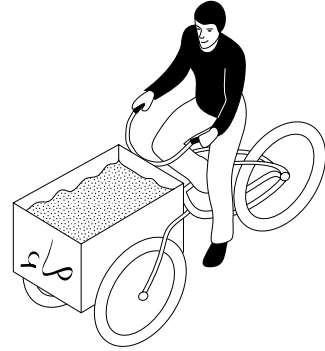
# construction workshop of vegetable beds and compost



# media lab & library

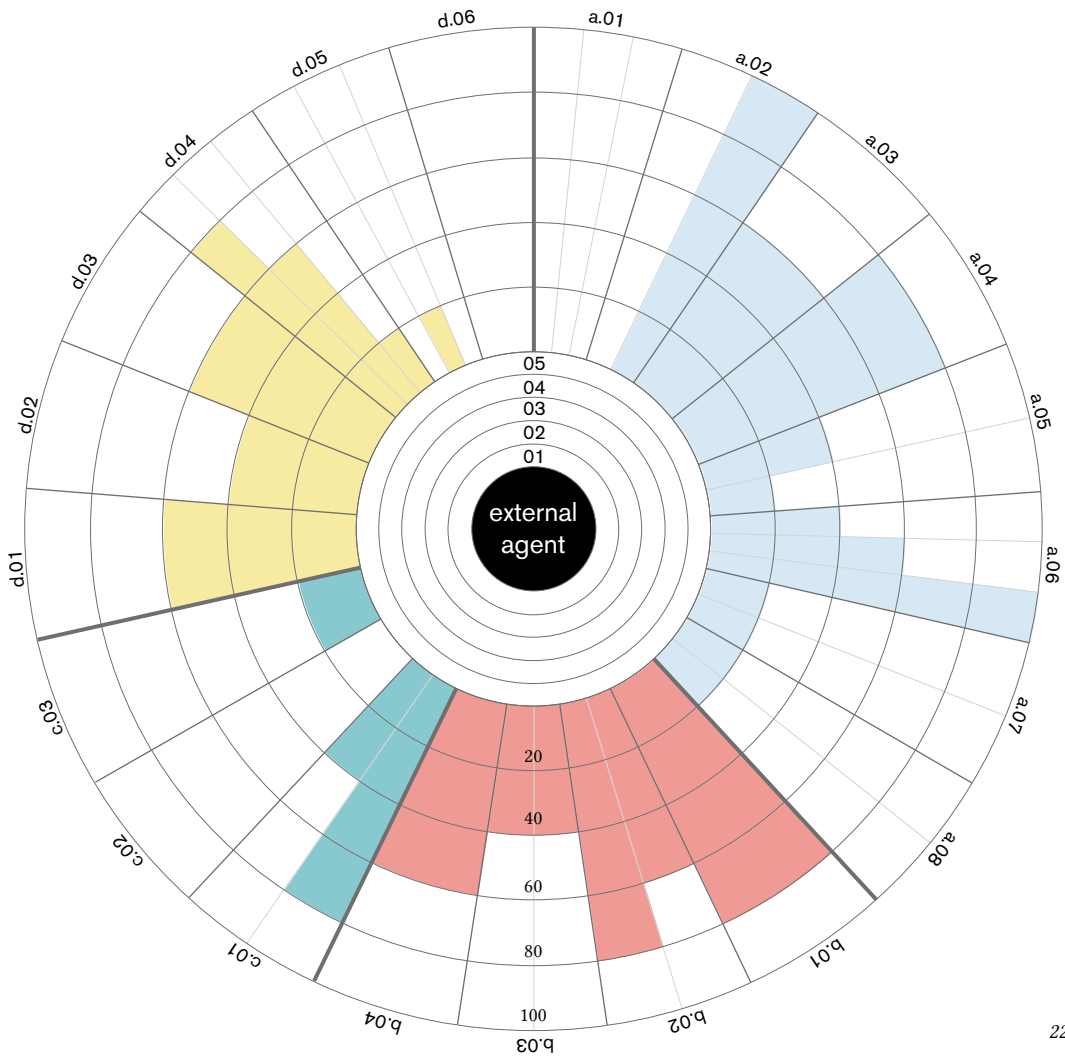
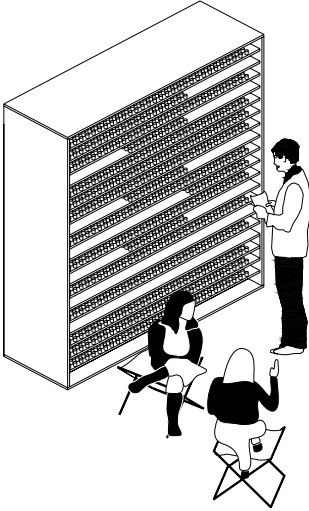


# mobile water collection & plant distribution

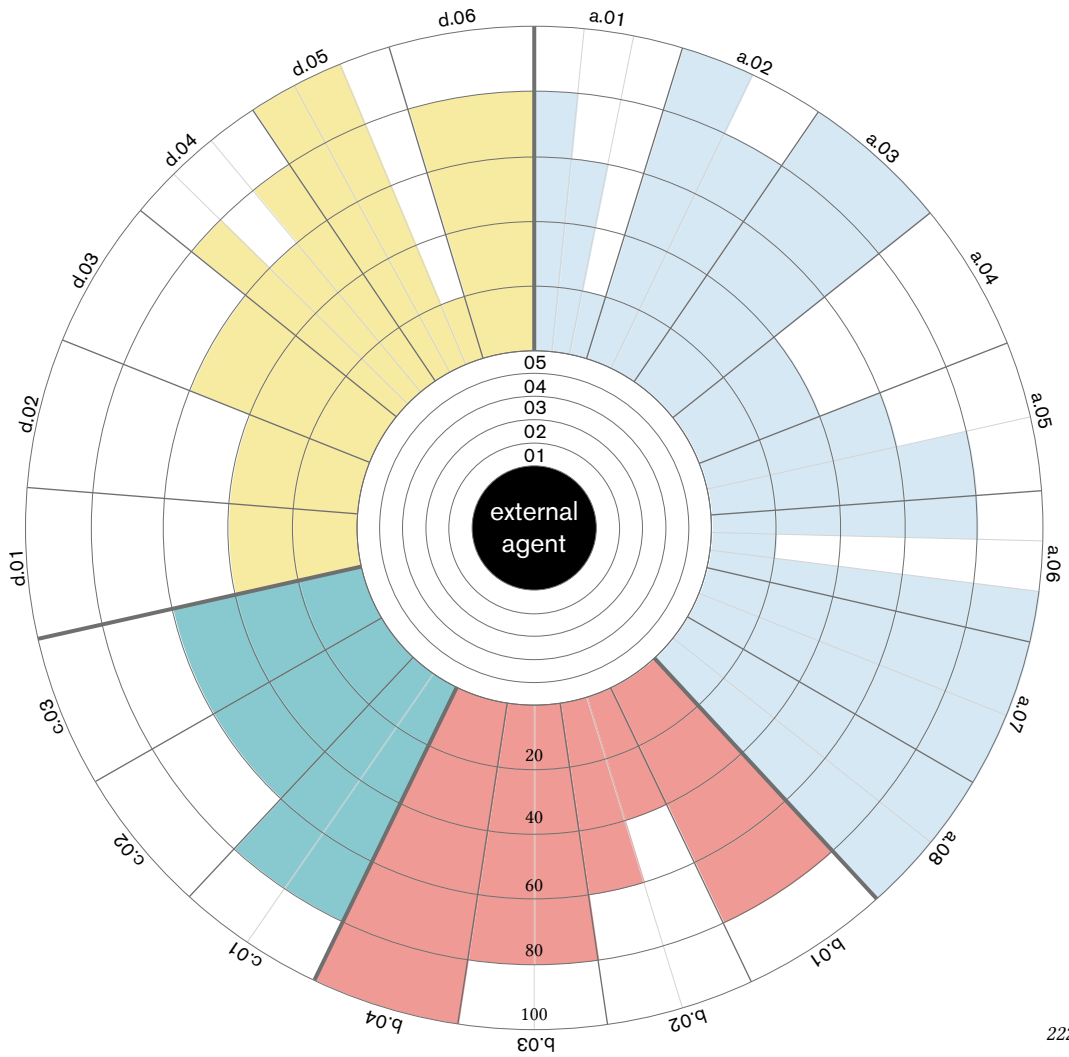
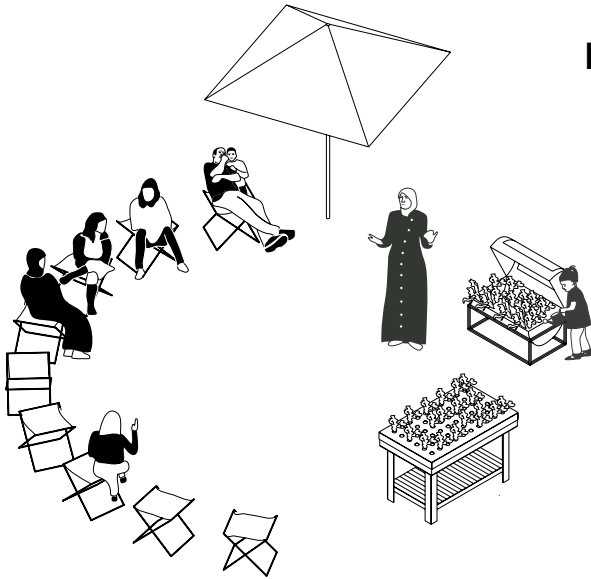




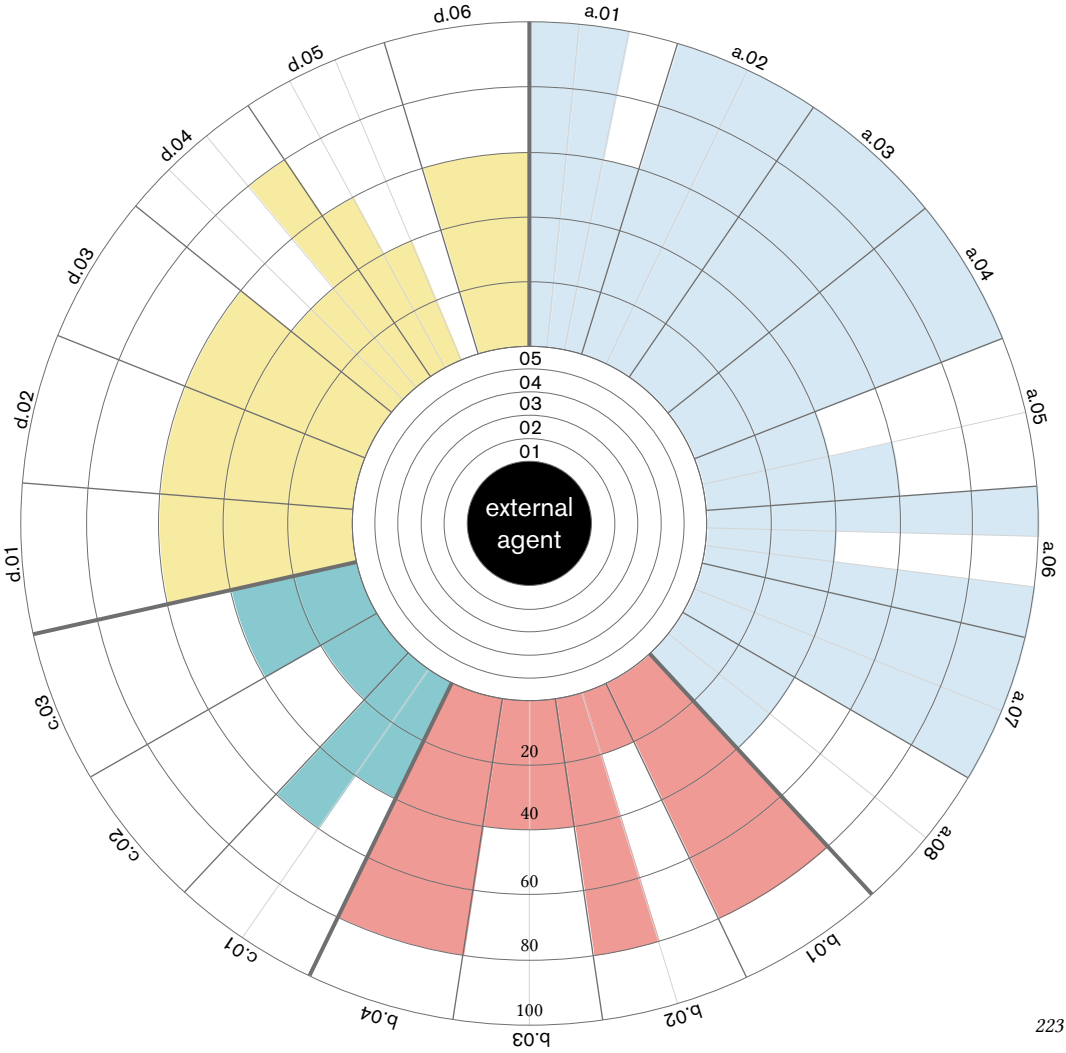
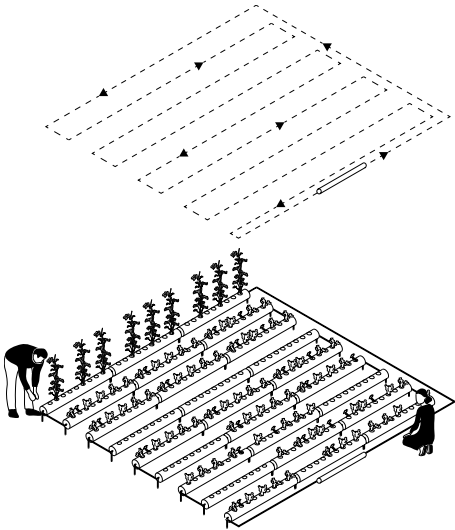
# local seed archive



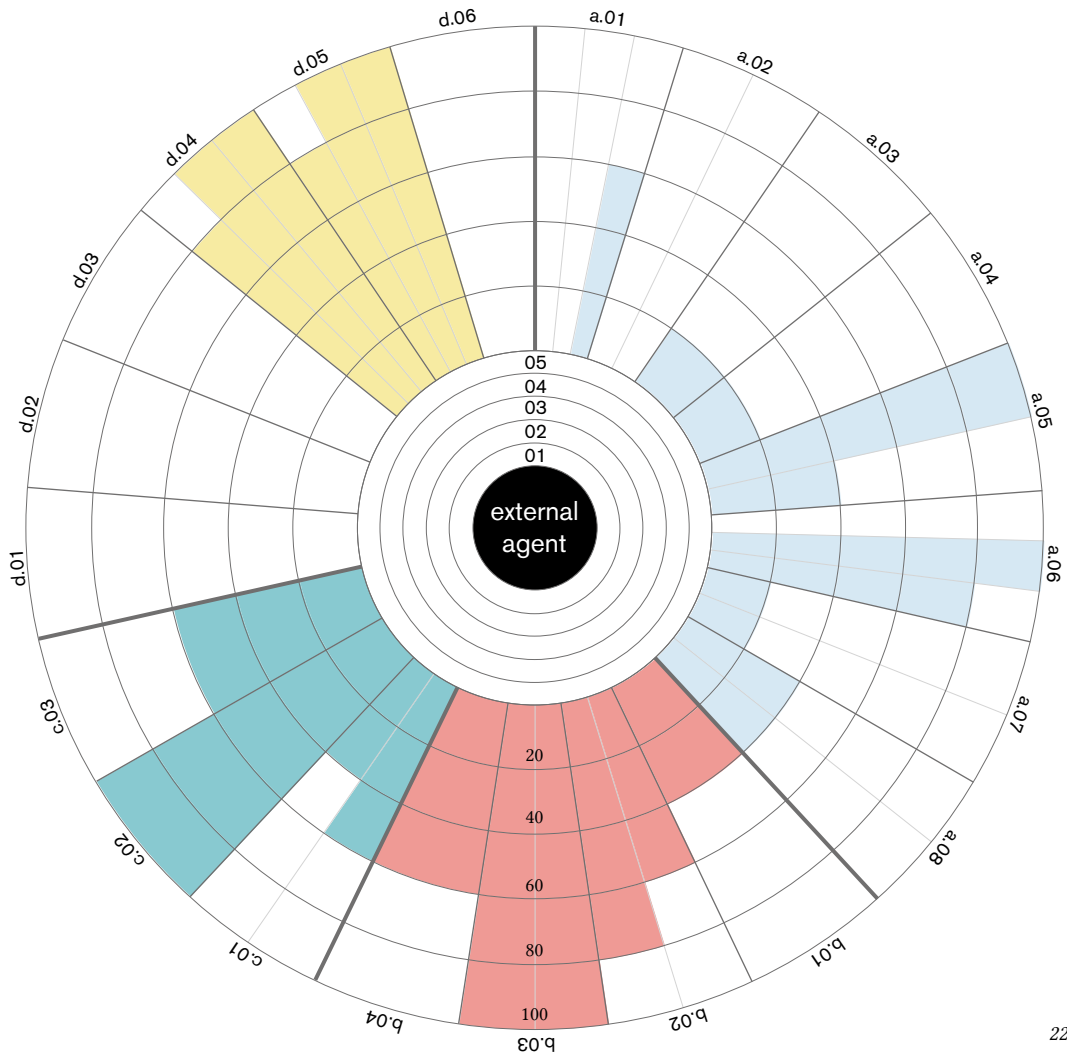
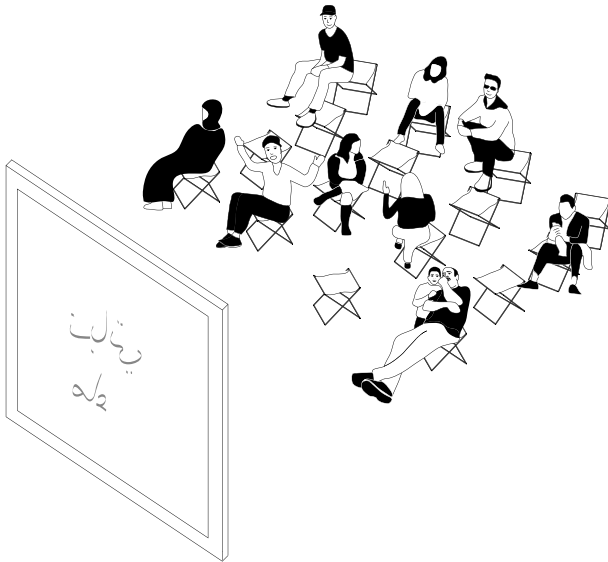
# Inputs on different techniques of urban agriculture & management capacities



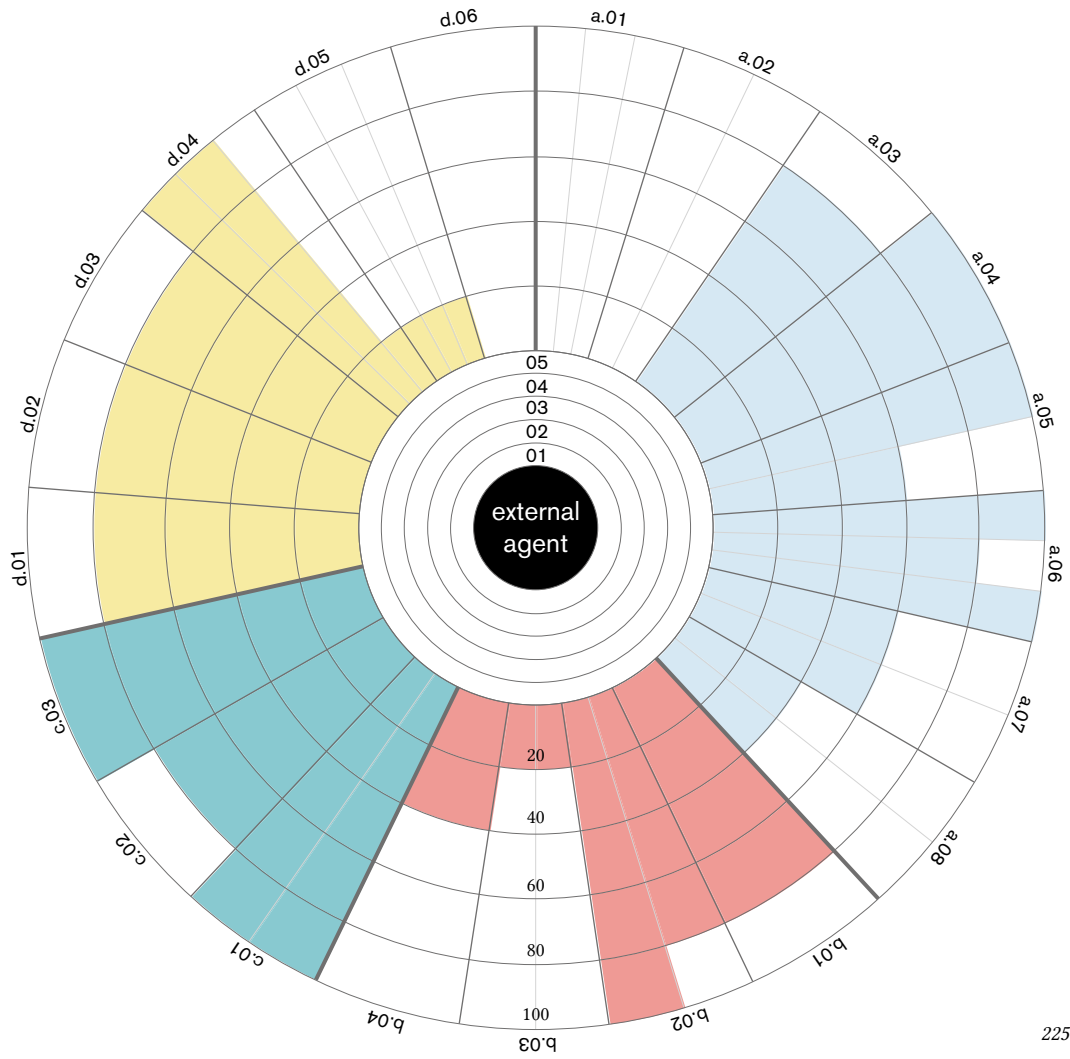
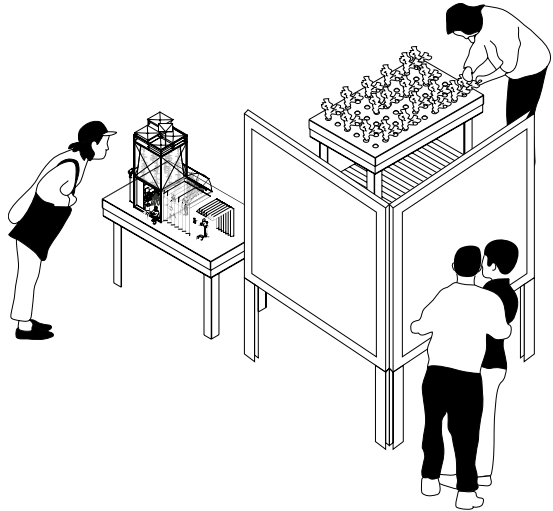
# experimentation lab for urban agriculture



# thematical open air cinema

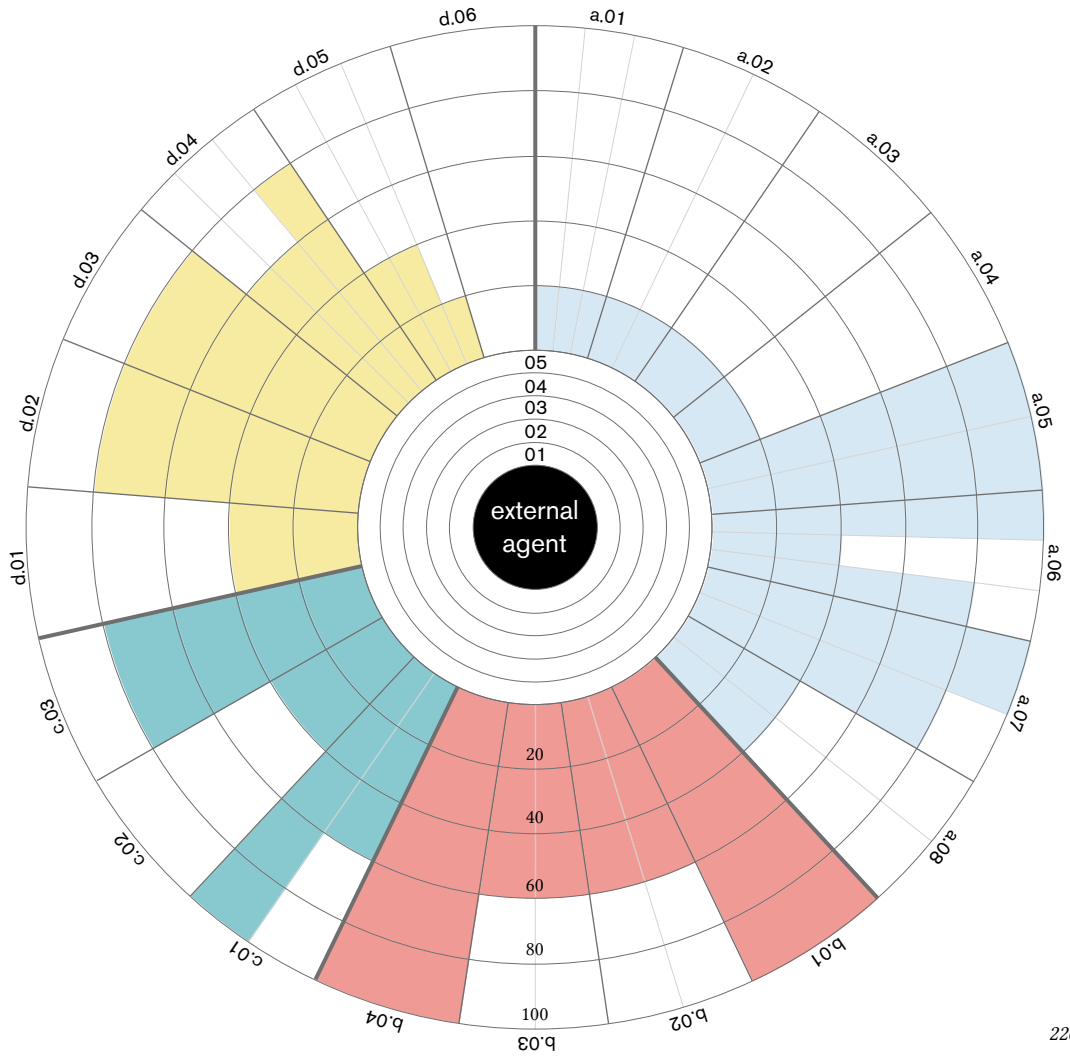
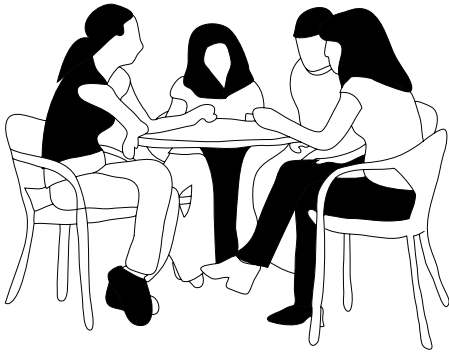


# exhibition in the Amman Design Week

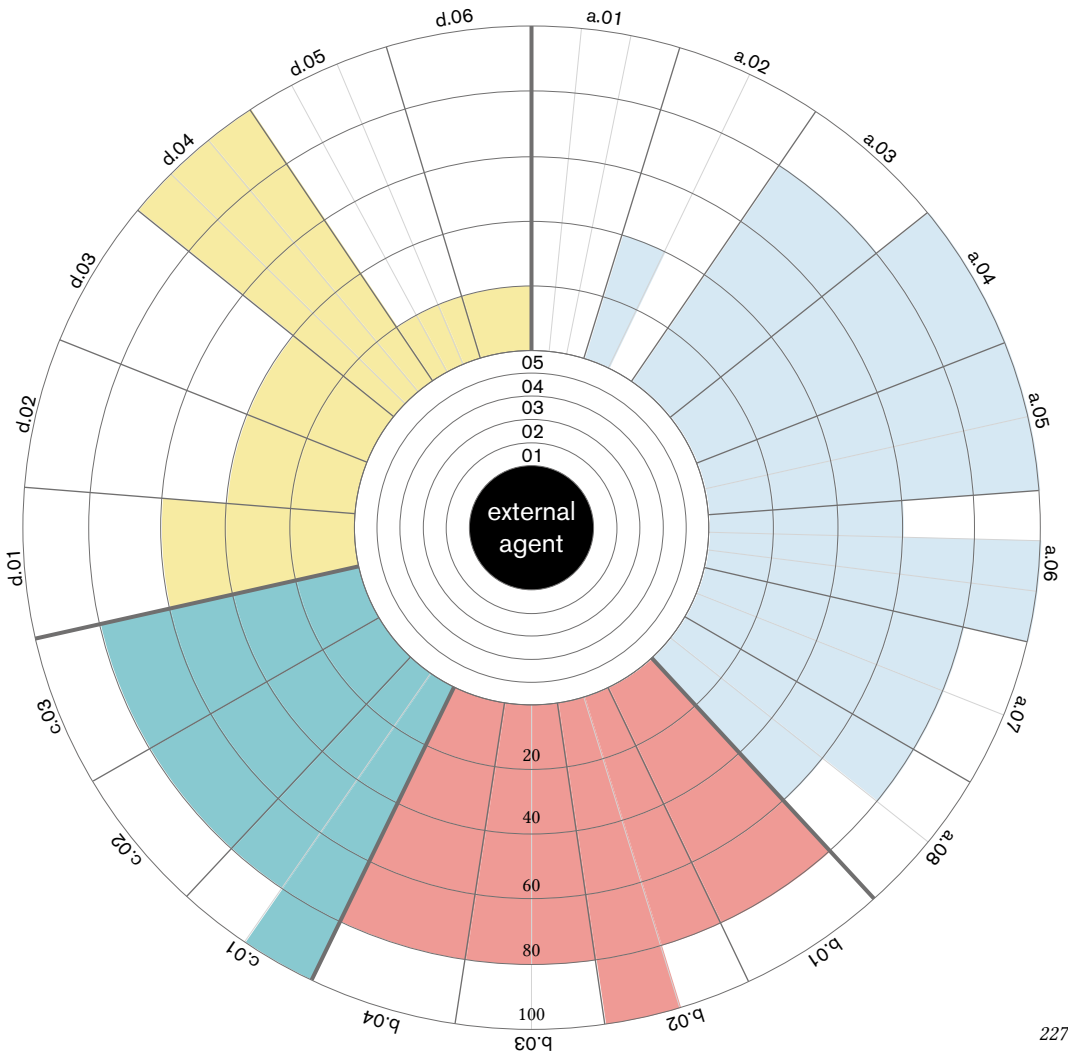
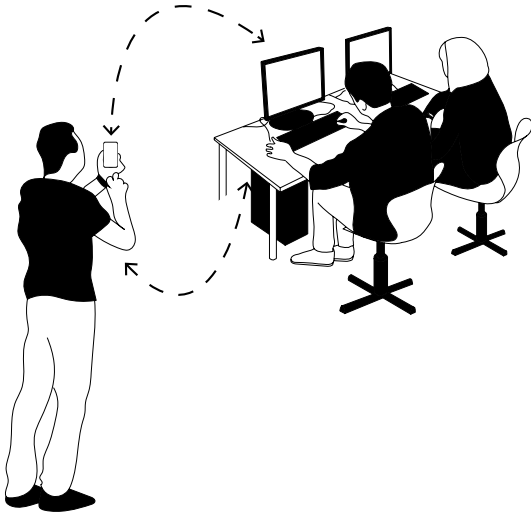




micro-credit system



# youtube channel on urban agriculture



# overlay of the application

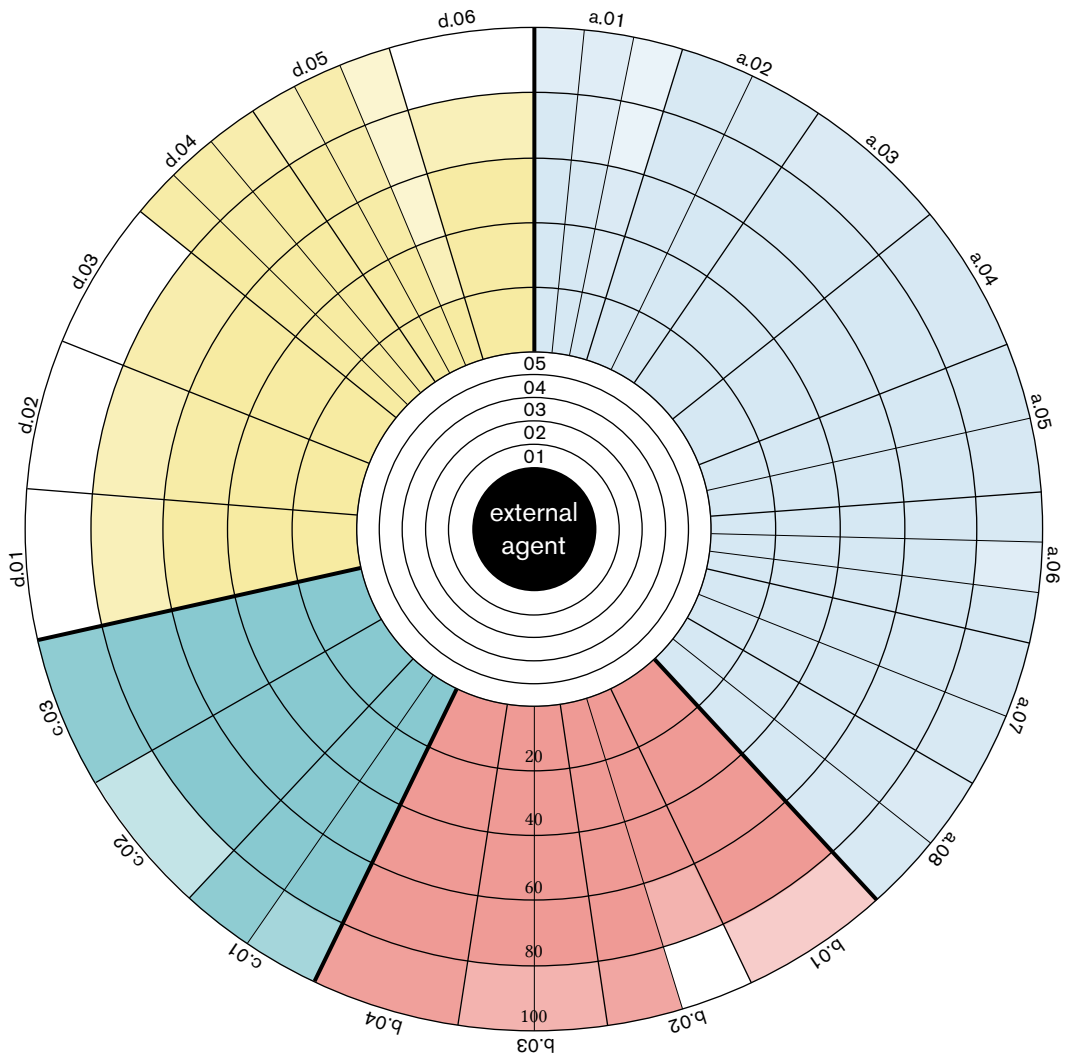








fig. 229: Atmospheric impression of the Hub (own illustration)





11

*Conclusion.*

(p. 302)

# 11 Conclusion

Through the analysis of the chosen context and the resulting selection and analysis of four case studies, recommendations for action are generated within the framework of this thesis. These should serve primarily as a basis for discussion in order to answer the question of which *action space* exists and which *potential action space* can be derived from it in the scope of externally funded community-based projects in the context of Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan.

## **Impact and importance of urban agriculture in Palestinian refugee camps**

As a special focus, this thesis deals with practices of urban agriculture in order to discuss in a comparative study which lessons can be learned from the examined externally funded projects. First of all, the analysis has shown that there is a critical mass of interest to deal with the topic of urban agriculture within the investigated region. Moreover, the research shows that the topic of urban agriculture is able to trigger local self-initiative. A closer look at the contextual problems of the camp underlines the potential of urban agriculture approaches for the camp community. Considering the multiple dependencies of camp inhabitants on externally supplied material flows and goods, as well as the negative effects of climate change, which the community faces helplessly, approaches such as urban agriculture are crucial. These approaches can strengthen the local resilience and the self-sufficiency of spatial contexts such as those of the camp. In addition, a direct contact with the production of food can have a positive influence on one's own awareness of a healthy diet. In the course of the further investigation, the overriding role of the roof area as a place of urban production quickly became apparent. The roof already takes on the role of a private open space within the cramped living conditions in the camp. Also in the context of urban agriculture, it inherits a productive and thus for economic reasons potentially interesting role. It can be summed up that the activation of the roof in the camps offers high potential and the absence of open spaces in camps underlines the opportunity to create further productive or recreational spaces on the roof.

## Development aid and urban design approach

The research of this thesis has revealed that development aid, despite strong regional differences, is still an indispensable part of the camps. However, the often lacking long-term perspectives of projects and the clear distribution of roles of recipient and donor, which characterises the majority of the projects in the camps, cause severe challenges. It has also been shown that development aid, when implemented insensitively, can weaken local structures and cause damage and loss of trust. Limited time frames of existing projects and partly missing communication on eye level resulted in the implementation of ad hoc interventions, where a general lack of trust between the involved actors lead to a distorted projection of project success towards the donors. False expectations towards project outcomes and contents on the side of the camp community has further imbalanced the relationship between donor and recipient.

The omnipresent development aid in the context, into which the vast majority of community-based projects are currently embedded, was viewed critically in the frame of this thesis and led to a scepticism towards its general principles. Yet, precisely for disciplines such as urban design and architecture, the argumentation does not stop at a simple and justified critique. Rather, it raises considerations and discussions as to which parameters and recommendations for action can be gained from the field research in order to use and activate the resources that continue to exist. It can be summed up that the answers to the chosen research questions represent an attempt to keep a theoretical distance to the insights and experiences gained during the four-month research stay and at the same time to integrate these into a productive, practical result. Thus, this work should also show how local resilience and a strengthening of the autonomous capacity to act can be achieved through external financial support.

Planning in the context of Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan is always closely linked to the temporality of camps, which can complicate long-term planning attempts. Moreover, the success of community-based projects strongly depends on locally existing power structures. It is therefore crucial to understand them and to integrate the respective knowledge into participative planning processes.

## **First research question: which recommendations for action can be detected for community-based projects in the scope of urban agriculture in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan?**

The evaluation of recommendations for action carried out in the first part of the thesis made it particularly clear that for real cooperation between external agents and the camp community local decision-making systems must be taken seriously. This means, that the relationship between recipients and donors should be adapted in such a manner that an honest, fearless alignment of the respective agendas on eye level is possible. Experience in the process of field research has shown that access to information is associated with a contact-intensive building of trust. Moreover, initial impressions and voices are not necessarily a reflection of the true situation. Since the focus of this work is on externally funded community-based projects, the first step is to define a set of basic preconditions, which should in particular address external agents. The intention is to develop an awareness of the context and partners and to avoid mistakes discovered in the scope of this thesis.

The analysis has shown that it is extremely important to plan flexibly and allow failure to happen in order to alleviate pressure and fear of the possible consequences. Here, facilitating a more honest dialogue should be one objective. Furthermore, it is crucial to provide low-threshold practices to allow an easy imitability of projects and thus strengthen the autonomy of local individuals or initiatives. In addition, it can be concluded that it makes sense to continue the analysis during the implementation phase of a project, since incentives and dynamics can be read off much more easily within ongoing processes than derived solely from an earlier survey.

In the foreground of the conceptual considerations of this thesis is always the question, to what extent an actual empowerment of the camp community can take place if it still depends on external funding. It seems elementary to recognise incentives and to give projects a perspective beyond the funding period. Even though aid in a precarious environment such as the camp plays an overriding role for projects of all kinds, the declared goal should be the greatest possible autonomy of local initiatives.



**Second research question: how can the identified recommendations derived from the investigated case studies and the analysis of the specific Jordanian context be made usable for planning and implementation practices in the camp?**

This thesis transforms the assumptions and observations made during field research into a basis for discussion. The embedding of the recommendations for action in an evaluation tool inspired by Safier's *room for manoeuvre* and the simultaneous transfer of spatial and programmatic conceptual ideas makes a practical result conceivable and offers possibilities for testing its effectiveness. Therefore, the aim of this work was not only to list recommendations for action, but also to make them usable and measurable in the selected field. It is elementary to choose a method that leads to a constant reflection of one's own actions, as well as the dynamics and impact of processes. The developed *multidimensional evaluation tool* shall simulate the functionality of such a method.

Regarding Safier's model, it must be stressed that it originates from a certain theoretical background and cannot prove a high number of practical applications. For this reason, adaptation, further development and enrichment through the gained practical experience in the field has proven to be useful. Nevertheless, the proposed tool must be understood as a basis that can gain even more value through practical applications and the addition of further theoretical influences.

The research on which this thesis is based revealed a need to integrate the scope of climate change adaptation into planning concepts for camps, since this has only been marginally covered so far. Therefore, the *multidimensional evaluation tool* should provide an opportunity to link to existing processes and to enrich them with integrated approaches. By applying the tool to a community-based project and its individual subprojects right from the beginning, it is possible to evaluate to what extent the four dimensions by Safier, which specifically aim for social justice and *empowerment* (Safier, 2002, p.128), are covered. It enables a continuous overall evaluation of the project which visualises its existing *action space* and draws its *potential action space*. The tool introduced in this thesis, however, lays its thematic focus on urban agriculture and has to be adapted if applied on other projects. Potential remains in the further detailing of the dimensions, even though within the frame of this thesis it was possible to show the individual dimensions at a higher level of detail.

**Third research question: what could an exemplary project design look like, which integrates the developed recommendations spatially and programmatically?**

From the beginning, it was neither the aim nor the claim of this thesis to depict a final product within the design part. The question arises to what extent and to what point the process of a community-based project can be planned at all, since it depends on a wide range of variables that cannot be completely determined in advance. Nevertheless, this thesis gives the possibility to deal with important basic preconditions and parameters which need to be considered in the context of community-based projects in Palestinian camps. The aim of the design part is therefore to transform the theoretical and empirical findings into an exemplary project visualisation and thus make them more tangible, understandable and discussable. The discipline of urban design and architecture is in this case attributed the role of describing the process of a community-based project in the field of urban agriculture, in order to give first ideas and impulses for the development and evaluation of such projects. In this way, tools are provided and relevant topics are brought into the discourse understandably.

## Outlook

This thesis enables a discourse on externally funded and community-based projects in the scope of urban agriculture in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan and proposes concrete tools that are relevant for the design, implementation and evaluation of such a project. Since the field research within the scope of this thesis was limited in time, a future practice-oriented starting point could be to adapt the introduced tools to a respective project and to put the proposed process design into practice on the ground.

In addition, the thesis detects possible starting points for further academic research such as the generational shift and the effects of the current crisis of UNWRA on Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. How do these developments affect future planning processes in the camp context and what do they imply for the camp community's *empowerment*? A profound analysis and empirical research could detect potentials and new impulses for planning practices in the camp context.

Another reference point is to analyse the impact of the planning tool CIP in the context of Palestinian refugee camps since its first establishment more than ten years ago. The question arises what effects this planning tool has had so far and how it is perceived, accepted and adapted by the camp community. Al Nammari (2013) is already providing initial evaluation approaches, however, the research stay underlined the importance of an in-depth analysis and evaluation of the planning tool as well as the integration of new topics such as climate change adaptation.

In addition, the current and future impacts of climate change in camps give reason to analyse substance flows in camps more in detail and to calculate the extent to which urban agriculture could lead to an adaptation to climate change and a more sustainable and resilient community. These calculations could form the basis for the creation of a Greening CIP.

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# List of figures

fig. 01: Cover: own photographs.

fig. 02: Implications of different dimensions of power: own illustration. Data base: Luttrell and Quiroz, 2009, p.2.

fig. 03: Four dimensional action space of room for manoeuvre in planning: own illustration. Data base: Safier, 2003, p. 2.

fig. 04: Applied methodology: own illustration.

fig. 05: Map of the historical development from 1946 – 2000: own illustration. Data base: democraciapolitica.blogspot (2016): 'Israel é a premissa do ódio'. Available at: <http://democraciapolitica.blogspot.com/2016/02/israel-e-premissa-do-odio.html> (Accessed: 29 July 2018).

fig. 06: Incoming Palestinian refugees to Jordan in 1948, 1967 and actual share of population: own illustration. Data base: Davis et al., 2017, p. 9 & 12; UNRWA (n.d. H) 'Where we work'. Available at: <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan> (Accessed: 28 July 2018).

fig. 07: Timeline of important events of the Middle East conflict: own illustration.

fig. 08: Status of Palestinian refugees in Jordan: own illustration. Data base: Arneberg, 1997, p. 11ff; Al Abed, 2011, p. 9ff.

fig. 09: Population composition of Palestinian refugees and displaced persons in Jordan: own illustration. Data base: Arneberg, 1997, p. 10.

fig. 10 - 11: first shelters: own photographs.

fig. 12 - 14: housing conditions and vertical densification: own photographs.

fig. 15: Clan structure in Husn Camp: own illustration. Data base: UNRWA (ed.) & Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (ed.), 2012, p. 28.

fig. 16 – 19: Development of street conditions and urban growth in Husn Camp from 1970 – 2011: UNRWA (ed.) & Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (ed.), 2012, p. 34.

fig. 20: Husn Camp 1976: UNRWA (ed.) & Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (ed.), 2012, p. 27.

fig. 21: Husn Camp 2018: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 22: From camp to town – exemplary densification processes of a block in a Palestinian refugee camp: own illustration.

fig. 23-28: Types of external circulation: own photographs.

fig. 29-31: Narrow streets in camps: own photographs.

fig. 32: Vertical densification process due to an increasing number of family members: own photograph.

fig. 33 - 35: Street art referring to the right of return: own photographs.

fig. 36: Main advantages of being registered with UNRWA: own illustration. Data base: Al Hussein and Bocco, 2009, p. 276.

fig. 37: The key as a symbol for the right of return: photograph by A. Safouri's son.

fig. 38: The Palestinian keffiyeh as a symbol for the fellahin: photograph by A. Safouri's son.

fig. 39 - 42: Impressions of rural and urban camp borders: own photographs

fig. 43: Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan: own illustration. Data base: UNRWA (n.d. H) 'Jordan'. Available at: <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan> (Accessed: 27 July 2018); ARDD-Legal Aid (2015) 'Mapping the Legal Obstacles Palestinians Face in Jordan'. Available at: [https://ardd-jo.org/sites/default/files/resource-files/mapping\\_the\\_legal\\_obstacles\\_palestinians\\_face\\_in\\_jordan\\_en.pdf](https://ardd-jo.org/sites/default/files/resource-files/mapping_the_legal_obstacles_palestinians_face_in_jordan_en.pdf) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 44: Souf Camp, established in 1967 [peripheral]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 45: Jerash Camp, established in 1968 [peripheral]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 46: Husn Camp, established in 1968 [peripheral]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 47: Baqa'a Camp, established in 1968 [peripheral]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 48: Talbiyah Camp, established in 1968 [peripheral]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 49: Sukhneh Camp, established in 1969 [peripheral, unofficial]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 50: Madaba Camp, established in 1956 [urban, unofficial]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 51: Wihdat Camp, established in 1955 [urban]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 52: Irbid Camp, established in 1950 [urban]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 53: Zarqa Camp, established in 1949 [urban]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 54: Al Hussein Camp, established in 1952 [urban]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 55: Marqua Camp, established in 1968 [urban]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 56: Prince Hassan Camp, established in 1967 [urban, unofficial]: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 57: Reinforcement bar as a symbol for vertical densification: own photograph.

fig. 58: Vertical densification: own photograph.

fig. 59: Dense city structure of Amman: own photograph.

fig. 60: Population growth and density of the ten officially registered and the three not registered camps by UNRWA in Jordan, own illustration. Data base: Alnsour & Meaton, 2014, p. 67; Badil Resource Center for Palestinian residency and refugee rights (2005): 'Where are the camps? Is it a camp, isn't it?'. Available at: <https://www.badil.org/en/publication/periodicals/al-majdal/item/907-where-are-the-tents?-it-is-a-camp-isn%E2%80%99t-it?.html>. Accessed: 22 May 2018; Hejoom I. (2007) 'A Profile of Poverty for Palestinian

fig. 61: Chicken and turtles on a rooftop in Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 62: Labour force participation of Palestinian refugees aged 15 and above inside camps 2011 (n=11,533). By gender and age. Percentage, own illustration. Data base: Tiltnes & Zhang, 2013, p.178.

fig. 63: The mobile phone providing access important knowledge resources for urban agriculture: own photograph.

fig. 64 - 65: Youtube search results for rooftop farms and rooftop farms in Gaza in Arabic: Youtube (2018). Available at: [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) (Accessed: 25 July 2018).

fig. 66: A women selling the vegetable Chubesi in the streets of Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 67 - 72: Food distribution in different camp communities: own photograph.

fig. 73: Garbage collection in Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 74: Greenhouse on a rooftop in Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 75: Self-made ventilation for a greenhouse: own photograph.

fig. 76: Broken greenhouse due to wind: own photograph.

fig. 77: Plastic water tank on a rooftop in Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 78 - 87: Practices of water collection and water-saving irrigation systems: own photographs.

fig. 88: Fresh water access, water usage, type of water used in agriculture, un-revenue water in Jordan and use of water in camp survey: own illustration. Data base: WAJ Water Authority of Jordan, n.d.; Ministry of Water and Irrigation, 2015, p. 10 &14.

fig. 89: Self-made waste water collection: own photograph.

fig. 90: Self-made waste water collection: own photograph.

fig. 91: Access to sewage network in Husn Camp, Jordanian population provided with waste water network and average amount of water used for ablution per capita per day: own illustration. Data base: UNRWA (ed.) & Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (ed.), 2012, p. 40; Water Authority of Jordan, n.d.; Mamun, A.A. & Mujibi, S.A. (2014) 'Treatment of used ablution water from IIUM masjid for reuse', p. 561. Available at: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266130919\\_Treatment\\_of\\_used\\_ablution\\_water\\_from\\_IIUM\\_masjid\\_for\\_reuse](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266130919_Treatment_of_used_ablution_water_from_IIUM_masjid_for_reuse).

fig. 92: UNRWA's genealogy of participation: own illustration. Data base: Rempel, 2009.

fig. 93: Political street art in Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 94: Colourp project in Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 95: DPA members in Talbiyeh Camp: own photograph.

fig. 96: Clan premises in Husn camp: own photograph.

fig. 97: Urban gardening in the WPC of Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 98: Boy group sitting in front of an UNRWA school: photograph by A. Safouri's son.

fig. 99 - 100: Invitations for food or tea as part of the Palestinian hospitality: own photographs.

fig. 101 - 103: Interview settings for quantitative survey: own photographs.

fig. 104 - 106: Participation in a gardening workshop in Talbiyeh camp: own photographs.

fig. 107 - 121: Variety of rooftop functions in Palestinian refugee camps: own photographs.

fig. 122: Urban agriculture projects in Palestinian refugee camps in the Middle East: own illustration.

fig. 123: Greenhouse structure in Husn Camp: own illustration.

fig. 124: Husn Camp 2018: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 125: Involved actors and financing and project timeframe in Husn Camp: own illustration.

fig. 126: Explosion of the greenhouse structure in Husn Camp: own illustration.

fig. 127: Action space and limits and boundaries of the urban agriculture project in Husn Camp within the four dimensions by Safier (2002): own illustration.

fig. 128: Husn Camp: own photograph.

fig. 129 - 137: Impressions of the rooftop farm project in Husn Camp: own photographs.

fig. 138: Isometric drawing of a project participant's rooftop farm in Husn Camp: own illustration.

fig. 139: Greenhouse structure in Fawwar: own illustration.

fig. 140: Fawwar Camp 2018: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 141: Involved actors and financing and project timeframe in Fawwar Camp: own illustration.

fig. 142: Explosion of the greenhouse structure in Fawwar Camp: own illustration.

fig. 143: Action space and limits and boundaries of the urban agriculture project in Fawwar Camp within the four dimensions by Safier (2002): own illustration.

fig. 144: Fawwar Camp: own photograph.

fig. 145 - 151: Impressions of the rooftop farm project in Fawwar Camp: own photographs.

fig. 152: Isometric drawing of the rooftop farm project in Fawwar Camp: own illustration.

fig. 153: Greenhouse structure in Dheisheh Camp: own illustration.

fig. 154: Dheisheh Camp 2018: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 155: Involved actors and financing and project timeframe in Dheisheh Camp: own illustration.

fig. 156: Explosion of the greenhouse structure in Dheisheh Camp: own illustration.

fig. 157: Action space and limits and boundaries of the urban agriculture project in Dheisheh Camp within the four dimensions by Safier (2002): own illustration.

fig. 158: Dheisheh Camp: own photograph.

fig. 159 - 166: Impressions of the rooftop farm project in Dheisheh Camp: own photographs.

fig. 167: Isometric drawing of a project participant's rooftop farm in Dheisheh Camp: own illustration.

fig. 168: Greenhouse structure in Jerash Camp: own illustration.

fig. 169: Jerash Camp 2018: Google Maps (2018). Available at: [www.google.com/maps](http://www.google.com/maps) (Accessed: 27 July 2018).

fig. 170: Involved actors and financing and project timeframe in Jerash Camp: own illustration.

fig. 171: Explosion of the greenhouse structure in Jerash Camp: own illustration.

fig. 172: Action space and limits and boundaries of the urban agriculture project in Jerash Camp within the four dimensions by Safier (2002): own illustration.

fig. 173: Jerash Camp: own photograph.

fig. 174 - 180: Impressions of the rooftop farm project in Jerash Camp: photograph by Greening The Camps (n.d.)

fig. 181: Isometric drawing of the rooftop farm project in Jerash Camp: own illustration.

fig. 182: Juxtaposition of the case studies within the four dimensions: own illustration.

fig. 183: Application of Safiers four-dimensional model of action space to the investigated case studies: own illustration.

fig. 184: Overlay of the applications: own illustration.

fig. 185 - 189: Impressions of the get-together in Amman: own photographs.

fig. 190 - 198: Futher impressions of the get-together in Amman: own photographs.

fig. 199: Steps towards answering the first two research questions. own illustration.

fig. 200: Template of the multidimensional evaluation tool. own illustration.

fig. 201: Illustration team setup: own illustration.

fig. 202: Shift of responsibilities for knowledge-producing activities: own illustration.

fig. 203: Exemplary time setup: own illustration.

fig. 204: Exemplary overview of participating user groups: own illustration.

fig. 205: Isometric drawing of an exemplary setup of the hub in Husn Camp: own illustration.

fig. 206: Isometric drawing of an exemplary setup of the hub in Prince Hassan Camp: own illustration.

fig. 207: Isometric drawing of the travelling hub in Husn Camp: own illustration.

fig. 208: Isometric drawing of an exemplary setup of the hub in Talbiyeh Camp: own illustration.

fig. 209 - 214: Isometric drawings and floor plans of possible spatial configurations of the hub: own illustrations.

fig. 215: Material and immaterial flows of the hub: own illustrations.

fig. 216 - 228: Application of the multi-dimensional evaluation tool to exemplary activities and projects in the hub: own illustrations.

fig. 229: Atmospheric impression of the hub: own illustration.

Annex:

fig. 230 - 231: List of codes detected from the interviews: own screenshot, programme: MAXQDA.

fig. 232 - 237: Template of the quantitative survey on rooftop gardens in English and Arabic: own illustrations.

fig. 238 - 241: Evaluation of the quantitative survey on rooftop gardens: own illustrations.

fig. 242: Timetable options of the get-together in Amman, own illustration.

fig. 243 - 265: Photographs taken by the camp inhabitants with disposable cameras, showing their view of the camp (photographs by camp inhabitants)

fig. 266 - 269: Sketches of analysed rooftops (own illustrations)





*Annex.*

*(p. 322)*

# Annex

- 1 Interview transcriptions*
- 2 List of codes*
- 3 Quantitative survey*
- 4 Get-together timetable*
- 5 Photographs by camp inhabitants*
- 6 Sketches*
- 7 Distribution of tasks*

**Expert interviews:**

Interview Jalal Al Hussein (2018)

Interview Sami Mura (2018)

Interview Yasser Al Haj (2018)

**Narrative interviews:**

Interview Safouri A (2018)

Interview Safouri B (2018)

Interview Mohammed (2018)

Interview Seinab (2018)

Interview Anonymous (2018)

# 1 Interview transcriptions

Interview Jalal Al Hussein (2018)

The interview takes place in the IFPO (Institute Francais Proche Orient) in Amman. Present people: Jalal Al Hussein (interviewee); Von Lueder, Binz, Brennauer (3 interviewers).

...

I (Von Lueder): ...greening project.

A: Ah, yeah - Al-Husn.

I (Von Lueder): Ah no, it was not in Husn actually, it was not settled where it should be. It's actually West Bank and Jordan...

A: Yes, yes. This is the FASPAR.

I: Von Lueder: ...and so far it is not settled, where this...there are like two interventions and they...and now they, I think, signed the contract - just now. So this is our situation. We came here and thought we are maybe getting involved in this project, but this never happened.

A: So it's a resumption, because when I went there, during when you where in eh (not understandable) when i was there, I talked to them about the project, the greening project. Which was about to...which has already started. Maybe informally... um yes UNRWA and eh the Germans are starting this greening, but the (not understandable) funds and eh the failed so far to convince - I mean, we don't see the difference. Either...and this is the problem of social programmes, they start with...there are many problems with this social things. But either you do the big thing and everybody is involved or you start with small, you know, small scale. But it failed, because people in camp want to see really the difference.

I (Binz): I think this project really aims the physical intervention. One is the climate...eh...

I (Von Lueder): Climate change adaption.

I (Binz): Climate change adaption at an UNRWA school and is one pilot and the other project is to create like a „maker-space“, which is really big word, but it's...I think it goes in the direction of a construction workshop. So you would actually see a physical....

A: Construction is better, because people want to see difference. So something that infrastructural would be okay, if it is done. Because also, if see at all those project - they were all pilot projects. And when you talk to refugees and refugee committees and with the governments, they say: „Enough. We understand that for years it was impossible to do anything in the camp, but now enough of this pilot projects, that stopped, because there is no sustainability. So do it. Go for it and do it. You have enough experience with being and turing around in the camp for those past ten years now. Ehh there is no move to read concrete, if you are really serious about it.“

I (Von Lueder): So what we did is...because we started like our own kind of research and we saw the project regarding rooftop farming are really common all over the Middle East inside Palestinian refugee camps, especially in Gaza and so we thought, we take a closer look on this projects, because in muchayem (arab.: camp) Al-Husn there is one. Big project. Then we one in Gaza camp, next to Jerash. There is this NGO, with some Dutch and Nether....Belgiums guys.

A: Yes, yes Belgium guys.

I (Brennauer): Greening the Camps.

A: Exactly.

I (Von Lueder): And we made a fieldtrip to the West Bank. We have been to muchayem (arab.: camp) Dheisheh. Visit the Karama project. We have been to muchayem (arab.: camp) Fawwar...

A: Yeah, which are the main basis for all this projects.

I (Von Lueder): Exactly. So what we tried to do. We took this phenomenon of rooftop farming, which is now implemented also for different reasons and just to analyse it and take a closer look to understand more what this project are about. For example in Karama they target...their target group is women. And the aim is to generate a small income for the family - so to create incentives. Whereas in Husn it's more like just - this approach will give you structure and khallas (arab. finished). So and in Fawwar the approach was to activate a youth group, to take actually responsibility on this. So we - so this what we did - visit all this projects and take a closer look and ...

A: The thing I am amazed that all the (not understandable) have an Swiss have had their own project, much bigger, but....This, you see these waves in the West Bank, especially in the West Bank and Jordan. Especially in the West Bank more, because .... people are more interested in funding something, that is...where people are really refugees. Because here is Amman...it the same actually, but you see the West Bank as more critical to Jordan. This is...and ehh lessons...are never...when you ever... would you start from scratch...whereas you do the same mistakes, that have been made at every, you know...at every new wave of intervention. As...you know...it's amazing...it's so instance, when you saw...so by the way have you met with the one, who is in charge of the (not understandable) programme on for UNRWA, who wrote a series of inters...interesting articles...in english. Nammari.

I (Von Lueder): Ah, Fatima.

A: Fatima Nammari.

I (Von Lueder): Yes.

A: Have you read her articles?

I (Von Lueder): Yes.

A: So this (not understandable) She started that and then I met her...

I (Von Lueder): About power structures and everything.

A: Exactly. And this is, this is the crucial thing. Because when you look at the camp, this is pretty (not understandable). This camp, I mean, where eh (not understandable) you were look at the origin, they were don't allowed to the 50s, 60s, 70s, 80s in a very anarchic way. Why? Because neither the host country, nor UNRWA agreed on who was in charge of the urban development. Even urban development eh concept was seen as weird and (not understandable). Because when you took development, we see long term, right? Whereas the political idea behind them, was that is camps are temporary. Right? So - neither - so they both - UNRWA focused for all these decades on the shelter and the host country, especially Jordan, at bit more in infrastructure, but more since 2000. But they are the main actor in infrastructure. Where in the West Bank is (not understandable) a bit more (not understandable). This is the big difference with Jo..Jordan and the other (not understandable). So nobody ehh nobody, especially maybe in the first few years, whereas it was very difficult to get housing in the camp. It was really for the poor of the poor. And you see the first early photos of these camps: Dheisheh, (not understandable) needs barracks etc. (not understandable) And then...so...who do care, about the urban management and the camp itself? The refugees...but the refugees don't think about the urban management. The look about their own shelter and the way they can expand it. So, this how the... the sheltering, the alleys they became narrow and narrow. You have no recreational space, or very little recreational space. All crowding etc etc. So this is the rea...it is placed at..not...exist...and all engineers worked at..there to take...at least if god would allow us do that, they should be erased and reconstructed from the beginning, according to sound urbanistic architecture (not understandable). And this is what...the took advantage of this, but it's very difficult in Lebanon. The Nahr Al-Bared Camp, which was destroyed and now okay...we have this opportunity, to think sound way. We don't take care of it with the participation...the blablaba...this participation thing...why not? Along sound eehh architecture, urbanistic (not understandable). And this...and so...up to 60 years is difficult to do something really concrete. Social negative impact are much higher than what ever you can do. People suffer from overcrowding, what ever you do outside, they come back. They are, you know, 5, 6 in a room. And this affect...so...based on that (not understandable) that you don't do anything, but this is something to take in account - let's say. This the present. Second thing, but this we can't do anything. They can take into account...unless you can do something. And this expand the failure of all the project in the CIP or most of the projects in CIP. All - let's say - the (not understandable) success. In Talbieh they did a few things. Is the power balance within the camp. And this what you relie...the social intervention, greening, social activities, etc. are convenient, because they are usually compared to educational, health... they are very cheap. They are super cheap. What is the price of the greening etc. compared to the cost of a hospital or a school. Nothing. But they are the most difficult to implement, because you work with the social relations, while in the other fields you work...i mean...it's infrastructural. You finish...you a school etc., or a centre - bye bye. You see? And this why you see, all these...this is what Nammari talks about in her articles and now I faced whatever, whenever you trust or focus on one segment of the camp population, this segment gets - especially when we talk about, cos GIZ and all these (not understandable) - they are good, they want to empower...as they say the weakest. Which are the young and the women. But (not understandable) when they finish, they ended, you see all the results, we call to nail or almost (not understandable) ...

I (Von Lueder): But how do you, like...I think in the 70s they started all this Women Centre and CBRC....

A: No, no from the 50s.

I (Von Lueder): From the 50s? Already?

A: The idea was that, they realize in Jordan (not understandable) especially in the rural areas...here it concern...it didn't concern, because all the camps in Jordan were eh urban, but if....no but Wehdat was seen as rural camp.

I (Von Lueder): Ah, in the beginning.

A: It was very far away.

I (Von Lueder): Sure.

A: It was super far away. So they realize, that those...the inhabitants of those removed camps, especially the women and especially with shababs (arab.: boys) were left to isolate with the (not understandable). Okay? The had nothing to do. No work. And then no social activities. (not understandable) to create these eh Women...at that time there where called Women Programme Centre, ehh and Youth Activity Centre....Activity Centre...(not understandable) that improve. Just football, knitting - activities, so that they...to fight against...against boredom. To have something to do. Hobby. But they were never really - from the very beginning (not understandable), they were never really integrated with them. In the very beginning UNRWA thought (not understandable) deliver services to ehh to the people...why...how...to...to educational....services, health services and relief services. Social became a bit ad hoc. Okay? Has much more difficult to assess...with the other (not understandable) you have budget, you have a expenses. Social activities are much more difficult, okay you have the cost of the (not understandable) but then how to assess the...the involvement of the community, goes down, up, etc. So the idea was always, from UNRWA, so that these should be taken over by the community. But it was very difficult, (not understandable) it was (not understandable) in the community. This was GIZs big question. Who represents the community, who? That was very (not understandable). But with the passing of time, the Palestinian the demonstrating, the were against the handing over of...of these UNRWA social centres to them, because the said, that is the beginning of UNRWA (not understandable), but they understood that it was very difficult than the big education, health and relief programme. So before in West Bank, in Gaza they took over gradually and in the 80s, 90s they became autonomous. Except in...everywhere actually and they became registered, except in Jordan. Because they didn't want to find themselves under the foreign governments control. And the government doesn't want to have them by the way. Because the say, UNRWA should stay as it is. So, this how, so ....eh...t they became....eh...autonomous. And now the function more and more...as...ehh...as NGOs, CBOs, let's say, with UNRWA taking a way of support. Before give them more... it still gives them some money: 4, 3 thousand ehh JD per year to pay for the maintenance and they pay some cash money or pocket money to the volunteer. It's (not understandable) like GIZ, which is more like a few hundred JDs or one hundred JDs or even less to pay for their transportation cost etc. Because it's quiet...So they are supposed to be now...and before they would help them in bank transactions, for instance etc, now UNRWA position is, that they should work on their own. We give them priority, when they do projects. We support their projects. But this is under partnership project basis. And they try to do a memo a few years ago - but it didn't work, because UNRWA doesn't want them anymore. As we want to agree like under the umbrella...they want to...ehh...all of them (not understandable) register and the we see they have much more funding from GIZ and also if you are registered you get the UNRWA support. If you not registered, you don't get support, because all the agency fund...don't fund anybody. Especially with the terrorist thing...like the...the want NGOs to be controlled. Who are we funding? So that is a big thing. But in the camps the CBOs are the ones with whom can work. Otherwise you have many NGOs, you go to Husn, you have many very rich and (not understandable) NGOs. I don't remember the (not understandable) or the...that help, that assisted the Syrian refugees, that what created by a big merchant, who lived in the camp. And he offered it wife. But the got the Gulf money. Many NGOs work with the Syrians and they are fantastic...the (not understandable) of them have the money, whereas the poor - this supposed UNRWA CBOs still, you know, have to proof that they are good. They have to attract them...and they don't know how to do it. So it remain...so the thing is also...on who can you base your effort... because you most have a counterpart and that is very difficult actually. That's diff...Ehh.. in sense, that legally speaking and the low capacity of...of people, who work in the youth - in these Youth Programme or the Women Programme Centre. And more in Jordan they are focus on programme centre, because youth are under the Ministry supervision. They are part of the Ministry of Sports and Youth etc. Then...eh...whereas in the West Bank they are autonomous, but UNRWA sends...because of the Second Intifada ignores them, because they say, that the faction used the facilities to draw attacks or to hide military equipment, bombs etc.

I (Von Lueder): But, like ehhh, do you still see...or do people still see this approaches as an attack on the right of return? Or is it like, a shift already...

A: It is a shift, that started already in the 80s, 90s, it's a...you talking with the third generation of refugees. They saw the failure of this process so far...ah. Yes, for instance, you can see in some in some incidents...they did this coloring houses in....Husn. At first the DPA...the DPA was against that, because coloring means that you are turning this kind into a...natural...ore even a nice neighborhood. While it actually remain the symbol of the Palestinian...ehh...right of return. But also predicament, suffering. So...the went in the first...: "Okay, we accept the...(not understandable) and it is okay. We accept, but only beige, white

and grey colors.“ Comeee on. The whole thing is to promote youth inventiveness and creation. And that point they invited them to a restaurant, the most....and they they say: „Okay. Go for it.“ They knew what was going to happen. But some of the house, you can see, were painted in colors. But in the end it failed, because, you know, people took it, the did say: „Okay, we paint your thing - so what?“ They want to see real change. Because they stopped to believe in the right of return for...since 2000. This what (not understandable) would allowed (not understandable) to start with the (not understandable) the housing and development company, to start rehabilitation of all camps, except Gaza and ehh...Talbieh (not understandable). They do all the infrastructure, electricity, waste management was revert. The only thing they could not touch and unfortunately this is the most important thing, is the housing conditions. What can we do? And as you know, the big thing...you have some regulation. We were obeyed that, constrained of the development of the camp - we cannot enlarge it. For fear, that in cities could be merge with the rest of the city. You cannot enlarge the camps. And this, in Dheisheh for instance said: „Khallas, let’s stop that shit. Let’s expand it, so that we have more space.“ But it is forbidden, because if you expand it, you make it a normal neighborhood. It must remain a specific, that people recognize as a camp. It is not a...never be a normal neighborhood.

I (Von Lueder): Should be also a icon, like a symbol.

A: It’s a...ja...in the end is temporary. It is still temporary.It’s still temporary. Otherwise you lose the battle of the camps. You lose the battle of the right of return and you are still in negotiation and still at war. So, and this is the more of the political, but also ethical problem. How can you reconcile the collective claims of the people, which are (not understandable) of return, like base on UN resolution. They should return or get compensation. And the aspiration, the very legit aspirations, of the Youth, especially the third generation, to live under normal conditions. So the PA addressed...the PA (not understandable) in the West Bank and Gaza...They have different agenda like in the other countries. They were for the first time, they were supposed to create a new state. And how do you want to create a new state, especially in Gaza, where two thirds of the population is refugees under the ages UN agencies. With all this camps - the first thing is to say: „Khallas, we must modernize Palestine. Our model for Gaza is Singapur, is Hong Kong. It is not Somalia or Gaza as it is. So the first thing is don’t want UNRWA anymore. We don’t want the camps anymore. Or the camps must remains as a symbol for the right of return. We haven’t engaged (not understandable), but at least we must redem them. We must memorate their situation.“ And this when the have this (not understandable) in Arabic saying: (speaking Arabic). Tautin mean resettlement - long term. So that you abandon the return. He (not understandable). This what (not understandable) the papers in the late, in the 90s. And the PA...just the before the PA (not understandable) It is before the (not understandable) the West Bank, as many militaries told me, you would see no (not understandable) of the conditions in the camps. But this means resettlement, we don’t want improvement of the camps, we want to go back to our homes. In the 80s, after 67 they started working in Israel, they kept some income and they were the best of the refugees in the region, because of the Israel salaries. And this...with the wealth we have of course we want to improve the living conditions (not understandable) of the children. This is when the (not understandable) thinking. Is there somebody here? (looking at the door) This is when they started thinking, okay ehh do we (not understandable) anything in ehh (not understandable) and housing. Because they have the money. They started buying car. And they said: „Okay should touch on the infrastructure?“. And this when...before the PLO told them so. This when (not understandable) think, maybe we can improve and this wouldn’t be interpreted on the country to make it stronger, if the...the...Ah, I am afraid they are coming here to...ehh...(not understandable) for security reasons (pointing at people waiting in the hallway). I think we go to my room.

(All moving to the office)

A: So you see the problematic, the limits that constraints to camp development. But you can see, that since in Jordan late 80s, the other other tool to the East Amman Camp, which was observing all refugees and all authorities, you know. It’s not camp, but still do what people...and people like it. But still until I remember until the (not understandable) Camp David Summit in 2000, whenever...whenever the government for secu..safety reasons did something for (not understandable) in the camps, it will be attacked the next day in the media. But the islamic part...the old opposition parties, saying: „This is the end of the old camps. Jordan wants to end up, you know, give up the refugee issue. Look of what the have done in Wehdat, especially.“ In Wehdat, if you have been there, you have a small road, which is really at the centre of the city. And people have extended their houses etc. - so it was very narrow. And they said: „This is not your property. This is property of the state. So they...they...eh destroyed shelters on both sides of the road. It was big, big demonstration. But (not understandable) this is a safety issue, but it was a big thing. So, see, the shift that happen between befo...before the end of the peace process - the Camp David and after when they said: „No, we know, that they will not return. We had this negotiation, that failed. Let’s go for this infrastructure.“ This is when Jordan went and started its big reform programmes across the boards, you know: political, economy, labour market, social, whatever. And this was...went to this big, you know, reform ehh...box, they say. The data, that will be all this infrastructure and eh I noticed the islamist press publish a few articles against that, but most refugees welcomed it. Whereas maybe ten years earlier, that would have protested against or they would have also, whenever they...they...they...whenever...ehhh...the HUDC, which the housing urban development company did some destroy for the shelter etc., because it was not really sound etc. There was a lot of money. The compensation were really good. This helped, you know. But I remember I were...the head of the HUDC was our land-owner...eh...our landlord. So I asked him: „How is it going?“ It was under 2008 (?). It is super boring in the camps, because this was part of the...ehh...I don’t remember the name of this programme. For the first time ever the camp was integrated in a big national, not municipal, but national programme, in that improving the living condition, the (not understandable) condition in the poverty pockets of Jordan. Mostly in rural areas. Poor neighborhood in the cities. And decided to integrate all the camps, except this two...ehh...Gaza Camp and ehh...Talbieh in that. And he told me: „It’s very boring for me as an architect and as an engineer, because elsewhere you can destroy, you can (not understandable) that sound.

You compensate the people and ask them leave of course. But you give them lot of money, so that they can contract something elsewhere. And people...the money they get was very good. So there were no protests. Okay? In the camp you cannot do anything...everything. You can just improve the main infrastructure. Every shelter is sacred. (Laughing) Every stone is sacred. So we did is just the easy not boring, let's say, not very interesting architectural and engineering interventions, you know, paving the streets, electricity, sewage, covering the sewage, for instance, etc. But could not, for instance, destroy or demolish houses to build something new - you cannot do that."

I (Von Lueder): But do you think, like, in this time, when right now UNRWA is facing funding-crisis, we are at a crucial point, where another shift will happen? Towards like a new, I don't know, maybe to new responsibilities and new structures regarding the camps....

A: No, because, no, because UNRWA doesn't do much in the camps, as I told you. Since the mid-70s the...the UNRWA...the host authorities have taken over all infrastructural development in the camp. Which really matters less after only 2000. But there are in charge of it. UNRWA is just the observer.

I (Von Lueder): But regarding the social institutions, they...

A: A...already said, we don't want to pay this 4 JDs, thousand JDs. These. These are normally...these NGOs should be eeh these centres should be fully fledged, autonomous, independent, which whom we can have specific ties. Okay? But they should not be under the UNRWA umbrella, they should be Jordanian...like in the West Bank. Also already the shift has occurred. And UNRWA wanted to put in on...eh...black and white in a memorandum. The thought about the drought and how many draft the did. But then they didn't reach an agreement. So is...ehh...as it is. The Youth Centre, they are part of UNRWA - they are under UNRWA's umbrella, but UNRWA has stopped all its support. As I told you, helping in banking transactions, maintenance etc. The doesn't do that - or very little. If they have specific funds for that, ehh...so UNRWA withdrew, but the youth (not understandable) to say: „It's UNRWA responsibility to help us. So (laughing) we still...stay to status quo actually.“ And matters or last. But this is the only, they say, safe NGOs, otherwise, as I told you, there are in Dheisheh many NGOs. In Husn you have many NGOs. Some of them are crap, some of them are very good. It's like NGO, ahh world. Very good, very bad, depending of the capacity, the staff, the resources, the human and financial resources of a NGOs. Is a kaleidoscope, you know. So you have very...look at the Wehdat Club, which is one of the main ehh football club in the Arab world - super rich and ... They have invested in many companies - they are millionaires. But still the offices are still in the camp. In others, but most others are very small...very (french word) NGOs with people, who have very traditional way of think things and they don't have money. They cannot fund raise and do fundraising efficiently. Especially as a (not understandable) they are not resistant. So this doesn't help as well. So it is a difficult situation. The main thing that GIZ always found to difficult to do is: „Who do we rely on in the camp? We need a counterpart. Who is it?“ The...the...the active Women Programme Centers? But these, you know, they have their regulations. We saw what happened in Talbich - they are not resistant. And UNRWA does prevent us from hiring somebody to really be focussed on it. You have the camp community, but these are hard, but the by the...government. So there are not autonomous, although they taking less...their capacity has upgraded with the series of a courses, training courses paid by the Swiss and then GIZ. Ehh, English-lessons, fundraising-lessons, you know, all kind of capacity building for the manager etc., but still when you talk about the camp community, you see government.

I (Von Lueder): But what is the difference, like, because you already mentioned and it is also our impression between, for example, the West Bank and Jordan. So when we went to the West Bank we saw a lot of more dynamic in NGOs, like, there is a lot of more...they are more open. And in Jordan it's more conservative and there is little dynamic. So we were wondering like how much this governmental thing, how much is this, like....

A: This is...ehh...Jordan was a vibrant, even East Jordan was a very vibrant country, if you look at the archives: demonstrations and demonstrations in Amman in the 50s, 60s etc. Then you have a march in...a coup, that failed, etc. The (not understandable) was that was imposed more on the East than on the West Bank, but the party...no party were allowed until 89 etc. But the only...not as a party, but a social movement it was only authority civil society institutions allowed. But ehh Black September happened here...and Black September, you know, in 60 hour, early 70. PFLP commando went, they kidnapped the muezzin and instead of having the muezzin, you know, shouting the Quran, they read Lenin texts. So, this was also Jordan. It was in Salt, I think. What happened after Black September is that really (...) it was seen as a really threat for the survival of the regime. Any kind civil life was suppressed in the East Bank. What happened on the West Bank was different. Because 67 you still had Jordan at the West Bank and they still had the civil authority after 88. But they were in competition with the PLO, okay? And UNRWA and Jordan presence in the West Bank was also more weaker than in We..East Bank. They never invested much in the West Bank. They want the West Bank (not understandable) to work as the East Bank. So the civil life and then West Bankers confronted, had confront the occupation. So felt there were good, they started developing this social structures, you know, which we seen as a way of confronting peacefully the occupation. So they were much more mature from the very beginning than the East Bank, where people still live in the shadow of Black September. And PLO present and you know, and the threat to the regime and everywhere suppressed. So after 89 you have been NGOs, but there are quite weak and it's a more tribal society than it is in West Bank. So for all this social, political life, life in the Middle East as well is much more vibrant than in Jordan. But the most efficient NGOs are the royal ones, because they have the resources - the money. And you have all these very small CBOs and NGOs. Many of them are tribal or corrupt or eeh it's difficult to engage it that.



I (Von Lueder): But do you see, like, any perspective or....

A: It's a very .... it will change, but it takes long time. Social issues are cheap, but too difficult and take time to change mentality and power relations in the camp. As I told you, all of these...most of these projects, infrastructural projects - small in Talbieh failed, even when...because no maintenance, you know, GIZ (not understandable) we open this centre for women, it works. But then, nobody cares about the maintenance. Some (not understandable) of it were destroyed. By the rules that were not associated to the discuss... (not understandable) the old, notables, but on youth and on women. They felt excluded. "How these young shits and this women dare to do something without us? We'll destroy it." Can you condemn them? No, because when you focus on a camp. You think to take a magnifying glass, but remove it all these nasty people in camps, this notables, who are described as nasty or against women - very traditional. Within the overall Jordanian political scene they are very small and they suffer as well. But the Palestinians, they are in camp. Even notables are still camp-dwellers and they suffer from the second rank status, citizen status. So they are, in a way, you are talking about eh victims as well, of the situation. But who, yes, who...they said the only thing we have is our power in the camps - so...who are these NGOs, who come. We have our (not understandable) balance. Many of these, and especially Husn and Talbieh are very - they call them tribal camps. Where social values, traditions are still very eh vivid and important - even among the young - even among the young. So, who are these this people, who come and wants to do meeting with young, with the women? Come on! No to mean, that it doesn't work some time. Some time it changes things. In Talbieh, for instance, for the first time ever the GIZ was able to convene meetings, including youth eh female and male youth. Something inconceivable. But they did...they want to see the parents - no harm. So the parents said: „Okay. If you...if it is about training. If it help them get a job. Why not.“ But it was a revolution. So - it happens in the margin, it can have this small miracles. But it is very difficult to turn the whole structure. It is a matter of generations. Generational thing as well.

I (Von Lueder): So one thing we also found really interesting to look at, is the relation between all these NGOs coming to this special context and then the camp inhabitants as a kind of receiver of donations. And we found out that there is like a lot of misconceptions. There is also like sometimes, when there is a project, for example GIZ. They come to Muchayem Husn and say: „We give 20 Beit plastic like greenhouses on the roof.“ And then it is like, the people - inhabitants they know what GIZ is expecting from them - the image. What they need to produce. And so the gap what this project, eh, the success of the project, which transferred by GIZ to the public and the real situation, it is like, you know, two worlds. So and this..

A: This is the idea I try to convey to GIZ, but there are NGOs and this developing (not understandable) as a tool to this mechanic thing. They are not able to understand that people really play with them, instrumentalize it or will not understand... or they understand to well.

I (Von Lueder): Yeah, too well maybe...

A: Too well maybe. And this is what things fail. The social process of the development is a very long one. And most people (not understandable). So most of these things you have well intentions. People from the German community, from the Swiss community and they come and it's normal. You (not understandable) postcolonialist, you come with your much more sophisticated. You come with your development, the idea is. And you are here to why not empower this poor people. This poor people are empowered, but in a specific way. They know all the tricks, they are super smart. They have been dealing with eh UNRWA from the start - for years. They know how it works. But they know the constraints they have - their own constraints. Which are educational, developmental and (not understandable) to the camps. They know how to play with it, they know the constraints, you know, they have them...the state above them and the state is also a very neglected one. It's start the game is not GIZ or you, for instance. In the community. It is you, the state and the community. And the state is very much present in the community. They have their own man. They have their own institutions and they have their own agenda, which is not GIZ agenda at all. As I told you, the coloring...the coloring, they were against it. So there are some clashes between state currently. For instance, when they...we had this focus group. And this guy from the (not understandable) said: „No, the camp must remain poor, because...“. They: „Khallas. We don't want your...we don't want this anymore.“ So is a, you understand what we need? We deserve a decent life. And stick to our rights at the same time. And in Palestine they still say, if there is compensation, if there is a return, probably this will be given to the richest ones and not the ones, who sit in the camps, most probably. So there is a clash, also there is tension since the 2000s. Now going to the fourth generation, who challenge, who challenge these old concepts of „poor is good for you, because it protects you“. No, they believe. But still at the same time. What can you do with the camp. At the individual level you say, I want to leave the camp. But at collective level, the camp must remain. Because otherwise you leave...you don't have much assets. They have UNRWA and the camps as the most visible symbols of our predicament and claims. So it is a very difficult balance, but more and more you will see people, who want to see, you know, to see changes - to a certain point. And, as I told you, it is (not understandable) game engaging communities, GIZ and the state. The state, that is much more important, than GIZ and all these cooperations. Because what cooperation wants is really get rid of the state with archaic, corrupt and sticks to its (not understandable), because it's pressure against Israel, okay? And face to face, but no, eh this people as I just said, are not open to nice, you know they...they know the tricks, they know (not understandable), they try to show it and this the GIZ didn't like at all. They know their limits and their constraints, that are also come from cooperation agency. Which are also have their funding and their own, you know, their own negative points, which is normal. Their own regulation. And as I told you, they were playing with it for the past...but when you come over from outside, you always hope and your fantasy, that you are the first one and you are start it from scratch and you are going to make the difference. And why not? It is good to think that, but then your hopes are destroyed by reality and you see that, you manipulated

by...and refugee do want the want. You give them some painting, they will make paint and they gonna sell it, for instance. And eh overall, to show the complexity, but this had be condense by all the Anti-UNRWA, but (not understandable) UNRWA people. You have this entitled. We are ent...why should we do something? We are victims here. We are entitled to this aid. So why should we do something special for you? What does participation mean? Yeah, we want to participate, but why? You give us services, we are refugees. Here it's different, because the refugees are citizens. But first of all you are refugees, why should we work? We are deprived from our land and you want us to do things. Why not, if we feel it improves our capacity. But first we are recipients of aid. They are refugees, right?

I (Binz): Do you think, like, the....

A: So you owe us something, right?

I (Binz): like this long-term presence of always constant aid and relief structures, like, make a shift in their mind. They are always been the receiving person and maybe and when I always feel that I am the receiving person, it limit my motivation of action....

A: To a certain point yes, to a certain point yes. To a certain point. But all this people work or they are unemployed, but they are like other Jordanians, but they have UNRWA on top of it and UNRWA (not understandable) very little.

I (Von Lueder): Do you think, it is like....

A: Very little. They have education, but most Jordanians - not in the camp - but most Jordanian refugees in Jordan attend public schools, because there are not enough UNRWA schools. 90 % of the camps go to UNRWA schools, but overall the majority of eh children refugee in Jordan attend to public schools.

I (Binz): Because they get all this workshops and like regularly and we just were wondering if I always get it, maybe I stopped thinking: „What can I do?“...

A: No, no, because when UNRWA, this is the thing. UNRWA is...this might be the case in the beginning, but they needed it. But now, because UNRWA is eh let's say it's a political eh... (not understandable) not anymore, UNRWA offers very little, even it's the cash now it gives to the poor it's very little...ehh...it's a plus. It's (not understandable) what Jordan gives the poor, you know how much. It is very little, it is very little 15 JD maybe per month, it is ridiculous. So it's...you can not base...can not rely on UNRWA. Then UNRWA schools just like governmental schools, right? Eh health centre in the camp are like the other health centre. They don't pay. But Jordans don't pay also for the minor things - don't pay. So it's not that big thing anymore. But it's .....it's a...the have a political addiction, why, because UNRWA is an asset - is the symbol of the international community commitment to, and the end of day, to solve the issue politically. It's still there.

I (Von Lueder): So you would say, that like the actual dependency of camp inhabitants to UNRWA is not that big - but it mainly based on this political...

A: Yes, yes ,yes, yes, yes, yes, yes ,yes....exactly. UNRWA was super important in the early years - of course. So i don't (not understandable) that. But now with the reductions, yes...eh..no, but UNRWA would stop with their activities it will (not understandable) catastrophe. Because still, I mean, eh.. they don't think, that I am dependent they go to...to receive public services. Is that if you are in your town, you close down the hospital, the schools - who been...eh. But they don't think of it has changed. And now the third generation of people are much more modern, you know, they don't...they see classes something, you know, (not understandable) when you go to UNRWA school, you go to a school. They don't think necessarily...eh...at UNRWA per se. And people obliged to work. If they would offer them 1000 JD per month, yeah it would be a matter of dependency, but they offer so little. Even when at one point they (not understandable), because those refugees, that are Jordanians, most of them except the Gazans, can have the system of the poor from the Jordanians. The national aid fund and UNRWA. This is...this is not...legit, because the Jordanian can only get...the Jordanian aid, they can not get the UNRWA one. But when they realized how little UNRWA gave...we are not going to do...to spend...to do study and we stopped about it. Let them have both of them. UNRWA is so...is so eh...is so little. How many people are in the this....case now...2...4 %...only. So very few get the cash assistants. It all about education and health...and social activities for those who want to attend this clubs. Whos quite little. So is a...this a...UNRWA had become a quasi-governmental. It is not that it was in earlier day, when it was really humanitarian. It's very governmental. Of frank...and this is what make many donors: „Say, khallas, for 60 years. Come...“ Especially in Jordan, where they are citizen of this. And they will always (not understandable) citizens of PA let's say. Why, why, I mean, let's have the government. Because they are all citizens, right? Let's make focus on the ex-Gazans in Jordan, who are not Jordanians, they are the real refugees. The other, can, you know, can (not understandable) themselves up the governmental, you know, public services. Like any Jordanian. They are like Jordanians, so why should we have UNRWA in Jordan? Only once...the...the...at that time the director of UNRWA put this in 51, he said: „We thank...eh...UNRWA for its...we thank the Jordanian government for its help for our development. We have the works...-project at that time.“ But I see it incongruous, very strange, that an international agency like UNRWA should help the citizen of a state. And then UNRWA was all about political stability in the region. He was asked to shut up. (laughs) And go to provide services to the citizens of a state. Which is something that is rarely see in the history of the humanitarian aid. You help usually stateless people. Ehh...and you know, who can not eh...

benefit from governmental services. This is why you have these humanitarian agencies to cover the gap. The services and protection gap. That is what UNHCR intervenes. They are Jordanians. But, and the Jordanians all say that, it's...you can not think like that. When they have to...when they deal with Jordan authorities at Jordanians they are Jordanians. But when they deal UNRWA they are refugees. Forget the Jordanian citizenship aspect. Of course they gain from that. And of course Jordan is very...UNRWA is very important for the host countries as well.

I (Von Lueder): But do you think...

A: UNRWA they spent on things, should be spent by the governments. So from the very beginning this is why UNRWA never...the host countries all insisted that UNRWA stayed. Not only for the Palestinian rights to return. UNRWA is the symbol babaaa... But because...it's a...they save a lot of money. Israel included. When they were...occupies until 94, they acted with UNRWA as a normal...eh...host state. Do, because otherwise we have to, you know, have to pay for all this schools, hospitals, etc. So it's...it's...it's a economical speaking it's super important for the host countries. This is why host countries are very worried, not because of the Palestinians etc, but because it's money, that is saved.

I (Von Lueder): New problems....

A: Yeah, yeah, of course.

I (Von Lueder): But do you think, I mean, this...crisis of funding now, like maybe is part of a new paradigma-shift....

A: We'll see, we'll see, we don't know. We don't know...eehh....we don't know, what...ehh...UNRWA has been in crisis since 74.25. They all (not understandable) it was manageable. In 74 for the first time, when really it hit the core programm. Ehh and when the Arab countries said: „No, you are not allowed. UNRWAs mandate is to serve decent, decent...services to refugees.“ And the UN said: „No, it all depends on the contribution, the volunt...the volotee...volunteer contribution of the...donor states.“ And they went to the legal council of the UN, who said: „Nowhere is it written, that UNRWA should deliver decent...it's a... it...delivers services up to the level of its funding...of its budget.“ Big budget - nice services. Low budget - has to do with the individual contributors, donor state - low services. It has been going down...The budget goes up, up, but when you...per capita it goes down, down. Okay? You have more, more money, because the refugee population is inc....but per capita it is less. For the first time you have the Trump, who...for the first time ever, we cut by half. At first 100 % and then by half. Which is cheap, because he doesn't...it would come with the vision of UNRWA, okay? We want to pay half, because we refuse to pay for education. Education has nothing to do with humanitarian aid - as it is. So pay only...he would come with this plan, and say: „Because we only want to fund the humanitarian services: relief, social (not understandable) and health. We don't want to fund...“ It would be meaningful. But now...Everything works, even what donors don't like: education particulary - but less good than before. Because all the temporary workers are have been...ehh...have been...

I (Binz): ...kicked out...

A: Exactly. So it's stupid. It is just like before, but worse. (laughing) But you don't what is gonna happen in the next few months. It will come probably, it will go to come with the peace...eh...initiative...in this is one...supposedly the US will...will expose...or will...eh...release their...their vision with the peace process. And UNRWA will be somewhat...you don't know... maybe it's okay...we have no...we have no...project...no initiative...and we will resume our funding. Maybe we don't know. It came all of a sudden. So (not understandable) you don't know...you don't know - what's gonna happen. But nothing has changed, except that the services are less full service the got rid of all the...to...to...to...to...the temporary workers contracts. But still everything is there.

I (Von Lueder): So also, like, we talked about to young people our age in the camps. And so we saw that this generation, we already talked about it. They see the future maybe outside the camp, because the camp is not providing, what they aim to have in their lives. But there is this bond to families, of course, and to the tribes. But it's like now a crucial point, when the camp can't change physically and eh...regarding...

A: Really phys....

I (Von Lueder): Yeah, really. So they might leave. So we were wondering, like..

A: If have always asked UNRWA, but it's very little...eh...What is the...eh...What the proportion of the real refugees? In the camps. In most of the camps they left. Left...they left. And when you go to...especially the urban camps, you see, that you have Von Luederipinos, you have Sri Lankans, you have Egyptians and you have second, third generation poor refugees, who rent or even buy the housing, you (not understandable) by the original or even the second owner of the place. It's a very vibrant thing. Only in the very beginning was it very difficult for people, who have a house in the camp. The really focus, target it. And they were poor of the poor. The had the right to benefit from housing. But the when the demographic growth UNRWA gave up and it became a thing, where...and now it's a...ehh...there is a...real estate market. Where you can give a new one. I know people, who know...ehh...(not understandable) rent places in the camps. Or you can buy it. You can not buy the land, because it is private land, but you can buy your...your housing unit and the extension to your...housing unit. The original

plus the extension, you can buy, you can sell it...you can rent it. You can do whatever with it. So...the...this started long time ago in the 70s, all those, who...especially in the 70s were many people went to work in Gulf - they came back with the money. So some of them improve their living in the camp, but remain in the camps. But many moved out of the camps, to have more space. They were replaced by poor Jordanians, poor Palestinians, and migrant workers. Especially from the 90s. So it's not a one....it's big problem, when you study a camp. It is not one population, or a stable population - and it's very different from the original one. But I don't know the...the...the amount of the original, who stayed in the camps or those, who stayed in the camp for 20 years, let's say, without changing. Maybe it is up...maybe it's half or 30-40 %. And then sometimes the fathers and the parents stay and the children move. And this is the most frequent case. But it is too small. And you can not expand. When they expand it in the 60s, this is when the UNRWA gave up. Eh now they cannot extend - it is already 100 %. You would close the alleyways. So they move, they have been moving for the...but you see Dheisheh, for instance, I was there in...eh...in 98, get really...the place opposite the camp was... almost empty - now it's full. All the road from Dheisheh camp in 2000... to...you had the few shops, a few houses, now it's, you know....

I (Von Lueder): They are building a mall...

A: They are building a mall. So it is developing, people are moving outside the camp, but they are replaced by poor...by poor... by poor...indigenous people or poor...eh...refugees, who go to the...who live in camp, because the price of the rent is cheap and the price of the unit is cheap.

I (Brennauer): This applies more to the..to the urban camps....

A: Yes, because this when you have the Sri Lankans and the etc.

I (Brennauer): Yes, because in Husn, I mean...

A: But in Husn, now, 15 % of the camp is Syrian. I don't know how this people want to Husn. I mean, it is not far away from Irbid, but still it's really a bubble. And still you have, I don't know (not understandable) a good proportion of the population, non significant...who are Syrians. And people don't like them, because they have different habits, women are much more promiscuous...eh...you know. Don't behave well, etc. But still I was surprised, that people go to even Husn. Wow. I was impressed. And a significant number. Yeah, you go there to have the decent or cheap rent. Cheap accommodation. So this is what, this is why, they must always be careful, that you have the really camp population and you have all the others. And they move, they usually tend to leave, because there is not enough space. And you can not expand it. This one of the main....you can not expand it. It must remain at it is - sacred. And then you have many problems. It will happen...eh...ehh...as it happens in the late 90s, when eh private owners went to the court to (not understandable) all this area, which...eh...everybody thinks it is Hussein Camp - it is not Hussein Camp. Because it was ours, because joining the Hussein Camp and 52 already it was some conjecture, we ...eh...they rent a bit...for refugee settlement...And they paid the rent until 70 - 1970. From 50 to 1970. And then in 70 they stopped paying the rent. So we the private owner of this piece of land - we want it back. Because it was... valueless back and now it is in the middle of the city. They went to the supreme court and the supreme court they give them right and then it (not understandable) they said: „The 6 or 7 thousand people, who live on this piece of land - must leave.“ With all their belongings. Of course...also everybody was afraid in the camps. Do we know where we live...But you can not see the difference between these piece of land and the rest of the camp. But it happens in a lot of...lot...lot...lot...lot...of places. And sometime it was not rented, it was expropriated. So but the King at that time...(not understandable) government...said: „We find a solution. We can not expell 6,000 people, even if it is legally speaking fine.“ And the government had failed to pay this owners, so found solution. And now many people, who haa...where in the same case, get hundred of thousand of JDs...to shut up and to give to the state. Or they force...they were in situation, where they ask now the...the inhabitants to pay little rent. But they receive lot of, lot of, lot of money. Lot of money. They go to DPA, (not understandable) and then the...because it's very sensitive and they don't want the refugee, you know, to...the want (not understandable) so they pay the owners, yeah, lot of money. And those, who were not lucky - who eh whos eh piece of land is in the regular camp, they are still paid the same compensation as it...as in 1950, 52 or 55, as it is 50 JD per year. At this time was a lot. And this people were valued, this glance were valued. But now it would cost a thousand times more.

I (Von Lueder): But it's, like, rent for 99 years?

A: Yeah

I (Von Lueder): So when...

A: Soon, we'll see. We don't want to think about it. But yes, it will happen. Most of the camps, except one - I forgotten (not understandable) in Jordan, are built on private lands. And the landowners since then, since Jabal Hussein...affair...issue...are aware of the rights. They have gold there. And of course they...So they are against the CIP, they are against this...(not understandable) They say: 'One day this have to be raid. We don't want to build more. We don't want to build or think for refugees.' They will have to leave or to pay a rent - and a decent rent. So, but this sensitive and nobody wants to talk about it. What the government will do probably is to buy these...to buy...yeah to purchase it. And then to establish some kind of housing. But they will erase everything most probably. Or they will improve it, but it will be massive change, because it's a before forgot. If

there is a process, as well. It makes sorts...it has...it is a legal issue and it is also a political issue. It has to do a big process. So we have a ...after 99 years you have the...what was the status...do we...expand...extend it another 99 years...

I (Von Lueder): Who will pay for it?

A: Yes, yes it will be hard. A tough negotiation, ya. I must go now, sorry. So I am still available, when you want...a question etc. And continue your efforts to...but it's limited, but you must continue. But the thing is really...and at the end of the day...the main...ehh...the main lesson learn is: How difficult you must work with the people. With their...with their...goods...good aspects...and their bad aspects. Otherwise you will reach no results. But is a very long process and it is very frustating. Very frustating. Because you deal with people you are not like you - who are very...who would (not understandable) asses being very, very conservative, even backwards...backward. But this...this they are our values. The new generation is a bit different - the next one will be different. But, eh...I won't be you, it won't be us. I could be ... it will be society in 50 years.. But you have no other choice.

I (Brennauer): Is it okay, to...that we use for...like...for our masterthesis.

A: Yeah, of course - all this things. Is good that you ask. I always register...I never want people to (not understandable) this time and cheat all the time. Because otherwise people...people, especially when you deal with the...they change the discourse. I don't know...I don't understand. But this is what people do now. Where should I sign?

I (Brennauer): Here is the signature and then next to it your name....Okay.

A: (Signes) Here.

## Interview Mura (2018)

The interview takes place in Sami Mura's office in the GIZ Office Ramallah. Present people: Sami Mura (interviewee); Von Lueder, Binz, Brennauer (3 interviewers).

I: (acoustically not intelligible)

M: Eh... We tried to establish for them to think how to select. The important thing for them is to think in organized manner. So we introduced for example... they have access to a roof. So we are not installing these systems on the ground, it needs to be on the roof. This is one criteria. The criteria is they need to be from the poor families of the camp. The third criteria, I normally went to them and looked at the houses, sometimes its unsafe structure, and we need to feel responsible if something happens with the house its from this system so also we have to look a little bit to the roof itself... eh and the third thing is there is someone could be responsible for it. So for example there is one family, and she said: „No, its impossible for me. Even I have a roof, I have a lot of kids and they will destroy it.“ This one scanario. The other scenario, which I think is interesting for you - especially when we have more than one family living in the house and yo have one family want to work with, which is poor, but they don't own the roof. So a lot logical questions, how really to select and to be neutral in the camp. Ja? And also we selected one as a model out of them who is really good in doing things in farming on his roof. So we said, okay, lets support him with this system, and we...they installed it for him. Its not anyone coming from outside installing, its just the own capacity of the youth. They go and fix it. And we have...eh...like...we did a design for it, the length of the wood, the sheets, everything, so they really have all the tools...the components. They need first to paint the wood...in the first stage, against the water ...for mold protection. Its called cellar (?) or whatever. Then they really go there and fix it themselves. Its like not someone from extended coming and doing it for them. They are...they are able to do it.

I (Binz): That's really interesting, because in Husn, they get like an installed greenhouse.

M: No no. We...they do it themselves, but the greenhouse itself, like the cover of it, we are not doing this actually. No need to do.

I (Von Lueder): Is it like a greenhouse which is fully closed.. or just..

M: No no no... the one we have, the main one, its closed.. each unit is having its closed space, but also they can open it. It's really very simple. I..I also, if you are able to go to Fawwar, I can organise it for you. So actually its just very... (talks while drawing sketches about this) four sheets of wood, plywood ... and another, this is to hold it, another four, so its 40cm, ah?, this a new system, and here they put ...eh...this plastic sheet, installed here the pipe, which is having holes... eh... down, its open from down and this is, there is a small sheet of wood to fix this, and here... this is mash, plastic mash, here you put, how do you call it? ... perlite, this white material...ah...

I (Binz): Its like vulcano glass?

M: No no, its a chemical material, but you have it...its like, the lightweight material..

I (Von Lueder): Styropor...its when you buy a TV? Its covered in this.

M: Yes, but its the same... but not, its not this material, it looks like it, but its not. And then here, you have the soil, compost.

I (Von Lueder): Which soil do you use? Local, or..?

M: No, we have this fixed...ehm.. not natural soil, but its natural soil, but you buy it from the market. So its a good quality. Ah? And then they fill water here, this drainage is getting to up, and then they put water here, they see the water is covering this part. So this will work as a sponge, normally this looks dry, but form inside there is humidity, which is normally is enough, and that's it.

I (Binz): And then... do you have different heights depending on how deep goes the roots of the plants, or you change this?

M: No... halla this is 30cm this is 10cm , this is the type of plants we have.

I (Von Lueder): And for the beit plastic? Do they use the beit plastic, or no?

M: The... what?

I (Von Lueder): The greenhouse, like..

M: Covering it.. I am telling you, in..in Fawwar, in the main building, the public building they installed, we have for each one a small roof. For each one, and its covered, an here you can open it. Ja? Not for all of it... but ja.  
And sometimes...(louder voice) and sometimes this is very long, sometimes it really short, it depends, like how they are distributing this. Eh... the long one normally they use it for this tomatoe climbing, tomatoe whatever, ja? There is one for ... eh.. herbs. The planted colliflower. Once, but no its the season to plant. No is like a good season to plant. I think they have to do this week. or maybe the do it last week.

I (Binz): And how much is one unit?

M: I calculated it, its not more than, without the cover, with all the soil and all the material, 400 dollars.

I (Binz): 400 dollars. And what is the size?

M: The size its ...eh... the size of the plywood is 120 times 240. It depends also on the type of the plywood. Because its... the first system, it was plywood. It was 2cm. I felt 2cm, it would be weak. So here this section is 5 by 10cm, its block. And they put...anchors here, but you can see it. Actually I will add you on the photo. If you have facebook, they have a facebook page. And if you go down down down down you will see photos of how they are fixing it. Like the process of doing it. I know you are looking for such photos (laughs).

I (Von Lueder): And this is with a steel construction?

M: Ja, this, we did a steel frame. This is the second model, here. The first model was a bit different, because we took the system... as I told you, when they failed (or feared?), and we put it in another place. So it was basically need to be on the ground. And then...then the..eh...during the rain, the water flow is not good. Then the floor was leaking. So and then I designed a , it's just a small table for it, 10 cm, from steel and put the system, the old system not this one, one top of it. Eh? And then we asked a blacksmith to do this frame, only this frame. Ja? And then, then... this is blacksmith work, not by the youth they can't do it. And then for the first time, we asked a specialist to do the cover. The cover of it. Because I think it needs special techniques. And... ja. The new system we are not doing this steel sheet...eh... we are only having this wood, this section, but on the ground. eh? and then you put the plywood on top of it.

I (Binz): So they have all the, like the drills... they have? Like a little workshop.

M: Yes.

I (Von Lueder): But its in the centre?

M: Its...eeeh... the tools, its very few tools. They need just only a fixer. Because everything, when we buy, we buy it cutted. No need to come to the... they to cut it. Its even also the same price. You have it ready on the same size, just take what you need, paint it, glue it, fix it, hallas. Its two hours only to install it.

I(Brennauer): And you said, you implemented it on 8 rooftops, right?

M: In the camp.

I(Brennauer): And that was when?

M: That was six months ago. Six, eight months.

I (Binz): And this is your design?

M: Yes. (laughs)

I (Von Lueder): Its interesting, as you told, the young generation, so far as we know, they are not really into farming. But in this case they, as you said, the young generation, the experimented first. But..ehm.. do you know who is maintaining the 8 rooftop gardens know? Is it also the young generation, or is it like mixed?

M: We have a, we call it a Fawwar Camp Youth Council. They are 15, around 15. Sometimes they are 13. But there are 15 fixed members. And what we are trying to do with them, we are trying to support their instiution. In terms of agency and how much they are visible in the camp. So, we started with the rooftop garden. And then we have another work with them... we have now 3 programmes with them. Small programmes, not like really something big. We have a drama course. We have a graffity course. And we have with them also Dabque. This is what they are doing with their expertise, because two of them they are good at this. So they are training. Now here, there is 11, in graffity there is 14, in here there is 20 participants. So they start with the roodtop garden on their own, no beneficiaries, no people to outreach, and now. The first stage they went to 8

families and now they are doing a 6 months-programme with youth in the camp. With other youth in the camp. So here we are making consultant, but they are managing the whole process. Like .... like all other agencies, they are trying to operate as an institution. They have their programme. The timing, the food, participant list, everything. Eh... and the idea of this is not really to make a drama course, or a graffiti course, but they want to introduce how they see the camp from their perspective. What issues for youth related to the camp, through soft..eh.. material, like not through hard discussion or piece of papers we like this, we don't like this. but maybe through drama, through plays, they will discuss about... I don't know... Youth unemployment, or public space... what issues. But they main idea for them is to think about the needs and its a good tool for them to present it. The same with graffiti, huh? Especially in Fawwar this culture of graffiti on the walls is not that much, not like.. similar to other camps. Eh... so we have an artist, a local artist, and he is working with children and with...eh... with another 5..8 youth. And actually they were really astonished about also by the capacity they have in the camp. Like really small kids or youth, they are really good painter. And they want to have positive image in the camp and to clean some walls and to make nice graffiti and maybe they will... maybe, if they agree... they will challenge themselves and provoke again. In another way. That's why we are doing this. That's why I am saying we are not a farming project, but we are supporting this, trying to make them visible. In the camp. And to be more active in the community. They are bringing more and more youth to their platform from time to time.

I (Binz): What's their age?

M: They are university... from 22 to 35.

I (Von Lueder): It's really interesting, that this part also worked out really good. But you said you like you introduced the idea, and then they experimented, and then they liked it and then followed up?

M: Yes. Yes. With this ones the reason to make a nice activity, a cool activity, they can drill and also they wanted to visit museums around in Betlehem that also introducing the farming systems, its part of Betlehem university. I don't know if you are going to visit it. And then also they want to do similar projects where, because in the beginning, as I told you, it was only rooftop gardening, this is.. in two months... we started with this programme. But a lot of experience they have on this, on this part, they want also... because in Betlehem, there is a centre in Dheisheh camp, that is introducing rooftop farming as an income generating project. Karama. Because they are introducing rooftop garden as an income generating project. And they are also dealing with the outcome in terms of marketing, they are trying to make pickles, whatever.. from their products. So they not only want to have a successful garden, but also to work on making this an income generation for the center. This is Karama. They are doing this inside and outside camp. And they are building their model. They have a model. With a greenhouse...

I (Von Lueder): But in this case, you are funding this structures, right? Is there like a limit on how many rooftop structures you want to do?

M: I am telling you this: It's not the issue about how many. That's...yani... if they'd say they want to make 20, because at the end it is not that much expensive. If they want to make 10, but I know, they can maybe do... with their free time... if only they work on this, they can do like maybe 12. Ja? So...that's why it was not the issue about how many. It's about how much they will organise themselves to make this one in cooperation with all the members and to organise it with another partner organisation. That's the idea. It's not about how many. So now they are located six centers, six or four, that want to make it with them. But not only this. They will try to introduce other things that they are doing... trying maybe to... have...eh.. a payback visit from visiting centers of this school .....(pause)..... But you are so much inside this? In your research? You are not getting like a bit distance?

I (Binz): No, we are actually. I think we just, in this talk right now we really focused on the details. Eh.. its also want interests us, is that, we visited the camps in Jordan. And they put also a kind of expensive structure, a plastic house, and we try to think about if it really needs this really expensive structure. Because at the same time it can be an obstacle for some families seeing this and thinking..oh my god this is really expensive, I cannot afford, so I will not start. So what also interests us is, in what way is it possible to support this idea and make it...?

M: Yani.. in logic, I would say, you have this unit beside the wall it will have maybe 20% of the rain. Sach? It won't be really that much rain getting inside it. Eh...if you have it in the middle of nowhere, maybe, it will be full with rain. But I don't know, if it rains...its flood...everything is flood. The issue also inside this, and also they can use more light material, I am not in the favor to redo this expensive structure. Eh... if they put...I know the need the plastic structure, if its like professional farming, and they need to maintain the heat inside, yeah, for sure they need it. But for the family with seasonal products...eh... in winter its...some of the products can grow up without being affected by the cold. But also they can use simpler systems just to protect them from the rainwater, this is the idea, and you can be creative doing this. But with this plastic sheet, with this steel frames, yeah its expensive. And its not nice. Visually its not nice.

I (Von Lueder): And also..its, you get started with a really huge construction. Not like starting with experiments, try to figure out if you like it. You just get a really huge structure and this is also pressure, that you have to succeed. And when you implement at the 8 families, did you always put the same amount of greenhouses?



M: I putted only one...Everyone has only one. To test it, to try. Because is is very nice, in terms of units, it's nice. It's look really nice. Maybe one day they are really cold, and they will take the wood and burn it. But it's as a unit it is very nice and very simple. And it is also not that ... bulky. Especially if you are inside they camps most of the roofs they are very small. You don't have...really...inside the houses...a big large scale of roof. Maybe in the centers, yes. In UNRWA roof, yes. But in eh... ehh.. in these houses, normally you have very small roofs. And it is also full with other things. It is not empty. Water tanks... bike..hammam...whatever a lot of things. And also we did a nice landscape in the first one. The roof was like (starts drawing)... this is there...this is the staircase...huh? So we have here one unit here, one unit here, one unit here... we tried to make a space inside. And then we also have another unit like here in the middle, like here. We tried to... to create a nice space for further development, like to create a sitting area here, here we normally we sit, small benches here. But its not really organised, it didn't need a lot of work. But we work for example a lot with them, to decide in what layout we want to put the first system. Because in the first time, it was really big. These units, it is 6m. Ja? And this is 6m..6m..I think most them they are 6, 5 meters. And this is around 1,8m width. This very narrow.

I (Binz): Which rooftop is it?

M: This is...eeh... rehabilitation centre.

I (Von Lueder): This one is really heavy.

M: Yes... we tried to put it on new building.. and I tried to put it on where the columns and the rips are. And also we...I...I consulted an engineer (laughs) my brother is an engineer, to collect the weight of it. And in general... the roof structure can hold such thing. And eh.. we figured out, because this was water, this was water, this was water, only water. The first layout as I told you. This is the deepculture, this is aquaponic or hydroponic, sometimes I don't differentiate between, and this is the wickie-bed. And this the waterfilm. Here. And I get to know, that the water, it's much more dangerous than the soil. The weight of the water is more then the soil. In terms if also I don't know.. they have their own calculation. But it was fine. So the new system is very small, as I told you. 2,4, 1.2 it just depends on the plywood sheet. The plywood sheet is 2,4, 1.2m and this is the size we used.

I (Von Lueder): But you said it's 400 dollar?

M: Around 400 dollar.

I (Von Lueder): Do you know how it breaks down? What is the most expensive part?

M: I have to look back...ok. They need one box from this...what's the name of it? I told you.. The white thing...perlite...the perlite is 80 shekel, 90 shekel. I don't remember the numbers. And they need 15 bags of the compost, which is each bag is.. eh...25...18 shekel. Each. The compost it's 50 liters. The perlite is 15 liter, you need 15 liter for this to cover, and then the left is 25 by 18 litres, if you want to get in ...into..inside. This plastic sheet was 60 shekels. The pipe not more than 20, 40 shekels. Eh...okay. Then this piece of plywood is 100 shekel. And then this it was... (starts calculating on the paper in arabic) ..... maybe 200 shekel for this wood. Maybe its less then the 400 dollars. This is the total costs. You can calculate it (laughs a little bit). And other small things ....yani...misselenious, but not that major.

I (Binz): And did you...like not only regarding the technical side but also about the community building, did you have problems, that you faced?

M: Eh...One of the, I would say the problem is...no..the challenge, is... sometimes the community, they don't know what they are doing, this youth. Huh? And they see there is a lot of ... money...no..they guess there is a lot of money...expensive things, and they don't see. They don't see a result. I think...I think it was a big challenge to transform the image about such a project, when it was failed. Huh? And then to make it a success again, it was .. it took a huge effort and convincing. And everyone.."ah we are doing the same mistake again" for example. This was one of the thing. The other challenge is really how to ... I struggled to keep this group maintaining this system. Especially when I was working with volunteers. Sometimes they have work... sometimes they are lazy. I think the general challenge also how to ... eh... eh...in relation how to keep this group motivated to keep maintaining this and going every 2 or 3 days , checking if there is water, I don't know, eh..doing some farming activities. It was one of the challenges, eh...I think the .....(pausing and groaning slightly)... I am looking really, thinking ..... but the main challenge, I would say again is how to convince the community that such unit is, could be..eh..having positive results. I think is one of the main thing, huh? Eh and also how to keep the idea that you are having products out of here, giving it to poor families, this mechanism, I tried to support them here, that they have to check with UNRWA, maybe to prepare small plastic bags, they have every season , they have a name list, they know that this persons..move to another one, eh... it was that randomly. So if I go there I found things, maybe I took it home. Another time maybe I take it to a family, maybe I know, that is poor. Ja? But not with a systematic process.

I (Brennauer): Did you also face prejudices? Because we had the feeling that, when we were talking to people who were inte-

rested in a garden on a rooftop and don't have one yet...but ahh, how does it work? You will put earth directly on the rooftop, and the roots will grow through the house.

M: Its..eh..ja. Convincing that it won't make damage to the roof, especial with leaking, this will take you a lot. (laughs) Because also sometimes, the other, the previous roof, when this system was installed, I went there, there roof was damaged, a lot of leaking. Eh... beneath the roof, there was a big hole, a meeting room it was, all paint was gone. But I think it is some much related to, everything technical can be solved, but and also, but yeah..eh..for normal people having any farming things on their roof, they need time to..eh..believe that it won't make harm to the..eh..especially here people are very afraid of leaking. For us, its a disaster. Because you have carpets, you have pets, you have electric lights on the ceiling. For them its..ahh.. its to much if something happens. So they asked us many times, ja?, this person: „Is it going to leak? Is it going to make damage to the roof?“ And it took me, as GIZ, only to convince him, only issued, we had it in the old floors, in the old building, improved. For example lifting it up, we are having small legs, so whatever the floor of water after rain, it will not disturb it. It's only inside. So it took me time to make him convince we are not causing you any problem. But actually (raises his voice) there is problems still. Ja? Because you have leaves getting.. and you have this drainage, and normally when it rains, this is covered with the small leaves...and anyhow the building doesn't have any system for natural drainage. So it's not designed to bring these things here. (phone rings, Sami picks up the phone) ...sorry...okok tamam tamam...ok...byebye. And the old building, they did tiling for the roof. They tiled the roof with the project. I was not here. They tiled the roof..eh.....then I went there, I don't know because it was smaller roof, I think maybe half of it, it was very dense, and it was a lot of load on it. And I was quite astonished about the amount of soil that they have inside, like all these they are half of this roof. And old building, they have tiles, there is no single water drainage..eh.....and there is no slopes, made for natural. And they installed this system from here to here, this steel structure, covered all of it. And after the first wind everything was on the ground....but eh yeah, these systems are not really nice for the buildings, if you also want to create eh to create a nice space....sitting....even small... if its empty, it will be nice and for me also it took time also....when we went to the family, how to convince them, that this would look nice. Like eh a nice element. And we started to design with them where best to locate it.

I (Von Lueder): And from the 8 rooftop gardens, some stopped already? Or is it still working good?

M: Eh... the last time when I was there they went and asked, they made a round, the youth, and they told me the situation is good. I don't know what does it mean (giggles) but it seems that they are using it. We went there on a tour, also from the country office, a new college, a new visit directed (unverständlich) came and come to visit...eh...three or four and I founded that people really like it. Its not like eh it's abandend seems that they are maintaining it. Seems.

I (Von Lueder): And are they also extending on their own?

M: There is a lot of plastic bags around...eh.. (Sami's phone rings) ups I'm sorry...(talks arabic on the phone) Our culture here in every house at least you have mint, minimum you have mint, by your own you have small soil you have mint...eh...any tank any old fridge they are putting on the ground and fill it with water and planting it, its, actually the old generation they are doing , like the old mothers, they are maintaining this, unless there is this guy who is into farming and they like to do it. And he is doing this ehm...cherry...or I don't know. It's like very complicated system, get to know, this, this red thing, the red thing having this, the red thing.....strawberry (everyone is laughing) strawberry yeah. And the it seems strawberry is not easy to maintain and really how he make small kits out of it and extending it, cause at certain season is the time that you can make from one plant three plants. And now is the season to have the fruits and he is very great in this. His old roof is full with this plant. Eh...ja. So it's need time to convince the people about as its as an architectural element, it's not high weight its not a lot of weight, when you have it, that scale is not a ot of weight, and if you don't like it you can move it, like they can move it, it's not like hallas you can't move it.

I (Brennauer): And I think we also wanted to know a bit more about the maker space how this idea came up, because like or what ...I mean that was the idea like we were actually going to be involved with Von Luederipp Misselwitz to... that there is this project of doing a maker space concerning greening that people come together like in a... or do you know about it?

M: The maker space...which....the new project?

I (Brennauer): Yes. Like how this idea came up or if you have like reference models, if you have seen it is working somewhere, we were just interested?

M: I don't know exactly what Von Luederipp is refering to but ....ehm.... Just to...

I (Brennauer): I think its like..what what we talked to him about its like space, or, a kind of space where people meet and can exchange, and there are tools provided and they can like empower themselves in doing greening in the camp.

M: Aaaah....

I (Brennauer): And like a get together space, but where also like the tools are provided or workshops are held...ehm I thought

you would know more about it.

M: Yes if it is connected with the project that we are supposed to start it's you know, UNRWA, you know UNRWA? You know camp improvement?

I (Brennauer): Yes.

M: You know this plan, everything? Eh... they figure out that the manual is lacking greening aspects in terms of analysing. Eh... this, analysing the camp structure they looked more infrastructures...street, CBOs, then area, number of floors, but there was no special focus on greening, there is not only on greening in terms of farming, but beyond the material of greening, this of recycling...eh...solar energy, water harvesting, ecological footprint, all these definitions of greening. Not so much specific to farming, but it's including it for sure. Eh..so, they are supposed to have this project greening CIP, green CIP, greening CIP, which mean that let's look back to the CIP and let us having more greening aspects inside, starting from the analysis also. Thematic workshops. You are inside the CIP? You know all the proceses of it?

I (Brennauer): Yeah.

M: In the CIP you have thematic workshops. Why not introduce greening? In terms of analysing with this maps....eh... and concerns..it was not this focus for the planer to think about greening. So UNRWA would like to enlarge it. Ja? And to have it more...better do this, they are looking for the CIP itself which mean the camp, they are looking to UNRWA facilities, like schools and health clinics, camp surface office. And this project was supposed to have two pilot projects, two pilot projects and then we said ok, let's make one for UNRWA facilities and lessons learned for example for introducing solar panels, depend after UNRWA, and also to UNRWA standards. Because for UNRWA there is not...it's different, it's not minimum standard, they have the maximum standard. For example introducing storn (unverständlich) at certain percentage need to be less...eh... double glass, one glass, for UNRWA they keep the standrads according to the budget. So for them if they are doing shelter project it's there is limitation isolation, insulation, there is limitation in the window clasification, to keep the costs 10.000 dollars for one unit. So, if the UNRWA is want to introduce greening it mean to have to logic. We are having initial costs high and long term we are paying less. This if how they, the department of esset want to marked. So if you are introducing solar panels our bill in electricity will get low. And this can be achived in two years for example. If you are doing more water harvesting all water for ...planting or for toilets you can use it inside so our bill also would decrease. Also the comfort of the students inside and their achievement in introducing more ecothings eh....eh...lights, eh.. if the rooms they are not cold in winter, the achievement. So all these logic UNRWA would like experience here. The other project is the pilot is to make green in a camp, which means more related to a CIP project or any similiar processes to CIP inside the camp. And this is still a questionmark what we are going to do with that. How is the shape of this project? Where it's gonna be? In which camp, why this camp? All these questions about planing is still...because...here we didn't start. And..it seems also UNRWA is more conservative in terms of...eh...because a lot of changes in the department itself happened, like all the people I used to know and Von Luederipp used to know they left and you don't have like a person you can depend on, huh? Or you know actually. So it still also here we don't know but it could be this....eh... project could be smaller scale project, it could be one big thing in a public space, I don't know. But this is all. But if you are going to UNRWA and look inside this, they have a lot of manual, UNRWA. If you look to the technique you will see how much they are restricted in specification and costs. And less they are having donor money and they said, okay I want from gold (unverständlich) they do it. But for them for own planning they have the minimum and the maximum standard in the cost. You can't go beyond because they say, it's not feasable for us. Yani one of the issues when we went to Jericho, it's a very hot area. And imagine in Jericho the unit they are introducing the shelter programme with its standard, it's 1,40m square, one toilet, one whatever, it's no insulation, single glass, not double glass, and and this in Jericho, which mean that maybe the sheep can absorb living inside but not the human being. So all the small shelter they have in Jericho they are empty or the animals are living inside because you can't live in Jericho with small house. In Jericho the high temperature with this wall of insulation you have inside and for UNRWA to increase it it mean another 2000, 3000 for the unit. But in their logic this is the project we are having for such... For them it will be more luxure somehow.

I (Binz): Is it in stone or what?

M: No no. It's not stone.

I (Binz): It's like a container?

M: No, it's from concrete. It's sceleton. Sceleton and this is blocks, concrete floor. Ja? But in Jericho for example I am just discussing maybe beyond topic but sometimes they are doing without really looking to the result. And we are doing the survey in (unverständlich) and I noticed that noone is living inside. They kept their old house, big, where they have now installed two airconditions, two be able to it. You know Jericho in summer it's from 12 to 6 nobody move out. They work early in the morning at 2,3,4 then go home sleep, have dinner, whatever and then they resume at 6.

I (Von Lueder) : One question I still have for Fawwar: They went to a study journey right, to Betlehem?

S: Yes, yes... it was not... it was exchange.

I (Von Lueder) : This was specific about this rooftop farming project? Or was it like embedded in a bigger...

M: It was connected with Gaza, Jordan and was planned in Jordan. So Gaza they have a rooftop garden. And they are more, through Ma'an center they introduce it at part of the family centers, where people come and they gain techniques, not on the rooftop garden. For them the rooftop garden is a public space where they meet, they have nice product and they have a nice place. Ja? And they use it to... bring the children the beneficiaries to design small things to make small activities for them, so they really made it very beautiful. And then because no one can go to Gaza we brought Gaza team to westbank, we have one day to seeing what they are doing in Fawwar. Have a kind of exchange and reflection about we can bring this for sure the Gaza project is much more advanced, (unverständlich) it's bigger scale project, since 5 or 6 years they are running. But it was not only greening. It was one of the activities. It's more psychosocial project. And they came to Westbank with this small rooftop garden. It was interesting when this group they have saw how much they made this place, what activities, they get inspired. How they can make this thing much more beautiful. And then they went together to Jordan to work similar. Ja? Similar project how they can exchange, establish networks, and facebook and this social ...eh... platforms. They are still in contact. Yani one of the things that out of this success, of this project they don't know each other before. There is more network, sharing photos...eh...there are still sending them..because they they unit in Jordan so they are still asking something photos about what they are doing in it. So they are doing it as a communication. Ja? That's why looking to it from a social cultural...like project not about having a garden products, more about whats happening around these. As a tool. But in Karama in Dheisheh its full agriculture project, increase the income of poor families. Here we are working in different logic, we are working with this conflict-transformation (laughs slightly) eh..theory, if you know it, it's called.

I (Von Lueder): And is the rooftop also in the center where you implement it, is it like a meeting point for a lot of people?

M: It's a meeting point for the group. And when they have a lot of activities here sometimes they are bringing classes from this school coming here to do some exercises for example. If they have activities. Eh... eh... if there is a lot of crops they close the door because a lot of people will come and steal. And when they close this door, they clime from here and they took all the colliflower (laughs) but as a meeting point I think they have to work on this. But because yet they don't have a fixed place. They are using the roof, but they don't have a place for them. Eh.. sometimes they see that they are not that...they are lazy on doing the hard work, like cleaning it, trying to..but normal for us we meet either here, it's nice sunny place, or here (point on map) these are the two places we sit. Here or here. Here it's lot of shade.

I (Binz): How many.. is it mostly men or is it like..

M: Mostly women. I would say 50 50. Maybe less male than female. And these people they want a reason to go outside the house. They need reason, it's not that conservative, but they want to make something from their own. This is also what make them believe. And ..eh.....eh.....yani....to feel the ownership. Doesn't mean that they are all staying at home, but I said to like ..how they presented that coming to youth council you get a new opportunities, you get different experiences, you are exposed to graffiti person, to drama...eh..techniques and they are really documenting these techniques the (unverständlich) because the public as volunteers. So for them they said, I feel much more lucky when I am in the youth council, I get more opportunities. Like there is this positive energy happening around when we are working with them. Eh.. I think the girls they are much more into volunteer and activate youth. The youth they have at night, they can go to the café have a shisha, watching arabic (unverständlich) and can stay late at night. For the girls I found...I found them they are more willing to do something.

I (Von Lueder): And ...ehm..this project is it like when they talk about it and present it, do they use this link to the ancestors were fellayin (arabic for: farmer)? Is it used or is it like a new thing? It's a smart system? Is it linked in this identity?

M: Eh... One there was a report about this in the media. And the...and they linked to the grassroots, they linked it to the physical situation of the camp. They linked it to the economic situation. So they link it more than one dimension. I am not sure if it is just justification for them to say why we are doing this or really they are inside, they said yes, that's why they are doing this. Eh.....But I am telling you normally they the market of these projects is related to the lack of open space inside of camps. But not all camps have lack of open space. But also does it mean that all houses they don't have open space or small gardens. Some houses they have. But most of them no. And I think even Von Luederipp remembered when we were in (unverständlich) like eight years ago there was a tree planted on the roof. A tree planted on the roof. Big barrel they have two three types of trees. Lemon. There was lemon tree on the third floor. Which means that people, cause they have it, we have, you normally like things fresh. Especially ... sometimes maybe I thought its religious. But not sure. Lemon tree, mint, miramia (arabic for: sage), these things people like they have it inside their house. If you don't have a garden we will put it in a the balcony. With small things, but, people are linked to this. To fresh things. So it's part of the culture in a way. Part of the culture.

I (Von Lueder): Because when we talked to like elderly people they always would refer to the past before Nakba, but I think for the young people it's not that logic this link.

M: I am telling you, they would say it. Yeah, it's because we were farmers. That's why I am telling you, they, they have it inside, they believe it or they know this information, they speak it. Because it's two different things, ja? Eh is it like part of the

reasons they are giving for themselves as a justification or they really feel that it is because we are farmers, I am missing the soil, I want to have my garden, they (rises voice) don't have this energy. It's just a narrative for the...

I (Von Lueder): And it is too easy to say, it is just because you were farmers, you are farmers now.

M: La (arabic for: no), la, la, la, la, no. If you want to dig inside maybe you will find different reason. Maybe for them it is activity, coming from GIZ and we have to be here and there is nothing else to do. It could be also. Eh... but it seems these green projects they are bringing more people around. And that's why I am telling you that looking to make a nice interesting activities with also they...I was really happy when the girls were also cutting the wood, drilling...fixing, it's not like the men job even. They did more than what the male did, in fixi...buildi...budiling these. So it's good for their capacities when also the boys see the girls, ooh they are doing it, and it's all this thing that we are.... (laughts)

I (Von Lueder): But isn't it like in Fawwar camp as a whole, is there like this project really popular? Like is there interest? People know about it?

M: It's very small. If you look at Fawwar...

I (Von Lueder): ...how big is it actually?

M: Around it all is greenhouse. Full of greenhouse. Completely full. Because they have...eh... if you dig in Fawwar valley, 5 meters, 6 meters you will have ground water. So it's very rich with water. Even if we have this crisis with water in general. So you see like maybe around it count more than 100 unit, but unit...but each unit is around a dirim (measure scale?) ..big scale.

I (Von Lueder): Because we are also interested like now in muchejem al Husn (Husn Refugee Camp) they have a second phase where they build this plastic house on CBRC and WPC.

M: Ah...with the CBOs.

I (Von Lueder): Exactly. But we don't know, its a new project.. we don't know if its meant to be a point where you can meet and (unverständlich) project. But it's just on the roof, and nobody sees it. You know? And nobody goes on the roof by accident. It's like a far way actually. So but here it's more active already.

M: Yeah. because it's not the contracted. But still it ... it is a challenge how to also keep more people coming to here..and at night, having a cafe, having agheela (arabic for: shisha) but because it's also public building it's closed, they don't have access t it. Ja.

I (Binz): Do you know by coincidence if in Husn camp the people have to sign a contract to get the greenhouse?

M: But if you want I can get this information. Who? GIZ did this project in Husn?

I (Von Lueder): There are two phases. In the first phase 23 families and in the second phase 10 CBOs. 5 inside the camp.

M: Sometimes I feel the GIZ, for me..like if you are having this as a project, let's do rooftop gardening. It's not from inside the people want to do it. And you just give them a pocket and if they want to do it we can give you. I think it's much more successfull than...ah...they want to have a project, let's make it (acoustically not intelligible) rooftop garden...implement it, one month and hallas. Because for us it's interesting the costs. Not the rooftop garden itself.

I (Von Lueder): I think that's a big problem in Husn because I think now the project is ending and I think a lot of rooftop gardens are not working well.

M: Yes, yes.

I (Von Lueder): Because they just put this huge structure...

M: Hallas, ja. And then who is going to do it? How to maintain it? Did they have the (acoustically not intelligible).

I (Binz): And it's also very isolated, because it's only this investment like for specific families and now it's gone and the information was not really spread.

M: In Jordan sometimes I don't know like...eh...the political situation in Jordan sometimes always lead to such to top-bottom-approach, not only in the rooftop garden.

I (Von Lueder): Mhm...you mean the DPA?

M: I don't know. In general. That's what I feel like, more in Jordan. They are more strict. That's the feeling. It's not...but that's always I see, like it's sometimes the projects in Jordan they are too formalized, too formalized.

I (Binz): Do you mean the GIZ projects or..?

M: No no no in general. Too much formalized the projects in Jordan. And ....

I (Von Lueder): Yeah but it's really interesting this project for us . Just lacks a bit from approaches.

M: If you want to go there I can call a guy. The guys they can host you. If you know...tomorrow?

I (Binz): Tomorrow we also meet a friend in Dheisheh camp. How far is it from Betlehem to Fawwar?

M: Through public transportation not more than 1 hour. If directly going from betlehem to Fawwar it's 30 minutes. Or 10 minutes but you need to go first to Hebron and from Hebron to Fawwar.

I (Binz): I think thursday morning would be really good. If they have time?

I (Von Lueder): Because today we will go to Dheisheh. And tomorrow maybe Aida. There is also a project. Refutrees it's called.

M: I think these projects you need work more...with the people. Much more than making it logical function. It's not about having a nice garden at the end.

I (Von Lueder): One problem in Husn is really that they just have a team, that puts the garden and everything and make everything, the soil. And then they say: Here is your garden. The thing is the people have to do it...you know....

I (Binz): They don't identify with it in the end.

M: Ja, they need maybe to change a little bit this thing, they need different colors, they want, ok, to feel part of the process.

I (Brennauer): I mean some of them do, but I think they are mostly, they already grew something on the rooftop and then they got as addition the greenhouse, so it's like a process and they just go on with it and they extend it. But there are others, they didn't have anything, and they were put the greenhouse and we have the impression it's like an alien, I don't know, they have this big structure... and..

I (Binz): ...and then in 2 years cycle you need to replace the soil and everything so I mean then ... that's the point where you say: Ah the funding is over I have to mony to replace it.

M: But why do you need to change the soil?

I (Binz): Because of nutrition.

I (Von Lueder): I mean you can do it in a good way when you change the type of plants every year and you put plants which give nutritions back. But when you put them three years in a row, it's finished.

M: La, la.

I (Von Lueder): You need a plan, like...

M: And getting fertilizers, compost, doing all the garbage , we have a tank inside the soil. I don't know this techniquel guy he put a garbadge wholes and all the vegetables inside, it's good for the soil and all nutritions.

I (Binz): I mean you can do it without the money but then you need the knowledge.

M: (indicates he needs to leave) So first you are going to Fawwar? What time? Like around when will you be leaving Betlehem? Not before ten for them ! I think... Thursday is women day. So they can show you their rooftop and having it to two houses. What's your plan? When do you expect to be in Fawwar?

I (Brennauer): We can be there at ten.

M: It's up to you.

## Interview Al Haj (2018)

The interview takes place in the manager's office of the NGO „Karama“ in Dheisheh refugee camp. Present people: Luay Al-Haj (interviewee); Von Lueder, Binz, Brennauer (3 interviewers).

...

A: From here she knows, even if she don't say it in an academic way. Like someone with PHD in the university. When you ask the women... she's (acoustically not intelligible) years old and you have ... she will answer you two way: I (acoustically not intelligible) I wished he would come back. Then it mean, that she was happy with her husband. Otherwise she would say, if I have the choice I would not chose him again. It's mean that she knows that she have chose. But why always I have to put things in the head of the ..... And in reality... men who decide. Teach men to give women the rights.. it's easier. You get it what I am talking about or not?

I: Yeah.

A: Yani...(coughs) ....my wife she is a ..... (acoustically not intelligible) and she have more than master and bachelor degree... she's almost a teacher, very smart, whatever. Ehm...but if you want to go to reality. Forget about media...I say the reality. Would she be able to go outside the house without asking my permission?

I: I hope so...?

A: No. No! To be honest with you. Everybody is just lying. Not everyone... Because she won't be able to go without asking me my permission. For two reason. Because I am the male who decide...or because she have...not...self...confidence, to decide to do it. Tayeb (arabic for: ok). Then..where is the problem? Is it with her? Or with me? It's with me. (acoustically not intelligible) It's the society the problem. Sach (arabic for: true?) Right? That they give so much more to the men. Then..instead of working with men teaching her something she nows...there in this stupid...male...who rule...(acoustically not intelligible).

I: That's something that Karama does?

A: Yes, we did something like that. We did a very good project to be honest with you. I am (acoustically not intelligible) . We have promised to get money. but we payed for it, and we were (acoustically not intelligible) . And we conducted 40 men... it was the women-rights project and then ... eh... we collected the men and we started actually with them...(acoustically not intelligible)

A: ..with their husbands. And then we invited the men. We didn't work with women. From before we get to know the women. How is the relation going? How will you stop do be in love with this woman? How good our society deal with you? Because you are a man and you are in love..and you are a good (acoustically not intelligible). Yani...what a lucky man. But if a girl falls in love with someone, she's bitch. Or a hore or whatever. How....women feel she's pregnant, because she doesn't have her monthly period. Anything (acoustically not intelligible) we talk to them. And easily compare....compare with them. What do you do mister...yani...? You working at 7 o'clock taking your coffee cigarette, take your...reedy cloths, go to your work work until 3 and (acoustically not intelligible) don't do anything because (acoustically not intelligible) there is not so much work, especially working in DPA or UNRWA, they just .....do not so much. Anyway they go to....wake up..eat...and go outside with your friends..they (acoustically not intelligible) and sexual (acoustically not intelligible) and then you go to sleep and then you wake and like each (acoustically not intelligible). But what do women do? Wake up 5:30, 5 even, prepare food for the children, get them ready for the school, then make your...clothes, give you the coffee, then she start working in the house, then she has to prepare for the lunch, cleaning the house, dishes...blablablabla... even if she is not work. And if she has working she has to do everything before 7:30 because she has to go to work. And then prepare...teach the children...blablablabla... she has to be nice with you. To even (acoustically not intelligible) . Men can do joke once... (acoustically not intelligible)... even if the men, he feels that she doesn't smile so much for him. And then..they have this...magic..plant..when you touch hit... some (acoustically not intelligible) whatever you ask for. And he says: I want to change. My wife do nothing. Just all the time she is at home. And I go to work and do a lot of things....so I want to be instead of her. Okay fine! Change the places. Then he wake up at 5:30...eh...making everything as I told you..food..blablabla....then sleeping...having sex...whatever. The same things. Then after two three days they are: No I want to go back. The men. And the (acoustically not intelligible) told them: No, not right now. After 9 month because you have a baby pregnant (laughs). So.. this is how (acoustically not intelligible) usually we always make a study. How it started? And how (acoustically not intelligible), cause this is how you measure. When we started we have one man, out of 40, he used to help little bit in his house (acoustically not intelligible) She studied outside so he can do some work. The rest, nothing. We cheat. We build a story from (acoustically not intelligible). One day she..woman, she come and she says: Oh my husband yesterday he came (acoustically not intelligible) he starts to shout, he breaks something in the house blablabla. And we this as an example. We don't say it. Like...you know..sometimes....a man comes home...he doesn't find the food is ready, then he start to shout and then the start to think: Shit they are talking about me. They don't know how we know. Until we have to make the break. You know, ice-breaking. This....stereotype-breaking, about what is your role as a man. And they start to make fun about each other. We know everybody what they used to do when they are in their house. We have 5 social workers working with the team, they used to go to the women, taking the information and then come.

How...how do you feel your husband? He came yesterday and he make the dishes it's fine. Ah he make the laundry. The day after, yani, What you think I won't go to make the dishes. Not possible!!! Yes, but yesterday you did it, why you deny? Huh?? How do you know?? Someone...visit your house and knew. Ah yes I do the laundry. We could change 35 men, we could change the (acoustically not intelligible) . It's easy but sometimes not your condition it has to fit with. And If there is other ones who made a project for women with (acoustically not intelligible) an organization for 240 women, they made for them project, 80 of them now are divorced. 80. This is what you want? 80 got divorced? Start with them: If you have them shout to you - go to the court. And in our society it's different than in your society. I am half swedish I am honest with you (acoustically not intelligible) I was married with a swedish girl, so.... I fit myself as a much as a (acoustically not intelligible) to be a swedish... (acoustically not intelligible) . So my ex until now we have very good relation. We talk almot monthly, we live far away from each other. It's build in love it's build in respect. Here if...if..yani...my....wife family it would (acoustically not intelligible) divorce (acoustically not intelligible) what it's called dignity, in arabic (acoustically not intelligible) . It's stupid, but that's how it's work. So imagine your wife (acoustically not intelligible) will go to the court. Easy..I ask you if your wife go to the police or to the court you should go home or I kill (acoustically not intelligible). This is how it's work. Don't work in other agenda. Work in your agenda to succeed. This what we miss. That we run after the donors. Asking what they want, We work in their agenda, no matter of the result. And this why 23 years now we don't find so much succeed. Since Oslo agreement..Palestine it used to be no divorce almost, I would say not 0 percent, but not so much divorce. Now maybe we have one of the highest. Started the last ten years...NGO was involved with the projects, women rights, women (acoustically not intelligible) and in the end the authority, no jobs, unemployment...people get...yani love each other, married, after 6 month they find out that there is no (acoustically not intelligible) to live together, get divorce. In...in...in.....ten years ago, we could know how many women are divorce. You knew them by name. Three women in the whole camp. Now (raises voice) 10 women are divorced (talks arabic). A lot a lot not like before. I was thinking actually just to focus in this...in always we talking about the rules of the NGOs in the global society but noone make a research about the rule of NGOs destroying the society.

I: Actually this is also what we found out...you know we visited some projects, sometimes..it's the way you know they put their agenda...for example in one project they just put the rooftop garden and then finished and then I think half of them is now not working.

A: Yes...this is why I make a contract for years. Because that's my responsibility. After 4 years, they should be independent with themselves. Then they don't need me. And if you continue with them for four years, when you leave them they will love the project. They will love it. Some of them are not with us in the project. Actually some of them jut attend the training. You know? They love it, it's the idea to make them love it. When they eat organic, yani, encourage them this is something unusual, thi is something perfect, this is something whatever you know. Then they will love it ... our project, our problem yani, our problem yani we.....we..deal with the things just..how I will earn money behind the projects. Tayeb I will give you another example. Since we are the first organization started with the project, we applied to UNRWA. United Nation to help us with the project. Tayeb. After a while...eh...they come (acoustically not intelligible) then maybe 7, 8, 9 months whatever after I got the phonecall from UNRWA: Congratulation! I said: For what? And they said: Your project was accepted. I said but we didn't apply. We didn't apply officially. We've been talking. He said: No, you applied with another organization. I said: No. We didn't apply. They said, now, there is an organization in Aida (Aida refugee camp) of another project and they said you are their main partner.

I: Refutrees?

A: Huh?

I: Is it called refutrees?

A: No. No no no. Its Palestinian. Like (acoustically not intelligible). Anyway... but they said if you have a problem because you are the copyright...eh...you can refuse. And I said: No. The idea from our project that we want to do it in all refugee camps. So it's my pleasure to do it. What for? Now we went there, there were clever enough, they made me the project manager... And they have two workers, we were supposed to get 45.000 dollars to building 10 greenhouses. And now...I said it's too much money for 10 greenhouses. And...the workers should be for free. And I am a volunteer. I work in my organization and there I get money. I can not give so much time for this project. It's not like another time. I give it through my organization. And as (acoustically not intelligible) has to be like that. Imagine they will build 10 greenhouses it costs about 11.000 it wasn't like this one, it was the older one, and they will get over 30.000, 35.000 for their own pockets. Yani...you can imagine that. And then we said: No, we will not work like that. They come they steel the idea, they send someone as a journalist, as you know doing (acoustically not intelligible), I am not stupid, yeah. I know that behin this girl she is wanted that information. Because now you are asking me. You see how you are asking? General. But she did ask me: How thick is the pipe? What kind of material? What is the soil? What is the plant. They asked this...and they give it to them. And...eh..I will give them some wrong information, just to know if they plan to steal it or not. And I told them we will put mushrooms in the greenhouses in the future. And they wrote it in the proposal.

I: Did they get the funding?

A: No no no. UNRWA they said that we are...eh...going for Karama idea that if you don't pay for the workers, we give the



money...(acoustically not intelligible) and they refused to get the money, to make the project happen, because they will not get money for themselves. it's a shame. And this why I told you why it's a problem that sometimes you work...yani..listen.. (in Sweden?) I was registered, I am well educated, speaking languages, one of them is Arabic (acoustically not intelligible) I had a good life there...eh...I worked in different yani levels of politicians organisations in Sweden. So I would say it's better for me to be in Sweden. I am back to Palestine because I love Palestine. I love the refugee camp. In here I am a 3.500 shekel maximum in month if you are in Sweden you get 10.000. And live is cheaper than here. Easier than here. More take care more, more education. So compared...friends a lot of friends. Yani compared, like here, you feel like people need you. You have to be (acoustically not intelligible) . So it's a shame. Yani I compare myself with other project managers and other organizations. They got too times double than I get. I swear that I am ten times better than them. I am not touching on myself, it's not just to make myself advertisement. Really how does it work? We have so much corruption. So .. much .. corruption. And you are reason (?) for that as (acoustically not intelligible). You want it. You want it. The coordinator for the Palestinians for the EU, he's my friend, he's like an inspector for the UNRWA for the...for the ministry and his name Gerhard from Austria, and I asked him many times: You don't know we have corruption? He said: We know. But why you give them money? Because we want them to be quite, it's easy to control. Imagine that. And we ourselves are really good in corruption (laughs). So it's both, in together. Some will (acoustically not intelligible) with the environment and you already have good roots. It's the easiest way. It's the easiest way. Unfortunately it's like that. But once I ...I am in a big issue for an (acoustically not intelligible) . Since I was working...pay tax (acoustically not intelligible) . if I know something I have to (acoustically not intelligible). And finally they gave me the money for a really really (acoustically not intelligible) organization. I took this (acoustically not intelligible) manager, blablalblabla and this is my friend, but these ones are corrupted, using (acoustically not intelligible) many sexual harassments and many things and I said: Why you give them the money? You have to stop to give them money. Cause I pay this money with my own tax. And then...the (acoustically not intelligible) starts to write about it, they said we will call the police that you threaten their lives. I sat down having (acoustically not intelligible). I will call the police! And then they stopped (acoustically not intelligible). Cause I advice you. If you don't know it's fine. And if someone advises you, at least you have to just pay a little attention and make a research about it. I (raises voice) know that they are corrupted as well the Swedish. The corrupted in a way or another. Maybe not political to get money in their pockets but sometimes you know there is many stupid....eh...eh...organization..coming from Europe....eh...they've been living in peace for so much long time and (acoustically not intelligible). They think they can make just these things like that. Ah...let's talk to each...and let's have fun with each other.. let's...make just meeting the children from Palestine children from Israel and they just (acoustically not intelligible) . Noo! It's not like that working. And this why the (acoustically not intelligible) .

I: And then it's enough to take some pictures, send them back..

A: ...yes yes yes. Hallas we finish. They got their share and we (acoustically not intelligible) .

I: They put some greenhouses on rooftops. Like in Jordan. Make some pictures. It's enough for the project back home.

A: Halla, the European are really hard. Norwegian and European. They are really interesting to them. But they are really hard then they watch. They go to very little details.... I love the Norwegian most because they tell: We work in your condition. We are here to make dignity for the Palestinians. And this is I love. They don't put any condition at you. The European as well they don't have any (acoustically not intelligible) conditions, unless it is a specific project. You know. If it is normalisation projects than this is the conditions. (acoustically not intelligible) and you have to respect the rules. But for other things no you don't have any ruling or condition. When the guy came...the...from the EU I said: (acoustically not intelligible) . He said: Are you (acoustically not intelligible). I said: As much as you want. He said: Three. I took him maybe to 38 greenhouse. And tired .....(acoustically not intelligible)..... This is the production. he visited the women, he asked the women, you know. Like I told him I am not gonna chose for you and this is how you can (acoustically not intelligible) or not. Don't chose, give him a list and he can (acoustically not intelligible) the women. Chose one of them. You know. (acoustically not intelligible) Yani. Sometimes it's lie, it's like...: Oh no...you know you have to tell me two days before so I can arrange the women. Women have nothing to do, they stay home, yani, I tell them two minutes before. the only thing they will care about is just to clean the house. Because there is a guest coming. Or to find coffee or tea. Otherwise. Rarely find a woman she is busy. You know. You can visit. Hallas. But no, you have to say 2 or 3 days before. Why three days before to arrange women yani? If everything right here (acoustically not intelligible) everything is fine, why need you three days? He visited in our ... rules to visit. You pick the women that you want. They that that we have (acoustically not intelligible). (acoustically not intelligible) like the one who control money issue. (acoustically not intelligible) Audit. Someone had to control your receipts.... Audit. Really big the (acoustically not intelligible) in Betlehem. he really doesn't care who you are. If you have a mistake he will put it in the report. Others they do you like (acoustically not intelligible) and say: You have to fix it. He doesn't give you a chance. And everybody was like: Why you chose this one? I said no (acoustically not intelligible). I don't think he would be silly enough if I had a mistake in handwriting or in...eh.. in silly things he not be yani, hard to us. And even if he have little notes eh...yani..(acoustically not intelligible) . But if I steel 10.000 euro yes for sure he has to write. But the European came here and said: Hallas, finish... you don't need it. We believe it. We don't need it. Because you pay money for him. You don't need. If you build the trust and you build the trust by showing your work you know. Yani...now we are marking girl project...building...not building but we are fixing small house...230 meters, squaremeters.. it will be a baker.

I: A bakery?

A: Yes a bakery, just a few meters from here, you know, what we will do with this? We will start in inshallah we give the women. Now we have to types. Two ways. One we will sell it for money. And one we will give it for free. For children, you know. Our children food is really bad. Very very bad. They are eating really shitty food. Now we will give them for the food for free... (acoustically not intelligible)

Yani we will make for it...nice sweets...something called Manakeesh (typical dish, bread with thyme and oliveoil) (acoustically not intelligible), we have....spinach.....so we will give it when the salads, daily salads, fresh, and we hoping that..eh we can give one fruit. Because we have fruit also. I talked to the factory to almost we agree they will give us once a week. And we are talking about almost (acoustically not intelligible) for free. Talked to one in the factories and other one I have meeting next week, I hope he will agree. If it's like that we can give two three times, which is I think not enough but it's at least better than nothing because we have 42 (acoustically not intelligible, but probably talking about blood sugar and missing iron of the children in the camp because of bad nutrition). So women would benefit out of it, and we think how much..maybe to be honest they will get it not for free totally but will be the cost at least. We will try the first month. The first month we will try without money. The second month we will try it little cost. Yani half of the cost or maybe the cost itself. We will see. Because yani we have april...april..mai..only two months. So we have to try in these two months. So in the...next term the school will be ready than we already have the imagination in our mind. We still..we actually find a donor, (acoustically not intelligible) negotiation between us..that they will pay for the costs, for two years.

I: And after the two years?

A: No...for two years.

I: And what's the plan afterwards?

A: Always you need to start. If you...(acoustically not intelligible) by the time you can manage. If you are a good manager you can manage. So...This is our mission. How to...convince people. And I've been talking to most of the supermarkets outside Dheishah which they sell alot actually, if they can take our products. (acoustically not intelligible) criteria. I talked to restaurants. So a lot of them they will take from us. And then you make an income. You can make 20% of the...the...benefits... (acoustically not intelligible). Yani we as an organization we own the building, we don't need to get money out of it. Because we have our own resources you know. But for the project itself might be ..(acoustically not intelligible) ...because you have to pay the salary, you have to (acoustically not intelligible)... we focus on many things, we will do (acoustically not intelligible). Now the idea is that we will try to make traditional food. We will teach with women to make something. To women it's very famous, I don't know if you have eat it or no. (acoustically not intelligible) It's very nice delicious, but if you eat it you will go to sleep directly. (acoustically not intelligible). It's almost like couscous in the...almost. Eh..so the idea how that we have the already the place and we will announce that we have quite (acoustically not intelligible) good of number of working women (acoustically not intelligible) He can make delivery for them. Like any kind of food you ask for it, maglube, mansaf whatever, give us like two hours before, call and then you get it home. And this is like..like (acoustically not intelligible).

I: Its like delivery.

A: Even breakfast. Breakfast you never find a restaurant making breakfast.

(the rest of the interview is acoustically not intelligible)

## Interview Safouri A (2018)

The interview takes place on Ahmed Safouri's rooftop in Husn refugee camp. Present people: Ahmed Safouri (interviewee); Von Lueder, Binz, Brennauer (3 interviewers); also present are Ahmed's wife, Ahmed's son and Ahmed's brother in law

S: Achlan wa Sachlan. My family name is Safouri. It's my family. We are in the first from Safouria in Palestine. Safouria ...in... eh.. 1964 its have 1.000 people. Yes. Israel comes in 1964 in the first time to Safouri. Because its....they are a lot of peoples.

I (Brennauer) : And now how many people live there?

S: Nobody, no arabic. Even no any arabic in Safouria. I visited. I have been there in Palestine, now it's we've never been asking, its Israel. We never, just like...it's big big country and they have aaaaal facilities in the world. We never been covered, it's Israel....by my nationality, and by my believe I never been ....asked...the fact of Israel. But it's still..it's still great. What? It's great great great country now. It's rich. I have been there 6 years in Palstine. My heart (acoustically not intelligible) feel too much hard. I seen the Israelian sit in my home. That's the fact. There are strong. Too much strong. In everythings they are strong. By money...by mind...by force...they are (acoustically not intelligible). For the Palstinian it's hard to ...their grouds...who can do this (acoustically not intelligible) . Just too hard. Just any (acoustically not intelligible) the force, they have. True. Now this my home. By the force, it's easy thing to ask you in easy word go out from my home. Why? Because I am a strong, this is my home. You can see this, you can never been asking. You are guest. You been as polite man, polite girl, polite man, polite visit, I ask you are welcome everytime. But if you been in ..in that bad feels, I ask you, it isn't easy. Go out from my home. Israelian coming from all countries of the worls to Palestine and throw us (raises voice). Why? Its the hard emotion, of all Palestinian (acoustically not intelligible). I think so. You understand my (acoustically not intelligible)?

I (Binz): And where you lived in Palestine ...

S: (interrupts) by the force

I (Binz): No..like..in the place where you lived you had a farm? Or your parents?

S: Yes sure. I remember it all the time. Because I am in age 4 years when they are throw us. I am born in 1691.

I (Binz): 1961?

S: 1961 .....(everyone laughs).....1961 I am born there in Jenin. While been in 1967 we are going out of our homes and iur farms and our families we have just donkey. No.no...my my my father wa as farmer he just have donkey. He put some (acoustically not intelligible) up the back of the donkey and put us four age. For year I can't work it too much. He put me and my sister and my brother and my brother in the back of the donkey. And we coming to Jordan. The first time I will been in Jordan. We are in the Westbank the river of Jordan we are going in the first time. We are we are....we are some bedouin in Jordan it's the first time I did see Jordan. At the age four. My father and mother have request him to live this night just that night in the first night of Jordan, my father request him to live this night just under something ...live in open area. They said: Ok. You can sleep this night even you must work to us on another day. Yes. The are growing....(acoustically not intelligible) schu ismo Machmood? (arabic for: What was it called, Machmood? The other type of ...habibi....(arabic talk and Achmeds wife Latifa serves coffee) ... Yes the first time its too much hard in remember in Jordan. It's the first night, in the first night, in the first night in Jordan even my remember from 1967 (acoustically not intelligible) they have farm of barley. Big farm of barley. They said ok you can sleep in our home this night, just you must cut our barly another day. You see? It's never been away of my mind. Too much hard to remember. Yes... This cutting...here...I have some cutting (points at his hand) it's still...I am still seen it from 1967, because I sleep...I sleep that night (raises voice) while I , while I leave my home and family and aaaaaal neighbours to cutting? Must sleep. (talks arabic to Machmood) you understand. It's never been going from my mind. It's too much hard. And...raises voice) life mut still going on. While we are coming to camp here in the first time they gave us that light (points at petroleum oil lamp). You and you....you ..(acoustically not intelligible) of American, gave us that light and one, one liter of kerosine. And they have..they they gave us the all families tent. You can build tent in half hours and put some kerosin in that light. They gave us also this type of ... gas... kerosine gas.....this. This is the kerosine gas. It's the gas for cooking. Each family takes this type and that light and one gallon of kerosine (phone rings) You can manage your life to still a live. It's the first time of 1967 we are, they are throwing us from our lands to be coming to new country, new mens, new thinking.....I will feel too much heavy. For Jordanian...we have a growing....we (acoustically not intelligible) They gave us student, they gave us nationality, its political to give us nationality. It's political...it's political. It's another type of war (acoustically not intelligible) ...of thinking...of big (acoustically not intelligible) why? I am a Palestinian man. I am by force..they throw me to another country. Why you give me nationality? Why? To be lost my great nationality? ... This is the greatest of my mind and here to be forget my great nationality? It's true...this is the fact. Now...we meant our in my small simple mind this is...this...the political of (acoustically not intelligible).....

I (Binz): ...like a strategy..?

S: Yes...it's too much hard. But.... we are all time said to Jordanian: Thank you. Take students, they gave us hundred meters to be manage your family and even now I am not in thinking my father and grandfather. My father.....he have my mother...his wife, we are 12 persons. They like....like to be in the families big. Why? You understand why? .... To help him. They married and all time have a new new baby...new baby..new baby he looking in his thinking while his baby coming bigger he can help him! ....You understand? Our mind now not going like my father or grandfather. Two or three it's enough, because the life is hard. Too much hard. We haven't telephones, we haven't clothes. In that time we haven't all things. Even we are in that light I live up to that light from 1967 to 19....ten years. Ten years we haven't any electricity. Just that light. (Imman prays in the background from the neighbouring mosque) And we are twelve persons in one tent...without WC without, without (acoustically not intelligible) without anything.

I (Binz): Any your tent was right here?

S: Yes. Still here. After 10 years they build for us another type of homes. By wood. Or by by....metal.

I (Binz): Like a container?

S: Yes as container. We feel too much happy. Because we coming from the tent in new build. It's has wood. We feel...not be... we feel....if you if you going from... you have just this life. If you seen another...best life..you can't hold yourself you are feel. But it's not that...it's not the fact. Yani they they...they...they move us as they want. You still ten years as in this life. Now I give you this. Then I will you....they growing us up to (acoustically not intelligible) by their mind, not our mind. Without any facilities. They are too much poor mens. Our family and all in Jordan and in the country haven't anything to do. Who have some work (Machmood starts talking on the phone) he going, he grown fast. Because the the..yani... if you as build-man or electricity-man you have some big mind. And you going fast in life. If you haven't anything....I...even my father he is a old man. In that time he is weld-man. How can he manage his life? He can't work ..... work is still work....

I (Von Lueder): Did you put a garden next to your tent back then?

S: .....Where?

I (Brennauer): I thought you had like hundred sqm. And then you have the tent...?

S: Tent...WC.....and....

Ahmed's brother in law: ...some area.

I (Brennauer): And you had a garden there too?

S: Just the tent...and...eh...mhm... (starts to arrange things from the table to reconstruct the former area) let us to say these 100m...the tent here...WC here...tank of water here...you have some small garden here.

I (Binz): You grew vegetables?

S: Yes. You grow vegetables. As...(acoustically not intelligible), the mint...and some thing.

I (Von Lueder): Did you have animals?

S: (lights his cigarette) My father no.....he didn't like the animals.

Ahmed's brother in law: Our...our family have the animals. Sheep...or...

S: You see that that..this type by the minds of persons. Some like farms, some like animals....some....some haven't anything. No farm, no (laughs) ...might refuse.

I (Von Lueder): You had a farm?

S: Yes before I have. Even up to.... I build this work, this home... in....eh....2000. Year of 2000.

I (Von Lueder): When you married?

S: I ....I been...married in the second time while I build this home. I been not in Jordan. I build this home in year of 2000. Before I have small garden here. Now...Up to the roof. (laughs) You see..... maybe .....Machmood as his father and his grandfather like sheeps. In old time his mind going to sheeps. My father grown me up to farm. All time I in my mind..... you understand my idea?

I: Yeah...

S: Yani.... If you are now....nice girl....maybe after 10 years....5 years...beeing a grandfather or other...your baby as your mind. Sure or no? If you are...if you have magister or doctora of any mathematics or any....type of the work..your baby...it's copy for you..... More mens.....take...more mens.....have...boys as poor minds... it's poor mind, not poor kid. The poor is in mind. The poor is not in pocket. By money... The poor...the poor is not by pocket money. The poor is in mind. If you are doctor you growing your baby as to be an doctor. And growing up to doctor (lights a cigarette).

I (Binz): And do you think your sons, your children will...

S: My children also I must aggregate from his inside to like gardens.

I (Binz): Do they like it now?

S: No. Because I like it. He must been like it. You understand the idea?

I (Brennauer): Your children are also often here and take care of the garden?

S: Sometimes refuse... sometimes they agree...but in the force (laughs) in my opinion he must been like. (caughs)

I (Brennauer): Achmed, when you build the house it was one story only or two stories? Like one floor?

S: One floor. It's now another floor.

I (Binz): And then when you build the house you started the rooftop garden?

S: I been there in another country. While I am coming in Jordan. First time I bring that metals and....going on to be seen some green things... Anywhere I ...I must been seen. Because I like it from my inside. Not by force I make it. It's my pleasure...you see it's too much hard. Too much hard to be in the start. If you start in force it's by anyway...by money...by maybe somebody give you...if you are ...if I give you some money and make to be something in the roof, you can do it..you save money...but in my inside, no need somebody to ask me how to do. I like it from my side. Inside. I bring this metals and coming there...and there and there and there...to bring it (acoustically not intelligible) then you can grow another thing.

I (Binz): What was your first, the first green here? What was your first plant?

S: My first plants there. This one (gets up). Strawberry...and here have tomato. Here have pepper.

I (Binz): So this is also where the first...

S: This is the first time I will do it. In this...it's still now maybe six years. It's my..from my inside likely. I like it. I must grow something. Anywhere like the didn't find, just in the roof.

I (Von Lueder): The idea to cut it?

S: I look at it...as in... I am electrician-man. I can manage any...some.. a lot of things in my mind. And my hands. But not on my old. Now have an age 60. I have been (acoustically not intelligible) . Not young man. But can I manage what I like, I can manage it in my mind by my hands..... This is the first time I will do it. Before one years....my...Machmood comes to me, we have GIZ, we request them to build for us a new idea..new things...up the roof to aggregate somethings. I will sit with him even more than 6..mo...hours in my home here. How to do? How to manage? How.... you you have some idea you can work... I can work it. L.I ...I am as electrician-man and L..I can welding. I can weld (talks arabic to his wife Latifa). And we get at the final... that project. This I did by GIZ because they have give is the chance, the chance you never been get the chance without money. Without money if you have big mind you never been do anythings in your life.

I (Von Lueder): ..but you did.

S: This I did ... I did by small small small...money pocket. Even you see I have family. I haven't any job. Really job I haven't. If you have job you can even at the end of month you get money. You can..still alive for another month. But I haven't any job. How can I manage this? I save ..one dinar from here...half dinar from here... and I can by this by cheap and... In that time...before GIZ..this...the the..great thing for my mind because I haven't money. While GIZ coming we have money. They gave us the chance. We are toooo much say to GIZ: Thank you. Because they are give us a new type of aggregate in the rood.

I (Brennauer): And for you the beit plastic (arabic for: greenhouse) works good?

S: I will..I work one to three.....homes in this camp by my hands. Even I will take with Machmood all the time in the left

hand the welding machine and the right hand the (acoustically not intelligible) (Machmood translates: the cutter) the cutter and he take the cable and the drill and we are moving in the ... in the camp..to build the ...the homes. (Achmed's wife Latifa says something in arabic) You see...after that...now I am thinking it's great...and nice....to be aggregate in the roof. But as in GIZ project the persons....thinking...if you aggregate something you have been never buy from the market. It's not. If you... if you haven't long time to like the agriculture you can't feel happy. Even the...the...the self of humans need to get result fast. Agriculture it's not like this. You understand me? It's slowlyyyy..... Now...I aggregate this type of Malfour (arabic for: cabbage). I like to see it growing. I am not been waited to give me. But I like from inside to be it's grown. You understand me? ..... (Latifa asks if we liked the coffee) Even three months even to see this time.....three months is long time. Some persons haven't that time and the pleasure inside to be in three months....faster..money..go market...by it. If you don't feel pleasure inside you cannot (acoustically not intelligible) . Now it's nice...too much nice. Even some time you can....you feel pleasure... (laughs) Because in your home. Sure...achland wa sachlan (arabic for: Welcome).

Ahmed's wife: Welcome.

S: Now we can eat some thing it's the second time also.....it's the second time. While been yellow. Eat it! (laughs and caughs) No..... I have never been take it like it like that.

I (Brennauer): It's sour...lemon...

S: (shows us a small lemon tree) This is the second time...in this year. Yes.

(Achmeds shows us his garden and his new turtles).

S: It's the second baby. But who is the mother who is the father I didn't know.

I (Binz): Did you paint the turtle?

S: (laughs) If you haven't any job to do...you have time to do crazy things.

I (Brennauer): Achmed, last time you told us that the rooftop is also the only private space you have with your wife...

S: Yes..it's must be. Now I am in old man.. As in age of old. Is not as your mind. Your mind going to make to go coffee shop. To restaurant...sure. This your mind. Your age. I have been before in your age. Not to be sit at home. I must seen everytime everthings in the world whats going on the outside of home. Now in my age I like to been all time at my home. Where can I sit with my wife? Where can I sit? If you ...if you not manage to you...for you...special....type of life...nobody give it to you. You understand? Now I feel some...some...pleasures while I am sitting with my wife and some with my family and even if I guests...if I special guests.....to been sitting here they like to sit green...not the all minds...like green. Some minds like black. Why the force going inside? ...Because if you like the green thing...green.....from where inside you are all time in nice life. If you have black...black idea in your mind you never be (acoustically not intelligible) . This.....this potatoe second time. It's th second time of potatoe. Because it's too much heat to (acoustically not intelligible) . One potatoe give to you... it's a count in your mind. I put one of potatoe, it gave to me 1 kilo. It's a count (laughs). If you have space.

I (Binz): But here, you don't need the plastic beit?

S: No. No need. This type of potatoe from October even to march no need.

I (Binz): Why do you need plastic beit?

S: Plastic...to...if you need this in summer....you must be in cold cold weather. Potatoe like cold weather not hot weathers. The plastic... you need it for.....eh...some types of green things.....not every times.

Ahmed's brother in law: Maybe for tomatoe...or for .... in summer in summer yeah. In winter maybe no.

I (Binz): So plastic beit is mainly for winter time? Do you use it in summer?

S: I use it. But you must have wind. Now we are going to another idea. What wa this? You understand what was this...

I (Binz): Rope?

S: This is the carpet. The carpet of Palestinian. This old clothes...this old clothes.

I (Binz): From Palestine?

S: No no no. This in ....in Husn camp...they do it.....

I (Brennauer): They just use old clothes and recycle it?

S: Yeah. This by the poor ...the poor....the poor mens. Who have money, refuse to. This old clothes. They are manufactures in he last. Now you can't ....

Ahmed's brother in law: In the beginning of our camp there is a lot of this... but now... I don't know.

I (Binz): How old is this?

S: This maybe from 1976. This one old old time.

(show us another carpet and other artefacts from Palestine made out of wheat)

S: Before we haven't carpets. Just we can buy it from....then. This also by old clothes (points at something). Now in winter you an make wool. Why in winter going, it's old old old wool. The give us (acoustically not intelligible) and then they do it. It's handmade.

.....

S: You know arabic man like to sit in the ground....

I (Von Lueder): But when did you try the hydroponic system?

S: Its by my mind. I tried. But the liquid is not available to be still working. The liquid. Potassium.

I (Von Lueder): What else? Have you tried it without?

S: I tried it with the natural things. I bring it from the farm of sheeps. I will take the water. I tried by this type. It's also....

I (Von Lueder): Do you have the hope that someday you will have the liquid?

S: I hope, I hope so...

I (Von Lueder): Is there a way.

S: The hope is still hope. You never been to it if its still in your mind. Now (raises voice) I am thinking in another way. I can't bring some fish.

I (Von Lueder): Aquaponic.

S: Aquaponic you can manage it without nutritions. You can...you can...you can take two stones by one hand. You grown vegetables and growing the fish.

I (Von Lueder): But you will put the fish in that tank?

S: In that tank, yes. I...I...In my life , if I if I have some idea to been after one year I must prepare the material. The material is vailable now. That tank...this pump...and the (acoustically not intelligible) is ready.

I (Von Lueder): So you just need the fish?

S: I just need the fish.

I (Von Lueder): Where can you get it?

S: .....Maybe..... now.... in the.....(acoustically not intelligible) in Al-Ghor (area in Jordan). They have in the farm. In the farm they have big places for water. For rainwater. It's all ordinary to grown the fish in the water. If I have some friends there I can bring from there. Inshallah (arabic for: in god's will).

I (Binz): Do you have a friend there?

S: Must been find some friend there.

I (Von Lueder): Or do you know this Mohammed?

S: If you help me... to bring it.... I am very pleasure.

I (Von Lueder): Mohammad from muchejjem Gaza (Jerash Camp) he have a friend.

S: He have fish?

I (Von Lueder): No no, he have a friend in Dead Sea. Maybe....

S: Maybe. If I get give the fish directly I will bring that tank here and everything is...

I (Von Lueder): But do you know somebody in Jordan who have aquaponic system?

S: I seen farm...for....farm in.....there in Al-Ghor. Aquaponic. It's great aquaponic. But he has as farmer. He buy many to get more.

I (Von Lueder): How many fish do you need?

S: Maybe 20. Twenty is enough. One fish need two ....two.....two litres of water . It's a count. Space....(acoustically not intelligible) Now we have space to stand in every...even the fish must be. Twenty it's.....Now this idea in my mind. I like this. And bring iron and I weld it (acoustically not intelligible) .....

I (Von Lueder): (acoustically not intelligible) But you take the seeds to plant again?

S: Yes.....You can take it (laughs).

I (Brennauer): And what soil? You take the local soil?

S: Its ordinary soil and mixed. It have 50, quarter..three up to four quarters.

I (Brennauer): One quarter and three quarters? With peatmoss?

S: Peatmoss it's three quarters. Or half and half. Why? Because it's cheap. It's without money. I will go there and bring some things.

I (Brennauer) : And vulcano stone - you take?

S: No no no.....peatmoss is too much expensive. And you lost the water in it.

I (Brennauer): So it's nice when you mix it? It's more like...

S: Must been mixed. Must been mixed.....

(Achmed's son brings basil seeds for the interviewees in a little bag)

I (Binz): But in summer, you will remove the plastic?

S: Yes I... Yes you can (acoustically not intelligible) it. I made window.

I (Binz): But you think in summer, you will remove?

S: No, just up.... I will take it up like this. It's enough.



Interview Safouri B (2018)

The conversation takes place on the rooftop of Ahmed in Husn Camp. Present people: Ahmed (interviewee), his son and his brother in law; Von Lueder, Brennauer, Binz (3 interviewers).

S: We have families, we have childs, what can we do? Must going slowly all time.

I (Brennauer): Like the turtle.

S: Yes, because we live this life, this is our chance in life. Sorry about this.

I (Brennauer): Why sorry?

S: Why sorry, yes. We haven't ground, we haven't land, we haven't nationality also. Our nationality is going. My land is there, not all of this. I have life there 6 years, I life in Israel, now this this Palestine.

Ahmed's brother in law: Many people come to Jordan, to Lebanon, to...

I: (Von Lueder) Min uen fi Falistin (Where are you from in Palestine)?

S: Jenin, Jenin, yes, when I am child, 4 years, my old is 4 years, my father have farm for melon.

I: (Brennauer) Water melon.

S: Yes. And I am born in 1961. I am old man. 65, 67, 57, I am 57 now. I remember that years when I am child, I have 4 years. We grow the melons and come from Palestine and come to here, in Jordan, we buy it. From the...

Ahmed's brother in law: You buy it or sell it?

S: Buy, sell it! Yes, we sell it in Jordan. Now it's the, another political. Another political, must life here without a ground without...anything. Why are we coming on the roof here? Why? I like, I like, I like to see some gardens. I like to see...lemon in my home, little nana, nana, mint, little mint. I like it, where can I put it?

I: (Brennauer) So you put it on...

S: Yeah, you must put it on the roof. It is not the humanity of life, not the humanity of life. Humanity of life, I must have small house and small garden around it. Where can, where can...I like my wife, okay?

I: (Brennauer) Okay.

S: I hope so, to drink some cup of coffee. Where can I do that...alone? Just on the roof.

I: (Brennauer) You with your wife you mean?

S: Must be all time separate your time of you and your wife from the child and from the family. Where can I sit? Where?

Ahmed's brother in law: On the street.

S: Must be on the street or on the roof. Also on the roof you are going, the neighbors going up: "what they do? What they are do?". It's the bad spider spaces, near spaces, here neighbor, here neighbor. This is the humanity of life? (not understandable) Is this the humanity of life?

I: (Von Lueder) No.

S: No. Sorry about this but we must go all time (points at the turtle) like this.

I: (Von Lueder) like the turtle.

S: Sorry for your headache.

I: (Binz) No you are not giving a headache.

S: It's inside. (talks to Mahmood in Arabic) 25.

I: (Brennauer) What is 25?

S: Dunam.

I: (Von Lueder) Das sind sozusagen die Maßeinheiten hier. Wie ein Hektar. (These are so to say the units of measurement here. Like a hectar.)

(The conversation is drifting to the turtle which just awoke of its hibernation)

## Interview Mohammed (2018)

The interview takes place in a Shisha Café next to Talbieh camp. Present people: Mohammed (interviewee); Von Lueder, Binz, Brennauer (3 interviewers); Hussein, Jalal, a boy (friends of Mohammed).

M: The sounds in the background...you can write that like, the guy who said that, he wanted to be like in the streets so he can run from the police or something. (everybody laughing)

I: (Binz) And then we caught him. (laughing)

(talking in arabic, ordering of drinks)

I: (Von Lueder) So maybe we start, uhm, I think in the beginning it is very good when you just, you tell us what comes to your mind, you know? Maybe you can just tell us, like how did you get into this whole GIZ thing? What were your first expectations? And how did it change until now, you know? Like when you entered, what was your motivation, expectations and how did it, over time develop?

M: So I would start with like with the prestory, from the beginning. So I think I was 14 years old, without doing nothing, just working. I used to work like right over there (pointing over the street), you can't see but I mean, I was selling coffee when I was a kid. I was 14, 13 years old and then one day we were like, me and my friends sitting in the how do you say, like „Seelpaze“, on the street side. Uhm, sidewalk, sidewalk, we sit on it in the camp, we don't walk. We were smoking and we saw like, uhm an invitation for a workshop, for a feminin workshop actually, in the woman centre in the camp. And I just applied, me and Omar, we were the first guys who applied. I didn't want to apply, because I had to work all the time but it's just for fun, because we were kids and we said that there will be a lot of girls. The typical arabic way of thinking, but uhm... (everybody laughing). And I signed up there and they were having like, uhm they were doing you know interviews with the people, like just to see that if you have a passion in film or you just apply. So I went there and I did the interview and two days after Omar came to my house and told me that we were accepted. 300 persons applied and 50 got accepted, and I was one of them and then I started the first sessions like with the scenery writing and these things. Just film courses and I got really involved with the volunteering community, like coming to the centre every day. I used to work from 6pm to 6 in the morning, then sleep two hours and then go to the workshop until 3, and sleep again and go to the work. So from that day I met a woman called Rania Sabbah. She was the council from the GIZ and the crazy thing, that we didn't know who funded this thing, we just know that the woman centre is the owner of everything, so the GIZ thing wasn't mentioned at all. So I think, I met this woman, and she was like, the first one who sit with me and ask me about my life, what I am doing and things like that. And it was nothing, I just quit the school and went working because my family need money. So she was the first one who tried to send me back to the school, just to convince me to go back to the school. But it was so hard to me because my age are in the high school and if I want to come back to school I would be in the 9th grade or the 10th grade. So I would be the biggest guy in the class, all the kids, all the people in the classes would be small. So I was like, you know, no, I don't want to and I don't want to go to the school again, I hate it. But uhm, like the principal of the school, he was, he offered that I can, you know, just do the exams. Just not come to the classes but just do the exams. And in one condition, that I would pass the exams. So I was studying in the house and then, you know, just go to do the exams and I passed the (not understandable) grade. And after that I travelled to Denmark just because the girl, you know Rania, she was you know, she was taking care of me a lot, like she was like my mom, let's say. But before I go to Denmark, I had this 9 months of working with the woman centre but I never know who is funding, like what is the GIZ or who fund the camp or it was like in that time BMZ, GIZ, UNRWA and the European Union something, so a lot of funds. And the big Image was like workshops, workshops for the camp. So it was a good image that I took from these funds. Like, giving workshops to the camp like communication skills, film making, it was really good like image from these like NGOs, can I just say. And I went back from Denmark, I started working in the woman centre again and some troubles happened between the people who is responsible for the woman centre. They didn't want the youth to control the centre, because they are really old and they have been there since 1995 and they don't want the girls and boys to be together and things like that. So we were against that and we wanted to be like, you know, having our own personality, not following things and following orders from whoever, like woman centre or GIZ or anybody. So they kicked us out the centre in 2014, -15? -15, they kicked us out of the centre and I travelled back to Denmark because I needed to finish like the semester. The guys start working uhm in my house. It was Miars house, like the coworker who was working with me in the centre, but they started giving workshops without money, just for the kids, because they love to give what they used to take from the woman centre. And when I went back they made „Jerih“, like the place we are in and I am working now as music coordinator, Jalal too, all the guys. But you know the image start to change by time. Like people, like the old people, like the head office of the GIZ, her name, I don't want to mention her name, it is a big name, she stayed in the camp for 13 years. So she was into the work, like she knows how to work with local communities and how to deal with people. She knows that the woman centre think like in this way and „Jerih“ thinks in this way. So they can't give this people some kind of workshops, like you know, girls and boys. So she knows how to do it. When she changed, she left GIZ and Rania left and all these people, new people came and it started to become like, there is two projects, that get funds, that get money, but in the end we need the pictures. Like I had a lot of opportunities to be a volunteer in different camps, like in Wehdat, Baq'qa, Husn, all these places. Sometimes translating, sometimes giving workshops, like music workshops or communication skills. And it's always the GIZ employee comes just to take a picture and he gives the camera to somebody and stand in the middle of the group and

take a pictures. And of course he's writing that in his time sheet, like you know his work progress in the end of the month. Like, when I look at the big image, some projects, maybe in Husn, they are doing, you know the greening houses. And if you want to go deep, it's like all the money, like it's a huge amount of money, just to the camp. It is a good thing that you give money for the camp because you need to, you know, make it a sustainable place and you know to generate a new smart generation, like independent people. But it's in reverse. People start to feel lazy, not working, just waiting for funds and you know, act sweet to the people who give funds. Like we know, in Husn there's the green houses and I know my friend is doing that, like he is the guy in charge of these building things and giving workshops and things like that. And most of the guys who has green houses is his relatives. And that's the same issue in every camp because UNRWA is the first NGO who like planned this habit in people. Like, „stay in the house and we will give you whatever you want“. Since 1969, 7? (Asks Jalal in arabic) 1967. You know, UNRWA, we always called this pictures the „blue pictures“, because you always see like a sad girl holding a toy and there's a rice bag next to her und just un UNRWA logo in the background. Or an old man, like carrying a big bowl of rice or sugar and just walking and he is having this sad smile. We always see these pictures. So me and the guys in my age, like Hussein, Jalal, all these people, we always tried to change this picture. But the people who fund us, they always convince us that they are with us in this process, but they are against it. Like come on, you take pictures of your projects, of your (emphazised) projects, it's not even a project, you just give money for nothing. Like some projects in the camp, it costs more than 3.000, 4.000 JDs, that's like 6.000 Euros. And they don't take care of it. Like you know, planting, it will die and then ask for another fund, and then ask for another fund. Greening, like green house, yeah like if you are my cousin, I will give you a house. Because I am in charge of telling who's the farmer, who is coming from Palestine, who is not, who deserve it and who is not, who doesn't. Like, these kind of things it's happening. And we can't say that it 's not happening. Even UNRWA, like they always work with Palestinian refugees, Palestinian refugees, like giving workshops, giving them...there is a blue card. (Asks the his friends something in arabic) The white card, it's an UNRWA thing, like a card where you can go for medicine and food and you know all these things. Education and medicine, and it's still the same as now, it's just that people still use this card because it is free. Like the food, even some people really has money, if you see him in the morning he has a car. He can go to Amman, he can come back, build a new house and everything, but he's still taking theses things from the UNRWA. It's not his fault, it's just like they, they planted it in him. And it's a bad thing. Like my father is one of them, he has this idea of like „everybody is taking and I am not. Like why shouldn't take?“. So this thing about group, grouping thing, like everybody's taking then you can take. And GIZ is making this project about building houses in the camp because this zink (roof material) is not good. (Jalal corrects him) Or BMZ, it's the same, they are building houses and the people who are in charge of it is the Palestinian DPA. The DPA is in charge of it and the DPA workers are from the camp, so if you went to the guy in charge, all his family has the best rooftop, you know. And the rest of the people are still applying for it. And it will end in the end of this year or maybe in June and half of the people didn't do it still. I can show you a house, a really big house, like this guy, he builds houses for people. I don't know what you call him, like the guy who bring all the workers and take the money. Now he has a really big house, like he used to have a small house and after he worked with GIZ or BMZ he has a really, like, it costs like more than 100.000 JDs. He has a BMW car now.

I: (Von Lueder) Inside the camp?

M: Yeah, I can show it to you, like in the circle, in the middle of the camp. The materials of his house is really expensive, you can't find it in the whole country man.

I: (Brennauer) And it all came from the funding of GIZ?

M: Yeah of course man. He been living with us for forever and we never thought like he has money, come on. He lives next to us. He is our neighbor, and once like he has a lot of money, he has a new brand car, like BMW 2016 or -17, that costs a lot of money in Jordan. That's just a crazy amount of money. So these crazy things. And he's not the only one, a lot of people who worked with the GIZ to build houses for people who need it, they have houses outside the camp now. And people left to Amman after this projects. Like I know a principal of one of the local community centres in the camp, he has a big house now and he opened more than a store in the camp. The thing is, when the NGOs don't care about their money, it's a big issue. Because you are meant to give this money for the people but it never went in. Like they give 1 Million Dollar for Joker, the people will just give each other and (not understandable) will take 2 JDs, maybe. It's always like that, even in Wehdat, or let's say in Gaza Camp, Gaza, it's just like, you went to Gaza, yeah? It's shitty, it's like the, I don't know what it's called, the underground, the...

I: (Brennauer) The canalisation?

M: Yeah, yeah, you can smell the bad smell from it. They never fixed it, even though they paid one and a half Million Dollar for painting the whole camp.

I: (Brennauer) Painting?

M: Yeah, just painting the whole camp. They did it in Husn too. If you remember, in Husn they were painting.

I: (Brennauer) The „colour up“?

M: Yeah, the colour up. Yeah, come on you can build houses for people, you can educate youth, but they are doing some crazy

shit.

I: (Brennauer) And is there never like, how is it with the supervision? GIZ never comes and supervises where the money goes?

M: No, they are just taking pictures. That's the thing. It's just because, I can't admit what they say but I think they just say, hey people of the camp, like people living in the camp ask for paint for the camp, and that's the process and that's the outcome. That's it. But the people who are in charge of the people here in Jordan, I don't think that they know what the people need in the camp, especially in the camps. Even the Jordanian Government. The Jordanian Government, they do all the fixing, the highways, the bridge, the really fancy malls and all these things just in Amman. You know, Irbid is twice bigger than Amman, Ma'an is twice bigger than Amman. That's like two opposite, one in the North and one in the East, I don't know what it's called, but it's really big cities. But they only do it in Amman. And if you imagine that the airport is just next to us, like 2 km from here, but the government made this street so you can go from the airport to Amman, not to turn around and see the camp and even the airplanes, most of them don't fly on top of the camp. Or if it's really close to the camp, then it's night. so they can't see the camp. And if you come in the night, the highway, the lights and the highway ends on the bridge, it ends where the airport bridge starts. So if you go to the airport, there is lights, if you go to the camp, it's no lights. And I can imagine that every country has airport and a really fancy city next to the airport. But we are the only ones who are like really miserable. And that's really frustrating because all these NGOs and all this money coming in and out, all these things I never saw anything in real life. They do workshops, I love workshops, but there is no outcome. When you give like 40 male a communication skills workshop and what next? You pay 3-, 4-, 6-, 17.000 on this workshop for 4 months? Then what? That's the thing, that they just do workshops just for doing it. They just don't do it for the outcome. The outcome is fine, we can write the outcome down, but we can't see it on the real, like in real life. The thing that, I was in a meeting one week ago and they were talking about lowering the violence in the camp by giving workshops. And I was like, uhm, no they said that they will give workshops about violence, so they can lower the violence culture in the camp. But I was like, I stood up and I said like, we always do that, giving workshops about you know, women, little girls get married, we never went to the moms and gave them workshops and tell them it's not nice to make your daughter a wife when she is 14 years old. We always go to the girl and teach her. And then two months later she is married. We always talk about, that there is now work, like people can't work in the camp because it is really far away from Amman and people are really upset of not having a job or not finding a job or we never gave them a workshop to get them ready to go to the work market. To go outside and look for a work. People are really lazy now. Like in 2018, but we are still lazy because we are used to it. Like our grandfathers are used to it. They had their work, they have been like farmers in Palestine and hard workers and really strong men and Palestine, all the stories about our grandfathers, how they farm, and you know, make this good food? But that's end after we came to Jordan. I don't say that Jordan is a bad country, maybe the people inside it is really bad or really not seeing the whole picture, but focussing just on the money. So that's the only issue in our work, like not our but NGO's work, that they hire people from inside the camp. Like if you hire someone from inside the camp, then know that there is, you know „he's my cousin, I will give him“, „he's my brother“. And if you hire somebody from outside the camp he don't know how to deal with the people inside the camp. So the only way to work with the people inside the camp is to make a research, how to deal with them before you come to. Like, you can't go to an angry man and tell him „hey come on be quiet“ or something, you get kicked out on the face. You need to think about it before you go. And that's what they don't do. They just go and just put money and people is just clapping for them. If you seen a GIZ employee standing in the front of a project that they fund, the woman, or the guy who has the project will say really beautiful words about it. When he gone, hear the issues. Just write it down, because it's a lot. But he can't say it in front of him because we have the culture of being afraid of the people who gives you money. Because if you ruin it up, you ruin it up. You never get money again, that's the thing. So yeah, it is just crazy.

I: (Von Lueder) But who is deciding about contents of workshops? Like who is the man for, we are doing a workshop about this, this and this? How does it develop?

M: From like, I can say about myself: GIZ. In Jerih we came up with the idea of music and film making, and you know communication skills, identity workshops and story writing workshops. But they always come and say like uhm, ok we will do this and that and that, like you stick with your workshops and just send us every week pictures of these workshops, so we can make a highlight of the job, so they can send it outside. But other workshops, like the outside workshops, because the local community institutions are always, you know, hiring people from the camp, because they want to increase, or encourage the people to work, or to express themselves. But the thing, when they come up with like a team-building workshop, like if they wanna train trainers, maybe for example, they bring somebody they know, they bring somebody for maybe 4 weeks, give him a huge amount of money, just giving the same thing that we give, but because he has the card that he is a trainer or something, he is giving more information. I don't say that we are smart or we are really, we have a lot of knowledge, but I mean like they don't know what we can, what we are able to. They just know that Joker is doing music, so that's what he does. They don't know if I can swim or, they don't ask, they just give me money. Yeah, they don't come and ask you what we need in the future, what do you think is better to teach in the camp or something like that. They don't ask that, they just give you orders. And in the end, yeah if they gave you the freedom to write the proposal and write the plan, the real plan, and say „I need this and this and this and this and I will teach this and this and this“, but in the end they will take the plan and cross whatever they want and then send you back the plan and say „okay, we will give you 30.000 for this“. But just do this. And in the end you need to, you know, give them the receipts.

I: (Von Lueder) But have you ever confronted them? Or like, told them that you want to do it in another way?

M: Yeah. Like Jalal, he once... (talks in arabic to Jalal and Hussein). He is just saying, because we tried it before, and that's the reason why we got kicked out from the centre, like the woman centre. Because we wanted to you know have music and film making like in a long term and film making, music requires females and males together. That's why we got kicked.

I: (Brennauer) But it was, you got kicked out by the woman centre or was it GIZ?

M: UNRWA and woman centre. Because UNRWA and GIZ were funding the same centre, like woman centre. So they got like, the UNRWA standing with the woman centre and the GIZ stood with us. I don't know why, ah yes because the head office I told you about, the woman who spent 13 years in the camps. She was in charge of that, she was with us. And UNRWA was with them. But when I say UNRWA, it is an arabic lady, so it is not like a foreign person. Because always foreign people ask and maybe „why are you doing this? Why are you doing that?“. If there is an arabic person underneath one of the foreign people, everything gets fucked up. Sorry (he laughs). It's always like that, I don't know because we hate each other, arabs, I feel like that sometimes. But I mean it's just because maybe the language is the issue. Because if I wanna sit down with a foreign guy and explain what I really feel, about what happened, I will not fully tell him what I feel. So if you explain to an arabic guy and then he translated to the other guy, he will explain it less than you explained it by yourself. You know what I mean? So yeah, it's really hard. And we can't do nothing. The DPA now is doing, they have places in the camp, they have half of the camp for them.

Jalal: They have all the camp.

M: (laughs) They have all the camp. They have, you know, centres are empty, they don't use it, it's buildings, it's a really big buildings. Spaces, like the green space next to Jerih, it's closed. There is a playing area for kids that's closed, there is one (not understandable) in the camp and it is closed. And there is big two buildings, the one you came when I was working, this is from the DPA, one here and one here. And then the new.

I: (Brennauer) It's shut down, right? I remember they shut it down.

M: No they rent it. I don't know if they are allowed to rent things. I mean DPA are for the camp, like these spaces should be for the camp, for the people. Like they make one space for people to make you know, uhm, (talks in arabic), when somebody dies.

I: (All) Funeral.

M: Yeah. Just one space. There is something called „Säkär“, that's a religious thing, what you give people, like people who wanna give poor people money. They come to centres and give them money and they will spread it around people. That place never opened. Like 3 floors of buildings, never opened. Only in Ramadan. Just to give people fish and food and sugar and rice. So a lot of empty spaces, big spaces and nobody is using it. And now they are renting it out to, you know, people who have money. So everybody is doing whatever he wants. Some streets in the camp, you know the street, you can't cross the street if you have a store, you can't build things on top of the street, it's illegal. If you have money, it's legal. If you don't have money it's illegal. That's in the camp. That's the DPA who is in charge of it. (longer pause)

I: (Brennauer) I have to process, it is a lot.

M: Yeah, it's a lot!

I: (Von Lueder) But I mean, do you get the impression that all these projects are not long-term? Is there a lot of short-term projects?

M: The only long term project was the film making project in Two thousand uhm...(talks in arabic to his friends). Yeah the only long term project was the film making project. That was in 2011. It's a one-year project.

I: (Brennauer) That was the longest?

M: Yeah, the longest. So really, like, it was long, but not enough. But it was the longest, you know? The rest is two months, maybe 2 weeks, 4 weeks, something like that. And one class each week. But the film making workshop was every day for one year. That's a lot of time. And when we, like when people have schools it's three days in a week and when it's like vacation it's every day.

I: (Von Lueder) And regarding, you know, the woman centre and their garden with flowers, like can you explain like how the idea came up? You said that you have low expectations about this place.

M: Yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) Who, like how did it start and who said like that they wanted to do something like this? Of what is the process

of a project like this?

M: I think the first idea was the film making workshop. They decided to build a roof just to sit down and then have a nice time, but without plants.

I: (Von Lueder) In the woman centre?

M: Yeah, in the woman centre. Just chairs and things like that and a library, yeah, film library and the rooftop and the editing room. They did it, and equipment. And then afterwards there is a school called the „Asrije“. They came in front the place to, you know, bring plants, but it's all ruined up after a while. And they're doing it again now. But this time it's just like, they make umbrellas and all this fancy things and plants, not useful plants.

I: (Von Lueder) They did it before?

M: Yeah, they did it before.

I: (Von Lueder) And on the same roof?

M: Yeah.

I: (Brennauer) Ah, when?

M: That was...(asks his friends in arabic) 2014.

I: (Brennauer) And then after one year it was...

M: No, not one year. Maybe 5 months. It was all gone.

I: (Brennauer) The plants didn't grow?

M: Yeah. Nothing. Nobody took care of it.

I: (Von Lueder) But it was their idea also to put plants? Or like, who's idea was it to put plants?

M: The funding...

I: (Brennauer) The funding by GIZ aswell?

M: No no, like another organisation. It's a like, it's like a really fancy school, where rich people are in. And they wanted to do something, so they came to the centre, they brought box and did the rooftop. But this time the GIZ yeah, doing the umbrellas and you know cozy time for sitting or all the plants as you saw, it's not like uhm..

I: (Brennauer) It's decoration plants.

M: Yeah, it's decoration plants. And it costs a lot of money. I don't know why.

I: (Brennauer) But did the GIZ approach the, went to the woman centre and said: „ah, well we know this guy from Husn Camp, Mahmood, do you want a rooftop farm?“, or was it the women who said they really want a garden on the rooftop?

M: No, they said that we would like to do the same in Husn, like on the roofotps.

I: (Brennauer) They heard about it or?

M: No no no, not the woman centre, the GIZ.

I: (Brennauer) Ah, the GIZ.

M: Like they came and they said we would like to do like a rooftop. Like, to do the same idea from Husn here in the camp. They were really happy for it of course, because yeah, why not? And yeah, Mahmood came.

I: (Von Lueder) Have you been there after the workshop? Have you been on the roof after we, you know, finished all the planting?

I: (Brennauer) Perhaps we could go today. Could we go to the roof today?

M: I don't know if they are open. Yeah I think they are open.

I: (Binz) Do you want a drink, anyone?

I: (Von Lueder) Yes, something like this.

I: (Brennauer) A water (taking order for drinks). It's just crazy, because also yesterday we were thinking a lot of like how, I don't know, to not think away the development aid because funding is somehow necessary, but how to really...

M: Develop. Make a change.

I: (Brennauer) Yeah, how to make a change. I don't know, is the approach then to do only long term projects or do you have any... hints for us?

I: (Von Lueder) What are you...what is your vision? Because I think people are used to aid, you know, to money. So you can't just cut the money away. But what is your idea, like how could it work out?

M: The problem is, if you are the funding person, like the person who will fund, if you came to Brennauer and asked her what Talbiehs centres needs. Brennauer will make something in her mind and tell you let's do that. But if you came to a person in the camp it will be helpful, more helpful. But not old one. Like it's the same thing in all camps, they all go to the people in charge of all these things, DPA, and all these people. And nothing happens, like 2 weeks workshop or they fix the streets, just really shitty fixing or something like that, and it's done. Take pictures and it's over.

I: (Brennauer) So to not go through the institutions but directly to like young camp inhabitants.

M: Yeah, it's just like, youth, youth, like youth power. They need to use it.

I: (Von Lueder) But do you have any like project that you appreciated and think it was a good one? Like regarding the process and the outcome?

M: Yeah uhm, I not with the old fashion workshops like communication skills, training trainers, these love and peace workshops. I don't know, it doesn't make difference to people. Because you didn't start from, you know, a really deep point. It's just like because they need to uhm know their personality first, like what they wanna do in their life. Most of the people here are really smart but they smoke weed and drink a lot and they don't give a fuck about the life. And they are all in my age. Just because there is nobody asking about them. Because everybody's judging them. Even the local community's institutions, they don't allow them to come in, just because they smoke or they have a bad reputation. That's the issue. Like. I would recommend like something like film making, uhm, like really new workshops. I don't know, I don't have a lot in mind. (Asks his friends in arabic, which workshops they would propose, they discuss) Just because like uhm, they say it's necessary to have communication skills workshop. They always don't do it in the right way in the camp. They just give it for giving it. Like if you came and say hey, you need to act like this and do like this and do like this and do like this. Like you don't know Jalal and you telling him what to do and that's really not professional or will not, you know, teach him anything. Like knowing the people who will participate in the workshop, it's more viable than you know giving just a workshop. Knowing the target group. Like if you wanna work with the old womans or small. Because all the workshops in the camp is for womans, womans, womans, womans. And the problem is not the womans, the problem is the youth. Because, I don't know, I have a friend who smoked weed a lot and his mother is the old one who take workshops. He needs to take workshops, he needs to get involved in the real life, have friends and you know, start real life, not his mom. You know the target group, the way of giving workshops, long term, short term workshops, uhm choosing the subject, asking people what they want to learn, doing research about the camps, like the people lives in the camp, they always talk about jordanian, palestinian, you know, issue. But it never been a big issue in the camp, never. In the camp everybody's fighting.

I: (Von Lueder) But how does it come up, you know? Who bring it up?

M: The people in charge of...

I: (Von Lueder) Do you have an idea like why?

M: Because they, I don't know, they wanna come up with something. They wanna show that they have something. Like, it's not their problem, it's the, the one who's asking them problem. Because you asking him, you didn't ask the people from the camp. And when NGOs comes maybe they do it. I don't say that they never did it, like when the NGOs comes and ask maybe anybody, like maybe a principal of any institution, and ask him to bring a target group to ask them what do they need? This person choose who should be in this you know, lecture or interview. It's really complicated.

I: (Von Lueder) And then they ask, do you need like rooftop? And you say yes, right?



M: Yeah, but in the end we didn't want it. Because the DPA will take us out anytime.

I: (Von Lueder) We met a guy in...

M: Yeah yeah but we didn't talk to him until now, so maybe we will talk with him and he will be really helpful, but we don't know what will happen.

I: (Von Lueder) We met a guy in Dheisheh, he told us like, his opinion was, he was always talking about, you know, all, all the time, there were workshops for women because they had problem with the men. But he said like, something like, why do you teach the woman, the problem is the man, you know? The man make harassment and, and violence. But they teach women, it's the target group. And it's the same like you...

M: It's just because here they give womans in the camp workshops about, you know, legal rights for them. It's a really good thing, to get knowledge and things like that. But they always choose the people who don't have the problems. Like there is people you don't know, that they really don't know nothing about legal rights, or human rights or anything like that. They teach some womans how to, you know, creative baby care, something like that. How to raise your baby in a creative way. But they go to the people who have money. You should, you don't give syrian people, poor people, people around the camp there is, you know, towns around the camp, like they don't know nothing about nothing. Like if they come to Talbieh they think it's the city, you know? They live in a shitty place, these people is the target group, not the people inside. So some, some things are really complicated, I don't know.

I: (Von Lueder) I am also interested like, because I read about it, do you know about this Camp Improvement Plan?

M: Yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) When was it, like 2012? I mean, what is your impression about that?

M: I never read it, but I saw the email.

I: (Von Lueder) But it's like a topic in the camp or...?

B: (Brennauer) Yeah it's something like working with DPA and working with all this institutions and giving workshops and you know, developing the people way of thinking, the refugees, strengthening the relationship between Syrian and, you know all the Egyptian, Syrian, all the foreign people coming from another arabic countries. And when we go to the DPA topic, they wanna you know, make a collaboration between GIZ for example and DPA. They always take them, every two weeks to Marriott Hotel, you know, having a fancy workshop with a free days stay in the hotel and then go back. That's how to make a, you know, cooperated work with DPA. Just spend money on them.

I: (Von Lueder) But this CIP, is it like still people talk about it or is it important? Nobody talks about it. Because you know, it's like a...(interruption because Hussein, a friend of Joker is leaving and says goodbye)

I: (Von Lueder) You know, one thing now, on the experts level, which is discussed a lot is something called climate change adaption, you know? Because the CIP, the like analysis about also like you know ecological problems in the camp, for example the heat...

M: I remember something. Like they are doing a project in I don't know in which camp, but they will use the sun power.

I: (Von Lueder) Ah.

M: Yeah. (talks in arabic to his friend Abdullah, who just arrived) Yeah, I don't know what's called, this mirror thing. The heating system?

I: (Von Lueder) Solarthermie, Photovoltaik.

M: Yeah, they are spending a lot of money man. Like more than 2 Millions (talks in arabic to his friends). Maybe in Gaza, well I don't know. Not Gaza in Palestine, but the camp.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, yeah the mujayem („camp“ in arabic).

M: Yeah, like a lot of money but not Gaza the one who needs these type of things. The people, like not even the camps, the towns around the camps. Jerash, Baqa'a. Baqa'a is having a big issue with trash. You went to Baqa'a?

I: (Von Lueder) No, but we wanna go.

I: (Brennauer) No. We have to go still, yeah. Perhaps we can go together?

M: We can go together, yeah. I have my uncles there, the one we met, he lives there.

I: (Brennauer) Nice.

M: There they have a trash issue, like they don't have a place to throw the trash, so they have the school and a really big space for trash. So the students are really smelling all the time the trash, and everywhere, it's just like shitty. So these kind of problems, like UNRWA, they clean the streets, yeah? One of their tasks is to clean the streets, but they, it's a really big camp, like Baqa'a is the biggest camp in Jordan, so...

Jalal: More than 200.000.

M: Yeah, it's crazy. So there is a really big issues that NGOs need to focus on. It's good to, you know work with the youth and you know, evolve their way of thinking and womans and children or all these things, but instead of colouring Husn you can help Baqa'a to take off the trash. (Jalal talks in arabic) Yeah, the project we did, when we were translating with you, the rehabilitation centre. Me and Hussein went to the place after you left, like 6 months after you left, just to translate.

I: (Brennauer) In the CBRC in Husn?

M: Yeah. The rehabilitation centre, it's the one that uhm, with sensational uhm...

I: (Binz) At the main station? At the bus station?

M: No no, the rehabilitation.

I: (Brennauer) No, we didn't go yet. CBRC in Husn, it was in construction no, when we went there? They were constructing something.

M: But do you know how much does the cost? 80.000 JDs. And it looks seriously, ridiculously shitty.

I: (Brennauer) You mean the whole house, or the court?

M: No just the garden.

I: (Brennauer) Just the garden, 80.000 JD?

M: Yeah. 80.000.

I: (Von Lueder) Anjed (really, in arabic)?

M: Yeah, we were standing, me and Hussein, he left, he just left. And the guy, the guy came and he was like, yeah we put some trees there and this here and this here. They made, you know, a waterfall?

I: (Brennauer) A fountain? They made it?

M: The waterfall, yeah yeah, it's shitty.

I: (Brennauer) I saw the plans for it. But I thought it was a joke.

M: Yeah, it's just fucked up. And the ground is really shitty. I asked him how could, you know the wheelchairs move in it. And he said, ah don't worry I will do it afterwards. And I was like, what the fuck? 80.000 JDs for nothing. Give it to Omar, he will do it perfectly. It's just, yeah, crazy! And he looks like, his face looks like the guy in charge of the rehabilitation centre, Mohammed. He is the black, dark skin guy. Maybe he is his cousin or something. I don't know, it's crazy.

I: (Brennauer) And there was also all funded by GIZ, right? It's part of the FASPAR.

M: And the big garden.

I: (Von Lueder) I was in the group.

M: How much, what do you want to do there?

I: (Von Lueder) I?

M: Like, what was the idea?

I: (Von Lueder) Of us? We don't have, we don't say like any ideas because we don't feel like we should decide about it. But they had plans already, you know? But now, when we went, they told me it was closed for 3 months.

M: That's what I am talking about.

I: (Brennauer) They just close it down and nobody can access.

M: Yeah I was going to tell you that now. And the other schools thing, I was with the...

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, we saw it also.

M: Yeah? It's crazy. It's just really crazy.

I: (Von Lueder) But what do you know about that? Because I asked them like why they are closed. Like, „it's not finished“.

M: Yeah, it's not finished.

I: (Von Lueder) One really nice thing, or not nice, but interesting: there was like, you know, they fenced it, totally and make a sign: „our garden by our hands“, funded by GIZ. Now GIZ is taped off.

M: Yeah, exactly.

I: (Von Lueder) You know why?

M: Of course. It's just, if you can imagine that the school is UNRWA, GIZ in it, so collaboration and then the problem of the principal, the main problem for the principal was, you know, the female school. Ah you know, „the males, the youth comes and destroy the plants“ and things like that. And I was like, okay but we will build the fence, really high fence. She was like, „yeah but they still do it“. And I was like, „do you want it or not?“. And she was like „yeah I want it but maybe we can, you know, use it with the transportation for kids to go on trips or something like that.“ I was like „ok, I wanted to do something, I am not GIZ. And I don't decide what the money is going to do, like to spend on.“ And she was like „ah ok, sorry“, and she didn't talk to me about it anymore. She went to Ayham, she thought, you know, Ayham was the GIZ, and she asked him the same thing.

I: (Brennauer) So she actually wanted, that the money goes to something else, no? Like to another Project.

M: Yeah. It's the think, like when the real GIZ comes, she wants the garden. When they go, she wants it for something else. It's really crazy,

I: (Von Lueder) But you know, this big garden?

M: Yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) Like do you have an idea why they taped off GIZ? There was a GIZ logo.

M: Yeah, because they funded, so they need...

I: (Von Lueder) No but they...

I: (Brennauer) They put a tape on it. So GIZ is no longer there. Like they made a black tape on GIZ. And now it is only „our garden by our hands“. (Joker is getting a call, the interviewees chat for a while with Jalal about another topic.)

M: So yeah, sorry.

I: (Brennauer) Uhm, I think what we would be also very interested is to, I don't know, like to talk about the role of the young generation, of your generation. Because I am just wondering, because I think this year it's, it's 70 years Nakba now, right? It's 70 years ago and I think every generation has another story to tell about the life of fleeing the country, of being here in the camp, the situation of, it is always temporary, you are still, there is still this thing of waiting and uhm...I am just wondering, how do you see your, the role of your generation?

M: It's just uhm, you know, most of the, I don't know, it is missing now. Like, not fully a hundred per cent people have

the same feeling from the new generation, that we want to come back or something like that. I don't know maybe because technology or the families, like the parents don't talk about it anymore or the stories is not interesting anymore or something like that. But I mean, there is a good thing in the institutions, that they still keeping, you know, giving the identity workshops. Like, talk about Palestine and things like that. But the only thing that made me, you know thinking about Palestine in a different way, was actually the film workshop. Because the trainers were from Palestine, all of them. And they were always talking about Palestine, watching Palestinian movies, and always talking about.

Jalal: And the music workshop.

M: Yeah, the music workshop too. Like all these people who told us these things, they were from Palestine. And I was thinking like once we mentioned that why, why doesn't we go to Palestine, and tell them about our way of seeing the heritage and the conflict or all these things. Why shouldn't we, you know, exchange and teach other people. And it's always Palestine coming to us, Palestine coming to us. Yes because it's you know, the condition there because we never got the Visa. But the second thing, that they always come to teach us. They never, you know, the funders, the GIZ, they never give us a chance that like, ok we will bring some youth from Palestine to take a workshop in your country, by you. Never! Like not just us, other youths. Like we have super genius people here in the camp, but they all left to Amman. But there is chances here, nobody goes to Amman. We see Amman as a big deal because we don't have nothing here. Resources no, anything, we don't have nothing here. Even transportations is ... it sucks. It's just like, but you know, the whole idea about going back to Palestine and things like that, like we...two weeks ago Hussein was giving something about Palestine and telling about Palestine and he asked one kid „where are you coming from?“ and he was like „Israel!“. He was like, „where from Israel?“. And he was like „Bir as-Sab“. „Are you sure that you are that Bir as-Sab is from Israel?“. And he was like „Yeah.“ (pause) So it's really, it's really disappointing but uhm, I don't blame them. Maybe the parents never talked about it. Because the parents, and I don't think it's their fault too because they are really busy in working and you know, getting money to feed their kids. And that's the issue, in that situation when the parents are really away to bring money and the older families doing the same thing, then the institutions and the local community should, you know, teach each other. Where they learn from these daily life stories and workshops and things like that. I think the local community's institutions are really important thing in this places like, yeah. Because you have your save place, you should have a save place. That's why we went out of this woman centre. We didn't have it, we didn't feel save. We always felt like somebody's watching us. If I wanna talk with that girl, you are not allowed or you wanna do this thing alone on the computer. They always judge us, that we are doing something bad. And the thing, the pronunciation of bad is different for them, because it's always „aib, aib, aib, aib, aib, aib“ (arabic word for bad). When you are looking at, you know a half naked girl picture, come on it's fine. I see my mother naked. She wear whatever she want, I see sister having a shorts, come on. They are making it a big deal, so the kids grow up like you have only your sister and you need to take care of her and you need to protect her from other guys and you are not allowed to touch any other girl. So this kid, when he grows up, goes to the University, he is really nervous when he sits down next to a girl. He never, he just like, he never passes the exams. (everybody laughing) Yeah, god damn, if a girl asked him for his book, to study, he write his number in hit. He think that she love him. Yeah, I don't blame him, come on. It's just like.

I: (Binz) Is it a true story? (laughing)

M: Yeah, true story. (Jalal is talking in arabic to Joker) Yeah when we were like young and participants in the woman centre we never like tell our faults, never never came out in the front of everybody and say „ey, I think this is, can be more meaningful than this.“ Never, because we are afraid. In the house, parents say to you, don't do that. And in the street the same. And in the local community centres the same, everywhere the same. When you go to Amman, nobody say that. So I love Amman, that's why everybody's going to Amman, or any other place. Even though if it's next to the camp. Just get me out from the camp. It is really crazy but I don't blame people.

I: (Brennauer) But that's what you think too? You want to get out?

M: (taking a deep breath) I love to be out. It's just like, I would love to, you know, correct, or you know, solve everything here, I would love to be a part of this solution if I can. But I don't see any like, any steps, I don't see nobody cares about it. (talks in arabic to his friends)

I: (Brennauer) Yeah, I don't know, because when we were in Berlin still, we were reading a lot of literature about Palestinian refugee camps and they always pointed out, it was always, many of the texts were in combination also I think with Urban Design and Architecture, and they always said it's very critical to make changes, like physical changes in the camp because the people who live there are very...like it's this image of that camp is only temporary and actually we want to go back. So we don't want big physical changes in the camp. And we were always like really confronted with this thought. And then, I don't know, since I am here I don't have this impression anymore, that people are so sceptical about change.

M: Yeah it's just, I think people is already changing, step by step, but they need the time to convince theirselves, that it's time to change. It's just like, this feeling of laziness, come on it's easy to go out, it's like covering all the minds of the people in the camp. Like let's just go out or... I don't have a land in Palestine, some people say that. I don't have nothing in Palestine, why should I go back? If it's possible to go back. Some people say no, I don't wanna go back. You wanna go back (he is asking his friends, who are sitting with him). No, that's the thing. (Joker receives a call)

M: But now, the positive thing is when the film making workshop started, we faced a lot of problems. Like you know, me, Omar and another girl. „Ah what the fuck! It's a porn movie!“, hundred percent, yeah exactly. People telling that when we are in the session, in the woman centre doing movies, and once a movie, we were watching a movie where a woman dancing, so you can hear (not understandable), you know woman dancing and laughs and things like that and the second day, all the camp talking that I was dancing, he was dancing, all the girls were dancing, you know, doing some, you know, shitty things, sexual things. You know? We faced a lot of things and because our trainers were wearing shorts...wearing shorts was a very bad idea in the camp. It's a really shame to be like wearing shorts for a guy, don't look at yourself. (everybody laughing) I was like, but, yeah but they got used to it. So the first thing we did like, we did like, we hang fotos in the camp, around the camp, all the camp. We put fotos in it, so you can hear if it's like a train foto, you can hear the train sound and people walked around the camp, we marked all the streets and all the families participate and they liked the idea. And then we made a big party where we showed our seven films, the one you saw and people liked that thing. And then, ah yeah, the reason why I keep from the school was because I was rapping, yeah I was rapping. So the first time me and Jalal, we had a music workshop here in the camp, from Jordanians guys, he was, you know, learning the DJ for two days and then left, and a Danish guy. And then Fadi came, we took a long term rap workshop and then I start performing all the time in the camp, so people got used to me. And when I made my first album, everybody took the album and now kids know us, know Jalal, that he plays guitars and Jalal is teaching girls now when it's fine. The girls boys thing is fine now, but not hundred percent fine. But yeah, they are getting used to it. But in the beginning, it was like shit. Our families were pushing us to quit. Like...(Jalal is talking to Joker in arabic) yeah, they were telling all the time like, what is the outcome? Come on, you making music, what are you doing? Getting money? That's the outcome, the money. So when he, when he was making music he used to go to his mother and tell her, „hey listen to this“. But (not understandable) was nice, in the beginning. And I got kicked out 6, 7 times from the house because I was rapping. All the neighbors comes to my dad and say „hey, your son was like doing this crazy thing in the street, he was looking like an idiot.“ and „he is putting down the name of the family“ and „ah, where is the dignity?“, come on. And my dad get really mad and just kicked me out of the house. I sleep in the street, then come back the next day. When I took my first payment from my first song, he was like „hey, come on when is the next concert?“. (everybody laughing) So money was the outcome, just like the goal. But I mean now they are fine with it. There is some bad things, some good things, but it's always, there is things to solve. (Jalal is talking to Joker in arabic) Yeah and this challenges, which made us to become like this. To think in another way, and I went to Denmark, it's really nice there. That's why, I was like, I had the idea of, you know, staying in the camp because it's the heritage and you know, the old story that everybody stick to. But when I went to Denmark I realized that I can live my life. I can live alone, I can do whatever I want but when I went back to Jordan, I was like shocked again, being here, then go here, then go down here again. (Jalal is talking to Joker in arabic) Yeah, exactly, when people saw me went to Denmark and went back and playing music and things like that, they respected me because I started, they made fun of me and now yeah like everybody knows me and everybody respect me. And that's a good thing. Like fighting for something is really something you need to work on. So yeah...

I: (Von Lueder) But yeah, one thing, one project in the West Bank, in Dheisheh, this project, you know, they don't try to just give the green house for family, they make like you know a business opportunity. They say „we give you a greenhouse, if you plant for example tomatos, and you give us tomatos back, and you get money for it“. So it's like a job, you know?

M: That's nice. There is things happening in Palestine. More vialable than things happening here. Do you know why? There is more dynamic or...No, because they are more open.

I: (Brennauer) Actually, that is exactly what our professor said today. He said exactly this, that they are more open for, there is a bigger discourse like...

M: Exactly, they are really more open.

I: (Von Lueder) But can you just imagine a project like this? A job opportunity? What do you think, in this context of Talbieh for example?

M: That's why we didn't accept like the rooftop in our building. Because they wanna decorate the rooftop and that's like spending money. I was like, come on, let's, I don't wanna plant tomatos but plant something like useable. Okay, people sitting here, let's plant mint and things that for the tea or flowers or something you take care of, not just to decorate things. So we were like, okay, we can use the money to buy instruments for the kids or new recording place or something like that.

I: (Brennauer) And they accepted this idea?

M: We didn't talk about it yet but the council was like, hmm I don't like her, so...

I: (Brennauer) Is it the one we met, right? The one who said „put up your dirty hands and take a picture“?

M: Yeah, you can take that as example, like you saw it by your eyes. Just like crazy!

I: (Binz) And did you propose to her your idea with the cinema?

M: No we got a fund from another...

I: (Von Lueder) It's going to happen?

M: Yeah.

I: (all) Wow, nice!

M: Yeah, I forgot to tell you, yeah.

I: (Brennauer) A funding from where?

M: European Union. Yeah. And in the legal paper work, if your institution haven't been for two years, like you know, working with the financial papers for two years by itself, you can get a fund from everywhere. That's why GIZ stick with us until we finish the two years. But we sent them emails and emails and emails, we got fund. I was surprised that they fund a, like a project that have been for 3 months, 4 months.

I: (Binz) And did you apply, like did you find it or how did you apply?

M: One friend, yeah she is from the camp, she lives in Amman of course. She find it and she told us and we were like „yeah, let's do it“.

I: (Brennauer) Cool, wow.

M: Yeah but we got good money, but it's for film and music. So that's the, what we need actually. (talks in arabic to Jalal)

I: (Brennauer) Oh, that's really cool news. And when is it going to start?

M: Maybe in May.

I: (Brennauer) Wow! Oh no, it's just when we are leaving.

M: Yeah, I hope it's at the beginning of May. But uhm yeah. And the conflict between the institutions in the camp, it's really bad. Like there is two centres now, working in the same thing, not the same, but like the same idea. The woman centre and there is two clubs for kids, thats Etehad and Talbieh youth and there is another one here but nobody cares about it. There is a lot of institutions but they hate each other. Even in Husn it's the same. Even in Jerash, everybody, they hate each other. Like, really bad. I don't know why. It's just like they are trying to ruin up their, everything. Because Jerih takes a lot of money, not a lot of money like for workers, but I mean like a lot of workshops for kids and we do more than like, we have 12 workshops in the plan, but we give like 60. Because we are there everyday. So we get fund like, we buy the stereo for 12.000 and the film making equipments, all these things. Like everything from GIZ and that's because Rania and the headmaster of the GIZ. And the woman centre is always looking at us, looking down at us, like why you giving them all this money, we are doing better than them. Yeah, they are taking the same thing, but not as many as our workshops. (Jalal is talking in arabic to Joker) Ah, yeah and the new thing, that if there is a new fund, it's for everybody, not for....so in the beginning it was just for the woman centre, just for the woman centre. And when Jerih came, it's for everybody. And, you know Aria?

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, from GIZ.

I: (Brennauer) Who is it?

I: (Binz) Aria, the woman we had the interview.

M: From Husn.

I: (Brennauer) Ah yeah, yeah, I remember her. We actually met her again for an interview in Amman, in the GIZ headquarter. I mean, it was the same impression as in Husn I guess. It's very superficial, no?

M: Yeah, she is...

I: (Brennauer) It is very superficial, no?

M: No, she is acting like she is official.

I: (Brennauer) No, she is very superficial, I mean. Superficial?

M: Like not down to ground?

I: (Brennauer) Ja...Like she doesn't dig deeply. She is like: „Everything is fine.“

M: Yeah, yeah, yeah. It's just, ya. Once she came to our centre, she was like: „Oh, you have a nice furniture. Why did GIZ give you this? Why not Husn?“, „Come on Husn never worked with you.“, It is all old womens, old mens, old womens, old mens.

B: (Hussein) Even in our camps. (speaking arabic)

M: We are the (not understandable) one, who is working mainly with youth. We had this workshop, this ehm, you know, team that we call „story-telling“ or „story-writing“ workshop, that is mainly for women to write down their stories or something like that. And we changed it, it is for females, young females. We don't any womens, even though...you know Seinab, she will move to eeh Women Centre, because she should be like two different way of thinking and they are not allowed to work in music or film and we are not allowed to work with womens. So that's the thing with the GIZ. So...we trying to give our opinion and fight for it. But the rooftop, I don't know. I liked it in the beginning, when I imagined it: me and the guys, when we were imagining what we will do. But when we saw the picture, we were just like: „No.“ It is just like 6,000 JDs. You wanna pay that for what.

I: (Von Lueder) 6,000?

M: Yeah.

I: (Brennauer) They pay for the garden on the top of womens centre?

M: No, for us. For women centre 4 or 3...3 and a half. But for us, you know, they wanna do this.

I: (Brennauer) It is so much money. I just...because...

I: (Von Lueder) It is just old barrels.

M: No, because they wanna do the ground, too. And the umbrellas. They make it like a iron umbrellas. Sit down and all the furniture.

B: (Jalal) Cover for the roof.

M: But still a lot.

I: (Binz) But did you ask GIZ for the cinema idea, too. Or did you directly ask the...

M: We ask them before and they were like: „It's too much money.“ Ya? (Jalal speaking arabic to Joker)

M: Ja, ja, but the European Union will do it. Yeah, we mentioned with them. But to do a cinema - with the plants. Like to have, you know, a teacorner, as we say. Just mint and all this very tasty things. And cinema and hooks and laptops. A really big space there - and closed space. But for people to watch movies and come and hang out and things like that. And they didn't accept it. We..we..ask for..for the...from then Union, European Union. They were okay with it. And we are thinking now - not making the closed area - closed. Because we are not sure, if they gonna kick us out or not. So we keep everything....

I: Binz: Flexible..

M: Flexible and really to move. Ah yeah. Just planning for the future. Maybe in the future we find somebody to buy us a place. But...Then there will be another problem. Because you need to sign the place under the name of somebody. So we will buy (not understandable). You know when you buy a house?

I: (Binz) Ja...

M: You need to have a owner.

I: (Brennauer) And you mean this is problem?

M: Ja, the owner is not the problem. But I mean if Jalal is the owner, then we don't trust Jalal...

I: (Brennauer) (laughing)

M: ...He is our friend, but I mean, you don't know what will be happen in the future. It should be for the camp, not for somebody. And that is my problem too. Like the DPA is controlling everything. And the headquarter of the DPA is owning everything. Not the DPA as DPA. You know? People is not using anything from the DPA, just him. Renting and buying, selling...So that's basically what we should try to solve, differently.

M: You wanna go back to...Palestine? (asking a boy sitting with us)

Boy: If I have a job - yes.

I: (Brennauer) Heh?

Boy: If I have a good job -yes.

I: (Brennauer) A job?

B: (Boy) Yes. But just go? Why?

Jalal: Because it is our life - in here. If I go to Palestine, what should I do?

M: But come on, if you think about it deeply. If you wanna go to Palestine and it is open, then UNRWA doesn't exist anymore. So, you know,....

Jalal: ...new house, start new job, new education and a lot of things

M: Yeah, no no no. But if we decide to not go to Palestine, then UNRWA doesn't...we don't need UNRWA. UNRWA will finish their work. So that's the point.

Jalal: Anywhere in the world, there are the skrit, their funds, skrit or skrits.

M: Shu yani? (arab.: What does that mean)

Jalal: (explaining in arabic)

Boy: decrease...



M: Decrease their funds.

I: (Brennauer) Ah, decrease.

M: Because my uncle told me that if you wanna...if we wanna, like, stay in the camp...if all the Palestinian people say that Jordan is our country, then the UNRWA is finished and you can imagine how many employees at the UNRWA. So they can't finish just like that. So they just keep planting the idea of keeping the heritage and Palestine and all these things.

Jalal: (speaking in arabic)

I: (Brennauer) Do you have the feeling that it is a bit fake? Or?

M: Yeah, it is a really big fake. Cos we always see people coming from Palestine. Yeah, there is war there. Ja, I hate what happening there. But people, who comes to us from Palestine. God damn it, they live more like excellent, they live their life. And only just like, people in Gaza, we always hear about them...stories about them, really sad stories: people, who stop in the, you know, borders and things like that. But when you see somebody from Palestine, you don't feel that. Like he comes and: „Yeah, Palestine is really beautiful. You can come and see it. We have a lot of money, we have like open mind and we do all these things. All beer is free.“

Boy: (speaking in arabic)

I: (Brennauer) (laughing) Beer is free? Come on.

M: Yeah, just like crazy. Yeah, they just give you pink thoughts about how beautiful is Palestine and happening there. When you look at the media, it is just: Dadadada, buff, dufduf (imitating shots and bombs). Just like....crazy. And everyone comes from Palestine, driving a really good car and comes and tell us about Palestine: „Hey, you look clean, come on. You look really fancy to tell us about that.“

Jalal: Maybe he works with Israel.

M: Jaaa.

Boy: Everyone there works with Israel.

M: Maybe Israel need us, that, you know..to...

Boy: ...to work

M: ...to keep on, like, eh, wanting you to go back to Palestine. To UNRWA stay.

Jalal: (speaking arabic)

M: Jaa, because, eh, we had this thing about, if UNRWA stop their work, then there is no come back right.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, haqq al-aude (right of return in arabic)

M: They always do it, when they, you know, their budget goes down from the UNRWA, they come up with this thing and they just say that the people are really afraid and they want Palestine back, so other countries give them money - for us. But I don't see nothing (laughing). Just crazy. Even if you want to work in UNRWA, you have to have, like, a really good family name, really good, eh, (asking for a word in arabic)

Hussein: Communications.

M: Communications...

I: (Brennauer) But then would you say, ehm, this whole heritage and when you talk about Palestine, it is more like a representation to the outside. So that, I don't know, so that...

I: (Von Lueder) ...we think it's true? Or I mean...War das das was du meinstest?

I: (Brennauer) Weiß nicht was du gesagt hast.

I: (Von Lueder) So when we ask people and they say like: „Yeah, we want to return. And really beautiful and were fellahin (farmers in arabic)“, everything, do you think that is the representation just for us or is it also, when you talk...they mention it also like...or only to us?

M: Yeah, I can't judge. You need confidence to say that. Me and Jalal we don't care. Just (not understandable) we don't wanna go back. I love my family, I love my grandfather, I appreciate what he did, but his time is over and my time is on and maybe if I have like the chance to go - I would love to go. Because i heard a lot of stories. When you hear a lot of stories about something - you need to see. You should live in it. But i live here, I go out...I grew up and then...I know how to live here. There I will be like...I can't imagine myself there. But I mean, some peoples are giving you, you know, the really nice picture about

Jalal: (speaking in Arabic)

M: He is just saying that, if you wanna go to Palestine, you will build another tent. And redo the same story again, because we have nothing there. Cos, Israel, like Israel took our land anyway. They never give it back to us. We need to live with it. If your government did it and do nothing, what should we do? Should go kill ourself, like these crazy people, who go there. Is like, ya I will throw stones, ya of course, if I see a soldier, like, disrespecting women or slap her, I would slap the shit out of him. Because I will do it with any women, not just because she is Palestinian. And that's the thing that people need to understand. We don't do it just because the name or the eh nationality, just because humanity. That's the thing. It is just because, all the people, when you sit down with them, like a foreign guy or a strange guy and talk about Palestine: really beautiful, we wanna go back, I wanna do whatever - I want to go back. When we talk in a circle about Palestine - fuck Palestine - Why should I go back? Why should...what do I have there? Come on...you just ruined up my thoughts. You are always talking about Palestine, Palestine, Palestine...come on. This (not understandable) for our life. It is always like that, here in the camp, especially. You know, outside like in L'Weibdeh, when we sit down in L'Weibdeh nobody talks about Palestine. Instead of this (arabic word)...

Jalal: (speaking in Arabic)

M: Yeah, exactly and nobody accept to live instead to be in the camp. Like if I say, we have this really bad image about the camp. Like if I am from the camp, then I am smoking weed too much and drinking too much, selling weed, doing this bad thing. It the same...

Jalal: (speaking in Arabic)

M: Yeah, and they (not understandable) about poorness in the camp. They look at us as a material. That mean more money or you know, more funds. We are poor people and we need more care. And we look at them...we look at them, you know, as people, who don't deserve what they have. You know? Just they don't appreciate. We look at them like that. Because when you hear that you reverse it. Is like it is really harmful, if I went to somebody in Amman and he ask me: „Where are you from?“ and I say: „Talbieh Camp“, then he was like: „Where is it?“, „Ah, just next to the camp. Eh.. next to the airport. When you fly on top, you will see it.“ It just really harmful just talking about that. And...and the government is not doing nothing. Even the lights, they cut it off. What? Just like, yeah... There is people, not Beduin...but I told you the name, ya?

I: (Brennauer) Gypsy.

M: Gypsies. Like, we always heard the stories from our families, that they are really rich. But they like to live like that. It is the same. Because we her...we hear about them that they are rich and they like to live like this. And the Amman people hear about us that they are poor and the need...All the this stories and this stereotypes about everybody is just really crazy. Yatik El-Afi (talking to somebody, arab. Begrüßung / Verabschiedung). Yeah....

## Interview Seinab (2018)

The interview takes place in Jerih, a cultural association working on films, music, identity, life skills and story writing in Talbiyeh Camp. Present people: Seinab (interviewee); Von Lueder, Brennauer (2 interviewers); anonym (translator); Lisa (guest).

I: (Brennauer) Can you ask if she is growing vegetables right now in her house or on her roof?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, they have like a free space in the house, not on the roof but like around the house. Outside. Yeah and they grow olives, uhm, ruman (pomegranate in arabic), you know? You know ruman? The one you open and it's red.

I: (Brennauer) Lemon?

S: Yes.

I: (Von Lueder) So they have a lot of trees basically?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: yes.

I: (Von Lueder) Fi mujayem? (Inside the camp? in arabic)

Translator: No.

I: (Von Lueder) Barra (outside in arabic). And how big is this garden?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So they have like a free space next to the house. Like...

B: (translator Hussein) 1.500 square meter.

I: (Brennauer) 1.500? Kebir (big in arabic).

Translator: (laughs) It's really big.

I: (Von Lueder) But they sell it? They sell it?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Olives for the house. It is just for the house. They have a big family, a really big family.

I: (Von Lueder) And just fruits, yeah? So just, they have just trees and they have no, no pandora (tomato in arabic)?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: It is not the time for it, you know.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, but they do it?

Translator: Yeah, they do it.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: In March they do potatos, tomatos. And in April they do uhm, a kind of fruit. Bamie, fasuria? Bamie is like...

I: (Von Lueder) But she lived in the camp before?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: No.

I: (Von Lueder) But she is connected with the camp?

Translator: She's work here since 1995. Like once, they live just next to the camp, like one camp next to the camp. Like Ahmed Zaki. (pause) Bamie is Okra.

I: (Brennauer) In March, for example, when she is growing all the vegetables, she has to still go to the market and buy or she is like sustaining the whole family with it?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah, they buy from the, untill it grows they buy from the stores.

I: (Brennauer) Ah ok, but when it grows it is enough?

Translator: Yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) How much time do they spend like on taking care for all the plants? In summer?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, basically in the winter they don't, you know, they don't water. But then, in the summer they do it once a week. And in June they start to collect olives from the trees.

I: (Von Lueder) And the pandora (tomato in arabic)?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah they do it.

I: (Von Lueder) But they spend how many hours?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So basically, the tomatos is really easy. Like, it doesn't take that long to take care of it. Because you, you squeeze the tomatos in the land it will grows by itself. And parsley?

I: (Brennauer) Ah, the fresh tomatos she squeezes inside?

Translator: And parsley, that kind of plant takes a lot of care and you know. They spend a lot of time.

I: (Von Lueder) And who is taking care of it? Like the whole family or...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, her husband and the kids.

I: (Von Lueder) Ok, the kids are also interested? They have knowledge?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, they don't leave them alone because they will ruin up. But her husband is always around with them to tell them what to do. But they do it. Like sometimes they do just, like they know today they need to feed the plants with water, so they do it by themselves.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So the kids actually works like, spend time in working in the land next month because they will dig the holes for the plants and the seeds. And they plant cactus all the time.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: They put some chemical things in the, in the trees. Because the, you know, the insects.

I: (Von Lueder) And does she think that when they, she and her husband stop taking care of it, the kids will continue?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: They like it, yeah. But if they leave it for them, they would bring, you know, their friends and play football in it, because it's a big place.

I: (Von Lueder) How old are they?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: 15...until...so even the small kids, they take it.

I: (Von Lueder) And in Palestine fellayin (farmers in arabic) background?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Beduins from Palestine. They (not understandable), like growing plants and taking like uhm sheeps back in Palestine.

I: (Von Lueder) And they come in the 50s to this place from Palestine?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: 48.

I: (Von Lueder) 48? And they come directly here or..

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: They came to Amman. The first place, they had money because the farming, so they rent a house in Amman.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So her family used to have like apartment and stores in Wehdat. They rent it there.

I: (Brennauer) And she learned from her parents how to do gardening?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So her family taught her like, yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) And they came here in the 50s, she said yeah? But so the, before the camp was established they were here?

Translator: Yeah, but they lived in Amman.

I: (Von Lueder) Ah but when do they come to Talbieh?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So 1981 they came to Talbieh. She were teaching.

I: (Von Lueder) So in 1981 she also started like to farm again?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So when they came they build a house and there was a small space behind the house, they were planting and...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: They have another land like in another place. They used to plant there too. So they were like building a house and planting in another place. When they finish, they came here.

I: (Brennauer) And she has the feeling that she is saving a lot of money by growing the food?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, if the farmer or the owner were shifting plants, depends on the time, yeah it's like helpfull and they save a lot of money. But if he relies on only on olives time, like just plant olives, it is not that much money.

I: (Brennauer) Ah ok, but if she is growing more than...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is saying that the farmer should like knows what the market needs. If he wants to sell things. Because in the past there were a lot of sheeps and you know, animals were really a lot in Jordan. And this thing, to plant in that time were, beans and wheat, just to feed the animals.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So because, in the beginning when her father was planting in his land, he used to, what it's called? Plant emily?

I: (Von Lueder) Can you show a picture?

Translator: Parley, Barley?

I: (Lisa) Ich glaube Malz.

Translator: That's the thing what the animals eat.

I: (Brennauer) Like corn? No...

I: (Von Lueder) Like oat?

Translator: Yeah, something like wheat, but... yeah, it's for chickens and you know.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So when they were relying just on planting barley, they had like a place to, like a place where they are having chicken all over. So they were planting and checking the outcomes, give it to the chicken and then eat.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So one time, like she is saying there is a lot of challenges when you have like your own project, or your place that produce these things. That the chickens that they had, once a time they died all over. So you need to be like, you need to know a lot of things about what you are doing. So there were a lot of challenges.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So because it was really cold, like the chicken died and because the Ministry of farming, they didn't provide that much like cures or, you know, they didn't have the knowledge about diseases in that time.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: But still, the Ministry used to, you know fund these projects.

I: (Brennauer) And can, I mean now she has a really big garden, but can she imagine in general to have a farm on the rooftop?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah, they are actually thinking about doing that, like doing flowers and, flowers and plant things, but they do not have plan like what, the types.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: But one of her sons really likes farming, so.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: I just asked if you want to make like a rooftop garden? What kind of plants will you use? She said, you know, tomatos, potatos, you know, these, the things the house use a lot. Because I think it's a lot of money.

I: (Brennauer) It's a lot of money?

Translator: It saves a lot of money.

I: (Von Lueder) Does she have like, in her garden a beit plastic (greenhouse in arabic)? Andik beit plastic? (Do you have a greenhouse? in arabic)

S: Mhm. (nods)

I: (Von Lueder) And what I am interested, like her friends in the camp, does she think they are also interested in farming? There is an interest?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Uhm, what did you ask?

I: (Von Lueder) Uhm, if she got the feeling that her friends in the camp, they also have an interest in farming?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is basically saying that it's the lack of spaces, you know rooftops. But people are interested because they, they all come from a fellayin background. But you know, the new generation, she sees that they are not interested that much as they used to be before. And because most of like the new generation is actually working, you know, studying or doing this life things. So it's not like, it's not a useful way to build a rooftop garden and just stay all the day in the work and then come back and it's died, it's ruined or...so you need time for it.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is just mentioning the things that she don't buy from the market. You know, all the things we mentioned before, she don't buy it from the market because there you already have it. And oil, like olive oil, they produce it by themselves.

I: (Von Lueder) But uhm, I mean the young generation they don't have time for it. But what is her impression, what is you know, why, like here generation can't do like planting on the rooftop?

Translator: Why our generation?

I: (Von Lueder) No, her generation.

Translator: Oh, she said because it's you know in the rooftop, because the stairs.

I: (Von Lueder) But I mean, a little bit younger, I mean not you, but...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is saying that, because her generation when they become 6 years old, they used to go to the farm, like they start work in the farm but our generation, we came to Jordan like refugees, we don't have like, you know, we didn't have spaces, or the knowledge and the people were just thinking about the care of the others, not just planting.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is saying that most of the people who lives in the camp, they didn't be born in Palestine. There is a few old womans and old mans, they were born in Palestine but the new...when they came to Jordan, they started immediatly working in farms around like the camp with the Jordanians. But the new generation, they' didn't have that.

I: (Von Lueder) But I mean, there is one generation who were like experienced, Nakba also, another generation, and you, right?

Translator: Yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) But what is about the middle generation? You know, the generation which was not born in Palestine but is not you. Like in the middle.

S: (talking in arabic) So if there like, like when they went out of Palestine, they were really young so they didn't see their parents working in the farm or they saw the background or something like that. So they didn't have like a push to work. Nobody pushed them to work.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is saying like the young womans, like in her generation, when they came, they just started working in the farms next to the camp and Amman and you know, Jordan River and these places. And, but the new generation, they just been born here and you know, UNRWA, that from me, UNRWA started like making schools and things like that as the old woman said before. They didn't have schools there in the countrysides.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, because the old generation used to wake up at 5 in the morning and start working and this generation is just, wake up at 12, 11 and then move in the afternoon, so...

I: (Von Lueder) But is there also like, does she think that a new generation, they see their future in the camp? Or they also want to go out?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah she thinks because there is no work here or I don't know, chances, everything here. So our generation of course will leave when they, and just look for a better place, a better work.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah because if we want to work in Amman, we will pay half of our payment for transportation, so yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) Is her impression more like there is a difference between genders? Like regarding farming? For example women are more interested in that or men? Or is it like...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Womans.

I: (Brennauer) Women are more interested?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: When you go like to a big farm where it's a project or like, like a big farm who has an owner, you know article, what do you call yourself?

I: (Brennauer) Architect?

Translator: Yeah Architect. And there is a guy from the Ministry who look for the quality of that and the rest of the workers are females. Like if you go around the camp, you will see like 80 per cent are womans. And most of them...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So I just asked her, if uhm, not all the people from Palestine is fellayin (farmer in arabic), like who is basically, who is the people like the cities and ...

I: (Von Lueder) Also in Berlin.

Translator: Yeah, like Jericho and Bi'ir as-Sab, I don't know what it's called, Janine, these places are really interested, because it's the countryside. Jerusalem, Ramallah, these people, they don't do it.

I: (Brennauer) Does she think, it would be important to pass on this knowledge of the fellayin (farmer in arabic) generation? Because now it seems to get lost kind of.



S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is saying uhm, you know, farming is like science. So, she mentioned, music, when you learn music it's the same when you learn farming. So, it's important to pass the knowledge for the new generation, and of course, if there is no farming in Jordan, then all the products will come from outside the country. It is now, but I mean, still..

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: They used to do like workshops for woman center, kids, for planting and farming.

I: (Brennauer) Ah, in their home?

Translator: Like here.

I: (Brennauer) Ah, here.

I: (Von Lueder) But uhm, she think it was successful, these workshops? Like people get inspired and...

S:

Translator: She is like, one of the participants were like, her neighbors and these people. They are still doing it, like they put some flowers and...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: They cut like from the tree and plant it again, and they do it sometimes. When the kid from their family see like a beautiful tree, he knows where to cut and take you know, with him.

I: (Brennauer) And right now, like how does she use her rooftop? Does she do any thing upstairs?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: It's empty. They prepare to do something.

I: (Brennauer) To do like, tea corner or...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, you know, it's like floors. They have the house because the kids, their sons, her sons, they are all married and each one has his own floor, and the last three floors it is really difficult to go down to the space to sit down the family, so they are planning to do like a tea corner or sit down place there on the rooftop, and maybe plant things because one of her kids is interested in that.

I: (Von Lueder) But she got an idea like uhm, how to spread the idea of farming, agriculture inside the camp? Because I mean now it's...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She is saying that it would be important to give workshops about, you know, farming and how to filter the, like, a workshop about filtering the air by plants. What kind of plants to use and...and she did it before. And she is saying that if she called the womans and told them that there is another workshop about farming, a hundred woman will be here. They are really interested, but she said the lack of spaces are really a big challenge.

I: (Von Lueder) But the roof is no option for her?

Translator: Like for most of the womans here in the camp? Yeah, it's zinc, it's like my roof.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, yeah.

I: (Brennauer) But, it's not, like it's one third of the camp that has zinc?

Translator: Yeah we talked about 80 per cent? I don't remember.

I: (Brennauer) I think it was less. But I don't have it here.

Translator: Yeah, check it please, I don't remember what he said.

I: (Brennauer) Yeah.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She said that there is a hundred houses more or less, that has zinc roof.

I: (Brennauer) But perhaps it could be an idea that, I don't know, perhaps two families can share one garden on the roof. Or do you think it is not possible? But if one has a zinc and the other has a concrete...like to share, to share a rooftop? Or is it not so common.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: I don't know, maybe it would be like uhm a little bit...

I: (Brennauer) ...to private?

Translator: Yeah, it's just traditional way of thinking.

I: (Brennauer) And how much money does she spend on vegetables and fruits per month?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: 15 to 20 JDs.

I: (Von Lueder) In a week?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Per week.

I: (Von Lueder) But for how many people?

Translator: Three. For the whole family it needs like 30 JDs. For all.

I: (Von Lueder) But uhm, what is her impression like, she think that the people are willing to invest a small amount of money or how much would they invest to start farming? How much do they have?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She think that they are really, like have enough commitment to some things to think about you know, saving, because they can't do it. It's really poor people here.

I: (Brennauer) So actually no money.

S: (talking in arabic)

I: (Brennauer) Because the plastic beit (greenhouse in arabic), Mahmood, he is doing it in Husn Camp, it is about 600 JD.

Translator: Yeah, but the GIZ payed for it,

I: (Brennauer) They payed it, yeah, but now the question is how will the project continue? So...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: It is really expensive. 700 without the plants or with the plants?

I: (Brennauer) With everything.

I: (Von Lueder) But the thing is like, you don't need beit plastic (greenhouse in arabic). It's just, you know, in summer you don't need it because it is too hot. So I mean when you make it without the beit plastic, it's like for one like this, you got in the

woman center, the one barrel, I think it's 12 JD.

Translator: But they will put umbrellas.

I: (Brennauer) They will put umbrellas?

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah? But I mean for this one barrel, when you want to plant pandora (tomato in arabic) I think, it is 12 JDs. So is that too much?

Translator: Yeah, but 12 JDs is, for my mom, I think she will think about, it is better to cook something for the money. (laughs) I mean they think about that like.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So yeah, but I mean if you like think about like sharing a rooftop or something, that would be like females only. If you want to make a solution for it. But you need to like try and find close friends, like not all neighbors are in good relationships with each other.

I: (Von Lueder) But basically she don't think of any chance that people can start by their own?

Translator: But I mean in Husn, GIZ came and built the plastic house for you and give you all the plants, yeah? Then you need to reproduce from your own plants and, so you got the start I mean.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, but the thing is, in Husn, they built a beit plastic (greenhouse) and the people just continued making their own beds, you know? They taking old fridge, so this is for free, like more or less and they see how much effort you can have and how much money you can save by doing it, so they are willing to invest.

Translator: Exactly, they start saving money form that place, but from zero you can't do that. Like here in the camp.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah because the problem is like, everyone is dependent to GIZ, you know? They wait until GIZ come and like.

Translator: Yeah, they are the only people who work in the camp, like UNRWA don't do that for example. And, yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) But I think like, for example if somebody just start, for example one guy in Husn, he just built his own beit plastic. You know from like recycled materials. And I think this is really inspiring, when you see somebody, he is like also poor like you, but you see like, he can do it. But when you see only GIZ can do it, then it's like impossible.

Translator: Yeah, yeah, exactly. And that's not the people problem.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, exactly.

Translator: I mean, the NGOs in total, they give you this picture. I am here for you, I am doing that for you, just sit down and I will do it for you. So they got used to it.

I: (Von Lueder) So this is what we are interested in, like how can motivation begin? Because, like on the paper it is really easy to start, but it's like a huge barrier because of you know all this politic and NGOs.

Translator: I remember my grandmother used to talk about, when we came from Palestine, we used to work in farms. And then UNRWA came and start to give us food and you know, clothes, so they were telling us to sit down and take a picture of us, like sitting down and waiting for the food and something like that. So they got used to sit down and just take the picture, just give you food, so... if you want to look at the big picture, it is really detailed.

I: (Brennauer) Yeah, like you make people so dependent in the end, like in the mind.

Translator: Yes, exactly. It is maybe these things which make people lose interest in what they used to do in Palestine. Farming and, you know...

I: (Von Lueder) But it's really interesting because you know, this identity about Palestine, it's still alive but still like it's, there is no movement.

Translator: Yeah, no movement, exactly.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She is saying that in the 80s, when she came to the camp, the camp had a lot of trees and plants all over the place, but UNRWA, when they started to build a places for the people, they cut it down, all the things. So at the beginning it were like full of plants and green, but they ruined that up.

I: (Von Lueder) And in the beginning the people also have like, the house was smaller.

Translator: Yeah, really poor.

I: (Von Lueder) And they have like a garden, right?

Translator: Yeah. The people stopped, you know, to build more. Or not the people, but UNRWA.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, and they need the space because the family...

Translator: Yeah, it's getting bigger and bigger,

I: (Von Lueder) But in the beginning, when they only have this small places, did they have like you know, a garden where they produced vegetables outside?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah, it was like this. So, the spaces between the houses in the 80s were really big places, like between the houses, not in the house. So, people were, when they, the family grows and grows, they used to build more, more, more and the people who don't like have a space in the front, they start to go the right. So, they start to take from the streets actually.

I: (Von Lueder) (to Seinab) Shukran (Thank you in arabic).

I: (Brennauer) (to Seinab) Shukran (Thank you in arabic).

Translator: (to Seinab) Shukran habibti (Thank you dear in arabic).

## Interview Sahar (2018)

The interview takes place in the living room of Sahar in Talbieh Camp. Present people: Sahar (interviewee); Von Lueder, Brennauer (2 interviewers); anonym (translator); Lisa (guest).

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She is just telling, because she got really old and not, you know, able to go like plant, like in the past. Uhm and one day she went there and the most of the plants died so she took, you know, the useable one and just give it to the neighbors to take care of it.

I: (Brennauer) But she was growing plants upstairs?

Translator: Yeah, yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) Nana (mint in arabic) or...

Translator: Nana and uhm I don't know what it's called, Sabah? You know, the one in the desert with the...

I: (Brennauer) Cactus?

Translator: Yeah.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She was growing a special kind of mint, of Nana.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: That's what she were growing, you know.

I: (Von Lueder) Andik hamam? (Do you have a dovecote? in arabic)

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She gives it to the neighbors, like everything.

I: (Brennauer) Also hamam?

Translator: Yeah.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She says that, there is some neighbors here growing on the rooftop. (Another lady enters the room). These guys, like these womans they are used to see foreign people because her daughter's husband is working with a, you know, he has like an office bringing youth from outside, from Europe and show them around. So they are used to have people sleeping here from another countries. So, if you are wondering why she shake hands with you.

I: (Brennauer) Ah ok. But did she ever grow like vegetables aswell? Bandora (arabic for tomato) or like more productive?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: They had like a farm there. They used to have, like her son.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: You know, the houses around the camp, they have like an area outside the house, the garden. So they used to plant there.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Watermelons and...

I: (Von Lueder) Why did they stop growing?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: When her husband died, they stopped.

I: (Brennauer) In the farm?

Translator: It's not a farm, but it's like a house with a garden. She just said that, how much you know, the new generation actually focus on these things. So she is tired and her husband died, so nobody takes care of things.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, can you ask her what she is thinking why is it so? Like, what is the reason why that the youth stopped caring about this thing?

S: (distracted and talking about different things in arabic)

I: (Von Lueder) And she said like the neighbors have uhm, they grow, but also they have a garden on the roof?

Translator: Yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) But, they grow nana?

Translator: I don't know what they grow, she don't know. Like she give her plants to them because they do like planting.

S: (talking in arabic) (everybody laughing, a little kid enters the room.)

Translator: They don't know, like I said why the new generation isn't like doing it anymore. She said because they don't know nothing about it.

I: (Von Lueder) But, uhm, I mean, the generation of her, they know a lot about it, right? But, you think, they are not interested or there is no sharing of informations?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is basically saying that when there were, like in Palestine, all the older generation used to, you know, her father and her mother, used to farm. They were farmers and then her husband has actually studied to be a farmer, like studied how to plant perfectly and you know, these things. And I asked again, if it is like our problem, like we are not interested or you didn't share. But she didn't answer. I think she don't hear me that well. (talks more loudly to Sahar)

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Ah so, it's, it's our problem. Because we are not interested. It's really hard, like for our generation, we think it's maybe tough work or hard work for us, so we don't want.

I: (Von Lueder) But this is the last generation that knows how to do it, right?

Translator: Yeah.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So you should have experience. Now there is an education, educational system and before there weren't. So it's more like, we have a lot of chances to do whatever. But in their generation they didn't have that, so maybe it is a reason. So there are different ways to go. She said that you can be a farmer, you can study that, to become a farmer.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, what's it called, like uhm berries?

I: (Brennauer) Berries? like the little berries to eat? yeah.

Translator: Like the green ones.

I: (Von Lueder) Ah, wine?

Translator: Is it wine?

I: (Von Lueder) Grapes.

Translator: Yeah, grapes. So she is saying that...

I: (Brennauer) That you are using the leaves as well.

Translator: But she just said a story about, like her son is working in the airport and he brought her, you know, like a little grape tree and she didn't believe that this one would be like a big tree. So she just planted it here, just in front of the house and she did like a rope. Like she made a rope from the rooftop until here. So when it grows, it grows around the rope and she did like a fence out, like in the rooftop, so it grows. And until now they eat from it.

I: (Von Lueder) Gadesh omrak? (How old is it? in arabic)

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Seven years ago, so they still, you know...

I: (Brennauer) Seven years ago? Wow.

Translator: There is one here and one here.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So there is a new one, like a year ago they plant it. So, they have two now.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah, they like farming, but they don't have a farm, so that's the problem.

I: (Brennauer) And her parents, they, or her ancestors, they have a farming „fellayin“ background?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Fellayin, yeah. So she is, because there is like, what she is saying, that...(Sahar and talk to each other in arabic and laugh). She is just saying, that she thought that Brennauer is understanding her because she is doing...

I: (Brennauer) Parts (laughs), shuay arabiyy. (a little bit arabic in arabic)

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: You will learn it.

I: (Brennauer) Ana badrus. (I study in arabic)

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So you can go back to Germany and talk about fellayin in arabic.

I: (Brennauer) I will.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is saying that in TV they see like they watch German, German people always farming and having this green lands all over.

S: (talking in arabic) (tea is being served)

Translator: So she is, let me go back there so I don't forget. You know, in Palestine they used to have something called „haku-ra“. That's a small place in the farm, inside the farm, where they grow fruits, only fruits. And the outside area they grow, you know, wheat for...and what the other thing is.

I: (Von Lueder) For bread?

Translator: Yeah, yeah. Like this two things, they grow it. And they grow beans for the cows, to feed the cows. And then they grow corns, corn, you know?

I: (Brennauer) Ah corn, yes.

Translator: Yeah, to sell it. So they have like a separate places in the farm where there is things to sell and things to eat and things to feed and things to use for personal use. And, like each farm in Palestine used to have that and the problem here that the land is really not green, they can make it green but they don't do it. And she is just explaining that outside the countries like Europe or these places when she watches National Geographic, she always see this green places and she wishes that we have the same and she just told a story about what she watched on TV.

I: (Von Lueder) Can you ask about the farm of her husband? Uhm, I mean that was like just for the family? And can you ask her if she got the impression that they saved a remarkable amount of money by growing their own vegetables? Or was it more like a hobby?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, about the money, they just, the farm is for the family, it is not for his investment. And I ask her if they make a lot of money from that and she said that the prices were really not that big at that time and now a days it is really expensive to buy like a vegetables or something like that. In the past, whatever you buy, it is still cheap so that there were not enough money, like not too much money to pay for vegetables. So they were like relying on eating and providing food for the cows or the animals more than you know, selling.

I: (Von Lueder) But here was more for the animals. And was like a hobby?

Translator: Just for the family use, yeah.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So they had a special kind of a currency. Like in Palestine, before. You know, Jordanian people, like Jordan was responsible for Palestine security and untill the Nakba and Nasha, when that happened the currency changed and they lower down and you know all this war...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So she is talking about you know bread. They never bought bread because you made it in your farm. Producing everything from the same farm. You don't buy any vegetables, Hummus, nothing.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So the only things that they used to buy is sweets. So when a little kid wanted some sweets, they put you know, wheat, no weed, (laughing) but you know, wheat in his pocket and then ask him to go to the store to buy sweets. The guy take the wheat and then just fill his pockets with sweets.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So all the cities around, they were living in the countryside of course, the cities like Nablus and Ramallah and these places, they used to sell sweets in their land, like when there is like the time for wheat, you know the time of the year they grow wheat, they come and sell special kind of sweets. So they take wheat instead. And when they plant, you know, things that make oil, what's it called?

I: (Brennauer) Setun? (Olive? in arabic)

Translator: Yeah. They, they, yeah, switch it with, I don't know what's it called „teen“? Teen? Teen? Do you know teen? It's really like a circle thing and when you open it it's really red from inside. It used to be brown or red. It's really sweet.

I: (Brennauer) It's a fruit or? Ah, Tamarinde? No...I don't know.

Translator: No, I will show you.

I: (Von Lueder) But back then, everyone in the family learned how to do this farming stuff, right?



S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: There were no schools so everybody used to, you know work and. No schools, yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) But how was it in the camp, when they have this small garden? There was only her husband, but he also, some of her family members were interested in it? Or was it only her husband and...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, when they came to Jordan after the war. they went to al Ghor, that's the place next to the dead sea, where we went to. They rent like a farm, like her husband, he rented a farm and they start planting again, they used to plant watermelon and you know these things. Uhm and then they came here to Talbieh, so Talbieh is not the first place they came to. It was, you know, war.

I: (Von Lueder) Why did they stop at the dead sea?

S: (talking in arabic)

(recording stops due to full memory card)

Translator: When they came here, they started you know, her son's little farm in his house. And then, when his father died, nobody did that.

I: (Von Lueder) Okay, because in...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, when he stopped, you know, farming, he couldn't just take in the house, so he opened a coffee shop, like a small coffee shop and he worked in Amman for a couple of years but then he died. So, yeah...

I: (Von Lueder) But they just have a garden outside. No greenhouse? Or did they use a greenhouse for the winter? Or what did they grow in the small farm?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Setun (Olives in arabic) and you know grapes, because she don't know much about farming.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She just compared you to foul (beans in arabic), because the plant, it were really tall (laughing). You know bluchyye? No, you don't know bluchyye.

S: (talking in arabic)

I: (Brennauer) But that is all that she is doing outside in this plot. What was it now? Olives and...

Translator: Olives and grapes.

I: (Von Lueder) But in her son's place, the little farm, only olives and grapes?

Translator: Yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) And when did she get the idea of going to her roof for nana (mint in arabic)? Like, can you maybe talk about

this story?

S: (talking in arabic) (laughing)

Translator: So she is just basically saying, that you cannot plant in the house. There is no sun first and if you are planting outside in the street, the kids will ruin up for you and I will make a lot of trouble with the kids and I am not ready to make trouble with kids. So she just planted upstairs with the, have you heard like in oil can?

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, the oil can.

Translator: Yeah, they just use that.

I: (Von Lueder) And they have concrete roof, no zinc, right?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Maftouh. (Concrete in arabic)

I: (Von Lueder) And can you ask her, if she thinks it's possible to make like a little farm on the roof where you grow patatas (potatoes in arabic) of if she can imagine, not for her because, but in general if she could imagine that you can put a small farm on a roof.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah so she is basically saying that her friends, like outside the camp, old womans, when you buy rice, do you remember Svenjas bag? That we put things we buy in it...this kind of bags, they used to put, like turbe (soil in arabic) in it and then plant potatoes and then just hang it in walls just around the house and she think that it's better than a plastic house. Yeah she think that it can be but it is more beautiful because you can plant onion and things like..

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So anything that is needed for the house, like the house use, they just plant it in these bags.

I: (Von Lueder) Okay, outside the camp. And she think her roof, on her roof it's possible?

Translator: Yeah, to do all these things. But yeah, she's old, I don't know, she can't like go up and then...

I: (Von Lueder) No, no, I mean like if she could imagine. Because some told us that they say, oh no we can't because they think you put the soil on the roof directly and then they think their roof will be messed up.

Translator: Yeah. Like putting the soil on the...and then just plant it directly, yeah.

I: (Von Lueder) But she, the family is using the roof also for like chilling or...

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah. So she is saying, when they have weddings, when they have weddings they do it on the roof, like for womans. And in the summer when it is really hot, they sleep on the roof. So I imagine that it is a nice roof by the way. They just sit down in the night and invite people, relatives and make big dinner.

I: (Von Lueder) They have like shading maybe?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: No there is nothing.

I: (Von Lueder) But she told about the one family who grow things on their roof. Is it possible to meet them?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Debit, debit, you know what the meaning of debit?

I: (Von Lueder and Brennauer) No.

Translator: Tired. Yeah, because I am asking her if like it's open, an open roof, or does she have a shade. She say that she have a small room with a zink on it. Because they had like a falafel shop here. And the oil tanks, she used to gather it and just put it in this small roof to use it for farming and now she is tired so she can't do it anymore.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah, we can do it. But she want you to drink coffee first.

I: (Brennauer) Can you ask her like how much money she's spending per month for like vegetables or fruits? Like if she goes outside to the market, how much money she spends?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: So, 11 JDs in a week.

I: (Brennauer) For vegetables?

Translator: Yeah, because she lives like her and (not understandable) only here.

I: (Von Lueder) Three persons?

Translator: Yeah.

S: (talking in arabic)

I: (Brennauer) And does she think that now, because she said that earlier it was really cheap to buy food, but now, that the food is more expensive, she thinks that you could save money if you grow plants upstairs?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Yeah, she said that, like I told her, you start to not use the suk (market in arabic), the bazar for vegetables. She said yeah, I can just eat from what I plant.

S: (talking in arabic)

I: (Brennauer) And which food, because the food prices were rising a lot in the last months. Which food price affected her the most?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Like rice, yoghurt, bread, eggs, hummus, sugar, chai, all these things. Like tomatos is really cheap. So tomatos is the only product that is cheap. Because they don't sell it outside anymore, so it's really cheap, like only tomatos. But the rest is really expensive. There is no, like they don't sell it outside. That's why it is cheap. The rest is just crazy.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She is just talking about, you know, the king and these guys.

I: (Von Lueder) I wanted to ask about the wine, they put a little cage, you know. Why?

Translator: So it doesn't grow a lot.

I: (Von Lueder) No this, you see it? Is it to protect the plant when it is young?

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: Protection from the kids.

I: (Von Lueder) From the kids?

Translator: Yeah, they ruin it.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She is just talking about like uhm, actually the old one is not from her son, the new one is from her son. Like the new grape plant. The old one is from people who came to the camp and you know, start a project to plant a plant on each door for the people.

I: (Von Lueder) Who was it?

Translator: Uhm, she don't know, so I don't know. But yeah...

I: (Von Lueder) Like an NGO project?

Translator: Yeah, maybe. They did the fence thing for the plant, like the cage. So, basically.

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She is asking if you like Palestinians?

I: (Brennauer and Von Lueder) Yes, ayua (yes in arabic).

S: (talking in arabic)

Translator: She is just saying that when she goes to Palestine, she sees that the Palestinians like Germans a lot. So...

## Interview Anonymous (2018)

The interview takes place on the rooftop an inhabitant of Husn camp. Present people: Anonymous (interviewee); Von Lueder, Binz, (2 interviewers). The interviewee had taken the interviewers to a silent spot on his rooftop, where his brother in law could not listen.

Anonymous: ...even you have mine to manage. You all know. But i have had, I have to do, I do 23 homes at the grounds of this camp? What I get? They throw me out.

I: (Von Lueder) Why?

Anonymous: I don't know. His mind, not my mind.

I: (Binz) But who - GIZ did they tell you?

Anonymous: No, no

I: (Binz) How did they...

Anonymous: He is the manager. He is the manager by the force. He throw me out, without any...

I: (Binz) Mahmood throw you out?

Anonymous: Yes.

I: (Binz) Ah

Anonymous: He is still here and Rikad - the account. There is event up to now - twenty-hundred.

I: (Binz) Twenty-hundred?

Anonymous: Yes, two hundred dinar.

I: (Binz) Who?

Anonymous: Mahmood and Rikad.

I: (Binz) Who - the other one? Rikad?

Anonymous: Rikad - the accountant.

I: (Binz) Ah, okay.

Anonymous: I'm the third man and first man, who built the all.

I: (Von Lueder) It is your idea?

Anonymous: All homes, it's my my my mind. Why they throw me out? Why?

I: (Von Lueder) I didn't know.

Anonymous: Even my wife, his sister. Anybody told me why.

I: (Binz) Did you ask? Like asking?

Anonymous: I never been asked. Mahmood - because my wife - his sister. If asking me, will be angry.

I: (Binz) I understand

Anonymous: But why they throw me out. Shu (arab.: what)?

I: (Binz) Ja, i don't understand.

Anonymous: I am the first man in the project. I will do the all things for the project. All my effort going the project, for GIZ. What did I get? But just one year, while the finished the 23 hoo built.

I: (Von Lueder) Khallas (arab.: finished)?

Anonymous: Here even - sorry about - take me as easy. I haven't really job. I haven't job. I haven't insurance in my life. I haven't any... Just i will manage my life by the working of my bus. My driving of the bus. If I get persons from here to another, I will, I will receive pocket money.

I: (Binz) Yes.

Anonymous: I haven't another way. I request to you, if you can take my letter to GIZ to return me back to receive 150. It is request for you.

I: (Von Lueder) But we are not working in GIZ. Nah.

I: (Binz) But maybe we meet someone from GIZ and ask them about the project.

Anonymous: Maybe in 7th of March.

I: (Von Lueder) They are coming here?

I: (Binz) The come here, no?

Anonymous: They are coming.

I: (Binz) Do you want to ask them?

Anonymous: I never been...they are big mans.

I: (Binz) Yes.

Anonymous: Their must be met some persons as Aliya. Aliya - you know Aliya?

I: (Von Lueder) No.

I: (Binz) No. Who is Aliya?

Anonymous: Ask Mahmood. He can...

I: (Von Lueder) We never met GIZ.

Anonymous: You never...

I: (Von Lueder) No.

I: (Binz) We called - called or wrote and they never answered. And I - but the project, how long does it run?

Anonymous: One year.

I: (Binz) One year more?

Anonymous: One year more, without me.

I: (Binz) Yes.

I: (Von Lueder) But this was only for the CBRC, Al-Karmel...

Anonymous: Yes, yes.

I: (Von Lueder) ...DPA. Without you?

Anonymous: Without me.

I: (Von Lueder) Who built this?

Anonymous: I go to other wo- metalman.

I: (Binz) Ah, you didn't do the new one.

Anonymous: No, no, no. I give him the all ideas and all my efforts. Then he put it in his mind and go to the foreigner. You see. Is the friendly? No.

I: (Binz) I understand.

Anonymous: It is not the friendly. It is hard in my....

I: (Binz) Ja, of course.

Anonymous: But I can't tell anybody, because my wife is his sister.

I: (Binz) It is very difficult.

Anonymous: But in the best way, he must take care for me. I am the first...

I: (Binz) But if you - like - received 150 JD....

Anonymous: It's It's It's - I will feel pleasure in my life.

I: (Binz) ...and then one year the project ends, what happens then?

Anonymous: He going, he throw me out. He still the working in the GIZ.

I: (Binz) And in one year - next year...the project will be end?

Anonymous: End.

I: (Binz) And then what happens then.

Anonymous: He is still in the new project.

I: (Binz) Ah, and what's the new project?

Anonymous: And they throw me out.

I: (Binz) Okay. But...Ja, I understand. What do you think will happen, when the whole project is ending.

Anonymous: Nobody care about project.

I: (Binz) No one cares.

Anonymous: Just the received and destroyed it. You see (pointing at Mahmoods house) - this is home of Mahmood.

I: (Binz) Ja.

Anonymous: I built for him...one - one home of plastic - plastic. Up to the other (?). He throw it...He throw it in the garden.

I: (Von Lueder) Lesh (arab.: why)?

Anonymous: He throw it. Because the project is end. Another man...(point somewhere) Here I have neighbour. I also built for him like this. While the year finished, he throw it.

I: (Binz) Because he didn't like it - didn't like, or...?

Anonymous: He don't want it. He haven't (?) to be irrigate all time.

I: (Binz) Ja. Ja. And who chose who gets greenhouses?

Anonymous: Just the are getting - get by relations of the manager. Then one year is finished - nobody cares.

I: (Binz) And do you think other people in the camp would really like one, and the would care about it, because the love?

Anonymous: Yes.

I: (Binz) So, you think there are people, who don't have, but would like to have one?

Anonymous: True.

I: (Von Lueder) But how many people? 23? Beit (arab.: house) plastic, ja?

Anonymous: 23 yes.

I: (Von Lueder) How many work?

Anonymous: Still now? Maybe 3 or 4. Just.

I: (Binz) Yours...

Anonymous: Me and Faris Auwat, the other one..

I: (Von Lueder) Munir

I: (Binz) Munir

Anonymous: Munir maybe and Firas.

I: (Von Lueder) Umm Matazan.

I: (Binz) Umm Matazan.

Anonymous: Umm Matazan.

I: (Binz) And the rest...?

Anonymous: Just.

I: (Von Lueder) No. the rest is....

Anonymous: Maybe 6 or 7 persons still now is ready. The other the are throw it (coughing). It's..It's cost 600 Dinar. JD.

I: (Von Lueder) Too much?

Anonymous: Too much.

I: (Binz) Do you think there is cheaper way - like for people, who say: „I don't have money, but I would like to do it.“ How can they start?

Anonymous: You must..you must find persons in carefully, not by relations.

I: (Binz) Ja.

I: (Von Lueder) But you think like...

Anonymous: If you..if you seen somebody have trust..interested of agriculture, you can give him the chance, he can manage his life.

I: (Von Lueder) But for example, if somebody is say...safe 100 Dinar - 100. You think he can make it - 100? No?

Anonymous: Nooo, it's cost 600 JD.

I: (Von Lueder) But how can he just make this (pointing at the barrels) - and this a small one. Just a...



Anonymous: Small one is not enough.

I: (Von Lueder) Not enough?

Anonymous: Even this is a small. 6 meter by 3 - is a small.

I: (Von Lueder) But there is a lot of people, who want also - they love gardening, right?

Anonymous: You see, now. If I haven't this project. If I haven't... I am from inside, I like. I will do.

I: (Von Lueder) But do you have friends, they also want?

Anonymous: I.I.I

I: (Von Lueder) But no chance?

Anonymous: No chance. It's...it's...you can make carefully to choose persons, who like - and he haven't. Likely eeh every human beings like. But who have like inside, he can manage. Now all homes here - it is like cubical, cubical homes - you see (walking away, pointing at some houses). This man by force, he can like the agricate, by force. Then to like to do nothing (bad record quality)

Anonymous: He can do like this. His inside refuse to been or to make.

I: (Binz) Mhm.

Anonymous: Now first time I'm coming in here, I will do this, because if I am going out from my door I like to see the green, I love this. Then I have some serve money. I built this tent and make a grid. Then I am growing up to make lemon, pepper. If if I am not received the beit plastic hada. I do by myself just.

I: (Von Lueder) Ja, it's possible to do by yourself, ja?

(simultaneously speaking)

Anonymous: Because I like it insiiiiide (pointing to his heart)

I: (Von Lueder) But do you think like, their are people, who...

Anonymous: The people getting GIZ-project by relations of Mahmood. Now the fact - the fact: project go...

I: (Von Lueder) Khallas (arab.: finished)

Anonymous: Why am I still built? Because I liked it. It's chance from GIZ. I said it for them: „Thank you very much.“ It's still, because I like it. Others, why...why they are refused. They...they received it from the first, just to get.

I: (Binz) And was it - the others - the had to apply, or did Mahmood say: „You can have. You can have one.“ How did they...

Anonymous: It's by choosing.

I: (Binz) Choosing?

Anonymous: By friendly.

I: (Binz) Ahh, so it was not official.

Anonymous: Yes.

I: (Von Lueder) No, was it official?

Anonymous: Now, now the project it's end by one year.

I: (Binz) Aha.

Anonymous: Who have the house, the plastic house still. That mean, he...

I: (Binz) He loves it.

Anonymous: He love it. The others throw it. Why?

I: (Binz) Because they don't love it.

Anonymous: Because they don't love it. He..he..he..he ask from the first, didn't like agrigate.

I: (Von Lueder) But I mean you, you know to do it on your own, you know? You know how to do it.

Anonymous: I do it by my hands.

I: (Von Lueder) Because you know how to do it.

Anonymous: I do it by my hands. It's my idea.

I: (Von Lueder) But do you think, like, their are people, for example, somebody he like....

Anonymous: Yes, yes, yes he is not interested, he is not interested.

I: (Von Lueder) But somewhere...

Anonymous: If I, if I take the old plastic house up to his roof. He can manage it?

I: (Von Lueder) No.

Anonymous: Because i (?) it.

I: (Binz) But do you think, if their would - if someone would teach the young, young boys...

Anonymous: Young boys like it.

I: (Binz) ...how to do it. Then at some point they are like you.

Anonymous: This the first time....

I: (Binz) They know how to do with their hands.

Anonymous: Yes, this the first time of idea of GIZ to do it. He didn't bring for me any persons. He get the all idea of my mind to his mind and go on alone. He's go alone.

I: (Binz) But do you, jaja, I understand what you say.

Anonymous: He go alone, now. Why? Because the (not understandable) of GIZ.

I: (Von Lueder) Maybe.

Anonymous: Shu (arab.: what)....? Now you are my friend. Everytime you are, I request to you, any time you coming to Husn Camp, you must be coming to my home. If you didn't like me, from now told me: „No need to come to you.“ But we are friendly. We are talking you friendly. We are talking as simple wors..words. I like you to be up to eh my house. It is friendly by daily. Now - if you, if we, if you not feel this friendly...relation, we can still alive. If you feel here, if you feel here (pointing at his heart) some bad of my relation, you never be come.

I: (Von Lueder) Yeah, true. But we are interested - like for example - the guys like you, they know how to do it by their hands, they know. The other guys - somebody - maybe he loves farming....

Anonymous: He loves to, just...

I: (Von Lueder) ...but no, there are some guys just likes to get...

Anonymous: Like to get.

I: (Von Lueder) And then - do you think there are guys, they love agriculture, but they don't know how to do it...

Anonymous: No, yes.

I: (Von Lueder) But can you, can you help them, because everyone can do like this (pointing at barrels), if he know how to do it. But beit (arab.: house) plastic, la (arab.: no). But the first things you do, everyone can do it...

Anonymous: Bring, bring...

I: (Von Lueder) But why people don't do it?

Anonymous: Ahh, because we haven't...

I: (Von Lueder) It's maybe 20 JDs for first...

Anonymous: No.

I: (Von Lueder) No?

Anonymous: See, see! We have the club.

I: (Von Lueder) Al-Karmel.

Anonymous: Al-K... Al-Karmel Club. Al-Karmel Club have lot of responsibility to make interested for peoples. But they refused to do. They refused to do. Why? They are employee. They get up every end of month in his pocket money...in his pocket. And...

I: (Binz) From who? Who pays?

Anonymous: I didn't know. It's the waste. Seese, yani (arab.: it means) the simple example Mahmood. Mahmood in the first time while he coming to me, he see all the agriculture, it's still by three years before. I have still agrigate from while I am coming to Jordan before four year, I agrigate in my...in my roof. Here he coming in the first time by GIZ, by the mind of GIZ, because they are giving him the...the...the chance. I need to build plastic house at the roof. I (not understandable) it's easy for me. He know my power inside. I can went...I can do eh electricity. I can do.... He comes to me...I (not understandable)...He told to me: „We will give to you every...each month 150 JD.“ I am being to much happy (laughing). It's the first time I ever I having this. Whi..if...While..While I give him all my power and all my mind - he throw me out. It the fact inside. (laughing)

I: (Von Lueder) Not good.

Anonymous: Don't be angry (laughing).

I: (Von Lueder) No, no. I am not angry.

Anonymous: This the fact. See, sometime I have internet, I seen this type in internet. I will do it, I will do it. It's eaaaasy. To much easy.

I: (Binz) On YouTube?

Anonymous: Yes.

I: (Von Lueder) But why is...I mean, do you know some people, how are do it like this? Do you know some people in muchay-em (arab.: camp) who also do like this?

Anonymous: Nobody do it.

I: (Von Lueder) Nobody. Why?

Anonymous: Just...just the all coming to..to..to my home, seeing it and didn't.

I: (Von Lueder) But why don't they do it? It's easy.

Anonymous: It's easy.

I: (Von Lueder) But why don't they do it, if they like it?

Anonymous: Ehm, he need ready things.

I: (Von Lueder) Ready? Mhm.

Anonymous: Ready things. Yes. Ready things. See, this (pointing at aquaponic barrel)...this before one year, i bring it. Until now I hope to bring to fish to manage it. I must do. This the life.

I: (Binz) Do you think maybe the children in school can learn how to do it. They can learn in school..

Anonymous: I can.

I: (Binz) ...because I think, if they know, they can tell - like - the parents.

Anonymous: He haven't mind of managers of ehh the schools to grown the agriculture inside. He haven't decide this. Must the ehh Al-Karmel club take this responsibility to continucity of agriculture. You seen before you are...you are...the first time I seen you in the garden, I will...I wi...

I: (Von Lueder) You welded.

Anonymous: ...directly I put my hands with you, because I like it. You remember before?

I: (Von Lueder) Jaja, you make this (imitating welding).

I: (Binz) (pointing at a plant)

Anonymous: Yes. I like. This from here (pointing at a plant).

I: (Binz) Jaja, I see. I put in here (drop seed into the ground) (laughing).

Anonymous: This here, this fallen here, if you put like this - after 10 days it will be grown.

I: (Binz) Jaa? It put this too, okay?

Anonymous: (laughing) No time, it will...

I: (Binz) This one...had kemaan (arab.: this one too)?

Anonymous: Yes.

I: (Binz) In our home we have one potat...tomato.

Anonymous: Tomato (laughing)?

(random talk about different plants, while walking around the greenhouse)

I: (Binz) Ah, your house is also different, no?

Anonymous: This house...this...I am the welder-man.

I: (Binz) Yeah, I know.

I: (Von Lueder) You do it better.

Anonymous: I will do for me.

I: (Von Lueder) But do you also go on YouTube sometimes? And watch video? Like - YouTube eeh, you know?

Anonymous: Yes, I go to the internet: how to manage the hydroponic. I will do it.

I: (Von Lueder) In Gaza a lot of hydroponic.

Anonymous: In Gaza - yes. In Gaza. In Egypt. In UA. All farms, it's by hydroponic.

I: (Binz) Since when do you have internet? When did you get internet?

Anonymous: No, I have it in my telephone.

I: (Binz) In the phone, yes.

I: (Von Lueder) But how many years?...How many years? You got internet?

Anonymous: Waaa, before 4 years.

I: (Binz) Yeah, I think me before like...

(random talk about decorative elements)

I: (Von Lueder) You know next week we go to eeh Palestine. Visit eeh gardens.

Anonymous: Gaza?

I: (Von Lueder) No, not Gaza. Dheisheh (poorly pronounced), Bethlehem.

Anonymous: Bethlehem?

I: (Von Lueder) Dheisheh (poorly pronounced), muchayem (arab.: camp) Dheisheh (poorly pronounced).

Anonymous: Dheisheh. Yes.

I: (Von Lueder) We will go, take a look on the gardens.

Anonymous: You go there? (gives a sad look) (not understandable)

I: (Binz) Asifa (arab.: sorry)

I: (Von Lueder) But we...you know, maybe we can...you know we look at the project and it could help everyone.

Anonymous: Yes.

I: (Binz) We can show you pictures.

Anonymous: You see, before I have been in Israel, I can talking by the language of Israel more quickly in English.

I: (Binz) Ja.

Anonymous: You understand, that the language of Israel.

I: (Binz) It's Hebrew.

Anonymous: I understand it.

I: (Binz) You understand it?

I: (Von Lueder) I only understand „Shalom“.

I: (Binz) You can speak Hebrew?

Anonymous: I can speak it.

I: (Binz) Where did you learn it?

Anonymous: In Israel. 6 years. I have friends, Israeli friends, still now.

I: (Binz) Ah, in Israel friends. But they are Palestinian?

Anonymous: Palestinian and Israeli.

I: (Binz) But you are friends with them?

Anonymous: Yes.

I: (Von Lueder) Where did you live in Israel?

Anonymous: In eeeh Jenin.

I: (Von Lueder) Jenin, Palestine.

Anonymous: I go Jerusalem and go Bethlehem, and to Hebron.



## 2 List of codes



230

fig. 230 - 231: List of codes detected from the interviews (own screenshot, programme: MAXQDA)



## Liste der Codes

- ▼ Codesystems
  - ↳ Relation inside Camp-Outside Camp
  - ▼ Difference Jordan - West Bank
    - ↳ Jordan until Black September
    - ↳ Voluntary engagement (by the inhabitants)
    - ↳ Voluntary engagement
  - ▼ Existential Problems
    - ↳ Density
    - ↳ Poverty
    - ↳ Unemployment
    - ↳ Knowledge transfer
    - ↳ Knowledge
    - ↳ Gender conflict
    - ↳ Gender conflicts
    - ↳ Common Narrative/ Heritage
  - ▼ Common Narrative / Heritage
    - ↳ Perspectives
    - ↳ Right of Return
  - ▼ Power Structures
    - ↳ Global Power Structures
    - ↳ Corruption
    - ↳ Local Power Structures
  - ▼ Greening projects
    - ▼ UNRWA planning guidelines
      - ↳ UNRWA crisis
      - ↳ UNRWA - host countries relation
      - ↳ Dependency to UNRWA
      - ↳ UNRWA incentives
      - ↳ Greening projects
    - ↳ Farming/ Trading practices
    - ↳ Maker Space
    - ↳ UNRWA planning practices
    - ↳ Project incentives
    - ↳ Informal greening activities

# 3 Quantitative survey

## Questionary on Rooftop Gardens

مكيديع مالمسلا،

we are a group of 3 architecture students from the Technical University of Berlin. Currently we are on a semester abroad at the German-Jordan University (GJU). We are working on our master thesis about Rooftop Gardens and Greening in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan.

To get a broader overview about the local skills, knowledge and techniques, we want to visit as many rooftops and other gardens as possible. By talking to farming experts like you, we firstly want to find out what current problems and challenges are, but furthermore we are interested on local solutions and narratives. We believe that this intensive research could as well lead to new design solutions, which could possibly make inner-city farming more feasible.

We would kindly request you to fill out the following questionnaire. It is up to you, which questions you like to answer. We ensure you that the elevated data will stay anonymous and will be treated confidentially.

ريشك ارشش!

1. In which year did you start your rooftop garden?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Did you have experience in farming before you got your rooftop farm?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Did you build the rooftop farm yourself?  Yes  No  
If not, who built it?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Where did you buy/ get the construction material for your rooftop farm from?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. How much money did you spend on the initial construction of the rooftop farm?

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Have you added or changed anything on the construction?  
How much money (JD) did you spent on the changes?

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Which plants are you growing in your rooftop farm?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Where do you buy your seeds? Do you buy locally produced seeds?

\_\_\_\_\_

fig. 232 - 237: Template of the quantitative survey on rooftop gardens in English and Arabic (own illustrations)

9. How much money do you spend on seeds, earth and fertilizer per year?

\_\_\_\_\_

10. How many liters of water do you use for your rooftop farm per day?

In Summer: \_\_\_\_\_ In Winter: \_\_\_\_\_

11. Do you reuse rainwater or wastewater for the rooftop farm?

\_\_\_\_\_

12. How do you prevent your plants from extreme sun exposure, heavy rainfall and wind?

 \_\_\_\_\_  \_\_\_\_\_

13. Do you collect and reuse your organic waste for the rooftop farm?

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Who maintains the rooftop farm? How many working hours are spent during one day?

\_\_\_\_\_

15. Who is usually spending time on your rooftop?

\_\_\_\_\_

16. Except farming, what else do you do on your rooftop?

\_\_\_\_\_

17. Do you have connections to other rooftop farmers? If yes, how do you communicate?

\_\_\_\_\_

18. Do you have the feeling that you are saving a remarkable amount of money by producing your own vegetables/ fruits?

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Are your grown vegetables only used for your own household or also given/sold to others?

\_\_\_\_\_

20. What is your household income per month?

\_\_\_\_\_

21. How much money (JD) do you spend on vegetables and fruits per month (approximately)?

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22. Were your ancestors farmers? Do you apply traditional knowledge on your rooftop farm?

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23. What was your motivation to start your rooftop farm?

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24. What do you like about your rooftop farm?

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25. What problems do you face with your rooftop farm?

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Do you have further comments, thoughts or ideas?



## بحث عن الاسطح والمناطق الزراعية.

### السلام عليكم!

نحن مجموعة من ثلاثة طلاب ندرس الهندسة في جامعة برلين التطبيقية وحاليا نحن في مرحلة الفصل الدراسي الخارجي من خلال الجامعة الالمانية الاردنية نحن نعمل على رسالة الماجستير التي يكمن موضوعها عن الاسطح والمناطق التي تحتوي على الحدائق او المزرعات في داخل المخيمات الفلسطينية للاجئين في الاردن لنستطيع ان ننظر الى الامكانيات المحلية بشكل ادق ووسع والحصول على المعرفة والطرق المتبعة محليا في الزراعة البسيطة لذلك نريد ان نזור اكبر قدر من الاسطح والحدائق من خلال التكلم والتعامل مع خبراء في الزراعة مثلكم، اولا نريد ان نتعرف على المشاكل والتحديات التي تواجهها لكن بعد ذلك نحن مهتمون كثيرا لسماع الروايات والحلول المحلية التي تملكونها نحن نؤمن بان هذا البحث المكثف سوف يقودنا ويساعدنا ببناء تصميمنا الجديد الذي يحتوي على الحلول لهذا النوع من المشاريع والذي يمكن ان يجعل الزراعة الداخلية للمدينة أكثر جدوى نتمنا منك ان تملئ هذه الاسئلة الصاهرة امامك ، فإن هذا يعود الي قرارك الشخصي يمكنك ملئ اي سؤال مع ضمان ان هذه المعلومات ستبقى كوثائق محمية مرجعية مع العلم انه لن يتم سواك عن اسمك او اي معلومات شخصية. شكرا جزيلاً.

١ : في أي سنة قد بدأت العمل على حديقتك ؟

٢ : هل كنت تملك حديقة اخرى عدا عن الحديقة التي تملكها الان ؟

 لا

 نعم


٣: هل قمت بإنشاء حديقتك ام انك استعنت بشخص اخر ؟  
اذا نعم من هو ؟

٤ : من أين حصلت على مواد البناء التي استعملتها لبناء الحديقة ؟


٥ : ما المبلغ الذي انفقته على هذه المواد ؟

٦ : هل قمت بترميم المكان/سطح البيت قبل بناء الحديقة ؟


٧: أي من النباتات الآتية قد سبق لك ان زرعتها ؟  
وفي أي وقت من العام يمكن زراعتها ؟

من :  من :


الى : خيار

من :  من :

الى : بطاطا

من :  من :


الى : بصل

من :  من :


الى : كوسا

من :  من :

الى : فليفلة

من :  من :

الى : بندورة

من :  من :

الى : عنب

من :

الى :

من :

الى :

٨ : من أين تقوم بشراء السماد ؟

٩: كم من المال تنفق على البذور والأرض والأسمدة سنويا؟

١٠: كم لتر من الماء تستخدمه لحديقتك على السطح شهريا؟

الشتاء

الصيف

١١: كم من المال يكلف  $1 \text{ m}^3$  / ١ غالون (؟؟) من الماء؟ (بالدينار)

١٢: هل تعيد استخدام مياه الأمطار لحديقة السطح؟

١٣: هل تقوم بتصفية المياه العادمة من المطبخ أو الحمام وإعادة استخدامها للحديقة على السطح؟

١٤: كيف يمكنك منع النباتات الخاصة بك من التعرض لأشعة الشمس الشديدة والأمطار الغزيرة والرياح؟



١٥: هل تجمع وتعيد استخدام النفايات العضوية لحديقة السطح؟

١٦: من يحافظ ويعتني بالحديقة على السطح؟

١٧: كم ساعة عمل تقضي على حديقة السطح يوميا؟

١٨: من يقضي عادة وقت الفراغ على حديقة السطح؟

١٩: هل هنالك أنشطة أخرى تجري على السطح غير البستنة؟

٢٠: هل لديك صلات بمزارعين آخرين؟ إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، أين يقطنون؟

خارج المخيم

داخل المخيم

٢١: كيف يمكنك التواصل مع المزارعين الآخرين؟

٢٢: هل تعتقد أنك توفر قدرا كبيرا من المال عندما تنتج هذه الخضروات/الفواكه؟

٢٣: هل العائد من هذه المنتجات يستخدم فقط لأسرتك أو يباع أيضا للآخرين؟

٢٤: ما هي الخضروات / الفواكه الإضافية التي تشتريها في السوق؟

٢٥: ما هو دخل أسرتك شهريا؟

٢٦: كم عمرك؟

٢٧: هل تطبق المعارف التقليدية على ممارساتك الزراعية؟

٢٨: هل أسلافك لديهم خلفية في الزراعة؟

٢٩: ما هو الدافع لبدء حديقة السطح الخاص بك؟

٣٠: ما هو أكثر شيء تحبه في حديقتك الخاصة؟

٣١: ما هي المشاكل التي تواجهها في حديقة السطح الخاصة بك؟

Rooftop Number	Date of interview	Name of rooftop owner	In which year did you start your rooftop garden?	Did you have a garden before which was not on your rooftop?	Did you build the rooftop garden yourself?	If not, who built it?	Where did you buy/get the construction material from?	How much money did you spend on the construction of the rooftop?	Which plants do you grow?	Where do you buy your seeds?	How much money do you spend on seeds, soil and fertilizer per year?
Rooftop #1	31.01.19	Aref Marudsch (A)	2 months ago	Yes, on the ground of his house in Husn	no	GIZ, Mahmood	GIZ (Iron in Irbid, Plants in Jerash, Plaste in Baqqa)	GIZ 500 JD	onion, zucchini, tomato, radieschen, salad, kresse	Irbid, farming market	5 JD per season
Rooftop #3	31.01.19	Mithal, Ma ama	Garden 15 years ago, Greenhouse 1,5 years ago	Yes, on the ground of his house	The garden yes, the greenhouse no	GIZ, Mahmood	GIZ (Iron in Irbid, Plants in Jerash, Plaste in Baqqa), Garden (Irbid, farms around Irbid, recycled materials: Styroboxes, Oil canisters)	GIZ 500 JD, for the garden 1 plant 3-5 JD	potato, onion, tomato, zucchini, beans, garlic, salad, chili, herbs (parsley), cucumber	/	no fertilizer bought, uses animal waste and local soil. Fertilizer bought soil for 15 JD, best of boxes (mixed with local soil & animal waste)
Rooftop #4	31.01.19	Munir, Maha	2 years ago	Still have a garden downstairs	No, but continued the garden on their own	GIZ, Mahmood	GIZ (Iron in Irbid, Plants in Jerash, Plaste in Baqqa)	GIZ 500 JD	potato, herbs, onions, garlic, zucchini, salad, radieschen, chili, paprika, tomato, cucumber, grapes	exchange from him to farms and vice versa	5-7 JD per year
Rooftop #5	31.01.19	Mariam (Mutter von Mutasan)	5 months ago	no	no	GIZ, Mahmood	GIZ (Iron in Irbid, Plants in Jerash, Plaste in Baqqa)	GIZ 500 JD	onion, tomato, chili (killed by cod), okra, spinach, parsley, radieschen, salad	Mahmood brought it	/
Rooftop #6	01.02.19	Falah (DPA)	recently	/	no	GIZ, Mahmood	GIZ (Iron in Irbid, Plants in Jerash, Plaste in Baqqa)	GIZ 500 JD	tomato, safran, chili, parsley, carrot, spinach, healing herbs, Korander, Salad, Rucola (Chili, tomato, zucchini, okra, cucumber don't need much water in summer)	/	/
Rooftop #7	01.02.19	Abir ("the smell of the flower", Rim ("dark plants in the river valley") (MPC1)	greenhouse 1 year ago, other garden 2015	one woman has her own garden at home, initiated baby plant production, but because of construction the area, no more space	no	GIZ, Mahmood	GIZ (Iron in Irbid, Plants in Jerash, Plaste in Baqqa)	GIZ 500 JD	prefers factory seeds, because the seeds of farmers only last for one season: seeds 10JD, soil 5JD	Irbid, farming market	/
Rooftop #8	01.02.19	WPC 2	recently	/	no	GIZ, Mahmood	GIZ (Iron in Irbid, Plants in Jerash, Plaste in Baqqa)	GIZ 500 JD	all sorts of vegetables, different to other rooftops: fennel, red cabbage, lemons	Irbid and Baqa: the seeds and plants in their shop downstairs & reuse their own seeds	/
Rooftop #9	01.02.19	Faris, Klafya	4 years ago	yes, a small space of 4x4m	yes	GIZ, Mahmood	in the beginning he recycled materials (recycled metal boxes) and used local soil. later he also got Mahmoods greenhouse	only the new greenhouse: 500 JD, the rest was cheap, recycled and selfmade	2 of 8 produce their: mainly bought and preferred: radieschen and onion around 5 JD per season	2 of 8 produce their: mainly bought and preferred: radieschen and onion around 5 JD per season	/

SYNTHESIS	Knowledge existed before: 3 of 8 had a rooftop garden before the GIZ greenhouse was implemented	rooftop garden due to 4 of 8 had their own garden on the ground floor. Moved to rooftop because of densification/ new construction	own independent 2 of 8 had their own garden before the greenhouse, 1 of 8 took the greenhouse as an initiative and continued on their own	no participation in the building of the greenhouse (top-down?)	own independent initiative 2 of 8 recycled materials for their rooftop farm, 6 of 8 only rely on the material provided by Mahmood/GIZ	Big price gap between greenhouse and DfI recycled construction
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fig. 238 - 241: Evaluation of the quantitative survey on rooftop gardens (own illustrations)



How many liters of water do you use for your rooftop garden per day?	How much water fits into one of your water tanks? How much costs the refill of it?		Do you reuse rainwater for the rooftop garden?	Do you filter wastewater from kitchen or bathroom and reuse it for the rooftop garden?	How do you save your plants from sun exposure?		Do you collect and reuse your organic waste for the rooftop garden?	Who maintains the rooftop garden?	How many working hours are spent on the rooftop garden daily?	Who usually spends leisure time on the rooftop garden?
	in summer:	in winter:			sun exposure:	heavy rain:				
wasn't ready then	3 m3, refill: 10 JD (doesn't use all of it)	once a week 10l	no	no	put shade, open the plastic	heavy wind: (orange ball/rustic fest)	no, but interested, uses chemical fertilizer	himself as function of the manager of the building	1h	/
every second day 30l	/	/	yes, in winter (see sketch svenja)	yes, from the sink in the bath and kitchen. Only reuses clean water (e.g. before prayer), no filter system	put shade, open the plastic	stones, heavy materials	not yet, but interested because a neighbour does it	he & his wife	1h, if he is growing sth., 1/2 h per day for watering	whole family
60 per week (1-2 times)	24 l per week, 1.5 m3 per month	/	yes, in the refrigerator	no	open cover, outside better	puts weight	yes, a new project of him which he saw in television, he wants to design a new form for composting	wife, watering husband, planting	2h	whole family
/	/	/	yes, but not much	no, because she thinks it's to dirty	/	/	animal waste, give plants to the sheep	herself, daughters and sons	1h	family & friends
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
/	/	/	There is no place to collect rain water from (no gutter)	/	big trees next to greenhouse provide shading	big trees next to greenhouse	no but they could	plastic house and onions are protected by women together, a guard protects the place 3/4 h	/	women and girls
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
3 x 16l per week	10-person household pays around 800 JD for water per year	1 x 16l per week	no, how to save it?	no, no idea how to do it (chlor is not good for plants)	vine tree	shape of fruit, greenhouses with angle was not stable in wind, round shape is better	no but they could	Faris maintains the greenhouses, Kifaya waters the plants, also the boys help out	Summer 2h per day, Winter 1h per day	friends and family

Average of 76 l water per week in summer for rooftop farm how reliable are the numbers?	Average of 28 l water per week in winter for rooftop farm how reliable are the numbers?	per person 80 JD per year question can be asked, only need to find out once per camp, how much percent go to the rooftop?	interest in rain water collections: 3 of 8 already reuse rainwater for their farm, 2 of 8 wonder how to do it	low interest or knowledge about reusing grey water: 1 of 8 reusing parts of the waste water (only very clean)	Various practices in sun exposure: 3 of 8 open the plastic sheet, because it is too hot in summer, also shading of trees and vine trees are used	plastic, big trees and weights as protection from rain	weight and new way of construction of greenhouse	interest in composting: 2 of 8 are interested in it, 3 of 8 already practice it, have concrete plans to do it	mixed gender and age maintenance: mainly as a married couple practice, men take care of planting, repairing, women mainly water, but also the whole family is involved	Average of 1,1/4 h time investment per day in the rooftop farm, in WPC	family and friends spend time in the rooftop farm, in WPC women and girls

Are there other activities on the rooftop than gardening?	Do you have connections to other rooftop farmers? If yes, where are they located?	How do you communicate with other rooftop farmers?	Do you have the feeling that you are saving a remarkable amount of money by producing your own vegetables/fruits?	Is the yield only used for your own household or also to others?	Which additional vegetables/fruits do you buy in the market?	What is your household income per month?	How old are you?	Do you apply traditional knowledge on your farming practices?	Do your ancestors have a background in farming?	What was your motivation to start your rooftop garden?	What do you like about your rooftop garden?
drinking tea, coffee	inside camp: Mahmood outside camp: no	he doesn't, not in whatsapp group	yes, some money (5 JD per month)	brother, sister, not selling	banana	500 JD, only he works, for 8 people	54	54	Ancestors were bedouin in Palestine, had sheep, not vegetables	Likes to eat fresh vegetables	Movement, takes staircase regularly
tea corner, in summer (Ramadan) they eat upstairs	Mahmood friend came and asked how to build it.	whatsapp group Mahmood	yes, some money	for friends, not selling	Baby oranges, fruits	400 JD as carpenter, without his sons working even less	52	52	Ancestors were bedouin in Palestine, had sheep, not vegetables	not for money, his hobby is agriculture	not for money, his hobby is agriculture
tea corner	connected to 6 other families nextdoor	in person	yes, some money	gives it to friends, 2kg chili in summer	/	/writer/ journalist/ poet	She: 42, He: 51	many ideas come from his father, he was a very good gardener, crossed some plants	his family was farmer in Palestine	liked to plant, but there was not enough space downstairs	wonderful time he spends in the garden, makes people who visit happy. He grows small cucumbers, she learned to do it because she has a field outside the camp (25JD from March to July, 1x30m). Outcomes from the field are sold
Taubenschlag, washing, chicken	Mahmood, and exchanges seeds with 2 friends	in person	a lot of money saved, any rests go to sheep	yes and for sheep	/	/	She: 62, has 8 sons and 6 daughters (son: 48)	bedouin shepherds in Palestine	he saw Munir's garden and wanted one too	/	/
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
tea, cake, workshops for handicrafting in school semester for girls (cooking, sewing, gardening), cleaning, flowers	for advice from someone to prepare the soil on the ground	they come to the center	they wanted to, but are not allowed to sell, manager did not want it	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	see audio data
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
washing (1), bonfire (1), chicken (1), plant flowers (1), handmade workshops (1)	Yes, to other rooftop farmers of Husn	whatsapp group of Mahmood	yes especially with leafy vegetables (salad, herbs)	give it to friends, too	fruits, never have to buy any parsley or cabbage	/	Faris: 64, have 8 family members	/	Yes in Palestine, taught by parents	it makes her happy (Faris has cancer and enjoys being on the roof, it is good for health)	see audio data
The main extra activity is to eat tea/coffee on the rooftop, tea corner (5), eat (2), washing (1), bonfire (1), Taubenschlag (1), chicken (1), plant flowers (1), handmade workshops (1)	Main connection: Mahmood, 4 of 8 have also other connections in the camp farmers	the connection takes place either in person or via the whatsapp group	5 of 8 have the feeling that they are saving some money, with leafy vegetables even more	the yield is never sold, very given to friends, family and neighbors	Question: Do you buy any fruits, not necessary?	Average income 860 JD per month (2)	Average age: 53 years	Question doubled with next, not necessary	Similar ancestor's background: bedouin (sheep) in Palestine (3), bedouin (farming) in Palestine (3)	Similar and varying motivations to start the rooftop garden: (1), makes people who visit happy (1), spend wonderful time (1), common family too (1), not enough space to do it downstairs (1), healthy environment (1).	Different aspects why they are there to go on the stairs (1), makes people who visit happy (1), spend wonderful time (1), common family activity (1)

Further comments/ observations of us:							
What do you like about your rooftop garden?	Which problems do you face with your rooftop garden?	Further comments interviewee	Visible further roof functions:	Techniques for collecting/ reusing water:	Techniques for collecting/ reusing, composting:	Visible social rules applied on the architecture:	
Messner, takes staircase regularly	no, but to watering once a day is elaborate (aufwendig)	wants to collect rain water in garden, rain water and use it in summer	canisters of water	manually	bathtubs under the roof (Malmrods System)	Wall towards street	
/	Water is not enough, insects on beans and cucumbers	Bigger tank for rainwater to save in winter and use in summer (3-5m3 needed in summer for green house, costs around 70 JD)	garden for plants, washing, chairs	manually	Yes, but the water in the black tube goes nowhere, collects water in winter from 2nd roof	animal waste	
wonderful time he spends in garden makes people who visit happy	wind	plans to make a compost outside	/	manually, but boxes are not connected	collecting water in recycled refrigerator, water tomses, water which was used for collecting 5 liter of water	no, women came to the roof with us together, also there is another garden in front of the house with chairs. Maybe they sit in the garden in the greenhouse.	
she and her sons do something together there, grew so all cucumbers. She learned to do it because she has a field outside the camp (2SD from March to July, 2x30m) Outcomes from the field are sold	spiders and insects/bugs, planned flowers to sell but needs more space for plants, problems with bugs, DPA bees	sheep are in the field of the cousin now, but no time to take milk, expensive animal	kept sheep on the rooftop a few months ago, washing, Taubenschlag, chicken are kept downstairs. The son planted extra flowers and babyplants and sold them, he wants to make a bigger business	manually, but boxes are not connected	reuse parts of rainwater	animal waste of sheep	
/	also has a greenhouse at home but is not interested anymore, too many insects	/	no	/	/	no visible protection, mainly used by men	
/	vandalism: many kids around (3 schools closeby), they destroy babyplants; water shortage in summer (July, August), the roots of the trees steal a lot of water; need more fertilizer	she likes the idea of having a big project and also selling in the center, and to grow more healing plants	In the garden next to greenhouse they grow babyplants and give them for free to other women in the camp. // WPC Chidin: at home she cultivates rabbits on her rooftop, which she sells.	manually, they pay someone to water plants (guard)	reuse parts of rainwater	first they grow seedlings in the greenhouse, then take them out, except tomato	
see audio data	/	/	/	/	/	/	
/	plant diseases	want more ideas for composting	sitting, coffee, tea, washing, borfin, cultivate rabbits, canisters of water, chairs, sheep, flowers	the tube watering didn't work because the plants grow directly underneath it so they changed back to manually	don't use artificial fertilizer, they got a basin for compost and will try to start it with youtube tutorials	/	

Different aspects why they like their farm: movement to group the stairs (1), makes people who visit happy (1), spend wonderful time (1), common family activity (1)	Similar and saving problems: diseases due to insects, especially on beans and cucumber (4), not enough water (2), watering/ maintenance is elaborate (1), need for more space in order to be productive and sell (1), need for more fertilizer (1), vandalism (1)	Main interest in rainwater collection and composting: interest in collecting rainwater from rain gutter(2), interest in composting (2), need for a bigger tank to collect rain water (1), want to grow the project and sell for more healing plants (1)	sitting, coffee, tea, washing, borfin, cultivate rabbits, canisters of water, chairs, sheep, flowers	mainly manual watering, tube system didn't work properly	5 of 8 use rainwater collection practices were observed	2 of 8 use animal waste as fertilizer, 2 of 8 started or will start composting soon	mostly no visible protections applied
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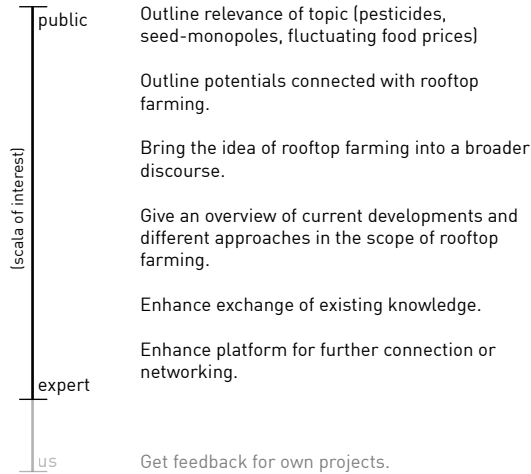
# 4 Get-together timetable

## TITEL

28.04.2018

Exhibition "Through the eyes of someone else"\*, accompanied by x Inputs within the scope of „The rooftop as a productive space in the context of the Palestinian refugee camp“.

### AIM:



### TARGET GROUP:

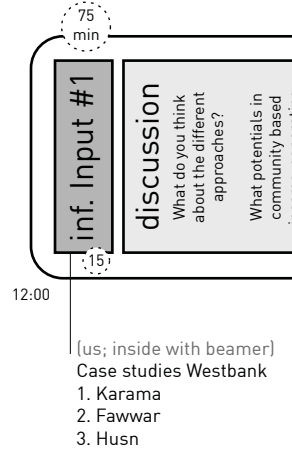
invited (camp inhabitants..)

public

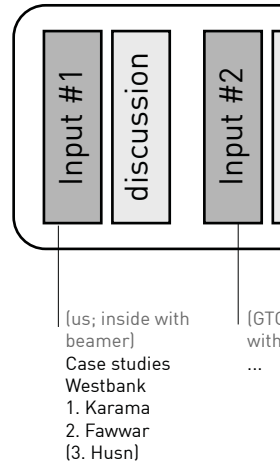
### FORMAT:

- frontal
- interactive

### VARIANTE A.1



### VARIANTE A.2



### VARIANTE B

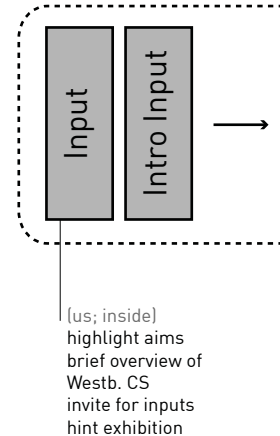
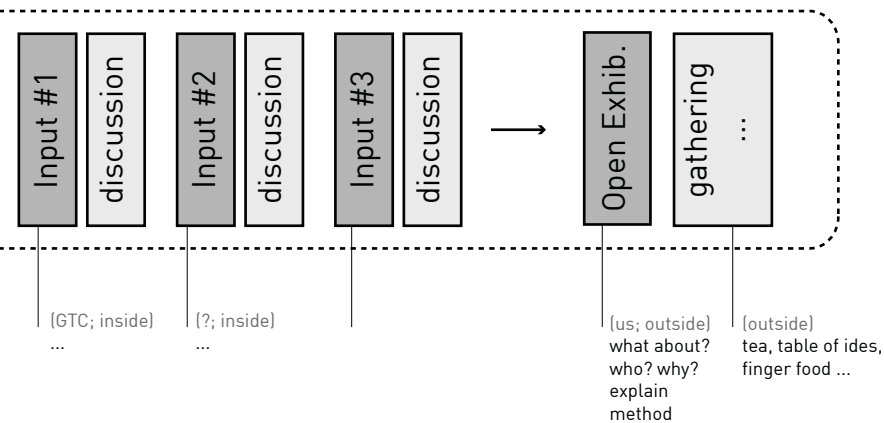
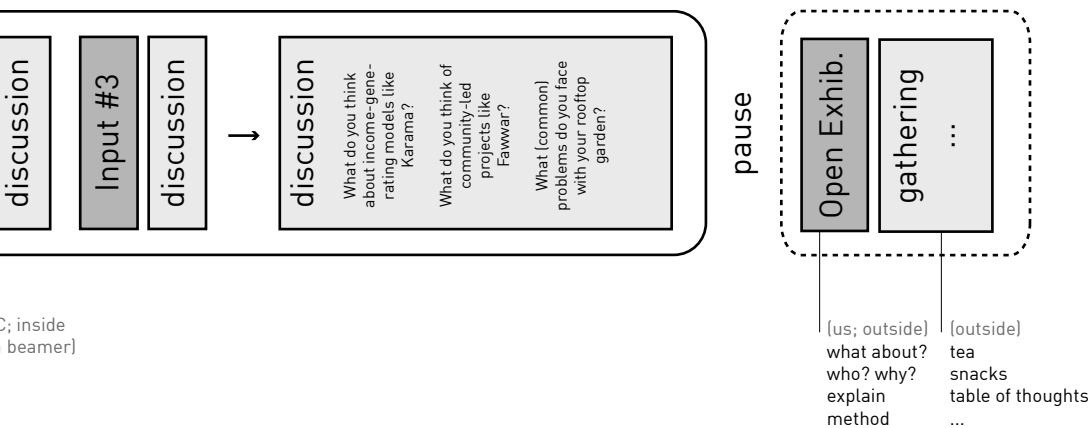
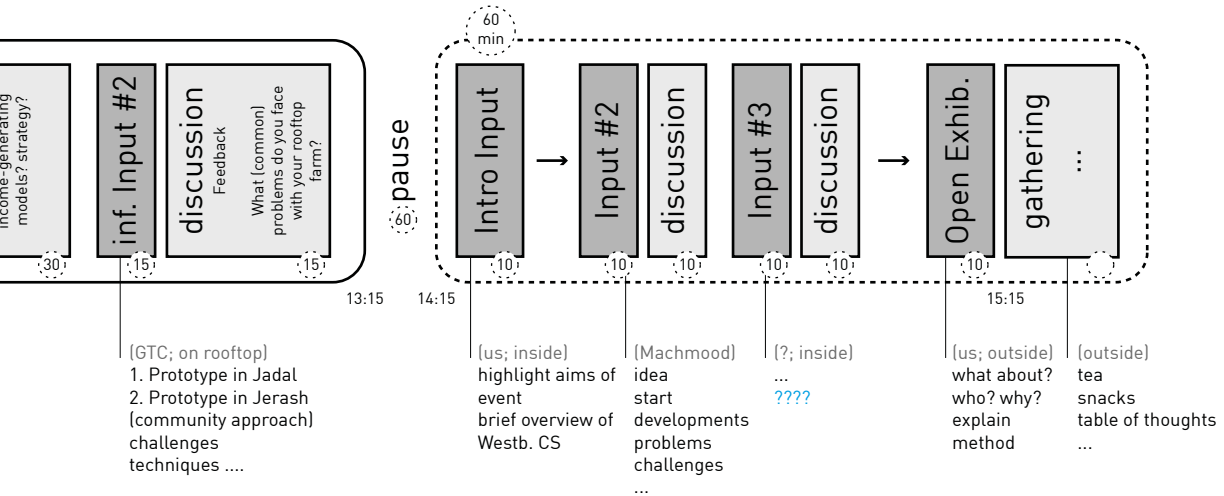


fig. 242: Timetable options of the get-together in Amman (own illustration)



5 Photographs by camp inhabitants



243



244



245



246



247



249



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252



253



fig. 243 - 253: Photographs taken by the camp inhabitants with disposable cameras, showing their view of the camp (photographs by camp inhabitants)

254



255



257



256



258



259





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261



262



263



264

265



## 6 Sketches

266

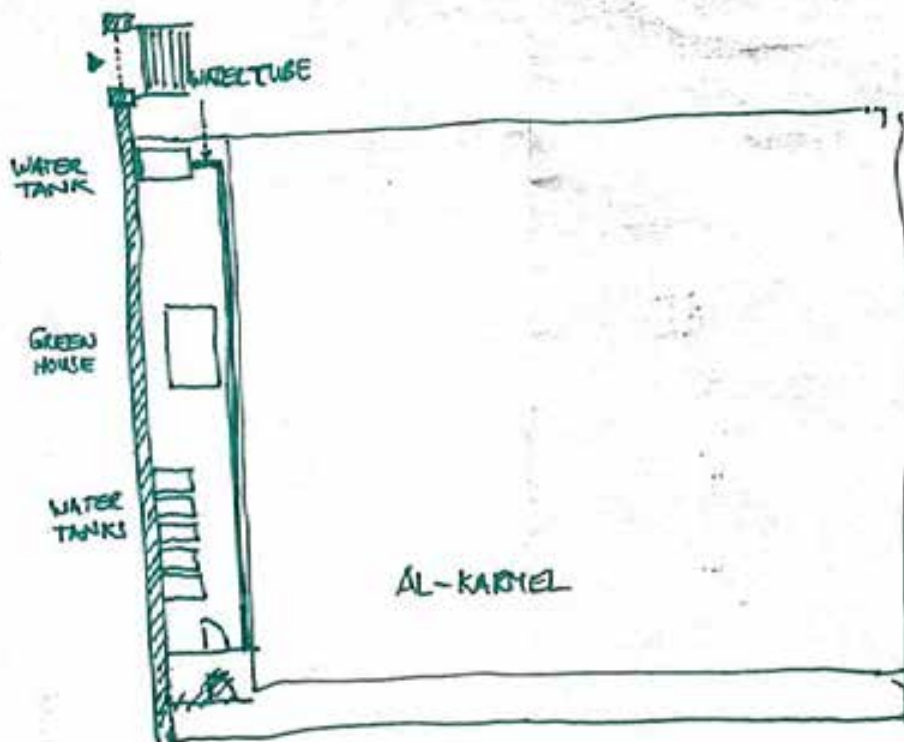
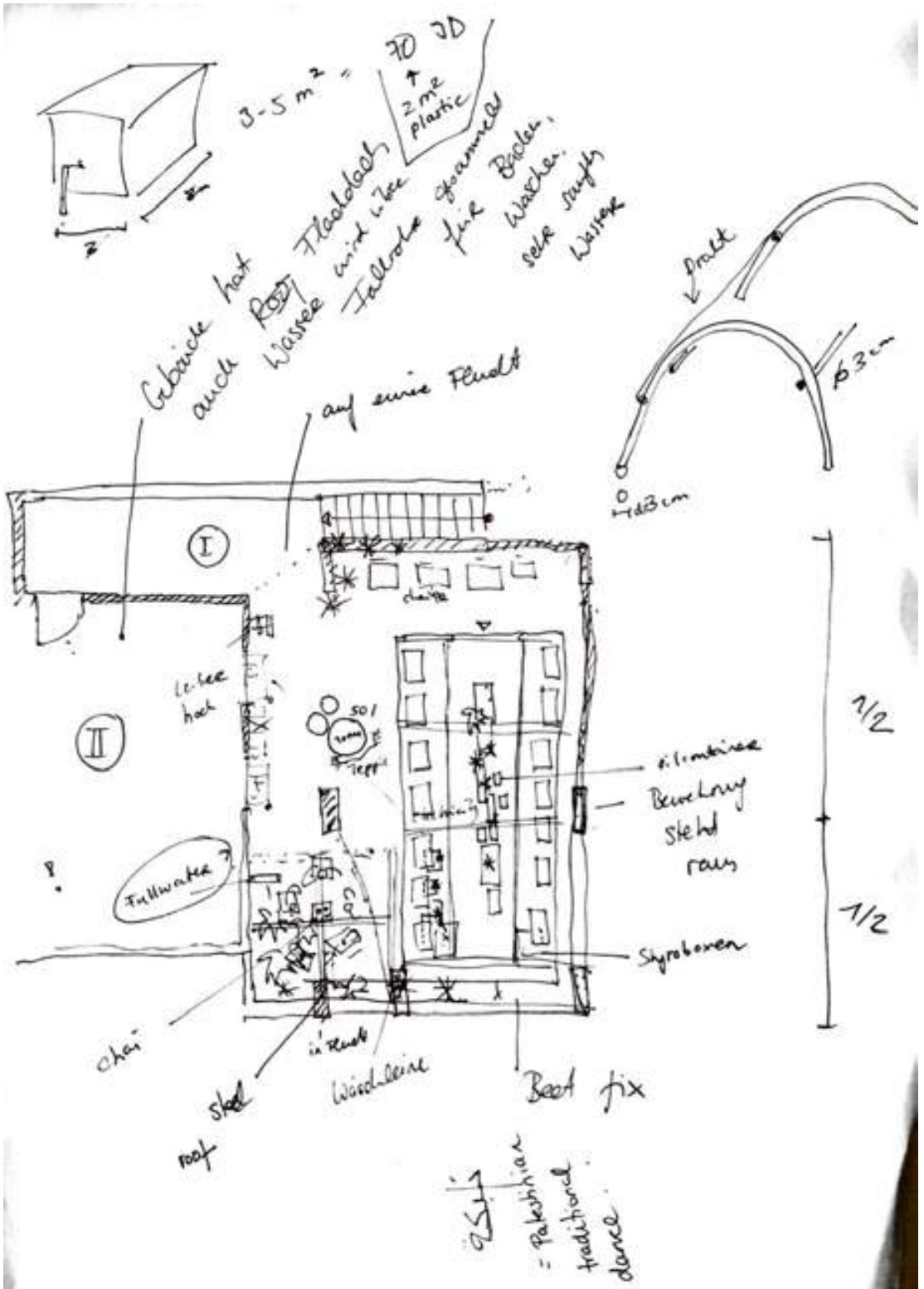
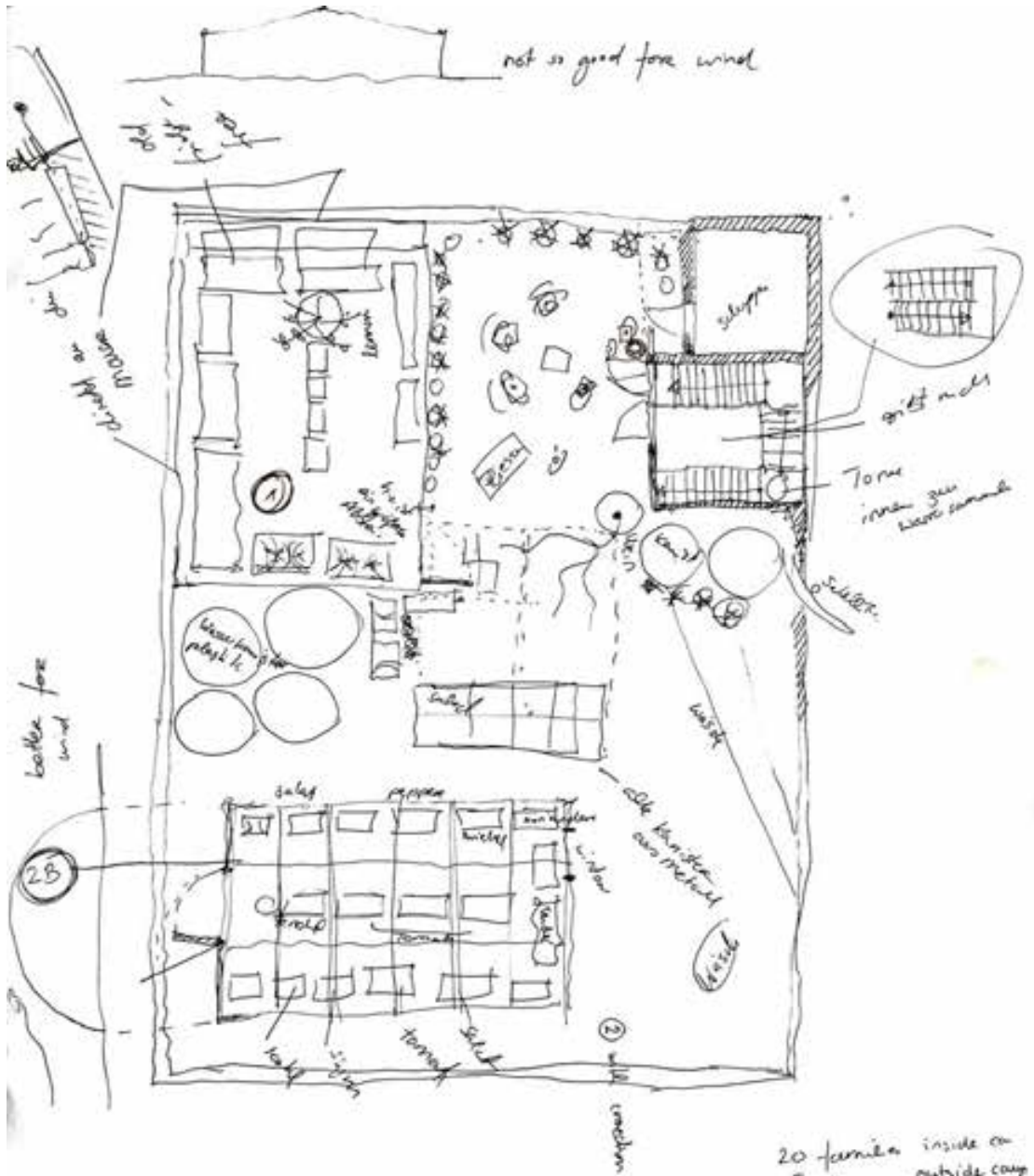


fig. 266 - 269 : Sketches of analysed rooftops (own illustrations)







- ① STAGE I  
--- GIC PROJECT ---
- [23 inside] ② STAGE II + personal upgrade (e.g. Bricks, doors)
- [6 inside / 5 outside] ③ STAGE III (e.g. DPA)

## *7 Distribution of tasks*

The editing of the thesis was divided among the authors as follows:

Chapter 1 (p. 14) - Chapter 5.4 (p.125) | Julia Mira Brennauer

Chapter 6 (p.126) - Chapter 8.2 (p.203) | Phil von Lueder

Chapter 8.2 (p.204) - Chapter 11 (p. 309) | Svenja Binz

Annex | Svenja Binz, Julia Mira Brennauer, Phil von Lueder



