

# Organizing and managing a refugee camp, the architect stake



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## I. Introduction

According to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, approved by United Nations conference, a key document so far declared by 145 state parties, a refugee is defined as a person *“owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”*

Nowadays, the UNHCR counts 70.8 million unrooted people around the world including 25,9 millions of refugees worldwide.

All the refugees fleeing their country arrive in refugee camps in other countries, most of the time in a country near by their home. They are hosted in a refugee camp, where UN, UNHCR, humanitarian workers, host government try to help them to accommodate and get rights. This movement of people lead a lot of issues about the organization and the management of these camps and also, a lot of ethical questions.

The main idea of this essay is to compare the organization and the management of these camps in different places in the world in order to underline the role of the

architect. Do to that, we will compare mainly two camps in two parts of the world. One in an European country, in France, “La Jungle de Calais” – translated in English as “The Jungle of Calais”, in the North of France - and the second one, called “The camp of Dadadb” located in Kenya, one of the largest camp in the world.

First, we will begin by comparing these two camps in order to understand their links and/or differences on key issues in refugee camps such as habitat, food and water management for instance. The comparison of these two camps, which are geographically, politically and climatically opposed, is essential to better understand the main challenges facing refugee camps and we will see that despite their basic differences, the problems can be similar or, conversely, completely opposed. We will see that in spite of their differences, these two camps are very often confronted with the same issues and try to answer them with their own tools and at their scales, with methods which are sometimes similar, with more or less convincing results.

Then in a second part, we will see how architects and urban planners can try to solve these common problems with their knowledge. We will then understand the crucial importance of the architect and the urban planner for the good functioning of a refugee camp on different themes such as the creation of new habitats more in adequacy with the demand for refugee camps but also the urban planning work on the camps and finally the stakes of sustainability that they face.

Finally, refugee camps are also confronted with many ethical issues, such as refugee citizenship, the importance of their rights at different scales, both national and global. But despite the fact that these issues are essential in the reflection about refugee camps, the architect and urban planner unfortunately do not have major skills in managing these problems. This is why we do not discuss ethical and political issues in this essay.

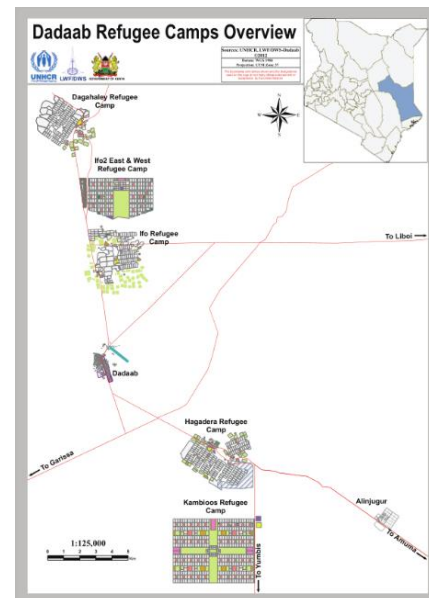
## II. General informations about the camps

First at all, most of the people are confusing all the different kind of camps for the migration in the world. Officially, the UNHCR has developed a special classification. The definition of a refugee camp can be "official" camp, which accommodate individuals who have fled their country of origin. They are administered mainly by international agencies such as UNHCR and UNRWA.

The urgency of the crisis in Somalia, subject to violent civil war, drought and hunger, prompted the UN High Committee for Refugees in 1991 to set up refugee camps across the border with Kenya, in Dadaab. These fifty square kilometres in a small corner of the Horn of Africa have become the largest refugee camp in the world during years, with an estimated 350,000 to 500,000 residents. Nowadays it's not the case anymore, since the camps of Kutupalong, in Bangladesh is occupied by 650 000 of people. At the beginning, the camp was originally designed to house 90,000 people: today it accommodates between three and five times that number. *“The Dadaab refugee complex has a population of 217, 511 registered refugees and asylum seekers as at the end of March 2020.” (UNHCR)*



These people are divided in 3 camps : Ifo, Dagahaley and Hagadera, the oldest camps, established in 1991-1992. In 2011, they have opened new camps called “Ifo 2” and “Kambioos”. There is a considerable difference between the old camps and the new camps. For instance, a large part of the residents in the old camps arrived in Dadaab in the 1990s and have children and grandchildren born in the camps. In contrast, most of the residents in the new camp, Ifo 2, came during the 2011 famine and are mainly pastoralists. “Kambioos refugee camp” was closed on 31st March 2017 and “Ifo2 refugee camp” was closed on 31st May 2018.



The "jungle of Calais", whose official name is "la Lande", is a term referring to the refugee camps set up from the early 2000s in the city of Calais, in the north of France, near the French entrance to the Channel Tunnel and the port area of Calais. It is not an official refugee camp, more precisely it is the spontaneous gathering of refugees, sometimes former displaced persons or migrants, who seek to reach a rich and safe country. While waiting for a passage, they settle on the edge of the target



country and set up ephemeral, self-administered camps that are beyond the control of the local administration. Situated in a small forest near the port of Calais, the first

jungle was home to about 1,500 people. In October 2015, the camp rose to 6,000 people, the maximum size of the camp.

Contrary to the Dadaab camp where 54 per cent of people living here are children, most of people living in Calais are young men.



### III. Literature Review, Argument, Critique or Discussion

In this part, we will see the main problematics of the refugee camps and compare different camps around the world to evaluate the governments' ideas in their response to the problems of a camp. Whereas they are facing similar problems as for example the overpopulation, they have different ways to answer these issues.

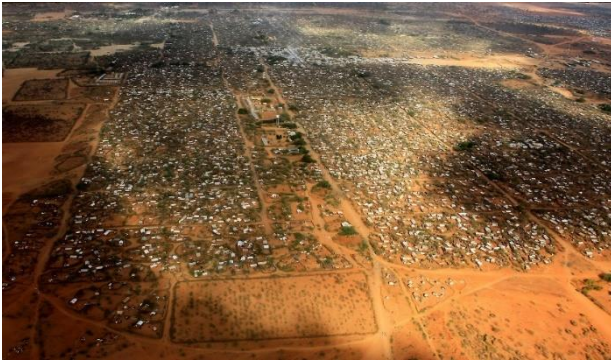
**Among issues occurring in most of the camps, we will discuss about the following : shelters and urban plan, water and food, violence and crime, access to education, health care, livelihood activities, natural disasters and the link with the host community.**

#### **Shelters and urban plan**

The urban plan is developed with different ideas. As example, in Dadaab, the plan is similar to a traditional urban plan : there are some market places, pharmacies, etc ... It is organized by "neighbourhoods" : grid patterns divided by section and blocks. This scheme makes all the areas similar, the orientation in the camp can then be difficult.

In the beginning these ideas were working, but due to the rush of refugees during all these years, this pattern has become difficult to read and the camp is chaotic. Besides, the camps are now completely overcrowded, in Ifo as example, most of the household plots are just 12m x 15m, and all nine sectors of the camp have exceeded their designated capacities. This implies the creation of informal settlements at the border of the camps.

In Calais, there was a completely different approach. The camp started spontaneously. The French state then decided to build a grid on one part of the camp to organise it a little.



*Aerial pictures of the camps in Dadaab and in Calais*

The most important issue on the camp are the shelters. As we can read in the document of Jenkins et al, *Planning and Housing in the Rapidly Urbanising World*, different kind of shelters exist all around the world. Shelters are created depending on the climate, the different materials available, the cost of construction, etc... However, it is still very difficult to find shelters correctly designed for a camp purpose. Actually, a particularity that is shared between most of the refugee camps is the prohibition to built units and housing in durable materials. The majority of host governments do not want any long lasting shelters, fearing that the camp turns permanent. In fact, most of the time, people live in very precarious units inappropriate for long stay, even if people in refugee camps stay a long time on the camp, seventeen years in average.

So in Dadaab, the UNCHR provides the refugee, when they arrive, with a tent. Sometimes people are building some little units with mud. These units are very precarious and completely unsanitary. If they want something in good condition or at least in sanitary condition, they have to change their tent every 6 months.

To fight against the problem of unsanitary house, in Calais, they have decided to create houses inside containers. They are organised in rows. This containers are supposed to accommodate 1500 of the 5000 migrants. The CAP (centre d'accueil provisoire, in English : temporal social center) has 125 containers numbered : dormitories for six people, others reserved for families and six "convivial" places to share activities. They are dedicated for the women especially and the children. Since there is no more vacancies in these containers, other people are living in another "neighbourhood" called "La Lande" in tents. Due to this organization, a large part of families are divided: the wife and children are living in the containers houses and the father is living in "la lande". This solution is not good

since it is creating a division inside the families and the refugees say that there is no more spirit of community inside this container' neighbourhood.



*A tent in the camp and a unit in mud, in Dadaab*



*Containers and tent provide in the camp in Calais*

## **Water and food management**

In Dadaab, besides the problem of the overpopulation, the climate is a very dry. Water in Kenya is already a problem, in a refugee camp it implies a huge issue. Refugees usually lack proper access to drinking water in refugee camps. The access of water is different in the various camps which belong to the Dadaab camp, in the oldest part, there are 9 boreholes. As consumption grows, deeper boreholes are needed. Approximately 132 people share one water tap, while the accepted standard decided by the UNCHR is 80. In the newest part of the camp, they have built water pipe.

In Calais, the camp is more recent than the Dadaab camps but the access to the water is still a problem : the water points are collective and flooded. *“It is worrying that approximately 700 migrants in Calais and the greater area of Calais temporarily rely on only 10 portable lavatories and water from 10 taps,”* say Leo Heller, the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights to water and sanitation in 2017. Trying to answer to this issue, the French government retail water for refugees every day by an association.

About food, the camps around the world have developed different solutions trying to reduce the problem of malnutrition.

In Dadaab, when they arrive, people are provided both rice and oil. But to have other kind of food they have to buy it by themselves. To buy vegetables, meat or firewood in the central market, they resell some rice since most of the time they do not have income. Besides, therapeutic feeding programmes for malnourished children in all camps have been implemented.

In Calais, the French state is forced to distribute food on a daily basis to each refugee by the justice department via the association "Vie active". In other camps, it can happen that no help from the French government is attended.

## **Violence and Crime**

One of the main issue common to all the refugee camps around the world is the violence. A number of refugee have a feeling of fear and insecurity. Actually, more precisely in Dadaab, a lot of families are afraid of rapes of women and the death of their children due to the violence inside the camp.

This problem of violence, generates another significant risk : the girls' education. A large proportion of women in the camp do not go to school, since a large part of the rapes occurre during the trips between houses and schools. Instead of school enrolment, parents often arrange marriage for their adolescent daughters giving protection against rape, and money from a husband.

## **Access to Education :**

In Dadaab, there are several primary schools, one or two secondary schools, usually not more than one adult literacy centre and youth vocational centre. The schools are run mainly by refugee teachers. National exams have even been organized in Dadaab. The number of pupils in classroom depends of each refugee camps. The oldest camps in Dadaab have less pupils than the newest camps, approximately 45 in the new camp . A primary school enrolment is less than 38% in older camps. Besides the lack of school buildings and teachers, the main issue is distance to school. Electricity, sufficient availability of water and computer labs are missing too. As seen above, school attendance for girls is problematic. The families prioritize boys to study and girls to stay at home. On the bright side, environmental education is provided in the last couple of years in the camps. Schools organize

environmental clubs that inform students about environmental conservation and protection.

It is very interesting to compare the school management of the Dadaab camps to the Jungle of Calais because they are in two different countries with two different approaches to education. In France, as most of the developed countries, the school is compulsory for children until 16 years old, completely free and open for everyone. To respond to the French obligation to provide school for 6 to 16 years old, two schools in the camp have been created.



School in "The jungle of Calais"

These schools are run by an association. Some adults are also taking courses sometimes. As an example there are french classes. However, they are not followed by a large part of refugees since the aim of most of them is to go to United Kingdom.

## Health Care :

The UN, represented by the UNCHR, has created special rules for the sanitary conditions and needs of the refugees in the camp. These regulations are about the daily needs of the people and more particularly about the health of the refugees. One of the most important criteria is 1 hospital for 10, 000 refugees on the camp. Unfortunately, this rule is most of the time not followed.

In Dadaab, the different camps are not equal in terms of health. As example, in Hagadera there is 1 hospital for 28,000 people and Kambioos has no hospital. Instead of hospital on the camps, several primary health posts provide medical services to the community in the neighbourhood. Overcrowded facilities ensure only a little time for each patient, which affects care quality.

If the exodus of Somalis is the main reason for the camp's population growth, births also contribute to it: several dozen new Somali refugees are born every day in the maternity located on the camp. At least, it's important to notice that they have special access to hospital in Nairobi if they need it. Besides, the red cross on the site provides additional care.

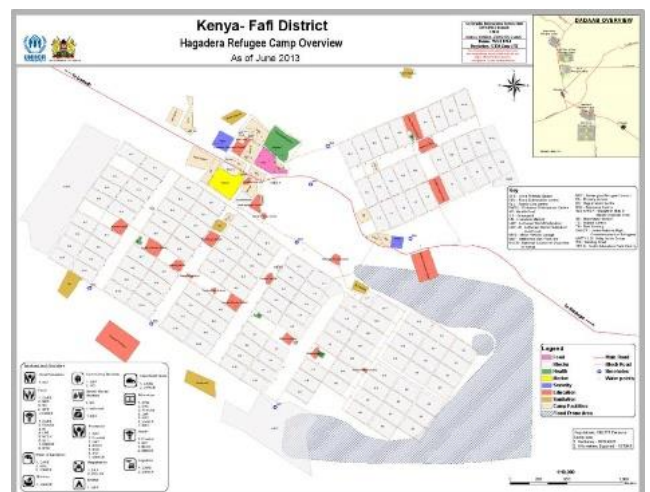
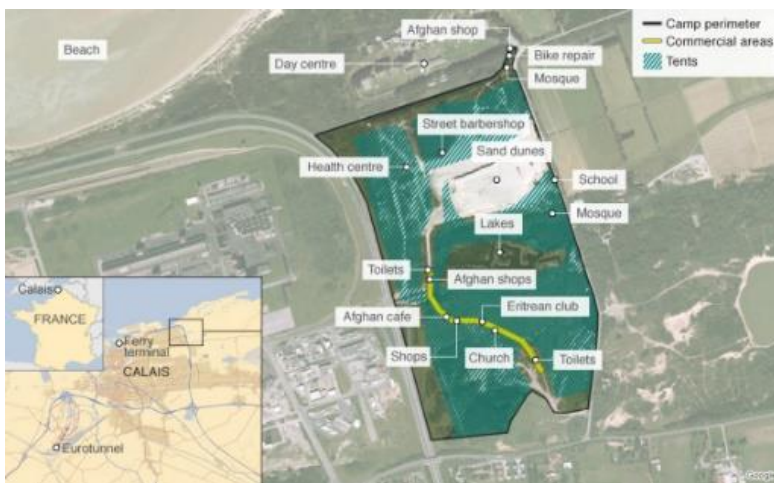
In Calais, the camp is smaller than 10,000 people, so there is no hospital. MSF team ( team of Doctors Without Borders ) has opened a dispensary. An average of 80 consultations are given there every day. The care is often for skin diseases.



## Livelihood activities :

The camps in Dadaab are mostly peopled by Somalian refugees. The old camps resemble naturally-grown towns and have developed into commercial hubs connecting north-eastern Kenya and southern Somalia. Also, thanks to this particularity of these camps, they have developed a strong community : they try to transmit the somalian culture, they speak the somalian language and they celebrate traditional events. The livelihood life on the Dadaab camps has developed since it is forbidden to work outside the camps. On the camps, refugees work as mechanic or hair dresser as example. There is also a huge market in Hagadera camp.

On the opposite side, the camp of Calais is multicultural. This mix of culture and people has created a lot of different restaurants or other places for livelihood activities. There are hairdressers, grocers, bicycle repairmen, kebabs, Pakistani and Afghan cuisine, and even a nightclub. Each one produces its own electricity, with generators that are displayed in front of the shop. There is also a generator where the refugees can charge their phone to communicate with their families. Nevertheless, the camp is divided into quarters. Eritreans, Afghans and Syrians live separately.



## Natural disaster :

Refuge camps are exposed to different natural troubles depending on their localisation around the world.

Unusual, the Dadaab camp faced a flooding once. The torrential floods have ruined two of the three Dadaab sites in 2006.

In Calais, the refugees are also confronted to natural issues. Since the site is located in the northern part of France, the



Flooding in Dadaab in 2006

climate is very cold during winter. Most of the refugees are not used to this climate and do not have enough clothes to fight against this cold and rainy weather. Due to this rainy climate, the camp is often flooded. Therefore, the refugees have to live in the mud during months.

### **The host community and the refugees :**

Most of the time, the community surrounding the camps suffers from the same problems as refugee families, such as famine or lack of hospitals, but they have no help from the government or NGOs. Under such conditions there cannot be any distinction made between 'refugees' and 'host communities' when providing relief.

In Dadaab, the host community prefer losing their Kenyan nationality to have an access to a safer water, food and medicine that is available in the camp.

On the opposite, the relation between the host community in Calais and the refugees is in a way to help them rather than join them through associations. The attitude of the host community in front of the refugees is very contrasted. A part of the host community is helping the refugees for their daily needs, especially at weekends. They bring food, clothes, and a wide variety of things that they distribute free of charge. But in other way, in Calais, a lot of trouble is occurring due to the racism of some inhabitant of the city. Unfortunately, insularity, xenophobia, right-wing populism and anti-immigrant parties are gaining ground across Europe.

## **IV. Urban Shelter Design and the Role of the Architects**

After the setbacks of the Somalian war resulting in the influx of populations in 1991, the United Nations agency made call for Swedish and German architects to draw up the plans. This set the beginnings of an "industry humanitarian", with specific standards on the size and shape of the tents, their arrangement on the ground, the composition of the neighbourhoods, water supply, the width of the traffic lanes, etc.... **In answer to camps main issues, the role of the architect can be illustrated in three aspects : the urban planning, the conception of new shelters and the answer to sustainability issues.**

## Urban Planning

### Orientation and Navigation

One of the priorities on these refugees camps is the organisation. It is very important to create a real pattern with a special grid inside to improve the orientation of the site.

Moreover, the feeling to be lost on the site is linked to the similarities of all units. To avoid this feeling, a hierarchy in the camp, to improve the orientation and the navigation has to be created. For instance, to improve the pattern, the idea could be to create some places where everyone can gather, or some major axis implementing a large school. These constructions could act as major landmarks in the camp.



*Photo of the camp of Ifo in Daadab*

A hierarchy of roads on the camp can be set in order to avoid too many small passages. Also, using hierarchy of roads on the camp can avoid many small roads. Reducing the number of these kind of roads may lead to a decrease in violence in the camp, as well as the number of rapes of girls. By creating main roads, girls would be able to use them to go to school, they would be in plain sight. This could reduce the risk of attacks.

### Improve the public services

#### *The educational aspect*

The largest problem with the access to school in the refugee camps, more particularly in Dadaab, is its localisation. Children have to wake very early and walk very long distance to arrive at school every morning. This issue is even more problematic when returning from school. Since the children walk back during the night, it causes more violence on the children and also the rape of the girls. As seen above, it is one of the reason why the parents prefer to keep the girls at home instead of sending them to school, leading to the girls' illiteracy.

An obvious solution to avoid this resides in providing dormitory accommodation close to school or at least home schooling by correspondence.

Another problem is the lack of equipment such as computers for instance. Moreover in Dadaab, there is no electricity in the school, so no lamps in the classrooms.

To reduce this problem the Kenyan Ministry of Education has installed solar power in Dagahaley on of the primary schools in Dadaab, which represents a way how to ensure power in Kenya's schools. The last problem, but not the least, is the lack of water in the schools.

***Connect the host community to the refugee community :***

As explained in the previous part, there are very few links between the host community and the refugee community. This situation leads big matters as the health security for instance.

There is a few connection between these two community. For instance, the large collections of food and clothing being organised by longer-term refugee camp residents and the host community to help badly suffering newly arrived refugees is inspirational for any witness to the relief effort. Given the generosity of spirit and selflessness on display amongst these groups – especially in Dadaab where the people themselves suffering the effects of drought - it becomes even more important that an equitable distribution of relief aid and service is ensured by both international donors and national authorities.

A idea of a mix between the two communities would be better for all because all can bring solution to improve life conditions.

For instance, in Calais, on the refugee camp there are a lot of places where people are cooking specialities of their home countries. We can imagine a creation of a large common space where they can sell the food specialities of their countries with the host community for instance. This space can also be a sport field where the people of both community can meet for football tournament. In this ways, it becomes possible to share and exchange, improve in French by the help of the host community. Both community have something to bring at the other to open their mind and improve their lives.

We have to keep in mind, especially in the developing country that the host community suffer of the same troubles that the refugees community. So guidelines for the development of refugee camps in the future should necessarily give due consideration to the resource and service circumstances of local host communities, as well as incoming refugees. This will ensure that equitable provision based on identified need can be ensured comprehensively for both groups.

## Camp relocation

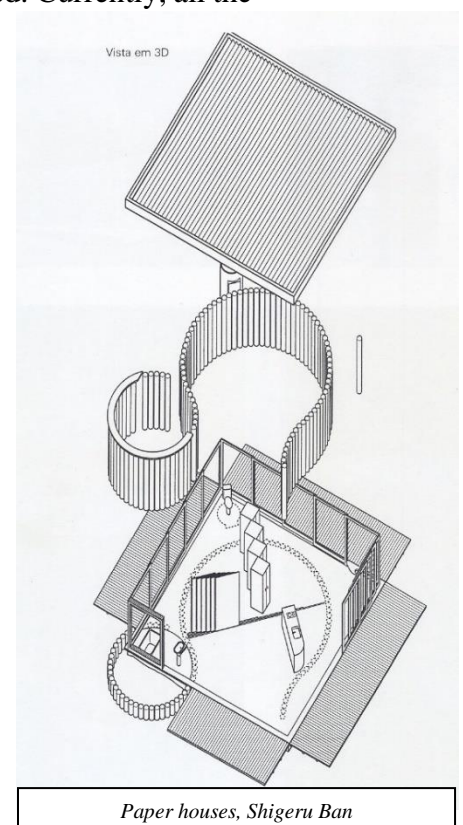
Nowadays, the both camps are not well located. Actually, the majority of people going to Daadab as refugees are from Somalia. But, the camp is very far away from the Somalian border. Given that, refugees people have to walk a very long time to get to the camp. Likewise, it opens the discussion on an important current challenge in Dadaab: the number of children who suffered from malnutrition when arrived at the camp. Many children die and are buried along the road to Dadaab from Somalia, sometimes a few kilometres from Dadaab after the days of walking, the location of the new camp is a matter of crucial importance.

As the Dadaab camp, the camp in Calais is also very badly located. The camp is located very near to the highway and the harbour. So in a very dangerous space. The first refugees who arrived in Calais, have decided to built a spontaneous camp here since it is very near to the axes to go to UK. Due to this, some migrants were killed because of the highway. To reduce this problematic, and also to reduce the number of people who are crossing the border to go to UK, the French government has built a wall between the camp and the highway. But, as we can imagine, it is not a sustainable and durable solution.

## **Shelter**

Definitely the houses on the refugees camps need to be improved. Currently, all the solutions developed on the refugees camps are not good enough.

Building a shelter for a refugees camps is not easy since a lot of parameters have to be taken into account in the reflexion and in the settlement. Theses units have to respond to very important points. First, they have to last longer but not too much since in average people live in a refugees camps during 17 years. So they have to build this units with not permanent materials but these materials have to be strong enough to resist to naturals disasters. Also, since these shelters will stay a long time in place, they have to be in sustainable materials. A lot of different actors -as architect, association, contractor for instance- has already thought about this problematic.



For instance we can speak about Shigeru Ban and his paper houses. He was thinking in the creation of very small accomodation made with cupboard and paper made for emergency houses.

Besides, we can mention the new ideas of the workers of the UNHCR. They have created a new kind of two storeys houses made in bamboo. This house uses a steel frame completed by panels in bamboo. It's a sustainable solution. This is completely inspired by the tradition. In the past, most of the time, houses were built with this kind of materials. Using bamboo is a good idea because of the price of this material. , it is very easy to find this material in Asia, more particulary for the camp of Kutupalong, the widest refugee camp in the world. But the main aspect of this construction is its vernacular nature. It can be built by everyone and can be disassembled very quickly. It can be moved which is an essential characteristic for a refugee house.



A pilot design in bamboo in Kutupalong

These aspects are essential and one company has understood these mains themes. It-is IKEA with it'-s associaton : better shelter. They are thinking at a shelter which is durable, safe and dignified, scalable, cost effective, and flexible. They have created this shelter completely in a pack which can be send by ship in containers to the refugees camps all around the world. This shelter can be assembled and disassembled very quickly by 4 adults. The shelter's modular design allows for altering and adaptation to different areas of use, making it a versatile and scalable shelter in all places in the world.



Packed units and interior of one unit of better shelter developed by IKEA

More recently, the camps are an example of an architecture ephemeral with these temporary buildings constructed more and more with lightweight materials, which are defeated as quickly as they were made, moved somewhere else. The trailer, the container, the mobile homes are replacing the tent or the mud unit with a plastic canvas roof which are the usual structures in UNHCR camps.

## Sustainability

### Environmental sustainability

One of the hidden aspect of a refugee camp is the rapid deforestation generated by the creation of a camp. Due to this, the camp is very exposed to the climatic conditions. Also, especially in Dadaab, the deforestation made the camp more vulnerable facing the drought and the heat. For better living conditions of the refugees and the soil, architect and urban planner have to create an ecofriendly refugee camp. The creation of green areas, garden spaces, farming spaces inside the camp can contribute to the sustainability of the camp.



*Drought in Dadaab*

### Economical sustainability

The organisation of the refugee camps have to improve in a economical and juridical sustanibility. In the majority of the refugee camps, people are not allowed to work outside the camp. This measure, decided to avoid to have a permanent camp, leads to a lot of issues in term of economical sustainability since people live in camp during seventeen years in average.

That enhances the poverty of the people who are living on the camp and a high dependance to the people who manage the camp. Besides, the increase of arrivals in the camps this few years ago puts a stain on informal districts and public services that are already experiencing difficulties, accelerates the creation of slums and the poverty. To reduce these impacts, the humanitarian worker Antoine Peigney has proposed four mains points as :

- Increasing the development aid that is allocated to cities. Such aid is provided in long-term community based programmes led by development NGOs in collaboration with the local public authorities.

- Supporting family subsistence farming, which is a labour-intensive employment sector, in the areas migrants move into.

- Protecting civil servants who have a job but who are unable to live from it. The departure of health workers and teachers weakens areas by depriving them of essential services.

- Encouraging urban job creation, not only in very small and medium-sized enterprises but also in large firms in order to facilitate the integration of new arrivals.

Moreover, one of the main role of the non gouvernemental organization is fighting to increase the rights of the refugee inside the host county and also on a world scale.

## VI. Conclusion

Although the camps are located at different parts of the world, the refugees camps are most of time facing the same situations. Malnutrition, unhealthy space and violence inside the camps are the mains theme that the governments and the humanitarian workers are fighting against. They try to manage all the issues of a refugee camps and organize everyday life. They answer to the question of right and legal, at their scale and with their own tools, as the same time as thinking to the ethical issue in the camp.

All refugees have the right to be treated as human beings, with full respect to their needs, dignity and humanity. In order to improve life conditions in refugee camps, our society must stop being unconcerned.

Politician, medias, litteratures references, private sectors have to shine a light on these refugees camps. Emergency workers faced by the rapid increase in the flows of refugees who need to be received, can also see that their camps will not really be temporary and that they need help to improve them. They are therefore increasingly calling on experts in the areas of networks, public services and planning with a need in providing basic public services, probably in the long term. Architect, urban planner already involved, have to continue since they have a wide role to play in these camps.

But not only them, everyone can become an help for these camps. The more people involve themselves, the sooner, the better and more accurate help will be provided to refugees.



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