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Mapping the Mundane: Alternative Articulations of

"Standardized Space" in Sittwe, Rakhine State, Myanmar

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Science in Urban and Regional Planning

by

Phoebe Caroline Brauer

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Mapping the Mundane: Alternative Articulations of

"Standardized Space" in Sittwe, Rakhine State, Myanmar

by

Phoebe Caroline Brauer

Master of Science in Urban and Regional Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Paavo Monkkonen, Chair

As the number of displaced persons continues to rise, this research investigates the common mechanism governments and international non-governmental actors use to handle these crises, namely the camp model. While the general consensus among practitioners advocates for more flexibility, adaptability and durability in shelter provision for displaced populations, there remain ongoing theoretical debates about whether to treat camps as spaces of exception, where the suspension of politics permits temporary humanitarian intervention, or as extensions of urban informality, where a development framework offers sustainable solutions. My fieldwork focuses on temporary camps for internally displaced people in the urban area of Sittwe in Rakhine State, Myanmar. This research explores the nexus between critical urban planning theory and the role of humanitarian aid through examining the provision of shelter for displaced populations in the broader the context of urbanization.

The thesis of Phoebe Caroline Brauer is approved.

Helga M. Leitner

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University of California, Los Angeles

2016

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Introduction

In the context of rising numbers of displaced persons globally, this paper investigates the common mechanism governments and international non-governmental actors use to handle these crises, namely the camp model. The traditional "camp model" raises serious ethical concerns over segregation, warehousing, and human rights (Agier 2008; Harrell-Bond 1986; Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway 2007; Simm 2014), but these large-scale temporary shelter typographies continue to appear on the landscape in response to displacement. The act of defining the locations of those who are "out of place" both confirms and produces this status of displacement. Liisa H. Malkki observes how academic study naturalizes camp settlements as "field sites" and traces how camps emerged during World War II[1] as a solution to the "military problem" of displacement, and only at the end of the war were handed over as a "humanitarian problem." Malkki explains that the modern camp model was originally based on military barracks to create "disciplinary, supervisable spaces" meant for "mass control and care" as well as "study and documentation (Malkki 1995: 499-500)." This mutually reinforcing relationship between regulatory institutions and academia, or between power technologies and objects of knowledge, has contributed to the "siting" of displaced persons in camps and normalized the presence of these camps across the globe (Malkki 1995; Burawoy 2000). As a discipline, modern urban planning similarly sought rational answers to the unacceptably hazardous conditions of the industrial era. Both urban planning and camp management regulate spaces, separate their uses, implement rational systems, develop large infrastructure projects, and organize the built environment in order to address the struggles of many people living together.

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[1] It should mentioned here that other scholars have traced camp origins to colonial powers in the 19th century, which means "camps were

In the context of displacement, the camp model produces a highly regulated, modeled, and replicated space that obeys international standards, promises (e)quality, and imagines global egalitarianism (Harrell-Bond 2002). Yet from its conception to its construction, the "standardized space" of the camp starts to devolve from an organized plan to a lived space. In her book, *For Space,* Doreen Massey challenges the common notion of space as the surface on which life happens, the backdrop to the very fact of being, the setting upon which history plays out. She shifts away from viewing space as simply an ontological reality of everyday life and moves towards an understanding of the dynamism, or dimensionality, of space. This paper will begin with a discussion of a participatory mapping project that offers an alternative understanding of "the camp" through mundane daily practices that occur in these spaces. This perspective stands in contrast to viewing the space of the camp as the set stage upon which displacement is enacted. By looking at shelter through the perspective of the residents, rather than satellites or dashboards, this project seeks to overcome the ways researching and consequential siting establish the camp as a homogenous society. For Massey, if time is succession, allowing different things to happen in the same space, then space is simultaneity, allowing different things to happen at the same time.[2] Massey explains that space facilitates multiplicity and considers space as the very thing that enables difference.[3] Rather than other places, cultures and peoples being behind, of the past, or catching up, these "others" can exist at the exact same time as one another. This conception of space expands the possibility of "living with others" in a way that breaks down the development hypothesis.

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[2] Online interview with Doreen Massey. *Social Science Bites podcast*. Accessed June 5, 2015: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Quj4tjbTPxw.

[3] "...the argument is that the very possibility of any serious recognition of multiplicity and heterogeneity itself depends on a recognition of spatiality. The political corollary is that a genuine, thorough, spatialisation of social theory and political thinking can force into the imagination a fuller recognition of the simultaneous coexistence of others with their own trajectories and their own stories to tell (Massey 2005: 11)."

The idea of formal camps is to provide organizations with the ability to enumerate populations, ensure fair allocations, and track indicators through cost-effectiveness and lean management. However, authorities continue to struggle with registration of residents, targeting for distributions, and maintaining adequate facilities. Limited resources and time demand that investments garner visible and measurable results. This research explores how subverting the relationship between the map and "the displaced" might challenge current institutional methods of demographizing[4] displaced persons and the existing power relations between government, non-governmental organizations, camp management agencies, and the residents. This project strives for a deeper understanding of the heterogeneity of experience inside the camps, adding some much needed dimension to monolithic demographic categories such as "adult female population." This paper also explores the feasibility and appropriateness of mapping as a means for camp residents to articulate how they orient themselves to the space, their perceptions of the space, and their daily practices in the space of the camp. Such a research approach is optimistic, as it critically examines the construction of standardized space and the potential adaptation and innovation therein. This limited but innovative research aims to respond to both practical challenges and theoretical gaps regarding the provision of shelter for displaced populations, and to provide practical evidence and theoretical insight to advance spatial flexibility in the provision of shelter. Addressing the practical question about how to accommodate displaced populations leads to a secondary question about how to incorporate vulnerable populations into the larger urbanization process and how to organize systems and institutions towards a more inclusive urbanism. This research focuses on 7 displacement sites located in Sittwe Township in Rakhine State, a coastal region in western Myanmar. The camps are situated on the urban fringe of

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[4] Inspired by Gayatri Spivak's "demographic difference" (Spivak 1991 cited in Roy 2011).

Sittwe, a city whose flood-prone edges are likely to be swallowed up by urban development in the next decade.

Background: *You say Rohingya, I say Bengali*

In November 2014 United States (US) President Barack Obama made a historic visit to Myanmar as the first sitting US president to visit the country. This visit drew renewed attention to the country's discriminatory practices towards the Rohingya, a Muslim ethnic minority in western Rakhine State, Myanmar. While ongoing ethnic tensions and civil war have caused frequent and end.uring displacement of different ethnic minorities across Myanmar, disagreements regarding the stateless "Rohingya" have drawn international interest. In 2014 Myanmar also completed its first nationwide census since 1983 (UNFPA, 2012), filling a clear data void for the country. International human rights groups criticized the census, a joint effort by both the Myanmar government and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), for its exclusion of "Rohingya" on the list of the 135 officially recognized ethnicities. Debates about ethnic classifications in the census became so heated that some claim this led to the attacks on the offices of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) in Sittwe in March 2014, which suspended humanitarian aid in the area for about one month and resulted in the official rejection of "Rohyingya" as even a write-in category for the census (UNFPA Myanmar 2014). An April 2014 UNFPA Myanmar newsletter article titled, "Observers Report Myanmar Census Ran Smoothly, Except in Rakhine State," reads: "There, the witnesses observed that no one who wished to define their ethnicity as Rohingya was allowed to do so, contravening human rights principles. In many cases, enumerators asked about ethnicity first, and left without administering the questionnaire if respondents declared they were Rohingya (UNFPA Myanmar 2015)." Not only was this population denied the right to self-identify, but they were also excluded from the

official population tally, extending a politics of exclusion to eliminate the Rohingya from the demography and geography of Myanmar.

The enforcement of the controversial 1982 citizenship law[5] functions politically to render the Rohingya population stateless by requiring them to register as "Bengali," a classifier that implies that they are illegal immigrants, laying the groundwork for ongoing formal forms of oppression (Mathieson 2014). The controversy around the Rohingya population similarly surfaced prior to the election in November 2015 when the Myanmar government revoked "white cards" or temporary registration cards to exclude them from voter lists, despite participation in previous elections (Mang 2014). In one example, an elected lawmaker who had served four years in office suddenly became ineligible to run for re-election (Fuller 2015). This policy disproportionately affects Muslims living in Rakhine State, where strict enforcement led to the disenfranchisement of around 700,000 people, the majority of whom were ethnic Rohingya (Radio Free Asia 2015). Despite the blurred and highly debated history of the term "Rohingya[6]," the fact remains that citizens and residents of Myanmar continue to self-identify as "Rohingya." International recognition of the Rohingya in Myanmar, such as recent public statements in 2016 by both US Ambassador to Burma Scot Marciel, as well as US Secretary of State John Kerry, have stirred resentment from hard-lined Burmese nationalists.

Historically, the tensions with Muslim populations did not arise until Bamar (Burmese) annexed Arakan (Rakhine) and conflicts with British India played out in the region during the 1800s. According to one account from 1960, Muslims identifying as "Rohingya" date back to the

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[5] The 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Law established three categories of citizenship that basically rendered Muslims residing in Rakhine State as immigrants or illegal immigrants. Rooted in nationalist rhetoric and racist fears, this law effectively revoked citizenship particularly for Muslims in Rakhine State (Joseph 1998).

[6] The origins of the term Rohingya have been attributed to a variety of sources. For a more discussion on the potential linguistic origins of the term "Rohingya" see: http://www.networkmyanmar.org/images/stories/PDF13/jacques-leider.pdf; https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/04/29/the-battle-over-the-word-rohingya/; http://thediplomat.com/2015/10/rohingya-breaking-the-deadlock/; http://csis.org/publication/separating-fact-fiction-about-myanmars-rohingya.

restoration of Mrauk-U in 1430 and experienced the same rights as Rakhine Buddhists. During the next few hundred years, various ethnic populations of Islamic faith assimilated easily into Arakan and Bamar cultures, enjoying religious tolerance. However, the British empire and its consequent porous boundaries saw unregulated mass migration between regions during the greater part of the 19th century. During this time, British census data tracks an influx of Muslim migrants into Rakhine, particularly locating in the area that is now urban Sittwe. The growing divide between Muslims and Buddhists became concretized during World War II when Muslims pledged allegiance to the British in the North and Buddhists aligned with the Japanese forces in the South. Following independence in 1948, nationalism spread across the new nation-state of Burma as various ethnic groups organized politically and even initiated secessionist movements. After a Muslim-led separatist movement erupted in Rakhine, Rakhine Buddhists began to lean on the Burmese central authority as an ally against the mujahids. During the end of the twentieth century, on-going tensions in Rakhine State led to several bouts of forced displacement of the Muslim population. In one well-documented instance, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) assisted in the repatriation of over 200,000 people from Bangladesh back to Myanmar. When violent outbreaks in 2012 displaced 140,000 people in Rakhine State, UNHCR, along with several other international actors and the local government, again intervened in displacement of the now stateless Rohingya population.

Siting Sittwe

Sittwe is positioned to become a promising port city in the Bay of Bengal, propelled in no small part by interest from regional neighbors.[7] International investment in regional development is happening alongside international condemnation of human rights violations and the need for humanitarian intervention in the region. Rakhine State consistently ranks lowest in health access

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[7] In particular, India and China are offering serious investments in the region to gain access to Myanmar's rich natural resources, such as the Sino-Myanmar Pipeline project, oil and gas pipelines runs from the west coast of Rakhine State into the Yunnan province in southern China.

and outcomes in Myanmar,[8] and these disparities illustrate the failure of government to improve the wellbeing of the population in this region. While the Rakhine State Action Plan 2014 (RSG 2014) includes housing, infrastructure, and much-needed school and health care facilities, it also entwines development aims with political aims. The plan lays out temporary and permanent settlement plans in response to the 2012 displacement, but only identifies two ethnic categories for internally displaced persons (IDPs), Rakhine and Bengali, despite the presence of Kaman and Maramagyi, two officially recognized ethnicities, who have also been displaced in Rakhine. This official document projects a future that supports exclusionary policies, leading some to seek out alternative futures. As of April 2016, 118,086 people continue to reside in 39 camps, the majority of which are located in Sittwe Township.[9] Despite the existence of camps in neighboring townships, I limit this research to seven camps located in the urban township of Sittwe and managed by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF).[10]

These camps consist of temporary shelters in the form of long-houses and individual houses, funded and constructed by both the international community and the Rakhine State Government (RSG), and spontaneous settlements.[11] Shelter in Sittwe comes in three forms: 8-unit or 10-unit temporary shelter referred to as longhouses, individual permanent shelter, and makeshift shelter. Temporary shelter refers to shelter structures constructed with a limited lifespan of a couple years, since their legitimacy as a "humanitarian response" relies on this impermanence. However, countless examples from Palestine to Dadaab illustrate how the camp

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[8] According to an UNFPA report in 2010, the population in Rakhine suffered from the highest rates of modest malnutrition (60%), the highest observed underweight population, and the lowest literacy rates (66%). Women in Rakhine State rank the highest in Crude Birth Rate (CBR), the highest in Total Fertility Rate (TFR), among the highest in maternal mortality, and the lowest in age at first birth (UNFPA (Rakhine State Government, 2014) 2010)

[9] Rakhine State Shelter Cluster Factsheet (April 2016). Accessed May 2016: https://www.sheltercluster.org/hub/rakhine/documents.

[10] The camps under investigation are strictly in urban or peri-urban areas. Site selection also depended on access to the camps through travel authorization obtained through a partnership with LWF.

[11] According to the Shelter Cluster Indicator Guidelines from the Global Shelter Cluster in October 2012, the indicator for displacement includes the following displacement conditions: formal camp, spontaneous settlement, hosted, and evacuation centre.

as a temporary space exists up to the point where the broader urbanizing landscape engulfs it as a permanent site. This research takes seriously the findings and recommendations of practitioners and scholars who advocate for a localized contextual approach to shelter provision and improved integration of female perspectives in camp planning and management. The first section of this paper presents the initial findings of fieldwork conducted with female residents in seven planned sites in Sittwe during 2015-2016. This research foregrounds the ways in which female residents confront and negotiate the spatial limitations of the planned sites through their daily practices in order to disaggregate our understanding of camp spaces. Inverting the way we view the space of the camp itself, these maps help us see the camp spaces from the inside-out, rather than as outlines.

Figure 1: Camps in Sittwe Township managed by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Satellite Image
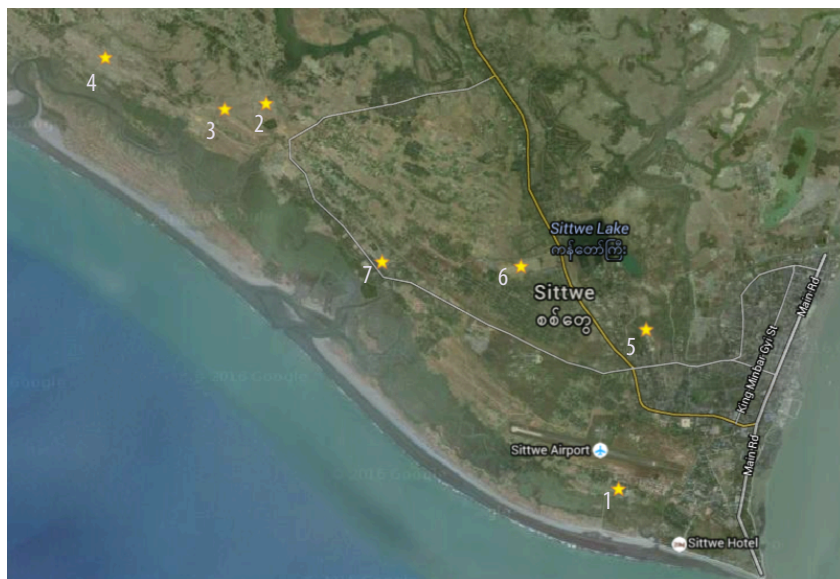
Table 1: Camp sites located in Sittwe Township managed by the Lutheran World Federation (March 2016)[12]

	Camp Name	Type	Total Population
1	Basara	Planned Camp	2,103
2	Khaung Doke Khar 1	Planned Camp	2,216
3	Khaung Doke Khar 2	Planned Camp	2,154
4	Ohn Taw Gyi (South)	Planned Camp	11,731
5	Set Yon Su 1	Resettled Site	462
6	Set Yon Su 3	Resettled Site	653
7	Thae Chaung	Self-settled Camp	11,722

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[12] Data source: LWF Camp Situation Report March 2016

The most recent "maps" available for these sites are the proposed layouts for the camps from September 2013, which include shelter, kitchens, water and sanitation, and other spaces like temporary learning spaces (TLS). The shelters are typically 8-unit longhouses laid out in a grid pattern with latrines on the edges of the grid and other administrative structures often located as a cluster near the presumed entrance to the camp. Most of these camps are built on low land, so paddy fields, ponds, and flood areas are marked on the proposed plans. Existing roads, village areas, and other structures, like the airports, schools and ministry compounds, are marked, as well. Several camps have contracted or expanded over the past three years, changing the composition of the camps both demographically and spatially. Combing through meeting minutes and other reports suggest other significant factors may affect the spatial layouts of the camps, such as frequent changes in camp management organizations and staffing, inflows and outflows of people, damages and repairs, weather crises, and data inconsistencies across standardized reporting methods. The shelters in the camps were built for a two-year lifespan, and have been budgeted for reconstruction this year.[13] Now I will describe two sites, Basara and Thae Chaung, in order to demonstrate the type of information a researcher can yield from available materials alongside satellite images obtained through Google Maps.

Basara is located across from the airport and relatively close to urban Sittwe. In Basara, the layout is generally consistent between the proposed plan and the satellite image. There are 52 8-unit longhouses proposed, all of which are funded and constructed by the government (RSG). This camp is managed by LWF, surrounded by a host village, and situated alongside existing roads. Basara is a smaller camp of the *planned camps* with 2,103 residents and 410 households, according to the LWF Camp Situation Report from March 2016. The satellite image of this camp

[13] 1,600+ longhouses in Sittwe need repairs, 60+% in need of major repairs and 10+% in need of minor repairs. For the camps in Sittwe, costs total about US$1.5 million to help 2,552 people in need of full rebuild and 36,100 people in need of major repairs. There are four LWF-managed camps with 1,980 people in need of full rebuilds, 4,100 people in need of major repairs, and 9,000 people in need of minor repairs. Meeting minutes available at: https://www.sheltercluster.org/sites/default/files/docs/shelter-nfi-cccm_ygn_cluster_meeting_minutes_30.3._16.pdf

particularly highlights the difference in the typology of the built environment of the camp juxtaposed next to the village. The camps' large multi-unit structures contrast with the foliage providing shade for the existing host village.

Figure 2 & 3: Basara Camp Layout (Sept 2013) and Basara Satellite Image from GoogleMaps (May 2016)
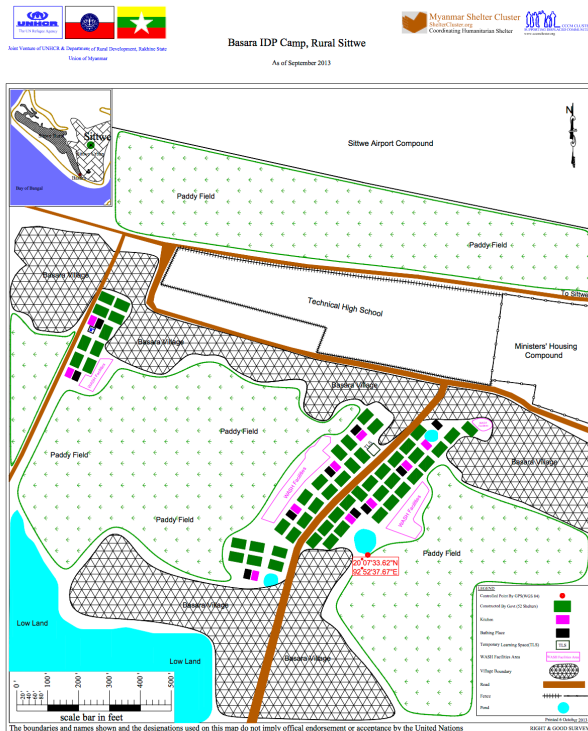
Thae Chaung is a self-settled camp, meaning it arose spontaneously among an existing village off a main road to urban Sittwe. Thae Chaung is managed now by LWF, but there are no proposed plans for this site since it was not an officially planned build-out. All of the shelters in these camps are informal and unplanned, meaning they most likely started as individual tent units and are now makeshift structures. It is difficult to say how many of these shelters exist, but the population in this area is 11,722 residents in 2,145 households, according to the LWF Camp Situation Report from March 2016. The satellite images show that self-settled camps articulate physically in a way much more consistent with the existing built environment (despite the lack of tree coverage).

Mapping Shelter: *Images and imaginings*

At the camp management level, mapping and other information gathering includes risk assessments, household surveys and camp profiles, which produce a snapshot or diorama of the camps. While these tools are the primary means of sharing information about the camps with government officials, international donors, and decision-makers, they offer only limited views of the camps. At the February 2016 National Shelter Cluster meeting, a representative from UNHCR presented the fourth round of camp profiling in Kachin and Shan states,[14] two other regions with recurring displacement in Myanmar. The presenter explained that camp profiling is a uniquely "collaborative" method, bringing together "key informants" who included camp management, camp committee members, and a few IDPs. Unfortunately, the raw data showed that the majority of the data collected for camp profiling relied on one person per camp, most often a male camp manager. When one of the meeting attendees asked if this type of information was available for the camps in Rakhine, he was clearly disappointed to hear that only "Desktop

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[14] The profiling of 132 camps, which represents 95% of the displaced persons in those regions, took around 3 months to complete. For more information see the National Shelter Cluster Meeting Minutes from February 24, 2016 available at: https://www.sheltercluster.org/sites/default/files/docs/shelter-nfi-cccm_ygn_cluster_meeting_minutes_24.2.16_1.pdf.

Camp Profiling" was available. Desktop camp profiling refers to data provided "from the desk" rather than collected in the field and usually includes broad estimates for general indicators. These materials often lack the means to convey textured or unpredictable details and exclude information that may be valuable but falls outside of pre-determined categories.

Current academic research on camp mapping focuses on the use of advanced technologies, such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), to collect and represent quantitative information about the camps. One study uses GIS mapping methods and satellite imagery to evaluate camp performance in relation to global standards (Meehl 2008). While these maps can measure things like distance from a specific shelter to the closest water pump and even label whether this distance is within or exceeds the recommended international standard, they have not been "groundtruthed" and cannot account for aberrations from preconceived lifestyle preferences. Another study uses satellite imagery of a refugee camp in Tanzania to extract information such as the total number of tents in a given area (Giada et al. 2003). These studies replicate the dominant practice of viewing the camp from the top-down (literally), fail to apply participatory methods to data collection, and misrepresent the camps as uniform and introverted.[15] With echoes of rational planning, these mapping projects struggle to offer a humanist approach to humanitarian intervention. On the other hand, in her experience using qualitative mapping methods with refugees residing in camps in Palestine, Rebecca Roberts (1999) explains that maps drawn by the residents themselves were often inaccurate and hard to read, and some people were not willing to draw maps, preferring instead to describe the maps. These studies reveal the need for more inclusive data collection practices and new mapping processes to counterpoint traditional mapping methods.

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[15] "Introverted" is a term borrowed from Doreen Massey (1991) in her article "A Global Sense of Place" where she argues against a sense of place that stems from an inward-looking history.

In his chapter, "Census, Map and Museum," Benedict Anderson (2006) tracks how these three colonial institutions changed the relationship between space and identity through formal forms of representation that generated new imaginations. In his discussion on colonial mapping techniques in Southeast Asia, Anderson cites Thai historian Thongchai Winichakul who describes how European-style maps worked differently than previous mapping techniques: "[Colonial mapping] anticipated spatial reality, not vice versa. In other words, a map was a model for, rather than a model of, what it purported to represent…(Thongchai cited in Anderson 2006: 249)." In this way, the abstraction of reality preceded the very existence of that reality. Just as communities belonging to the colonial imagination preceded their very existence on maps, the census similarly plotted swaths of people into all-encompassing categories prior to their knowledge of those classifications (Anderson 2006: 246). Anderson explains how the census "ethnicized" religious communities in order to "regulate, constrict, count, standardize" realities "on the ground" into data which would then be processed into color-coded maps. Finally, Anderson explains how the museum added the dimension of time to separate the contemporary "natives" from their more capable ancestors, whose ancient ruins required preservation, reverence, and reproduction. The consequence of these colonial technologies of power became the spatial ordering of people and places in what Anderson describes as "the grid." He writes, "The effect of the grid was always to be able to say of anything that it was this, not that; it belonged here, not there. It was bounded, determinate, and therefore – in principle – countable (Anderson 2006: 254)." Anderson's work illuminates the ways management mechanisms and administrative processes project imaginations that simplify, compartmentalize, and ignore complexities. These methods ultimately produce baselines on which social constructs are built and verified, and from which possible futures are planned. As these organizational

practices develop in Myanmar, Anderson's musings on the census, map and museum appear relevant, vivid, and cautionary.
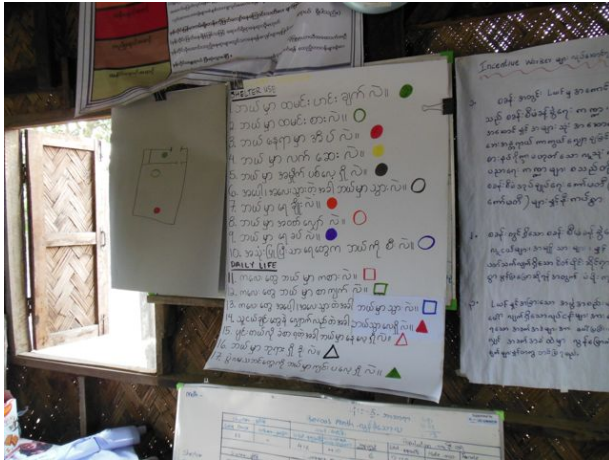
Making Maps: *Methods and Description*

Fieldwork for this research took place in the summer of 2014 and during ten months from June 2015 to May 2016. This research uses qualitative methods, centered on mapping, thematic content analysis, semi-structured interviews and participant observation to investigate how female residents adapt "standardized space" to address unmet needs in five thematic areas. Mapping includes 149 hand-drawn maps from adult female camp residents in the seven chosen sites. The researcher conducted thematic content analyses of camp maps and plans, design documents, meeting minutes, reports and strategy documents. Semi-structured interviews were conducted over the phone and via video chat with four camp management staff, in addition to on-going informal conversations over two years with specialists working in Rakhine who cover shelter, camp coordination, water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), and gender. Participant observation through attendance at National Shelter Cluster meetings in Yangon, informal meetings with INGO staff, and camp visits in Sittwe also contributed to this research.

Due to formal travel restrictions on the researcher, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) conducted a pilot mapping project with 35 adult female residents in four camps in Sittwe, Rakhine State, Myanmar, in September 2015. For this pilot, most female participants belonged to the Camp Management Committee and were of mixed ethnicity and religion. To start, the participants were oriented to maps of the camps in which they reside and trained on how to make symbolic markings on the maps to answer certain prompts. These maps were simplified black and white versions of the camps based on satellite imagery and camp planning documents, presenting a bird's-eye view of the camp space. The women worked in small groups with an LWF volunteer and marked on three maps (large, medium, and small) where they conducted different quotidian activities, such as going to the market or doing the laundry. Mapping in this project became both a data source as well as an opportunity for participants to build map-reading and map-making skills. The pilot project offered insights and lessons that informed a second round of mapping. Five key areas of interest emerged from the initial maps, which included mobility and access inside the camps, clustering of daily activities, perceptions of safety, transactions, and the use of shelter. The pilot project also highlighted the importance of developing strategies to overcome literacy and language barriers among participants, including the need for visual aids and demonstration, improving readability of the maps, and consistency in facilitation. Overall, feedback from the LWF staff was very positive, and we co-presented the project to the National Shelter Cluster in Yangon on November 18, 2015, to an audience of international and local government and non-governmental stakeholders.

Table 2: September 2015 Pilot Project Major Thematic Categories

Areas of Interest	Description
1. Mobility and access	To assess the mobility of the resident inside the camp while conducting daily activities and access to basic needs.
2. Perceptions of Safety	To assess areas of perceived danger and risk for the resident while conducting her daily activities.
3. Livelihoods	To assess daily transactions for the resident inside the camp.
4. Clustering of Daily Activities	To assess which daily activities occur in similar areas.
5. The Use of Shelter	To assess which daily activities occur inside or around the shelter.

The second round of mapping was co-led by the researcher and LWF staff in April 2016 with 145 adult female participants from seven camps in Sittwe. Participants belonged to either the Camp Management Committee or Women's Committee.[16] This round included one large map that depicted the entire camp layout viewed from above on which participants answered various prompts with assigned symbols.[17] The women needed to orient themselves to the map by finding their shelter on the map, which proved difficult since most camps did not have any map at all.[18] The second part of this round asked participants to draw their shelter on a blank page and then add symbols to represent various daily activities to their drawings. Instruction was provided orally and written on large boards (see photo above) in Burmese, then it was translated orally by local staff into Rakhine, followed by an additional oral translation into local languages by camp residents. After conducting this round at the first two sites, the process became streamlined and each question was conducted one at a time with a demonstration or example given. This strategy led to an improved response rate and shortened time between questions. Generally, women worked in groups of five sitting on mats on the ground in a community space with activity leaders circulating to assist groups as needed. At each camp we provided one beverage, a cracker packet, and a cookie packet for each participant.

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[16] In some cases, children were present and participated in the activity, but their maps were not included in the findings.

[17] These prompts included general instructions, five demographic questions, four questions relating to livelihoods, four questions on mobility, four questions on safety, and 17 questions on shelter use and daily life.

[18] Basara had a large map with the numbered shelter units and in Thae Chaung one camp leader spontaneously sketched out a map of the area by hand.

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Participants include stateless people and citizens of both urban and rural origin who are ethnically, religiously, and linguistically diverse. Although 163 people made maps, only the 145 adult female participants are included in the findings. At each camp there was an average of 23 participants per camp. Of the 145 adult female participants in this project, 86% report having children and 57% of them report being married. Of the 63 participants who do not report being married, 17 report that they are widows, and four report that they are separated. 27 participants mark that they are unmarried and report having children, meaning they are single parents. Different trends exist across the camps. For example, Khaung Doke Khar 1 and Ohn Taw Gyi South have more single mothers, whereas Khaung Doke Khar 2 and Basara have more married mothers. All 22 participants in Khaung Doke Khar 1 report having children, 14 are single mothers (five are widowed and one is separated), and only eight are married. In Khaung Doke Khar 2, all 16 participants also have children, but 11 of them are married, and only five are single parents (three are widowed and two are unmarried). There are 27 participants in both Basara and Ohn Taw Gyi South, but Ohn Taw Gyi South has 13 unmarried mothers, whereas Basara has only six (three of whom are widows). Lastly, the wide range in family size of the participants, from two to fourteen people in one household, clearly points to the inadequacy of standardized space to meet a diverse range of needs with its egalitarian promise. These types of relationships are washed over in current representations of camp populations.

Table 3: April 2016 Mapping Project Round 2 – Participant Demographics

Camp	Number of Adult Female Participants (# of total participants)	# of participants who reported having children	# of participants who reported being married
Basara	27	23	19
Ohn Taw Gyi South	27	24	12
Thae Chaung	26	23	17
Set Yon Su 1	6 (22)	4	3
Set Yon Su 3	21 (24)	13	12
Khaung Doke Khar 1	22	22	8
Khaung Doke Khar 2	16	16	11
TOTAL	**145** (163)	**125**	**82**

These maps contain many layers of information that bring new dimension to the camp space and this section will focus on three: paths, practices and perceptions. These data shed light on how shelter needs and uses differ not only across camps, but between individuals. To analyze mobility and access inside the camps, I have examined the relative distance of the lines people have drawn on their maps to represent travel to various activities. I have also considered if the lines extend in a variety of directions or if they all tend towards one direction, and if the paths follow a single route or vary depending on the destination. In the Thae Chaung map below, we can see a level of freedom of movement as paths extend in all directions from the shelter (identified by the pink star shape). By looking at a resident's movement through the camp, the maps include an element of dynamism as the "IDP" now occupies spaces beyond the confines of her assigned shelter and can be in different places at different times. To analyze the spatial dimension of daily life activities, I have noted which activities take place near or in the shelter, and which activities take place in similar areas to other activities. For example, in the Ohn Taw Gyi South map below, we can see that hand-washing, bathing, and going to the bathroom take place in one corner of the front area of the shelter, while cooking and eating take place in the opposite corner. By looking at where people conduct daily activities, the maps include the mundane realm (which can sometimes equate with the domestic and, thus, the feminine) as the "IDP" now occupies spaces that are personal and visible. Finally, to better understand perceptions of safety among residents, I have analyzed areas marked by residents as prone to risk. Risk may include a sense of danger, potential for flooding, and darkness in contrast to areas that are well-lit. I have looked at whether these risks are close to the shelters, along paths commonly used in daily life, or in more remote areas. I have also noted whether risk areas are isolated to one part of the map or encompass the shelter. In the Khaung Doke Khar 1 map below, we can see a resident's perception of unsafe areas marked by the large pink circles. By including

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areas that people perceive as risky, these maps invite the irrational into the representations of the camp as the "IDP" now occupies a spatial imaginary beyond the imagined plan of the camp. A static sense of space treats multiplicity as disorder and addresses difference through narrow and normative narratives. To map from the ground brings dimensionality to the maps so they become powerful, even transformative, narratives of the camp space.

Figure 6: Thae Chaung Map #3

Figure 7: Ohn Taw Gyi South Map #16

Figure 8: Khaung Doke Khar 1 #22

Managing Shelter*: Practitioners and standards*

A document titled "UNHCR's Global Shelter and Settlement Strategy, 2014 – 2018" spells out the specific shelter vision, principles, objectives, and indicators that UNHCR and partners will employ during the current five-year period. While the document clearly states that shelter is a fundamental human right and a key institutional priority for UNHCR (UNHCR 2), the internal contradictions in the document reflect the tensions between short-term needs and long-term planning, the challenge of participatory practices to involve women and other disenfranchised populations, the negotiation of local contexts and international standards, and the reality of managing displacement in the context of rapid urbanization. For example, the document states: "Shelter should be adapted according to geographical context, climate, cultural practices and habits, local availability of skills within the affected population at large as well as accessibility to adequate construction materials in any given country. Considering that shelter assistance should be tailored around these variables, **it cannot be standardized; it is a contextual and dynamic process** (author's emphasis, UNHCR 10)." While the document acknowledges the limits of standardization, its operational answer to shelter programming is to "capitalize on expertise" and create "a standard set of guidance for a more systemic approach to shelter" labeled "Shelter Standard Operating Procedures (UNHCR 12)." There exists an inherent contradiction when advocating for shelter assistance that is contextual and flexible, while at the same time developing programmes to standardize shelter responses on a global scale

Such a clash can also be seen in Rakhine, where residents adapt standardized shelters and create workarounds in camp spaces. The original plans for and build-out of the longhouses included a communal kitchen area nested between five or so structures. However, residents never used these communal kitchens for their intended purpose of cooking. A strategy report from the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in 2013 listed as one of its "Shelter

Objectives" to redesign communal kitchen areas through "participatory design practices with IDP women ensuring all IDPs have access to common areas for domestic use, i.e. kitchens, laundry facilities, drying areas or other appropriate needs (OCHA 2013: 34)." This research shows that in almost all of the maps cooking occurs inside or near the individual shelters. Of those who live in longhouses, many residents have fuel-efficient stoves for cooking inside their units. In the Basara and Khaung Doke Khar 1 maps below, it is clear that cooking takes place in the front right corners of the shelter units as marked by the green closed circle. The failure of the communal kitchen areas exemplifies that large build-outs risk wasting resources on inappropriate designs to the disadvantage of residents, particularly female residents. In the opposite corner of the front section of the shelter, the data on clustering of daily life activities reveal that many women bathe, wash their hands, and sometimes do the laundry there. Several women mark that either they or their children urinate and defecate in this same area, as well. Rather than strictly using the designated space of the latrines, these women conduct their daily activities in their shelters in ways that meet their needs. While this behavior could suggest that the latrines are perceived as unsafe, as mentioned in the 2013 report.[19] this does not seem to be the current case in these camps. On their maps, participants depict the latrines as well-lit and do not mark the latrines as dangerous areas. Activities such as shop-keeping, cooking, and care-taking, for example, require significant supervision, which may be incompatible with extended breaks to walk to latrines. Therefore, the underuse of formal latrines may imply how women have adapted their living spaces to accommodate their daily practices. The maps indicate that some residents have also made structural adaptations, such as small stores, areas for bathing, laundry or cooking, in both the temporary and permanent shelters. These changes reflect how the planned space of the camp becomes a lived space, suggesting the importance of supporting adaptations of these

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[19] "Many women have expressed fears of using latrines at night due to their location or due to a lack of door locks fitted on these facilities (OCHA 2013: 39)."

spaces. These maps confirm that shelter is not sclerotic; in camp settings residents personalize shelters regardless of their planned use.
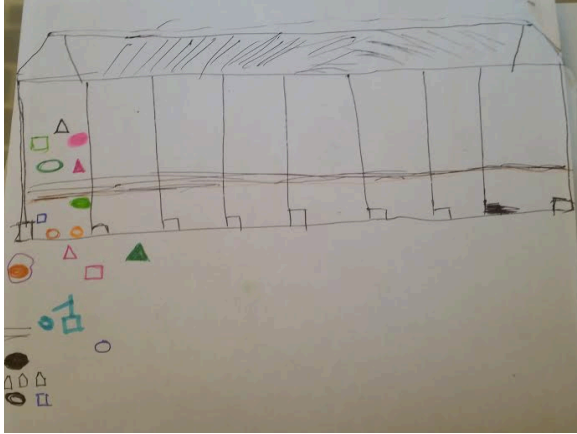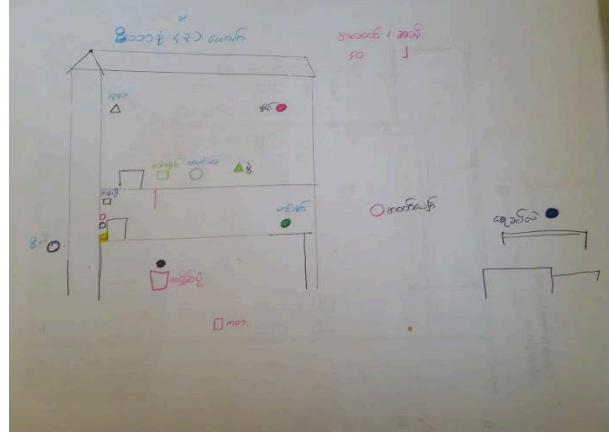
Figure 9: Basara Map #19

Figure 10: Khaung Doke Khar 1 Map #12

Two practitioners, Ian Davis and Fred C. Cuny, published groundbreaking pieces in the late 1970s about shelter and camp management that provide important insights about how to offer aid to displaced peoples that is still relevant today. In 1978 Davis published a book called *Shelter After Disaster*, in which he compiled a long list of myths about shelter provision. Davis, like many practitioners and theorists[20], conceptualizes shelter as a process, not a product, and calls into question the arrogant broad strokes of Western-centric humanitarian aid delivery. Increasing urbanization and geo-politics may be changing some of the "realities" that Davis observed in the 1970s, but his table reflects the (emerging) common knowledge that people demonstrate deep resilience in times of crises to ensure that their needs are met. Through resourcefulness, social networks, and autonomy, Davis explains, residents already play a central role in shelter efforts, not just as those in need, but as essential actors improvising and implementing livable solutions. An excerpt from the table Davis compiled is included below:

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[20] Davis was inspired by Dr. E.F. Schumacher, who passed away in 1977 and was famous for his book, *Small Is Beautiful*, which advocated for human-scale interventions with appropriate technologies to move away from modern production towards sustainable development. Interestingly, Schumacher wrote about what he called "Buddhist Economics" inspired by his time spent in Burma. Davis cites Dr. Schumacher: "Astonishingly, the aid-givers simply assume that *they* have the appropriate knowledge to help the poor: they think they know and therefore rush straight into 'projects'. But what makes them think that they know how to bring help to destitute villages, when they have no such villages in their own countries? What makes them think that they can teach poor people how to use their labour power with virtually no capital, when the entire experience and education of these experts derives from societies where labor is secure and capital plentiful? (*82*) (Davis 1978: 47)."

Table 4: Excerpt from *Shelter After Disaster* by Fred C. Cuny (1978)

	MYTH *Assumed Situation*	REALITY *Actual Situation*
Shelter Needs	There are no clear patterns of behavior relative to shelter provision.	People have clear preferences, which normally follow this order: 1. The homes of relatives or friends 2. Improvised shelters 3. Converted buildings -- schools, etc. 4. Official provision
	Tents are a very effective form of provision.	They can be most useful, but evidence suggests under-use, and that they often arrive too late to serve their function as emergency shelter.
Reconstruction	Some form of temporary housing is needed prior to reconstruction.	Reconstruction, in the third world, usually starts immediately, and takes place irrespective of government plans for relocation etc.
	Crash reconstruction programmes by agencies and governments are a highly effective way of solving housing needs.	The reverse is true. An indigenous response will *always* be the most rapid and effective form of provision, particularly of temporarily unemployed people to build their own homes.

Davis was greatly influenced by his colleague, Fred Cuny,[21] who was also working in humanitarian aid and settlements during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1977, Frederick C. Cuny published his piece, "Refugee Camps and Camp Planning: The State of the Art," which argues that camp success is directly related to camp layout and the specific circumstances that inform each camp. While this approach verges on environmental determinism, Cuny seeks to bridge the gap between physical planning and social consequences. Davis notes how Cuny was able to achieve more humane environments in the camps, "in sharp contrast to the regimented military camps" that dominated the landscape of displacement at the time, and by focusing on "family clusters, localised cooking and sanitation units (Davis 1978: 55)." This human-centered approach marked a sea change in the 1980s from top-down paradigms to bottom-up solutions. However, in the mid-1990s, following scathing evaluations of the delivery of aid in Rwanda, new codes and

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[21] Cuny founded Intertect, a technical relief agency and disappeared in 1995 in Chechnya while on mission.

standards emerged. The Sphere Project, as it is now called,[22] uses a rights-based framework to develop technical standards for operational sectors through a consultative process and is revised on an ongoing basis (Satterthwaite and Moses 2012: 17). The establishment of SPHERE standards confirmed the inevitability of the camp model as *the* humanitarian response to crises and endorsed the authority of the international community to implement and monitor these spaces and their standards.

In the documentary, "The Sphere Story," which tells the history of Sphere standards, one interviewee describes how the standards became the global referent for the industry because they were not "owned" by any one organization. To understand how standards become universal, how accountability functions with standardization, and the limitations of standards, Joseph O'Connell's research on metrology offers insight. O'Connell argues that standards rely on "…the existence of other stable collectives which permit [the standards] to travel (O'Connell 1993: 165)." According to this view, the establishment of Sphere standards was only possible because the camp model had become a "stable collective" or universal response to displacement on a global scale. Despite the general consensus[23] advocating for more flexibility, adaptability, and contextualization for temporary shelters, governments and the international community continue to build out camps as standard equipment[24] to address displacement. Sphere standards move camps beyond the technical and professional aspects of shelter provision and turn them into a collective expression of the inalienable human right to life with dignity. However, the universalization of Sphere standards at times deceives practitioners who measure "success"

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[22] The original name was The International Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief and the Sphere Standards and Humanitarian Charter (Simm 2014: 5-6).

[23] Cuny 1977; Davis 1979 & 2009; Fan 2012; Lyons 2009; Mooney 2009; Napier-Moore 2012; Zetter & Boano 2010

[24] "Standardized technology of power to manage mass displacement was the spatial concentration and ordering of people in a camp that facilitated bureaucratic processes that produced segregation, quarantining, screening, documentation, discipline, and rehabilitation, as well as a new object of social scientific knowledge (Malkki 1995: 498)."

through quantifiable indicators.[25] In contrast to the centralized decision-making and large-scale

development responses to disasters, Michal Lyons argues for "building back better," which

suggests that decentralized small-scale efforts lead to greater satisfaction, quality, and

adaptability, particularly in areas with ongoing local tensions and geographic constraints (Lyons

2009), two conditions present in Sittwe. Other scholars argue that, while Sphere Standards

provide technical guidance for improved coordination, housing must be approached as a process,

not a product, full of symbolic and cultural complexities beyond physical reconstruction efforts

(Sipus 2010; Barakat 2003; Fan 2012; Feldman 2007; Zetter and Boano 2010; Grbac 2013).

While planned spaces like camps may present organization, manageability, and order on paper,

these ideals may manifest as bureaucratic, unusable, and even unjust spaces in practice.

Qualitative research of temporary shelters may allow us different ways of thinking about these

spaces as malleable processes, rather than immovable products.

"Shelter as process" returns us to UNHCR's shelter strategy document that continues,

"The application of a combination of settlement options will require a change in the mindset and

attitude of the Organization. For decades, the establishment of planned camps constituted

UNHCR's 'preferred' response to population displacement, especially in rural areas. While

mainly focusing on assisting people in camps, the needs of displaced populations living

elsewhere ('outside camps') represents a considerable challenge mainly due to their geographical

spread (UNHCR 8)." This theme of "the IDP" as an emerging hard-to-track urban figure

signifies an institutional shift towards managing displacement beyond the confines of the camps.

On October 21, 2015, a representative from the Norwegian Refugee Council presented a new

framework called "Urban Displacement and Outside Camps," or UDOC, to the National Shelter

Cluster, which consists primarily of non-governmental and diplomatic partners. She explained

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[25] These indicators prompt Satterthwaite and Moses (2012) to ask "To whom are such indicators legible, and who is the presumed audience for these metrics? Is local accountability limited when universal indicators are the most powerful measures of success? (Satterthwaite and Moses 2012: 15)."

that while internally displaced persons (IDPs) had the human right to choose to live outside of the camps, this reality posed a monitoring challenge for non-governmental actors charged with managing these populations. The inability of international organizations to account for and quite literally count those in need makes it difficult to advocate for funding, or as she put it, "to know when to turn the assistance tap on or off." The unwieldy geography of displaced populations (whether inside or outside of the camps) poses a central challenge to those providing aid, who respond by constructing spaces that can be planned and mapped. The NRC representative portrayed those living outside the camp as threatening to local communities, both economically and politically. She concluded her presentation by stating that NRC was "ramping up" their work in UDOC and called the future returns and relocation of IDPs in Myanmar a "powder keg," implying that only international experts had the ability to contain the explosive potential of such a transition. While this pivot towards the urban may indicate the development of new aid delivery mechanisms that do not depend on camp structures for implementation, it may also signify the extension of, what I call, the geography of the discounted. As the international community collects and counts more political subject into the category "the displaced," these people become enumerated, but dis-counted, as their subjectivization[26] can only happen outside the State. And since the camp, as both a physical and symbolic space, is not a space where the State is absent, but a space that is highly regulated by both the State and international humanitarian organizations, this new phrase "outside camps" will engulf those who choose not to live in the camps, foreclosing the possibility of emancipation.

Reading Maps: *Confrontations and Negotiations*

This study seeks to contest the concept of "the camp" by researching how mapping daily activities might elucidate the ways female participants confront and negotiate the spatial

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[26] This terms is borrowed from Ranciere to refer to the development of a subjective in relation to an objective (Ranciere 2004).

limitations of camps in order to address unmet needs. International attention has focused on both the restrictions on movement and the limited livelihood opportunities that exacerbate the physical, social, and political exclusion of those displaced in Rakhine. In Sittwe, the government restricts any movement in or out of the areas designated for Muslim displaced populations; therefore, internal mobility becomes an important aspect of daily life. To articulate mobility and access in the camps, participants indicated paths they frequently take to get to places like the market, school, to fetch water, or to visit friends. Sometimes participants follow the main road, while other times they cross open fields. In the images below, we can observe different patterns of path-making on the way to and from the market in Basara and Set Yon Su 1. For example, in Basara, residents tend to use informal and formal paths from their shelters to the main road, which they then follow to the market. In Set Yon Su 1, residents tend to follow formal paths from their shelters and then break off from the main road to cross an open field to get to the market.

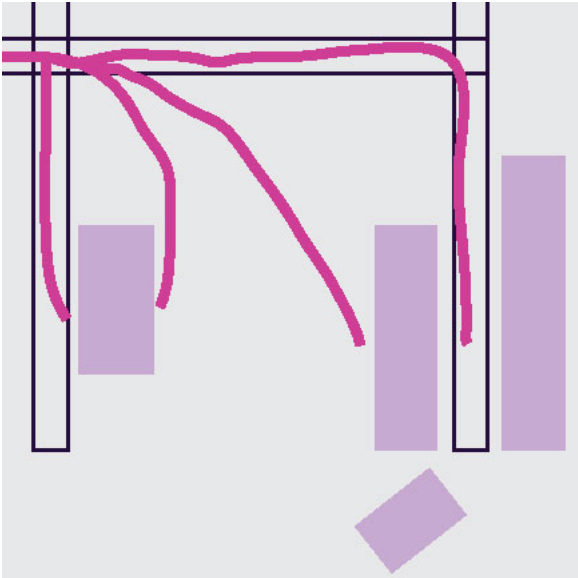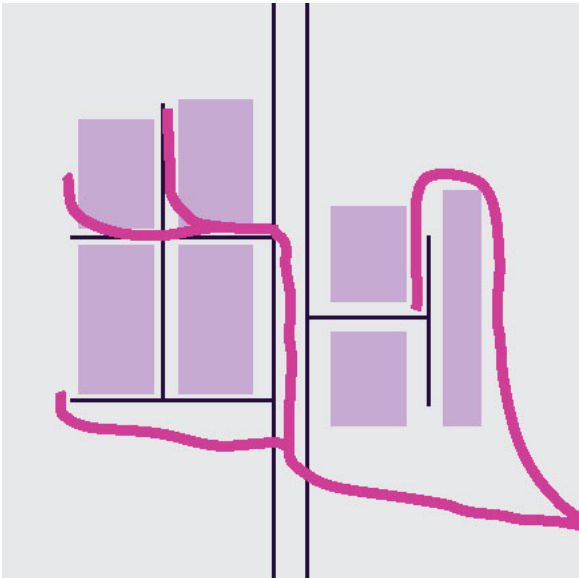Figure 11: Composite of Market Paths in Basara

Figure 12: Composite of Market Paths in Set Yon Su 1

Paths and movement patterns may also contribute to understanding areas of risk. The security and perceptions of safety data reveal where women confront some of the spatial limitations of the camps through their avoidance of or encounters with areas they perceive as unsafe. The relationship between walking paths and unsafe areas may suggest several possible dynamics. If we add the layer of perceived risk to the maps of Basara and Set Yon Su 1, again we can observe differences in where and how women encounter risk in these spaces. In Basara, risk is situated at a distance from the main paths on the edge of the map. In Set Yon Su 1, on the other hand, risk areas surround the site and intersect with commonly-used paths. These markings suggest that some risks are avoidable in daily life, such as coastal flooding near Basara, while others are unavoidable, such as cars on the road in Set Yon Su 1. These scenarios convey the ways the participants negotiate these perceived risks within planned spaces through independent path-making.

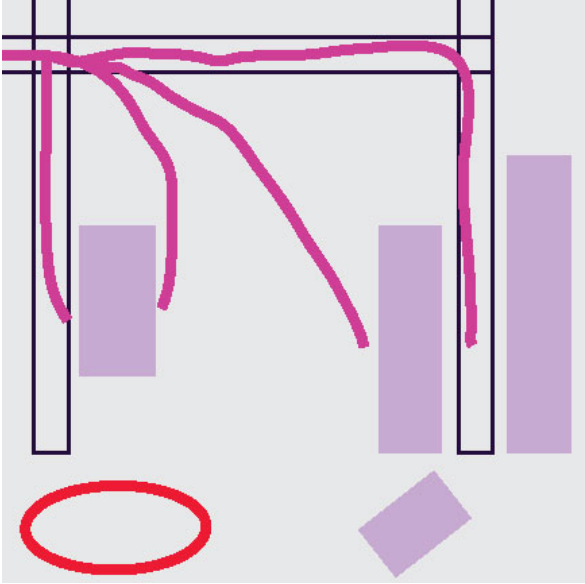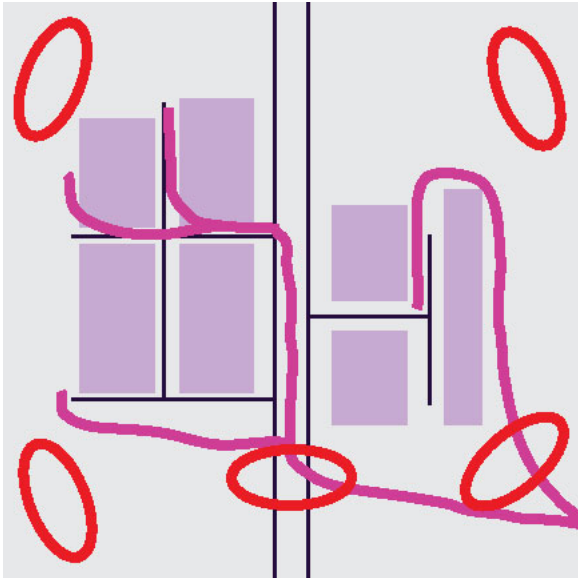Figure 13: Composite of Market Paths and Risk Areas in Basara

Figure 14: Composite of Market Paths and Risk Areas in Set Yon Su 1

Rakhine State Government (RSG) has built out some infrastructure in Sittwe, including concrete drainage for flooding, roads for transportation, and even rural health centers, all considered relatively successful by INGO actors. The projects that have been less successful have been

communal spaces, such as marketplaces, kitchens, and temporary learning centers. One INGO staff expressed concern that the UN had not properly consulted the residents during the initial planning, especially in relation to the kitchens (UNHCR) and the Temporary Learning Spaces (UNICEF), which were sometimes used for religious purposes instead of their intended ones.[27] Both selling/bartering and cooking are two daily activities that residents tend to do in front of or inside their homes rather than in designated communal areas. If the women are the ones cooking, bartering, and taking care of the children, for example, it may be more reasonable to participate in all of those activities from one location: one's home.

To explore livelihood participation, I examined where transactions take place, particularly buying and selling. I looked at whether there are centers of activity, like a market, or if transactions take place in and around the shelter. For example, some participants marked areas in front of or near the shelter where they sell something. While few participants responded that they are income-earners (n=23)[28], several more participants indicated locations on the maps where they and other residents sell items, often in front of or near their shelters. This distinction is important because in Myanmar earning money from selling and earning income from a job are different concepts. In Basara, for example, none of the women marked selling or trade activities on their maps. However, when I walked through the camp, it became clear that most shelters included small shops in front of their units. One shelter merged two units to store huge stacks of wood taking up about two-thirds of the interior space of the shelter. In one interview[29], an INGO staff person explained that while Thae Chaung is a difficult site to manage from an INGO perspective because it is very crowded, many people chose to live there because of livelihood

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[27] Interview with LWF Project Coordinator on June 30, 2015.

[28] This number may even be high because in some camps the women interpreted this question to mean if they have an income-earner in their household, not only themselves.

[29] Interview with LWF Project Coordinator on June 30, 2015.

opportunity. Thae Chaung is located near a checkpoint, so there is ample interaction and

opportunity for trade with the host community.

Figure 15: Two shelter units merged to store wood in Basara

Figure 16: Small shop and bathing area built in front of shelter in Khaung Doke Khar 1

While most residents primarily use the main interior of the shelters for prayer, children

studying, eating, sleeping and resting, the areas for other activities like cooking, bathing, hand-

washing, laundry, and urination/defecation showed more variation among different camps and

shelter types. Several residents living in longhouses tended to mark most of these activities in the

front area of their shelters, whereas residents in makeshift housing or individual housing tended

to have designated areas for these activities adjacent to the main shelter structure, and appeared

to have more rooms and built out spaces than in the other camps. For example, residents who

live in longhouses in Khaung Doke Khar 2 and Ohn Taw Gyi South, many activities like cooking

(green closed circle), bathing (orange closed circle), hand-washing (yellow circle) and laundry

(orange open circle), take place in front of the shelter. In Thae Chaung and Set Yon Su 3, on the

other hand, daily activities are spread out and compartmentalized in various areas of the shelters.

The spatiality of daily life in the camps opens up the possibilities for flexible and heterogeneous

spaces that adapt to residents' lives and needs. These improvisations will occur somewhere,

whether they are planned or not, and the next section will consider the "urban" character of these

innovations**.**

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Figure 17: Khaung Doke Khar 2 Map #3
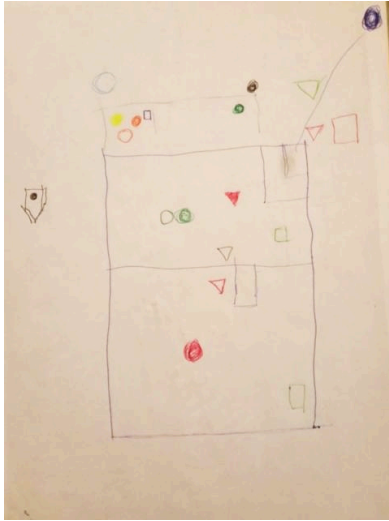
Figure 18: Ohn Taw Gyi South Map #7
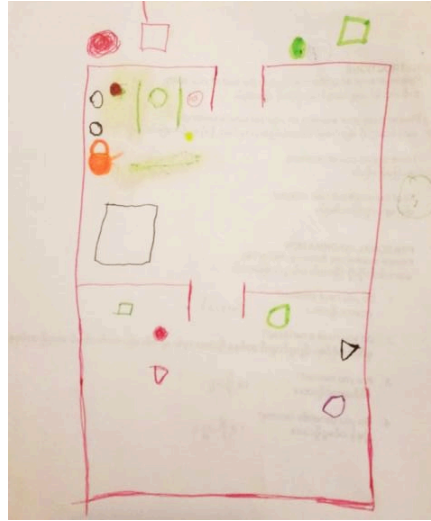
Figure 19: Thae Chaung Map #13

Figure 20: Set Yon Su 3 Map #21

Theorizing Shelter: *Mythology and Multiplicity*

Ongoing theoretical debates classify the camps as spaces of exception,[30] where the

suspension of politics permits temporary humanitarian intervention, or as extensions of urban

informality,[31] where a development framework offers sustainable solutions. Giorgio Agamben

(1998), who built on Carl Schmitt's idea that sovereignty belongs to s/he who determines the

state of exception, argued that the camp is the spatialization of the state of exception. For

Agamben, the state of exception is the suspension of the juridico-political order and marks the

limits of that order. He writes, "The camp is thus the structure in which the state of exception –

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[30] Agier 2002; Malkki 2002; Mountz, 2011.
[31] Fan 2012; Herz 2008; Roy 2003; Grbac, 2013; Lawrence, 2012.

the possibility of deciding on which founds sovereign power – is realized *normally* (Agamben 1998: 170)." The camp creates a space where the state of exception can become the rule, in which State power inflates and restricts human rights indefinitely, and on which the current global hegemonic order rests. Agamben writes, "The camp as *dislocating localization* is the hidden matrix of the politics in which we are still living, and it is this structure of the camp that we must learn to recognize in all its metamorphoses into the *zones d'attentes* of our airports and certain outskirts of our cities. (Agamben 1998: 175)" For Agamben, the camp is an essential element of the biopolitics of the modern nation-state, in addition to "land, order, birth (Agamben 1998: 175)." Because of a growing rupture between birth and nationalism leading to an increasingly unlocalized State power, the camp becomes the space where state power is enacted beyond the confines of its lands, beyond the confines of its laws, and even beyond the confines of its peoples.

While scholars continue to debate the usefulness of Agamben's work, Nasser Abourahme points out how Agamben has become a "straw man" in academic research on camps. He laments, "To either embrace and accept it as universally modular, and indeed urgently so, or disavow and reject it as inadequate, even dehumanizing, is virtually a prerequisite for speaking about contemporary camps. Rarely does any of this escape the pathological. It feeds right back into the tendency to read camps through a rigid A/not-A binary, or today an exception/norm binary, so that, on the one hand, they are defined by a constitutive absence…as the un-urban (Malkii, 2002)...or, on the other, through an affirmation of the very *presence* denied, appearing as an urban space (the 'city-camp') (Agier, 2002) (Abourahme 2015: 201)." These readings polarize space so that the camp and the city sit on opposite ends of the political spectrum (Pasquetti 2015). Criticisms of Agamben center on his distinction of "bare life" and "homo sacer" in relation to "the camp (Sanyal, 2014; Mountz, 2011)." However, as Abourahme explains,

"[Agamben] was not trying to produce an analytical tool for the study of camps but rather to use the figure or diagram of the abstract camp to conceptualize the state of exception (not vice versa)." Rather than theorizing about camps themselves, Agamben sought to understand the political thresholds of the state of exception through the phenomenon of the camp. Through his critique of Agamben, Ranciere (2004) further argues that the camp is the modern expression of the dissolution of politics. Ranciere contends that "super-State institutions which are not States," such as the international humanitarian community, realize State ends by removing (undesirable) populations to "standardized space" and neutering the accompanying politics. "Standardized space" may function as a mechanism to quarantine contentious politics from the public sphere, in effect releasing the State, in this case Myanmar, from being accountable for the very democratic reforms it is enacting to legitimize its power. While Myanmar continues to invest in the managing of physical space for those displaced, it continues to struggle to expand political space to account for new political subjects. Thus, the "standardized space" of the camps represents the assertion of equality through humanitarianism rather than politics.

In the case of the stateless and displaced Rohingya, the camp has become a space where the right to shelter can be enacted at the same time as the right to citizenship is denied. Part of the irony of a rights framework is that it exposes the same urban myth that Ananya Roy discovered in her research in Calcutta, which is that the nature of informal housing as a pervasive fact derives from a citizenship framework that guarantees shelter. For example, the presence of a squatter settlement outside one of the resettlement sites in Sittwe exemplifies this particular mythology that citizenship secures shelter (Roy 2003: 470). Residents in both the squatter settlement and the resettlement sites are Buddhist citizens of Myanmar, but their right to housing manifests differently. Despite this myth, Roy argues that informality has potentially transformative effects on State institutions through the "informalization of the State (Roy 2005;

Roy 2016)." Roy casts informality as a mode of urbanization, breaching the long-standing binary of formal and informal urban processes (Roy 2005: 148). Roy borrows from Agamben to describe informality as a state of exception that produces the "unplannable" and makes claims to the "right to the city," treating informality as less of a technical problem and more of a political struggle (Roy 2005:149-150). Roy criticizes current policies to legitimize or formalize the informal, such as upgrading the physical environment (what Roy refers to as the "aestheticization of poverty"), policies that rely on INGOs to fix local issues with global resources or promote participation in, as she puts it, monopolistic property regimes. This research is also interested in the possibilities beyond "aesthetic upgrading" by analyzing how women's mundane activities stand as aberrations to "the plan" and might set into motion an urban politics.

Roy introduces the concept of "propertied citizenship," which is an American paradigm that roots citizenship in property ownership (Roy 2003). Roy uncovers an important paradox that is located in the West but circulates globally through mechanisms like standardized shelter: that "the right to safe and sanitary shelter" supersedes "the right to shelter." In his piece on camps as idealized cities, Herz similarly observes the privileging of idealism over inclusivity. Herz draws comparisons between the neutrality of camp planning and the "Modernist optimism" of urban planning, in how both practices believe in the reign of order and hygiene for organizing spaces, but how in reality these spaces function to segregate and homogenize (Herz 2008: 285). This idealism drives the institutional commitment to organizational structures that reproduce exclusionary practices. Roy explains how the international humanitarian community, largely made up of actors from the West, represents a continuation of colonial traditions by using planning to "solve" the racialized disease of poverty (Roy 2003). Through urban management, often in the form of spatial segregation and containment, the city seeks to cure itself, just as the international community isolates and controls displaced populations in "ethnicized" camps.

However, scholars like Mark Lawrence believe that the city, in contrast to the camp, may offer an alternative spatiality where ethnicity "does not serve as the 'irreducible' limit of their identities (Lawrence 2012:121)." Scholarly efforts to move the camp along the political spectrum through claiming its urbanity have failed to include camps in the urban landscape and instead have exposed the limits of urban idealism by situating the camps on its periphery (Sanyal 2014; Grbac 2013; Agier 2002). Instead, what Roy is suggesting is the possibility that the ordinary lives of marginalized communities may demand institutional restructuring, instead of regulation, and may plot geographies of multiple futures rather than a geography of the discounted.

Now we will return to Massey's assertion that space is the dimension of the social, opening up the possibility for politics. Massey writes: "Conceptualizing space as open, multiple and relational, unfinished and always becoming, is a prerequisite for history to be open and thus a prerequisite, too, for the possibility of politics (Massey 2005: 59)." When we loosen the fixity on space, boundaries become more fluid, localized identities weaken, and power hierarchies become moveable. Migration patterns are not always bookended by home and refuge, and space itself is neither static nor constant. All locations, including the camp, undergo physical and epistemological changes, especially during protracted periods of displacement. To challenge the politics of exclusion, Massey confronts fundamental assumptions about space when she asks:

"(So, what is indigenous here?) (Massey 2005: 138)"

"How long do you have to have been here to be local (Massey 2005: 149)?"

"If there are no fixed points then where is here? (Massey 2005: 139)"

In the context of displacement and camps, Massey's provocations reorient what space means in a humanitarian context, how it is produced, and how it behaves. This line of inquiry is not meant to be dismissive of those who find meaning and identity in rootedness, but rather to open up new ways of thinking about heterogeneity. Massey presents a relational understanding of space to

overcome "…a failure of the imagination of coevalness [that] denies a space of *multiple*

becomings: the 'others' are not allowed a life of their own (Massey 2005: 173)." Spatial politics

reflects the negotiations that arise around the ordering, managing, and regulating of space with

others. Massey explains, "…much 'spatial politics' is concerned with how such chaos can be

ordered, how juxtapositions may be regulated, how space might be coded, how the terms of

connectivity might be negotiated (Massey 2005: 151-152)." The spatial politics of the camps no

longer reside in the egalitarian promise of camp plans because these new maps recode the camp

space in terms of the banality of everyday life.

Conclusion

During an informal conversation with a shelter specialist in Sittwe, I was struck by both

his sensitivity to local practices and normative approach to shelter. In discussing how some of

the structures have been dismantled by local residents so the materials can be used of other

purposes, he recommended that they build posts out of metal instead of wood to prevent these

adaptations. This mentality interrupts any momentum towards more flexible spatial solutions.

Over the past year, the international community and the local government have discussed which

sites will undergo repair and maintenance, which sites need reconstruction, and which sites

might be relocated to individual, permanent housing. Since the original shelters were constructed

to have a two-year life span, during the third year of displacement the shelters started to show

signs of wear and tear. As was stressed in a National Shelter Cluster meeting in March 2015:

> *"The plan stresses that with it being over two years since the violence occurred, the*
>
> *emphasis now **where possible should be on providing a shelter response beyond***
>
> ***temporary collective units.** Particularly for those located in or near their place of origin*
>
> *the most appropriate and cost efficient solution would be individual shelter units. For*
>
> *IDPs in the larger camps, next steps will likely take longer so for this caseload the more*

likely response will require maintenance, repair and improvements to their temporary

shelters. One particular challenge is to what degree conditions in temporary shelters are

permitted to deteriorate at the expense of pursuing other responses whose success may

hinge on unpredictable variables, not least the actions of the authorities."[32]

While two sites have been relocated to individual permanent shelters, these two sites house

Rakhine Buddhist and Maramagyi Buddhists, who are referred to as the "low-hanging fruit" in

this shelter dilemma. The vast majority of IDPs in Sittwe, however, will continue to reside in

temporary settlements that will undergo minor and major reconstruction. Abourahme researches

a refugee camp in Palestine that quite literally concretizes despite being a "temporary"

settlement. For him, shelter participates in both the political dispossession and physical

displacement. He argues that the single-family housing unit is "the most devastating weapon of

expansion" of settler-colonialism (Abourahme 2014: 215-216)." In this way, when the state or

INGOs build out "homes" for displaced and stateless populations, the sustainability of these

solutions depends not on the residents, but on which power structures they are sustaining.

In Myanmar, the goal is to achieve individual housing solutions, which the government is

leading with the support of the international community, but regional urbanization greatly

influences where people can settle "permanently" and what constitutes "camp-like" settings. At

the National Shelter Cluster meeting in Yangon in January 2016, one attendee, referring to the

single-family resettlement sites, asked, "How long are these people expected to live in the

permanent shelters?" The response was telling: "Um, forever, or, for less of a better word, ad

infinitum." As long as shelter provision remains split between "temporary" responses and

"durable solutions" – a crucial distinction to understanding the difference between humanitarian

action and development interventions – the camp need not reconcile its existence with a wider

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[32] See "Shelter/NFI/CCCM National Cluster Meeting Minutes." March 3, 2015, UNHCR Office, Yangon. Available on ShelterCluster.org.

regional context. This paper in no way seeks to engage in debates regarding the ethics of humanitarian aid, but rather has explored this dilemma and its spatial consequences from an urban planning perspective. Flipping through the Shelter Design Catalogue published in January 2016 intended to encourage a "phased shelter response" from temporary to transitional to durable housing, I am reminded of Lefebvre's "The Urban Revolution" in which he writes, "To succeed [urbanism] must tighten any existing constraints by imposing homogeneity, a *politics of* space, a form of rigorous planning that suppresses symbols, information, and play. Urbanists fail when they propose temporary constructions that endure: a monotonous morphology, a kind of stasis for people passing through because they want to go somewhere else to find something else…The politics of space implies a strategy that aligns levels and dimensions. Order cloaks itself in morality and scientificity (Lefebvre 2003: 97-98)." This commentary points to the aim of social control inherent in spatial management, and the realities of protracted displacement, in which the labels "emergency" and "temporary" justify discriminatory practices and excuse failures in shelter provision (Hyndman 1997; Mooney 2009; Napier-Moore 2012; Lyons 2009; Fan 2012).

This study has examined the provision of shelter as a humanitarian response to displacement from an urban planning perspective. The maps are not meant as a proxy for daily lives inside the camps, but seek to rebuild a more enabling relationship between mapping and displaced people. This paper may provoke questions regarding the degree to which the reality of urbanization may complicate the promise of humanitarian intervention. Future cross-disciplinary dialogue and research will offer insight into this dynamic. Further research might investigate how formally planned camps are integrated or not into larger regional plans, how camps uphold national myths and the mythology of urbanization, and what forms of resistance to urbanization the camps may inspire. Theoretical inquiries might seek to understand why we strive for permanence in shelter management and how we might operationalize spatial justice, as well as

the impact of treating houses more like material assets rather than symbols of political freedom.

Distinctions must be made between shelter provision, referring to the construction of actual shelters, and camp management, referring to the services offered in a camp, a distinction clearly made during a National Shelter-NFI-CCCM Cluster meeting on June 12th, 2013 regarding the stark difference between two different camps in Rakhine. In one camp where the land was unsuitable to build temporary shelters but there was a camp management presence, life was flourishing, compared to the squalid situation of the other camp, where significant numbers of shelters were built but there was no camp management. This observation implies that the value-added from the international community does not necessarily depend on the build out of standardized space in which to manage aid delivery

Figure 21: Screenshot of The Sphere Project Website (www.sphereproject.org) from May 31, 2016

The current website for Sphere standards (www.sphereproject.org) reads, "How to use Sphere standards in urban settings," accompanied by a photo of Yangon, Myanmar. This homepage reflects the institutional shift away from camps and an acknowledgement that "the

displaced" are not a separate amoebic body that need sorting, but already participate deeply in existing landscapes. Rather than searching for urbanity or exceptionalism in camps, the very nature of displacement is an urban and normal phenomenon, where there is never enough space and it is always contested. The standardized space of camps impose enduring power-geometries that stifle and contain the heterogeneous humanity inside. As Mbembe writes, "Social theory has failed also to account for *time as lived*, not synchronically or diachronically, but in its multiplicity and simultaneities, its presence and absences, beyond the lazy categories of permanence and change beloved of so many historians (Mbembe 2001: 8)." We can revise this sentiment to read how planning has failed to account for "*space as lived.*" To conclude, I turn back to Los Angeles, where this research began. Melisssa Wilson and Bob Catterall, in an article about Los Angeles celebrating the 20th anniversary of the magazine, *City*, write, "Yet, Harvey's ontological assertion that cities must be understood as process rather than 'things', is still powerful, and perhaps provides an important focus for movements seeking to 'chart the path from an urbanism based in exploitation to an urbanism appropriate for the human species'. What kind of daily processes rooted in exploitation might be transformed into processes of emancipation? What practices can serve to humanize urban spaces so deeply entangled with military culture and a war economy? (Wilson and Catterall 2015: 137)." These provocations relate directly to the ways in which taking seriously the daily activities of women in the camps in Sittwe harnesses the power of the space, whether in the camp or the city, to enact "living with others" through multiplicity and simultaneity.

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