

LAJEH

Time of conflicts / time of migration: Reflections on the categories and genealogy of migration in the Middle East

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Summary

The aim of LAJEH (*refugee* in Arabic) is to deepen knowledge on forced migration in the Middle East, analysing current refugee flows in their historical and regional contexts. Through a cross-disciplinary and empirically-driven approach, it analyses the implications of forced migrations on the host countries and the latter's response. This research project will focus not only on registered refugees but also on the wide range of displaced and migrant groups affected by conflicts and their consequences. Three interrelated fields of research are investigated: forced migrants' terms of integration in the host country economy; the establishment of migrants' solidarity networks at local, national and regional levels; and the impacts of forced migrants on the host country's political fabric. Continued political crises and conflicts are still generating large flows of migrants. The Middle East is now hosting one of the largest refugee populations in the world (Palestinians, Syrians and Iraqis), while most of the host countries (except Turkey) are not signatories of the Geneva Convention of 1951. The Middle East is characterized by a strong and ancient human mobility as a result of regional economic disparities and conflicts. Migration appears as a key element in understanding the changes in the socio-political organization of this region. With more than 20 million migrant workers—a quarter of the total migrants in developing countries—the Middle East is one of the main regions of emigration and immigration in the world. In addition, Jordan and Lebanon today, for instance, host a Syrian refugee population that accounts for 10% and 25% of their total population respectively. Traditionally known as emigration countries, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey have thus also become settlement and transit spaces for economic and forced migrants. Migrations are triggered by regional and state opportunities and constraints; but they are also fashioned by the migrants' own coping strategies, aspirations and possible assets in the form of available migratory networks set up on local and familial bases. Contemporary economic migrations and refugee movements can thus only be understood in the light of two correlated contexts: the dynamics of high mobility processes involving cross-border migration, and the existence of well-established transnational networks crystallized around more or less structured Diasporas.

The impact of mass migration on Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey will be analysed at different scales. Most available studies have tackled the macro effects of mass migration on host societies (labour market, infrastructures, public services, etc.). While taking into account these large scale effects, this research programme will rather focus on local effects of migration in cities, villages and border areas, and more specifically on spaces with a mixed population. This approach will first allow us to analyse how national policies are locally implemented; second, to examine possible differences in the coping strategies adopted by indigenous and previous migrant communities to new forced migration flows. Three interconnected fields of research will be tackled: 1. local economies and settlement, 2. solidarity networks and 3. local and national political systems.

Description and complementarity of the partners

The project is based on an institutional framework composed of two French teams based in the Middle East: the French Institute for the Near East – IFPO (UMIFRE 6 - MAE - CNRS - USR 3135) and the French Institute for Anatolian Studies – IFEA (MAE - CNRS - USR 3131), a specialized team in the sociology of labour based in France, the Laboratory of Economics and Sociology of Labour – LEST (UMR 6123) as well as a Lebanese team specialized in the study of international migration, the Institute for Migration Studies – IMS (Lebanese American University). Each partner has a team of French and foreign researchers specialized in international migration and/or originating from the areas studied. These four teams complement each other in both the selected geographical areas and the thematic and disciplinary perspectives. In the structuring of the project we sought to favour dialogue between the different themes in order to achieve an integrated work where cross-cutting issues are preferred.

IFPO and IFEA are recognized as leading French centres of research on contemporary studies on Middle Eastern societies. Their geographical presence in the main cities of the areas covered by this programme will facilitate access to the different fields of investigation. The collaboration with the Institute for Migration Studies will increase and facilitate the dissemination of the results towards local societies. It will also contribute to developing collaboration with local researchers and public or non-State actors. LEST is recognized for its experience in the study of international migration and

labour issues. It has already collaborated with the IFPO on these issues through a programme (Fabricamig S.A.) funded by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR) and the International Group of Research (GDRI) Espejimos. The added value of this partnership resides in bringing together theoretical and empirical competences.

Partner 1 – French Institute for the Near East (Coordinator)

IFPO is based in Beirut, Amman, Erbil and Jerusalem (the two Syrian branches are currently dormant). The Department of Contemporary Studies (DCS) of the IFPO conducts research in the different disciplines in the field of social sciences: political science, geography, contemporary history, international relations and anthropology. IFPO has a long tradition of migration studies, beginning in the early 1980s, with several programmes and publications on the subject. Three programmes of the DCS have benefited in recent years from the support of the ANR (la Fabrique du Développement, Mémoires de guerre, Construire le politique) while several others receive external funding, especially from European funds. In 2012, a research programme led by François Burgat (When Authoritarianism Fails in the Arab World), received funding from the European Research Council. All these programmes are implemented in partnership with local educational and research institutions, as well as French and European universities and research centres.

Partner 2 – Laboratoire d’Economie et de Sociologie du Travail

The LEST team is composed of researchers and young PhD students (around 80 people) from five disciplines: sociology, economics, management science, political science and law. The focus of the scientific agenda of the LEST is the re-composition of the norms of labour, employment and skills from the perspective of globalization. The team regularly conducts historical and theoretical work on migration with a cumulative vocation. Since 2011, the LEST is a member of the Laboratoire d’Excellence, LabexMed, driven by the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l’Homme (MMSH) which links 15 research units of the University of Aix-Marseille. The LEST is a partner of a transverse programme of the MMSH which focuses on the history of migration in the Mediterranean. Some researchers recently coordinated a comparative ANR project on migration and related knowledge.

Partner 3 – French Institute of Anatolian Studies

IFEA is a French research centre based in Istanbul since 1930, which aims to bring together European and Turkish researchers working on subjects related to Turkey in various disciplines of social sciences. IFEA hosts three main study units (archaeology, history, and contemporary studies unit that includes geographic, sociological and anthropological studies) and three research observatories (the urban observatory of Istanbul, the observatory of political life in Turkey and the Caucasus observatory). One of the research angles within the urban observatory of Istanbul, the ‘Migration and Mobility’ angle, unites researchers and students working on migrations in Turkey (internal migration in Turkey and international migration, from, to or via Turkey). An international conference on Syrian refugees has been organized by IFEA recently and IFEA hosts Masters students from France and other European countries who conduct fieldwork studies on immigrants in Istanbul or in Turkey.

Partner 4 - Institute for Migration Studies

The Institute for Migration Studies (IMS) was established in 2007 at the Lebanese American University. It is part of the Department of Social Sciences and is directly accountable to the Dean of Arts and Sciences. The Institute is interdisciplinary, research-based, educationally minded, policy-driven and network-oriented. Since its foundation, IMS has been interested in developing into an interdisciplinary research institute in the domain of migration as well as a resource centre for graduate students and scholars interested in the study of migration and its various impacts on Lebanon, and other countries in the region and worldwide. IMS also has the aim of closely collaborating with government and non-government organizations that deal with Diasporic migrant communities and migrant workers in the region. An International Conference on the Syrian Refugee Crisis has been organized in March 2015 by the IMS.

Introduction

Forced migrations are certainly not a new phenomenon in the Middle East. Migration is even a traditional key element in understanding the changes in the socio-political organization of the region. From the Caucasian and North African immigration flows to the Levant in the early 19th century, to the massive dissemination of Palestinian refugees following the creation of the state of Israel, to the recent Iraqi and Syrian refugee flows, migration has played a key role in the development of the Middle Eastern demographic, political, economic and social landscape. Contemporary economic migrations and refugee movements can thus only be understood in the light of two correlated contexts: the dynamics of high mobility processes involving cross-border migration, and the existence of well-established transnational networks and diasporas.

Nowadays, following outbreaks and crisis that resulted in millions of forced migrants, Middle Eastern countries host the largest refugee population, registered or not, as well as internally displaced people. Yet, as none of the host countries – except for Turkey – are signatory of the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees, they are left in a legal limbo that shapes their mobilities and activities. However, if migrations are triggered and framed by regional conditions and host countries responses, they not less depend on the migrants' own coping strategies and agency.

By contextualizing current refugee flows in their historical and regional framework, LAJEH aims to enhance and deepen knowledge on forced migration in the Middle East but also on other forced migrations elsewhere. Theoretically informed and empirically driven, LAJEH's approach is cross-disciplinary and tends to investigate both the socio-political, geo-economic and historical aspects of forced migration through three axis of analysis that aim to look at 1. migrants' economic integration and settlement, 2. the different layers of solidarity networks developed by migrants and 3. the influence of migrants on the host communities' political fabric.

1. Project background and positioning

The aim of LAJEH is to deepen knowledge on forced migration in the Middle East,¹ analysing current refugee flows in their historical and regional contexts. The lessons learned and knowledge gathered through LAJEH may inform other forced migrations in the world, including around the Mediterranean basin. Since the beginning of the 20th century, continued conflicts and/or ensuing economic chaos, have generated large unexpected flows of migrants, including registered and unregistered refugees as well as displaced people. The Middle East currently hosts one of the largest refugee populations in the world (mainly Palestinians, Syrians and Iraqis); yet, none of the host countries other than Turkey are signatories of the Geneva Convention of 1951. Through a cross-disciplinary and empirically-driven approach, LAJEH analyses the implications of forced migrations triggered by conflicts on the host countries and the latter's response: how do Middle Eastern state authorities and "civil societies" at large, including municipalities, NGOs, formal and informal citizens networks, media and research networks respond to large inflows of immigrants?

Three interrelated fields of research are investigated at different local and national scales: the terms of forced migrants' economic integration and settlement; the establishment of migrants' solidarity networks at local, national and regional levels; and the impacts of forced migrants on the host country's political fabric.

¹ In this project the term Middle East refers to the following countries: Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel / Palestine, Jordan, Iraq and the Gulf States.

1.1. Project background and positioning

1.1.1. Migration, state building and conflict in the Middle East

Forced migrations are the product of deep changes in the geographical organization of the Middle East throughout the 20th century. Following the First World War, Middle Eastern political map was completely reshaped by the French and British colonial powers and the subsequent independence that divided the region into distinct entities separated by state borders. Migration continued and developed in this new regional context. The contemporary Middle East is witnessing a paradoxical phenomenon. While on the one hand, borders have remained disputed and tackled by states as spaces of assertion of their sovereignty, they are, on the other, crossed by a considerable number of migrants, be they refugees or migrant workers (Bontemps, Puig, & Hily, 2014). Forced migrations are certainly not a new phenomenon in the region. Migration is even a traditional key element in understanding the changes in the socio-political organization of this region. From the immigration of Caucasian and North African migrant populations in the Levant since the early 19th century, to the massive dissemination of Palestinians refugees following the creation of the state of Israel, to the more recent Iraqi and Syrian refugee flows, migration has played a key role in the development of the Near East's demographic, political, economic and social landscape. The role played by the Palestinian refugees in the development of the private and public sectors of several states (more especially in Jordan where they were granted citizenship as early as 1949) is a case in point. To a lesser extent, the Iraqi and even the Syrian refugees at a more local level are said to play an important role in reviving local economies. At the same time, the arrival of such large and unplanned numbers of immigrants (see below, table 1) may also upset the political and socioeconomic balances of host societies, leading to communal tensions and conflicts (Doraï, State, Migrations and Border's Fabric in the Middle East, 2014).

Table 1
Proportion of registered refugees in selected countries
(in millions)

| Country | Tot. Pop. | Reg. refugees | % |
|---------|-----------|---------------|------|
| Jordan | 6,459 | 2,814 | 43.6 |
| Lebanon | 4,467 | 1,647 | 36.9 |
| Turkey | 74,930 | 1,753 | 2.3 |

Source : World bank (2013), UNHCR & UNRWA (2015)

Traditionally known as emigration countries, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey have also become settlement and transit spaces for economic and forced migrants (De Bel-Air, 2006; Pérouse, 2013). Syrian refugees are considered as “guests” by host states such as Jordan and Lebanon. Palestinians are still stateless (except in Jordan). The question of citizenship and state building is raised in the context of protracted refugees movements. It is an important issue considering that due to political instability, the region concentrates one of the highest refugee and internally displaced population in the world, mainly constituted by Palestinians, Syrians and Iraqis.

1.1.2. Forced migration and urban change

Most of the current refugee populations settle in urban areas to access resources and develop their own social and economic activities in certain localities, thereby contributing to urban change. At the same time, the whole region is experiencing a rapid urban development. Despite the diversity of existing situations, refugee movements are generally long-lasting and the end of conflicts does not always mean return for the entire refugee population. The settlement of these populations generates deep changes of entire neighbourhoods. Thus, refugees should not be considered only as recipients of humanitarian assistance, waiting for an eventual return or resettlement in a third country, but also as actors who contribute, through their initiatives and coping strategies, to the development of the cities that host them. In an unstable Middle Eastern political context, this research programme aims to explore the settlement of different refugee populations and demonstrate the importance of forced migration in urban development and its articulation with other forms of migration such as internal migration and international labour migration. Refugees' contribution to local economy is often neglected, or analysed in terms of cost for host societies. This research programme also aims to

analyse at the local and national levels, in urban settings and refugee camps, the role played by forced migrants on the labour market. Refugee camps and informal gatherings are strongly connected to the urban environment that surrounds through the daily mobility of refugees and the growing presence of other groups of migrants (such as foreign workers, asylum seekers and refugees). The relations between camps, informal refugee gatherings and cities will be discussed, comparing different protracted refugee situations.

1.1.3. Diasporas, transnational circulation and refugees

Migrations are triggered by regional and state opportunities and constraints; but they are also fashioned by the migrants' own coping strategies, aspirations and possible assets in the form of available migratory networks set up on local and familial bases (El-Miri, 2012). Contemporary economic migrations and refugee movements can thus only be understood in the light of two correlated contexts: the dynamics of high mobility processes involving cross-border migration, and the existence of well-established transnational networks crystallized around more or less structured Diasporas (Tabar, Escher, & Boos, 2014). These Diasporas (Lebanese, Palestinian, Syrian), that have occurred since the second half of the 19th century, are often mobilized by more recent migrant groups in the shape of financial and mobility support in highly constrained situations. They can be mobilized at a regional or wider level, including industrialized countries such as the United States, Sweden or Germany, where most refugees find asylum.

Analysts of migration have tended to divide them into separate categories, depending on the violence of their methods, and on the temporary or permanent nature of the displacement. Our research programme places them in a single repository. To this end, we use temporality analysis tools, which help to better understand migration paths in the area, as they follow several steps according to variable temporalities. Migration is often a continuity of experiences which oscillate between current mobility governed by “*social rhythms*” (Chiffolleau, 2014) and “*acceleration*” when time suddenly escapes individual control, like during the exile of refugees (Rosa & Renault, 2010). One of these continuities is linked to border crossings. Borders disrupted the continuity of spatial and temporal mobility during the Ottoman period. They are also different stages when movement of people accelerates, such as at the end of the Turkish presence when, thanks to the proliferation of roads and communication channels migrants were able to move faster and in better conditions.

From the second half of the 19th century, conflicts within the Ottoman Empire led to significant migrations, deportations or population redistributions. In the Middle East area, those migrants actively contributed to the economic, cultural and political life of the regions where they settled. During the same period, many tribes and families settled in the new economic centres of the area, or in places considered as more suitable for agriculture or livestock activities (Rogan, 1999). These different kinds of migrants established new solidarity networks—tribal, familial, religious or ethnic—which made the extension of migratory patterns during regional conflicts possible (Chatty, *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*, 2010; Karpat, 1985). This period is also characterized by an intensification and a massification of mobilities in the Middle East area. The movement of pilgrims is representative of this phenomenon. Since the 16th century, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina was an important time for mobilities in the region that gathered every year, thousands of pilgrims (Faroqhi, 2014). Between 1908 and 1914, the newly opened Hejaz railway allowed an intensification of pilgrim flow. This new path was also used in Ottoman forced migration policies. Many pilgrims never returned home, settling instead in one of the cities on their way. In addition, many studies have demonstrated the importance of local holy places—those of Jerusalem but also smaller places of worship (mausoleums, cenotaphs, Sufi lodges)—in the distribution of regional flows and the organization of trans-regional solidarity networks (Aubin Boltanski, 2007; Andézian, 2010). These paths and networks have been used by migrants during subsequent conflicts, structuring the regional circulation space. These observations are considered as the starting point of our long term analysis which will cover the 20th and 21th centuries. Through these different aspects of mobility dynamics, our analysis attempts to establish a genealogy of migrations in the Middle East.

1.2. Objectives of the project, scientific challenges, ambitious innovative features

Much of the research on migration issues that has been conducted in the Middle East area can be divided into two distinct fields: refugee and labour migrations. The originality of this project is based

on the articulation of these two fields, based on in-depth fieldwork in selected localities. If each conflict and its migratory consequences have been analysed for a given population (e.g. Palestinians, Iraqis), we propose to study the long-time connection between the different waves of migration of the same group, but also the interrelations between different migrant groups at a given time. Our approach consists in observing the migration phenomena at different levels (micro, meso and macro) and time scales to highlight the complexity of the networks, strategies and policies involved.

The originality of this project lies also in the composition of the research team. The core of the group consists of researchers who have a long experience on migration and mobility in the Middle East as well as young researchers (doctoral fellows) who investigate new research fields. The other part of the team is composed of researchers who have a long research experience outside the Middle East on migration, labour markets and transnational circulation. The research seminars that will take place throughout the programme will develop a common frame of reference for the phenomena observed during the fieldwork.

1.2.1. Scientific objectives

The impact of mass migration on Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey will be analysed at different scales. Most available studies have tackled the macro effects of mass migration on host societies (labour market, infrastructures, public services, etc.). While taking into account these large-scale effects, this research programme will focus on the local effects of migration in cities, villages and border areas, and more specifically on spaces with a mixed population. This approach will first allow us to analyse how national policies are locally implemented; second, to examine possible differences in the coping strategies adopted by indigenous and previous migrant communities to new forced migration flows.

Three interconnected fields of research will be tackled: 1. local economies and settlement, 2. solidarity networks and 3. local and national political systems. The innovation of this project's methodology lies in the diachronic analysis based on a cross-disciplinary approach (comprising geographers, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, architects). It also lies in the combination of data collection (state of the art) and the production of original ethnographic material through fieldwork. The team will develop standard and innovative analytical methods combining policy analysis, ethnographic material and archive collection, photographic and map production.

Following the research done since the mid-1990s on refugees and transnationalism (Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001), this project will contribute to a wider theoretical reflection on the role of ethno-religious networks in the migration process. During seminars and the final conference, guest scholars will be invited to discuss these issues in a comparative way.

1.2.2. Scientific relevance of the project

This research programme will contribute to the production of knowledge on countries and societies in conflict. It is one of the roles that can be played by this research team thanks to its regional presence and the networks it has developed with local institutions. While some parts of the region are not currently accessible to researchers, working on migrants originating from areas in conflict will give us the opportunity to observe and analyse societies in change.

The programme aims to study forced migration by taking into account the different populations concerned in order to map and analyse the phenomenon at a regional level. We assume that these refugee movements are inter-related, and that each specific situation can contribute to a better understanding of another. The Palestinian experience has a lot of impact on current restrictive policies developed by host states, as well as on camp policy. How can the Palestinian experience in the region contribute to a better understanding of current asylum policies in Middle Eastern countries? The inclusion of Turkey in our analysis will bring an added value to migration studies in the region since most previous studies are centred only on Arab countries.

Finally, this project will look at the determinants of migration in a region on the borders of the European Union. Understanding the current logic of migration in the Middle East, that combines selective migration policies and mechanisms of discrimination, could help to understand the ongoing trends of asylum migration from the Middle East to European states.

1.2.3. Expected scientific results

Following Roger Zetter's (2007) critical reflection on categorization in the field of forced migration studies, this research programme will contribute to addressing methodological and normative gaps in the field of refugee studies, by linking a multi-disciplinary approach and ethnographic fieldwork. This programme will analyse forced migration in its regional context, connecting state structures (with a focus on both socio-political and economic fragility) with refugees' coping strategies. We will develop an analysis in terms of *mixed migration flows* that will integrate reflection on class and migration, often under-studied in the field of forced migration studies (Van Hear, 2014). We will address the following questions more specifically:

1. *Forced vs. voluntary migration?* While studying migrations and their impacts in the Middle East region, the project discusses the temporality structuring migration flows and, thereby, it aims to question the dichotomy traditionally established between "forced" and "voluntary" migration. Forced migrations have usually been described as "spontaneous" migrations and analysed in terms of political and security constraints. But even refugee movements resulting from conflicts are often fashioned by previous migration flows and correlated network structures that are re-mobilized during the humanitarian crisis. Therefore, tracing a genealogy of mobilities in the Middle East will help better understand current forced migration processes and their connections with other forms of social organization built over time in a regional area (commercial mobility, family strategies, pilgrimage, etc.).

2. *Urban refugees, camp dweller and self-settled refugees?* These categories are often tackled in existing studies through a person's place of residence and not according to their short and/or long term spatial practices. Mobility is a key practice to take into consideration because it reveals the complementarities of different urban spaces, and the different kinds of relationships they have. Refugees experience different scales of mobility (daily movements, temporary and long term emigration, forced displacement, etc.) and develop a wide range of practices (economic, political, cultural and/or social activities) that extends beyond the camps' and refugees' settlement boundaries. Fieldwork on the participation of refugees to the local economy will be one of the highlighted fields of investigation.

3. *Conflict and secondary migration.* Conflicts generate a wide variety of mobility. Apart from the forced displacement of indigenous populations towards neighbouring countries, other refugee groups (mainly stateless Palestinians) are forced to leave their country of first asylum. Secondary migration is often analysed in the literature through the resettlement of refugees outside their area of first asylum to Europe or Northern America (Hein, 1993). Secondary migration will be analysed both at regional and internal levels, to highlight the vulnerability of specific groups. The respective role of state and non-state actors in terms of management and protection of these vulnerable groups will be analysed.

4. *Rethinking the role of kinship, tribal and religious networks.* This project aims to contribute to research on networks, showing the genealogy of their structure, their evolution and the exchanges between different networks. We will attempt to map these networks and show their limits. This project will contribute to the current reflection on the history of family in the Middle East (Doumani, 2003). It will concentrate on migrants' kinship affiliations whereas most previous studies have focused on notables or large transnational families. It will also develop an analysis on the role of tribal and sectarian solidarity within the migration process with a focus on their changing roles during conflicts. This sheds light on identity definitions of the migrants and how they mobilize other networks, when needed, be they religious or ethnic. If those networks are never strictly separated our purpose will be to understand in what context either one of them can be mobilized by the migrant.

5. *Forced migration and nation building.* This project will explore the articulation of refugee policies pursued by host governments and international organizations on the one hand, and coping strategies developed by forced migrants, on the other. How have migratory patterns affected the process of nation building in the region? How have the politics of management of migrants put in motion by the states changed over the years?

1.3. State of the art

Until mid-1990s, most of the studies on refugees in the Middle East focused on Palestinian refugees, raising the specificity of their situation. A growing number of studies since then have looked at non-Palestinian refugees, mainly Iraqis, but also smaller groups such as Sudanese. Only a few studies have embraced both Palestinians and non-Palestinians situations (Chatty, *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*, 2010; Kagan, 2009). Currently, most of the research programmes are developed to look separately at Palestinians, Iraqis and now Syrian refugees, focusing mainly on specific aspects² (e.g. humanitarian assistance, legal status, geopolitics, etc.). The complexity of forced migration phenomena in the region has contributed to the development of a theoretical reflection in the field of refugee studies. Our research programme is part of this theoretical reflection on the use of categories, network analysis and policies.

Place and mobility: camp dweller, urban refugees

Refugee studies since the 1970s have produced a wide range of categories to describe refugee movement or settlement, such as *urban refugees*, *camp dwellers*, *self-settled refugees*, etc. (Fabos & Kibreab, 2007; Kunz, 1981; Zetter, 2007). Recently, researchers have shown a growing interest in the issue of urban refugees in the world, pointing mainly to the problem of protection and access to services that they face in the big cities of the third world (Jacobsen, 2006). The differences between urban refugees and camp dwellers have been studied, but the transformation of refugee camps into urban spaces has not been studied as such, except in a few cases (Agier, 2002; Hyndman, 2000; Malkki, 1995).

The classical distinction made between *refugee camps dwellers* and *urban refugees* is mainly an operational one produced by international organizations. This categorization has to be differentiated from the evolution of refugee camps and from the practices developed by the refugees themselves. Refugee camps are not closed areas even when they are geographically isolated; they can be connected to a wider urban environment through mobility or transnational connections such as remittances (Doraï, *Palestinian Emigration from Lebanon to Northern Europe: Refugees, Networks, and Transnational Practices*, 2003; Fresia, 2006).

Mobility and migrations have to be understood in their different temporalities. In the long term, refugee camp population changes, some refugees leaving the camp to settle elsewhere, newcomers arriving to settle in the camp for a variety of reasons that will be developed. Different generations of refugees have experienced life in exile, each having a specific relation to the camp due to their socio-historical context. Individual trajectories also contribute to blur the distinction between urban refugees and camp dwellers. Many refugees reside successively inside and outside camps during their life to access different kinds of resources (Hyndman, 2000). Refugee camps themselves host, temporarily or more permanently, different waves and groups of refugees. New immigrant communities also settle in the camps and/or around the camps.

Legal categories vs. analytical?

The distinction commonly made between forced migration and voluntary migration in the Middle East and elsewhere has already been criticized by a growing number of authors (Richmond, 1994). In the case of a “refugee” category, a huge diversity of social, legal and economic statuses and personal backgrounds coexist within it (Malkki, 1995). Early attempts to build a general theoretical model of refugee issues have focused mainly on *push* factors to explain refugee movements. Studies have also emphasized the role of international relations in the production of refugee flows (Loescher, 1990). If *push* factors as well as international politics are key issues for the understanding of refugee movements, little attention has so far been paid to dynamics generated by the refugees themselves. Seteney Shami (1993) suggests that “*displacement often leads to labour migration as a coping*

² A special issue of *Confluence Méditerranée* (2015/1, n°92) has been recently published on the consequences of the Syrian crisis in Lebanon, as well as several reports on Syrian refugees for example by the Refugee Studies Centre - Oxford (on education issues), the Brookings Institute (on Turkey), Boston University (on protection issues), FAFO - Oslo (on Lebanon). More specific reports have been published on Palestinian refugees from Syria (HRW, Amnesty International).

strategy". But conversely, as will also be shown, labour migration may also mould and structure forced displacement patterns of dispersion and settlement.

The questioning of the dichotomy between forced and voluntary migrations is even more interesting in the Middle East as neither Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq nor Syria are signatories of the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees. The refugee category (with the exception of Palestinians who are recognized as refugees in the state where they have their permanent residency) does not exist as such. There is often a confusion in the field of forced migration between legal categories (refugees, asylum seekers, etc.) and those relating to the analysis of migration (Zetter, 2007).

Even if Ruben Zaiotti (2006) notes that most of the Middle Eastern states are not signatories of the 1951 Convention on refugees and thus have no proper asylum system, an asylum procedure exists but is conducted by the UNHCR, as explained by Michael Kagan: "*The systems that exist on the ground for refugees in the Middle East are essentially off the radar screen of conventional thinking in the field of international law because they rely on shifting responsibility from the state to the UN. The difference in the Middle East is that there are two relevant UN refugee agencies, UNRWA for Palestinians and UNHCR for non-Palestinians [...]*" (Kagan, 2011, p. 9). This project aims to re-examine the production categories of asylum in an area outside the Convention (Jordan, Lebanon) and one signatory (Turkey) from three situations, the Syrians, the Iraqis and the Palestinians in Syria. The role of non-state organizations will be examined.

The current Syrian conflict is part of a longer regional history that has often seen refugees be involved, often as victims, but sometimes as protagonists in the different conflicts in the post-1945 Middle East. If most of the Arab regimes show strong support for the Palestinian cause, particularly the right of return of refugees, the precarious status of refugees, especially during crisis, demonstrates a clear gap between practice and rhetoric (Doraï & Al Hussein, 2013). This issue raises the wider question of the status of Palestinian refugees who seek asylum in a third country. Their status has a strong impact both on how they settle in their host country and their access to mobility and protection in the context of conflicts. Palestinians refugees, because of their specific status (Feldman, 2012), are not covered by the UNHCR mandate, even if some of them receive assistance from the UNRWA in their host countries, they lack legal protection. Today, other refugees, such as Iraqis who were in Syria before 2011, can face similar problems.

Family and religious networks

The academic use of the network analysis appeared in the 1920s with the studies of the School of Chicago. This approach is based on "*a desire to go beyond determinism structures and simplistic models of rational choice by looking at the social link*" (Lemerrier, 2005, p. 88). Network analysis of migration has developed during the 1990s (Massey, et al., 1993), Thomas Faist (2000) observes that the analysis of migration in terms of migratory networks suffers from one main limitation: it does not tackle the question of the emergence of such networks. He considers that initially social capital is a factor that limits mobility; then, when migratory networks develop, it becomes a driving force of emigration. Migration develops when social capital functions not only on a local scale but also as a transnational transmission belt. More recently, there has been growing interest in the relationship between refugees and transnationalism (Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001; Black, 2001; Shami, 1996; Wahlbeck, 2002). Studies on transnational activities among refugees have contributed to the analysis of the state's role in the shaping of migrant networks, bringing the state back into most analyses. On this point, Black comments: "*Focusing on the role played by refugees in transnational activities could help to dispel some of the more idealistic notions of transnationalism from below as a people-led process, which take advantage of processes of globalization and ease of travel in the modern world*" (2001, p. 66). Considering our issues, a transnational approach will allow us to write a cross-history of migrations between Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and Jordan throughout the 20th and 21th centuries (Saunier, 2013; Werner & Zimmermann, 2003).

Many authors have examined the relationships between migratory networks and kinship links, including those concerning 'economic' migrants and family reunification in Western countries (Boyd, 1989). In this project, we aim to take into account the multi-dimensionality and variability of networks by paying attention to the influence of political, social, economic and cultural contexts. Taking notice of the temporal and spatial aspects of networks leads to the study of the structuring, reformation and transformation of networks. To do so, we will confront macro, meso and microanalysis. Larner (1990)

reported the evolutionary potential of networks. Charles Tilly (1990, p. 84) highlights the changes that emerge when old networks are transplanted to a new place. He held that “*the networks migrate; categories remain in place; and networks create new categories*”. Emphasizing the transformation of a network during the migration process ‘historicizes’ the concept and provides a critical argument against a perspective that considers these networks as static (Waldinger, 2006).

To analyse all these processes we propose to focus in the first place on the existence and the mobility of kinship networks. Some researchers in the field of refugee studies have also pointed out the importance of kinship networks in processes of adaptation of migrants who were forced to quit their homelands. Using matrimonial strategies can help to establish new solidarity links with family members belonging to the host country. This will be analysed considering the overlap of different inflows of migration and their redistribution over almost a century.

Since the 1980s, many studies have been carried out on tribal solidarity and conflicts in the Middle East (Chatty, 1996; Lancaster, 1999). Our project will focus on the evolution of tribal networks between Jordan, Syria and Lebanon during the 20th century and its influence on the identity and network construction of migrants.

The recourse to confessional networks in the context of migration is still under-studied for the Middle East region. Religious networks have played a key role in emigration since the war in Iraq in 1991 (Chatelard, 2003; Danis, 2006) and even before in relation to economic migration during the 1970s. Sectarian violence, in parallel with the rising sectarian divisions of the post-2003 Iraqi social and political spheres, has contributed to the development of religious-based networks as a key resource for migrants. In this context, migrants can develop new networks based on religious belonging and they can redefine their own confessional identity or allegiance. Moreover, religious networks have often been studied in terms of institutional bonds or relations between religious authorities (Heyberger, 2013; Mervin, 2007). Our research aims to understand what part is played by churches, ministries of religious affairs and religious political parties in the definition of migration policy. Recently, several studies have focused on the use of confessional standards by religious or secular NGOs (Duriez, 2007; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2011). This study aims to understand how confessional or secular NGOs can influence confessional policies and the confessional identity of migrants. We will also show the capacity of migrants to develop their own confessional networks and to influence religious governing bodies. Networks can also be a barrier for the migrants and we will try to understand what kind of relationship they try to construct in such a situation.

Forced migration / policies

The political implications of massive forced migrations on receiving countries have been relatively well-documented in a number of Western cases: Such migrations are said to impact on national identity and on the host society’s cohesion and integration at local and national levels (Saggar, Somerville, Ford, & Sobolewska, 2012). This is, one assumes, even more the case in so-called ‘fragile’ states such as those located in the Middle East, where most of the nation-building processes engaged by relatively recent states have not yet stabilized: ethnic, political, religious and economic centripetal forces remain crucial challenges. Yet, while forced migration is recognized as having a significant effect on state fragility, there has been remarkably little research focusing directly on the connections between fragile states and forced migration (Refugee Studies Centre, April 2010). Moreover, most of the available research remains globally oriented towards the concerns and needs of Western states challenged by waves of forced African, Middle-Eastern and Asian migrants fleeing economic hardships, political chaos and/or armed conflicts (Castles, 2003; Freeman & Kessler, 2008). This may result from a well-grounded, “narrow”, belief amongst policy-makers and observers, that forced migrations in such states are mainly problems of “humanitarian relief” that are separable from their political and economic contexts. Accordingly, as suggested by G. Wood, their understanding and interventions amount to little more than reactions to the latest “refugee crisis.” (Wood, 1994).

This explains the gaps in the available literature devoted to the multiple waves of refugees and internally-displaced persons that have affected the entire Middle East region, including civil-war stricken Syria and Iraq prone to forced internal migrations; Lebanon and Jordan host to Palestinian, Iraqi and Syrian refugees; and Turkey (mostly) host to Syrian refugees. Be it academic, operational or policy-making, recent studies have mostly focused on the direct, short-term impacts of the refugees on the host economies at local and national levels in terms of accrued assistance costs and additional

pressure on public services. In the same vein, the assistance provided by such organizations as the UNHCR, UNRWA and other international and local NGOs to needy migrants are commonly tackled as short-term humanitarian ventures that forsake longer-term impacts such as registration, socioeconomic dependence, and labelling may have on the terms of their integration, their 'diasporization' and, ultimately on their political identity in exile.

Inspired by the innovative work pursued by Dawn Chatty on Arab societies' rationales vis-à-vis refugees (2010; 2013) and more generally on Robert Zetter's research on the political impacts of "refugee labelling" (2007), our research programme attempts to expand the focus so as to investigate the rationale and drivers of the way forced migrants in Middle Eastern societies affect the political balance of the host countries at various municipal levels.

1.4. Context, social issues and positioning

While the region concentrates one of the highest rates of forced migrants in the world, the issue of their settlement, their role in local economies, as well as the way host states perceive them, is central to understanding contemporary Middle Eastern societies. Be they considered as refugees, guests or illegal migrants they play a central role in the urban fabric and contribute to the reshaping of citizenship in their host countries. Protracted and stateless refugees challenge nation building in most of the countries in the region. In-depth analysis, crossing the economy, history and policy of their relationship with host states can contribute to a better understanding of state formation in the Middle East when nation states are currently challenged by local or non-state actors.

Following Palestinian and Iraqi forced migration flows, the current Syrian conflict is one of the most numerically important in terms of population displacement since 1945. Special focus will be put on Syrian forced displacement and its consequences. A contemporary history of Syrian migration, which articulates the different migrations at the regional level remains to be written. If the Lebanon-Syria nexus has been the subject of numerous studies (e.g. Chalcraft, 2009), the regional dimension of mobility remains to be studied. While access to Syrian territory is currently not possible for researchers, this project, centred on the Syrians in exile, offers an opportunity to analyse and understand recent changes in Syrian society. Producing knowledge on a country and a society in conflict is one of the roles that can be played by this research team because of its regional presence and the networks it has developed with local institutions. These transit migrations have effects on the local forms of settlement of these populations and contribute to structuring transnational spaces.

In addition, one of the outcomes of this research programme may reside in the Euro-Mediterranean dimension of Middle Eastern refugee crisis. It has yet to be investigated, as the Middle East is, for some migrants, just a transit area. Conversely, European asylum policies have some impact on the settlement of refugees groups on the long term in their first asylum countries. In the context of increasing refugee and migrant flows since the beginning of the Arab Spring in 2011, a better understanding of migration patterns at the South Eastern edge of the European Union is needed. As shown in the following graph, Syrian asylum applications to EU member states has increased considerably in the last 3 years, in fact doubling, from 50,435 in 2013 to 122,800 in 2014, to account for 20% of all applications in 2014. Since then, Syrians outnumber any other nationality in terms of asylum seekers.

2. Scientific programme

2.1. Axis

2.1.1. Axis 1 - Local economy, local settlement: competition and complementarity between migrant groups and the host society

This axis pursues the following main objectives: to analyse the impact on local economies of the arrival of forced migrants in selected cities in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. Fields covered by the investigation include: employment, housing and public services. We will analyse and document the complementarity and competition in these three fields, between forced migrants and indigenous communities. This also includes other protracted groups of refugees or labour migrants (e.g. Palestinians and Egyptians).

First, the settlement of refugee groups in Middle Eastern countries has a deep impact on local economies. Macroeconomic issues are often developed with a focus on the costs for host societies. Research on refugees tends to restrict the economic role of forced migrants to some limited segments of the labour market. The experience of the Laboratoire d'Economie et de Sociologie du Travail (LEST) team on theoretical approach about the labour market and migration (Mercier, 2013), combined with case studies in three countries, will contribute to the elaboration of original knowledge on this field. Furthermore, little attention has been paid to the local effects of refugee movements on segments of the labour market occupied by other migrants and protracted refugees, such as Syrian workers in Lebanon, Egyptian workers in Jordan or Palestinian refugees. Governments have issued strict regulations to prevent the access of refugees to the labour market in all Middle Eastern countries. The aim of the project is to analyse and document the complementarity and competition on the low-skilled labour force at a local level. Sectors such as construction, agriculture, catering and all forms of daily labour will be investigated in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. The question of the contribution of refugees to local economies also needs to be investigated. Some refugees are skilled and contribute the development of local economies. They are also consumers and can foster the economy. Yet, these forced or voluntary movements produce economic dynamics at the local level, from which the host countries, especially the settling communities, benefit directly. The relocation of entrepreneurial or industrial activities, as in the province of Mersin in southern Turkey, boosts the economy of the host country and opens up new export segments. Most of the international financing, or financial resources mobilized by NGOs to provide assistance to refugees, are invested locally. The arrival of a skilled workforce often contributes to the modernization of host regions, and non-qualified labour participates in the development of the informal sector and the competitiveness of a number of activities by lowering labour costs. Thus the arrival of refugees has consequences in terms of new segmentation of the labour market, a new social hierarchy, including loss of social standing and social resettlement, and increasingly strong economic interdependence of the populations at a local level. In the context of this project, we will focus on the labour market and local economic dynamics produced by the mass influx of Syrian refugees in three main locations: 1) the province of Mersin, 2) Beirut, where former settled refugees rub shoulders with newcomers, who are sometimes of the same original nationality, and 3) northern Jordan. This project will focus on competition and complementarity between different groups with regard to state policies.

Second, effects on the urban development of border cities will be investigated, with a specific focus on the differences between camp, self-settled and urban refugees. What are the consequences of encampment in Turkey and Jordan on local economies compared to Lebanon where refugees are self-settled? The mass arrival of forced migrants concentrated in certain areas (such as border cities and villages, or poor neighbourhoods in the main cities of the host countries) has far-reaching local impact on host societies. The consequences of the influx of refugees in the global South – where most of the world's refugees find asylum – are multiple. They raise many debates as to pressure on the rental market, overall price increase, the deterioration of security in some areas, etc. In most cases, the role of the refugee population in these processes has not been evaluated. Middle Eastern countries are no exception. The arrival of refugees (mainly Iraqis and Syrians) often leads to this type of controversy. Refugees also play an important, but often understudied, role in urban development. They develop specific relationships with host societies, based on the assumed temporariness of their settlement. We will analyse the consequences of refugee settlement inside and outside camps, exploring, for example, the role of humanitarian assistance in shaping new forms of housing. What is the role of refugees in developing informal housing?

Focusing on Syrian refugees, and Palestinians from Syria in Lebanon, the project aims to tackle two main issues. On the one hand, we will document and analyse settlement choices made by refugees both at the micro-level (residential unit) and meso-level (neighbourhood). On the other hand, we will document the construction process itself, looking at the material evolution of housing units (from tent to temporary shelters).³ Following methods developed in Syria by architects such as E. Léna (2007) in

³ This project has already begun, in February 2015, at the Ifpo in Amman. A multi-disciplinary team (geographer, anthropologist, architect, political scientist and photographer), working on housing in Zaatari camp and Zaatari village, has been set up (see first results in Task 1)

informal neighbourhoods in the Damascus suburbs, we will analyse the ‘forms’ of informal settlement. Settlement in refugee camps is well documented whereas self-settled refugee groups have been less studied. Specific attention will be paid to the diversity of the contexts in which they settle (e.g. urban areas and villages). The role of previous migration and transnational links (e.g. familial, tribal) will be investigated (in relation with axis 2).

Third, though the attention of many observers has focused on refugee camps, they are not, according to UNHCR statistics, where most of the world’s refugees are located. Refugee camps gather around 25% of the refugee population worldwide. While Lebanon, Syria and Jordan have decided not to open camps for Iraqi refugees post-2003, Jordan and Turkey have opened refugee camps in response to the influx of Syrian refugees. Today, camps gather only 20% of all registered Syrian refugees. The form of settlement has a direct impact on the refugees in terms of access to services (electricity, water, education, health, etc.). While such access is facilitated in the camps, despite difficulties linked to high population densities, it is more variable in villages or marginalized urban neighbourhoods. What is the role of access to services in the settlement of refugees? The role played by the various stakeholders (in relation with axis 3) will be investigated in order to understand how rules are established (state), kept (international organizations) and possibly bypassed (refugees). The degree of constraint is particularly high in a camp, but less so in self-settled areas.

2.1.2. Axis 2 - Scales of solidarity: transnational kinship and ethno-religious networks

This part of the project aims to question the structure of levels of solidarity (kinship, tribal, ethnic or religious) in the organization of regional migration flows. It intends to deepen research on migrants’ social networks in the context of conflicts. While forced migration is supposed to be spontaneous, more recent studies stress the role of migrant networks in the forced migration process. Kinship, ethnic, confessional and/or tribal networks play a significant role in the recent mass refugee movements in the region. Their role will be examined and put into perspective in a long-term analysis approach. Based on case studies, this project will contribute to de-essentializing the different forms of belonging of migrants, something that is often oversimplified. We will analyse the reconfiguration of primary networks, their redefinition and superposition due to several inflows of migration. Our goal is to bring to light the strategies used by migrants to strengthen their primary networks and to develop external links. This part of the project will focus on meso - and micro - analysis to understand how migrants develop specific networks during their migration and how those networks interact with local societies (Baby-Collin & Cortes, 2014). In order to understand the complexity of networks, we will consider overlapping mobility processes: from daily mobility (trade, pilgrimage) to the forced migration that constitutes a break with normal habits. Actually, during periods of conflict, mobility often relies on past dispersions and networks. Migrants often depend on these links to choose their destination and thereafter to access accommodation, services, employment, etc. (in relation with axis 1). What tool do they use when these links are absent or strained? The aim is to map and establish the genealogy of these networks.

First, our reflection will focus on the networks migrants rely on upon their departure. They contribute to shaping migration strategies. We will examine the role of kinship and tribal networks to understand and define proper mechanism of immigration in the Middle East and its specificities. Based on specific case studies, this part of the project illustrates the role of transnational solidarity networks during the settlement of migrants, their reconstruction, their reactivation and possible disappearance. Focusing on Palestinian and Jordanian kinship networks between the West Bank, Jordan and other countries in the region we will develop a reflection on the economic and cultural aspects of networks. We argue that social capital has a particular importance in the migration process through the reactivation of tribal or kinship links when needed, by using matrimonial strategies for instance. This section will include an analysis of migrants’ economic activities within or outside the primary groups of belonging (in relation with axis 1).

Network analysis often neglects class belonging or power relations within the group itself. This section will take into account the differences of status that exist inside a single tribe or kinship group concerning access to travel documents, identity documents, and social and economic networks. Migration brings together members of networks who used to live in different countries and do not

share the same life experience. This questions the impact of state nationalism on different members of a same kin or tribe. Our ambition is to highlight the succession of migration flows and their influence on the structure of transnational solidarity networks. To this end, we choose to focus on the importance of religious and pilgrim movements within the dynamics of migration (Neveu, 2010). The pilgrimage to Mecca during the 19th and early 20th centuries was an important time for mobility. It represented a chance for migration and settlement in the *Bilâd al-Shâm*. Pilgrim mobility was strongly controlled during those centuries, in particular by Ottoman authority and the Mandate powers. Based on this historical evidence, we will show how major or local pilgrimage roads represent trails for future migration. We will also highlight the religious networks built on this occasion. The correlation of kinship, ethnic and religious networks, as in the case of Sufi congregations, allows the intricacy of networks and their limits in certain circumstances to be analysed.

Second, we will focus on the role of networks in the settlement process in the different host societies. In particular, we will focus on strategies developed to widen networks and the co-operational and/or conflicting interaction that underlies them. Are those networks governed by hierarchical structures that may change from one country to another? We will analyse the survival and integration strategies of Syrian refugees in Istanbul, Amman and Beirut, and of Iraqi refugees in Amman. Fieldwork will mostly be carried out in urban contexts with a focus on individual experiences. How do migrants manage to recreate a personal space and community in the host countries? Observing the migrants' everyday life experiences within their own kinship/religious/cultural/ethnic group and with others from different origins will help to define logics of segregation and local forms of cosmopolitanism in their specific or ordinary forms. In so doing, we will understand the complementarity or hierarchical relationship among networks of different kinds. We will observe the participation of migrants in the cultural, social and economic life of the host country. Their integration into the host society will be analysed with regard to the national migration policy and discourses and in particular, with the so-called hospitable reception politics towards Syrians in Turkey (in relation with axis 3).

If networks might facilitate the process of integration, they also have some limits. Analysing violent experiences and trauma will allow us to question the limits of network analysis. For instance, in the 2000s, Shi'a Iraqis who run away from violence in their country were barely able to use their confessional networks. Indeed, inter-confessional tensions were sometimes the reason for their migration and they sometimes suffered from being associated with confessional networks. Through the study of exile narratives, we will analyse how individuals reshape themselves and their networks.

Finally, this project will make a substantial contribution to the research on sectarianism and its rise since the late 19th century in the Middle East. Indeed, the development of confessional networks will be looked at by considering the role of pilgrimage as an exploratory phase of migration. Considering the interactions between temporary and forced migration leads to questions on the importance of migrants in religious and cultural matters within the society where they settle. The project will highlight the role played by migrants in the redefinition or crystallization of local or national identities in the host countries. Since the 1990s, in Jordan, the violence of the discourse about Iraqi Shi'a refugees has gradually increased as the situation has deteriorated in Iraq. The role of religious institutions and authorities as organizers of migration networks deserves special attention, especially when they convey a religious discourse. We will analyse how confessional identities can be assigned to migrants by national institutions or NGOs. Since the early 2000s, the rise of discourses emphasizing the distinction between Sunnis and Shi'as has had an impact on national migration policies and local policies. This echoes older processes, concerning Christians for instance. Using a long-term approach allows us to question the categories used to qualify migrants. If the role of confessional or ethnic identities is particularly stressed today in the analysis of the migration process and official politics, they were not as important in earlier periods. Our research aims to develop a critical analysis of the categories commonly used in both academic and political fields, by studying them in their historical context.

2.1.3. Axis 3 - The politics of refugee migration: redefining states, borders and nation-building

This axis of the LAJEH research project tackles the 'politics' of forced migration in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. Its underlying assumption is that forced migrations (in our case refugees fleeing internal conflicts) and their management cannot be understood and responded to unless they are placed in the

political context that frames the modalities of their integration.

This first implies understanding the structural challenges refugee crises pose to the host countries. Not only is the size of refugee flows hardly predictable, compelling host authorities to respond to humanitarian crises and their destabilizing effects on the country's economy at short notice, but more directly, when flowing into host countries in large numbers, refugees are likely to upset the pre-existing former political balance (cohesion) between the religious, ethnic and political segments of the society (in relation with axis 2). This endangers the nation-building processes launched by states (notably through educational, citizenship and territorial policies) to promote a national identity encompassing such segments. Refugee inflows may also weaken the state's capacity to perform its welfare role towards its own population, further eroding its legitimacy; moreover, the often observed informal economic and/or political refugee activity, especially in border areas, may undermine state sovereignty.

Yet, these trends should not be taken as a given. Refugee integration is primarily to be analytically tackled through 'refugee politics', namely the continuous trilateral relations that take place, directly or indirectly, between the refugees, host entities including state authorities, 'civil society' institutions and local communities, and the international humanitarian agencies (more particularly the UNHCR and UNRWA), whose protected status grants them a functional extra-territorial sovereignty over the refugees and a functional autonomy vis-à-vis state authorities (Al Hussein, 2000). Be that as it may, interactions that take place within the framework of these relationships, also possibly influenced by a history of sociability between populations predating the establishment of state borders, may also favour the emergence of shared practices of conviviality for instance. Moreover, new opportunities of immigration control and refugee integration management may reinforce the states' sovereignty and turn the refugee presence and/or international assistance into a development boon likely to shore up their legitimacy.

Taking stock of the multiple experiences of forced migration management that have marked the history of the Middle East, and in line with a methodological approach using various disciplines (anthropology, political science, sociology and history) at regional, national and local scales of analysis, this axis of the LAJEH research programme covers two interrelated dimensions of the political dynamics induced by forced migrations in the host countries and the way they reshape the state, its borders and the very nation-building process.

First, the control of management of refugee immigration and borders will be studied. This element of the project focuses on the main drivers of the host states' refugee immigration and related border policies. Officially presented as immutable prerogatives of the sovereign state, they underscore that such policies are actually shaped by continuous, and often controversial, negotiations that engage a variety of actors (state authorities, host society organizations and the international community at large) and involve a wide range of values such the 'Arab hospitality' and 'guesthood' traditions (Chatty, 2013; El Abed, 2014), of international commitments (for instance the principles of 'protection' and of 'non-refoulement' as institutionalized by humanitarian law), and of internal political, economic and security interests (in relation with axis 1). But the making of laws and policies is only one aspect of the issue. The complexity of immigration and border control also needs to be assessed at the local, 'micro-politics', level. As amply evidenced in the case of Iraqi and Syrian refugees, border and registration procedures tend to be bypassed by refugees who not only seesaw across borders, but also organize the cross-border delivery of the aid material, amongst other goods, and get involved in its regulation. This not only questions the sovereignty of the Middle Eastern states over borders inherited from the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; it also sheds light, as suggested above, on the resilience of the pre-state social and economic ties that had once connected the provinces of that empire.

Second, the politics of the integration of forced migrants will be analysed. This sub-axis of the LAJEH project deals directly with the consequences of refugee integration and of the related policies adopted by host states and humanitarian agencies, on political stability. As contributions will show, such policies do not take place in a void. First, these are more or less influenced by previous experiences of refugee management (or other types of forced migrations) and by the economic and political costs incurred by the refugee presence. Second, integration policies are often normatively underlain by

internationally-promoted scenarios about what the political resolution of the refugee crisis should be. Such scenarios have generally promoted the return of the refugees to their homes. Yet, in most cases (Palestinian, Iraqi and Syrian refugees) such a repatriation could not be implemented due to the protracted nature of the conflicts that had caused their forced migration. However, the refugees' usual insistence on their return to a 'restored' homeland,⁴ together with the pressure they exert on the host countries' demographic and public services and natural resources, has contributed to maintaining a consensus around the necessary temporariness of the refugees' presence predicated upon the notion of qualified integration, with regional variations according to the specific case of every host country, from relative assimilation to sheer discrimination. Within that framework, the contributions will assess how the evolving social policies and labelling practices pursued by governmental agencies and international agencies across the Middle East have endeavoured to strike the difficult balance between refugee specificity, political stability and state sovereignty; and between the refugees' needs and their nation-building process. Within this analysis, it will be important to evaluate the refugees' view of their status, whether they are accepted by members of the community or considered as outsiders. As Rubinstein (1991) notes, what ultimately counts in terms of political realities is a person's subjective view of his/her status and whether he/she is accepted by members of the community or seen as an outsider. This is far more important than the official formulas that are imposed upon refugees.

⁴ Promoted in the Palestinian case by resolution 194 of the UN General Assembly,

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