

Generations For Peace Institute Research
May - December 2015

Programme
Research

25

Jordanian Hosts and Syrian Refugees:

Comparing Perceptions of Social Conflict and Cohesion in Three Host Communities

Maira Seeley

Generations For Peace



/generationsforpeace



@Gens_For_Peace



/generationsforpeace



/in/generationsforpeace

www.gfp.ngo

Disclaimer:

I, Maira Seeley, hereby confirm that the enclosed document is entirely my own work. I confirm that this written submission has, in no part, been copied from a book, article, encyclopaedia or any other source, including the Internet, except where such sections are clearly identified by the use of quotations. I confirm that all sources utilised have been correctly identified within the body of the text or in the final list of references.



About Generations For Peace Institute

Generations For Peace Institute (GFPI) conducts, invests in, and disseminates applied interdisciplinary research and best practices in partnership with leading universities such as the Georgetown University, the University of Oxford, the University of Western Cape, as well as other institutes, research centres, individual academics and researchers. As well as research on Generations For Peace's own programmes, the Institute's research projects also examine peace-building interventions by other organisations, therefore making broader contribution to the fields of peace building and conflict transformation in general.

The overall objectives of the Institute reflect the aspirations of Generations For Peace to make a practical difference to programme work on the ground, supporting a growing community of practice by demonstrating the impact of and advocating for increased use of sport, arts, advocacy, dialogue and empowerment activities for sustainable peace building.



About Generations For Peace

Generations For Peace (GFP) is a Jordan-based leading global non-profit peace-building organisation founded by HRH Prince Feisal Al-Hussein and Sarah Kabbani in 2007. Dedicated to sustainable peace building and the use of sport, arts, advocacy, dialogue and empowerment for conflict transformation, Generations For Peace empowers volunteer leaders of youth to promote active tolerance and responsible citizenship in communities experiencing different forms of conflict and violence.

In the last nine years, Generations For Peace has trained and mentored more than 8,900 volunteer leaders of youth in 50 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Europe. With our support, their ongoing programmes address local issues of conflict and violence, and have touched the lives of more than 229,000 children, youth and adults.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	4
List of Figures	6
List of Abbreviations	8
Acknowledgments	9
Chapter 1: Introduction	11
A. Generations For Peace and the Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme	12
Chapter 2: Context and Literature Review	19
A. Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Host Communities, 2011-2015: Understanding the Local Context	20
B. Conflict and Social Cohesion in Host Communities	23
C. Strategies for Designing Community-based Refugee Programming with Maximal Input from Host Community Members and Refugees: Existing Theoretical Perspectives	26
C.1. Context	26
C.2. Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR)	28
C.3. Stakeholder Representation and Management of Power Dynamics	29
C.4. Applying CBPR in GFP Programming	29
Chapter 3: Research Questions and Methodology	33
A. Research Questions	35
B. Expected Results	35
C. Methodology	36
C.1. Approach and Justification	36
C.2. Data Collection Methods and Limitations	37
C.3. Summary of Data Collection and Research Participants	40
C.4. Methods of Analysis	41
Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion	44
A. Areas of Divergence between Jordanian and Syrian Perspectives on Jordanian-Syrian Relations and Sources of Conflict in Host Communities	48
A.1. The Distribution of Humanitarian Aid	48
A.2. Divergent Perspectives on Syrians as either "Guests" or as Refugees: Hospitality- and Rights-based Discourses	51
A.3. The Accessibility of Education for Refugee Children and Youth	55
A.4. Community Safety and Relations with Local Law Enforcement and Civil/Municipal Authorities	58
A.5. Perspectives on Syrian Women and Girls' Marriage Practices, Including Marriage to Jordanians and Early Marriage	62
B. Social Factors Affecting Responses to Potential Sources of Conflict between Syrians and Jordanians and Differences in Perceptions	65

Table of Contents

B.1. The Relationships between Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Teachers in Local Schools	66
B.2. Communication Patterns within Families	70
B.3. The Gender of Individuals Involved in Jordanian-Syrian Interactions	78
B.4. The Historical Precedent of Palestinian Refugees in Jordan	84
Chapter 5: Conclusion: Implications and Recommendations for Social Cohesion Programming	89
A. Ensure that Women and Girls are Included in Programme Activities	91
B. Include both Parents and Children and Youth in Programme Activities	92
C. Design Programming to Address Jordanian Teachers' Attitudes towards Syrians	92
D. Ensure that Syrian Stakeholders Are Included in the Programme Design and Implementation Processes	93
E. Create More Safe Spaces for Positive Jordanian-Syrian Interaction in Host Communities	94
Bibliography	98
Appendix A: List of Interview and Focus Groups Cited	103
Appendix B: Research Tools Used	104

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Registered Syrians in Jordan	23
Figure 2:	Field Research Team	37
Figure 3:	Sources of data collected, by location and demographic	40
Figure 4:	Summary of research participants, by location and demographic	40
Figure 5:	Average ages of research participants (based on survey data, excluding GFP Delegates)	41
Figure 6:	All participants' mentions of antipathy due to aid distribution, by region and nationality	48
Figure 7:	All participants' mentions of Syrians' status as "guests," by gender and nationality	54
Figure 8:	All participants' mentions of "rights," by gender and nationality	54
Figure 9:	All participants' mentions of issues associated with youth leaving or not enrolling in Jordanian schools, by nationality	56
Figure 10:	Issues described as factors in Syrian students' decisions to leave or not enrol in school, by percentage of dropout or non-enrolment mentions associated with each issue	57
Figure 11:	Participants' mentions of street violence, by gender and nationality	59
Figure 12:	Survey responses (from all participants except GFP Delegates): percentage of females who report experiencing problems with people of another nationality	59
Figure 13:	Survey responses (from all participants except GFP Delegates): percentage of males who report experiencing problems with people of another nationality	59
Figure 14:	Participants' mentions of sexual harassment, by gender and nationality	60
Figure 15:	Percentage breakdown of Jordanians' mentions of marriage practices among Syrian women and girls, by gender and location	63
Figure 16:	Syrians' mentions of problems with teachers, by problem type	68
Figure 17:	Communication dynamics within families as a factor in Jordanian-Syrian relations	75

List of Figures

Figure 18:	
Percentages of types of Jordanian-Syrian interactions, by gender	79
Figure 19:	
Feedback loop of conflict between Jordanians and Syrians	87

List of Abbreviations

CBPR	Community-Based Participatory Research
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GFP	Generations For Peace
GFPI	Generation for Peace Institute
ID	Identification
INGO	International non-governmental organization
ITV	Interview
JOD	Jordanian Dinar
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PE	Participatory Evaluation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

Acknowledgments

The results described in this report are the product of the GFP staff's extraordinary dedication to providing the best possible social cohesion programming in Jordan's host communities. Successful research on a topic of this sensitivity and importance could not have been completed without sustained guidance from Jadranka Stikovic Clark and support from Mark Clark, Lama Hattab, and Safiya Ibn Garba. Professor Dawn Chatty also provided crucial expertise and support throughout the research process. In the field, Hana' Jumah's expert skills in group facilitation were essential to the success of the Focus Group Discussions, particularly given the research's sometimes difficult and controversial topic. Ahmad Al-Jbour provided crucial support during many long and challenging field visits. Laila Abu Zainedien contributed both important on-site support during field visits and great dedication to the successful transcription and translation of interview and Focus Group Discussion recordings. Other essential contributors include Sairah Yusuf, Ahmad Al-Kharouf, Amani Al-Nsairat, Salwa Abdel Waheed, Maha al-Asil, and GFP's highly dedicated programme volunteers at programme sites in Amman, Irbid and Mafrq. Finally, special thanks to all the research participants, who shared with us their valuable time and without whose support the research would have been impossible.





1. Introduction



© GFP 2015 | Jordan

A. Generations For Peace and the Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme

Generations For Peace (GFP) is a Jordanian NGO that seeks to improve peace-building skills and reduce violence among youth through sport-, arts-, advocacy-, dialogue- and empowerment-based activities.¹ GFP operates internationally, with a presence in 50 countries, and aims at creating sustainable peace through active tolerance and responsible citizenship.² GFP operates by training and mentoring local volunteers to lead specific activities in each country; in addition, GFP identifies a local partner organisation in cooperation with which programmes will be implemented. Delegates – carefully selected local volunteers trained by GFP to facilitate activities according to GFP’s methodology as expressed in the GFP Curriculum – are led locally by Pioneers and supported by GFP through a mentoring process.³ The Delegates lead sessions with the Target Group, or the specific group of children, youth or adults who participate in GFP activities and are intended to pass on to the wider community (the Beneficiary Community) the content they have learned about nonviolent responses to conflict. To build on the work done with GFP programming, the GFP Institute (GFPI) is responsible for organising and undertaking research into programme monitoring and evaluation, best practices, and improvements to programming.⁴ This research was undertaken as part of GFPI’s ongoing research on programme effects and improvement, in coordination with GFP’s partnership with UNICEF.

1 Generations For Peace. “Pass It On...,” 2014. <http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/pass-it-on>

2 Ibid.

3 GFP uses a cascading model in which volunteers are selected as Delegates and trained at international camps or local trainings. Once trained, those volunteers can then train other volunteers in their communities (who are also known as Delegates) as well as run various types of GFP programmes with children, youth and adults. After a Delegate has completed a programme and met specific requirements, they can be certified as a GFP Pioneer. This allows GFP to have a truly global reach, while still having a relatively small Headquarters team who provide mentoring, administrative, technical and other support to volunteers.

Generations For Peace. “Approach,” 2014. <http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/how-we-work/approach/>

4 Generations For Peace. “Institute,” 2014. <http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/pass-it-on/institute/>

This report describes research completed in the context of a GFP programme operating in select sites in Amman, Irbid, and Mafrqa regions in Jordan in 2014-2015. For GFP, ongoing and recent programmes in Jordan have included a programme to reduce violence in male and female schools in Amman and Irbid; a programme to reduce physical and psychological violence among male secondary school students in Mafrqa through sport-based activities; and a programme aimed at reducing violent conflict in Jordanian universities. The programme discussed here – the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme – focused on reducing the incidence of physical and verbal violence between Jordanian and Syrian refugee youth in host communities,⁵ and was implemented in 10 community centres in the three (urban and village) regions of Amman, Irbid and Mafrqa. At each community centre, the programme's first implementation phase included 50 students in 22 weekly sessions of sport- and arts-based programming, each lasting two hours, led by GFP Pioneers and Delegates (who were either volunteers or community centre employees).

The programme provided peace-building education and sport- and arts-based activities in order to address personal and relational dimensions of the conflict. The sport-based activities included group games, such as kickball and different versions of "tag," to foster cooperation and communication.⁶ The arts-based activities included creating drawings and different pieces of writing in which youth expressed their fears and frustrations with different dimensions of the environment around them and their hopes for the future, and then group presentations and discussions of these writings.⁷ The "personal dimension" of the conflict refers to individual feelings, attitudes, and developmental needs⁸. In the Social Cohesion programme discussed here it includes Jordanian youth participants' fears of losing community resources (and resulting mistrust of refugee community members) and lack of nonviolent problem-solving skills; and in Syrian youth participants' lack of self-confidence in relations with Jordanian host community members, lack of nonviolent problem solving-skills, and individual feelings of fear and concern resulting from both a lack of stability and from bullying in host communities.⁹ The conflict's "relational dimension" refers to the quality of relationships, interactions, cooperation, and conflict management between people or groups,¹⁰ and in this case includes Syrian and Jordanian participants' tense social relationships; lack of cooperation with one another; issues of bullying; lack of integration; and lack of respect.¹¹

Within this programme, expected outcomes (the results ultimately desired for individuals participating in the programmes – that is, the Target Group) included increased capacity among Target Group members to manage conflict and disputes without violence; an increase in mutual understanding and tolerance between Syrian and Jordanian youth; breaking of stereotypes of each other; improved relationships; and increased youth leadership, confidence and participation in

5 Generations For Peace. "M&E Grid Version 25/1/2016," 2016.

6 Generations For Peace. "Sport For Peace." Generations For Peace Curriculum, 2014.

7 Generations For Peace. "Arts For Peace." Generations For Peace Curriculum, 2014.

8 Generations For Peace. "Conflict, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation." Generations For Peace Curriculum, 2014.

9 Generations For Peace. "M&E Grid Social Cohesion in Host Communities," 2015.

10 Generations For Peace, "Conflict, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation."

11 Generations For Peace. "M&E Grid Social Cohesion in Host Communities."

volunteerism by Target Group members within their own community.¹² Expected impacts (general results desired for the individuals influenced by the programme but not actively participating in it – that is, the Beneficiary Community) included increased social cohesion¹³ between Syrian and Jordanian members of the wider Beneficiary Community.¹⁴ Beneficiary Community members include specifically participants in the programme's Community Initiatives: short-term activity series designed and led by Target Group members and GFP Delegates to enhance local social cohesion by bringing together Syrian and Jordanian youth and adults. Many Beneficiary Community members were parents, relatives, or friends of Target Group members.

The research whose results are reported here was conducted from May to December 2015 in order to assess how GFP can ensure that conflict analysis and programme designs reflect accurately the conflict transformation needs in the local community in northern Jordan, so that any future programming implemented in this region can be as effective as possible. Generations For Peace currently relies on its trained local volunteers (with significant support from GFP Headquarters staff) to analyse local conflicts and design the programme according to local needs. The purpose of this research is to examine whether this strategy is sufficient for conflict analysis and programme design. The research explores whether, in the case of the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, this form of conflict analysis results in the exclusion of critical information that should be considered when analysing conflicts and designing the programme strategy. Specifically, this study seeks to understand what differences may exist between Jordanian and Syrian perspectives on conflict between the two sides. This will help GFP to evaluate whether relying on exclusively Jordanian volunteers (with one exception) to analyse the conflict may mean that different Syrian perspectives are excluded, limiting the effectiveness of the programme design.

The issue of conflict between Syrian refugees and their Jordanian host communities is both highly controversial and a critically important consideration in any long-term response to the refugee situation in Jordan (see Context and Literature Review Chapter). Emotions run high on both sides of the conflict, under additional pressure from the larger civil war in Syria and existing social and economic problems in Jordanian host communities.

GFP recognises that any attempt to address the many aspects of this conflict will require input from all stakeholders involved, but also acknowledges the importance of following its existing and well-tested programming frameworks. Understanding the different perspectives that members of different communities bring to GFP programmes is the first step towards designing inclusive and maximally effective programming. In current programmes in Jordan, GFP aims to create space for conflict transformation via peaceful interaction through sport and arts, based on conflict analysis conducted by local volunteers, but whether or not that conflict analysis accurately reflects both sides' understandings of the situation and both

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Defined as the strength and degree of positivity of relationships between and among individuals and groups, and between these groups and "the institutions that govern them in a particular environment" (see Guay, Joseph. "Social Cohesion Between Syrian Refugees and Urban Host Communities in Lebanon and Jordan." World Vision International, 18 November 2015. <http://www.wvi.org/disaster-management/publication/social-cohesion-between-syrian-refugees-and-urban-host-communities>)

¹⁴ Ibid.

sides' priorities for conflict transformation (and can be used to effectively address the conflicts particular to each local community) remains entirely untested. This report seeks to address this gap by investigating whether differences exist between Syrians' and Jordanians' perceptions of conflict in the communities where GFP programmes are implemented, and how these differences could affect programme effectiveness, as well as suggesting ways to facilitate broader stakeholder involvement and input in the programme design process.

Ultimately, this research sought to identify any differences between Syrian and Jordanian perspectives on the following main questions:

1. What are the most important / main forms of conflict prevalent between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth in urban and village communities in northern Jordan?
 - What are the root local causes of this conflict?
 - What local actors are involved in this conflict and how should they be involved in addressing it?
2. What are the most pressing needs (at the community level) in addressing these different forms of conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth?
 - How can the root causes of local conflict be addressed through community-based programming?
 - What resources are needed to address local conflict through community-based programming?

In order to identify differences in Syrian and Jordanian responses to these questions, the researcher conducted 25 interviews and 26 Focus Group Discussions with Target Group members (12-22 y/o), with Target Group members' parents, and with the GFP Delegates at three community centres in Amman, Irbid and Mafrq. The researcher also collected brief surveys from all 155 non-Delegate interviewees and focus group participants, and undertook some limited participant observation to better understand how the programme sessions worked and how members of the Target Group reacted to the activities involved.

The research revealed both several key areas of divergence between Jordanian and Syrian perceptions of conflict and critical factors influencing relations between the two groups at the local community level. Analysis of these divergences and factors showed that conflict between Syrian refugees and Jordanian host community members tended to take the form of a "downward spiral" or cascade effect of intensifying conflict, but that specific types of intervention had a strong potential to interrupt this cascade and facilitate positive social relations between the two groups.

Divergences in perceptions of social relations between Syrians and Jordanians fell primarily into the following categories: the distribution of humanitarian aid; the status of Syrians as either "guests" or as refugees holding rights; the accessibility of education; community safety and relations with local law enforcement and civil/municipal authorities; and perspectives on Syrian women's and girls' marriages to Jordanians. Strong influencing factors in Syrian-Jordanian relations included relations between Syrian refugee students and Jordanian teachers in local schools;

communication patterns within families; the gender of individuals involved in Syrian-Jordanian interactions; and (primarily in Amman) the historical precedent of Palestinian refugees' presence in Jordan.

Based on these findings, specific recommendations for social cohesion programming in Jordan will be outlined later in Chapter 5. It is hoped that this detailed examination of trends in social cohesion and Syrian-Jordanian relations in Jordan will contribute to a better overall understanding of host community social dynamics in the Syrian refugee crisis, ultimately improving the effectiveness of programming designed to enhance social cohesion and reduce refugee-host community conflict.

This report contains four Chapters in addition to this Introduction: Context and Literature Review Chapter, which outlines the current situation in refugee host communities in Jordan and prior research on relations between Syrians and Jordanians, as well as an overview of existing theory on strategies for designing community-based refugee programming with maximal community and refugee input; Research Questions and Methodology Chapter, which provides greater detail on the structure and design of this study; Findings and Discussion Chapter, in which the results of the study will be discussed in detail and their implications explored; and final Conclusions and Recommendations Chapter, where the researcher will present suggestions for future programming improvements, based on these findings. The Appendices will include research tools used.





2.

Context and Literature Review



© GFP 2015 | Jordan

A. Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Host Communities, 2011-2015: Understanding the Local Context

Approximately four million Syrians have fled their country since the outbreak of civil conflict there in 2011, with the majority entering Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, and Iraq as refugees.¹⁵ As of 3 March 2016, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) reported 639,704 registered Syrian refugees in Jordan.¹⁶ The total number of Syrians living in Jordan to escape the conflict is even greater, as some remain unregistered with UNHCR (often by choice).¹⁷ The rapid arrival of the refugee population has strained the Kingdom's resources and infrastructure, particularly in the areas of education, housing, and water services. This led to increased competition in labour markets: tensions between refugees and their host communities have grown over the past four years as pressures on existing resources have increased.¹⁸ Jordan's refugee population (which also includes Iraqis and Palestinian refugees arriving from Syria) is concentrated in the country's northern governorates (Irbid, Mafrq, Zarqa, Amman, Jarash, Ajloun, and Al-Balqa). While some refugees live in formal camps administered by humanitarian agencies, the majority (around 85 per cent) are self-settled in rented accommodation and informal settlements.¹⁹ According to 2015 estimates, approximately 86 per cent of

15 Achilli, Luigi. "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check." European University Institute: Migration Policy Centre, February 2015. http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34904/MPC_2015-02_PB.pdf?sequence=1

16 UNHCR. "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Jordan," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107>

17 Healy, Sean, and Sandrine Tiller. "Out of the Spotlight and Hard to Reach: Syrian Refugees in Jordan's Cities." Humanitarian Practice Network, November 2013. <http://odihpn.org/magazine/out-of-the-spotlight-and-hard-to-reach-syrian-refugees-in-jordan%20s-cities/>

18 REACH. "Social Cohesion in Host Communities in Northern Jordan." Amman, Jordan, July 2015. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/social-cohesion-host-communities-northern-jordan>; CARE International. "Five Years into Exile: The Challenges Faced by Syrian Refugees Outside Camps in Jordan and How They and Their Host Communities Are Coping." Amman, Jordan, 1 July 2015. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/five-years-exile-challenges-faced-syrian-refugees-outside-camps-jordan-and-how-they>; Stave, Svein Erik, and Solveig Hillesund. Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Jordanian Labour Market. International Labour Organization, 2015. http://www.ilo.org/beirut/publications/WCMS_364162/lang--en/index.htm

19 REACH. "Social Cohesion in Host Communities in Northern Jordan."; Guay, Joseph. "Social Cohesion Between Syrian Refugees and Urban Host Communities in Lebanon and Jordan."



Syrian refugees living in urban areas fall below the Jordanian poverty line of JOD 68 per month.²⁰

Generations For Peace's Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme operates in field sites (urban and village) in Amman, Mafraq, and Irbid governorates, each of which represents a unique context in terms of refugees and their host communities. This section provides a brief description of the refugee context in each of these areas.

Amman Governorate: Amman Governorate contains a large self-settled Syrian refugee population (171,941 as of March 2016²¹), as increasing numbers of refugees leave camps such as Za'atari in search of better opportunities in Jordanian host communities. As described above, this influx has brought with it many issues including strain on economic resources, public services, and infrastructure, as well as labour exploitation (including of refugee children). UNHCR estimates that more than half of Syrian refugees live below the poverty line in Amman Governorate, with a significant proportion living below the abject poverty line (the level below which basic food needs are not met).²² Iraqi refugees (both coming directly from Iraq and secondarily displaced from Syria) are also present in Amman Governorate.²³

Conflicts are reported between refugees and host community members, as well as between members of the refugee community over concerns that some groups or families may be receiving more than their fair share of aid. Conflicts between refugee and non-refugee children and youth in local schools pose a barrier to education, particularly for refugee children and youth.²⁴ A general increase in crime has been reported over the past five years in Jordan overall, although there is no proven link between this rise and the influx of refugees in the Kingdom.²⁵ Amman is among several governorates in Jordan known for high levels of child abuse in schools; many residents attribute this to poverty, unemployment, and cultural acceptance of violence.²⁶

Mafraq Governorate: Mafraq Governorate is home to 77,215 registered refugees, in addition to 79,648 refugees living in Za'atari Refugee Camp.²⁷ The arrival of the refugees in one of the most impoverished areas of Jordan has caused great strains on the area's existing medical and educational infrastructure, causing conflicts between refugees and host community members at locations such as

20 UNHCR. "Vulnerability Assessment Framework: Jordan Response Plan," June 2015. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=9006>

21 UNHCR. "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Amman," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/region.php?id=75&country=107>

22 UNHCR. "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Zarqa," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/settlement.php?id=172&country=107®ion=73>

23 International Crisis Group. "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (IX): Dallying with Reform in a Divided Jordan." Amman, Jordan, 12 March 2012. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/iraq-iran-gulf/jordan/118-popular-protest-in-north-africa-and-the-middle-east-ix-dallying-with-reform-in-a-divided-jordan.aspx>

24 Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. "Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise." University of Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, September 2014. <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/other/rr-syria-youth-education-2014.pdf>

25 Al Emam, Dana. "Rise in Crime Rate Registered over Five-Year Period." The Jordan Times, 14 October 2014. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/rise-crime-rate-registered-over-five-year-period>

26 Sweis, Rana. "Jordan Struggles to Protect Children." The New York Times, 25 January 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/26/world/middleeast/jordan-struggles-to-protect-children.html?pagewanted=all&r=1>

27 UNHCR. "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Mafraq," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/settlement.php?id=173&country=107®ion=77>

schools and markets, as well as within the refugee community due to concerns about unequal aid distribution.²⁸ Factors in conflict between Syrian refugees and Jordanians include lack of jobs; access to housing; relief assistance from INGOs; lack of public services; access to water; access to food; access to education; cultural differences; religious tensions; and tribal tensions.²⁹

Socio-economic stresses also contribute to social conflict. In Mafraq Governorate, UNHCR estimates that more than 75 per cent of refugees are living below the poverty line (according to 2014 estimates), with many living below the abject poverty line (the level below which food needs are not met).³⁰ Importantly, 31.9 per cent of those living in Mafraq (excluding refugees) were reportedly already living below the poverty line in 2012. Among the refugee community, domestic violence is an increasing problem, due to these increased pressures, changing family roles and cultural barriers to men's access to psycho-social support.³¹

Irbid Governorate: Irbid Governorate contains two official refugee camps, King Abdullah Park Refugee Camp and Cyber City Refugee Camp, as well as a significant self-settled refugee population.³² In total, Irbid Governorate contains 140,091 registered refugees,³³ with high refugee population densities occurring in the city of Irbid, the city of Ramtha, the village of Torrah, and the village of Nu'ayma.³⁴ Residents (both refugees and host community members) face many of the same challenges and issues described above regarding Mafraq Governorate. During a REACH assessment conducted in six northern governorates between September and November 2013, levels of reported community tension (primarily related to a lack of affordable housing) were highest in Irbid.³⁵ A lack of income-generating opportunities was another reported source of tension.³⁶ In Irbid Governorate, UNHCR estimates that around 60 per cent of refugees live below the poverty line (according to 2014 estimates),³⁷ compared with 14.7 per cent of non-refugee residents (as of 2012).

28 Ibid.

29 Maroni, Robert, and Leslie Wingender. "Seeking Stability: Evidence on Strategies for Reducing Risk of Conflict in Northern Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees." Mercy Corps, May 2014. <https://www.mercycorps.org/research-resources/seeking-stability-evidence-strategies-reducing-risk-conflict-northern-jordanian>

30 Ibid.

31 Serrato, Bryant Castro. "Refugee Perceptions Study: Za'atari Camp and Host Communities in Jordan." Amman, Jordan: Oxfam International, 5 June 2014. <https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/refugee-perceptions-study-zaatari-camp-and-host-communities-jordan>

32 UNHCR. "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Irbid," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/settlement.php?id=175&country=107®ion=74>

33 Ibid.

34 Frankens, Jeffrey. "Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities." Amman, Jordan: REACH, January 2014. http://www.reach-initiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/jeffrey.frankens-10022014-093154-REACH-FCO_Syrian-Refugees-in-Host-Communities_Preliminary-Impact-Assessment.pdf

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Voon, Frances. "UNHCR - Living in the Shadows - Jordan Home Visits Report 2014." UNHCR, 2014. <http://www.unhcr.org/54b685079.html>

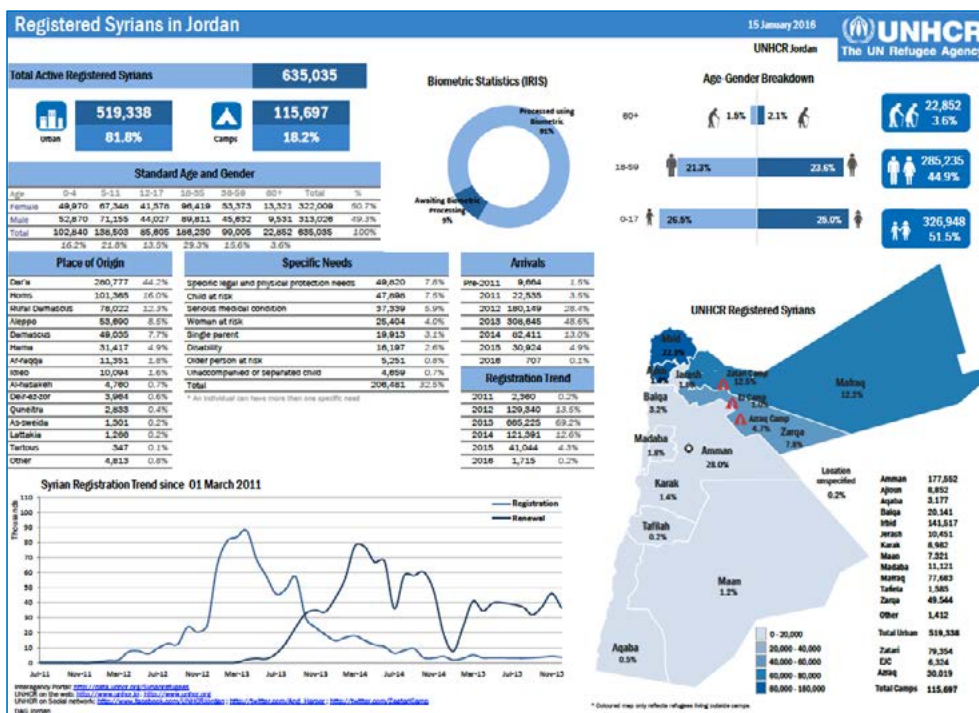


Fig. 1: Registered Syrians in Jordan³⁸

B. Conflict and Social Cohesion in Host Communities

Conflict between refugees and Jordanian nationals in host communities has been documented since the beginning of the ongoing refugee crisis in Jordan. Increases in rents, competition for "income-generating activities," competition for resources (including water), and overcrowding of public services (especially in the areas of health and education) have been identified as major factors in conflict between the two communities in northern Jordan.³⁹ In another assessment, 59 per cent of Jordanians and 27 per cent of Syrians surveyed described "uneven access" to employment as a reason for tension regarding employment, and 43 per cent of Syrians surveyed reported "security issues at work" as a source of tension between the two communities.⁴⁰ Syrians are sometimes perceived by Jordanians as holding an unfair advantage over Jordanians due to the support the refugees receive from international organisations and NGOs.⁴¹

Security issues in accessing basic services were also reported, including a perceived lack of security for Syrian children in basic education, as schools have become major points of contact for the two communities.⁴² Syrian children surveyed in 2014 described bullying as a major reason (and, in some age groups, the primary reason) for failing to attend or dropping out of school.⁴³ Tensions within schools

- 38 UNHCR. "External Statistical Report on UNHCR Registered Syrians," January 15, 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/documents.php?page=1&view=grid&Language%5B%5D=1&Country%5B%5D=107&Type%5B%5D=3>
- 39 Frankens, Jeffrey. "Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities."
- 40 REACH. "Livelihoods, Employment and Tensions in Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees." Amman, Jordan, June 2014. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/livelihoods-employment-and-tensions-jordanian-communities-hosting-syrian-refugees>
- 41 Frankens, Jeffrey. "Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities."
- 42 Ibid; Maroni, Robert, and Leslie Wingender. "Seeking Stability: Evidence on Strategies for Reducing Risk of Conflict in Northern Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees."
- 43 REACH. "Access to Education for Syrian Refugee Children and Youth in Jordan Host Communities." Amman, Jordan, April 2015. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/access-education-syrian-refugee-children-and-youth-jordan-host-communities-joint>

were reportedly exacerbated by overcrowding in Jordanian classrooms, despite a two-shift system that allows schools to serve twice their usual number of students.⁴⁴ Overcrowding has been exacerbated by the entry of an additional 35,000 Jordanian students in government schools due to deteriorating economic conditions.⁴⁵ Some refugee families surveyed in 2014 reported moving their households to a different area due to the violence and bullying that their children experienced. Safety was also a concern for transportation to and from schools located at a distance from refugees' homes.⁴⁶

Additionally, previous research on conflict and tension between Syrian refugees and Jordanian host communities has indicated that perceptions of conflict vary across different gender and nationality groups.⁴⁷ As noted above, a 2014 study revealed differences in Jordanians and Syrians' attitudes towards employment-related conflict: 43 per cent of Syrians surveyed reported security issues at work as a source of tension between the two nationalities, compared with only 3 per cent of Jordanians attributing conflict to security issues at work.⁴⁸ More than twice the percentage of female respondents (31 per cent) as male respondents (15 per cent) in the same study cited security issues at work as a reason for employment-related tension in the community.⁴⁹ In a 2014 Mercy Corps assessment, percentages of Syrians and Jordanians attributing tensions to access to housing, relief assistance from NGOs, and access to water differed: higher percentages of Syrians attributed tensions to access to housing and relief assistance from NGOs, while higher percentages of Jordanians attributed tensions to lack of public services and access to water.⁵⁰

Men and women's perceptions of conflict and potential means of addressing it also varied, with women expressing more positive attitudes than men regarding local Syrian-Jordanian relations and citing interaction in community-friendly spaces as a reason for this positivity. However, Jordanian women especially held negative perceptions of some Syrian women's cultural habits and customs, attributing behaviour to them that would traditionally be unacceptable in the host community (such as going walking at night or running errands alone during the day).⁵¹ The issue of marriage was also a reported point of conflict among women, with Jordanian women expressing resentment of Syrian women married by Jordanian men in part because Syrian women's families require smaller dowries.⁵² Syrian women reportedly viewed the situation differently, feeling concern that they would be treated disrespectfully as "cheap" despite coming from "good families."⁵³ Jordanian men were found to be more likely to express concerns about Syrians as potential infiltrators, spies, or troublemakers, which negatively influenced their

44 Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. "Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise."

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Stanski, Victoria, and Andras Beszterczey. "Social Cohesion and Governance Programming in Lebanon – Testing Theories of Change and Impact Evaluation." Mercy Corps, September 2015. <http://www.alnap.org/resource/21234>

48 REACH. "Livelihoods, Employment and Tensions in Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees."

49 Ibid.

50 Maroni, Robert, and Leslie Wingender. "Seeking Stability: Evidence on Strategies for Reducing Risk of Conflict in Northern Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees."

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid, 11.

relations with the refugee community (a trend reportedly worsened by negative media portrayals of Syrians).⁵⁴ In Mafraq specifically, young Jordanian men were also described in a 2012 study as presenting particularly aggressive attitudes towards Syrians, including Syrian women.⁵⁵ This issue may well relate to the significant pressures young men face in the host communities, due to conditions that predate the Syrian crisis but have been exacerbated by the refugee influx (see discussion of pre-existing factors below).

Attitudes towards Jordanian-Syrian relations and tensions also varied by region, according to the tribal affiliations of the refugees and host communities in some cases.⁵⁶ In some areas, refugees arriving in Jordan joined members of the same tribes, and mediation of conflicts through tribal authorities was reportedly successful. For instance, refugees from Dara'a in Syria received assistance from relatives in Ramtha and in the Sahel Houran area (in Irbid Governorate, Jordan).⁵⁷ However, communities' self-perceived ability to meet both their own needs and those of their refugee relatives in the longer term without conflict was reportedly limited.⁵⁸ In other areas, such as Mafraq, Syrians moved into communities with different tribal affiliations. It is important to note that these social dynamics have changed rapidly over the course of the refugee influx, as more recent arrivals came from more distant areas of Syria such as Damascus, Homs and Aleppo.⁵⁹

These findings can be usefully compared with GFP's 2015 baseline data describing attitudes towards and experiences of conflict and violence among Jordanian and Syrian participants in the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme. This baseline data was collected (for internal assessment and reporting purposes) through a survey conducted at each programme location, including both Syrian and Jordanian programme participants. Results of the baseline indicated that issues experienced by refugee and host community members varied considerably by location, and that in some locations (including Irbid city, Mafraq city, and Za'tari village), the types and levels of violence reported by both programme participants and programme non-participants differed strongly according to nationality. For example, physical violence was reported by 50 per cent of Syrians at GFP's programme location in Irbid city, but was reported by only 16.7 per cent of Jordanians at the same location. Verbal violence was likewise reported by 91.7 per cent of Syrians at a GFP programme location in Mafraq city, but was reported by only 41.7 per cent of Jordanians surveyed at the same location. Interestingly, baseline survey respondents' willingness to play on a team with people from different nationalities or different religious and ethnic groups varied by location, but the two groups' responses generally matched each other at each location. For example, the lowest levels of willingness among Jordanians (50 per cent) and Syrians (33.3 per cent) were both in Za'atari village, suggesting that mistrust between refugees and host community members there was generally mutual.

54 Ibid.

55 Graham, Dominic, and Elena Buryan. "Analysis of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafraq, Jordan." Mercy Corps, October 2012. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/partner.php?OrgId=31>

56 Graham, Dominic. "Mapping of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafraq and Ramtha." Mercy Corps, May 2013. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/partner.php?OrgId=31>

57 Ibid.

58 Ahmad, Zena Ali. "Municipal Needs Assessment Report: Mitigating the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Jordanian Vulnerable Host Communities." Amman, Jordan: United Nations Development Programme, 2014. <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/118-undpreportmunicipality.pdf>

59 Maroni, Robert, and Leslie Wingender. "Seeking Stability: Evidence on Strategies for Reducing Risk of Conflict in Northern Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees."

Conversely, the highest levels of willingness among Jordanians (100 per cent) and Syrians (100 per cent) both occurred at the same urban programme location in Amman, suggesting greater levels of mutual trust.

Finally, it should be noted that conditions in many host communities in northern Jordan were already worsening before the onset of the refugee crisis, reducing local resilience to stresses, and many of the challenges contributing to community tensions cannot be attributed to the refugee influx alone. For instance, factors such as a lack of participatory governance, community security, high youth unemployment, and a reported lack of social cohesion predate the Syrian crisis and are important considerations for understanding current conflicts in host communities.⁶⁰

All of the differences described above may influence the effectiveness of different coping strategies and approaches to addressing conflict between Syrian and Jordanian refugee youth. In designing GFP programmes, it is therefore critically important to consider the full range of perspectives that each programme's participants may bring to activities, considering that viewpoints vary according to individuals' location, gender, age, and nationality, among other factors. This report will next discuss some potential techniques and approaches for gathering such information through participatory research approaches.

C. Strategies for Designing Community-based Refugee Programming with Maximal Input from Host Community Members and Refugees: Existing Theoretical Perspectives

C.1. Context

Matching programming to refugee and host community needs in Jordan requires strong input from both groups in programme design and evaluation.⁶¹ Gaining this input and incorporating it into programmes can, however, pose challenges. This section of the report discusses some strategies for designing community-based refugee programming with maximal input from all stakeholders, and then how these strategies could be used by GFP to create optimal programming for refugee and host community children and youth in northern Jordan, with a high level of refugee participation in both programme design and implementation.

Collecting a full range of stakeholder input can be difficult in refugee contexts, where security concerns may mean that some community members are more difficult to reach or feel unable to share their perspectives, opinions and concerns with confidence. In the context of Generations For Peace's activities in northern Jordan, incorporating community input into the programme design also requires awareness and management of power relations between different stakeholders (GFP's volunteers and members of the Beneficiary Community). Practices for gathering community input vary and may include reliance on desk-based research;

60 Frankens, Jeffrey. "Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities."

61 Skopec, Chris, Natalia Valeeva, and Mary Jo Baca (International Medical Corps Jordan). "Anticipating the Unexpected: Urban Refugee Programming in Jordan." Middle East Institute, 1 November 2010. <http://internationalmedicalcorps.org/document.doc?id=141>; Benner, Marie Theres, Aree Muangsookjaroen, Egbert Sondorp, and Joy Townsend. "Neglect of Refugee Participation." Forced Migration Review, April 2008. <http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/FMRpdfs/FMR30/25.pdf>

reliance on input from local leaders; reliance on external researchers to interpret quantitative and qualitative data gathered through surveys, interviews, and focus groups;⁶² triangulation⁶³ of mixed qualitative and quantitative methods with an emphasis on participatory approaches;⁶⁴ reliance on informal communications and chance discoveries;⁶⁵ or use of more participatory approaches.⁶⁶ In the context of refugee host communities, management of differences in power relations between different refugee and host stakeholders is also critical in collecting community input, as it will be discussed further below.

With these limitations in mind, we can draw on previously tested methodologies to suggest means of gathering and building on valuable input from local refugee and host community stakeholders, in both the planning and the evaluation stages of programming, to ensure that needs are matched by programming as closely as possible. Some methods used to gather input in refugee contexts include non-participatory Rapid Assessment techniques⁶⁷; participatory research facilitated by an external research team using more traditional research tools such as questionnaires and interviews;⁶⁸ and a participatory workshop in a neutral site consisting of focus groups and opportunities for learning and reflection.⁶⁹

Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) is a well-tested methodology for working with stakeholders holding different degrees of socio-economic and political power, for instance in initiatives to improve students' mental health and relationships at school in refugee camps⁷⁰ or projects working to reduce land eviction in rural India.⁷¹ Some aspects of this methodology are already integrated into GFP's programming, for instance in the Participatory Evaluation process (discussed further below), but incorporating others into programme design for a more fully participatory approach in Jordan might strengthen programmes' effectiveness in addressing violence and other social problems in refugee and

62 Maroni, Robert, and Leslie Wingender. "Seeking Stability: Evidence on Strategies for Reducing Risk of Conflict in Northern Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees."; REACH. "Access to Education for Syrian Refugee Children and Youth in Jordan Host Communities."

63 Douglas, Marilyn K., Jeanne K. Kemppainen, Marilyn R. McFarland, Irena Papadopoulos, Marilyn A. Ray, Janice M. Roper, Melissa Scollan-Koliopoulos, Jill Shapira, and Hsiu-Min Tsai. "Chapter 10: Research Methodologies for Investigating Cultural Phenomena and Evaluating Interventions." *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 21, no. 4 Supplement (1 October 2010): 373S – 405S.

64 Buecher, Beatrix, Keith Green, and Johanna Mitscherlich. "Lives Unseen: Urban Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Host Communities Three Years into the Syria Crisis." Amman, Jordan: CARE International, April 2014. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/lives-unseen-urban-syrian-refugees-and-jordanian-host-communities-three-years-syria>

65 Skopec, Chris, Natalia Valeeva, and Mary Jo Baca (International Medical Corps Jordan). "Anticipating the Unexpected: Urban Refugee Programming in Jordan."

66 Save the Children. "Developing and Implementing a Refugee Program in the Rights Way: Save the Children Sweden's Experience with Sudanese Refugees in Western Ethiopia." Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Save the Children Sweden, 2006. http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/sites/default/files/documents/developing_and_implementing_refugee_program1.pdf; Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. "Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise."

67 Corrales, Marco Antonio Rodríguez. "Methodology for Rapid Humanitarian Assessment." Panama: Work Group for Risk, Emergencies and Disasters for the region's Interagency Standing Committee (REDLAC), 2006. https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/Rapid_Assessment_Methodology_ENG.pdf

68 Save the Children. "Developing and Implementing a Refugee Program in the Rights Way: Save the Children Sweden's Experience with Sudanese Refugees in Western Ethiopia."

69 Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. "Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise."

70 Makhoul, Jihad, Rima Nakkash, Trudy Harpham, and Yara Qutteina. "Community-Based Participatory Research in Complex Settings: Clean Mind–dirty Hands." *Health Promotion International* 29, no. 3 (July 2013): 510–17.

71 Chevalier, Jacques M., and Daniel J. Buckles. *Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry*. London: Routledge, 2013.

host communities. This report will examine (1) Community-Based Participatory Research as a tool for facilitating greater input from all stakeholders in programme design, implementation, and evaluation, as well as (2) strategies for ensuring stakeholder representation and managing differences in power relations among programme stakeholders during participatory research.

C.2. Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR)

What is Community-Based Participatory Research? CBPR is a research methodology that seeks to gather and incorporate the greatest degree of community input possible into social research. It combines both community participation and research, relying on insights from community members to build solutions to problems they identify.⁷² Although CBPR shares specific techniques (diary methods, visual or creative narrative methods, focus groups, surveys) with other research methodologies, it is distinguished by its recognition of the whole community as an analytical unit, emphasis on collaborative and reciprocal involvement of all stakeholders at each stage of research, its intention to combine knowledge with action, and its promotion of co-learning among participants through research.⁷³ This is particularly applicable to controversial contexts or those in which stakeholders have different access to resources or different levels of power and authority, as in the case of refugees and their host communities, since neither group of stakeholders may understand well the problems faced by the other.

Some aspects of CBPR methodology are already integrated into GFP programming, for instance in Participatory Evaluations (PEs) after the end of each programme cycle. However, it is notable that the way in which these PEs are conducted is heavily shaped by the previous cycle's programme design, which is not currently generated through a truly participatory process, and the concern remains that this may have a negative effect on the ability of programmes to meet refugees' and host community members' needs effectively.

How is CBPR done? Research conducted within the CBPR methodology uses many of the same techniques applied in other research methodologies, but for slightly different priorities, as described above. Techniques are used or adapted in order to ensure collaborative participation of all stakeholders. For example, rather than relying on surveys to gather data on which external decisions are based, a CBPR project might organise focus groups in which all stakeholder groups are represented, to create an opportunity for mutual learning and shared decision-making. If surveys were used, the results might be presented back to the group for comments and reciprocal feedback. More visual techniques might be used, such as creating drawings or collages on which members of all stakeholder communities can comment. Open Space Technology, a tool by which participant input is generated through a process that the participants themselves design spontaneously, can also be used in some contexts.⁷⁴ These techniques and tools are well known to GFP in the contexts of trainings and Participatory Evaluations,

72 Van der Velde, Jeannette, Deanna L. Williamson, and Linda D. Ogilvie. "Participatory Action Research: Practical Strategies for Actively Engaging and Maintaining Participation in Immigrant and Refugee Communities." *Qualitative Health Research* 19, no. 9 (September 2009): 1293–1302.

73 Sohng, Sung Sil L. "Community-Based Participatory Research." *Encyclopedia of Social Work*. Oxford University Press, June 2013. <http://socialwork.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199975839.001.0001/acrefore-9780199975839-e-69>

74 Owen, Harrison. *Open Space Technology: A User's Guide*. San Francisco, California: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2008.

but stakeholder representation at these exercises does not always meet CBPR standards and these tools are not always used fully in the key initial stages of programme design.

C.3. Stakeholder Representation and Management of Power Dynamics

How can all stakeholders be represented, and how can different power relationships between different stakeholders be managed in CBPR? As noted above, participation by all stakeholders is a crucial aspect of CBPR.⁷⁵ In the context of diffused refugee populations located in different rural and urban sites in Jordan, a “cluster approach” proves particularly useful for mapping and working with stakeholders.⁷⁶ In this approach, clusters (residential and/or social) of stakeholders are identified and a representative of each cluster is found (usually a pre-existing local leader or power broker). This local leader can then help facilitate ongoing relations, research, and programming with their local cluster.⁷⁷ Other forms of stakeholder mapping⁷⁸ may also be used.

Once stakeholders in a project have been identified, ensuring effective participation by all groups may require some management of power differences. In CBPR methodology, such management might involve meeting with different groups of stakeholders separately to prepare each group’s representatives for a meeting together to discuss needs, rather than meeting first with all stakeholders at once.⁷⁹ Once all stakeholder groups are ready to present their perspectives face-to-face, participatory methods (with clear ground rules for productive and respectful engagement) can encourage the representatives of different groups to interact and actually create better relationships. This is especially important in projects related to conflict transformation. For instance, those with a greater degree of social and political power may see that those with less are interested in changing or overcoming a conflict, or in finding more information on how to change a situation.⁸⁰

Ensuring that such participatory engagement takes place in as neutral a site as possible, for instance in a workshop or meeting in a space associated with neither stakeholder group, can also be important for success.⁸¹

C.4. Applying CBPR in GFP Programming

CBPR techniques can be used in programming during the design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation phases, to facilitate better inclusion of different stakeholders’ perspectives and input in programming and create more effective

75 Chevalier, Jacques M., and Daniel J. Buckles. *Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry*.

76 Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. “Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise.”

77 Skopec, Chris, Natalia Valeeva, and Mary Jo Baca (International Medical Corps Jordan). “Anticipating the Unexpected: Urban Refugee Programming in Jordan.”

78 Mayers, James. “Stakeholder Power Analysis.” International Institute for Environment and Development, March 2005. http://www.policy-power-tools.org/Tools/Understanding/docs/stakeholder_power_tool_english.pdf

79 Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. “Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise.”

80 Chevalier, Jacques M., and Daniel J. Buckles. *Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry*.

81 Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. “Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise.”

programmes overall. In GFP programmes, some elements of CBPR are currently incorporated into training, programme design and Participatory Evaluation phases.⁸² For instance, during conflict analysis and programme design and planning sessions in Delegate trainings, Delegates use visually-based methods such as drawing, listing on a large-scale flipchart, or collaging to brainstorm different dimensions of conflict (personal, relational, cultural, structural) present in their communities, to analyse the different causes and impacts of this conflict, to identify key stakeholders and other actors in the conflict, and then to present the results of their analysis to all participants for comment and discussion. Similar methods are used to brainstorm activities through which to respond to community conflicts, again including a visual component to facilitate discussion and sharing with all present.

During the programme evaluation phase, CBPR elements are included in the design of the Participatory Evaluation. This is a day-long evaluation process (held on the programme site) through which the viewpoints of a representative sample of Target Group members, Beneficiary Community members, Key Stakeholders, and Delegates are gathered through small Focus Group Discussions, then shared through a large group discussion and recorded in a write-up and share process. Although GFP provides a standardised list of focus group questions to Participatory Evaluation participants in order to structure and encourage discussion, Focus Group Discussions are led by programme Delegates with no involvement of GFP staff. The large group discussion is likewise facilitated by Delegates and is intended to provide an opportunity for Evaluation participants to comment on each others' responses in a less structured way. During the write-up and share, Delegates work with GFP staff to summarise the main findings of the Evaluation. Evaluation participants take their own notes throughout the process and these are then collected and summarised by GFP staff, who create a Participatory Evaluation report summarising all Evaluation participants' feedback for use in further programme development. This Participatory Evaluation report is then shared with programme Delegates, and through them, with the programme participants and beneficiaries.

However, including these elements of CBPR in GFP trainings and evaluations does not guarantee that the information generated through these participatory activities will be integrated into future programme designs. For instance, while Delegates brainstorm conflict dimensions and identify conflict stakeholders using CBPR means, the content they produce is not always fed directly into the decision-making process regarding which dimension of conflict GFP programmes should focus on and how these are described and analysed in programme planning documents, which are created by programme Delegates and GFP Headquarters staff. The brainstorming process is envisioned as an opportunity to train Delegates and build their analytical capacity, but is not always used as a means of including maximal community input in programme design. An intermediate step between Delegate training and final programme design by GFP staff is needed to summarise the content generated through participatory training activities and explore how this input can best be included in programme design, keeping in mind the practical limitations of GFP's

⁸² In all GFP programmes, Delegates complete analysis of the different dimensions and stakeholders in conflict they experience in their own communities. This is done during training sessions before programme implementation, as part of programme design process. The analysis is then fine-tuned in the lead up to the start of the programme implementation.

core methodology and local logistical constraints on programme implementation. Perhaps more crucially, stakeholder representation during this conflict analysis and design process is incomplete in the case of the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, as all Delegates involved in the conflict analysis and programme design process in 2014–2015 were Jordanian, with one exception. As the following chapter will discuss further, significant differences exist between Syrian and Jordanian perspectives on the nature of relations between the two nationalities in host communities, as well as on the scale of local conflict. Considering these divergences, facilitating both Syrians' and Jordanians' participation in conflict analysis and programme design processes is critically important. While recruiting Syrian Delegates to facilitate GFP programmes has posed a challenge due to power differentials and differences between Syrians' and Jordanians' access to resources, the evidence presented here suggests that a lack of input from Syrian stakeholders in conflict analysis and programme design may have an overall negative effect on programme effectiveness, as the perspective of one "side" of the conflict is absent from programme conceptualisation. This is particularly true given the extent to which GFP programme designs are highly tailored to local programme contexts and the conflict transformation needs identified within them.

Finally, Participatory Evaluations, while following a participatory methodology, have thus far not included the parents of participants in this particular GFP programme in Jordan – a stakeholder group playing a highly influential role in relations and conflict between Jordanian and Syrian children and youth, as the following chapter will discuss. Given the influence that Jordanian and Syrian parents hold in the context of the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, ensuring these parents' participation in programme evaluations is an important aspect of understanding the full range of programme impacts and effects.

Thus concern remains that input from community stakeholders is limited in scope and diversity in the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, and that not all phases of GFP programmes may be fully participatory. The findings on the important disparities between Jordanians' and Syrians' understandings of local social conflict, as well as some of the implications of these disparities, are described in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, the researcher will further explore how the CBPR approach could be used to meet some specific needs for greater stakeholder input in GFP programming in Jordan, as well as potential uses of the lessons learnt during this research for programme development in other conflict contexts.





3.

Research Questions and Methodology



© GFP 2015 | Jordan

While much recent research⁸³ has examined the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on host communities in Jordan and broad causes of conflict within host communities, much less in-depth qualitative research exists on relations and causes of conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth, as well as on the complex dynamics of social relations between Syrians and Jordanians.⁸⁴ Conducting research with children, youth, and parents in this context poses challenges, due to the highly sensitive nature of the topic and the difficulties of building trust with research participants, as well as social obstacles to girls' participation in Focus Group Discussions and interviews. The context of GFP's Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme presented a unique opportunity for research, as members of the research team were GFP Headquarters staff already familiar to many research participants and trusted by community members through their long-term involvement in the programme. These prior links facilitated productive interviews and Focus Group Discussions with both children and youth, and parents, yielding particularly

83 CARE International. "Five Years into Exile: The Challenges Faced by Syrian Refugees Outside Camps in Jordan and How They and Their Host Communities Are Coping."; Francis, Alexandra. "Jordan's Refugee Crisis." Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 2015. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_247_Francis_Jordan_final.pdf; REACH. "Access to Education for Syrian Refugee Children and Youth in Jordan Host Communities."; REACH. "Social Cohesion in Host Communities in Northern Jordan.";

Guay, Joseph. "Social Cohesion Between Syrian Refugees and Urban Host Communities in Lebanon and Jordan."; Buecher, Beatrix, Keith Green, and Johanna Mitscherlich. "Lives Unseen: Urban Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Host Communities Three Years into the Syria Crisis."; Graham, Dominic. "Mapping of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafraq and Ramtha."; Graham, Dominic, and Elena Buryan. "Analysis of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafraq, Jordan."; Maroni, Robert, and Leslie Wingender. "Seeking Stability: Evidence on Strategies for Reducing Risk of Conflict in Northern Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees."; Frankens, Jeffrey. "Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities."; REACH. "Livelihoods, Employment and Tensions in Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees."; Serrato, Bryant Castro. "Refugee Perceptions Study: Za'atari Camp and Host Communities in Jordan."; Stave, Svein Erik, and Solveig Hillesund. Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Jordanian Labour Market; Ahmad, Zena Ali. "Municipal Needs Assessment Report: Mitigating the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Jordanian Vulnerable Host Communities."; UN Women. "Beyond the Camps: Impact of the Syrian Refugee Influx on Jordanian Host Communities." Amman, Jordan, 2014.

<http://jordan.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2014/6/beyond-the-camps>

84 Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. "Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise."

valuable insights into relations within host communities. A strong understanding of the local dimensions of the conflict that the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme seeks to address is imperative for successfully identifying opportunities for conflict transformation and overall success as the programme expands. In addition, understanding the experiences and social relations between children and youth of both nationalities, as well as the ways in which cycles of conflict in host communities can be interrupted, is especially important as the prospect of a new generation of marginalised young adult refugees in Jordan becomes increasingly likely.

In this section, the researcher will introduce the research questions examined, the expected results, and the methods used to gather data. The researcher will also examine some limitations of the methods used, before summarising the data gathered.

A. Research Questions

1. What differences exist between Syrians' and Jordanians' responses to the questions below?
 - A. What are the most important / main forms of conflict prevalent between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth in urban and village communities in northern Jordan?
 - What are the root local causes of this conflict?
 - What local actors are involved in this conflict and how should they be involved in addressing it?
 - B. What are the most pressing needs (at the community level) in addressing these different forms of conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth?
 - How can the root causes of local conflict be addressed through community-based programming?
 - What resources are needed to address local conflict through community-based programming?
2. Taking into consideration differences between Syrian and Jordanian perspectives on the above questions, what elements of programme design and implementation are needed to most effectively address Syrian-Jordanian conflict and a lack of social cohesion in Jordan's host communities?

B. Expected Results

Based on observations made during the first four months of the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, as well as GFP's experiences with other peace-building programmes in Jordan and a review of the existing literature on social cohesion and conflict in host communities in Jordan, it is expected that Syrian and Jordanian perspectives on forms, causes, and actors in conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth will diverge. It is also expected that perspectives on the most pressing needs for addressing this conflict at the community level will diverge as well. Finally, these differences in Syrians' and Jordanians' perspectives are expected to be highly relevant considerations in the design and implementation of maximally effective programmes.

C. Methodology

C.1. Approach and Justification

In order to answer the listed research questions and examine the three-part hypothesis described above, the researcher undertook both participatory qualitative research and quantitative research fieldwork between May and September 2015, speaking with 155 members of communities in Mafraq (rural location), Irbid (rural location), and Amman (urban location) governorates during Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and interviews (ITVs). Participating communities were selected as each contained a community centre at which the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme had previously been implemented and in which all FGDs and ITVs could be conducted. Participating community members included both former youth participants in Generations For Peace programmes (the Target Group) and their parents (the Beneficiary Community), all of whom were selected to participate in the research by GFP programme volunteers (Delegates) at each location. Of the 155 research participants, 79 (51 per cent) were Syrian and 75 (49 per cent) were Jordanian; 80 (52 per cent) were female and 74 (48 per cent) were male (see Fig. 5 for average ages). One FGD and one ITV was conducted with members of each of the following groups, separated by nationality (see Fig. 3 for details and numbers of FGD and ITV participants): male Target Group members; female Target Group members; male parents of Target Group members (Key Stakeholders), and female parents of Target Group members (Key Stakeholders). In addition, the researcher conducted two additional focus groups and one interview with GFP's Jordanian Delegates at each of the three sites (involving a total of 9 volunteers: six male and three female). The researcher also collected very brief anonymous surveys gathering basic information from all Target Group and Beneficiary Community members before beginning any interviews and focus groups. A detailed breakdown of each of the methods used and the number of sources for each is included later in this section.

Discussing issues of conflict between children and youth with Target Group members, Beneficiary Community members (Target Group members' parents), and GFP volunteers served to triangulate analysis through comparison of multiple perspectives on a highly localised phenomenon. By using FGDs, ITVs, and surveys to understand research participants' perspectives, the researcher sought to correct for biases created by the data collection methods themselves, with the understanding that some research participants would be unwilling to describe their perspectives and experiences before a group, while others would not be comfortable to speak in a one-on-one interview with a researcher, and still others might prefer to provide more anonymous responses through surveys. This triangulation (limitations of which are noted below) was particularly important given the highly sensitive nature of the topic researched, as well as the potential variation in research participants' willingness to describe their perspectives and experiences to Jordanian and non-Jordanian researchers.

Role	Nationality	Description
GFP Lead Researcher	USA	Defined research questions; created research design and background research; designed interview and focus group questions/surveys in liaison with GFP Institute; conducted research interviews and focus groups, supported by GFP Pioneer Facilitators; supervised research process; coded and analysed results; completed written report; assisted with overall logistics
GFP Pioneer Facilitators (2)	Jordanian	Provided direct facilitation support to Lead Researcher during all focus groups, creating a conducive atmosphere in which the Lead Researcher conducted research; advised on and assisted in creating a smooth interface between Social Cohesion Programme participants at selected centres and other members of the Field Research Team
GFP Programmes Coordinators (3)	Jordanian	Liaised with each centre's staff and GFP Delegates and assisted in any logistical preparations for interviews and focus groups; assisted with creating a smooth interface between Social Cohesion Programme participants at selected centres and Field Research Team
GFP Research Intern	Jordanian-Syrian	Translated and transcribed interview and focus group recordings; entered and translated survey data; assisted the Lead Researcher in research activities as required; assisted the Research Team with preparations for interviews, focus groups, or other events

Fig. 2: Field Research Team

C.2. Data Collection Methods and Limitations

1. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs): FGDs were conducted by the researcher and Hana' Juma'a, a Jordanian GFP staff member, at community centres overseen by Jordan's Higher Council for Youth and the Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development. FGDs usually included four to eight participants, all of whom had been selected by GFP Delegates at each location (often based on availability and willingness to participate). Discussions took place with research participants (including facilitators) seated in a circle of chairs in a private room, with no other individuals present (with the occasional exception of a Syrian-Jordanian GFP staff member). FGDs were recorded (sound only), with the written permission of all participants. FGDs were loosely structured by a set of question prompts, but these were used simply as a starting point for discussion, and participants generally shaped the conversation according to their own diverse experiences, enhancing the participatory nature of the research. FGDs usually lasted between 30 and 45 minutes.

Before participating in research, all participants were presented with a document (in Arabic) providing full information on the use and intent of the research; participants' right to withdraw their permission to use their information at any time; and local contact information if they wished to do so. This information was also presented orally, and participants' oral permission was secured to use FGD and ITV data for additional publicity and publication purposes as necessary. After an opportunity to discuss the information on the form and the research project in general, participants signed two copies of the form (one copy remains with GFP and one was given to each participant) to demonstrate their free and informed consent to participate. In several cases, FGD participants were unable to read the forms, in which case they were assisted by GFP staff to understand the form's contents. All forms were numbered (with the same individual number appearing on each research participant's survey) and participants were requested to sign with initials only in order to preserve their anonymity.

The nature, purpose, and format of the research was also introduced verbally by either of the two FGD facilitators in order to ensure that participants were fully aware of how information shared would be used.

Limitations: As all FGD participants were already connected with the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, either as Target Group members participating in weekly activities or as their parents (Beneficiary Community), their perspectives on Syrian-Jordanian relations in their communities may not be fully representative of views among other non-GFP-affiliated Syrians and Jordanians. Target Group members themselves were presumably more motivated to examine and address issues of Syrian-Jordanian relations and conflict than most community members of their age and background, and their participation in GFP likely influenced their perspective on conflict and thus their responses to FGD question prompts. As the Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme explicitly seeks to improve integration between the two groups and youth in the programme participate with the direct permission of their families, Target Group members' parents may have been more likely to reflect on the issues of conflict and violence discussed than other Syrians and Jordanians of similar age and background. This may well have influenced the terms in which they described host community relations, as well as increasing the likelihood that they held positive or sympathetic attitudes towards individuals from the other nationality group.

In addition, the number of FGD participants varied widely, with a few FGDs including eight participants and others as few as two to three, according to community members' level of willingness to participate. Encouraging fathers of Target Group members (both Syrian and Jordanian) to participate in research was particularly difficult in Mafraq, due to fathers' work schedules and the location of the centre, resulting in small-size focus groups. The number of participants in FGDs did appear to influence the form taken by the discussion, as participants responded to each others' comments. Lower numbers of FGD participants meant a slightly shorter and less informative discussion, while higher numbers meant that not all participants contributed.

2. Interviews (ITVs): One-on-one ITVs were conducted with one individual from each demographic group. All interviewees volunteered themselves and did not participate in any FGDs. ITVs were conducted by the researcher, with one other member of GFP staff present in the room but not participating in the ITV. ITVs were somewhat more structured than FGDs, with slightly more emphasis on the question prompts (the same ones used in FGDs). Slightly greater reliance on question prompts was necessary as no other participants were present to encourage discussion. Most ITVs were conducted after the FGDs had been completed, and lasted usually between 15 and 20 minutes.

As with FGDs, ITVs were arranged in a separate room to ensure research participants' privacy. ITV participants received the same information and consent forms described above, and all ITVs were recorded.

Limitations: As noted above for FGD participants, ITV participants had previously either chosen to participate themselves in or chosen to send their children to the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Community Programme specifically to improve local Syrian-Jordanian relations, and the same limitations described above for FGD data apply to ITV data as well. The extent to which ITV participants' perspectives on Syrian-Jordanian relations in their communities are fully representative of views among Syrian and Jordanian community members more generally may be questioned. However, if the results represented here are understood as occurring within the context of the Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, they remain a highly valuable source for understanding social relations between Syrians and Jordanians in the communities visited.

In addition, there was wide variation across participants' willingness or ability to communicate on the topics raised. While some participants were highly communicative, others (particularly young male Target Group members) were hesitant to speak. This hesitation among male Target Group members may have been a result of the fact that all research team members present were young females, given the cultural restrictions in some communities on direct communication between young people of opposite genders.

3. Surveys: Brief surveys were completed by all research participants before they participated in either FGDs or ITVs, in order to minimise the likelihood that participants' perceptions of what the research team "wanted" to hear would significantly affect survey responses. In some cases, it was necessary for a designated GFP staff member to assist young research participants in understanding the written questions and multiple choice answer options. Surveys were anonymous but marked with a number identical to the number on each participant's consent forms, in order to ensure that data could be destroyed at any point should the participant wish it, while remaining anonymous.

Limitations: Many participants (particularly Syrian mothers and some young Target Group members) required assistance from research team members to complete the survey, due to functional illiteracy. This greatly reduced the anonymity of those participants' survey responses, which may have impacted the content of the responses and the results of subsequent analysis, significantly reducing the value of the surveys as a means of triangulation.

C.3. Summary of Data Collection and Research Participants

	MAFRAQ		IRBID		AMMAN	
	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN
Female Target Group	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (8 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 9 surveys	1 FGD (4 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 5 surveys	1 FGD (5 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 6 surveys	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys
Male Target Group	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (5 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 6 surveys	1 FGD (7 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 8 surveys	1 FGD (7 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 8 surveys
Mothers of Target Group Members	1 FGD (5 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 6 surveys	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (5 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 6 surveys	1 FGD (5 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 6 surveys	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (7 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 8 surveys
Fathers of Target Group Members	1 FGD (2 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 3 surveys	1 FGD (3 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 4 surveys	1 FGD (6 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 7 surveys	1 FGD (5 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 6 surveys	1 FGD (5 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 6 surveys	1 FGD (4 indiv.) 1 ITV (1 indiv.) 5 surveys
GFP Delegates	1 FGD (4 indiv.)		1 FGD (4 indiv.)		1 ITV (1 indiv.)	

Fig. 3: Sources of data collected, by location and demographic

	MAFRAQ		IRBID		AMMAN	
	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN
Female Target Group	7	9	5	6	7	7
Male Target Group	7	7	7	6	8	8
Mothers of Target Group members	6	7	6	6	7	8
Fathers of Target Group members	3	4	7	6	6	5
GFP Delegates	4 (all male)		4 (2 female, 2 male)		1 (female)	
TOTAL:	27	27	29	24	29	28

Fig. 4: Summary of research participants, by location and demographic



	MAFRAQ		IRBID		AMMAN	
	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN	JORDANIAN	SYRIAN
Female Target Group	18	16	14	18	13	12
Male Target Group	16	17	17	15	14	14
Mothers of Target Group members	44	38	44	38	37	37
Fathers of Target Group members	47	47	47	47	38	50

Fig. 5: Average ages of research participants (based on survey data, excluding GFP Delegates)

C.4. Methods of Analysis

Having listed the different data collection techniques used in this research, this section describes the methods of analysis used for each type of data collected.

1. FGDs and ITVs: Recordings of all FGDs and ITVs were transcribed and translated by an Arabic-speaking GFP Research Intern, who was also present during the FGDs and some ITVs. As transcriptions were completed (within two months of the field visits), the researcher reviewed all and worked with the transcribe/translator to correct any errors in English, in order to prepare them for analysis in NVivo. All transcriptions were then coded by general topic and by subcode in NVivo. While some codes were pre-determined, others were created during the coding process. The researcher then completed content analysis of all FGD and ITV transcriptions, comparing frequencies and coincidence of topic mentions disaggregated by gender, nationality, region, and age group, using matrix queries in NVivo. The researcher analysed trends in frequencies of mentions and coincidences of the most commonly occurring and relevant topics, and then completed basic descriptive statistical analysis of the frequencies of these mentions. Comparison of these descriptive statistics formed the basis for the findings described in the next section.

Limitations: The transcription, translation, and coding processes were subject to human error. Some mistranslations may have persisted, despite reviews to prevent these. It is also possible that a disproportionate and non-representative number of topic mentions by a single individual in an ITV or FGD could bias frequency analysis. To prevent this, the researcher reviewed all transcriptions to assess whether or not they contained frequent repetitive mentions, and found there were few disproportionately repetitive mentions of specific data codes.

2. Surveys: All surveys were collected, the contents were entered, and basic descriptive statistical analysis was completed on the raw survey data. Surveys were used primarily for recording participants' demographic information and identifying broad differences in the reported frequency of witnessing conflict with a person of a different nationality.

Limitations: Many research participants did not complete all survey questions, particularly those requiring written answers, hindering efforts to draw comparisons between different age, gender, and regional groups of research participants. As noted earlier, survey responses may have been somewhat affected by the presence of GFP staff members, who assisted research participants to complete the surveys in many cases as participants were functionally illiterate. Use of survey data in analysis was therefore somewhat limited.





4.

Findings and Discussion



This chapter introduces the main trends evident in FGD and ITV data across all locations. It focuses specifically on differences between the locations, nationality, and gender groups' responses to questions regarding conflict's main forms, causes, and actors in their local communities. These findings form the basis for the following Chapter's recommendations for the design and implementation of future social cohesion programming.

Interview and Focus Group Discussions revealed first (1) areas of divergence between Jordanian and Syrian perceptions of Jordanian-Syrian relations and sources of conflict in host communities, and then (2) several social factors influencing Syrian refugees' and Jordanians' responses to potential sources of conflict and differences in perceptions. Analysis of ITV and FGD data revealed the ways in which these trends vary by location, ethnic group, and especially gender. Analysis of these trends revealed several powerful key programming elements whose inclusion could increase the effectiveness of interventions to support social cohesion in refugee host communities in Jordan. Overall, strong contrasts were apparent between Jordanians' and Syrians' reported perceptions of both the degree and the type of conflict between the two groups, demonstrating the importance of maximally inclusive and participatory design and planning for social cohesion programming within this context.

Primary areas of divergence (the aspect of Syrian-Jordanian relations that each group saw most differently) between Jordanian and Syrian participants' perceptions of (1) relations between local community members of both nationalities and (2) conflict causes and factors included:

1. The distribution of humanitarian aid;
2. Syrians' status as either "guests" or as refugees: hospitality- and rights-based discourses;
3. The accessibility of education for refugee children and youth;

4. Community safety and relations with local law enforcement and civil/municipal authorities; and
5. Perspectives on Syrian women and girls' marriage practices, including marriage to Jordanians and early marriage.

Analysis also revealed a group of interacting social factors that seemed to influence strongly both groups' attitudes towards the issues described above. These factors included:

1. The relationships between Syrian refugees and Jordanian teachers in local schools;
2. Communication patterns within families;
3. The gender of the individuals involved in Jordanian-Syrian interactions; and
4. The historical precedent of Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

The historical precedent of Palestinian refugees in Jordan⁸⁵ was an important factor in local perceptions of the relationships between Syrians and Jordanians in the Amman field site (itself a former Palestinian refugee camp), but was less frequently surfaced in other areas. Overall, relationships between Syrians and Jordanians in all three communities showed a disturbing tendency to take the form of a downward spiral towards increased conflict, as these factors interacted under increasing socio-economic pressure and political uncertainty. However, discussions also revealed the powerful potential of several specific actors and specific types of contact between Syrians and Jordanians to interrupt this negative spiral and redirect refugee-host community relations towards social cohesion.

The researcher will discuss first differences between Jordanian and Syrian perspectives on community relations and sources of conflict, before examining the social dynamics qualifying responses to those conflict factors and the dynamics of the downward spiral described by participants in several communities. The chapter will conclude by suggesting some key recommendations for breaking this spiral through programming to support social cohesion in refugee host communities in Jordan. Reducing conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth is imperative not only for immediately protecting the rights of both groups (including the right to education), but also for preserving Jordan's long-term stability as a refugee host country that may soon find itself hosting an entire generation of Syrian refugee young adults.

⁸⁵ Significant influxes of Palestinian refugees arrived in Jordan in both 1948 and 1967, concentrating primarily in urban areas. Most Palestinian refugees were given Jordanian citizenship. The presence of this large Palestinian Jordanian population contributed to a sense among "East Bankers" (primarily Jordanians descended from those resident in Jordan before 1948) that their national and cultural identity was being gradually eroded, particularly following a violent civil war in 1970 during which armed Palestinian groups were defeated by Jordanian government forces. See International Crisis Group. "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (IX): Dallying with Reform in a Divided Jordan."; El-Abed, Oroub. "Palestinian Refugees in Jordan." Forced Migration Online, February 2004. <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/palestinian-refugees-in-jordan>. See also Section 4 in Chapter 4 of this report.

A. Areas of Divergence between Jordanian and Syrian Perspectives on Jordanian-Syrian Relations and Sources of Conflict in Host Communities

This section describes the five main areas of greatest and most consistent divergence evident in the research data, both between Jordanians' and Syrians' perceptions of the two groups' relations with one another, and between Jordanians' and Syrians' perceptions of causes and factors in conflict in their communities.

A.1. The Distribution of Humanitarian Aid

Members of the Jordanian host community felt strongly that the distribution of humanitarian aid was unfair, and this perceived "discrimination" caused significant mistrust and antagonism towards Syrians. Unfair distribution of humanitarian aid was surfaced in 63 per cent of all ITVs and FGDs with Jordanians (but in only 29.2 per cent of Syrian ITVs and FGDs), with the highest proportion (48.6 per cent) of mentions occurring in Mafrq. In the three communities visited by the research team (all GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme sites), unequal aid distribution was a highly salient issue, particularly given the high poverty rate already existent in rural Jordan (see Chapter 2, Section A). Overall, 90 per cent of mentions of antipathy due to aid distribution were by Jordanians and 10 per cent by Syrians, while 97 per cent of mentions of Syrians' ingratitude for aid were by Jordanians and 3 per cent by Syrians. Regional differences were also evident in responses (see Fig. 6, below). Regional differences could be explained in part by the different educational levels and awareness of aid provisions among refugees in different regions, as well as varying poverty levels among Jordanians. Syrian adult research participants in Amman seemed to be more highly educated and more aware of existing humanitarian resources than research participants at the Mafrq and Irbid sites, which may have contributed to Syrians' higher mentions of antipathy due to unfair aid distribution in Amman. In addition, the Amman research site experienced relatively lower levels of isolation and poverty than the Mafrq and Irbid sites, which may have contributed to reduced antipathy among Jordanians in Amman regarding unfair humanitarian aid distribution.

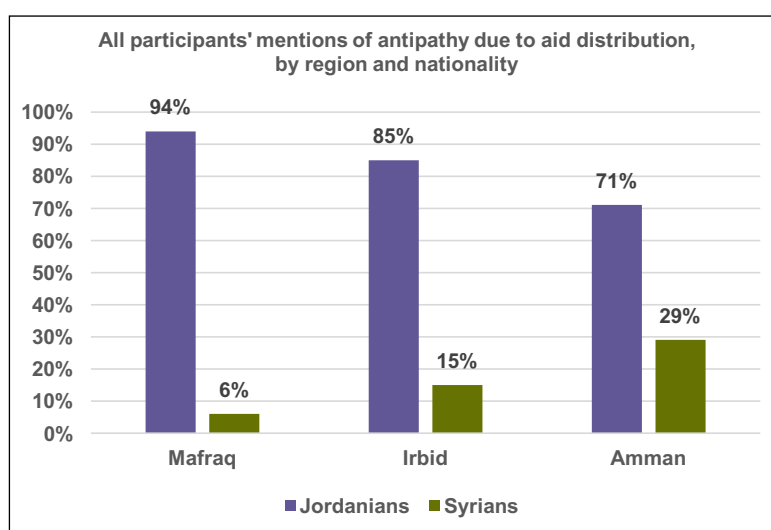


Fig. 6: All participants' mentions of antipathy due to aid distribution, by region and nationality

Interview and focus group participants conveyed their frustration at international humanitarian organisations' provision of humanitarian aid at the beginning of the refugee crisis to Syrians only, describing this as "discrimination." However, in 5 per cent of Jordanians' mentions and 13.3 per cent of Syrians' mentions of antipathy due to unfair aid distribution, research participants also acknowledged that international and local aid providers subsequently provided resources to Jordanians as well, and that this improved the situation. Despite this, the general impression of unfairness, discrimination, and resulting resentment of the Syrians appears to have remained intact since the initial humanitarian response. In 40 per cent of Syrian research participants' mentions of antipathy expressed within the community due to unfair aid distribution, participants also expressed the feeling that they themselves had not received their fair share of humanitarian aid.

Prevalent in all three areas visited was a sense among Jordanians of Syrians' ingratitude for the aid they received. Across all three sites, participants distinguished between local and international sources of aid in only 16 per cent of Jordanians' and 6.7 per cent of Syrians' mentions of antipathy due to unfair aid distribution. 45.7 per cent of Jordanians' mentions of the topic and 86.7 per cent of Syrians' mentions were made by parents. As will be discussed further in the next section, parental frustration contributed to antagonism between children.

One Jordanian mother (Beneficiary Community member) in Mafraq commented:

"It is difficult. They have too many problems and life is tough here. They sell the food assistance that they receive while the Jordanians do not receive anything at all, we even buy it from them. My husband is 90 years old, I take care of seven people and I pay rent. I work for JOD 100... if you go to any organisation the Syrians will get assistance because they have a UNHCR ID while the Jordanians do not because they are Jordanians. This creates animosity that would never end... Everything was better [before the Syrians came]. We were getting assistance for the organisations. I receive from the Ministry of Awqaf JOD 150 each month and I work as well. Before the Syrians came we had everything, the local organisations were supporting us. Before the Syrians came I was receiving a lot of assistance, I had 40 bottles of oil just as assistance, rice and many other things. Nowadays I do not have oil to cook the food with. The Syrians ruined everything."⁸⁶

Another Jordanian mother in Mafraq commented:

"We cannot buy new clothes for our kids, I choose the cheapest things that I can buy and mostly from the second hand shops. Their everyday clothes are like the clothes that we wear in the occasions. This is not a difference? I pay JOD 450 for the rent regardless the water and electricity bills that reach JOD 500 and my husband's wage is JOD 250. I have to work for JOD 80 in order to help my husband. The Syrians are receiving rents, cash assistance, food assistance, clothes, and monthly assistance. The organisations are giving them clothes, I swear that they throw them in the garbage, they do not use it though it is all new and we cannot buy it."⁸⁷

86 MAF JOR Mother ITV.

87 MAF JOR Mothers FGD.

Another Jordanian mother in Mafraq stated:

*"The government should be fair and support us as well. We hosted the Palestinians 50 years ago but we did not suffer like now."*⁸⁸

A Jordanian female Target Group member in Mafraq said:

*"We meet many Syrians who are complaining about their situation, they are saying that we are victimising them, we are not dealing with them properly and so on - me as Jordanian, I did not like to hear that because we are trying to help as much as we can and they are not appreciating that, so that leads to many problems and the Jordanians might not accept that so they might get into fights or conflict."*⁸⁹

A Jordanian father in Irbid reported:

*"The Syrians have a better life than the Jordanians regarding the everyday life. They are taking advantage of everything, even the organisations that should serve the local community... Everyone is helping and supporting them. All the organisations that opened to serve the Jordanian local community are working for Syrians."*⁹⁰

Another Jordanian father in Irbid stated:

*"The authorities have to compare our situation with the Syrians and treat us equally, then we can live in peace together, but as long as the Syrians are receiving everything and we are in need nothing will change. How can I accept the Syrians while they are taking my rights! Me as the head of the house - how would I accept the Syrians?"*⁹¹

A Syrian mother in Amman explained:

*"They caught my son because he was working. We need to live. The rents are very expensive, everything is expensive. How would we pay the rents if we did not work, where can I find JOD 120 to pay the rent of the house? We were receiving cash assistance but it is stopped now. We were receiving JOD 27 per person, then it became JOD 13, then JOD 10. We are seven people at home, what do we do with JOD 70? It does nothing."*⁹²

Another Syrian mother in Amman said:

*"I have neighbours who are ready to start a fight for a drop of water. They rain us with abuses. She cannot stand any simple thing from us... The first time that happens I talked to her politely but she did not try to understand, she kept shouting in bad language. When she saw us holding shopping bags she said 'I wish that I was kicked out of this damned country to be able to buy all these things'."*⁹³

88 Ibid.

89 MAF JOR TGF ITV.

90 IRB JOR Fathers FGD.

91 Ibid.

92 AMM SYR Mothers FGD.

93 AMM SYR Mothers FGD.

A contributing factor in Jordanian perceptions of Syrians' "ingratitude" was the way in which Syrians were viewed by some participants as "guests" being "hosted" by Jordan.⁹⁴ According to this logic, Syrians' public expression of dissatisfaction with aid or living conditions was interpreted as ingratitude for Jordanian hospitality, as discussed in the next section. Overall, differences in Syrian and Jordanian perceptions of aid distribution contributed to animosity between refugees and host community members. Social factors influencing the ways in which these differences in perception contributed to developing relations between both groups will be examined further in Section B of this Chapter.

A.2. Divergent Perspectives on Syrians as either "Guests" or as Refugees: Hospitality- and Rights-based Discourses

The identification of refugees as "guests" in Jordan has crucial implications for their relationships with host community members and the ways in which host community members interpreted Syrians' actions and statements. Descriptions of Syrian refugees as "guests" reference a deeply-rooted culture of hospitality in Jordan, and the acceptance of refugees into the Kingdom has frequently been represented in ethical terms, particularly in the absence of domestic legislation granting official legal status to refugees and forced migrants.⁹⁵ Jordan is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, and thus the protection of refugees within Jordanian territory is often framed domestically as an expression of Jordanians' generosity, piety and goodwill,⁹⁶ with corresponding expectations of gratitude and cooperation from Syrian "guests" in return. Failure of either side to meet the expectations of their role can result in ill will, as is discussed further below. In contrast, from a human rights-based perspective, Syrians are understood as entitled to certain protections and benefits as an expression of their human rights. A host country's provision of these benefits is framed less in terms of national generosity and more as fulfilment of a host country's duty to respect the human rights of its inhabitants. Hospitality- and rights-based discourses thus differ in the expectations they carry of the refugee-host community relationship; failure of either side (in either discourse) to meet the other side's expectations can contribute to conflict.

In 40.7 per cent of Jordanians' FGDs and ITVs and 37.5 per cent of Syrians' FGDs and ITVs, participants described Syrians as "guests" of Jordan, and in two cases, Syrians described themselves specifically "guests of HM King Abdullah II of Jordan". Some Syrian participants also referenced their own past role as hosts to refugees from Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq, describing their own generosity and feeling of duty towards citizens of other Arab countries, and in some cases expressing frustration that they had not received the same level of hospitality in Jordan that they had shown in Syria. Overall, their perceived status as guests was seen as both providing protection and placing limits on their rights, with some participants reporting that they felt unable to make complaints about mistreatment as guests

94 Seeley, Nicholas. "The Politics of Aid to Iraqi Refugees in Jordan." Middle East Report 40, no. 256 (2010). <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer256/politics-aid-iraqi-refugees-jordan>; Nanes, Stefanie. "Jordan's Unwelcoming 'Guests.'" Middle East Report 37, no. 244 (2007). <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer244/jordans-unwelcoming-guests>; Mason, Victoria. "The Im/mobilities of Iraqi Refugees in Jordan: Pan-Arabism, 'Hospitality' and the Figure of the 'Refugee.'" Mobilities 6, no. 3 (1 September 2011): 353–73.

95 El-Abed, Oroub. "The Discourse of Guesthood: Forced Migrants in Jordan." In *Managing Muslim Mobilities: Between Spiritual Geographies and the Global Security Regime*, edited by Anita Fábos and R. Isotalo, 81–102. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

96 Ibid.

in Jordan. Some Syrians also reported effectively using their status as “guests of King Abdullah” to defend themselves from violence and harassment in the street and in school. However, treatment as “guests” was also associated with a sense of vulnerability to expulsion at any point, which was seen as a powerful limit on cohesion and interaction, particularly for adult men. Overall, 69 per cent mentions of Syrians’ status as “guests” were made by Jordanians, and 31 per cent by Syrians; in comparison, 35 per cent of mentions of Syrians’ “rights” were made by Jordanians, and 65 per cent by Syrians.

A Syrian male Target Group member in Amman stated:

“We do not know why they cannot deal with us. The other day I was asking a Jordanian boy ‘Why are you talking to me in this way? I am a Syrian refugee and I had to flee into Jordan. I am a guest here. Why are you treating me in this way? What did I do to you?’ He kept silent then asked me to stop talking and he did not know what to say.”⁹⁷

However, while participants in 37.5 per cent of Syrian FGDs and ITVs described their position as that of “guests,” participants (often those with more education) in 33.3 per cent of Syrian FGDs and ITVs viewed themselves as refugees holding specific rights. In comparison, participants in only 11 per cent of Jordanian FGDs and ITVs described Syrians as holding rights. Syrians’ reports that they felt that they were not being treated as human beings with rights, due to a lack of response to their claims and complaints from local authorities, comprised 42.9 per cent of all Syrians’ mentions of their rights. Finally, while some more educated Syrian participants recognised their rights as refugees, the term was used to express their position as individuals with no rights at all in 21.5 per cent of mentions. Important gender differences in both Syrians’ and Jordanians’ perceptions of Syrians’ status (as guests or as rights-holders) will be discussed further below.

Jordanian participants generally did not share this rights-based perspective. As mentioned above, participants in only 11 per cent of Jordanian FGDs and ITVs described Syrians as holding rights, and among all Jordanians’ mentions of rights, only 33.3 per cent related to the rights of Syrians. Among Jordanians’ expressions of support for Syrians’ rights, 40 per cent were mentions by Jordanian women in Mafraq of Syrian women being educated by Jordanians about their rights as women. One Jordanian mother in Mafraq observed:

“[Syrian men] used to get married two or three times and the wives had to accept that. But now the women are strongest, they learnt from the Jordanians that they have rights so they do not accept that anymore.”⁹⁸

Jordanians were vocal about their own rights as citizens, including their rights to employment and education, as well as the sense that Syrians are “taking our rights” in these areas. 50 per cent of Jordanians’ mentions of rights also included mentions of Syrians’ sense of entitlement to rights as a threat to Jordanians’ ability to enjoy their own rights as citizens. One Jordanian mother in Amman expressed her surprise and indignation, saying:

“Syrians believe that they deserve assistance because they are refugees! Even if the assistance is divided equally between Syrians and Jordanians, Syrians still want everything.”⁹⁹



97 AMM SYR TGm ITV.

98 MAF JOR Mothers FGD.

99 AMM JOR Mothers FGD.

Another Jordanian mother in Mafrq said:

*"The Jordanians feel that they are unequal with Syrians, they do not have the same rights and support."*¹⁰⁰

A Jordanian father in Irbid commented:

*"The problem is that [the Syrians] came and are taking the rights of individuals."*¹⁰¹

Two Jordanian participants also reported feeling irritated and insulted that the Syrians believed that the Jordanian government received money to host them, and that Syrians made demands accordingly. Jordanians in 33.3 per cent of all Jordanian FGDs and ITVs (44.4 per cent of FGDs and ITVs in both Mafrq and in Irbid, but only 11 per cent in Amman) described Syrians' ingratitude for the "favour" Jordanians had provided in accepting Syrians' presence in the country. One Jordanian father in Irbid stated:

*"The Syrians are so greedy. They want to have all of what the Jordanians have in order to survive. Even if they have millions, they do not show that or feel satisfied. That has led some Jordanians to have negative feelings regarding the Syrians, because they did not appreciate the favour."*¹⁰²

Also notable in several FGDs and ITVs were some Jordanians' expressions of "duty" to assist Syrians as needy guests, as members of a collective Arab identity, and as members of the same religion. One Jordanian father in Mafrq commented:

*"They have to [flee to Jordan] and they are guests so we have to accept them, and in the end they will go back to their country, even if they stayed a year or two, they will go back. It is an honour from HRH so we have to accept them. Jordan is a hospitable country, thanks God."*¹⁰³

Strong gender differences appeared in hospitality- and rights-based discourses (see Fig. 7 and Fig. 8, below). Regarding "guest" status, among Syrian participants, 70 per cent of mentions were made by females and 30 per cent by males. Among Jordanian participants, 55 per cent of mentions of Syrians' status as guests were made by females and 45 per cent by males. Regarding mentions of "rights," among Syrian participants, 29 per cent of mentions were made by females and 71 per cent by males, while among Jordanian participants, 44 per cent of mentions were made by females and 56 per cent by males. As mentioned above, disparity in education levels between genders of both nationalities may have contributed to these trends, as discussions of Syrians' rights as refugees were limited to those with higher educational levels. This seemed especially apparent among Syrian participants, many of whom were from rural Dar'aa in southern Syria, and an education gap between male and female participants was evident (the researcher encountered illiterate adult female participants from rural Dar'aa at research sites in Mafrq and Irbid, but not illiterate male participants). Acknowledging the significant variation between education levels overall among refugees from urban and rural Syria, we noted during the interviews and focus groups that the education gap seemed to be wider between Syrian men and women than between Jordanian men and women, which corresponds to the trends noted above in mentions of hospitality- and rights-based statuses.

100 MAF JOR Mothers FGD.

101 IRB JOR Fathers FGD.

102 IRB JOR Fathers FGD.

103 MAF JOR Father ITV.

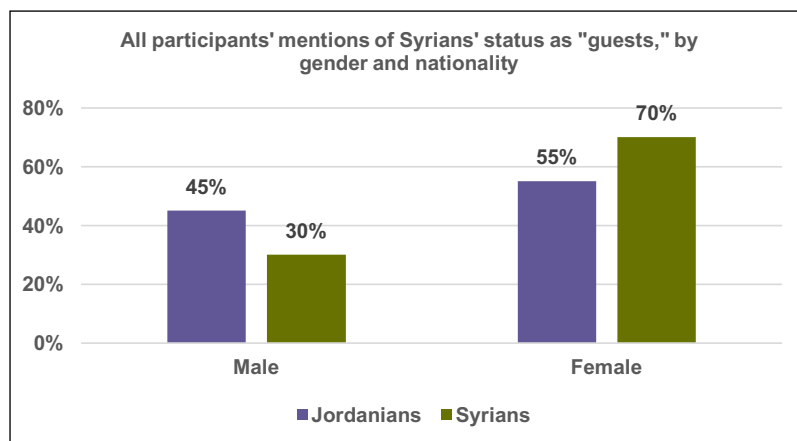


Fig. 7: All participants' mentions of Syrians' status as "guests," by gender and nationality

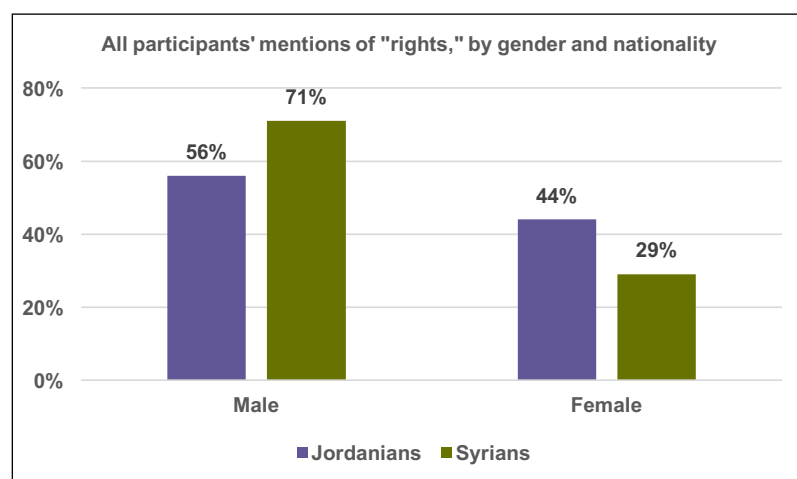


Fig. 8: All participants' mentions of "rights," by gender and nationality

Although members of both nationalities discussed their experiences in terms of guest-host relations, Syrians' mentions of themselves as rights-holders were significantly more frequent than Jordanians' mentions of Syrians as such. Gender differences in mentions of rights- and hospitality-based statuses were also evident, with male participants mentioning rights more frequently than female participants (among members of both nationalities), while female participants of both nationalities mentioned refugees' guest status more frequently than male participants.¹⁰⁴ Overall, the basis of Syrians' protection and material support in Jordan, whether rooted in concepts of hospitality or rights, appeared to be a highly relevant factor in relationships and interactions between Syrians and Jordanians.

¹⁰⁴ Gender differences in relations and interactions between Syrians and Jordanians will be explored further in the second part of this Chapter.

A.3. The Accessibility of Education for Refugee Children and Youth

Beyond refugee and host community relations, school and community violence poses a broader challenge across Jordan.^{105 106} A GFP programme baseline survey conducted at eight schools in Amman and Irbid in 2014 (four boys' schools and four girls' schools) revealed that an average of 45.8 per cent of male students surveyed and 13.3 per cent of female students surveyed reported that they would respond to conflict at home or at school with physical violence. In 2007, a UNICEF study reported that around 71 per cent of children in Jordan experienced verbal abuse from teachers and school administrators, while 57 per cent were physically abused by school teachers and administrators.¹⁰⁷ School violence occurs within a social environment in which physical violence is an acceptable response to conflict and is sometimes present in the home. According to Jordan's national Population and Health Survey in 2012, corporal punishment was experienced in the home by two-thirds of children aged 2-14; almost a third of ever-married women reported experiencing physical, sexual or emotional violence by a spouse.¹⁰⁸ Although the use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary technique in schools is now illegal in Jordan, physical and verbal violence in schools reportedly persists.¹⁰⁹

Within this wider context, members of both Jordanian and Syrian communities expressed concern about the level of conflict, both physical and verbal, between Jordanian and Syrian students in school and between shifts. The issue of physical violence specifically in school was raised as a concern in 54.2 per cent of all Syrian FGDs and ITVs, and 40.7 per cent of all Jordanian FGDs and ITVs. In addition, both Jordanian and Syrian research participants (parents and youth) acknowledged that teachers' negative attitudes towards Syrian students and inability to resolve problems in the classroom contributed strongly to violence within and outside of school. Among Jordanians' total mentions of teachers, 64.3 per cent related to this topic; among Syrians' total mentions of teachers, 64.7 per cent related to the topic.

The vast bulk of discussions of problems in relationships between Jordanians and Syrians at school as a factor in students' decision to leave or not to register in school, however, occurred during interviews and focus groups with Syrian parents and youth (see Fig. 9). Among all focus groups and interviews, 90 per cent of mentions of students leaving school or deciding not to register were made by Syrians and 10 per cent by Jordanians. Among these mentions, 44 per cent were made by participants in Mafrq, 35 per cent by participants in Irbid, and 21 per cent by participants in Amman. There was a single mention of a female Jordanian student dropping out of school in Mafrq due to an incident of violence; all other mentions of drop-outs related to Syrian students. Across the four major school-related issues described as factors in students' decision to drop out or not register in school (Jordanians' physical violence against Syrians; Jordanians' verbal violence against Syrians; Syrians' feelings of mistrust towards Jordanians; and general physical violence in school), the proportion of mentions by Syrians

105 Sweis, Rana. "Jordan Struggles to Protect Children."

106 Jenkins, Robert, and Silene Martino Almeras. "Unite for Children to Protect and Reach the Most Disadvantaged." UNICEF, 2015. http://www.unicef.org/jordan/7_Jordan_-_Protecting_and_Reaching_the_Most_Disadvantaged.pdf

107 Elayyan, Khalil. "Violence against Children Study in Jordan." UNICEF, 2007. [http://www.unicef.org/jordan/VAC_Study_English_FOR_SCREEN\(2\).pdf](http://www.unicef.org/jordan/VAC_Study_English_FOR_SCREEN(2).pdf)

108 Jenkins, Robert, and Silene Martino Almeras. "Unite for Children to Protect and Reach the Most Disadvantaged."

109 Ibid.

was an average of 76 percentage points higher than the proportion of mentions by Jordanians (see Fig. 9).¹¹⁰ 82 per cent of total mentions of dropping out or choosing not to register in school (across all interviews and focus groups) were associated with¹¹¹ physical violence by Jordanians against Syrians; 84 per cent were associated with verbal violence by Jordanians against Syrians; and 90 per cent were associated with Syrians' feelings of general mistrust towards Jordanians (see Fig. 10). Only 10 per cent were associated with students being assigned to an inappropriate grade level. Across all interviews and focus groups, Syrian students' dropping out or choosing not to register in school in order to work was mentioned only three times (6 per cent of total mentions). Possible reasons for the disparity include a lack of awareness among Jordanian research participants of the problems faced by Syrian students and (more likely) Jordanian participants' strong reluctance to mention these topics.

The disparity in mentions of drop-outs by Jordanians and Syrians is particularly interesting considering the apparent strong association between violence and mistrust between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth and Syrian students' decisions to drop out or not enrol in school (see Fig. 9). Additional school-related issues mentioned as factors in the decisions of Syrian students (with the single exception noted above) to drop out or not enrol in school included physical and verbal bullying among students; abuse by teachers; discrimination in grading and grade assignment; and students both leaving school and deciding not to register in school at all due to these problems. Some interacting factors contributing to Syrian students' dropping out of Jordanian schools will be explored further in the next section.

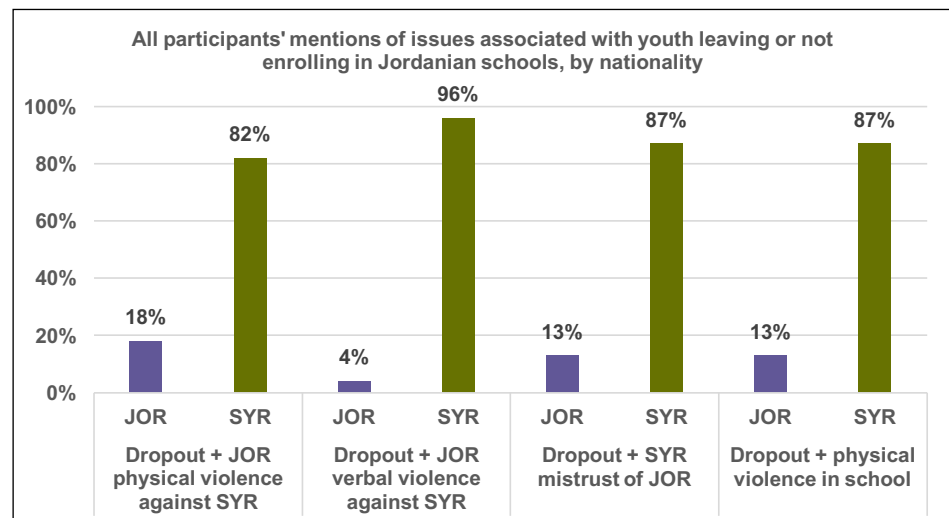


Fig. 9: All participants' mentions of issues associated with youth leaving or not enrolling in Jordanian schools, by nationality

¹¹⁰ Generations For Peace. "M&E Grid Social Cohesion in Host Communities," 2015. This gap echoes the results of the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme baseline survey (discussed in Chapter 1), during which physical violence was reported by 50 per cent of Syrians at GFP's programme location in Irbid city, but was reported by only 16.7 per cent of Jordanians at the same location. Verbal violence was likewise reported by 91.7 per cent of Syrians at a GFP programme location in Mafraq city, but was reported by only 41.7 per cent of Jordanians surveyed at the same location.

¹¹¹ In this case, issues "associated with" dropping out or choosing not to register in school are issues that were described as important factors in Syrian youths' (or their families') decisions to drop out or not register in Jordanian schools.

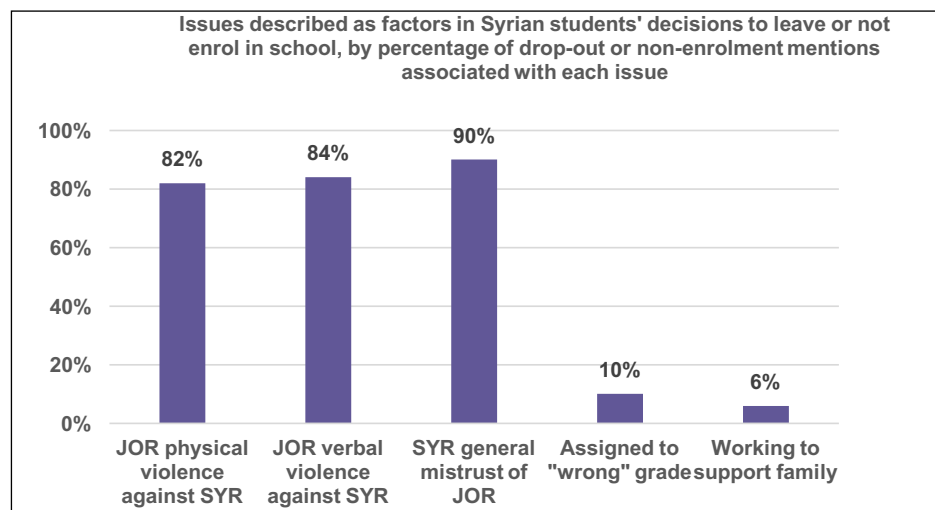


Fig. 10: Issues described as factors in Syrian students' decisions to leave or not enrol in school, by percentage of dropout or non-enrolment mentions associated with each issue

One Syrian female member of programme Target Group in Mafrq explained:

*"Each time I faced a problem I was telling my mother about it. She was saying to me, 'you have to be patient, they might change.' Then I asked the head of the school to put me in the ninth grade, because I am the age of the ninth grade, but she was not responding – she registered me in the sixth grade and made me attend it twice, so I gave up school. I could not go on. I prefer cooking and cleaning to going to school."*¹¹²

A Syrian mother in Irbid described:

*"When we came here in the beginning, the Jordanian and Syrian kids could not accept each other. Our kids did not want to go out in order not to deal with Jordanian kids. Even at school they were facing verbal violence. The Jordanian students always insult them by saying 'you dirty Syrians came to steal our country,' and the teacher did nothing. It is OK, they are children and we cannot punish them, but at least the teacher should manage the problem. My kids refused to go back to school for three months..."*¹¹³

Another Syrian mother in the same area reported:

*"My daughter faced a huge amount of verbal abuse from her classmates at school that led her to think about leaving school and refusing to go back to it. I tried my best to convince her not to do that and kept telling her that she has enough confidence to face them, saying 'you should be stronger' and so on until she could complete the semester and go through it. My little girls in primary school also faced the same case. They were labelled by other students, because they are Syrians, and their country could not take them during this war so the [Jordanians say] 'how are we supposed to [deal with you Syrians]'?"*¹¹⁴

The FGD and ITV evidence suggests a strong divergence between Jordanian and Syrian perceptions of relations within schools, including different perceptions of the consequences of that conflict. Some dynamics and factors in conflict between Jordanians and Syrians in schools will be examined further in Section B of this

112 MAF JOR TGF ITV.

113 MAF SYR TGF ITV.

114 IRB SYR Mother ITV.

chapter. Resulting recommendations for programme design to address school-based conflict between Jordanians and Syrians, taking into account differences in the two groups' perceptions of the conflict, will be presented in Chapter 5.

A.4. Community Safety and Relations with Local Law Enforcement and Civil/Municipal Authorities

This section discusses differences between Jordanians' and Syrians' perceptions of community safety concerns and the accessibility of local authorities as providers of justice and protection within the host communities, focusing first on violence in public community spaces ("street violence"), and sexual harassment of women and girls as the two parameters of community safety most frequently mentioned in FGDs and ITVs. Syrian refugees' difficulties in accessing justice mechanisms in Jordan have been previously noted, particularly in relation to complaints of exploitative and abusive housing practices, with Syrian men especially describing reluctance to seek justice from Jordanian authorities due to fears of arrest or deportation and refoulement – an issue also surfaced by participants in the research described here.¹¹⁵

As in the case of the distribution of humanitarian aid, conceptions of Syrians as guests or rights holders; the accessibility of education: Jordanians' and Syrians' perceptions of street violence; sexual harassment (as described to research team); and the accessibility of local authorities in addressing community safety concerns, diverged. Overall, both Syrian and Jordanian participants expressed concern about the safety of their communities, particularly in Mafrq and Irbid, as well as frustration regarding a lack of security measures to deal with their concerns. Jordanian participants in Mafrq particularly expressed their concern that Syrians were bringing drugs into the area and committing violent crimes.

While general street violence was a cause for concern among both groups, Syrians reported experiencing far higher levels of violence than did Jordanians (see Fig. 11). The topic of street violence was mentioned by participants in 48 per cent of Jordanians' FGDs and ITVs, in comparison with 83 per cent of Syrians' FGDs and ITVs. Among male participants' mentions of street violence, 18 per cent were made by Jordanians and 82 per cent by Syrians, while among female participants' mentions of street violence, 39 per cent of mentions were made by Jordanians and 61 per cent by Syrians. In comparison, a higher percentage of Syrians than Jordanians reported experiencing problems with persons of another nationality in their local community at all locations (see Fig. 12 and 13). The average difference between the percentages of Jordanian and Syrian females reporting problems with persons of other nationalities was an average of 35.3 percentage points, and the average difference between the percentages of Jordanian and Syrian males reporting problems with persons of other nationalities was 44.2 percentage points.

115 International Rescue Committee. "Cross-Sectoral Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Urban Areas of South and Central Jordan," March 2013. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=2960>

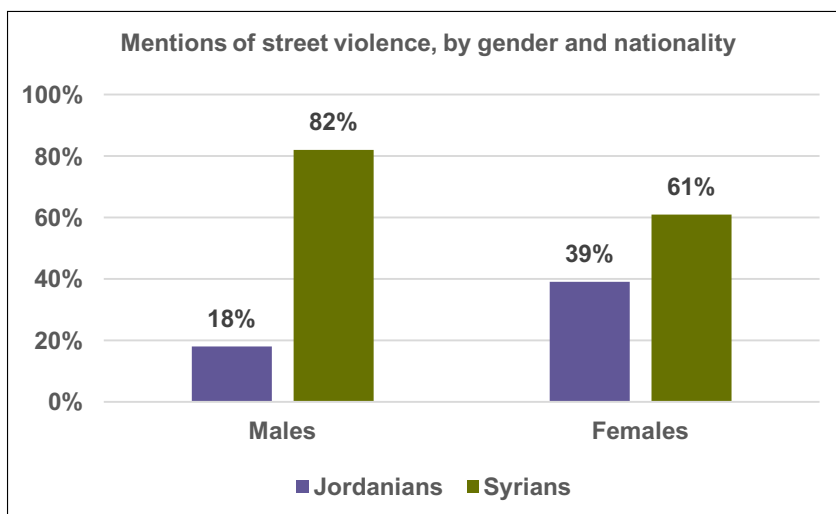


Fig. 11: Participants' mentions of street violence, by gender and nationality

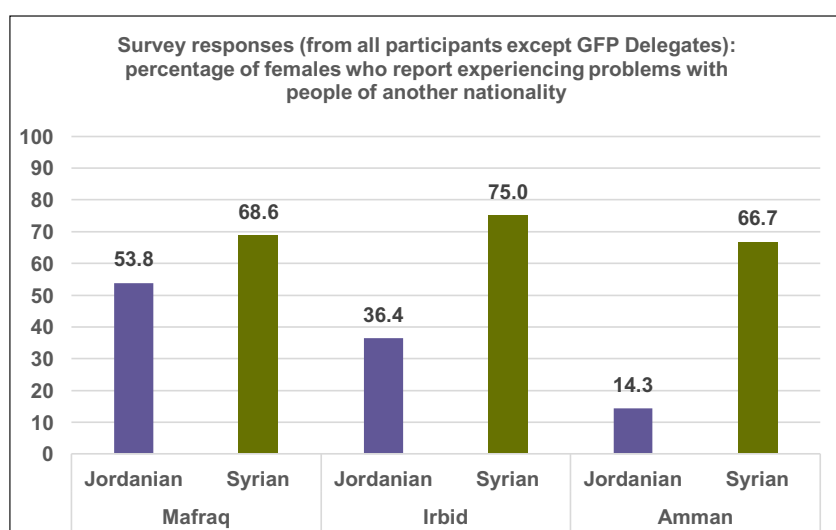


Fig. 12: Survey responses (from all participants except GFP Delegates): percentage of females who report experiencing problems with people of another nationality

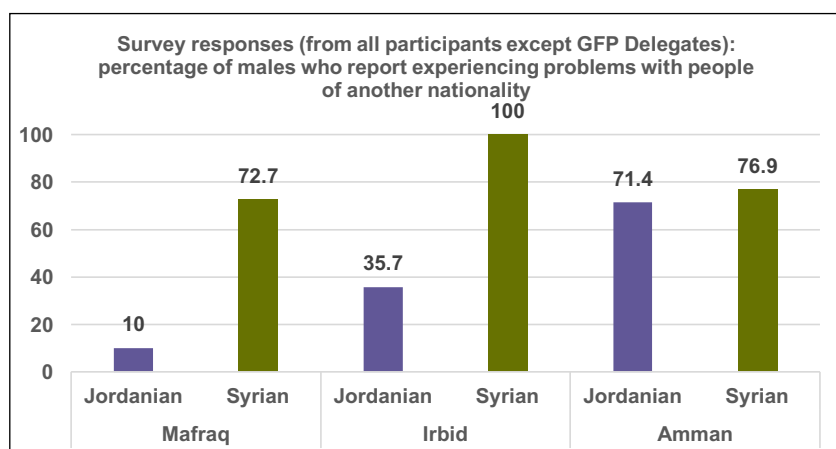


Fig. 13: Survey responses (from all participants except GFP Delegates): percentage of males who report experiencing problems with people of another nationality

One Syrian mother in Mafraq reported:

*"My daughter told me that when [the Syrian and Jordanian girls] go out of the school they hit each other. The Syrian and Jordanian students beat each other. Although they are separated, when they leave they meet in the street, the Jordanians are leaving and the Syrians are coming so they get into fights."*¹¹⁶

A Syrian male Target Group member in Mafraq explained:

*"When we leave the school we face problems. We cannot ignore everyone who wants to fight or bully us. We cannot avoid fights always."*¹¹⁷

A Syrian male Target Group member in Amman stated:

*"Sometimes while I am walking in the street a Jordanian boy would start to bother me with bad insults in order to provoke me to get into fight with him. He is just waiting for a word to hit me. I do not give a damn for anyone. I just go to my work and back to the house, even my cousin, I only see him once a week. I do not go out a lot."*¹¹⁸

A Syrian female Target Group member in Irbid said:

*"The Jordanian students sometimes are gathered against one Syrian student and this is not fair, and anyway nobody would try to stand next to the Syrian student and no one will stop them since they [the students] are outside the school."*¹¹⁹

Both Jordanians and Syrians emphasised their concerns about sexual harassment of Syrian girls and women by Jordanian boys and men (sexual harassment of Jordanian girls and women by Syrian boys and men was not mentioned by either group). However, despite the apparent involvement and awareness among both communities of sexual harassment, Syrians mentioned the issue significantly more frequently than Jordanians (see Fig. 14). Among female participants' mentions of sexual harassment, 82 per cent were made by Syrians and 18 per cent by Jordanians, while among male participants' mentions of sexual harassment (of girls and women), 56 per cent were made by Syrians and 44 per cent by Jordanians. Sexual harassment of males was not mentioned by either group.

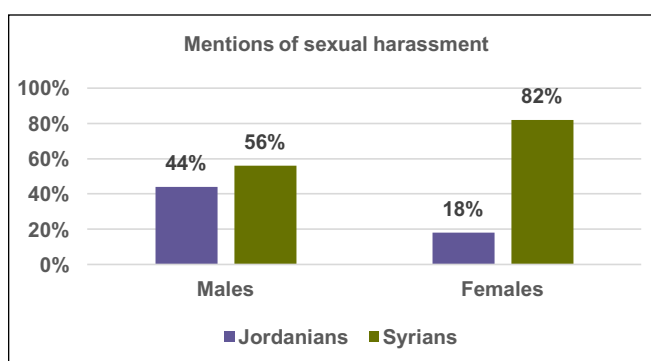


Fig. 14: Participants' mentions of sexual harassment, by gender and nationality

116 MAF SYR Mother ITV.

117 MAF SYR TGm FGD.

118 AMM SYR TGm FGD.

119 IRB SYR TGF ITV.

A Syrian female Target Group member in Mafraq stated:

*"Jordanian students threatened a Syrian girl with knives. Many of Syrian girls have now quit the school. That is because there are guys who are harassing the schoolgirls on purpose. I faced that problem and I had to move to another school. They tripped me and I had my leg broken. Others are insulting the girls... [the harassers] are individuals but maybe someone asked them to do that. They are not young. They come and stand in front of the girls' schools at the time that Syrian students leave. The Syrian parents do not send their daughters anymore. If you asked them why they did that they say 'what about the guys who are harassing them!' They are facing many obstacles so it is better to stay at home."*¹²⁰

A Jordanian male Target Group member in Amman observed:

*"[Jordanian men and boys] not want any Syrian guy to harass a Jordanian girl, but they allow themselves to do that. They feel OK to harass Syrians because they are refugees and homeless, but if someone harassed a Jordanian girl they will make a big problem."*¹²¹

One Jordanian father in Mafraq commented:

*"The Jordanian guys are harassing Syrian girls. They think that harassing the Syrian girls is OK because they are refugees... The guys are doing that in the neighbourhood where I live, I saw them, and the Syrian guys cannot accept that so they get into fights."*¹²²

One Syrian father in Mafraq explained:

*"We are worried about our daughters. You have to stay with them wherever they go."*¹²³

A Syrian mother in Mafraq commented:

*"We are old women and we are getting harassed, [Jordanian boys and men] are bothering everyone, let a girl complete her school and get her education!"*¹²⁴

The issue of Syrians' difficulty in gaining the assistance and support of Jordanian law enforcement and municipal authorities in addressing crime, violence and discrimination was not mentioned during focus groups and interviews with Jordanians, but was surfaced in 33.3 per cent of Syrian participants' FGDs and ITVs. Both Syrian adults and youth described avoiding any contact with Jordanian authorities for fear of reprisals, refolement, being forcibly returned to camps (especially Azraq Camp), or simply verbal abuse. Both Syrian youth and parents reported a strong sense of powerlessness to address conflict (whether in school, on the street, or in relation to local authorities), with most describing their response as "just keeping silent." Among mentions of "keeping silent" in response to Jordanian-Syrian conflicts, 85 per cent were made by Syrians and 15 per cent by Jordanians, and this response was mentioned at least once in 49 per cent of all 51 interviews and focus groups.

120 MAF SYR TGf ITV.

121 AMM JOR TGm FGD.

122 MAF JOR Fathers FGD.

123 MAF SYR Fathers FGD.

124 MAF SYR Mothers FGD.

A Syrian father in Irbid stated:

*"We as Syrians are trying as much as we can to prevent problems from happening. We try to stay away of the problems. If you face verbal violence it is better to keep silent to avoid this evil, in order not to make it a big issue."*¹²⁵

Another Syrian father in Irbid also explained:

*"In general Syrian kids do not feel secure, there is no one standing next to them. For example, if I go to the police station to make a complaint because my son is victimised by a Jordanian guy, they will not respond to me because I am a refugee, I do not have rights, moreover they might look at my papers and send me back to Syria. Even if we are the victims, the Jordanian side will win the case, because we do not have rights that protect us."*¹²⁶

A Syrian mother in Amman stated:

*"My kids now wish if they could go back to Syria and live in danger there in order not to be dehumanised and be respected. They feel so bad when they want to play outside and the other Jordanian kids hit or insult them. My son told me yesterday 'I prefer to live under the bombing of the Syrian regime than live here.' He said that many times. It is really hard because they cannot protect themselves, they cannot even talk to them. If I tried to talk to the Jordanian kids not to hit my kids they reply rudely and say 'it is not your street'."*¹²⁷

This disparity between Jordanians' and Syrians' perceived ability to respond to and address conflict indicates a major gap in communication between the two nationalities on issues of conflict, as well as serious obstacles preventing Syrians from seeking help from state providers of justice and protection. Overall, this suggests that host communities may face significant challenges in addressing the issues of violence described in this chapter if opportunities for dialogue and safe communication between Jordanians and Syrians (as well as justice mechanisms accessible to Syrians) are not created. Recommended programming elements to facilitate communication between community members will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

A.5. Perspectives on Syrian Women and Girls' Marriage Practices, Including Marriage to Jordanians and Early Marriage

One significant difference between participants' responses was the degree of interest and concern shown in the issue of Syrian women and girls' marriages, including marriages to Jordanians and early marriages. These topics have emerged over the past several years as a particular point of concern among Jordanian women, who have sometimes perceived Syrian women and girls as competitors for husbands, and Syrian women, who reportedly felt shamed by Jordanians' and others' conceptions of them as victims of sexual abuse, early marriage, and forced marriage.¹²⁸ Though marriage among girls under 18 existed in both Syria and Jordan prior to the refugee crisis, the percentage of marriages in which the bride was aged under 18 in Jordan have risen quickly from 12 per cent in 2011 (around the same proportion as in Syria before the current conflict) to 18 per cent in 2012

125 IRB SYR Fathers FGD.

126 IRB SYR Father ITV.

127 AMM SYR Mothers FGD.

128 UN Women. "Beyond the Camps: Impact of the Syrian Refugee Influx on Jordanian Host Communities."

and as high as 25 per cent in 2013.¹²⁹ Reported reasons for Syrian girls' and women's early marriages and marriages to Jordanians include a perceived need for girls' protection from sexual harassment and sexual assault through marriage; a perceived need to reduce pressure on family resources; and in some cases, a desire to leave refugee camps via a Jordanian's sponsorship.¹³⁰ An increase in early marriage by Syrian refugee girls has also been reported in refugee camps in Iraq and Lebanon,¹³¹ and early and forced marriages of Syrian refugee girls are also reported in Turkey and Egypt.¹³²

FGD and ITV data described here show a significant disparity between Jordanians' and Syrians' demonstrated interest in, or willingness to discuss, the topic of Syrian women and girls' marriages (including marriages to Jordanian men and early marriages). This demonstrates another important and heavily gendered dimension of difference in Jordanians' and Syrians' conceptions of Jordanian-Syrian relations in host communities. Syrian-Jordanian marriage was mentioned only once in all the FGDs and ITVs with Syrian youth and parents, and early marriage was never mentioned. In contrast, Syrian women's marriages with Jordanians and early marriage among Syrian girls were discussed in interviews and focus groups with Jordanian youth, parents, and GFP Delegates, particularly in Mafrq and Irbid (see Fig. 15). Across all Jordanian FGDs and ITVs, 48 per cent of mentions of Syrian-Jordanian marriages and early marriage were made by females in Mafrq, 8 per cent by males in Mafrq, 29 per cent by females in Irbid, and 11 per cent by males in Amman. Overall, the topic of Syrian women and girls' marriages was discussed in 51.9 per cent of Jordanian FGDs and ITVs. Among mentions of Syrian women and girls' marriage practices, 62.1 per cent related to marriages between Syrian girls and women and Jordanian men; 31 per cent related to early marriage; and 34.5 per cent related to lower mahr¹³³ as a reason for Syrian-Jordanian marriages.

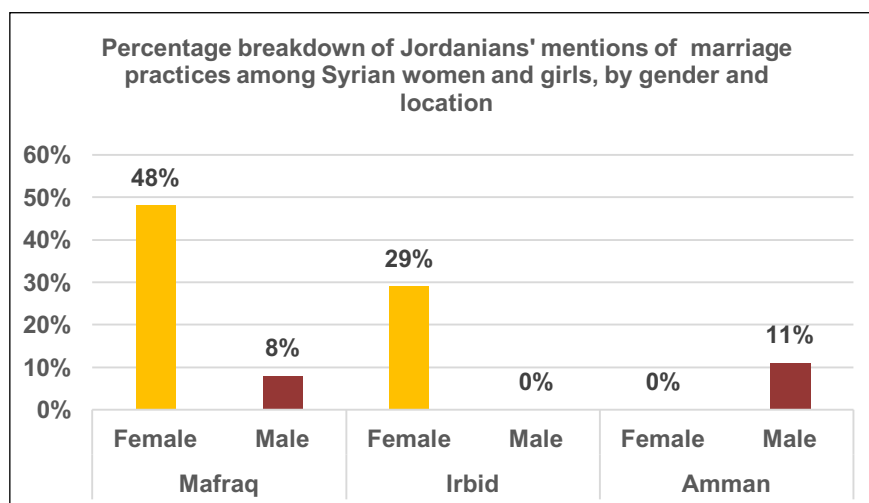


Fig. 15: Percentage breakdown of Jordanians' mentions of marriage practices among Syrian women and girls, by gender and location

129 Save the Children. "Too Young to Wed: The Growing Problem of Child Marriage among Syrian Girls in Jordan." London, 2014. https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/sites/default/files/images/Too_Young_to_Wed.pdf

130 Ibid.

131 Baker, Daniel. "Regional Situation Report for Syria Crisis #16." United Nations Population Fund, December 2013. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=3888>

132 Ayoubi, Ziad. "Joint Assessment for Syrian Refugees in Egypt." UNHCR, November 2013. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=6025>

133 Mahr refers to a sum of money or goods with a specific value which are given by the groom to the bride when the marriage contract is signed during an Islamic marriage process.

A Jordanian mother in Irbid explained:

*"Regarding Syrian girls, they have been exposed to early marriage - as refugees they do not have any other choice in order to live. That is strange for us as Jordanians, because mostly the age of marriage here is 24, which means after the girl got her university degree, and is responsible enough to take care of her family."*¹³⁴

A Jordanian father in Amman stated:

*"When it comes to the relationships between males and females for the last three or four years it has been affected strongly, about 50 to 60 per cent. Why? Once they opened Za'atari Camp most of the families who wanted to get out of it were marrying their daughters to a Jordanian man, in order to sponsor them."*¹³⁵

A Jordanian Delegate in Mafraq observed:

*"One of the problems that happened to Jordanians girls, that they do not get married, is because the Syrian girls can accept so much lower conditions than Jordanian girls, and that is related to their habits and culture, they do not mind to marry a 14-year-old girl off to an old man who is 60, while the Jordanians do not accept that."*¹³⁶

In FGDs and ITVs, Jordanian women's and girls' mentions of Syrian women's and girls' early marriage and marriage for small mahr were accompanied with expressions of pity, citing both young girls' inability to take on the responsibilities of a wife and the sense that Syrian women were "cheap" and devalued.

A Jordanian mother in Mafraq stated:

*"They come to me to sew clothes for their daughters' weddings, all of them are 14 and 15 - I really feel pity for them, they are too young to carry all this responsibility. My daughter is 20, she is studying in the university and I never thought to accept her marriage before she is done. [The Syrians] say it is ok, it is better for them to get married. Many of them are getting married early at 14, 15, and 16."*¹³⁷

A Jordanian female Target Group member in Mafraq explained:

*"It is also the case of marriage and the guys are happy with that, because it is less complicated than marrying a Jordanian lady. The Syrians do not ask for a high mahr, just pay JOD 500 and everything is ok, but this reduces the respect for her, to talk and treat the girls in that way, and then the Jordanian ladies will be worried because most of the males are preferring Syrian ladies, and at the same time the Syrian ladies will feel that they are being dehumanised, as if they are being sold."*¹³⁸

Another Jordanian female Target Group member at the same location (but during a different conversation) commented:

"When the Syrians first came, I remember that we were sitting outside and

134 IRB JOR Mother ITV.

135 AMM JOR Father ITV.

136 MAF DEL FGD.

137 MAF JOR Mothers FGD

138 MAF JOR TGF ITV.

*there were too many Syrians in the mosque. Then my grandmother start calling my uncles, saying 'Come and choose a bride, they are selling three for JOD 50.' I thought she was kidding but they were really doing that. We were surprised, but they were saying that 'It is better to do that than keep our daughters suffering with us'."*¹³⁹

Two participants suggested that Syrian girls' reputation for early marriage caused increased harassment by Jordanian boys. A Jordanian Delegate reported:

*"... [Jordanian boys aged 17-18 years old] follow them and try to get their phone numbers. The boys follow all the girls but the Syrians more and they believe that they accept to get married early so they keep teasing them."*¹⁴⁰

One Syrian female Target Group member in Amman (aged 11) described street harassment from Jordanian boys that explicitly expressed this devaluation due to lower mahr:

*"I am really surprised that the kids are saying dirty things... They are too young to learn that, usually they are six years old. One day in my way to school a guy said 'Syrians for a penny' meaning 'Syrians are cheap'... What does he mean? If they were visiting our country we would never treat them like that. It really hurts... The tears fill my eyes. The kids and adults all are treating us badly, and putting us down all the time - we are facing a lot of violence here. Now I feel ashamed to say that I am Syrian."*¹⁴¹

The contrast between Jordanians' and Syrians' engagement with the topic of Syrian women's and girls' marriage practices, including Syrians' marriage with Jordanians and early marriage, demonstrates how differences in refugees' and host community members' perceptions of social relations and causes of conflict can be expressed in terms of highly gendered topics. The role of gender in Jordanians' and Syrians' perceptions of their relations with one another, as well as in conflict between Jordanians and Syrians, will be explored further in the next section of this Chapter.

B. Social Factors Affecting Responses to Potential Sources of Conflict between Syrians and Jordanians and Differences in Perceptions

This section explores several social factors influencing relations between Jordanians and Syrians in the host communities visited. More specifically, the section presents findings demonstrating which factors impact the ways in which Jordanians and Syrians respond to the conflict issues and divergences in perception described in the previous section, and what form this impact takes. Major factors in responses to conflict issues and divergences in perception include the relationships between Syrian refugees and Jordanian teachers in community schools; communication within families; the age and gender of individuals involved in Syrian-Jordanian interactions; and the historical precedent of Palestinian refugees in Jordan (in Amman). Together with the previous section, the findings presented here are used to identify social cohesion programming needs and recommendations, which will be presented in the final chapter.

139 MAF JOR TGf FGD.

140 AMM DEL ITV.

141 AMM SYR TGf ITV.

B.1. The Relationships between Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Teachers in Local Schools

During focus groups and interviews with Syrian participants,¹⁴² it became clear that the relationship between Syrian refugee youth and their Jordanian teachers played an important role in the way in which these Syrian youth related to Jordanian society more widely, both within and outside the school. Likewise, it also appeared that parents' relationships with school authorities and the nature of their interactions with Jordanian schools influenced their attitudes towards Jordanians in general. Findings described here demonstrate the way in which the quality of teacher-student and teacher-parent relationships seemed to influence the degree of isolation experienced by Syrians. A lack of trust in school authorities (combined with violence and antipathy received from Jordanian students, as described in the previous section) contributed to Syrian youths' decisions to leave school. This in turn had a potentially isolating influence on their entire immediate family, given Syrian parents' hesitation to spend time in public areas or allow their children to do so (except for school or sometimes work), due to fears of abuse, arrest, forced return to camps, and refoulement. School provided a rare opportunity for youths' and parents' supervised and non-confrontational interaction with Jordanians – an opportunity that, once lost through the decision to drop out or not enrol in school, was difficult to replace.

In mixed (non-shift) schools, there was a strong perception among Syrians that there are some "good" teachers who will protect them from physical and verbal violence by Jordanians and some "bad" ones that would not protect them or who would encourage physical and verbal violence (see Fig. 16). Among all Syrians' mentions of teachers and administrators, mentions of teachers either protecting Syrian students or failing to protect and/or encouraging violence constituted 61.6 per cent of all mentions. This protection or failure to protect applied not only inside the school but also in the case of "troublemakers" who reportedly waited outside the school gates to harass Syrian students (of both genders), as school authorities were able to call on local law enforcement to prevent this violence.¹⁴³ Sympathetic teachers were perceived as vital allies by Syrian students and parents: as one male Target Group member in Mafraq explained:

"They support [the Syrians], and stand next to the Syrian students against Jordanians."¹⁴⁴

According to Syrians' descriptions of protective teachers and administrators, a positive attitude towards integration from school staff and administration reportedly made a significant difference in violence within the school (and whether Syrian students felt able to attend school). A Syrian mother in Mafraq whose children had successfully entered and remained in school described:

"On the other hand, my daughter's teacher was taking care of her, encouraging and supporting her psychologically."¹⁴⁵

A Syrian male Target Group member in Irbid reported:

¹⁴² IRB SYR Mother ITV.

¹⁴³ Jordanian participants in only one FGD mentioned mistreatment of Syrians in school by teachers.

¹⁴⁴ MAF SYR TGm ITV.

¹⁴⁵ IRB JOR Mothers FGD.

*"A Syrian student was gossiping about a Jordanian student, then the Jordanian boy and his friends stood next to the gate waiting for the Syrian student to hit him. They had a fight, but the head of the school stopped them right away."*¹⁴⁶

Another Syrian male Target Group member at the same location explained:

*"At our school we have a counsellor who does not allow any fight to happen. The school became much better after he came. He stops any fight, he does not allow anyone to insult others. If anyone did he would call his father. He does not allow anyone to hit me even if they are kidding."*¹⁴⁷

Syrian participants also described discrimination and verbal and physical violence from teachers, and Syrian students' desire to leave school as a result. One Syrian mother in Irbid explained:

*"At school our children are facing discrimination from the teachers and students as well. The teachers are differentiating between Syrian and Jordanian students. My son always complains about that and he keeps telling me that he does not want to study here anymore."*¹⁴⁸

Another Syrian mother in Irbid reported:

*"...if the Jordanian student has a problem with a Syrian student he immediately calls his father, and then the head of the school will punish the Syrian student. My son does not have anyone to stand by his side. He sometimes asks me to go with him to school to support him and stand by his side."*¹⁴⁹

Another Syrian mother in the same FGD suggested:

*"Maybe the reason behind our kids' hesitation and shyness is us, the parents, because we always feel threatened and not safe. We, the mothers, as females are not allowed to visit our sons' schools. We went to school to make a complaint, the head of the school immediately told us that you as devout ladies should not come here and talk to men. He humiliated us and did not allow us to make a complaint. OK – but what else can we do since our husbands are not here! We are responsible for our kids, there is no one else. So what can we do?"*¹⁵⁰

After a conflict between a Syrian student and a Palestinian Jordanian student, a Syrian mother in Amman reported:

*"... after that I took my daughter and went to the school and I told her [the teacher] that 'we are not happy here and we did not come here because we wanted to leave our country, but we had to leave. All that we want from you is to control and stop the conflict between the Syrian and Palestinian students.' They did nothing."*¹⁵¹

A Jordanian male Target Group member in Mafrq reported that:

"I hear the Jordanians insulting them, like 'you dirty Syrians, get out of our country.' If they wanted to buy something and hit someone by mistake because of the crowd the Jordanian students beat them badly because they

146 IRB SYR TGm FGD.

147 IRB SYR TGm FGD.

148 IRB SYR TGm FGD.

149 IRB SYR Mothers FGD.

150 IRB SYR Mothers FGD.

151 AMM SYR Mothers FGD.

are Syrians. They take the Syrian student to the head of the school and he asks them about their nationalities and he kicks the Syrian out, even though he did nothing."¹⁵²

A Syrian father in Amman reported that his daughter:

"...became aggressive, she is struggling between her rejected identity [as a Syrian] and the identity of the society. I always talk to my kids. I felt that she is suffering psychologically... I found out that [the Jordanians] do not allow her to play with them. They gave her the desk that is in the back of the class... as a child these things affect her badly. She will suffer from these things forever."¹⁵³

A Syrian female Target Group member in Amman reported:

"I had a teacher who was in each call to prayer praying to have the Syrians kicked out of Jordan. She was insulting us all the time, she called us donkeys. That hurts me a lot. I asked her, 'why are you treating us that way?' She said negative things about us, and that we are bad people."¹⁵⁴

Other Syrian students reported teachers calling them "cheaters"; telling them that they did not belong in class and should not raise their hands as they were Syrians; grading them unfairly and refusing to allow them to participate in class; and verbally abusing them, calling them "animals" or "donkeys." Among Syrians' mentions of problems with teachers, the majority related to teachers' inaction when faced with violence against Syrian students (29 per cent), general discrimination in school (29 per cent), or verbal abuse (25.8 per cent – see Fig. 16). Teachers' exclusion of Syrian students from class participation constituted 9.7 per cent of mentions, grading perceived as unfair 3.2 per cent of mentions, and physical violence 3.2 per cent of mentions.

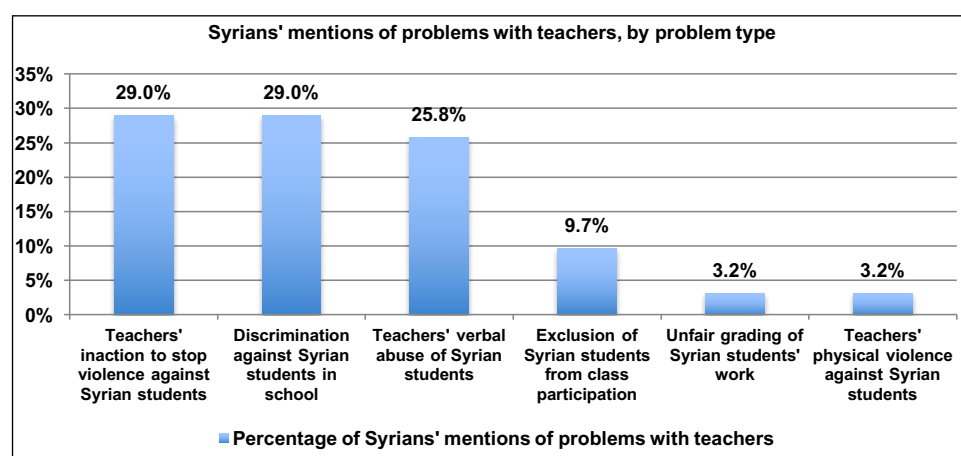


Fig. 16: Syrians' mentions of problems with teachers, by problem type

Some Syrian students explained that they had told their parents about these problems but that their parents had been powerless to protect them or respond (as described above). One Syrian student described her efforts to actually conceal problems from her parents because they felt they could do nothing to solve the problems.

Such experiences were related in the discussions to Syrian students' decisions

152 MAF JOR TGm ITV.

153 AMM SYR Fathers FGD.

154 AMM SYR TGf ITV.

to leave school completely, leading to (sometimes near-total) social isolation at home due to a lack of safe and integrated group activities for Syrian children and youth in the host communities studied. As will be further discussed in the second half of this chapter, this isolation contributed to a larger overall feedback loop of decreasing social cohesion and increasing conflict between Syrians and Jordanians, indicating the critical role of alternative spaces for safe Syrian-Jordanian interactions in reducing conflict in Jordan's host communities.

One Syrian mother in Mafrqa explained:

*"My son, he stopped going to school for fifteen days...The teacher was calling him refugee and [saying] 'We are giving you what we do not want as charities. You Syrians are less than animals, here you do not have any rights.' My son was broken down, he was so upset."*¹⁵⁵

Another mother in the same FGD related:

*"The head of the girl's school is a tough racist, rude, and aggressive. She does not respect anyone. She does not care about anyone. The other day my daughter was wearing a bombe [hair ornament] under her veil, [the head of the school] took off her veil and removed the bombe then she pulled her hair and put her down on the ground. She left her without the veil. In front of all the students, though she is very polite and excellent. The teachers were sympathising with [her daughter] and convinced her not to leave the school."*¹⁵⁶

In Irbid, a Syrian father stated:

*"[My son] faced many problems at school, he did not want to go to it, not only him, but many other kids. My cousin left the school as well but his father forced him to complete his studies. He kept joining him all the way until he got used for the environment. My son tried to return to school this year, but he could not integrate for more than one week."*¹⁵⁷

A Syrian mother in Irbid explained:

*"When we came here in the beginning the Jordanian and Syrian kids could not accept each other. Our kids did not want to go out in order not to deal with Jordanian kids. Even at school they were facing verbal violence. The Jordanian students always insult them by saying 'You dirty Syrians came to steal our country' and the teacher did nothing. It is ok, they are children and we cannot punish them, but at least the teacher should manage the problem. My kids refused to go back to school for three months, then I forced them to go now that things are better, but it goes in slow steps."*¹⁵⁸

Syrians reported feeling unsafe leaving the house (see section 2, "Communication within families"), and for girls especially, school was their only point of contact with Jordanian children and youth (besides GFP programming, as will be discussed further below). Parents similarly reported avoiding contact with Jordanians except in case of emergency due to fears that they would be accused of wrongdoing and deported or sent to the refugee camps (see below). However, those parents whose children had positive relationships with "protective" teachers also described

155 MAF SYR Mothers FGD.

156 Ibid.

157 IRB SYR Fathers FGD.

158 IRB SYR Mothers FGD.

much more positive feelings about Jordanians in general, based on their dealings with their children's schools.

Syrian students in shift schools and their parents reported that they had no problems with the other Syrians in their classes. One Syrian female Target Group member explained:

*"They do not have violence because they are all Syrians, if they were mixed with the Jordanian students that would lead to many problems."*¹⁵⁹

The quality of teaching, however, was reportedly very poor and the teachers allegedly did not care about the quality of the education they provided. Both students and teachers reported that teachers neglected to assign or grade homework and just read lessons aloud, without interacting with the Syrian students, and parents reported feeling generally that Jordanians simply did not care about their children because they are Syrian. In Amman, a Syrian mother described her children's teachers' attitude as "they are Syrian, so no need to teach them."¹⁶⁰ Parents related this attitude to their children's reluctance to attend school and admitted that they themselves could see little point in such short school days with poor content. Several parents reported that their children had dropped out of the shift schools and that they were trying to educate them at home instead. This resulted in further isolation of Syrian students (and often the rest of their families as well); fewer opportunities for any positive interaction with Jordanians; and generally fear to leave the house or interact with Jordanians at all (see below). Due to the lack of alternative opportunities to interact with and integrate with Jordanians, relations in the context of school appeared to have a broader effect on Syrians' ability to form positive relationships with Jordanians.

Overall, the ability of school staff and administration to provide a safe and productive learning environment appeared to influence whether Syrian students remained in school. School attendance or non-attendance seemed to be an important factor in whether these students had any opportunities for positive interaction with Jordanians, whether they developed positive or at least non-confrontational relationships with Jordanians, and whether students' parents felt positively or negatively about the Jordanian society around them (see below).

B.2. Communication Patterns within Families

As mentioned above, communication within families and the way in which perceptions of the opposite "side" are conveyed between family members seemed to have an influence on how Syrians and Jordanians responded to conflict issues. This trend seemed especially widespread for Syrian research participants. The way in which parents and children influence each other's views of Jordanians and Syrians was evidently an important aspect of conflict between the two groups, and the gendered dimensions of this influence will be discussed in the next section.

Participants of both nationalities noted the connection between conflict between children and conflict between parents of different nationalities, with both types influencing and escalating the other. Among both Jordanians and Syrians, there was a sense that parental attitudes lay behind the behaviour of children and youth towards peers of other nationality, and especially that many negative comments

¹⁵⁹ NUZ SYR TGF ITV.

¹⁶⁰ NUZ SYR Mothers FGD.

made by Jordanian youth towards or about Syrians were simply repeated from what their parents were saying. Jordanian parents and youth emphasised the economic and political pressures felt by parents in their communities, and how the anxieties created by these pressures were transmitted to children and youth, resulting in antagonism towards Syrians.

Among all mentions of parents during FGDs and ITVs, 88.5 per cent among Jordanians and 57.8 per cent among Syrians described the influence of parents on children's views of the opposite nationality, or of the impact of children's experiences with members of the opposite nationality on parents' opinion of that nationality. Among Jordanians, this topic was surfaced in 55.6 per cent of FGDs and ITVs; among Syrians, it was surfaced in 83.3 per cent of FGDs and ITVs. 18.6 per cent of all Jordanians' mentions of parents directly mentioned children repeating their parent's words or behaviours towards Syrians without comprehension; only 6.25 per cent of Syrians mentions of parents addressed this topic.

Interestingly, the influence of parents on their children's views of the other nationality was most often described as contributing to hostility towards people of that nationality. Among mentions of parental influence on children's views, 77.3 per cent of Jordanians' mentions and 68.4 per cent of Syrians' mentions described this influence as contributing to children's negative attitudes towards the other group.

As one Jordanian male Target Group member in Irbid observed:

*"I think that young people act in the same way that they see adults acting, while the adults think about results that happened after the Syrians had come. They have economical and political considerations."*¹⁶¹

A Syrian father in Mafraq noted:

*"The way their [Jordanian] kids react, it seems that they are acting the same way as the adults who are treating us badly. Or they might be taught to treat us that way."*¹⁶²

A Syrian father in Amman stated:

*"The kids at school are suffering from their families' complaints. All the family, the father, the mother, and everyone. I mean the Jordanian kids. They get affected by these thoughts and complaints, then they apply it to the Syrian kids."*¹⁶³

A Syrian Target Group member in Mafraq described how:

*"...when the kids hear their parents complaining about the Syrian presence... if a father had a problem with a Syrian man and his son heard him complaining on that, the impact of the father's reaction will be absorbed by his kid right away, and when that kid meets a Syrian boy he will have his father's feelings toward him."*¹⁶⁴

A Jordanian father in Irbid explained further:

161 IRB JOR TGm ITV.

162 MAF SYR Fathers FGD.

163 AMM SYR Fathers FGD.

164 MAF SYR TGm ITV.

*"... when the kid goes back home he will be surprised when he finds me complaining about the water issue and saying that the Syrians are the reason for this problem. The conflict will transfer to my son... he will say 'the Syrians, the Syrians.' He will hang all of his family problems on the Syrians."*¹⁶⁵

Another Jordanian father in Irbid observed:

*"Children in general are open to each other, but once they are under pressure they cannot deal with each other, and they remember some of the sayings that they hear from adults, like 'you [the Syrians] came and took the whole country' or 'you are stealing our country.'"*¹⁶⁶

An unrelated Jordanian mother at the same location reflected:

*"Children were hearing the adults labelling Syrians negatively by saying that 'Syrians caused prices to rise,' 'Syrians came and got involved in every part of our lives' – and according to that children started blaming Syrians too."*¹⁶⁷

A Jordanian father in Amman reported:

*"Whatever the kids hear from their parents they will believe. The kids are mirrors of their parents, they reflect their family's thoughts and beliefs. If the parents were interacting positively, then the kids wouldn't be aggressive."*¹⁶⁸

Jordanian male Target Group members in Amman agreed. One noted:

*"Some kids might hear their parents making complaints about the Syrians' presence, so they will hate the Syrians because of what they heard."*¹⁶⁹

While another explained:

*"Mostly the father tells his son not to like the Syrians, not to make them his friends because they are stealing the country. The mothers do the opposite, they ask their kids to like them and be friends and that will lead to good relationships between them."*¹⁷⁰

A Syrian father in Amman, describing his daughter's experience in school, said:

*"The girls who knew that she is Syrian, they were telling the other girls not to believe her, 'She is a cheater, she is Syrian.' The kids act in a way that reveals that these acts are a reflection of the adults' thoughts."*¹⁷¹

Parents were reportedly impacted by their children's experiences with people of the other nationality as well. Among mentions of parents and children influencing each others' views of the opposite group, 30.4 per cent of Jordanians' mentions and 39.6 per cent of Syrians' mentions related to the influence of children's experiences on their parents' views of people of the other nationality. Among Jordanians, only 33.3 per cent of these mentions demonstrated children's negative experiences contributing to their parents' negative perceptions of Syrians, while among Syrians, 90.5 per cent of these mentions demonstrated children's negative experiences (especially in school) contributing to their parents' negative

¹⁶⁵ IRB JOR Fathers FGD.

¹⁶⁶ IRB JOR Fathers FGD.

¹⁶⁷ IRB JOR Mother ITV.

¹⁶⁸ AMM JOR Fathers FGD.

¹⁶⁹ AMM JOR TGm FGD.

¹⁷⁰ AMM JOR TGm FGD.

¹⁷¹ AMM SYR Fathers FGD.

perceptions of Jordanians.

A GFP Delegate in Amman explained:

*"While the kids might be coping and playing with each other normally, if they get into a fight, sometimes the fight reaches the parents. The girls feel more afraid than the boys, they are careful not to have anything reach their parents."*¹⁷²

A Jordanian male Target Group member in Amman described how if a Jordanian boy harassed a Syrian girl, she would call her brother:

*"And he will get into a fight with a Jordanian guy, and then the problem would reach the families."*¹⁷³

A Syrian female Target Group member at the same location¹⁷⁴ observed:

*"Most of the problems that we are facing are because of the fights that happen between the kids. The parents get themselves involved in it. Had they not, the problem will not be worsened."*¹⁷⁵

Another Jordanian father in Amman described how fights between children could turn into major conflicts between families:

*"I want to discuss this point with you. The question that you had asked [about relationships between Syrians and Jordanians in the area] has different dimensions. It is hard to integrate. We have problems at school - when my son gets into a fight and someone hits him, I have to go and get revenge. This is part of the community traditions. That will lead to conflicts between the families just because the kids got into a fight."*¹⁷⁶

A Syrian mother in the same area described such an incident in which a conflict between a Syrian boy and a Jordanian boy expanded into a family conflict:

*"My sister in law visited me; her husband was arrested four years ago. Her son hit our neighbour's son. After a while seven men came to my house and stood in front of it shouting 'Where is the boy who hit our son? We want to kill him now.' They kept shouting and insulting us. They were saying dirty words. My husband, who is the uncle of the boy, could not do anything in order not to harm our son. They said that the one who hit our son would be killed today. They attacked us with knives. We had to leave the house for two days in order to avoid this fight, we escaped to my brother's house. We had to apologise to the whole Jordanian family in order for them not attack our kids again."*¹⁷⁷

Discussing his sons' experience in Jordan, a Syrian father in Mafraq commented:

"[Jordanian children] are badly raised, that leads to problems. I raised my

172 AMM DEL ITV.

173 AMM JOR TGm FGD.

174 Reasons for this trend in Amman remained unclear, but could include demographic differences, as the area in which the GFP programme was implemented in Amman was a former Palestinian refugee camp and most participants were of Palestinian descent. This contrasts with programme sites in Mafraq and Irbid governorates, which typically contain a smaller Palestinian population. Unlike the rural programme sites in Mafraq and Irbid, the Amman programme location is a densely populated, lower-income urban area.

175 AMM SYR TGf FGD.

176 AMM JOR Fathers FGD.

177 AMM SYR Mothers FGD.

*kids on good things, morals, and they do not have problems with anyone... if I were absent their mother would take care of them. In Syria I did not witness any kind of fights at school or outside... [the Syrian boys] are different [from the Jordanian boys]. It depends on the way that they are raised. For us as Syrians I know we take great care of our kids so that they will be well raised and polite. Here they do not care about their kids, you can see them rioting everywhere, they face problems and no one cares."*¹⁷⁸

Describing his child's experience in school, one Syrian father in Irbid stated:

*"I do not think that that anything would help [Syrians and Jordanians to integrate], because they belong to different communities and come from different backgrounds. In the Syrian community the father has the authority over his kids and they should obey him, while here in the Jordanian community the parents do not have any authority over their kids. Even at schools, the Jordanian students do not respect their teacher. In Syria, the students or kids in general would never behave that way. We would never integrate together, because they feel that we are a heavy burden."*¹⁷⁹

A Syrian mother, also in Mafraq, described how a Jordanian hit her son while he was playing in the street and then mocked the mother when she was unable to pay the JOD 20 required by the local police to make a report of the incident.

*"He said, 'I want to hit him, it is none of your business, he is Syrian, let's see what he can do about it.' My husband said, 'OK, he is a Syrian, but he is a child. Yes, we are Syrians and we had to flee into Jordan, we could not stay there. And this is how you treat kids?' The Jordanian man said, 'What will you do?' My husband said, 'I will do nothing but I will make a complaint in the police station.' He [the Jordanian] said 'You're welcome to do that, go and make a complaint, I will be waiting for you here'."*¹⁸⁰

According to this participant's story, the police accused her of hitting the child herself and refused to make the report without JOD 20. "I went back and I found the [Jordanian] guy still waiting, and he said, 'Ha, what did you do, could you do anything?' I said, 'No, I could not, but my God will do justice for me'."¹⁸¹

FGD and ITV data suggest that both (A) the influence of parents' views of people of the other nationality on their children's perception of that nationality and (B) the effects of children's experiences with people of the other nationality on their parents' perceptions of that nationality had an important impact in which social relations between the two nationalities developed, and how community members of both nationalities responded to issues of conflict (see Fig. 17). Communication between parents and children could also directly escalate conflict between Jordanians and Syrians, as described above. This dynamic has important implications for social cohesion programming design, which will be explored further in the final chapter.

178 MAF SYR Father ITV.

179 IRB SYR Father ITV.

180 MAF SYR Father ITV.

181 Ibid.

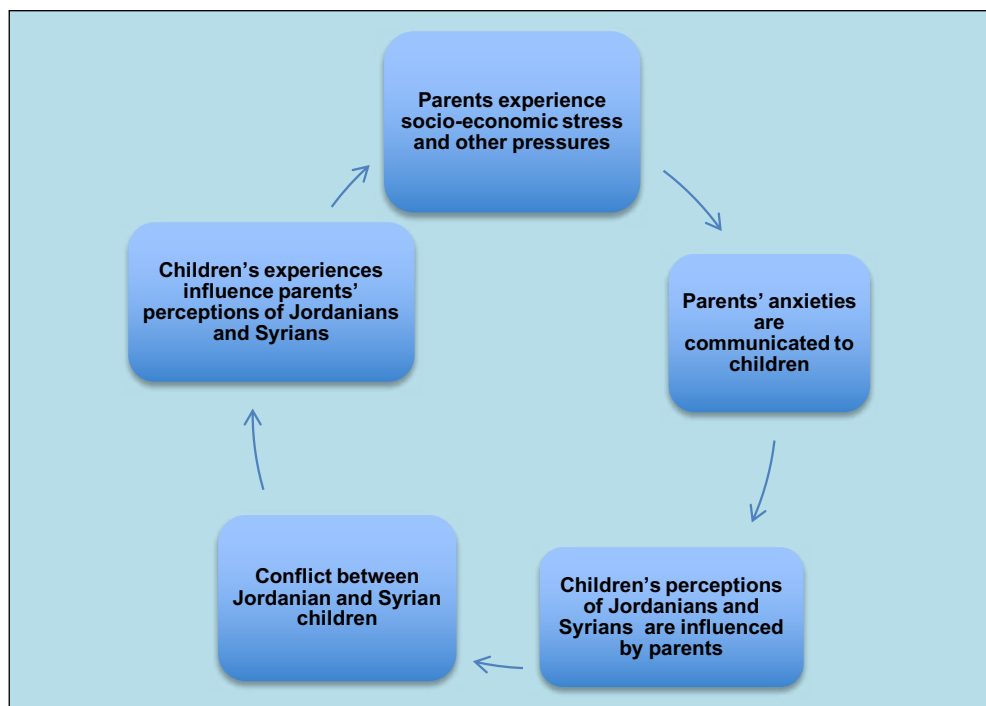


Fig. 17: Communication dynamics within families as a factor in Jordanian-Syrian relations

Several GFP Target Group members of both nationalities in Amman reported trying to influence their parents' perceptions of the "other side." A Jordanian female Target Group member explained:

*"I keep trying to tell them that they must not act in that way, and if they listen to me at least once, they might change their thoughts and then always listen to me."*¹⁸²

Another Jordanian female Target Group member at the same location mentioned:

*"Each time I attend activities I tell my mother about it, and I tell her that we should deal with Syrians and make them our friends. I tell them what is right and what is wrong."*¹⁸³

Several GFP Target Group members in Amman also directly suggested including parents in programme activities due to their important role in the conflict. One Jordanian female Target Group member suggested:

*"We can make our parents aware that they should treat the Syrians in a good way by discussing their problems with the Syrians."*¹⁸⁴

A Jordanian male Target Group member stated:

*"I think we should make the parents aware, because they have an effect on their kids and are able to make them aware."*¹⁸⁵

Another expanded:

*"The parents must also be involved in the activities, more than the kids, because the kids refer to their parents."*¹⁸⁶

182 AMM JOR TGF FGD.

183 AMM JOR TGF FGD

184 AMM JOR TGF FGD

185 AMM JOR TGM FGD.

186 Ibid.

In particular, the experience of Syrian children and youth with Jordanian children and youth influenced both Syrian parents' level of trust in Jordanians and their willingness to allow their children to leave the home to interact and integrate with them. Participants in 91.7 per cent of all FGDs and ITVs with Syrian parents discussed their unwillingness to allow their children (both male and female) to leave the house to play and interact with Jordanian children in the area, due to fears that Jordanians in their area would harass or physically attack Syrians if given the chance. In this 91.7 per cent of FGDs and ITVs, Syrian parents' FGDs and ITVs, participants expressed their feelings of mistrust towards Jordanians, and in several cases described their fears that they or their children would be stopped and forcibly returned to the camps or to Syria due to documentation problems.

This mistrust further limited access among Syrian children and youth to recreational opportunities and spaces in which to interact with Jordanians, making school a critical (and in some cases the only) site of interaction between Syrian and Jordanian youth. Among parents' expressions of concern regarding leaving the home, 72.7 per cent related to the dangers faced by girls and young women, suggesting that interaction and integration with Jordanians outside of school is a particular challenge for female Syrians in the host communities. Parents also described their own hesitation to leave the home unless absolutely necessary, due to fears of harassment, abuse, and arrest in the host communities.

Describing her children's experience, one Syrian mother in Irbid explained:

*"They do not have any activities except the ones they attend each Saturday with Generations For Peace. They walk to the centre in order to attend the activities. But they do not feel like they are at home. Because of the Syrian issue they lost their rights as children. Here maybe they have only some of their education rights, but none of their rights to play, to have friends, and to build relationships with their peers. They even feel afraid to go out to buy the groceries."*¹⁸⁷

When asked about Jordanian-Syrian relations in her neighbourhood, one Syrian mother in Amman responded:

*"I do not allow my kids to play outside in order not to get into fight with anyone... I have four, we are fighting all the time because they want to play outside."*¹⁸⁸

Describing her children's experience outside the home, another Syrian mother in Irbid stated:

*"Sometimes the Jordanian kids bully them, and take the things they bought or their money. Sometimes they hit the kids, and in the evening my children never go out."*¹⁸⁹

A Syrian father in Irbid said:

*"I am always worried about letting them go out alone; there might be someone who would bully them. I keep telling them do not go out alone."*¹⁹⁰

187 IRB SYR Mothers FGD

188 AMM SYR Mothers FGD.

189 Ibid.

190 IRB SYR Fathers FGD.

Another father in the same FGD added:

*"We only go out for urgent issues, if someone got sick, for example."*¹⁹¹

One Syrian mother in Irbid observed:

*"...Us as Syrians - we are preventing ourselves from building and strengthening the relations with them, as long as we consider ourselves in difficult circumstances."*¹⁹²

Describing an incident in which her son was beaten by a Jordanian in her neighbourhood, a Syrian mother in Mafraq explained:

*"It was afternoon he asked me to go out to play, I allowed him because usually in this part of the day you do not find a lot of people outside, so no one would hurt him. I do not let him go out in the morning so that he will not be beaten by the other boys or be hit by a car."*¹⁹³

She explained her concerns further:

*"Any Jordanian can make a report against any Syrian he wants and claim that the Syrian did something bad to him. Then the Syrian will be kicked out without any investigation or verification to see if the Jordanian is lying. Once the Syrian is kicked out nothing can get him back to Jordan. I am worried all the time, I feel afraid that someone might claim that my son has done something bad to him. Then there is nothing I can do, all my kids are still very young. If they kicked my older son out then I have to follow him to Syria but I cannot go there, there is nothing at all there so I cannot take my children and go back."*¹⁹⁴

A Syrian father in Irbid explained:

*"Sometimes we cannot go out because of the security process, they might look at my papers and send me back to the refugee camp. We are worried about our kids too, as long as they do not have the magnetised IDs they might be sent to Al Azraq Refugee Camp if they were outside and the policemen checked their papers, you all know how life is in Al Azraq Camp..."*¹⁹⁵

In this context of isolation of Syrian children and youth due to security concerns, GFP programmes were described as offering a particularly important opportunity for recreational activities and meeting new friends, especially for girls and those who did not attend school. Among all mentions of Syrian female Target Group members' friendships with Jordanians, 44.4 per cent described friendships formed through the GFP programme (the vast majority of the others described friendships formed in school). Among all mentions of Syrian male Target Group members' friendships with Jordanians, 40 per cent described friendships formed through the GFP programme, and school again was the other main context in which friendships were made.

Overall, ITVs and FGDs showed conflicts between Jordanians and Syrians in the communities visited taking the form of a "feedback loop," and this cycle tended

191 Ibid.

192 IRB SYR Mother ITV.

193 MAF SYR Mother ITV.

194 MAF SYR Mother ITV.

195 IRB SYR Fathers FGD.

to spiral towards greater isolation of Syrians and reduced opportunities for positive interaction and thus integration (see Fig. 19). Negative parental attitudes towards members of the other nationality group tended to contribute to negative perceptions of that nationality among children, particularly among Jordanians. Children's experiences with members of the other nationality also contributed to parents' perceptions of the "other side," intensifying especially Syrians' feelings of insecurity and the desire to avoid interaction with Jordanians. Overall, the interaction of these factors appeared to result in further isolation of Syrians in these communities, contributing to the violence, harassment, and perceived discrimination that led Syrian children to leave school or to avoid registering in it. Building on the previous section, relationships between Syrian students and Jordanian teachers and students appeared to be an important factor in Syrian parents' attitudes towards Jordanians, as children's negative experiences in school influenced parents' perceptions of the wider Jordanian society around them. This further influenced the access of Syrian children to education and the isolation of Syrian families within the host communities, and contributing to the "feedback loop" described above.

B.3. The Gender of Individuals Involved in Jordanian-Syrian Interactions

In Jordanian-Syrian relations, the gender of individuals involved appeared to be strongly related to the nature of interactions (see Fig. 18). Overall, mentions of violence (verbal and physical) were far more frequent among males than females for both Jordanians and Syrians. 63 per cent of all mentions of physical and verbal violence by Syrians were made by males, while 37 per cent were made by females (the vast majority of these mentions were references to verbal violence). Likewise, 70 per cent of all mentions of physical and verbal violence by Jordanians were made by males, and 30 per cent of all such mentions were made by females.

Gender also appeared to be an important factor in the attitudes with which both Syrians and Jordanians approached interactions. 87 per cent of the mentions of using the word "Syrian" as an insult (mentioned in 33.3 per cent of Syrians' FGDs and ITVs, and 100 per cent of FGDs and ITVs with GFP Delegates) occurred in the context of interactions between males, with 13 per cent of these mentions occurring in interactions between females. 62 per cent of Jordanians' expressions of mistrust of Syrians were described in the context of interactions between males, while 38 per cent were described in the context of interactions between females. A corresponding 54 per cent of Syrians' expressions of mistrust of Jordanians were described in the context of interactions between males, while 46 per cent were described in the context of interactions between females. 62 per cent of mentions of perceived discrimination (whether against Syrians or Jordanians) were described in the context of interactions between males, with 38 per cent described in the context of interactions between females. 66 per cent of expressions of Jordanians' general antipathy towards Syrians were described in the context of interactions between males, with 33 per cent described in the context of interactions between females. 92 per cent of all mentions of incitement to conflict (mostly by Jordanians) were described as happening during interactions between males, with only 8 per cent of mentions described as occurring in interactions between females.

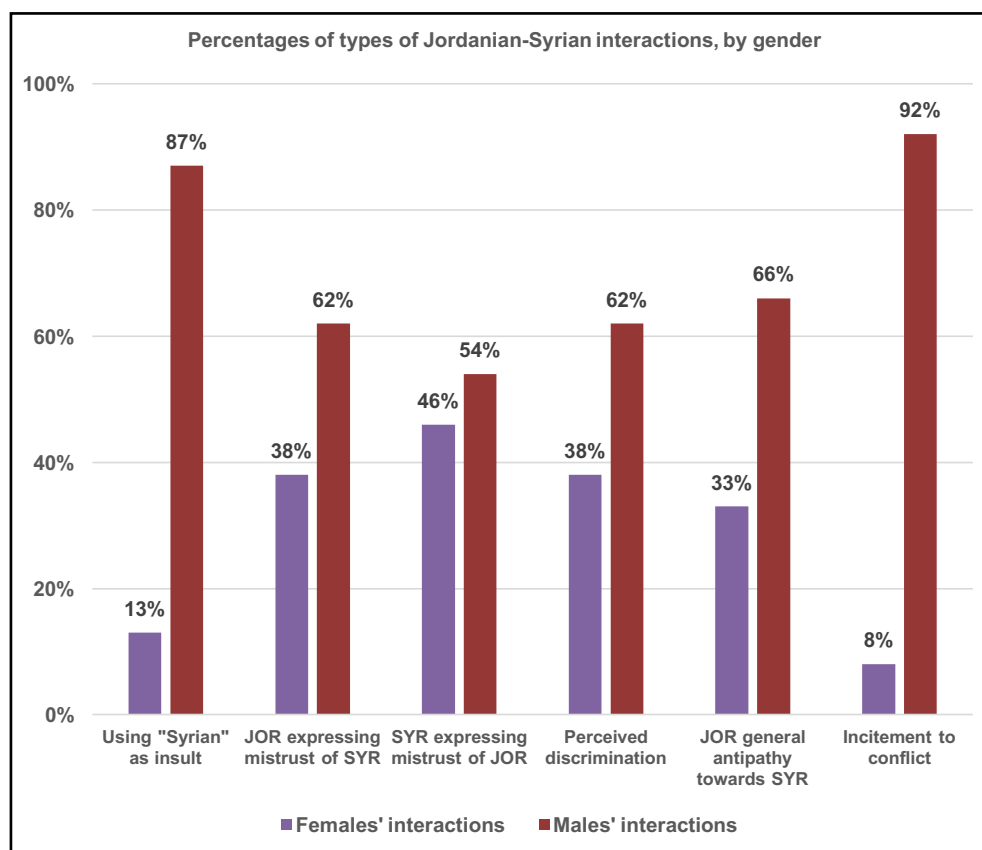


Fig. 18: Percentages of types of Jordanian-Syrian interactions, by gender

In contrast, the frequency with which sympathy¹⁹⁶ for members of the other nationality group was expressed in interactions between males and interactions between females was closer (with 57 per cent of mentions describing interactions between males and 43 per cent of mentions describing interactions between females). Mentions of Syrians as guests and to their Jordanian "hosts" were overwhelmingly made to interactions between females (88 per cent of mentions).

One Syrian father in Irbid explained that in school, his son faced:

*"Usually verbal violence, they insult and label him because he is Syrian. That makes him feel isolated, which puts him under pressure. We cannot do anything for him to stop the problem from increasing."*¹⁹⁷

Describing her sister's experience, a Syrian female Target Group member in Amman described:

*"When she is walking on the street some guys harassed her because she is Syrian. They called out at her 'You Syrian!'"*¹⁹⁸

A Syrian male Target Group member in Amman explained:

*"Some times at school they make fun of our accent. Also they call us Syrians to put us down, as if they are insulting us."*¹⁹⁹

Another Syrian male Target Group member in the same FGD commented:

"I asked them to call me with my name, but they refused, they kept

196 As used here, "sympathy" is defined as feelings of understanding and pity for an individual who is suffering.

197 IRB SYR Father ITV.

198 AMM SYR TGF ITV.

199 AMM SYR TGm FGD.

*calling me 'the Syrian' and if I did not respond they tend to hit me... they live in the same neighbourhood. While I am walking on the road if someone calls to me and I don't respond he tends to hit me."*²⁰⁰

Another Syrian male Target Group member in Amman described the behaviour of his Jordanian peers during an ITV:

*"They were asking me: 'Are you Syrian?' And then bullying me and hitting me just because I am Syrian. I did not know the reason why they were hitting me. They were insulting me and calling us dirty words."*²⁰¹

A GFP Delegate in Mafrqa observed:

"The way that the teachers deal with them, like they call them 'you Jordanians,' 'you Syrians' - that led to negative relationships between the students themselves. They used to feel and deal with each other as if the Syrians and Jordanians are different. My son was addressing his classmates as Syrians and Jordanians. I was asking him why you do not call someone by his name, he was saying 'Because he is Syrian.'" ²⁰²

Overall, interactions between males (as described in FGDs and ITVs) were much more heavily characterised by both nationalities' expressions of mistrust of the other nationality; Jordanians' expressions of hostility towards Syrians and use of the term "Syrian" as an insult; both Jordanians' and Syrians' perceptions of discrimination against their respective nationalities; and both nationalities' descriptions of incitement (mostly by Jordanians) to conflict (see Fig. 18, above). The rates at which expressions of sympathy towards and mistrust of the other nationality were expressed were closer in interactions between males and interactions between females. As discussed in the first section of this Chapter, interactions between females were much more heavily characterised by references to Syrians as "guests" and Jordanians as "hosts", as well as lower frequencies of mentions of mistrust, antipathy, perceived discrimination, and using nationality as an insult.

There are several possible influences on these trends. As described above, FGDs and ITVs results demonstrated that that female-female and male-male interactions differ greatly in both context and frequency (male-female interactions, especially among non-family members, were very rarely mentioned). In 37 per cent of Jordanian FGDs and ITVs and 29.2 per cent of Syrian FGDs and ITVs, girls were described as less likely to engage in conflict and confrontation when they interacted, though participants also acknowledged that girls' opportunities for interaction with the other group were far fewer due to social restrictions on girls' and women's movement. Unlike social ties between men and boys, social connections between female participants were also described as extending between generations: Jordanian girls and women in 61.5 per cent of all Jordanian girls' and women's FGDs and ITVs reported girls bringing their Syrian friends from the GFP programme and from school to meet their mothers at home, or becoming friends with the daughters of their mothers' Syrian friends (this was mentioned in only 16.7 per cent of Syrian girls' and women's FGDs and ITVs). Boys and men, in contrast, did not introduce friends and acquaintances of the opposite nationality to their families, with the result that the impact of these relationships

200 Ibid.

201 AMM SYR TGm ITV.

202 MAF DEL FGD.

was less intergenerational than the impact of girls' and women's friendships with the opposite group.

These trends are also corroborated by the findings of research previously undertaken in summer 2014 on GFP's Jordan Violence In Schools Programme,²⁰³ located in several underprivileged areas in East Amman and focusing primarily on Jordanians. Results of this research demonstrated that while male Target Group members tended to "cascade" or share the programme's message primarily with their peer group, female Target Group members amplified the effects of the programme by sharing its message with both their peer group and their extended family members. Cascading was notably facilitated by strong relationships of trust between mothers and female teachers in the schools where the programme was held. These findings, in combination with those described here, suggest that women's and girls' participation in programming is critical for ensuring broad and effective programme impact in the wider Beneficiary Community in Jordan. Suggestions for facilitating women's and girls' participation in programme design and implementation in Jordanian host communities are included in the next Chapter.

Finally, Jordanian women and girls in 61.5 per cent of all Jordanian women's and girls' FGDs and ITVs described hearing Syrian women's traumatic experiences and learning more about them as individuals as critical in building their positive relationships with them, demonstrating the power of providing space for communication and interaction to facilitate social cohesion. As discussed above, parents' perspectives on persons of other nationalities had a strong influence on their children's attitudes towards their peers of other nationalities, suggesting that space for positive interaction among mothers (as well as fathers) could be a powerful force for social cohesion.

A female GFP Delegate in Amman (Jordanian) observed:

*"When the ladies become closer and they at least started passing by each others' places, the Jordanians noticed that the Syrians are living in really bad situation, so they sympathised with them more and they believed that they are really suffering, it is different just to hear that. That made the Jordanian ladies closer [to Syrians], they start to help each other and listen to the Syrians' stories. The Syrians have been through a horrible time, especially their kids, so the Jordanian ladies, when they heard their stories, they sympathised with them and tried to help them to integrate."*²⁰⁴

A Jordanian female Target Group member in Amman explained:

*"We got used to each other and now we are dealing with each other easily... After I knew about their suffering, my thoughts changed."*²⁰⁵

One Jordanian female Target Group member in Irbid explained:

"We got used to them [in the GFP programme], and day after day both sides

203 Seeley, Maira. "Generations For Peace's Jordan Violence in Schools Programme: Gendered Communications Patterns and Programme Impact on Beneficiary Community." Amman, Jordan: Generations for Peace, 2014. <http://www.generationsforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Generations-For-Peace-Jordan-Violence-in-Schools-Programme-Gendered-Communications-Patterns-and-Programme-Impact-on-Beneficiary-Community-2014-Full-Report.pdf>

204 AMM DEL ITV.

205 AMM JOR TGf ITV.

started to understand each other better. Some people had a stereotypical image that Syrians are bad people, but after they dealt with them they changed it."²⁰⁶

A Jordanian mother in Irbid described:

*"Me as a Jordanian, I do interact with my Syrian neighbour. Sometimes I meet Syrian ladies on my way to work, and I do accept them. I take the first step to encourage them to do positive things. Maybe they are keeping to themselves because of the hard times they went through. I gave an example about the two Syrian girls that were participating in the centre activities. At the beginning they were crying all the time and feeling afraid of us, but once we started talking to them and making them feel safe things went much better. They started to deal with us and tell me some of their stories and their suffering because I accepted them and listened to them. Step by step they felt safe and secure. These issues need time to be solved, as it needs us to take positive action. The things that Syrians passed through are horrible things. Also as Jordanians we cannot guarantee that we will not suffer in the future so we should feel what Syrians feel and help them."*²⁰⁷

Another mother in the same FGD stated:

*"The females are more flexible. Although the Syrian students are not accepting the idea of studying here because they are used to dealing with a different system, [females] are more flexible than males. The males are more resistant than females. They cannot get along easily."*²⁰⁸

A Syrian female Target Group member in Irbid explained:

*"Some of [her Jordanian friends] were our neighbours, they started to visit us and then we became friends. I met the others here in the centre; we were together in Generations For Peace programme. I met most of my friends here in the centre, they are so friendly."*²⁰⁹

A Jordanian mother in Amman described:

*"My daughter speaks in Syrian accent now, she learned that from her Syrian classmate, she affected me as well and we talk to each other at the house with a Syrian accent. [The Syrian classmate] taught them some verses that they say in the weddings. She even brought my daughter a birthday gift when she knew that it was her birthday yesterday."*²¹⁰

Another mother in the same FGD added:

*"They are happy to introduce us to their Syrian friends. The other day my daughter was running and calling me, 'Mama, come here, my Syrian friend would like to meet you'."*²¹¹

Another Jordanian female Target Group member in Amman said:

"Each time I attend activities I tell my mother about it, and I tell her that we should deal with Syrians and make them our friends. I tell [my family] what

206 IRB JOR TGF FGD.

207 IRB JOR Mothers FGD.

208 Ibid.

209 IRB SYR TGF ITV.

210 AMM JOR Mothers FGD.

211 Ibid.

is right and what is wrong."²¹²

In the same FGD, different female Target Group members stated:

"The problems between the females are less than the problems between males."

"The Syrian and Jordanian females like each other more than the Syrian and Jordanian males do."

"The females build relationships faster than the males."

"The problems between the males are more than the problems between the females."²¹³

A Syrian female Target Group member in Irbid observed:

"The girls do not get into fights even if they are exposed to verbal violence, while the males are aggressive."²¹⁴

A male Syrian Target Group member in Amman commented:

"The girls do not go out, so they do not get into fights, while the boys might get into fight for anything or any reason, because they go out more than the girls."²¹⁵

A female Syrian Target Group member in Amman explained:

"The boys might not mind if anyone insults them, they can deal with him because they are boys, but we as females, we cannot talk with [the person who insulted them]. This is the worst thing."²¹⁶

In a FGD for Syrian fathers in Irbid, participants stated:

"Regarding the girls, they have fewer problems at school than the boys do. They integrate with each other easily. They have less violence and discrimination."

"The girls are quiet by nature, while the boys are aggressive."²¹⁷

In Mafraq, a Syrian female Target Group member commented:

"The boys are troublemakers. They are hyper and cannot calm down right away. The relationship between the Syrian and Jordanian girls could be better and could be solved, but it is more difficult to solve the relationship between the boys. They react violently. Even for simple issues, if someone insult the other Jordanian boy he will directly act violently... Maybe [boys] cannot control their reaction and be patient like girls. I face much verbal violence but I do not give a damn. They are expressing themselves so it is up to them. I will not make it a big deal."²¹⁸

The importance of GFP programmes as sometimes the only opportunity for women and girls (particularly Syrians) to participate in activities outside the home was evident. Besides GFP programme sessions, the only activities outside the home mentioned by Syrian women and girls included UNICEF's Life Skills programme

212 AMM JOR TGf FGD.

213 AMM JOR TGf FGD.

214 IRB SYR TGf FGD.

215 AMM SYR TGm FGD.

216 AMM SYR TGf FGD.

217 IRB SYR Fathers FGD.

218 MAF SYR TGf ITV.

and, in Amman, Qur'anic recitation clubs (especially for adult women). Among Syrian adult women in Amman, Qur'anic recitation club was also described as creating opportunities for positive relationships with Jordanian women and girls. The GFP programme was clearly effective as a means of fostering Syrian-Jordanian friendships: out of mentions of Syrian female Target Group members' friendships with Jordanians, 44.4 per cent described friendships formed through the GFP programme (among mentions of Syrian male Target Group members' friendships with Jordanians, 40 per cent described friendships formed through the GFP programme).

As discussed above, Syrian parents' fears to allow their children (especially daughters) to leave the home prevented interaction and integration, reducing opportunities to build positive relationships and social cohesion in host communities. The evidence of girls' and women's lower rates of negative interaction with the opposite nationality and expression of negative feelings towards them, as well as women and girls' tendency to amplify of programme impact more widely, suggests that this isolation meant the loss of an important opportunity for girls to form positive Syrian-Jordanian relationships, creating a wider positive impact on the local community. The implications of these findings for the design and implementation of social cohesion programming will be discussed further in the final Chapter.

B.4. The Historical Precedent of Palestinian Refugees in Jordan

The recent history of Palestinian refugees in Jordan as a precedent for the Syrian crisis was mentioned as a factor in Syrian-Jordanian relations in 45 per cent of interviews and Focus Groups (not including interviews and Focus Groups with Delegates). Among those mentions, 36 per cent were made by Syrians and 64 per cent by Jordanians, and the issue was raised most frequently by far in Amman (where 66 per cent of mentions were made, in comparison with 11 per cent in Irbid and 23 per cent in Mafraq).

Both Syrians and Jordanians (especially Palestinian Jordanians²¹⁹) described the experience of Palestinians in Jordan as a good example of how a large refugee influx could integrate in the country. Several Jordanians in Mafraq and Irbid mentioned that they felt some "racism" prevented total integration of Palestinian former refugees with other Jordanians, and expressed concern that the same might happen with Syrians, but felt that this was avoidable.

In 50 per cent of mentions of Palestinians as a prior example of a refugee influx, however, Jordanians shared their expectation that the Syrians and Jordanians would "integrate" in the way that the Palestinians had. In Amman, Palestinian Jordanians in 44.4 per cent of all FGDs and ITVs stated that their own families had experienced such displacement and that they therefore understood the Syrians' experience and sympathised with them. Several Syrians also described their own experience with Palestinians in Syria as a precedent for integration and

²¹⁹ The descendants of Palestinian refugees who arrived in Jordan in both 1948 and 1967, most of whom were subsequently granted citizenship. The presence of a significant population of Palestinian Jordanians created tensions with the East Banker population (primarily Jordanians descended from those resident in Jordan before 1948), especially following the outbreak of civil war in Jordan in 1970. See the introduction to this Chapter. See also International Crisis Group. "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (IX): Dallying with Reform in a Divided Jordan." El-Abed, Oroub. "Palestinian Refugees in Jordan."

noted that as they had accepted the Palestinians in Syria, the Syrians should be hosted in Jordan.

One Jordanian male Target Group member in Mafrq observed:

*"Anyone who did not get the chance to know the other well – there will be boundaries between them. We used to hear from the old people that the Palestinians had ruined our country, but once I went to university I met many Palestinians who are better than many Jordanians. So if we do not deal with others we will not be able to know them well. You just need a chance to deal with them."*²²⁰

A Syrian female Target Group member in Mafrq stated:

*"I think it is the same as when the Palestinians came to Jordan and now they are citizens as if they were Jordanians. The same thing will happen to us. I tell my mother just wait; after five years the Syrians and Jordanians will not have more problems together. They will integrate and accept each other better."*²²¹

In Irbid, a Jordanian female Target Group member expressed:

*"I hope everything will be ok, with time the Syrians will be part of the community the same way that Palestinians became part of the community."*²²²

In Amman, a Jordanian mother stated:

*"Our parents passed through the same circumstances when they had to move from Palestine and thank God the Jordanians accepted us and we are adapted now. We are considering ourselves Jordanians."*²²³

Also in Amman, a Syrian mother explained:

*"I always said that most of the people who are living here are Palestinians who passed through what we are suffering now."*²²⁴

When asked about the role of parents in conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children, a Syrian male Target Group member in Amman responded:

*"[The role of parents is] to make their kids aware that the Syrians are like their brothers, they must feel what we feel, that the Syrians passed through many hard circumstances and war. In Syria we have Yarmouk [Palestinian] Refugee Camp and the people were treating them in a very good way."*²²⁵

Syrian participants in interviews and Focus Groups in Amman referred to their neighbours and those they interacted with (both positively and negatively) as "Palestinians." One Syrian father noted, "I have only met one person who is Jordanian,"²²⁶ while a Syrian female Target Group member observed, "it is rare to have problems with Jordanians, mostly the problems are with Palestinians in the camp"²²⁷, and a Syrian mother expressed that, "all we want from you is to control

220 IRB JOR TGm ITV.

221 MAF SYR TGf ITV.

222 IRB JOR TGf ITV.

223 AMM JOR Mothers FGD.

224 AMM SYR Mother ITV.

225 AMM SYR TGm ITV.

226 AMM SYR Fathers FGD.

227 AMM SYR TGf FGD.

and stop the conflict between the Syrian and Palestinian students.”²²⁸

One Syrian father in Amman described how his 10-year-old daughter had adopted a Palestinian accent in order to integrate in the area and avoid being recognised as a Syrian:

*“I have six daughters from the age of one and half year till seventeen years old. My daughter presents herself as a Palestinian Jordanian. She pretends that she is Palestinian Jordanian, and she speaks with their accent.”*²²⁹

Jordanians in the same area referred to themselves as Palestinian or Jordanian, but emphasised their Palestinian identity when speaking about their relationships with Syrians.

These results demonstrate the role of historical experiences of displacement in Palestinian Jordanians’ responses to the presence of Syrians in Jordan, indicating that this recent history was sometimes viewed as a source of particular sympathy for Syrians in the local host community,²³⁰ and that the presence of Syrians created an opportunity for Palestinian Jordanians to articulate their identity in terms of displacement and Palestinian origins. Syrians also perceived host community members in terms of their ethnic background and identity as the descendants of refugees. Overall, analysis revealed ways in which Jordanians’ responses to the presence of Syrians varied by ethnic background and location, further indicating the complexity of social factors impacting social cohesion in Jordanian host communities.

This section has sought to explore that complexity of factors in social cohesion in detail, building on the previous section’s discussion of divergences between Jordanians’ and Syrians’ perceptions of social relations in host communities. Overall, this Chapter seeks to provide the key contextual information to understand social cohesion dynamics and improve social cohesion programme design more generally, focusing first on the key divergences in Jordanians’ and Syrians’ perceptions of the distribution of humanitarian aid, Syrians’ status in Jordan as either “guests” or as refugees (with according social expectations), the accessibility of education for refugee children and youth, relations with local law enforcement and civil/municipal authorities, and perspectives on Syrian women’s and girls’ marriages to Jordanians; social factors in the way in which Syrians’ and Jordanians responded to these points of conflict and in the quality of social cohesion in the communities studied include the relationships between Syrian refugees and Jordanian teachers in local schools, dynamics of communication within families, the age and gender of individuals involved in Jordanian-Syrian interactions, and (in Amman) the historical precedent of Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

The results presented in the two sections of this Chapter together indicate an important feedback loop of conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children

228 AMM SYR Mothers FGD.

229 AMM SYR Fathers FGD.

230 It was not possible to assess rigorously whether or not differences in ethnic affiliations were associated with differences in the degree of positivity in Jordanian-Syrian relationships, as participants’ ethnic affiliations were not recorded at any of the three locations. The results presented here are based entirely on the statements made by FGD and ITV participants, and while these results demonstrate the role of ethnic background and historical experience in the general perceptions of some community members, they should not be understood as indicative of the relative quality of relationships between Syrians and members of different ethnicities.

and youth in host communities, represented in Fig. 19 (below). This pattern demonstrates a downward spiral towards increased conflict, decreased social cohesion, and increased Syrian drop-outs. Jordanian teachers' attitudes towards Syrians, and Syrian and Jordanian parents' perceptions of the other group, had an important influence on relations between children and youth of both nationalities, both inside and outside school. When negative relationships and verbal and physical violence did occur between children and youth of both nationalities, this was an important factor in Syrian students' decision to leave school or not to enrol in the first place. This increased the isolation of Syrian children and youth by eliminating their access to the main point of interaction with Jordanians. Syrians' concerns about interaction with Jordanians, particularly figures of authority, and a lack of spaces for safe interactions between the two nationalities meant that Syrian children and youth's absence from school could not only isolate those children and youth but could also remove a key social link between their families and the wider Jordanian host community. This further reduced Jordanian-Syrian interaction and worsening relations between the two nationalities, as opportunities to challenge negative perceptions and stereotypes were lost. This isolation was a particularly serious problem for girls, whose opportunities for participation in activities outside the home and contact with Jordanians were more limited (see Part 3 of Section B, this Chapter).

However, this feedback loop of conflict and increased isolation also reveals key points of intervention at which targeted programming could improve social cohesion (and, it is hoped, increase Syrians' access to education). Improving teachers' capacities to foster positive relationships and safe, nonviolent interactions between Syrians and Jordanians in mixed²³¹ schools, as well as creating opportunities for Syrian and Jordanian children and youth and their parents (particularly girls and women) to maintain non-confrontational interactions, could have a strong positive impact on social cohesion by interrupting the feedback loop summarised here.

Recommendations for both GFP and broader social cohesion programme design in Jordan, based directly on these results, will be presented in the final Chapter.

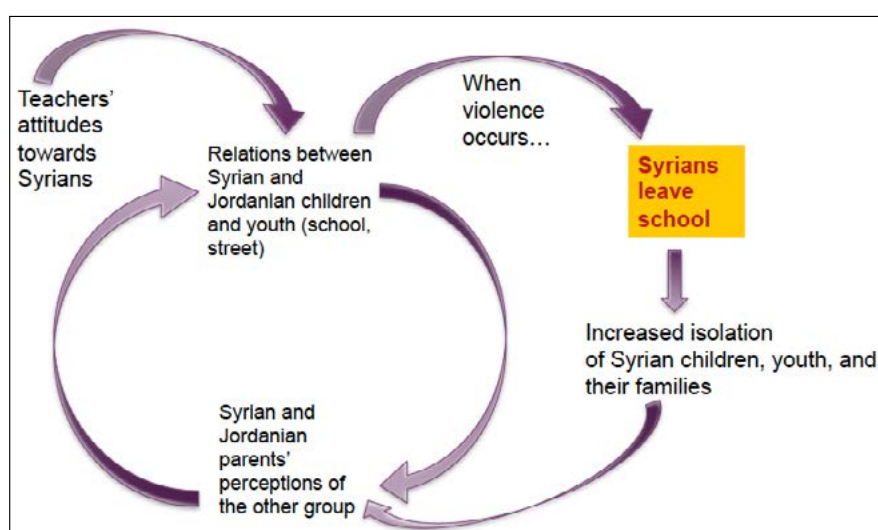


Fig. 19: Feedback loop of conflict between Jordanians and Syrians

231 Abia, Zeina, Muzna Al-Masri, Ali Chahine, Alia Chaaban Al-Jahjah, and Sawsan Masri. "Better Together: The Impact of the Schooling System of Lebanese and Syrian Displaced Pupils on Social Stability." International Alert, December 2015. <http://www.international-alert.org/resources/publications/better-together#sthash.dm2Emhcl.dpbs>





5.

Conclusion and

Recommendations



The field research whose results are presented here was undertaken by GFP in summer and autumn of 2015, in order to better understand the dynamics of social cohesion in Jordan and identify ways to ensure that the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme's conflict analysis and programme design reflect accurately the conflict transformation needs in northern Jordan, maximising programme effectiveness. Many of the findings described here may also be more widely relevant for other social cohesion programmes in Syrian refugee host countries in the MENA region. This research ultimately sought to identify differences between Syrian and Jordanian perspectives on the main forms of conflict in host communities and the most critical needs (at the community level) in addressing different forms of conflict between Syrian and Jordanian children and youth, as well as the specific programme design elements needed to most effectively address Syrian-Jordanian conflict and a lack of social cohesion in Jordan's host communities.

This research was completed with youth participants in the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme and parents of the programme's youth participants, living in three host communities in Mafraq, Irbid, and Amman. Focus Group Discussions, interviews, and brief surveys were used during the course of the research, with results disaggregated by age, gender, and nationality.

Key findings included significant divergence in Syrians' and Jordanians' perceptions of the distribution of humanitarian aid; Syrians' status in Jordan as either "guests" or as refugees (with according social expectations); the accessibility of education for refugee children and youth; relations with local law enforcement and civil and municipal authorities; and perspectives on Syrian women's and girls' marriages to Jordanians.

In addition, social factors were identified that influenced the way in which Syrians' and Jordanians responded to these points of conflict and impacted the quality of social cohesion in the communities studied. These factors included the relationships between Syrian refugees and Jordanian teachers in local schools; dynamics of communication within families; the age and gender of individuals

involved in Jordanian-Syrian interactions; and (in Amman) the historical precedent of Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

Overall, findings revealed that Syrian-Jordanian conflict in the host communities studied formed a self-reinforcing feedback loop, leading to Syrians' increasing social isolation; decreased access to education among Syrian refugee children and youth; and decreased social cohesion in the host communities studied (see Fig. 19).

However, a close look at this feedback loop also reveals opportunities to interrupt this cycle of conflict through specific interventions, as described in the recommendations listed below. The implications of these findings for the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme design strategy, as well as for the design of social cohesion programmes in the Syrian refugee crisis context will also be examined below, drawing on Community-Based Participatory Research techniques.

A. Ensure that Women and Girls are Included in Programme Activities

Previous research on the impact of GFP programmes in Amman and Zarqa, conducted in 2014, demonstrated the wider transmission of the effects of GFP programming when this programming targeted girls.²³² In addition, the data above suggest that Syrian and Jordanian girls' and women's opportunities for positive interaction are more limited than boys' and men's, but that when the two groups do interact, they are more likely to form positive and non-violent relationships.

GFP programming offers a rare opportunity particularly for Syrian girls and women to interact with Jordanians, reducing their feelings of isolation and fear towards their peers and creating space for positive relationships and greater trust in the "other side." The importance of the parent-child feedback loop (which also includes teachers if the child attends school) in influencing perceptions of conflict and responses to potential triggers of conflict suggests that involving women such as Target Group members' mothers in programming could strongly amplify the conflict transformation effects of the programme.

It is therefore crucial to include women and girls in GFP programming as much as possible, recognising that this may require some specific arrangements such as additional or separate transportation; careful selection of programme locations and venues to ensure that female GFP Delegates are included in each community; increased community outreach, perhaps through previous GFP programme participants; and ensuring overall that effective communication continues with the community and the families of Target Group members. One effective strategy for including female Target Group members that emerged through GFP's experience in Jordan is inclusion first of potential female participants' male relatives in the programme, which is very effective in building community confidence in the programme and thus enabling girls and women to participate.

As the evidence gathered through this research suggests that these

²³² Seeley, Maira. "Generations For Peace's Jordan Violence in Schools Programme: Gendered Communications Patterns and Programme Impact on Beneficiary Community."

communication patterns were not limited to the context of the GFP programme, this recommendation is also more widely relevant for other social cohesion programmes in the region.

B. Include both Parents and Children and Youth in Programme Activities

While working directly with children and youth creates a powerful entry point through which to address issues of social cohesion, also including parents in programming is crucial for increasing the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme's effectiveness. This is due in large part to parents' important role in the conflict feedback loop identified and described above.

The experience of implementing the GFP programme in 2015 has also shown that there are some important limits on parental involvement, including transportation and associated costs; reluctance among Syrians to be involved in community activities due to perceived insecurity, social barriers, and other demands on their time; general community suspicion of NGO activities; and difficulties in scheduling activities at appropriate times so that parents can participate. Some arrangements for increasing parent participation in GFP activities have begun in the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, but additional parent involvement (through a thorough and accessible in-person introduction to the programme or so-called Open Day, long-term social initiatives, cooking activities, or recreational activities) would greatly strengthen programme impact and effectiveness.

More broadly, programmes targeting children and youth as an entry point through which to address social cohesion issues in refugee host communities should also consider including specific opportunities for parental involvement. According to the experience of the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, involving parents may be initially challenging, but interest in participation may increase as children and youth continue their involvement in the programme and community confidence in the programme and its providers grows.

C. Design Programming to Address Jordanian Teachers' Attitudes towards Syrians

As described above, the role of teachers in community conflict and cohesion is very significant. Teachers' relationships with their Syrian students had a particularly serious impact on those students' (and their families') perceptions of Jordanians, as well as Syrians' access to education and their isolation from contact with Jordanians.

The need to involve Jordanian teachers and even school staff and administrators in social cohesion programming and build their positive relationships with Syrians (of all ages) is, therefore, an important consideration in designing effective programmes with maximal positive impact. The possibility of influencing Jordanian teachers' attitudes towards Syrians represents an important opportunity for interventions to encourage social cohesion, specifically by breaking the downward spiral of Syrian drop-outs and increasing isolation discussed earlier, and increasing Syrians' trust in host community members. GFP's ongoing Jordan Schools Programme (begun in late 2014 and currently implemented in 12 Jordanian schools) currently engages teachers and representatives of schools' administration, as well as students, in

order to address issues of physical and verbal violence. This provides a strong example of school-based programming that could be adapted to enhance social cohesion in host communities.

The results presented here also suggest that wider efforts to improve teachers' abilities to create a safe and effective learning environment within the context of the refugee crisis could contribute powerfully to social cohesion in Jordanian (and potentially other host countries') host communities, primarily by interrupting the cycle of conflict and isolation of Syrian students and providing a recognised safe space for students of both nationalities to interact and form positive relationships.

D. Ensure that Syrian Stakeholders Are Included in the Programme Design and Implementation Processes

The degree of divergence between Syrian and Jordanian perspectives on the issues described above reveals the importance of including community members of both nationalities in social cohesion programme design and implementation as far as possible. The effects of these differences in perspective may not be immediately evident, but nonetheless may impact the way in which programmes are conceptualised, planned, and implemented. Critically, these trends of divergence in perceptions were present not only among FGDs and ITVs with programme participants and their parents, but also in FGDs and ITVs with GFP programme volunteers who review programme designs and, most importantly, are responsible for regular programme implementation and activity facilitation. Including Syrians among these volunteers is therefore an important aspect of creating effective social cohesion programming.

Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) approaches, with their emphasis on broad stakeholder representation and input, could also guide the inclusion of both Syrians and Jordanians in the design of social cohesion programming (see Chapter 2 of this report). As discussed in Chapter 2, the participatory techniques currently used to train GFP Delegates in conflict analysis could also be used to collect Syrian and Jordanian Delegates' input for programme design, increasing and broadening the level of stakeholder input in the programme overall. While GFP Delegates currently brainstorm conflict dimensions and identify wider conflict stakeholders using CBPR techniques during trainings, a gap exists between the content produced by this brainstorming and the process of determining which dimensions of conflict GFP programmes should focus on and how these are described and analysed in programme design documents which are created by programme volunteers with support of GFP Headquarters staff. Gathering, summarising, analysing and representing the content produced during trainings by GFP Delegates (stakeholders) in subsequent design documents, while also ensuring that both Syrian and Jordanian Delegates participate in producing this content, would make GFP programme design a more truly participatory (and thus more representative and effective) process. Allowing GFP Delegates to review design documents once already created may not be a fully effective means of gathering stakeholder input in programme design. This is particularly important as GFP programmes are tailored to meet the specific needs of each community in which they are implemented.

However, the experience of implementing the programme in 2015 demonstrated that obstacles to Syrians' participation in programme design and implementation include lack of willingness or ability to volunteer; fear of outside interactions with Jordanians; cultural barriers to women's participation in group activities outside the home; and logistical concerns – issues that should be addressed to improve stakeholder representation and increase the effectiveness of the GFP Jordan Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme. Means of overcoming these challenges might include increased outreach in the Syrian community at each location through Syrian former programme participants; efforts to provide safe transportation to and from the programme location; or measures to enable Syrian female volunteers to bring an accompanying relative to the programme location. These measures would provide a means of managing differences in Syrian and Jordanian stakeholders' access to resources (social and financial), thus improving stakeholder representation in programme design and implementation.

E. Create More Safe Spaces for Positive Jordanian-Syrian Interaction in Host Communities

During FGDs and ITVs with GFP Target Group members and parents of Target Group members, it became clear that safe, neutral and accessible space in which both sides had a chance to interact and form positive relationships was a powerful force for social cohesion. It was also clear that GFP effectively provided such space.

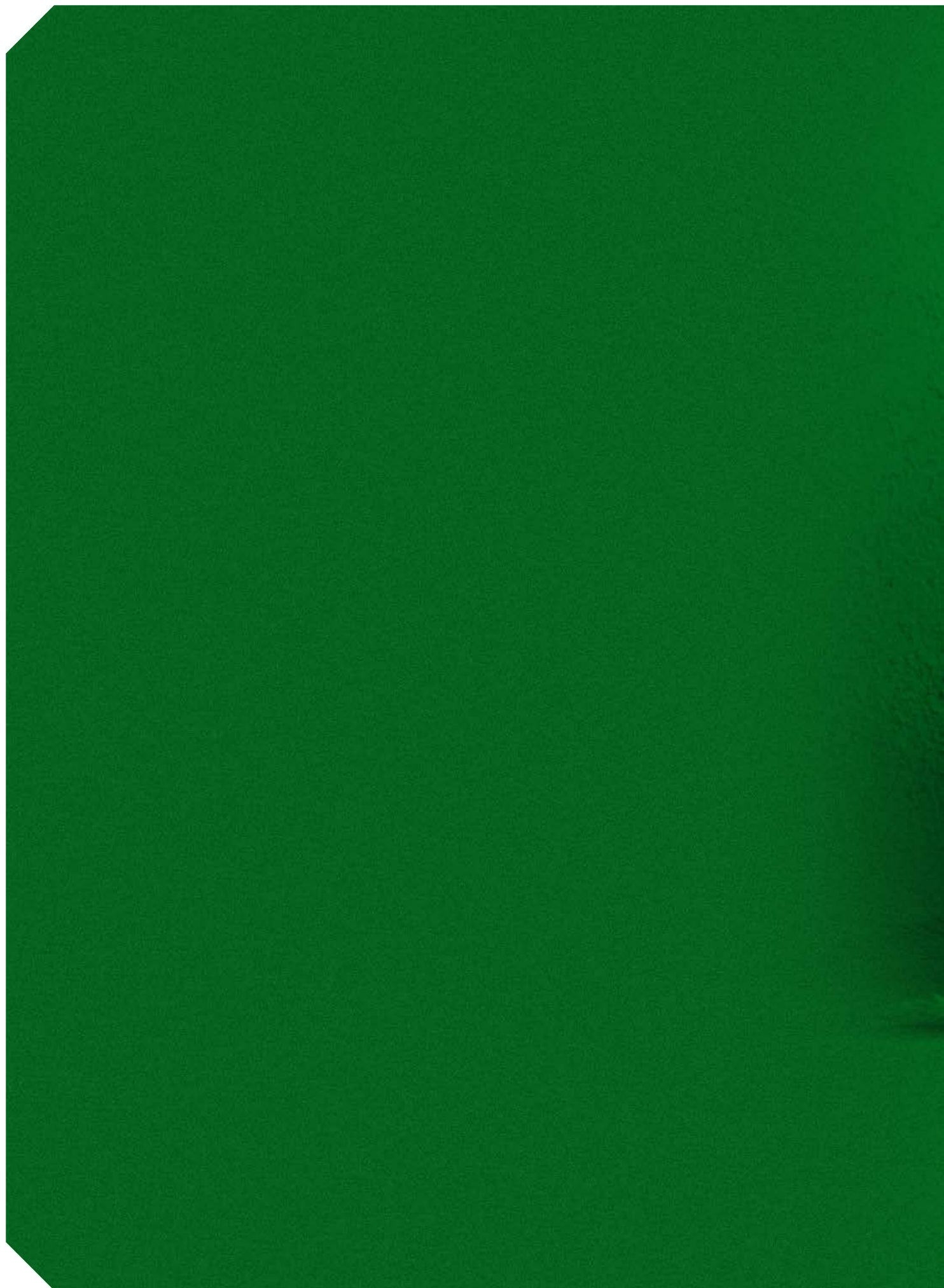
Among all mentions of Syrian female Target Group members' friendships with Jordanians, 44.4 per cent described friendships formed through the GFP programme (the vast majority of the others described friendships formed in school). Among all mentions of Syrian male Target Group members' friendships with Jordanians, 40 per cent described friendships formed through the GFP programme, and school again was the other main context in which friendships were made.

Non-confrontational interaction through recreational activities was effective in de-escalating conflict among Target Group members, by their own report. However, FGDs and ITVs also demonstrated that opportunities for such interaction were rare in these host communities. For several Target Group members, GFP programme activities provided the only "safe space" for interaction that they had ever experienced. More opportunities for positive interactions between Jordanians and Syrians are badly needed to build social cohesion and combat the downward spiral of increased conflict and isolation observed in the three communities studied.

This report seeks to provide a uniquely detailed and localised analysis of Syrians' and Jordanians' perceptions of refugee-host community relations, in order to create a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the needs and challenges that arise in building social cohesion in host communities, and ultimately facilitate successful social cohesion programming design and implementation. It is hoped that the depth of analysis summarised above will provide fresh insight into refugee and host community relations in northern and central Jordan, with acknowledgment of the data's inherent limitations (see Chapter 3).

The results described here build on existing broader reports of Syrians' and Jordanians' perceptions of relations between members of the two nationalities.

As well as revealing important divergences between Syrians' and Jordanians' perspectives on relations between members of the two nationalities, the research revealed regional and gender differences in perceptions and relations. The results and analysis presented here not only describe differences between Syrian and Jordanian perspectives, but contribute to an understanding of how interacting social factors relate to these perspectives, and trends in the ways that relations between Syrians and Jordanians continue to develop over time. Understanding these dynamics remains crucial for designing and implementing effective programming to build social cohesion in host communities in Jordan, and analysis of many of the trends described here (particularly those related to educational access and spaces for interaction between refugees and host community members) may also provide insight into challenges faced in Syrian refugee host countries in the wider MENA region. Perhaps most importantly, this analysis reveals specific means of optimising both GFP and other programmes to most effectively build social cohesion in host communities, drawing on a detailed examination of the perspectives of both Syrian and Jordanians. It is hoped that the depth of analysis presented here, combined with specific programming recommendations, will contribute to the creation of effective social cohesion programming in Syrian refugee host countries more broadly, particularly as the Syrian refugee crisis continues and Syrians' presence in host communities becomes increasingly long-term.





6.

Appendices

Bibliography

- Abla, Zeina, Muzna Al-Masri, Ali Chahine, Alia Chaaban Al-Jahjah, and Sawsan Masri. "Better Together: The Impact of the Schooling System of Lebanese and Syrian Displaced Pupils on Social Stability." International Alert, December 2015. <http://www.international-alert.org/resources/publications/better-together#sthash.dm2Emhcl.dpbs>.
- Achilli, Luigi. "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check." European University Institute: Migration Policy Centre, February 2015. http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34904/MPC_2015-02_PB.pdf?sequence=1.
- Ahmad, Zena Ali. "Municipal Needs Assessment Report: Mitigating the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Jordanian Vulnerable Host Communities." Amman, Jordan: United Nations Development Programme, 2014. <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/118-undpreportmunicipality.pdf>.
- Al Emam, Dana. "Rise in Crime Rate Registered over Five-Year Period." The Jordan Times, 14 October 2014. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/rise-crime-rate-registered-over-five-year-period>.
- Ayoubi, Ziad. "Joint Assessment for Syrian Refugees in Egypt." UNHCR, November 2013. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=6025>.
- Baker, Daniel. "Regional Situation Report for Syria Crisis #16." United Nations Population Fund, December 2013. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=3888>.
- Benner, Marie Theres, Aree Muangsookjarouen, Egbert Sondorp, and Joy Townsend. "Neglect of Refugee Participation." Forced Migration Review, April 2008. <http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/FMRpdfs/FMR30/25.pdf>.
- Buecher, Beatrix, Keith Green, and Johanna Mitscherlich. "Lives Unseen: Urban Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Host Communities Three Years into the Syria Crisis." Amman, Jordan: CARE International, April 2014. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/lives-unseen-urban-syrian-refugees-and-jordanian-host-communities-three-years-syria>.
- CARE International. "Five Years into Exile: The Challenges Faced by Syrian Refugees Outside Camps in Jordan and How They and Their Host Communities Are Coping." Amman, Jordan, 1 July 2015. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/five-years-exile-challenges-faced-syrian-refugees-outside-camps-jordan-and-how-they>.
- Chatty, Dawn, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Metin Çorabatır, Leen Hashem, Jalal Al Hussein, and Sarah Wahby. "Ensuring Quality Education for Young Refugees from Syria (12–25 Years): A Mapping Exercise." University of Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, September 2014. <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/other/rr-syria-youth-education-2014.pdf>.
- Chevalier, Jacques M., and Daniel J. Buckles. Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Corrales, Marco Antonio Rodríguez. "Methodology for Rapid Humanitarian Assessment." Panama: Work Group for Risk, Emergencies and Disasters for the region's Interagency Standing Committee (REDLAC), 2006. <https://>

www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/Rapid_Assessment_Methodology_ENG.pdf.

Douglas, Marilyn K., Jeanne K. Kemppainen, Marilyn R. McFarland, Irena Papadopoulos, Marilyn A. Ray, Janice M. Roper, Melissa Scollan-Koliopoulos, Jill Shapira, and Hsiu-Min Tsai. "Chapter 10: Research Methodologies for Investigating Cultural Phenomena and Evaluating Interventions." *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 21, no. 4 Supplement (1 October 2010): 373S – 405S.

El-Abed, Oroub. "Palestinian Refugees in Jordan." *Forced Migration Online*, February 2004. <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/palestinian-refugees-in-jordan>.

———. "The Discourse of Guesthood: Forced Migrants in Jordan." In *Managing Muslim Mobilities: Between Spiritual Geographies and the Global Security Regime*, edited by Anita Fábos and R. Isotalo, 81–102. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Elayyan, Khalil. "Violence against Children Study in Jordan." UNICEF, 2007. [http://www.unicef.org/jordan/VAC_Study_English_FOR_SCREEN\(2\).pdf](http://www.unicef.org/jordan/VAC_Study_English_FOR_SCREEN(2).pdf).

Francis, Alexandra. "Jordan's Refugee Crisis." Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 2015. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_247_Francis_Jordan_final.pdf.

Frankens, Jeffrey. "Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities." Amman, Jordan: REACH, January 2014. http://www.reach-initiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/jeffrey.frankens-10022014-093154-REACH-FCO_Syrian-Refugees-in-Host-Communities_Preliminary-Impact-Assessment.pdf.

Generations For Peace. "Approach," 2014. <http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/how-we-work/approach/>.

———. "Arts For Peace." *Generations For Peace Curriculum*, 2014.

———. "Conflict, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation." *Generations For Peace Curriculum*, 2014.

———. "Institute," 2014. <http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/pass-it-on/institute/>.

———. "M&E Grid Social Cohesion in Host Communities," 2015.

———. "M&E Grid Version 25/1/2016," 2016.

———. "M&E Grid Violence in Schools," 2013.

———. "Pass It On...," 2014. <http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/pass-it-on>.

———. "Sport For Peace." *Generations For Peace Curriculum*, 2014.

Graham, Dominic. "Mapping of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafrq and Ramtha." Mercy Corps, May 2013. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/partner.php?OrgId=31>.

Graham, Dominic, and Elena Buryan. "Analysis of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafrq, Jordan." Mercy Corps, October 2012. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/partner.php?OrgId=31>.

Guay, Joseph. "Social Cohesion Between Syrian Refugees and Urban Host Communities in Lebanon and Jordan." World Vision International, 18

November 2015. <http://www.wvi.org/disaster-management/publication/social-cohesion-between-syrian-refugees-and-urban-host-communities>.

Healy, Sean, and Sandrine Tiller. "Out of the Spotlight and Hard to Reach: Syrian Refugees in Jordan's Cities." Humanitarian Practice Network, November 2013. <http://odihpn.org/magazine/out-of-the-spotlight-and-hard-to-reach-syrian-refugees-in-jordan%c2%92s-cities/>.

International Crisis Group. "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (IX): Dallying with Reform in a Divided Jordan." Amman, Jordan, 12 March 2012. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/iraq-iran-gulf/jordan/118-popular-protest-in-north-africa-and-the-middle-east-ix-dallying-with-reform-in-a-divided-jordan.aspx>.

International Rescue Committee. "Cross-Sectoral Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Urban Areas of South and Central Jordan," March 2013. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=2960>.

Jenkins, Robert, and Silene Martino Almeras. "Unite for Children to Protect and Reach the Most Disadvantaged." UNICEF, 2015. http://www.unicef.org/jordan/7_Jordan_-_Protecting_and_Reaching_the_Most_Disadvantaged.pdf.

Makhoul, Jihad, Rima Nakkash, Trudy Harpham, and Yara Qutteina. "Community-Based Participatory Research in Complex Settings: Clean Mind—dirty Hands." *Health Promotion International* 29, no. 3 (July 2013): 510–17.

Maroni, Robert, and Leslie Wingender. "Seeking Stability: Evidence on Strategies for Reducing Risk of Conflict in Northern Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees." Mercy Corps, May 2014. <https://www.mercycorps.org/research-resources/seeking-stability-evidence-strategies-reducing-risk-conflict-northern-jordanian>

Mason, Victoria. "The Im/mobilities of Iraqi Refugees in Jordan: Pan-Arabism, 'Hospitality' and the Figure of the 'Refugee.'" *Mobilities* 6, no. 3 (1 September 2011): 353–73.

Mayers, James. "Stakeholder Power Analysis." International Institute for Environment and Development, March 2005. http://www.policy-power-tools.org/Tools/Understanding/docs/stakeholder_power_tool_english.pdf.

Nanes, Stefanie. "Jordan's Unwelcome 'Guests.'" *Middle East Report* 37, no. 244 (2007). <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer244/jordans-unwelcome-guests>.

Owen, Harrison. *Open Space Technology: A User's Guide*. San Francisco, California: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2008.

REACH. "Access to Education for Syrian Refugee Children and Youth in Jordan Host Communities." Amman, Jordan, April 2015. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/access-education-syrian-refugee-children-and-youth-jordan-host-communities-joint>.

———. "Livelihoods, Employment and Tensions in Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees." Amman, Jordan, June 2014. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/livelihoods-employment-and-tensions-jordanian-communities-hosting-syrian-refugees>.

———. "Social Cohesion in Host Communities in Northern Jordan." Amman, Jordan, July 2015. <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/social-cohesion-host-communities-northern-jordan>.

- Save the Children. "Developing and Implementing a Refugee Program in the Rights Way: Save the Children Sweden's Experience with Sudanese Refugees in Western Ethiopia." Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Save the Children Sweden, 2006. http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/sites/default/files/documents/developing_and_implementing_refugee_program1.pdf.
- . "Too Young to Wed: The Growing Problem of Child Marriage among Syrian Girls in Jordan." London, 2014. https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/sites/default/files/images/Too_Young_to_Wed.pdf.
- Seeley, Maira. "Generations For Peace's Jordan Violence in Schools Programme: Gendered Communications Patterns and Programme Impact on Beneficiary Community." Amman, Jordan: Generations for Peace, 2014. https://issuu.com/gfpi/docs/ox_2014_ms_report.
- Seeley, Nicholas. "The Politics of Aid to Iraqi Refugees in Jordan." Middle East Report 40, no. 256 (2010). <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer256/politics-aid-iraqi-refugees-jordan>.
- Serrato, Bryant Castro. "Refugee Perceptions Study: Za'atari Camp and Host Communities in Jordan." Amman, Jordan: Oxfam International, 5 June 2014. <https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/refugee-perceptions-study-zaatari-camp-and-host-communities-jordan>.
- Skopec, Chris, Natalia Valeeva, and Mary Jo Baca (International Medical Corps Jordan). "Anticipating the Unexpected: Urban Refugee Programming in Jordan." Middle East Institute, 1 November 2010. <http://internationalmedicalcorps.org/document.doc?id=141>.
- Sohng, Sung Sil L. "Community-Based Participatory Research." Encyclopedia of Social Work. Oxford University Press, June 2013. <http://socialwork.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199975839.001.0001/acrefore-9780199975839-e-69>.
- Stanski, Victoria, and Andras Beszterczey. "Social Cohesion and Governance Programming in Lebanon – Testing Theories of Change and Impact Evaluation." Mercy Corps, September 2015. <http://www.alnap.org/resource/21234>.
- Stave, Svein Erik, and Solveig Hillesund. Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Jordanian Labour Market. International Labour Organization, 2015. http://www.ilo.org/beirut/publications/WCMS_364162/lang--en/index.htm.
- Sweis, Rana. "Jordan Struggles to Protect Children." The New York Times, 25 January 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/26/world/middleeast/jordan-struggles-to-protect-children.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1.
- UNHCR. "External Statistical Report on UNHCR Registered Syrians," January 15, 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/documents.php?page=1&view=grid&Language%5B%5D=1&Country%5B%5D=107&Type%5B%5D=3>
- . "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Amman," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/region.php?id=75&country=107>.
- . "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Irbid," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/settlement.php?id=175&country=107®ion=74>.

- . "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Jordan," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107>.
- . "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Mafraq," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/settlement.php?id=173&country=107®ion=77>.
- . "Syria Regional Refugee Response: Zarqa," 2016. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/settlement.php?id=172&country=107®ion=73>.
- . "Vulnerability Assessment Framework: Jordan Response Plan," June 2015. <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=9006>.
- UN Women. "Beyond the Camps: Impact of the Syrian Refugee Influx on Jordanian Host Communities." Amman, Jordan, 2014. <http://jordan.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2014/6/beyond-the-camps>.
- Van der Velde, Jeannette, Deanna L. Williamson, and Linda D. Ogilvie. "Participatory Action Research: Practical Strategies for Actively Engaging and Maintaining Participation in Immigrant and Refugee Communities." *Qualitative Health Research* 19, no. 9 (September 2009): 1293–1302.
- Voon, Frances. "UNHCR - Living in the Shadows - Jordan Home Visits Report 2014." UNHCR, 2014. <http://www.unhcr.org/54b685079.html>.

Appendix A: List of Interview and Focus Groups Cited

Abbreviations used in Interview and Focus Groups:

AMM = Amman
DEL = Delegates
FGD = Focus Group Discussion
IRB = Irbid
ITV = Interview
JOR = Jordanian
MAF = Mafrq
SYR = Syrian
TGf = Target Group females
TGm = Target Group males

AMM SYR Mothers FGD	MAF SYR Mothers FGD	IRB SYR Mothers FGD
AMM SYR Fathers FGD	MAF SYR Fathers FGD	IRB SYR Fathers FGD
AMM SYR TGf FGD	MAF SYR TGf FGD	IRB SYR TGf FGD
AMM SYR TGm FGD	MAF SYR TGm FGD	IRB SYR TGm FGD
AMM SYR Mother ITV	MAF SYR Mother ITV	IRB SYR Mother ITV
AMM SYR Father ITV	MAF SYR Father ITV	IRB SYR Father ITV
AMM SYR TGf ITV	MAF SYR TGf ITV	IRB SYR TGf ITV
AMM SYR TGm ITV	MAF SYR TGm ITV	IRB SYR TGm ITV
AMM JOR Mothers FGD	MAF JOR Mothers FGD	IRB JOR Mothers FGD
AMM JOR Fathers FGD	MAF JOR Fathers FGD	IRB JOR Fathers FGD
AMM JOR TGf FGD	MAF JOR TGf FGD	IRB JOR TGf FGD
AMM JOR TGm FGD	MAF JOR TGm FGD	IRB JOR TGm FGD
AMM JOR Mother ITV	MAF JOR Mother ITV	IRB JOR Mother ITV
AMM JOR Fathers ITV	MAF JOR Fathers ITV	IRB JOR Fathers ITV
AMM JOR TGf ITV	MAF JOR TGf ITV	IRB JOR TGf ITV
AMM JOR TGm ITV	MAF JOR TGm ITV	IRB JOR TGm ITV
AMM DEL ITV	MAF DEL FGD	IRB DEL FGD

Appendix B: Research Tools Used

1. Survey for GFP Programme Target Group members, English version

JOR Community Centres Programme Target Group Members **PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THIS SURVEY**

Your location: Centre Centre Centre

Your age:

Gender: Male Female

Nationality:

1. How did you first hear about GFP?

- ☐ Through the Centre
- ☐ From family
 - ☐ Mother
 - ☐ Father
 - ☐ Sibling
 - ☐ Other:
- ☐ From neighbours
- ☐ From friends
- ☐ Other:

2. How did you get interested in participating in GFP programmes?

- ☐ I heard about the possibility of participating in programmes at the Centre
- ☐ My family suggested participating in GFP programmes
- ☐ My friends suggested participating in GFP programmes
- ☐ Someone else suggested it
- ☐ Other:

3. Why did you decide to participate in GFP programmes?

- ☐ Fun and recreation
- ☐ Building skills
- ☐ To help deal with problems of verbal violence
- ☐ To help deal with problems of physical violence
- ☐ To meet other children
- ☐ Other:

4. Were there any obstacles or reasons why it was hard for you to participate in GFP programmes?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

5. If yes, what obstacles were present?

- ☐ Transportation problems
- ☐ Distance from home
- ☐ Concern about facilitators
- ☐ Schedule problems / other activities
- ☐ Safety concerns
- ☐ Other:

6. Could anything be changed about the programme to make it easier for you to participate in it?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes. Please explain:

7. Have you or other people in your family personally experienced or witnessed conflict or problems with people from other nationalities in your local community?

- ☐ YES
☐ NO

8. If YES, what kind of conflict or problems with people from other nationalities? Please check all that apply:

- ☐ Verbal conflict (shouting, swearing, harassment)
☐ Physical conflict (fights)
☐ Bullying between children and youth
☐ Illegal activities
☐ Bad / immoral / irreligious behaviour
☐ Discrimination or racism
☐ Problems/obstruction accessing public facilities and services
☐ Problems/obstruction accessing private / NGO facilities or services
☐ Something else:

9. Where did those conflicts/problems with people from other nationalities happen? Please check all that apply:

- ☐ In school
☐ In the market
☐ In parks or other public places
☐ In the street
☐ In government or non-government offices and services
☐ In the neighbourhood
☐ Somewhere else:

10. What caused those conflicts/problems?

- ☐ Cultural differences
☐ Different accents
☐ Prejudices against people from other nationalities
☐ The way that resources are distributed is not fair
☐ Personal feelings of frustration
☐ Poverty / people are desperate
☐ Drugs / criminal activities
☐ Problems within the family
☐ Something else:

2. Survey for GFP Programme Target Group members, Arabic version

برنامج أجيال السلام في مراكز مجتمعية الأردن - المشاركين في البرنامج
الاستبانة

الرجاء عدم كتابة اسمك على هذه

موقعك: مركز _____ مركز _____ مركز _____
عمرك: _____
جنسك: ذكر _____ أنثى _____
الجنسية: _____

إذا أمكن، اختر كل ما تراه ينطبق على ذلك

١. من أين سمعت عن برامج أجيال السلام؟

- ☐ من المركز
- ☐ من الأم
- ☐ من الأب
- ☐ من الأخت
- ☐ من الأخ
- ☐ من أعضاء ثنائيين من العائلة: _____
- ☐ من الجيران
- ☐ من الأصدقاء
- ☐ غير ذلك: _____

٢. من / ما هو اللي يشجعك على المشاركة في برامج أجيال السلام؟

- ☐ سمعت عن برامج هيئة أجيال السلام من المركز
- ☐ اقترحت عائلتي المشاركة في برامج هيئة أجيال السلام
- ☐ اقترح أصدقائي المشاركة في برامج هيئة أجيال السلام
- ☐ اقترح شخص آخر ذلك
- ☐ غير ذلك: _____

٣. لماذا شاركت في برامج أجيال السلام؟

- ☐ المرح والترفيه
- ☐ بناء المهارات
- ☐ للمساعدة على التعامل مع مشاكل العنف اللفظي (صراخ أو شتم أو تحرش)
- ☐ للمساعدة على التعامل مع مشاكل العنف الجسدي (الضرب، الركل)
- ☐ للالتقاء بالأطفال الآخرين
- ☐ غير ذلك: _____

٤. هل في مشاكل أو أشياء أدت إلى صعوبة مشاركتك ببرامج أجيال السلام؟

- ☐ نعم
- ☐ لا

٥. إذا جاوبت "نعم"، ما هي تلك التحديات؟

- ☐ مشاكل المواصلات

- ☐ البُعد عن المنزل
 - ☐ مخاوف بخصوص المُستَمرين
 - ☐ مشاكل متعلّقة بالجدول الزمني / النشاطات الأخرى
 - ☐ مخاوف متعلّقة بأمان
 - ☐ غير ذلك:
-

٦. هل يمكن تغيير أي شيء يتعلّق بالبرنامج لتسهيل مشاركتك به؟
- ☐ لا
 - ☐ إذا جابوت "نعم"، أذكر أمثلة:
-

٧. هل سبق لك أو لأي أحد من أسرتك أن تعرّضوا أو شهدوا مشاكل مع أشخاص من جنسيات أخرى في الحياة اليومية؟
- ☐ نعم
 - ☐ لا

٨. إذا جابوت "نعم"، ما طبيعة تلك المشاكل التي وقعت مع أشخاص من جنسيات أخرى؟ لطفاً اختر كل ما ينطبق عليك:
- ☐ عنف لفظي (صراخ أو شتم أو تحرّش أو أذى)
 - ☐ عنف جسدي (شجار)
 - ☐ التتميّر / الاستقواء بين الأطفال والشباب
 - ☐ نشاطات غير قانونية
 - ☐ سلوك سيء أو غير أخلاقي أو مُعادي للدين
 - ☐ التمييز العنصري أو العرقي
 - ☐ مشاكل / عراقيل أمام الوصول إلى المرافق والخدمات العامة
 - ☐ مشاكل / عراقيل أمام الوصول إلى المرافق والخدمات الخاصة أو التابعة للمنظمات غير الحكومية
 - ☐ غير ذلك:
-

٩. أين وقعت تلك المشاكل مع أشخاص من جنسيات أخرى؟ لطفاً اختر كل ما ينطبق عليك:
- ☐ في المدرسة
 - ☐ في السوق
 - ☐ في الحدائق أو الأماكن العامة
 - ☐ في الشارع
 - ☐ في المكاتب أو الخدمات الحكومية أو غير الحكومية
 - ☐ في الأحياء
 - ☐ غير ذلك:
-

١٠. ما هي الأسباب لتلك المشاكل؟
- ☐ الاختلافات الثقافية
 - ☐ اللهجات المختلفة
 - ☐ الأحكام المُسبقة تجاه الأشخاص من جنسيات أخرى
 - ☐ عدم التكافؤ في توزيع الموارد
 - ☐ الشعور الشخصي بالإحباط
 - ☐ الفقر / شعور الناس باليأس
 - ☐ المخدرات / الأنشطة الجرمية
 - ☐ مشاكل ضمن العائلة
 - ☐ غير ذلك:
-

3. Survey for GFP Programme Target Group members' parents (Beneficiary Community), English version

JOR Community Centres Programme Target Group Parents **PLEASE DO NOT WRITE
YOUR NAME ON THIS SURVEY**

Your location: Centre Centre Centre
Your age: _____
Gender of your child: Male Female Age of your child: _____
Nationality: _____

1. How did you first hear about GFP?

- ☐ Through the Centre
- ☐ From my son/daughter
- ☐ From other members of the family
 - ☐ Husband
 - ☐ Wife
 - ☐ Sister
 - ☐ Brother
 - ☐ Other: _____
- ☐ From neighbours
- ☐ From friends
- ☐ Other: _____

2. Who encouraged your son/daughter to participate in GFP programmes?

- ☐ I encouraged my son/daughter to participate in GFP programmes
- ☐ My son/daughter himself/herself suggested participating in GFP programmes
- ☐ Someone else suggested it
- ☐ We did not discuss it
- ☐ Other: _____

3. For what reasons did your child participate in GFP programmes?

- ☐ Fun and recreation
- ☐ Building skills
- ☐ To help deal with problems of verbal violence
- ☐ To help deal with problems of physical violence
- ☐ To meet other children
- ☐ Other: _____

4. Were there any obstacles or reasons why it was hard for your child to participate in GFP programmes?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

5. If yes, what obstacles were present?

- ☐ Transportation problems
- ☐ Distance from home
- ☐ Concern about facilitators
- ☐ Schedule problems / other activities
- ☐ Safety concerns
- ☐ Other: _____

6. Could anything be changed about the programme to make it easier for your child to participate in it?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes. Please explain:

7. Have you or other people in your family personally experienced or witnessed problems with people from other nationalities in your local community?

- ☐ YES
☐ NO

8. If YES, what kind of problems with people from other nationalities? Please check all that apply:

- ☐ Verbal conflict (shouting, swearing, harassment)
☐ Physical conflict (fights)
☐ Bullying between children and youth
☐ Illegal activities
☐ Bad / immoral / irreligious behaviour
☐ Discrimination or racism
☐ Problems/obstruction accessing public facilities and services
☐ Problems/obstruction accessing private / NGO facilities or services
☐ Something else:

9. Where did those problems with people from other nationalities happen? Please check all that apply:

- ☐ In school
☐ In the market
☐ In parks or other public places
☐ In the street
☐ In government or non-government offices and services
☐ In the neighbourhood
☐ Somewhere else:

10. What caused those problems?

- ☐ Cultural differences
☐ Different accents
☐ Prejudices against people from other nationalities
☐ The way that resources are distributed is not fair
☐ Personal feelings of frustration
☐ Poverty / people are desperate
☐ Drugs / criminal activities
☐ Problems within the family
☐ Something else:

4. Survey for GFP Programme Target Group members' parents (Beneficiary Community), Arabic version

الرجاء عدم كتابة اسمك على هذه

برنامج أجيال السلام في مراكز مجتمعية الأردن - آباء المشاركين

الاستبانة

مركز

مركز

موقعك: مركز

عمر:

عمر طفلك:

جنس طفلك: ذكر أنثى

الجنسية:

إذا أمكن، اختر كل ما تراه ينطبق على ذلك

١. من أين سمعت عن هيئة أجيال السلام؟

☐ من المركز

☐ من ابني / ابنتي

☐ من أعضاء آخرين من العائلة

☐ الزوج

☐ الزوجة

☐ الأخت

☐ الأخ

☐ غير ذلك:

☐ من الجيران

☐ من الأصدقاء

☐ غير ذلك:

٢. من قام بتشجيع ابنك / ابنتك على المشاركة في برامج هيئة أجيال السلام؟

☐ قُمت أنا بتشجيع ابني / ابنتي على المشاركة في برامج هيئة أجيال السلام

☐ اقترح ابني / ابنتي بنفسهم المشاركة في برامج هيئة أجيال السلام

☐ اقترح شخص آخر ذلك

☐ لم نناقش ذلك

☐ غير ذلك:

٣. ما السبب الذي دفع طفلك للمشاركة في برامج هيئة أجيال السلام؟

☐ المرح والترفيه

☐ بناء المهارات

☐ للمساعدة على التعامل مع مشاكل العنف اللفظي (صراخ أو شتم أو تحرش)

☐ للمساعدة على التعامل مع مشاكل العنف الجسدي (الضرب، الركل)

☐ للالتقاء بالأطفال الآخرين

☐ غير ذلك:

٤. هل كان هنالك تحديات أو أسباب أدت إلى صعوبة مشاركة طفلك ببرامج هيئة أجيال السلام؟

☐ نعم

☐ لا

٥. في حال الإجابة بنعم، ما هي تلك التحديات؟

☐ مشاكل المواصلات

☐ البعد عن المنزل

☐ مخاوف بخصوص المُيسرين

☐ مشاكل متعلقة بالجدول الزمني / النشاطات الأخرى

☐ مخاوف متعلقة بأمان

☐ غير ذلك:

٦. هل يمكن تغيير أي شيء يتعلّق بالبرنامج لتسهيل مشاركة طفلك به؟

☐ لا

☐ في حال الإجابة بنعم، أذكر أمثلة:

٥. في حال الإجابة بنعم، ما هي تلك التحديات؟

- ☐ مشاكل المواصلات
- ☐ البُعد عن المنزل
- ☐ مخاوف بخصوص المُيسرين
- ☐ مشاكل متعلقة بالجدول الزمني / النشاطات الأخرى
- ☐ مخاوف متعلقة بأمان
- ☐ غير ذلك: _____

٦. هل يمكن تغيير أي شيء يتعلّق بالبرنامج لتسهيل مشاركة طفلك به؟

☐ لا

☐ في حال الإجابة بنعم، أذكر أمثلة:

٧. هل سبق لك أو لأي من أفراد أسرتك أن تعرّضوا أو شهدوا مشاكل مع أشخاص من جنسيات أخرى في مجتمعك المحلي؟

☐ نعم

☐ لا

٨. في حال الإجابة بنعم، ما طبيعة تلك المشاكل التي وقعت مع أشخاص من جنسيات أخرى؟ لطفاً اختر كل ما ينطبق عليك:

- ☐ عنف لفظي (صُراخ أو شتم أو تحرّش أو أذى)
- ☐ عنف جسدي (شجار)
- ☐ التّنمّر / الاستقواء بين الأطفال والشباب
- ☐ نشاطات غير قانونية
- ☐ سلوك سيء أو غير أخلاقي أو مُعادي للدين
- ☐ التمييز العنصري أو العرقي
- ☐ مشاكل / عراقيل أمام الوصول إلى المرافق والخدمات العامة
- ☐ مشاكل / عراقيل أمام الوصول إلى المرافق والخدمات الخاصة أو التابعة للمنظمات غير الحكومية
- ☐ غير ذلك: _____

٩. أين وقعت تلك المشاكل مع أشخاص من جنسيات أخرى؟ لطفاً اختر كل ما ينطبق عليك:

- ☐ في المدرسة
- ☐ في السوق
- ☐ في الحدائق أو الأماكن العامة
- ☐ في الشارع
- ☐ في المكاتب أو الخدمات الحكومية أو غير الحكومية
- ☐ في الأحياء
- ☐ غير ذلك: _____

١٠. ما هي المسببات تلك المشاكل؟

- ☐ الاختلافات الثقافية
- ☐ اللهجات المختلفة
- ☐ الأحكام المُسبقة تجاه الأشخاص من جنسيات أخرى
- ☐ عدم التكافؤ في توزيع الموارد
- ☐ الشعور الشخصي بالإحباط
- ☐ الفقر / شعور الناس باليأس
- ☐ المخدرات / الأنشطة الجرمية
- ☐ مشاكل ضمن العائلة
- ☐ غير ذلك: _____

5. Research Participant Consent Form, English version

Research: JOR Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme 2015

Agreement to participate in a Generations For Peace Research Study – 2015

We request your participation in social research. However, before you agree, we would like to notify you of all aspects of the research.

The goals of the research:

The study is intended to focus on understanding the current situation between Syrians and Jordanians in host communities, in addition to gathering suggestions for improving the activities of the programme to ensure change and the greatest possible impact among the Beneficiary Community and the programme participants.

Generations For Peace undertakes research on all programmes around the world, and this research project is a small part of a greater research initiative to improve the programmes around the world. For that purpose we will undertake focus group discussions and interviews with the participants in the Generations For Peace programme and their parents in three youth centres.

How this information will stay confidential: All of the information generated by your participation will be kept for the purpose of the research without using the names of research participants. All questionnaires and visual/audio recordings will be used only by the Generations For Peace research team.

How we will use the information that we collect: We will use this information for the next phase of the programme, when we will create a report that will be used to design other programmes in the future.

If you have any questions about this research, you can call [name of Centre Director] at any time on [number].

Your participation in this research is voluntary. There are no penalties for non-participation or for ceasing to participate in it at any time.

By signing this form, you demonstrate that you agree voluntarily to participate in this research and that the information noted above was explained verbally to you.

The first letter of the name of the participant, or "X" Date _____

The first letter of the name of the witness Date _____

6. Research Participant Consent Form, Arabic version

موافقة على المشاركة في بحث دراسي هيئة أجيال السلام — ٢٠١٥

نطلب منك المشاركة في بحث اجتماعي.
لكن قبل أن توافق، نود اعلامكم عن كل مايتعلق بالبحث

أهداف البحث:-

تهدف الدراسة الى التركيز علي فهم الوضع الحالي بين السوريين والاردنيين في المجتمعات المستضيفة بالإضافة الى استخلاص توصيات لتحسين فعالية البرنامج لضمان احداث التغيير والتاثير على اكبر قدر ممكن من المجتمعات المستضيفة والمشاركين.

أجيال السلام تقوم بأبحاث لجميع البرامج في جميع انحاء العالم، وهذا المشروع البحثي هو مجرد جزء بسيط من مبادرة بحثية أكبر لتحسين برامجنا حول العالم. لذلك سنقوم بعقد حلقات نقاش مركزية، ومقابلات مع المشاركين في برنامج اجيال السلام، وأولياء أمورهم في ثلاث مراكز شبابية.

كيفية البقاء على سرية المعلومات: جميع المعلومات التي سوف يتم مشاركتها سوف تحفظ لغايات الدراسة بدون ذكر اسماء المشاركين فيها. كل الاستبيانات والتسجيلات مرئية/مسموعة، فقط لفريق بحث اجيال السلام.

ماذا سوف يحدث بالمعلومات التي نجمعها: سوف نستخدمها المرحلة القادمة من البرامج. حيث سوف نقوم بكتابة تقرير والذي سوف يستخدم لتصميم برامج اخرى في المستقبل.

إذا كان لديك أسئلة عن هذا البحث، فمن الممكن الاتصال في أي وقت من الأوقات [] ، على الرقم [] .

مشاركتك في هذا البحث اختيارية. لن تُعاقب ولن تخسر أية منافع في حال قررت عدم المشاركة أو التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت ما.
بمجرد إمضائك على هذه الورقة، تقر بأنك توافق اختياريًا على المشاركة في هذا البحث وأن المعلومات المدونة أعلاه قد شرحت لك شفهيًا.

التاريخ

التاريخ

الحروف الأولى لإسم المشارك أو "X"

الحروف الأولى لإسم الشاهد

About the Summer Field Researcher

Maira Seeley

graduated from the University of Oxford with a BA in Archaeology and Anthropology (2013) and an MSc in Refugee and Forced Migration Studies (2014). During her studies she undertook dissertation fieldwork in rural Jordan (2012 and 2013). Her work has appeared in the Forced Migration Review, the Journal of Nomadic Peoples (forthcoming 2015), and the Oxford Refugee Studies Centre's Working Paper series (forthcoming 2015). Maira is originally from the United States

About the Summer Field Research

Generations For Peace awards two research grants annually to selected postgraduate students pursuing Masters or Doctorate studies at the University of Oxford. The awardees conduct a field research which takes place during the University's summer vacations. The multi-disciplinary field research is focused on an activity or programme implemented in one or more countries in which Generations For Peace volunteers operate. In terms of outputs, each awardee is expected to provide a full research report focused on the local activity/programme, including a detailed write-up of the research conducted and any practical recommendations for the activity/programme organisers; and a supplementary report with further meta analysis and recommendations for Generations For Peace regarding activity/programme adjustment and opportunities for further research. A key objective of Generations For Peace in supporting research grants is to support knowledge transfer and capacity development therefore, it is also expected that the awardees will use their best endeavours to demonstrate (within the limits of practical context of their particular research situation) some knowledge transfer to and capacity development of the local actors.



/generationsforpeace



@Gens_For_Peace



/generationsforpeace



/in/generationsforpeace