THE LOGIC OF GENEROSITY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Resilient Action among Jordanian Women in Al Manara, Amman, in Response to Pressures on Charity Donations Posed by Syrian Refugees



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UTRECHT UNIVERSITY
AUGUST 4, 2014

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE BOARD OF EXAMINERS
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF ARTS IN CONFLICT STUDIES & HUMAN RIGHTS

The Logic of Generosity in Times of Crisis

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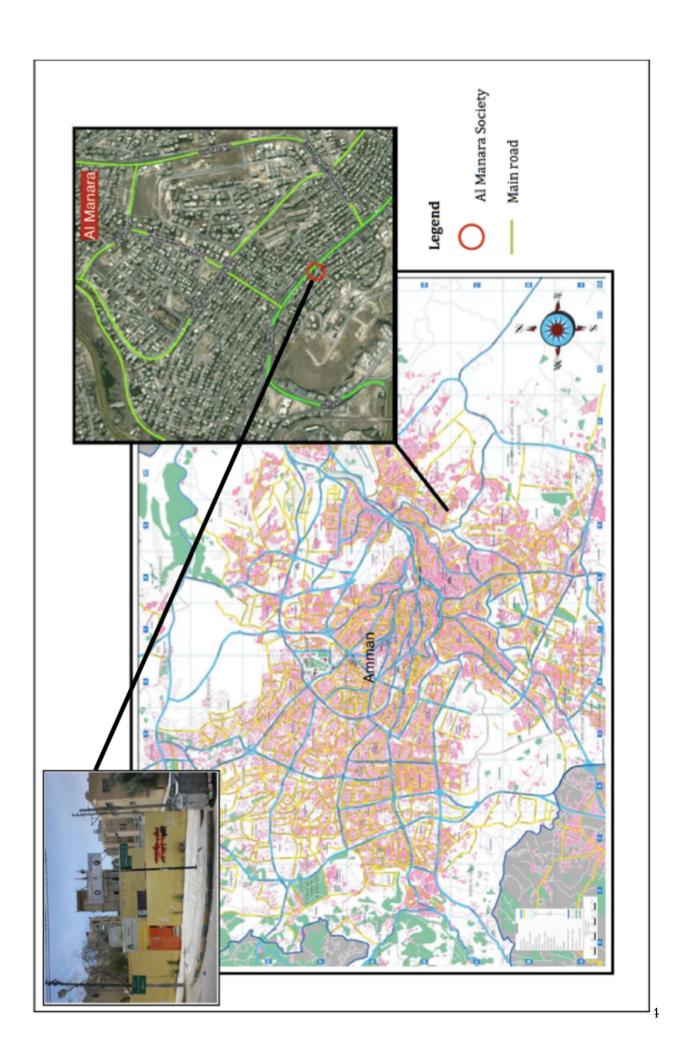
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Program trajectory followed: Research & Thesis Writing only (30 ECTS)

Word count: 29.375

Date of submission: August 4, 2014 Imagine all the people – Living life in peace – *John Lennon*



Contents

Acknowledgement	6
1. Introduction Methodology Outline of the thesis	7 9 13
2. Resilience of the precarious: a framework of analysis	15
Coping mechanisms	16
Religion	18
Patronage	19
An analysis of resilience	21
3. Precariousness and the gift	23
Precariousness and vulnerability in the periphery	24
Religion and coping strategies of the receivers	24
The care system in civil society	26
Powers of the weak	30
Al Manara's patronage: Religiosity and the gift in the periphery	31
4. Exclusion, empowerment and enforcement: Pressures on East Amman's care system	33
Impact on the socio-economical lives	33
The paradoxical logic of the care system in times of crisis	36
Power of knowledge and the power of rumors	39
5. Generosity in times of crisis	42
Charity	42
Hospitality	46
Included outsiders and excluded insiders	50
6. Conclusions	52
Jordan's patronage system: the gift and religious interpretations	52
A framework of resilient action: a recipe for peace?	54
Recommendations	55
Appendix 1: Contextualization of informants	58
Bibliography	60

Acknowledgement

This thesis could never have been written without all the people that I have met during this fieldwork of which some of them became my closer friends. There are countless people that supported me with and during this research and writing process. I could not have done this without several specific persons who I would like to thank personally in this acknowledgement.

First of all, my dedication goes to my parents who in all those years supported me in my study, research, and this thesis. They have always been there for me unconditionally, in the good and the bad times. I would like to thank my supervisor Jolle Demmers for her always-enthusiastic encouragement during the research, and especially the always optimistic but critical feedback on this thesis. My thanks go to my father René Groot, Lin Claessens, Jana Flieshart, and Niels van den Berg who edited the text and its form.

Without the interpreters, Lydia, Razan, and Fida I could never have conducted this research, hear the stories of the women, and write down their voices. I am very grateful to them. Above all, I am very thankful to those who took time to explain me their views, their frustrations, and their positive views. Many thanks goes to the Al Manara Society that repeatedly gave me insight in their work and explained me their ideas. They never let me leave this warm place without giving a coffee, juice, or sweets.

I would especially like to express my gratitude to those women registered at the Al Manara Society who were willing to tell me their stories, those who opened their worlds to me, expressed their tears but also their smiles. It is for them who I have written this thesis, and they are who made me able to do so. With this thesis I hope I have made these invisible women visible again.

1. Introduction

'To know others – indeed to know oneself – is to be able to make sense of their experience.' - Fay, 2010:28

It was a rainy Friday noon when I arrived in Amman for the first time. The taxi driver tried to make his way through the busy wet streets, in which people walked fast while slipping between the cars to reach their destinations under the drops of rain. As the taxi driver explained to me, even though the streets are emptier on Fridays than on the other days, those in down town are always busy. "How many people live in Amman, actually?", I asked him. The man guessed around 3 million, "but probably with the Syrians, maybe four million now."

Human lives are surrounded and involved in the accelerated changes in the global world. We are believed to live a precarious life (Butler, 2004), within a 'radical uncertainty' (Duffield, 2013). With the highly interconnected and technological world we can expect that changes will continue to accelerate, but how can we be sure? How could wen have predicted that the peaceful protests on March 2011 (*Aljazeera*, 2011) in Syria would lead to a massive flow of refugees, of which 606,716¹ people would cross the Jordanian border, penetrating its urban spaces continuously until the present day?

The vast massive influx of Syrians crossing the border of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan means a rapid demographic change in the country. Its landscape has changed, filled up with new refugee camps² that are transformed into new cities, such as Zaatari– the fourth largest city in the country (*The Guardian*, 2013). However, the influx does not only mean a change in the country's landscape, but also in the urban demography. Around 80 percent of the Syrian refugees live in urban areas. Amman, the main capital of the Kingdom hosts around 20 to 30 percent of this amount (UN & HCSP, 2014). However, since most of the Syrians reside in the eastern part of the city, mainly communities within this poorer zone have become subject to the pressure of the large amount of migrants, such as on healthcare and housing (UN & HCSP, 2014). This rapid urban environmental change does not only have spatial effects, but causes economic and social pressures on Jordanians as well, especially among the poor.

Not only Jordan is dealing with this refugee burden of the Syrian crisis, also other surrounding countries of Syria, namely Turkey, Lebanon and North-Iraq, are impacted, albeit differently. In Lebanon for example, a country that suffers from a long history of sectarian conflict, the situation has become increasingly more instable and violent as the Syrian civil war continues. Lebanese host communities keep absorbing more refugees because there are no formal refugee camps (Migration Policy Center, 2013). Consequently, Syrians use the same facilities and services as local people, putting not only significant pressure on these resources, but also on the resilience of the host communities (World Vision, 2013). In Turkey, a discourse of antimmigrant and anti-Arabness has surfaced among the Turkish public (Dincer, et al, 2013) and violent tensions and uncertainty to its southern border has been reported (International Crisis Group, 2013). North-Iraq, a Kurdish area, is mainly hosting Kurdish Syrians. Although it closed its borders for a while, it is now receiving refugees and returnees (from former Iraqi wars) again

¹ Since this is only the official registered number by UNHCR, the estimations are higher. Many Syrians, such as businessmen, resided in Jordan before and during the uprisings in Syria. Not all of them registered themselves as refugees. The expectation of the amount of Syrians in Jordan lays around 1.3 million (Reuters, 2014).

² Jordan's landscape already absorbed many refugee camps since Palestinians have the borders in the past. I shortly

(Migration Policy Center, 2013). Interestingly, Jordan seems to be the most stable country and keeps its borders open to host refugees fleeing from Syria³.

Even though Jordan is the most stable country of the three comparable cases, the pressure has implications for the urban poor's strategies to sustain a livelihood while the urban space is absorbing more and more Syrians. One can understand that this affects the relationship between Syrians and Jordanians that, before the crisis, was shaped economically and socially over decades. The Syrian crisis puts a new dimension on this historical relationship, in which Jordanians' perceptions about the 'other' have changed. As reports (Davis & Taylor, 2013; HCSP, 2013) indicate, some underlying tensions between the refugee and host-community are present in Jordan. However, as these reports note, the vast majority does not seem to experience fear or insecurity. Instead, Jordanians and refugees from Syria seem to get along relatively well; no great clashes between Jordanians and Syrians have been reported so far. Mercy Corps (2012) notes tensions between Jordanians and Syrians mainly concentrate in the northern governorate called Mafraq in which Zataari camp is located. This governorate has the largest distribution of refugee population in the country. In other words, within a particular country, differences in pressures, experiences, and reactions should not be underestimated. As in the case of northern Iraq as well (IOM, 2013), perceptions vary greatly from one governorate to another. In line with King (2004), a micro political view is therefore needed in order to uncover different mechanisms at the supra-local level by which individuals and groups look for or negotiate stability.

This research is thus a micro-political analysis of east Amman whose inhabitants undergo disruptive changes since the sudden influx of Syrian refugees. In comparison to the northern governorates, this city has received relatively fewer amounts of Syrian refugees, but pressures on daily lives nonetheless remain among poor Ammanian households. As opposed to the findings of these reports above, I show Jordanians I spoke with *do* experience fear and insecurity, but peaceful relations between Jordanians and Syrians nevertheless remain. The question is then: why there seems to be peaceful situations and attitudes despite the experience of heavy impacts?

Specifically, this research focuses on the pressure on charity donations to women in the neighborhood Al Manara in east Amman. As shown above, a variety of organizations have conducted research on pressures on (public) services. However, no in-depth research has been conducted on the pressure on charity donations. Some donors have changed the provision of donations that used to be provided to Jordanians to Syrians now. Hence, civil society organizations struggle with fewer donations that influence their budget and therefore their strategies for local development⁴. In addition, Syrians have penetrated in the care system. As a consequence, poorer communities suffer from fewer donations that they receive from their brokers - volunteers in charity organizations or 'independent' individuals who receive money from donors for poorer households. This research looks at how the poorest and most vulnerable in East Amman are hit by it and how they deal with disruptive changes since the influx of Syrian refugees.

Of course, Amman has a lower concentration of Syrian refugees and provides more opportunities, such as jobs. This partly explains why this city has a better capacity to absorb a sudden influx of a large number of refugees than other places in the country. While acknowledging this, I believe this capacity cannot entirely be explained from a geographical perspective. I assume there are (underlying) political, social and cultural mechanisms that influence this apparent resilience. I argue resilience – the capacity to absorb or cope with sudden disruptive changes – needs to be understood from three different components that I encountered in the field, namely religious interpretations, patronage networks within charity, and coping mechanisms of individuals. In the next chapter I further explain these sensitizing concepts. But how do these three

³ Notably, Jordan is not a signatory of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.

⁴ Different organizations in Amman that I spoke with told me they are dealing with a decrease in donations from national and international donors, since Syrians are residing in the country. Zenid, a local development institute, noted that they have to change their strategies towards Syrians in order to keep receiving donations, because, as they explained to me, donors are more interested in the Syrian refugee issue now.

components correlate with each other in this apparent resilience among women in Al Manara? In other words, the puzzle this thesis aims to answer is:

What is the role of coping mechanisms, religion, and patronage in the apparent resilience among Jordanian women in the neighborhood 'Al Manara' in response to the pressure posed by Syrian refugees on charity donations in east Amman?

I argue these three components form important sources for resilience and contribute to *resilient action* that Jordanian women in this neighborhood seem to have created in the socio-political game of power relations that is subject to changes since the flow of Syrian refugees. Conflict theories are often about how and why people resort to violence or conflict, but not how and why people remain peaceful. The objective of this research and puzzle is to provide a cultural understanding in resilience and peaceful situations by looking at these three components of resilience. In other words, it gives insight in how and why conflict situations in Amman do *not* seem to happen, while significant ingredients are present. By providing insights in the concept of resilience and understanding in peaceful situations, this thesis contributes to theory building on peace, conflict, and resilience from an anthropological perspective.

Furthermore, the social relevance of this empirical research is the in-depth understanding of how the poorest in east Amman have been hit by the influx by looking at changes in charity donations, something that only the poorest of the periphery receive. This thesis is meant to raise awareness about the further alienation and frustration of the global poor when the international community mainly gives attention to refugees, which can foster inequalities. Hence, this thesis provides a cultural comprehension that is needed for building strategies to create or sustain community cohesion and resilience of host communities. Lastly, while media bombard us with negative ideas about the Islam, I show Islam, and more specifically its values, can also be a resource for peace and resilience. In this way I hope this thesis is an antithesis of the correlation between Islam and conflict, a social issue that concerns us especially in the post 9/11 era.

Methodology

Sampling and research methods

This thesis is a product of a highly dynamic process. According to Ragin (2011) the process of conducting qualitative social research is a dialogue between ideas (social theory) and evidence (data from the field). The outcome of this dialogue, writes Ragin, is a social academic representation of social life that is established with conceptual boundaries.

The evidence of this empirical research was acquired in Amman, Jordan, for nearly three months, from March to June 2014. This micro-political case study focuses on Al Manara, a neighborhood that is located on one of the hills in eastern Amman. The units of observation are individuals, namely poor women that are beneficiaries of the charity organization Al Manara, and the individuals (brokers) volunteering for a charity organization or individually, who mediate the donations between beneficiaries and donors. The units of analysis are structures and agency, specifically how these women deal with changes and perform everyday acts of resistance (Scott, 1990) against the domination of these brokers, their patrons, while experiencing the pressure on donations posed by Syrian refugees. The snowball sampling method helped me to get in contact with the Al Manara Society and in finding participants for this research on resilience. A limit of this method is that the sample is not representative of a larger population. However, in Jordan networks of trust are very important in gaining contacts with local organizations and, as I experienced, a reference is often needed in order to gain access to the target population.

The data of this case study were developed by using qualitative research methods. I conducted interviews (33 in total) in order to understand perceptions of my informants. I used five

types of interviews in order to gain data via different ways, namely semi-structured interviews, every-day chats, focus groups, and an expert interview. In the last 1,5 month of the research I visited the Al Manara Society few times a week. I held five interviews with five volunteers, excluding everyday talks. In addition, I interviewed two other brokers who were not volunteers from the Society in order to better understand their function in the relationship.

I purposively chose to start with a focus group with the women, in order to get to know each other. Besides, by using this method I learnt which specific topics came up, how these topics were expressed, and how they were communicated in a group of women. In the fourteen private semi-structured interviews with seven interviewed beneficiaries, they told me their life histories and could further elaborate on their views. This gave me a nuanced understanding of the diverse ideas and experiences. The remaining interviews were with other local organizations that provided me with a comprehension of pressures on Jordanians in east Amman and on their organization (including one donor of Al Manara Society). Moreover I held one interview with a local expert (Dr. Musa Shteiwi) on civil society, poverty and gender of the Center for Strategic Studies of University of Jordan, with whom I checked my findings.

Observation took place in Al Manara Society. By visiting the Society almost every day in the last month, I created trust among the volunteers and experienced every day life in this organization and neighborhood. Here I observed social interactions between volunteers and Jordanian beneficiaries, interactions with Syrian refugees, and the provision of food donations. Participant observation took place by attending the election of the Al Manara Board. This provided me access to the Society and insight in the apparent democratic character. In addition I joined Family Kitchen in the their 'ritual' act of providing food packages in the village Wadi Araba, south Jordan. With this method I gained insights into the act of donations, the dependency of clients, and living circumstances of poorer households. I experienced that participant observation in women's lives was a barrier, because my translators did not feel safe to visit women in their houses. I recognize this highly negatively affected the ethnographic content of this research in terms of gaining a cultural understanding of their lives. Since I felt highly dependable on my translators I decided to keep the interviews in the Society, where we could talk privately and where I could do some observations.

A constructed social world

Within the plurality of ideas of social theory, my ontological and epistemological stances have guided me through this research and writing process. This thesis should be taken as a dynamic process of choices which I constantly made. From my constructionist stance, I assume individuals have an active role in the construction of social 'reality' (Boeije, 2010). Based on Giddens (1984), constructionism believes that social reality is a dialectic between structure and agency. From an interpretative epistemology that is embedded in constructivism, I believe we need to understand the meaning of action. Actions derive their meaning from rules of social life and shared ideas (Demmers, 2012). In other words, we have to interpret the acts of people and the world around them and attach their behavior to their interpretations (Boeije, 2010) that researchers need to deconstruct. This means that the meaning of something depends upon the role it has in complex systems of which it is a part. According to Fay (2010) this requires knowledge of certain social rules in order to understand what certain actions and practices mean. Only by deconstructing this meaning and interpreting this, I think we are able to grasp a sense of the perceived impact of Syrians on Jordanian lives. For this research this means I assume religious idioms are meaningfully constructed according to the context people live in. Jordanian women in Al Manara seem to reconstruct it in times of disruptive changes to make sense of what happens, to justify their feelings, while maintaining peaceful visions towards the Syrian refugee community. In this way they shape their cultural context which re-shapes them at the same time. Researchers should deconstruct these idioms in order to understand them.

Besides, I believe ethnic categories are not pre-given but constructed. Most of the women I spoke with had a Palestinian background or mixed marriage. However, I didn't explicitly ask this, unless they referred to this themselves. As I understood in Jordan, Palestinians are often considered as Jordanians, since they have the same language and habits. Besides, as many people I spoke with mentioned as well, many Palestinians have a Jordanian passport. From my point of view, to ask beforehand which ethnic or national background they have, creates distinct categories –formed by the researcher – that might not exist as such opposite or bipolar groups in this social reality. By asking questions about what women think about the help and donations Syrians perceive, many of them mentioned that 'as Palestinians' they also received help from Jordan when they or their families entered the country as refugees. In this way, the construction of a particular identity in a particular context becomes clearer without being constructed by the researcher itself.

A complete understanding, is that possible? Limitations of this research

The interpretative stance immediately brings up questions about the reliability of the data that is gathered related to the limits of this research. With interpretivism, there is always a double interpretation, meaning there is an already interpreted reality by the informants from which the researcher must make his/her interpretation of how these participants understand their daily life (Boeije, 2010). But in order to comprehend others, we need to understand the meaning of what they do and say. To understand this meaning, as Fray (2013:113) writes, we need to 'understand them simply in their own terms'. But how is a researcher able to understand informants' own terms when they do not speak the same language? Although I used a translator when my informants did not speak English, there always remains a language barrier, since the translator and I did not speak in our native language. Problematic with the interpretative stance with language barriers is that participants interpret their world and try to explain this to the translator. The translator needs a particular degree of understanding what the informant tells him/her in order to translate this interpretation towards the researcher that has a different cultural background and different scheme of interpretation, as was the case in this research. Language barriers thus do not only complicate the understanding, but also the double interpretation that is characteristic of qualitative research.

Certainly, some information and understandings were lost in translation and interpretation. In order to act responsible as a researcher, I tried to minimize this as much as possible and made a great effort to understand the local scheme of interpretation. According to Boeije (2010) flexible research methods are important in this kind of qualitative research, in order to easily adjust to these issues. Therefore, I tried to check with my participants and translator if I understood the information in the right way. Furthermore, I used different research methods and different types of interviews as described above in order to gain data in different ways. I believe this made the data more reliable. Unfortunately, visiting women in their homes was not possible⁵, which kept me from observing their living circumstances. Indeed, there is always a difference in what people *say* they do, and what they actually *do*. Although I mainly focused on perceptions, the few observations I conducted are definitely a limitation of this ethnographic research, and this should be kept in mind while reading this thesis.

But despite these triangulations, despite the interpretation from different angles, how is a researcher able to gain a full understanding of his/her informants when (s)he comes from a different social world, speaks a different language, has a different interpretative scheme? To ask the other way around, do we actually need to be similar or to have similar experiences in order to understand the informant? During the research and writing processes I constantly found myself asking these questions. In Fay's view we need to distinguish knowing from being. According to him, '[k]nowledge consists not in the experience itself but in grasping the sense of this experience

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⁵ See footnote nr. 4.

(2010:27, emphasis in original), meaning a researcher requires a certain form of sensitivity⁶ and the ability to deconstruct and interpret the meaning of their experiences. According to Edward Said (1985), research on the Middle East conducted by western scholars often contain a certain Western power, a form of knowledge production that shapes the Orient's identity as the 'Other'. Although I agree with Said that there always remains a risk of a dominant Western perspective, I also believe that beside the differences, there is a certain degree of similarity between the researcher and the informants, especially those from the same gender. This means beside differences, informants and I shared particular principles of thought, desires, a certain similar background of beliefs, and the same world we live in. The challenge of social research is to find the equilibrium between differences and similarities (Fay, 2010)⁷. For this reason, I, as a woman, chose to focus solely on Jordanian women in east Amman in order to create and understand my informants as much as possible – while recognizing cultural differences. .

As such, I do not believe a complete understanding is possible – as a consequence of cultural differences – and I am aware of my Western background – and my possible interpretation as such. Therefore, from my epistemological point of view I believe these social academic representations that are constructed through the dialogue of ideas and evidence (see Ragin, 2011) are always *partial* and *subjective*. Indeed, in the end a social researcher, as a human being, has only his-/herself as a research tool. With the existence of similarities among human beings, I believe a social researcher is undoubtedly able to grasp an important piece of the meaning of experiences and perceptions of his/her informants. And while we will never fully comprehend these social and cultural lives, and therefore never be able providing a complete academic representation of social life, we *can* and *should* nevertheless strive for acquiring knowledge of the social world we live in as complete as possible. It is this responsibility of a social researcher that guided me in the choices I constantly made.

Other choices and ethical considerations

The choices I made are not only related with my constructionist stance. Both during fieldwork, as well as in the writing process, researchers are bounded to ethical principles. Fieldworkers constantly find themselves in different situations, in which they have to make (sometimes fast) decisions in order to gain or prevent certain outcomes. I encountered these situations in terms of proper behavior, my identity, sensitive topics, and rich versus poor. Certainly, I continuously made choices that have influenced my fieldwork. And this thesis should be read as such.

Decisions I made in the writing process influenced this text, influenced the way the reader interprets these words, the words of my informants. According to Boeije (2010) one of the ethical issues a researcher is constantly dealing with while writing, is holding an analytical perspective, while remaining empathically to the ways informants make sense of themselves and the world around them. I purposively chose for giving my informants a voice. Not only because many interviews were translated – and therefore information, nuances et cetera could have been lost – but also because women I spoke with are already relatively invisible. Besides, I dismiss an authoritarian view by claiming the 'truth' about these findings⁸. Instead, I wish to pro-

 6 As Fay (2010:28) writes: to know others – indeed to know oneself – is to be able to make sense of their experience.

⁷ With the term equilibrium or 'balance', Fay (2010) means we should emphasize neither differences nor similarities between the researcher and his/her informants by insisting too heavily on differences, we lose, according to him, the capacity to understand others, and therefore the capability to appreciate differences. On the other hand, if we insist on indifference, we lose the capacity to appreciate and interpret differences, which ultimately leads to seeing the other as something as ourselves.

⁸ I am inspired by postmodernist thinkers such as Clifford Geertz (1973), Bryan S. Turner (1990), and Lila Abu-Lughod (1993), who tried to move away from authoritarian view of anthropologists and sociologists. Some writers, such as Abu Lughod in her book *Writing Women's Worlds* only let her informants speak. I do believe writers can write their own interpretation without claiming truth, but always need to let their informants talk in the text, in order to show where the interpretation is based on and to give informants a voice.

vide *my* understanding of Jordan's pressure of Syrian refugees, which I do recognize as neither objective nor complete. I chose to let my informants speak themselves as much as possible in this thesis when they are explaining their struggles, fears, prides, way of living and ideas. In this way I let the reader decide for him-/herself the choices of interpretations I made in my arguments and, hopefully, let the reader feel the sentiments I felt at that time.

A second ethical issue I struggled with is preventing myself of choosing sides, favoring one perspective over the other and to create 'those who dominate 'and 'subordinates' myself. Also Boeije notes writers often deal with different perspectives and accounts on the examined subject. To favor one over the other is unethical, because the responsibility of a social scientist is to 'translate' the words of the informants in an academic text, instead of his/her own opinion. In this thesis I try to show the multiple and diverse experiences, perceptions and sentiments of my informants to prevent generalizations and to indicate the complexity of the issue I elaborate on.

Outline of the thesis

This thesis looks at the impacts of the Syrian crisis on host communities, which is not only a concern for Jordan, but also the other neighboring countries of Syria, namely Lebanon, Turkey and North Iraq. I look at how women (beneficiaries or clients) and brokers (which I call patrons) experience the pressure on charity donations. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the power relation (Foucault, 1982), I base my analysis on James Scott's (1990) concepts of the public and hidden transcripts or the way in which the dominants and the subordinates interact. Here the subordinates 'manage in thousand artful ways' (*ibid.*15) to affect the power of those who dominate. My main argument in this thesis is that the logic of generosity in times of crisis is not only a resource of *resilient action*, but also of the maintenance of a resilient care system of charity in which the socio-political game of patronage is situated.

In order to answer the puzzle, I first provide an analytical framework of resilience in the next chapter (chapter 2). I argue that we need an in-depth understanding of east Amman's sociopolitical structure and cultural life in order to grasp the idea of resilience in Al Manara. I elaborate on debates on coping mechanisms, patronage networks, and religion and relate this to the larger debate on resilience. These three components of resilience, the conceptual boundaries of this social theory (Ragin, 2011), provide a deeper understanding of the ethnographic data presented in the subsequent chapters on the construction of resilience.

Chapter 3 deals with a description of the patronage relationship between the female beneficiaries (clients) and the volunteers (patrons) that function as brokers between the donors and their clients. As I show here, the unequal exchange relationship is subject to powers in the public and hidden transcript by both the patrons as well as the clients. Here, religion plays a vital role for the clients – dealing with the structures in their network and in their struggle of their precarious lives – as well as their patrons – the idea of benefiting from God with charity. With the arrival of Syrian refugees (chapter 4) this patronage relationship has been enforced. An ambiguous situation appears in which patrons provide help – in forms of charity – towards Syrian refugees, while Jordanian women feel affected by this.

In the subsequent chapter I answer the question of why doesn't the care system, in which patronage is manifested, collapse despite the pressure on it since the influx of Syrian refugees? In this chapter I mainly focus on the beneficiaries. It seems providers and receivers speak according to the same religious logic of generosity. I use the terms *excluded insiders* and *included outsiders* to show there is a subtle difference between clients and patrons interpretative scheme within this same logic, but also to indicate certain limits of generosity exist. I argue while the patronage system has become enforced, generosity – which needs to be understood in its cultural and historical context – seems to contribute to the resilience of the community in east Amman.

In the remaining chapter I conclude the findings and relate these to the analytical framework provided in chapter 2. This thesis provides interesting insights in resilience of a Jordanian urban community. Inspired by King's (2004) micro-political analysis on collective action, I suggest a framework of *resilient action* that contains the three components of resilience as discussed in this thesis. However, these components of resilience cannot just be taken as the ulti-

mate recipe for peace in other related countries, because this rather implies cultural insensitivity. I end this thesis with recommendations for further research and for strategies for International development organizations that try to promote cohesion between refugees and host communities. In Appendix 1 I have elaborated and contextualized the informants of this research.

$\mathbf{2}$. Resilience of the precarious: a framework of analysis

The framework of resilience provides an interesting insight in how people create relatively peaceful situations in instable and insecure times, such as in the case of Jordan since the influx of Syrian refugees. By comparing different reports on other impacted countries9, similar trends of pressure, such as on education, health, public services, and job competition, among host communities appear. Importantly, the context in which these pressures are manifested influence the way host communities perceive and deal with these burdens. For example, Lebanon mainly has a Shi'ite population, but Syrians are mainly Sunni. In a country that already suffered from for sectarian violence, perceptions towards Syrians are, logically, different from Jordan with mainly Sunni Muslims. Based on the social identity theory, Loescher & Milner (2011) argue a degree of sameness is an important explanation for positive and generous conceptions from host communities towards refugees. I believe this explanation is too simplistic. In my view, underlying mechanisms provide a better understanding of these conceptions. A micro-political view (see King, 2004) is important, since these conceptions vary between the northern and Amman governorate. Hence, why do Jordanians in east Amman seem to stay calm and why have no intense hostilities against Syrian refugees arisen yet, despite the huge impact of refugee flows on different aspect of Jordan as a country and as a society?

The concept resilience originally derives from ecology, referring to 'the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and recognize and yet persist in a similar state' (Gunderson et al, 2006 in Masten & Obradovic, 2007). One of the first scholars on resilience was Holling (1973:17) who defined resilience as 'a measure of the ability of these systems to absorb changes of state variables, driving variables and parameters and still persist.' From the ecological perspective, resilience is perceived as a natural order, similar like biological phenomena (Walker, 2011). Based on this definition, resilience can be understood as an indication of stability and the capability to 'cope' with disruptive changes in a particular environment.

Within the social sciences resilience is a relatively new and under theorized concept. The concept is often connected to other concepts such as local ownership, livelihood, community capacity and community wellbeing. While the term is still frequently related to ecology, natural disasters and poverty, more scholars try to go beyond this system-orientated focus and argue the importance of agency in resilience. For example, Berkes and Ross (2013) emphasize the importance of agency and self-organization through networks. The concept of resilience thus provides the opportunity to include an ontology of both the dialectic of structure and agency (Giddens, 1984), and therefore a useful concept to research peaceful or resilient action.

Berkes and Ross see *vulnerability* as a complementary concept to resilience. According to them, both terms are orientated towards responses to stress and reactions to rapid and slow changes. Additionally, both try to understand social differentiation, equality and power. Butler (2004) examines vulnerability from a more philosophical and sociological perspective. By using her approach on mourning and grief, she reflects on the suffering of others, weakness and vulnerability, in short on *precariousness*. Precariousness describes the common yet unequal distributed fragility of human existence. For Butler, it is essential to the construction of interdependence and vulnerability of people (McRobbie, 2006). Vulnerability and precariousness are

⁹ Reports that I compared are: World Vision (2013), Davis & Taylor (2013) for Lebanon, WFP (2013b), IOM (2013) for North Iraq, ICG (2013) and UNDP website 'Host Communities' for Turkey, and Mercy Corps (2013), Davis & Taylor (2013), and UN & HCSP (2014) for Jordan.

useful concepts to understand human fragility in this uncertain world, to understand human conditions and how fragile people, despite their precarious lives, create resilience.

In a recent article, Duffield (2013) argues that over the last decades, resilient thinking became based upon the idea of 'radical uncertainty'. Human beings are exposed to unforeseen threats, in which we constantly find ourselves unprepared. In his analysis on resilience, Duffield explicitly emphasizes that resilient thinking is commonly shaped around marginalized communities. This means that those populations that are exposed to disasters and disruptive changes are not the elites, but the vulnerable and uncertain global poor. Instead of saving lives, developmental acts include elites teaching the global poor to be resilient against quick social, political, economical or environmental transformations. Marginalized communities only have the prospect of imagining social Dystopias of undesirable, uncertain and frightening future (Duffield, 2013). In other words, the term resilience itself already indicates existing and maybe even further emerging power relations between the rich and the poor, between those who struggle and those who don't. Duffield's analysis is in line with Butler's work on precariousness as an unevenly distributed existence of human life. However, the problem with Duffield's analysis is, in my view, that the author himself victimizes the poor as marginalized and powerless objects, subjected to threats in which they can do nothing else but survive. In line with Butler, I argue both the rich and poor live a precarious life, but certain factors make one more vulnerable than the other. In this way I do not assume beforehand one's marginality and one other's absolute power before actually researching this. Instead, I will start with assuming that there is a certain basis of precariousness in which we need to gain understanding in what makes certain people more vulnerable than others and in how they deploy their agency against this.

Although different authors provide important insights into resilience, a concept that is interdisciplinary, that can be studied from different ontologies and epistemologies, there seems to be no grounded conceptual framing. This is especially the case regarding works on forced migration and host-communities that try to be resilient to unexpected, extreme and rapid changes in their social environment and social life. Literature provides an evidence-based understanding in non-violent behavior of communities towards other communities, but peaceful and generous attitudes are not as straightforward and obvious as they seem; they are highly social, political, cultural and historical. Interestingly, this remains a gap within social theory. The term provides understanding in the interplay of structure and agency, but leaves questions such as how is resilience constructed? How do precarious people deal with uncertainty yet maintain generous gestures towards the Other? Referring back to the research interest: Can resilience explain hospitality – and if so, how? Or is hospitality an indicator of resilience, a form of adaptation?

In order to answer these questions, an in-depth understanding of east Amman's sociopolitical structure and cultural life is needed. As became clear during the three-months of fieldwork, a new framework is needed in order to explain why some Jordanians seem to be resilient; one that interconnects three concepts, namely resilient coping mechanisms, religion and patronage. I elaborate on these terms further below. The framework needed for this case, is based on King's (2004) micro-political analysis on the three components that contribute to collective action. In this thesis I propose a framework of *resilient action* that contains three components of resilience as discussed in this chapter.

Coping mechanisms

The term livelihood is often heard in development studies. However, it is less discussed within conflict studies. Almost three million Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2014) have fled from their countries and have spread over the neighboring countries. Each host country is dealing, albeit all differently, with the immense pressures these refugees pose on the host communities. In the case of Jordan, an influx of 606,716¹⁰ Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2014b) has an enormous impact

¹⁰ See Introduction, footnote 1.

on the daily life of Jordanian men and women. According to reports (UNHCR, 2014; UN & HCSP, 2014; Mercy Corps, 2012) and after talking with some Jordanian organizations in Amman, it became clear that everyone was well aware of the impacts: education, housing, jobs, food prices, fuel, and healthcare. People agreed: Jordanian's daily lives were definitely impacted upon by the Syrian influx since 2011. The aim of this research was to understand how Jordanian women in Amman dealt with the ongoing changes in their environment and daily lives during the last three years.

The definition of resilience mentioned above refers to systems. From my ontological point of view, and in line with Giddens (1984), people participate in systems; they affect and are affected by structures. When a system is under pressure, how do people within this system deal with these pressures? For this question, we need to look at resilient mechanisms of people that try to create sustainable daily lives. In other words, for this thesis an examination of sustainable livelihood strategies is needed.

A livelihood compromises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources [material as well as immaterial], claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term (Chambers & Conway, 1991:6).

As becomes clear in the definition, the concept of livelihood is closely connected with the concept of resilience, which means the capability to absorb disturbance and to persist in a similar state (Gunderson et al, 2006 in Masten & Obradovic, 2008). To put it simple, a livelihood is resilient, when people can cope with disruptive changes in their community or environment, in the present as well as in the future. Coping strategies are for example: flexibility, adaptation (Walker & Cooper, 2011), acceptance, and enhancing capabilities for future generations (Chambers & Conway, 1991). These strategies of individuals can create resilience among people. Chambers and Conway argue individual resilient action contributes to a larger net of resilience among people and therefore, I assume, to a resilient community. The underlying assumption is that resilient individuals lead to resilient systems. Although I show this in this thesis as well, one should bear in mind that this, as in the case of Jordan, sometimes takes place in highly complex socio-political interactions and negotiations of power in specific cultural and historical settings.

But beside the fact that agency, in the form of livelihood strategies, influences structures, as I have argued above, they are shaped *by* structures at the same time. More specifically, livelihood strategies are based upon five 'capitals', namely *human* (labor, experience and knowledge), natural (such as water and land), *physical* (like stocks, jewelry and savings), *financial* (money, savings) and *social capital* (relationships as networks). These capitals are subject to influences within different contexts. Consequently, these influences affect livelihood strategies, which are enacted by the agency of individuals (Haan, 2000). In other words, livelihoods and strategies are shaped by and within social, cultural, economic and political contexts. These structures are, among other things, social norms, institutions, processes and policies that affect people's ability to access and make use of assets for a favorable outcome. They can create both opportunities as well as obstacles for people making a living (IRP, 2010).

Although resilience seems to be a useful concept, it often does not include a cultural understanding in conflict issues. Lyon & Parkins (2013) conducted ethnographic research in order to understand social and cultural systems and collective action in transitioning forest-based communities in Canada. With their analysis, they try to provide insight in facilitators for adaptation and collective action within resilient cultural realms, to move beyond institutional factors, such as political opportunity and economic dependency. Instead, they show the interplay of structure and agency through the sociocultural dependency of these communities that faced economic changes. In their terms:

[h]uman agency and social agency lead to adaptation, by locating culture as dynamic system differentiated from social system that can remain resilient or change as part of social adaptive processes instead of collective action (Lyon & Parkins, 2013:546).

In other words, cultural systems can provide sources that help people in terms of resilient acts other than collective action, such as adaptation, thereby contributing to resilient communities. In this way individuals and communities have the power to adapt and to cope with disturbing changes. Important for their research and unlike other works, the authors thus show how resilience can be studied within changing societies, in which people have a choice to adapt or resort to violent action, from an interpretative epistemology. Anthropological research is preeminently useful to gain a deep cultural understanding of how communities deal with transformations in society. Below I further elaborate on how culture can function as a source in resilience.

Religion

According to the International Religious Freedom Report (2010) more than ninety percent of Jordan's inhabitants are Muslim, mainly Sunni. As I experienced, East Amman seems to be more conservative in religious practices than the western part of the city, meaning that I observed more men and women in traditional clothing and people I spoke with tended to speak more in religious terms than in the west. I realized religion plays a major role in women's daily lives and in how women deal with the influx of Syrians specifically. Therefore, I argue that religious practices and notions need to be related to the framework of resilience, in addition to coping strategies discussed above in order to understand resilient action of poorer women in Al Manara, east Amman.

Within social theory, there seems to be a lack of insight in resilience in cultural systems (Masten & Obradovic, 2008). Clearly, not much has been discussed on resilience and religion spirituality, especially not within sociological and anthropological disciplines. Most research that has been done is within development studies or psychology. Peres et al (2007) for example, look at the role of spirituality and resilience in trauma victims. According to them, religiousness and spirituality foster questions about understanding life and its meaning. In their view, spiritual and religious beliefs have a positive effect on coping with traumatic events therefore promoting resilience. They can reduce loss of control and feelings of helplessness, provide a cognitive framework that may decrease suffering and fortify one's idea of purpose and meaning. Besides, they can provide a worldview that helps to give purpose and meaning to the suffering. Above all, religious and spiritual beliefs may offer hope and motivation (Peres et al, 2007). Religiousness and spirituality can function as spiritual support, reappraisal, religious surrender, spiritual direction and connection (Peres et al, 2007) by praying, trusting in God, seeking God's help, taking comfort in religion and mediation (King & Roeser, 2009). Instead of looking at the individual level, Paton et al (2007) focused on collectivist communities. They examined the adaptive capacity of Thai communities in the context of the 2004 tsunami. Researchers looked at the role of religious affiliation, ethnicity and place of a collectivist society and understand religion as a mechanism and social context for the development of the capacity to adapt. In other words, while looking at the individual and group level of resilience, the authors all perceive religion as a coping mechanism in order to create resilience.

However, religion and spirituality can also be seen as a *resource* of resilience that enhances the ability to cope (Kim, 2011). I agree with Sulivan (2011), who rejects the utilitarian view of religion as a coping mechanism, and rather sees it as a resource in negotiating demands of life. In her book *Living Faith*, she examines how poor women practice religion in daily life. Here she argues that women she researched did not see religion as a problem-solving tool and therefore it cannot be seen as a mechanism of coping. Instead, it can structure how women understand the world around them and how they respond to misfortune in their daily lives, thereby promoting resilience (Sulivan 2011). In other words, instead of regarding religion as a coping

strategy or mechanisms, religion and religious practices can help in coping with difficulties in times of crisis.

In order to understand daily life practices and how poor women are dealing with their harsh circumstances, Sulivan argues we need to see religion as a type of cultural work, meaning that while examining religion, researchers need to look at what people do with religious idioms, how they use them, what they make of themselves and the world that they are in (Orsi, 2002 xiv in Sulivan, 2011). I therefore looked at how poorer women in East Amman used Islamic notions, which helped them to understand the pressure of Syrian refugees on their daily lives and their income of donations specifically.

Patronage

With the case of east Amman I explored the link between coping mechanisms, religion and patronage and the apparent resilience among Jordanian women in Al Manara despite the influx of Syrian refugees in their country and their neighborhood specifically. In the 1960s and 1970s a dominant assumption among scholars was that patronage or clientelist models would eventually disappear with the development of modernity (Roniger, 2004). However, in modern contexts patronage still exists nowadays and as Roniger shows, these two can go hand in hand. Nowadays, the concept of patronage has largely been discussed in the context of Latin America (see for example: Lomnitz, 2001). Albeit in different forms, patronage relationships also seem to be present in the social and political spheres in Middle Eastern contexts (Clark, 2004; Harmsen, 2004; Lust, 2009), such as in the countries that are comparably affected by the Syrian crisis, like Lebanon (Hamzeh, 2010). By focusing solely on east Amman in this thesis, patronage provides an interesting micro-political view on supra-local politics in Jordan, a specific political interaction of power between those who dominate (the patrons) and the subordinated clients (Scott, 1990). In this section, I outline the debate on patronage and position this in the rational choice theory.

For this thesis, I use the general definition of Nelson that leaves room for nuances and is applicable in different cultural settings. According to him, patronage can be defined as 'the act and substance of giving' between the patron (the giver) and client (receiver)' (Nelson, 1996:45). In other words, it is a form of human behavior of offering something to the other person. The giver is honored as a guardian and supporter, while the receiver is often inferior and bounded to the patron. The relationship always remains unequal, because a patron can have more clients. Above all, a patron is often from a higher rank, often from a higher class that has more power than his or her client(s). In this way patronage becomes a way of communication between the higher and lower class through the provision of a gift. Importantly, patronage systems are entirely voluntarily, but as soon as both parties enter in the relationship, they become depended on each other: while the client depends on the 'offer' of the patron, which can be jobs, money or other opportunities, a patron mainly relies on resources, power, loyalty, and trust, that (s)he expects from his or her client(s) in return. In short, patronage is an unequal exchange relationship based on interdependency.

'The gift' plays a major role in the exchange relationship between the provider and the receiver. The concept of the gift has largely been debated within the social science. Marcel Mauss's book *The Gift* (1954 [1950]) is a major contribution to social thought of exchange theory and gift theory within the field of anthropology and other social disciplines. In this book, Mauss presents the exchange of gifts as a fundamental social system that binds groups of people together. He opposes archaic system to the modern market, arguing that within the (nostalgically) system of gift exchange, collective interest predominates the individual interest.

In line with Mauss, Frow (1997, in Murphy, 2006) emphasizes that gifts shouldn't be seen as things, but as transactions and social relations: gifts bind people; it is constantly constituted while constituting them. Importantly, social systems or institutions, of which the event of the gift is part of, create the meanings of the gift and its forms (Murphy, 2006). Hence, in order to understand this, one should understand the social and cultural system or institution. The gift, as the central social transaction, is an articulated symbolism of unequal relationships between

the giver and the receiver. In this way, gift exchange signifies social relations, which prescribes particular cultural and social practices. Therefore, it stipulates the power of the gift in order to shape social behavior and its work as a bond, a social glue (Murphy, 2006), or as an expression of a bond of alliance and commonality (Verhezen, 2002).

Generosity and calculation

The form usually taken is that of the gift generously offered; but the accompanying behavior is formal pretense and social deception, while the transaction itself is based on obligation and economic self-interest (Mauss, 1954: 1).

According to Mauss (in Murphy, 2006: 190), the gift is an ambivalent category of ethics, because it oscillates 'between the poles of generosity and calculation [...] whereas the forms of calculation and indebtedness that are set in motion in gift economies must be understood to be structural and prior to all 'ethical forms'.' In other words, he perceives the gift as an exchange primarily for profitable reasons; maybe even selfishness, rather than feeling of sympathy, care, and altruism.

Gift theory could be related to rational choice theory, in which human beings are perceived as homo economicus, assuming that people are rational agents who make constantly purposive choices to gain maximum utility. This theory is based on the epistemological view of rationalism that assumes individual behavior is predictable and (s)he chooses the action that (s)he correctly calculates to be most instrumental in satisfying his or her preferences. In contrast, the thick or soft rational theory also incorporates psychological and operational processes in its framework, instead of only economical (Demmers, 2012). This means behavior can be rational on non-economic grounds as well. Logically, something might seem irrational in economic terms, but rational in extra-economic terms (Zafirovski, 2003). Although individuals are still perceived as purposeful agents, the theory also believes perceptions and evaluations of costs and benefits are influenced by normative expectations related with the role a person enacts (Demmers, 2012). In other words, particular roles logically relate to particular expected calculations. This would mean that a patron logically acts in order to accumulate power and wealth, and the client will make certain choices in order to receive the gift. Problematic from this view is that it remains deterministic. This means, for this research these "predictable" behaviors can only be logic in its specific cultural context.

As Osteen (2002) disapprovingly notes, within the academic debate the gift is often related to the economic realm of commodities and profit. While Mauss perceives the gift as a form of personal gain, Verhezen believes the logic of the gift still has its 'original' generous meaning, but only certain (powerful) individuals can abuse this idea. In his ethnography on Java, Verhezen (2002) shows how the gift is central in profit-maximizing alliances enabled by institutional changes of democracy. The logic of the gift, as he shows, has transformed into a 'cultural gimmick' of personal enrichment on the island. The gift mechanism itself is ambiguous because it establishes solidarity through sharing and meanwhile it pursues superiority and hierarchical status through exchanges.

Whether generosity is established prior to calculation or the other way around, the gift remains an ambivalent, but a significant phenomenon that symbolizes a power relationship based on dependency and reciprocity. The power of the gift is to connect two different persons and place them in a situation with feelings of obligation, inequality, and loyalty. The gift especially becomes an ambivalent phenomenon when we place it between patronage – in which calculation is the basis of the relationship – and religion – in which alms are gestures of generosity (Mauss, 1954). It is in this apparent fragile equilibrium I place the concept of the gift in this thesis.

Patronage networks of trust

As shortly mentioned above, networks can play a major role in resilient systems. For Berkes and Ross (2013) self-organization through networks in combination with agency are important ingredients of resilience. According to Befu (1997), network theory and exchange theory are two distinct but fruitful contributions to each other in understanding social exchange. Social network theory assumes individuals interact simultaneously with other people, including using indirect relationships. Exchange theory analyzes processes, strategies, and functions, while network theory tries to develop a structural framework. In this way, network and exchange theory can give an insightful contribution to understand the phenomenon of the gift in patronage relationships and resilience in East Amman.

Within the framework of resilience, networks could be perceived as a form of social capital. In Chamber and Conway's analysis (1991) on human vulnerability and sustainable livelihoods, capitals support one's livelihood in times of crisis. People who use their networks and step into patronage relationships acquire social capital, since they are widening their networks. In this way they open opportunities to gain access to resources and other opportunities. Social networks and relationships are therefore essential in order to create and sustain resilience (Tomkins & Adger, 2004; Newman & Dale, 2004). According to Tomkins and Adger, vulnerability can be reduced through the creation and use of social networks thereby contributing to a community's resilience. Newman and Dale, however, argue that their framework is too simplistic. They show that only networks composed of a diversity of 'bridging' links to a diverse web of resources and 'bonding' links that build trust strengthen a community's resilience. As in the case of Jordan as well, trust, including informal norms and values, is an essential component on which patronage relationships are built (Verhezen, 2002).

With their case on North Brazil, Nelson and Finan (2009) on the contrary show that patronage networks, which are based on informal norms and values, are important forms of protection that can support but also discourage resilience. Understanding the socio-political make-up of these networks and relationships seems therefore important in opportunities or limitations for resilience. My primary focus, but not exclusively, is on the social capital of women, which includes social resources, such as networks, membership and relationships of trust that facilitate economic opportunities and co-operation (IRP, 2010). In the next chapters, I show distrust can sometimes prevail in these relations, which leads to certain tactics of both actors to deal with this in order to maintain a patronage network.

An analysis of resilience

The aim for this thesis is to understand the seemingly contradictory phenomenon of the mass influx of Syrian refugees and the peaceful reactions to this among women of East Amman. In order to provide this understanding, I argue that we need to look at resilience from a cultural perspective. The 'danger' of resilience is its original biological perspective, assuming that resilient systems are biological phenomena. With the entrée of more individual and communal perspectives in the social science, the debate on resilience has become more diverse and insightful. However, it remains an under theorized debate with little cultural understandings in different socio-cultural settings.

As in the comparable countries like Lebanon, Iraq, and Turkey, it is certain that the precarious lives of women and their households in East Amman have been affected, albeit differently, by impacts of Syrian refugees on different facets of Jordan's society. The poor have been hit the hardest and need to use different strategies in order to remain or become resilient. In this case, the combination of religion, and patronage networks form the important sources of resilience. Religious interpretations are problem-solving tools of resilience. Patronage is a complex socio-political form of networks that are important ingredients of resilience, but they also complicate the religious interpretation of generosity, as opposed to calculation that is embedded in the gift. Lastly, coping mechanisms are powerful strategies, such as adaptation, flexibility, and

acceptance that facilitate resilience and need to be understood from its socio-cultural and historical context. I use this framework of resilience in this thesis in order to provide a deeper understanding of resilience of precarious women in Al Manara. Inspired by King's (2004) micropolitical analysis on collective action, I suggest a framework of *resilient action* that contains the three components of resilience among women that contributes to a resilient care system in East Amman.

$\bf 3$. Precariousness and the gift

Hadra

Hadra is one of the beneficiaries of Al Manara Society. She is a 39 years old woman, married, has three daughters and one son. After her first daughter, Heba who is fourteen years old, she had problems in falling pregnant again. "I think it was not something physical or medical. Maybe it is something from God", is her explanation to me.

Hadra lives with her family-in-law in one small house because of financial issues. She is born in Zarqa, a smaller and poor industrial town north of Amman. "It was better there, because I was born and raised there. It is my house. Socially it was better for me, because I knew everyone there. I didn't have the burdens of families and a sick husband. We just played around the house and we played at school." She moved to Al Manara at the age of eighteen when she got married for the first time. The marriage only lasted for one week, because her husband turned out to be a drug and alcohol addict who abused her physically. She ran away from the house back to her parents in Zarqa and asked for divorce at the court where she got married. It was not easy because her husband didn't want to divorce her since he owned her grants¹¹. She gave up for these grants. All she wanted was to get divorced from him.

Hadra felt traumatized from this marriage. She didn't want to get married again. Soon her mother got very sick. Her mother wanted to be sure Hadra would not end up alone when she would pass away. She advised Hadra to get married again, because she knew her father would marry another wife as soon as she would pass away. Two years after her first marriage her previous neighbors of her first husband introduced her to her current husband. They told her he was a sewer, but looking for a job.

She got married and soon got her daughter, Heba. However during a fight she found out about his depression. She ran to her family's house again to express her sadness and madness. After two weeks they talked. He explained to her about his depression and that therefore he does not work. Because of that nothing could be changed about it.

Emotionally, I got really tired of him. He can't work, because he gets attacks when he works. So I can't work. There is always negativity around the house. He doesn't go out from the house. He always stays [there]. He doesn't have friends to hang around with. So he is depressed. I feel bad from his depression and all the negativity around the house.

But despite his bad condition, she feels he is much better than her ex-husband, because he has never abused her. She used to blame the neighbor for this situation. "It's like, this is reality" and accepts the situation now.

This chapter is about patronage relations in the care system in the periphery of Amman, or more precisely in Al Manara. With care system I mean a larger system of society in which people (feel responsibility to) care for each other that, among other things, includes generosity and solicitude. The logic of this system flows through different layers of society. One of my translators explained to me that support charities provide, derives from *fazha*. *Fazha* is when a person asks for help to his/her beloved friends and family. These close individuals help financially, emotionally and, as she explained to me, even in fights, because these people "care" and feel "love" for the person in need. So while the idea of *fazha* stems from the personal level, it is implemented in the civil society level as well.

¹¹ When a woman wants to divorce, she has her right, according to the Islamic rules, to keep the *mahr* (dowry). In addition, often she gets half of the men's possession according the marriage contract (Jaafar-Mohammad & Lehmann, 2011).

The responsibility to care about fellow people is reflected in charitable-giving. *Zakat*, one of the five pillars of Islam, is an Islamic practice of almsgiving based on 2.5 percent of the accumulative wealth of a person who is able to do so. It is a religious obligation to provide help and charity to the weaker of the society. The practice is considered as purifying one's soul and wealth with the idea Allah will reward those in the afterlife. At the level of civil society charity organizations form an important 'center' in this care system that divide these charities over a particular part of society. At the national level, the state encourages firms to provide zakat to these charity organizations by lessen tax for those who do. Besides, the ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs is responsible for the Zakat Committee that provides *zakat* over needy citizens as well. In this way, the care system, in which charity organizations are essential actors, transcends the three levels of society.

Precariousness and vulnerability in the periphery

Al Manara is considered as one of the poorer neighborhoods in East Amman. It is built on one of the twenty-one hills of the capital, relatively isolated from downtown that separates east from west. This isolation symbolizes the inhabitants' anonymity in Amman and the economic division between the urban poor and the affluent western Ammanis. Potter (2009) describes the social construction or the socio-economic zonation of east and west as the 'two Ammans'. The east is the home for the urbanized poor. It is characterized by low-income residents and high population density. This part is relatively conservative, more Islamic in its sympathies, and has large Palestinian refugee camps on the edges of the city. In contrast, west Amman, which is less densely populated than the east, has more flouring and luxurious neighborhoods, trendy bars and cafes, and impressive art galleries. Besides, unlike the east, the western part offers more public services and better water supplies (Potter, 2009). Husam, the president of Al Manara Society of Development (hereafter, Al Manara Society) also noticed the better and more public services in the other parts of the city.

Many streets do not have light and are dirty [in east]. Only few streets [in west] where people from the parliament live are with lights and are clean. The prime minister has never been here in east Amman. He doesn't know what is going on here.

From this comment Husam clearly shows that he feels an exclusion and anonymity coming from

As I illustrated by the story of Hadra, women seem to be vulnerable especially on the psychological and socio-economic level, while at the same time affected by the social and cultural context they live in. Hadra struggles with a very limited income and a husband who is unable to work, while dealing with private issues at the same time. Women's vulnerability on the psychological and socio-economic level should be understood from a spatial dimension. Most of the women I spoke to, either originally come from Al Manara, any other more poor neighborhood in Amman or from a poor town near by Amman. This means that throughout their lives they have always remained in the 'poorer part', spatially separated from the west, with no prospect of leaving this urban zone of poverty. In this way, the women I spoke with remain bound to the periphery, a stagnation in their socio-economic mobility. This spatial dimension of poverty almost immediately marks women as 'the poor', 'the uneducated' and 'the unknown'.

Religion and coping strategies of the receivers

Most of the women I spoke with, receive money from the government, namely the Ministry of Social Development (National Aid Fund) and/or from the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs. The latter is in charge of the charity institute 'Zakat Committee' that provides donations to poorer household. In addition, they try other ways via their networks of friends and families to receive personal donations. Except for Fatima, these women do not have ambulant businesses. However, since they have no income to start any initiative 12 they remain reliant on donations.

 12 Women noted that the Society taught them handcrafts. However, they noted that although they would like to start an initiative, they do not have any money or sources to buy basic things to start this. Only Fatima earns a little bit of

Since state support is often not enough, women go to charity organizations and a 'rich' mosque. ¹³ Most of the donations women receive from Al Manara Society and some from the Mosque take place during Ramadan. They rarely receive a little bit in other months. As Hadra and Amal explained, except during the holy month of Ramadan, they can barely manage. This means that they have debts in the super market and not always food on the table. In addition to giving up meals and buying food on credit, they cope by cutting their expenses.

Gender plays a major role in this care system. Jordanians, unlike Syrians as I will show in the next chapter, often feel shy to ask for more money. This seems especially the case for men. Samar, for example, told me she will never ask money from her brothers who live in the Gulf, because she does not want to put her husband in an awkward situation, in which he would feel "shy". According to her, her husband would feel smaller in front of her brothers, because of the idea he should be the man of the house. "He would feel embarrassed, really embarrassed". Although this is maybe not the case in all households, also a volunteer of Al Manara Society also mentioned and explained to me this:

Men can't just go to the Society to ask for support. There is more acceptance by the community for women to ask for help. Men are not going. They will say: "Go to work!" It's a cultural thing. The Society and community accept it more and are more willing to help when women ask for support.

In other words, women play a vital role in the income activities of poor households and are therefore indispensable in the care system that is intertwined with embarrassment, honor and dignity.

The many different income sources are often variable and very small, which makes for women I spoke with finding a balance between income and expenses even harder. Also dealing with harsh circumstances has a very gendered aspect. According to IASC (2006) women have different resources and survival strategies than men in crisis situations. According to the same volunteer, women have the capability to deal with changes. They have relations, network, and can reach the society to get more support. "Why do women have this ability more than man?", I asked. Another woman working in the Society smiled and answered:

Women are faster in finding solutions, to deal with problems. They think about their children. Men just settle down.

But finding new connections in order to receive personal donations is very difficult in the competitive care system in which all women try their best to find affluent people who may help. Women try to create *wasta*, an Arabic form of connections of favoritism and influence to get something done by "pulling" connections. They attempt to acquire social capital in the form of networks in order to ease everyday struggles and to create opportunities. Diana, for example, asked one of my translators if she knew anyone who could help her. As Newman and Dale (2004) have argued as well, social capital in the forms of networks facilitates opportunities and adaptation to changes and difficulties.

Besides, creating a future perspective is another way of coping with the economical vulnerability. Women indicated they 'sacrifice' a lot for their children by buying food on credit when they are hungry. Moreover, although it's not the case in all households, some women force their children to finish their school in the hope for a better future perspective than they had. However, sometimes the care system limits the women in their hope to find a better future for their children. Fatima has a son with Down syndrome and is looking for a donor who can financially adopt her child. Yet, the care system of Jordan mainly adopts orphans and, as a conse-

the sewing work she does for others. Since her father used to be a tailor she has his sewing machine. She earns maximum 5 JD (\pm 4,75) per month with this work, but this very fluctuates.

¹³ With 'rich', women meant this mosque receives many donations from local and foreign donors. The Sheikh I spoke with is the Imam from this mosque and is active in finding donations. He visits families' houses. Based on, among other things, their income, amount of children and furniture he decides the amount of donations this household may receive when they visit the mosque for donations

quence, until now her son is excluded by this system. Orphans are prioritized, because the Koran mentions that the believers should take care for these children.¹⁴

The meaning of 'orphan' should be culturally understood, since it refers to a child without parents or only without a father, but the mother may be still alive. This interpretation leads to that women, whose husband is physically and sometimes also mentally incapable to work or help in the house, carefully question this definition charities work with. Diana related this to her children:

The father is still alive but he is unable to do anything. He is there, but is unable to do anything. He can't do his duties in work. How is that different [for my children] from being an orphan?

Fatima mentioned something similar. Although she experiences the practice of the system as unequal, she also showed an understanding "[M]oney to orphans is very important. But don't forget about the poor families." In other words, while trying to create a sustainable perspective, at the same time, women like Fatima, feel forgotten by the care system. They express this by the specific interpretation based on Islamic idioms in order to argue why they believe the exclusion they experience is unjust.

It thus becomes clear that the precarious women are experiencing struggles in dealing with their vulnerability on financial grounds. Yet, this does not mean women are the powerless poor, because they seem to frame their struggles in wider perspective. Religiosity seems to provide them a better understanding of the difficulty of finding donors and receiving donations. In women's stories, religion seems to be an important aspect of their everyday lives and the struggle life brings with. As anthropologist Marla Frederick (2003 in Sulivan 2011) has shown in her work that the faith in God navigates how individuals respond to life's circumstances. Hadra believes it was God who decided about her falling pregnant. Fatima interprets her son's exclusion from the care system as she being afraid her son will be forgotten, while recognizing the need of aid for orphans. This can help her in the understanding of her harsh situation in which she does not receive the help she would like to get. Besides, it seems religion supports them keeping hope, by talking in terms of 'luck'. Manal thinks that the amount of donations is a matter of luck. Also Amal spoke in these terms regarding (not) receiving donations and puts her faith in God. "Whenever a donor comes to this charity, they call me. But when I reach the charity it is already gone. I have bad luck, *al-hamdulillah* 15," and she kisses her two fingers and puts them in the air.

In short, by finding pathways in networks and relations with individuals and organizations, such as Al Manara Society, women creatively try to find solutions to their everyday struggles. Everyday religion plays a role in placing one's own struggles in a larger perspective and in the idea of the necessity of support to other needy. In this way, it seems everyday religion and social capital are important sources to cope with these struggles in daily life.

The care system in civil society

In this thesis I show how patronage plays a role on the civil society level and the private life. I use the definition of civil society organizations (CSO) of Harmsen (2008), who conducted research on Muslim CSOs in Jordan, in order to show the western understanding that is often used for this concept. He defines CSO as

¹⁴ "On this world and the hereafter. And they ask you concerning the orphans. Say: To set right fort hem is good, and if you become copartners with them, they are your brethren, and Allah knows the mischief-maker; and if Allah had pleased, He would certainly have caused you to fall into a difficulty; surely Allah is Mighty, Wise" (Quran 2:220, Maulvi Muhammad Ali, 1935).

¹⁵ Translation: "Thanks and praise to Allah".

the realm in which citizens associated on a voluntary basis to serve common goals (interests, values, norms, morals, and ideals) and whose decisions and practices in this regard are relatively autonomous from state policies as well as from economic objectives. In doing so, a civil society gives an organized, conscious and reflexive expression to social relationships, solidarities and cultural values in the socio-cultural life world of its citizens (Harmsen, 2008:393).

Interesting in this definition is the 'relatively autonomous from state policies as well as economic objectives'. As Dr. Shteiwi from Center for Strategic Studies in an interview mentioned as well, civil society organizations in Jordan work very closely and are interconnected with the government. However, the problem with some organizations is that they are not always transparent with their financial statements and, according to Shteiwi, some of these organizations receive funds from the government, while calling themselves non-governmental organizations. So despite the idea of that CSOs are supposed to act autonomously, they are highly controlled by and cooperate with state officials. Besides, according to both Harmsen and Shteiwi, most of the associations in Jordan continue to serve traditional patterns of patronage and hierarchy, based on kinship ties of tribe and the larger family¹⁶. In other words, the care system, in which these charity organizations operate, is a highly hierarchical and political complexity of networks. In other words, CSOs in Jordan should not be understood in western terms, because it does not meet the western definition. Patronage and civil society are not two contradictory terms, as is often assumed. As Roniger (2004) argues as well, we need to move beyond these formal principles and ideas of democracy, autonomous civil society and modern citizenship, that seems to be based on western concepts of civil society. In the case of modern Jordan, institutional contexts favor patronage that is embedded in the sphere of civil society.

Although I try to give more insight in the culture of charity in Jordan throughout this whole thesis, it is important to give some general points on charity. In Jordan, charity could be seen as an Islamic practice. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, according to the Islam every person is obligated to give zakat. By helping the needy, Muslims believe Allah will give you the same amount in return or will even double it¹⁷. During Ramadan, a month to feel with the poor people, people tend to give more donations with the idea that God will give you even more in return. As both Um Nadal – a volunteer of Al Manara Society that is responsible for collecting donations – as well as sheikh Osama Adairi¹⁸ – who collects donations for a mosque and his charity organization called 'Rikaaz' – explained to me Islamic charity has an inclusive character. This means that Muslims are obligated to help another person, regardless of his/her religion.

Huda, ¹⁹, another volunteer of the Society, expressed an important value that I heard repeatedly from both the receivers and the providers: the idea of equality, fairness and sharing. Um Alaa, one of the volunteers of the Society, explained to me this principle:

When your colleague doesn't have a sandwich, while you have, you have to share it with her. Prophet Mohammed taught us to take care of other people, to take care of our neighbors. You always have to check on them, until the 7th neighbor, if they are hungry, need food or anything else. If you have a sandwich, extra clothes, more allowance, you have to share it with them.

¹⁶ Tribes are understood as larger families that often originate from a certain area in the country. Although tribal connections are not as important as in the past, scholars (see for example Antoun, 2000; Clark, 2004 Harmsen, 2008) still agree that they nevertheless are still present in Jordan's social, cultural, economical and political life. According to Harmsen, within CSO this can sometimes lead to favoritism in charity organizations.

¹⁷ The Qur'an discourages interest in wealth accumulation and support followers of the Islam to provide charity: "Allah does not bless usury, and He causes charitable deeds to prosper, and Allah does not love any ungrateful sinner" (2:276). 'Surely they who believe and do good deeds and keep up prayer and pay the poor rate – they shall have their reward from their Lord, and they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve' (2:227).

¹⁸ See Appendix 1.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1.

The logic of this charity system at the civil society level is that the affluent help the needy and God will reward those who do good to others, which includes ideas of generosity, inclusiveness, sharing and fairness.

Horizontal networks and reputation

The Al Manara Society is established in 1988 as a local initiative to provide help to the community in this neighborhood. Its vision is a sustainable community in Al Manara. One of their main activities is providing help to poor families, regardless religion, by money and food distribution. Whenever donations arrive, volunteers call the beneficiaries registered in the Society, according to the ranking of the categories, which I will further elaborate below. In addition they provide scholarships to students in need, and raise awareness, such as on drugs, through classes. The society is highly dependent on donations from individuals, firms, and organizations. They closely collaborate with the MOSD who refer needy people to them who demand extra support additionally to that from the state. They are under the umbrella of GUVS (General Union of Voluntary Societies) that supports them in small amounts and checks their work.

The Society has a seemingly democratic character. On the first day I met the volunteers from Al Manara Society when I attended the election for new board members. I was there together with their donor, Family Kitchen, who is a member of the general board. The board is divided between the General committee, that has around sixty members, and the Al Manara Society board that consists of eleven members. All the members within the board and committee can democratically influence the Society. The General committee elects members for the Society Board. The Society Board, in turn, votes for the management (the president, vice president, secretary and accountant). The election can only take place when more than half of the members are present. However, this democratic character is only from within. This means that the beneficiaries are not part of the board and therefore cannot change anything officially in the Society. Thus, in Amman's sphere of civil society, the care system in East Amman has a 'top down' character, and is vastly hierarchical and exclusionary.

These last two characteristics also become clear regarding membership in the horizontal network in Al Manara. In order to become member of the General committee, one has to show (s)he is involved in the society, needs to be over eighteen years old, and have good conduct. The latter being rather arbitrary, because it relates to having a good reputation. As the president of the Society board explained to me:

Sometimes we know he is not good, than we refuse him. A person is not good when he has a bad reputation. It will damage our reputation. Reputation is very important. If his reputation is good, he is welcome. He must be willing to work. This is reflected in the Society.

In other words, it seems reputation or prestige is highly important for the Society and they try to maintain a certain degree of reputation according to the definition of the community and the Society. A person is included based on his or her status in the larger community of the care system. I recognize this as a limit of this research that I do not exactly know how the establishment of reputation works. But in my understanding dense networks of rumors and gossips seem to be crucial in affecting it. These rumors and gossips function as information infrastructure, because reputation is known through people in the community. As I asked Husam how he actually knows if a certain person has a good reputation, he explained to me "you just know". These rumors and gossips are important forms of political communication among beneficiaries, as I will show below. Importantly, it seems they are also vital facilitations or mechanisms of in- or exclusion of Ammanis in horizontal networks.

For paradise

The people who provide the donations - financial, food, or cloth packages- to the needy people, such as in Al Manara Society, are in an ambiguous position: they receive donations from donors and they provide this to the beneficiaries. They therefore see themselves as intermediaries, or brokers. Individual donors are mainly found through the extended network of the brokers. Some volunteers of Al Manara Society explained to me that their networks exist of friends, family and former colleagues. As one of the volunteers explained to me, they are "mediating between the people and the donors". But at the same time they feel they depend on the donors as well, since many donors want to help orphans only. As the rule of this care system, it's the choice of the donor to who his or her money will be donated. However, despite them feeling dependent on the donors, they do have the power to - try to- persuade him or her to donate to other poor families as well, as one of the women of Al Manara Society explained to me:

Sometimes a donor comes and says the donations are only for orphans. So then I can only call the orphans, even though maybe other families need more help. This is the condition of the donor. [....] Sometimes we tell them that there are other families [...]. So sometimes donors agree and are ok that money is distributed to other families as well. But sometimes donors refuse to give to other families. Then I think 'oh, if they could just give to other families as well', but I never judge them, because this is where they want to distribute their money to.

For this thesis, I call these brokers the providers, because I mainly focus on the provision of donation by these intermediaries to the receivers, the beneficiaries. Evidently, the providers are better off than their beneficiaries. All of the providers I had met had modern smartphones and were educated. While some of the volunteers did not work anymore²⁰, other members did this as a side activity. In the case of the president for example, he owns a business and has two cars. He only uses the one that is more expensive when he visits friends or has business meetings. He told me that he really likes volunteering. "It comes from the heart" It gives him a good feeling to make other people happy. "That's the secret of happiness: see others being happy." Although he wished not to further elaborate on it, he told me that he knew cases in which volunteers tried to profit from the work financially, by putting donations in their own pockets. "How do you benefit from the volunteering then?" I asked him.

Husam: "I benefit from God. It makes me feel satisfied to know what I did. I make decisions. I am not scared, because I do it in the good ways: to help. I am not scared. I am only scared from God."

Leoni: "How do you benefit from God?" Husam: "Ha ha, you know... For paradise"

Although I have also heard stories about prestige, votes, and money as reasons to volunteer, the providers I spoke with, spoke about the good, joyful and satisfactory feeling they get from volunteering. More importantly, it seemed that the providers I talked with hope to get rewards from God in return for the donations they provide to their beneficiaries.

Not only the beneficiaries, but also the providers expressed their opinions, ideas, and explanations in religious terms. Religion and to earn credits for the hereafter seem to be the motivated factor of volunteering in Al Manara and to find and provide donations to the beneficiaries. But should we see gifts, in forms of donations, then as calculations – e.g. the more and better I volunteer, the more credits I earn from God for Paradise? One could argue that believing that

²⁰ This means some people chose to volunteer after retirement or when their job contract has finished. But this does not count for everyone. Um Fadi, for example, has never worked. As soon as her children went to school she had a lot of free time. Therefore she decided to volunteer.

by generous acts a person earns credits is a form of calculative behavior, such as Mauss (1954) among others have argued about the gift. On the other hand, especially the female volunteers also emphasized the importance of helping others, doing good work, which could be understood as a more selfless unilateral generosity (Vaughan, 2002). It seems then that the gift, in this case, is a form of generosity, albeit with a calculative character that should be understood in religious terms.

Powers of the weak

As argued above, the Society has a top down character, in which reputation is very important, that seems to exclude the beneficiaries from decision processes. Women felt exclusion and forms of favoritism or in their terms 'prioritization' and 'discrimination', from the providers. For Fatima, this affected her trust in the society and her feeling of inclusion:

I feel they only help certain kind of families, especially orphans. But not only orphans, there are some families or women that get help, while their husbands are alive. They tell me their husbands are sick. But I tell them my husband is also sick and I have a sick child. That's why I don't trust them. I don't know why they say this. I don't know why they treat me in this way. [...] Before [three to four years ago] they used to call me much more often. Then I felt as if I was really registered here.

Similarly to Fatima, beneficiaries felt that the Society prioritizes certain people from the charity when she is a relative, a neighbor or they know each other. Clark (2004) and Harmsen (2007) indicate that favoritism is still present in local NGOs in Jordan, but through the years, it is not as dominant as it used to be in the past. Al Manara, however, doesn't admit that there is favoritism based on close ties, but did show me they have a prioritization according to certain three categories, namely 1) for orphans and very low income families, 2) low-income families with an income between 175 and 200 JD per month and depending on the amount of family members, 3) family members with 200 JD income or more, also including students, sick persons or with handicap and those with problems in covering housing expenses²¹. Women I interviewed were from the second or third category. In practice, mainly the people from the first category get a phone call when there are donations, according to the explanation of the Society.

Since the patronage relationship seems to be based on 'the gift', in the form of donations, it is built on the two-way dependency of trust: clients need a certain trust from their patrons to receive donations, and patrons need the trust from their clients for their reputation. This trust, as shown in the example above, is often very fragile and can be easily disrupted through rumors ad gossips. They can affect the provider's reputation, such as was the case for Um Alaa:

Um Alaa: "There are some people against me in volunteering. When I get donations I give a particular amount to a woman and another amount to another woman. Some people are asking ,why', they are always questioning my work. When a woman gets 20 JD and another woman 50 JD, the first woman will ask ,Why you give her 50 JD²²?'".

Leoni: "What do you think of people that are criticizing you?"

Um Alaa: "I am ok with that. I am satisfied. I can't satisfy all the people. No one can satisfy all the people. Some people accused me building my house [and my son's wedding] from donations of the Society. But it was ok for me. I have confidence. When I get donations, I give [the people who criticize me] money and they become shy. I feel confident, even though people criticize me, because I didn't do anything wrong. "

The idea of doing good deeds according to the Islam is what Um Alaa continued her in her work in providing the donations. Both actors seem to behave according to the religious 'rules' of society. While grumbling, the beneficiary questioned Um Alaa's acts based on the idea of equal shar-

²¹ Calculated in Euros: 175 JD is about €167 and 200 JD around €191.

²² Calculated in Euros: 20 JD is around €19 and 50 JD is approximately €48.

ing, interpreted from religious idioms According to some authors (Verhezen, 2002; Newman & Dale, 2004) norms of trust are indispensible in relationships and networks and the basis for reputation. It seems reputation can become damaged through distrust shaped by gossips and rumors about favoritism in the Society, expressed in grumblings. In the well-known work *Domi*nation and the Arts of Resistance James Scott (1990) calls rumors, gossips and grumblings as the politics of disguise and anonymity, or 'infrapolitics'. They should be seen as 'everyday forms of resistance' by the 'weak' (ibid.190). These forms of politics take place in hidden transcripts, or 'off stage'. As we have seen above, eventually these scripts effect domination on political communication in the public transcript, as Scott calls the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate (Scott, 1990). These networks are especially important for poorer communities (Putman, 2000, in Sulivan, 2011) and Um Alaa was highly aware of the dependency of the beneficiaries on donations, and thus on her. Because she was aware about these gossips about her, she tried to influence grumbling beneficiaries 'to shut their mouth' by providing money the next time as well, I suppose, in order to prevent the ruining of her reputation. In this way, power becomes a relational encounter, as Foucault perceives dominance (1982), between the provider and the receiver, in which the powers of the weak are the gossips, rumors, and grumblings that can affect the reputation of their patron. Al Manara's care system, including its relations, are figuratively demonstrated below in figure 1.

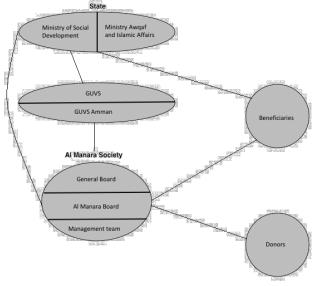


Figure 1 Care system in Al Manara

Al Manara's patronage: Religiosity and the gift in the periphery

I started this chapter by showing the exclusion of the precarious and uncertain urbanized poor in the isolated periphery. Their economical dependency, limits in their socio-cultural context, and issues in the private sphere make them more vulnerable than those in the western side of this rapid growing capital city. Religion seemed to be an important resource in helping them in coping. It gives women a better understanding or acceptance of the situation and hope in terms of luck.

The care system in east Amman is based on Islamic interpretations, but is highly intertwined with different spheres in the society, namely in the state, civil society, and private. This system is hierarchical and ambiguous in character of democracy, in which the providers show their power to exclude. Psychologically, volunteering provides positive feelings to the providers. Especially, it gives them an insured idea that God will reward them for these good deeds: God will return them the same or doubles the amount, and this person may go to heaven.

In this thesis I aim to highlight the vertical relations and the impact of Syrian refugees on these relations. As shown above, vertical (patronage) relations are instrumental, mutually bene-

ficial and unequal (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand 1981). But to understand the hidden structures (Scott, 1990) within these ties, some notes on the horizontal relationships are needed as well. Clark (2004), who conducted research in Jordan's civil society and Islamic social institutions emphasizes that these organizations are horizontal networks in nature, because of the horizontal ties among the middle class workers in these institutions. She argues these NGOs function as an empowerment of its members by providing social, economic, and political opportunities. Zubadai (in Harmsen, 2007) on the contrary argues that these institutions have a rather vertical nature that are rather authoritarian, paternalistic and that function on ascribed membership. While Harmsen (2007) takes a middle position by agreeing with both, he emphasizes the authoritarian and paternalistic mentality in which NGO-workers always know what is the best for their beneficiaries. Besides, he argues that the nature of these patronage relationships is rather based on a one-way-dependency. I argue there is definitely a two-way dependency, although not directly observable at the first sight. The power of the gift is that the generosity enriches the providers in the hereafter, while the receivers depend on the donations to survive in the present. Besides, the power of the gift is to maintain the system and thereby providing the volunteers an opportunity to work in the NGO, therefore contributing to the ties of the members of these institutions, such as of the two boards in Al Manara Society. In short, the power of the gift is to maintain both the horizontal as well as the vertical relations.

Although the relations are voluntarily, the obligations and expectations are nevertheless there. Within these paradoxical situations, vertical relations form the heart of constant struggles. They are marked by negotiations about exchange (Eisenstadt & Lemachand, 1981), and therefore about power. The beneficiaries seem to be, maybe unconsciously, aware of the power in both the horizontal as well as in the vertical networks. Their strongest power is to question the honesty of the providers by rumors, gossips and grumblings. The power of artful ways of anonymity and disguise are important symbolic dimensions within these close relationships (Scott, 1990; Roniger, 2004) and contain the capability of affecting the reputation of the provider. Patrons often except limitations of these relations, but always try to secure themselves in the best possible terms (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981), as we have seen with Um Alaa too. This means that the power of the gift remains strong, and affected reputation can be restored through the gift, which helps establishing trust and solidarity (ibid.). Having said that, the gift is an omnipresent and indispensable transaction in the hierarchical two-way dependency relationship between the clients and their patrons. It seems these are the 'real' politics and actual workings of civil society (Roniger, 2004) in which religion plays a vital role for both actors in the peripherv of Amman.

4 . Exclusion, empowerment and enforcement: Pressures on East Amman's care system

While Fida²³ and I were waiting in the Society, a woman enters the office. She takes a seat next to the desk where Um Fadi²⁴ sits. She turns her scarf over her head so I can see her face. The woman has a soft skin and a friendly smile. She starts to talk about Syrians: "Syrians are taking too many donations. I feel a stranger in my own country". However, Um Fadi doesn't seem to be really impressed by her story and continues the work she is doing. After a short conversation the woman leaves the room.

Leoni: "Does this happen often?"

Um Fadi: "Oh yes, it happens often. Everyone is complaining."

Leoni: "What did the influx mean to the amount of new families registering in the Society?"

Um Fadi: "We got many new cases. Syrians affect families in a bad way. One time a woman registered because the owner of a company kicked out her husband and replaced him by a Syrian. Now the woman had to work. Before she didn't need help from Al Manara."

This chapter is on how the influx of Syrians affects the social structures of charity, a care system in which the Islam is motivated in terms of religious values. In this chapter I show these religious interpretations mainly from the patron's perspective. The next chapter I dedicate to the beneficiaries'. In this part I argue that as a result of increasing donations provided to Syrians, patronage relationships have become enforced, in the sense of a more unequal interdependence relationships between providers and receivers. The needy became more needy, while the providers entered a more powerful position, in which they have to keep themselves aware of their public acts in order to prevent rumors affecting their reputation.

Impact on the socio-economical lives

Pressure on precarious lives

In this paragraph I try to show the perceived impacts on the socio-economical structure of society by Syrian refugees in Jordan in order to understand the larger picture of pressures in which women's increased vulnerability should be understood. Since women feel the pressure on their daily lives affect their economic status, I show the rapid influx of Syrian refugees crossing their national borders caused an increase in poverty and dependence among these urbanized global poor²⁵.

²³ Fida was one of my translators, who helped me in the last two weeks. She is a student in Medical Analysis at Jordan University and lives in West Amman.

²⁴ See Appendix 1.

²⁵ Here I do not base these findings on factual numbers, but, as stated in the introduction as well, on perceptions from the beneficiaries.

Not only in Jordan, also reports on Lebanon and Iraq note the strong pressures host communities experience since the influx of Syrian refugees²⁶. Lebanon, hosting the largest amount of refugees from Syria with no formal refugee camps, faces impacts on education, health, and electricity, more crowded areas, and competition over jobs (Davis & Taylor, 2013; World Vision, 2013). Northern Iraqi communities mainly, but not exclusively, deal with competition over jobs and tensions with refugees and returning Iraqis (IOM, 2013). In the case of northern governorates of Jordan, pressures on water and sanitation, service provision, housing, employment, and energy were mentioned by different reports, because the concentration of refugees in this area is higher than in the rest of the kingdom (Mercy Corps, 2012; UN & HCSP, 2014). In short, the related countries are, albeit in different ways and degrees, affected by Syrian refugee crisis. In line with Duffield (2013), especially its poorer host communities have to deal with these disruptive changes in crisis times.

During the interviews in Al Manara, east Amman, perceived pressures on the daily lives of Jordanians' households include, among other things, job insecurity, because Syrians are known for providing good services and cheap labors. In addition to job opportunities, women I spoke with also perceive a pressure on prices such as of food and rent. Especially poorer women, whose incomes are very insecure, experience food insecurity due to the increased food prices. In short, as a result of pressures on job opportunities, housing rents and food prices, beneficiaries of Al Manara think their life has become more insecure and harder than before.

As also mentioned by reports (see: Mercy Corps, 2012; Davis & Taylor, 2013) as well as by both the receivers and providers, marriage creates another pressure. This issue is often a source of rumors, as I will show below as well. While prices increase, unemployment rises at the same time. Men have more difficulty to marry a woman, since they do not have enough money to buy or rent a house yet or to pay the $mahr^{27}$ to the woman's family. Furthermore, Syrian women are considered as more beautiful than Jordanians, while the price of the mahr, and especially of the women from Zataari Camp, is lower. According to rumors, Syrian women and their families ask less in the hope women can get out of the refugee camp and start a better life. Consequently, many stories about marriage with Syrian women find their ways through public and private spheres. One of the employees of GUVS Amman, the umbrella organization for charity organizations, such as Al Manara Society, told me one while laughing:

I don't know if it's true, but I heard that a husband and a wife said that they have to look for a maid. But a maid costs too much in Jordan now, So they decided to go to Zaatari [Camp]. They go there [and ask] for a maid. The woman said to the man: "We will make an idea: you will go there and marry her. [When] we go out the camp, you will divorce her and she will be a maid." I don't know if it's true or not! I don't know. [...] The moment she got into the car, she takes off her scarf. He was so surprised that she was very beautiful and he decided to marry her and left his old wife.

Although these shared rumors could be seen as a social function among Jordanian women, I think they should especially be understood as information sources, in order to warn other women of the beauty of Syrian women that easily attracts Jordanian men. Above all, it seems rumors can facilitate making sense of the disruptive changes in women's world. Below I will elaborate more on how rumors and gossips play an important role in power relations.

Pressures on employment, housing, prices and marriage have an affect on the already precarious lives of women and their households. Consequently, they feel they have become poorer²⁸. During a group interview, women seemed to agree with Najwa:

²⁶ I did not compare the impacts on Turkish host communities, since only very little assessments have been conducted on the Impact of the crisis on Turkey, which means only very little information yet. The website Host Communities (2014) mentions that no major concerns over host communities' needs in Turkey have been reported yet. International Crisis Group has shown that Turkey deals with security risks to its southern border area, which influences perceptions among Turkish towards Syrians and Kurdish Syrians crossing Turkeys borders (ICG, 2013).

²⁷ *Mahr* is the 'dowry' that men are supposed to pay to the bride's family.

²⁸ Pressures on employment, prices and marriage are not the only impacts in Amman's host communities, but are subjects most often mentioned by women during the interviews. Other pressures reports note are, among others,

It has always been hard for Jordanians, but now it's worse. Now we are more anxious and worried. We don't know when it will be over. [...] There are already so many people in Amman. They can't get more people. King Hussein said the human being is Jordan's greatest treasure, because Jordan doesn't have oil, water or anything. So we have this pressure.

Najwa summarized feelings and thoughts I also heard from other women, such as worries at the present and feelings of insecurity for the future. Dramatic changes take place in their environments that affect their socio-economic status, but in which they feel powerless²⁹ to change anything. As she refers to the words of King Hussein, it seems they are the precarious treasure of Jordan, the human treasure that is under pressure.

"Remember us"

Scholars have argued that in post modern contexts patronage networks are often sensitive to local sentiment and can provide access to migrant populations (Roniger, 2004), as has become the case in Jordan as well. Beside pressures on employment, prices, and marriage, with the Syrian influx the care system has come under pressure as well. Not only public services of hospitals are impacted (UN & HCSP, 2014), Syrian refugees have become part of the charity structures as well now. This means beneficiaries feel more donations are provided to Syrians instead of to them.

A combination of the increase in prices and even less secure incomes from donations means that the urbanized poor in Amman are further affected. Women experience the pressure especially during Ramadan, the holy month when more donations are provided. While it's known Saudi Arabia has donated food packages to Zaatari (WFP, 2013a), I have also heard stories about a campaign in Jordan that calls people to donate to Zaatari last Ramadan. Since several years, the poorer community in Al Manara experiences a more difficult Ramadan than before, as Fatima explained to me:

I used to get more food packages than before. Now the [they] all go to Zaatari. Like last Ramadan, most of the food packages went to Zaatari. It was from a donor who used to come to Al Manara Society.

Women use different strategies to cope with these disruptive changes in the care system. They try to adapt to the lower income and higher prices by cutting their budget and by spending less on meat and clothes. Besides, Fatima mentioned she cannot do anything else than accepting the situation by "listening to [Syrian's] wining." Gradually women become more needy for donations. They try to search for other alternatives in charity in order to spread the insecurity of income across a wider network. However, women do not only notice less donations, but also refusal by other organizations when they search for other alternatives in charity. Hadra, for example, explained to me that she tried to apply to elsewhere, but that they refused her because they give priority to Syrians. According to her, this organization used to be solely for Jordanians. In this way, even though women try to use different coping strategies, such as adapting, accepting, and searching for alternatives, women continue hitting limits of the care system. Women, such as Najwa, feel excluded by the care system and find the situation 'unfair' and 'unequal':

We don't like it at all, because it's not equal. It's so unfair. We are citizens here. We should get the priority.

education, healthcare, and water and sanitation. For further readings and recent research on the impact of the Syrian refugees in Jordan as host community, see: UN & HCSP, 2013; 2014, Davis & Taylor, 2013.

²⁹ I do not claim that women are actually powerless. As I showed above, everyday rumors and gossips are everyday arts of resistance (Scott, 1990) in order to make sense of their changing worlds and to send warnings through the public sphere. The feeling of powerlessness must be understood as a perception of women.

Najwa relates her feeling of unfairness to feelings of citizenship. As a Jordanian citizen she feels she has the right to be prioritized, or at least, to receive more donations than she receives now. Diana mentioned in similar words:

I'm not objecting to them, but I prefer a more equal treatment. Remember us, we, poor Jordanian families. Remember the poor people in Jordan. I want they remember us. Give us some money as well.

Although Diana said she did not feel forgotten yet, she does emphasize her hope donors continue to remember her. In my understanding, this feeling should be placed in the spatial exclusion and anonymity of the urbanized poor in east Amman. They seem to become even more invisible since Syrian refugees are given a face and not only receive attention from the state, but also from the international community. As a consequence, women feel even more disenfranchised and alienated from their society:

I feel like a stranger in my own country. They discuss the Syrian issue. We sit and watch [...] I feel I am the refugee; that they are the Jordanians and I am the Syrian. I don't have rights here. When Syrian refugees came to Jordan, they immediately have rights and help. We already suffered before the crisis, but now we suffer more and more (Fatima).

Although women of Al Manara also criticize Syrians - being daring, clever, and shrewd – they especially blame donors for the decrease in donations. Poorer beneficiaries feel treated as second-class beneficiaries by donors. Although they understand that Syrians need help too, Samar, for example, especially blamed donors that only provide to Syrians. Some women also put the responsibility on the international community. Rumors about Syrians keep asking for help from local charities, while receiving aid from other countries and international organizations, are spread throughout the public sphere: "I heard," said Diana in an interview, " but I'm not sure about it, that USAID and UN pay for their rent. This is what I heard." Women strongly condemn the Syrians, donors and the international community on the decrease in donations that women experience since the Syrian crisis. As World Vision (2013) showed as well, some Lebanese also showed discontent regarding international and local efforts are being channeled exclusively to Syrians. In this case, and possibly in Lebanon too, they seem to be highly aware of their position as the global poor, a position that has been enforced by radical uncertainty (see Duffield, 2013), further alienated in the periphery.

The paradoxical logic of the care system in times of crisis

Acquisition of power

Also the brokers admit that they are faced with fewer donations. However, as I show below, institutional contexts seem to favor patronage and made it possible for the system to include migrant communities, such as Syrian refugees. Consequently providers gradually acquire more power in terms of religiosity and prestige. This ultimately enforces their higher position in comparison with their clients that have become more needy.

While dealing with fewer donations, the Al Manara Society tries to benefit from and adapt to the changes in the structure as much as possible. Since the crisis, not only the budget of donations has been decreased, also more Syrians ask for help to the Society. This means a pressure on their capacity too. Few times a week I saw Syrians coming by with their papers of the UNHCR, as a proof they are refugees asking the Society's help. According to the volunteers, a new law has been announced by the MOSD that forbids charity organizations, except the appointed organizations, to provide aid to Syrian refugees. The idea of this law is to lessen the burden for Jordanians. Despite this law, the volunteers try to help Syrians whenever this is possible by providing food or clothes, but according to Huda not with money. However, when a donor

comes that only wants to donate to Syrians, the rule of the donor is applied and the money will be donated to Syrians who are (unofficially) registered in the Society. According to Huda they try to persuade the donor to give part of the donations to Jordanians as well or to donate it to a place that is appointed to Syrians.

However, during the interview with the president, Husam made clear to me that they help Syrians whenever they can and whenever they want, even though the MOSD prohibited this. Besides, as he explained to me, they help Syrians indirectly through the organizations Save The Children and the Jordan River Foundation that make use of the Society's building since recently to address the Syrian crisis in this neighborhood. Because they pay the electricity and water bills and a small amount for using their building, the Society benefits from the organizations that focus on Syrians. In other words, explanations from the volunteers about how this help is provided, seems to be contradictory. But it can be argued that although their budget and capacity is under pressure, they try to help Syrians either directly and/or indirectly, while trying to benefit from it through their horizontal networks at the same time. In this way these brokers act illegal or semi-legal in order to continue their patronage.

Um Nadal used to work in a mosque and teach Koran. Nowadays she only collects donations for her clients or bring donors in contact with needy families. In the last three years she feels finding donors became harder.

Before, when a poor family needed help, I could get money easier. Now there are poor families that stay two or three days without food, because of the Syrian refugees. [...] The Situation in Jordan is so abnormal. [...] All the prophets carry one message from God: to be fair. Rich people should help poor people. Strong people should help weak people. This is God's message.

Because Um Nadal is a well-known provider, also Syrians ask her for help now. Although she says she prioritizes Jordanian families, she tries to help Syrians as much as possible. For example, she bought blankets from Syrians for a Jordanian family. In this way she practices the idea of sharing and to be fair in religious terms. While Um Nadal tries to prioritize Jordanians or help them equally to Syrians, I heard stories about sheikh Osama having entirely shifted from helping Jordanians to Syrians only. When I spoke with him, he explained to me that he still helps Jordanian families – mainly orphans – but that the Ministry of Awqaf, where he works as well, asked him to help Syrians. He decided to open a daughter organization within his charity organization 'Rikaz', which is located a minute-walking distance from the Al Manara Society. For Osama the crisis meant an opportunity for being assigned a prestigious task by the state to help more needy in the country. Besides, in this way providers became more powerful, because they acquired more clients underneath them.

As becomes clear from the above description of the three different brokers, all the providers try to help Syrians either directly or indirectly, based on the religious idea of doing good to needy people, to be fair and equal. They empower themselves through their horizontal networks (Clark, 2004) and by having more clients underneath them, which gives them a more secure position for helping people and doing good. According to Roniger (2004) clientelism or patronage is adaptive to changing systems, while patrons often turn it to their agenda to make claims on particular grounds. In this case, in contrast to the more needy beneficiaries, the providers seem to gain more power by providing Syrian refugees access to patronage relations within east Amman's care system. As a consequence, the patronage relationship has been enforced. As I will show below, religious notions of compassion and solidarity are omnipresent in these enforced patronage relationships.

Prophet Mohammad used to have a Jewish neighbor who always put garbage in front of Mohammed's house. One day Prophet Mohammed woke up and didn't find the garbage. This made him wondering why his neighbor stopped for already three days. He went his Jewish neighbor to check how he is doing. Prophet Mohammed found him sick in bed and helped him getting better.

Both Um Nadal as well as Um Alaa told me this story about Prophet Mohammed. Um Nadal ended this story that the Jewish neighbor converted to Islam and went to heaven. Although Um Nadal emphasizes the characteristic of generosity in the Islam, both providers wanted to show that as a Muslim it is important to help the neighbor regardless his or her (religious) background. In religious terms, tolerance to differences is a necessary prerequisite for coexistence. A believer should care for his neighbor regardless his/her background (Leaman, 2006). According to Sparre & Petersen (2007) this story is well known in civil society of Jordan and as I will show below, it seems this story is applied to Syrian refugees as well.

Gestures of generosity and feeling of pity appear to become intertwined in the care system. Compassion is one of the four important values of the Qur'an (Engineer, 2010)³⁰. A Muslim who worships Allah has to be compassionate and merciful, like Allah, in his behavior within possible human limits otherwise his worship would not be complete (Engineer, 2010). Durkheim perceives solidarity, which is - like compassion - based on feelings of sympathy, as a social fact of human lives (Durkheim & Giddens, 1972). Solidarity, compassion, and sympathy were both expressed by the beneficiaries (chapter 5) as well as by their patrons.

One morning in the Society, three Syrian women came by with their refugee papers to ask for help. After they left, Huda and Um Fadi expressed their feelings of compassion, because they came from a more wealthy area (Homs) asking for help now. Husam expressed similar ideas:

We help these people, all people. We help all kinds of people. We like to help Syrians. We give our hand. They are suffering. You know, we give the food of our children to Syrians. We need to help these people. It's affecting our situation as well. But people like to help. These people are like our brothers.

Husam described helping Syrians as an obligation by referring to symbolic expression of 'food of our children', who are the future generation of Jordan. The humanitarian reason to provide help is tightly intertwined with religious reasons. In fact, they are two sides of the same coin. Providers feel they need to be generous because Syrians are in desperate need for help, since they fled war. They feel pity for them, because they left their homes, sometimes even missing their husband or other family members. A believer is expected to express solidarity with suffering people (Engineer, 2010). Therefore, religiosity and humanitarianism seems to guide patrons to feel they are obliged to provide help to refugees, their Muslim brothers, expressed in solidarity and compassion.

While Husam described the inclusive character of the care system of charity, he also showed he is aware of the ambiguous situation in helping other people, while affecting his own community. Osama and the vice president seemed to be less aware of this. With their newly established organization (under their already existing organization 'Rikaz') they provide Syrians food packages, housing, money and clothing. In this interview the vice president complained about Syrians who take Jordanian's job opportunities because they can 'afford' a lower salary:

I coach football at the Orthodox center. They brought Syrian coaches, because they cost less salary than the Jordanian ones. Syrians take less salary because they get food, homes, and food packages. This is not provided to me.

38

³⁰ Other three important values are justice, benevolence and wisdom (Engineer, 2010).

Osama seemed to agree with the vice president's opinion: Syrians pose a pressure on Jordan's economical structure of society, because they receive lots of other help. For him, the motivation for providing help was the Islam, and could not be distinguished from the humanitarian reason of helping the other. Apparently, while providing help as a religious duty, they experience the consequences of it without being aware of the effect of their own ritual practices. Husam explained to me this apparent paradoxical logic of the care system:

By this system you share the suffering, [...]. You live together, you suffer, you help. Anyone who needs help, you help. [...] God makes sure you get more. In this way people will be satisfied.

In short, from the provider's perspective, the logic of the gift in the care system is to be generous and to help the needy regardless of his or her background. Patrons included Syrians in the care system, but they receive a different procedure of charity than Jordanians. In the next chapter I discuss this idea of *included outsiders* and compare this to the beneficiaries' idea.

The argument I want to make in this chapter is that the patrons acquired an ambiguous power position. The logic of the gift is highly intertwined with compassion and responsibility. Compassion is not only directed towards Syrians, but also towards their own clients. According to Eisenstadt & Roniger (1980) solidarity is a strong element in patronage relationships. The purpose of the gift is to establish ties that bind people together in an alliance, but it always includes the obligation of maintaining social interaction. It is the obligation of the patrons to protect their loyal clients. The patrons seem to be aware of how their own clients are suffering from and affected by disruptive changes in society. Above all, they are aware of the unequal amounts of distribution of aid and donations to Syrian refugees in comparison to Jordanians since the crisis. In this way they locate themselves in an ambiguous position of doing good to others according to religious ideas, while contributing to the vulnerable lives of the precarious Jordanian families in Al Manara at the same time. The providers are aware of the present consequences. However, they believe in the end God will reward them for their generous rituals of charity thereby contributing to the community in crisis rather than harming it. In this way patrons believe they maintain their obligation in the relationship by gestures of solidarity or compassion.

Power of knowledge and the power of rumors

"The society choses who gets paid, this is how I am affected." Hadra expressed she feels she cannot do so much about receiving less donations, because she feels the Society will not listen to her. The changes in donations created more tensions between the patron and the receivers according to Um Fadi. As the volunteers of the Society said, beneficiaries complain about the Syrians who receive more money. According to the volunteers, in order to try to satisfy their clients they try to explain them that as a rule it is the donor who decides where his/her money goes to. At the same time they feel sorry for them as well. Compassion seems then to be intertwined with power. Here I show how patrons expose power on their clients and how these beneficiaries have the power to affect the reputation and therefore the power relation with their providers in times of disruptive changes.

In my interpretations it seems the patrons try to expose their 'know-how' on their clients. Husam told me they try to explain the changing situation to their beneficiaries who 'complain' about the fewer amounts of donations. Although Osama tries this as well, his perspective slightly differs from the other intermediaries. According to him the Arabic history is repeating itself. People didn't accept the Islam in the early years of this religion. Some people were forced out of Mecca and fled to Medina, whose inhabitants welcomed them and shared everything they had. From this point of view, nowadays, Muslim refugees from Palestine and Syria have fled to Jordan and Jordanians are helping and sharing with them. I asked Osama if he tells this to his 'complaining' beneficiaries as well:

When a poor Palestinian complains, I remind them why they left their country and came to Jordan, or when he is from Iraqi origin or Egyptian origin. To Jordanian I tell them that they should help them. God will provide you help as you did to your Muslim brother or to your brother, the refugee.

In this way, although the degree of religiosity differs between the patrons, they expose their views on their beneficiaries by convincing them from their knowledge, while women expressed the feeling of not being heard. In line with Foucault (1982), knowledge seems to be an essential form of claiming and exposing power of patrons on their clients. Sheikh Osama claimed knowledge by his religious status and wisdom within the community.

While women's increase of dependency also means an increase in power of the providers, this does not mean this power is unlimited. As Foucault (1982) showed in his works power is always relational and never absolute. Also in times of crisis, rumors and gossips appear to be one of the women's strongest powers against the providers in A Manara. I explained in the previous chapter of Um Alaa who experienced that her reputation became under pressure by gossips about her. Sheikh Osama told me a similar story about his friend who helped Syrian refugees. Inhabitants of Al Manara accused him of offering Syrian women to Jordanian men for marriages. His reputation was drastically affected and he moved out of the neighborhood. In addition, the state took his Jordanian passport – assumingly he was from Palestinian origin. Osama is highly aware of the power of rumors and gossips of his clients and people in this neighborhood, since others, as written above, already started talking about his 'conversion' to helping Syrians. For this reason he tries to act as transparent as possible. He provides the donations to Syrians publicly in the mosque. Besides, he wanted the vice president and Um Allaa to join this interview in order to prevent suspicion among other people. In this way, with his public acts Osama tries to maintain his reputation and prevent rumors destructing his patronage relationships with his beneficiaries and horizontal relations within his network.

I do not wish to generalize all the intermediaries that I spoke with, because also Um Fadi dismissively told me that the sheikh only gives to Syrians. However, what I do want to show here is that the power of intermediaries – as the providers – should not be perceived as absolute. As Lomnitz (2001) shows in her work on clientelism and rumors in Mexico as well, there are always spaces where information flows even though clients do not always have the opportunity for discussion in public space. 'Women's gossips' that are exchanged in hidden transcripts should not be seen as mapping gender in front- and backstage, a concept of Ervin Goffman (1975)31, because they are equally powerful as the (religious) knowledge communicated by their patrons. Rumors about Jordanian men marrying Syrian women became specific gossips about Osamas friend that ruined his reputation in the community. It seems patrons such as Osama and Um Alaa routinely recognize these collectivities. For Lomnitz (2001:159), these rumors (and gossips) are rituals. They are also political manifestations 'of public sentiment, created in backstage, socialized through rumor [and gossips] and converted' into public acts. As everyday forms of resistance (see: Scott, 1990) the power of rumors and gossips of beneficiaries helps them to deal with the power of their patrons who contribute to the pressure on the care system of East Amman.

In sum, with the influx of Syrian refugees the make-up of the society in East Amman has dramatically been affected. Specifically, Syrians pose a pressure on the care system of charities, on which poorer east Ammanis have always been depending. With this influx of refugees, it seems the patronage system has been enforced. The pressure has penetrated into the care system in which the institutional context created opportunities for affluent brokers - the beneficiary's patrons – to acquire more clients that ultimately leads to more power. In the public transcripts (Scott, 1990), these institutionalized forms of domination coexist with feelings of compassion

40

³¹ Ervin Goffman uses these terms to explain behavior is enacted by certain actors in a certain a relationship. He uses the terms *front*- and *backstage* as two distinctive settings where certain actors perform particular behavior. The *front stage* indicates a public setting with rules of conduct. The *backstage* is hidden for the 'public' and therefore the actor is less controlled by social expectations these social rules.

and solidarity, both towards the Syrians as well as towards their own Jordanian clients. This brings these patrons in an ambiguous position.

At the same time the clients became more dependent on charities than before as a consequence of an increase in vulnerability. This enforces the unequal relationship, since the dependence has only been affected from one side. Indeed, according to the logic of the system, God will reward the providers with their good deeds. However, it seems these providers always need to carefully consider their choices of providing help, since the power of gossips and rumors, which are anonymously constructed in hidden transcripts (Scott, 1990), can dangerously impact their reputation in the community of Al Manara.

But rumors and gossips don't seem to be the most significant strategy of how women cope with the pressure on the care system. Rumors and gossips only seem to be resources to deal with the provider's powers exposed on them, because their significance articulated in public sphere is to ruin patron's reputation. In this chapter, I already hinted on the importance of religion, especially for the patrons. In the next chapter I explain how we should understand the role of religion in sustaining the care system from the client's perspective, despite the pressures exposed by Syrian refugees. I compare the interpretation of religious idioms with the providers' idea of *included outsiders*. Furthermore, I show how women try to keep or develop resilient livelihoods against disruptive changes since the arrival of Syrian refugees in this host community.

$\mathbf{5}$. Generosity in times of crisis

This chapter provides an answer to the question of why doesn't the care system, in which patronage is manifested, collapse despite the pressure on it since the influx of Syrian refugees? It seems providers and receivers speak according to the same religious logic of generosity. Generosity is a principle of religious values and could be seen as the common ground or a driving force for patrons – be generous and keep providing – as well as for their clients. In the previous chapter I have shown the logic of charity among patrons. In this chapter I elaborate on the receivers, who seem to be resilient, despite pressure on their incomes. The principle of generosity seems to be that being generous means a person understands that donations will not only go to his/her pockets, but also to other needy people, and welcomes them as guests in his/her country. In other words, the principle is to be compassionate and solidary. Thus, while the patronage system is enforced (chapter 4), generosity, which needs to be understood in its cultural and historical context, seems to contribute to the resilience of the community in east Amman.

Charity

'God divides equally'

To recall the debate on resilience, the term refers to the ability to create or to maintain an adaptive capability in the short and long term. The term is often related to local ownership, livelihood, community capacity and wellbeing. While the original ecological approach refers to systems, social theory integrated the idea of resilience among individuals and communities as well, which, consequently, became an interesting concept for analyzing individual and collective responses towards disruptive changes (chapter 2).

Then how could women from Al Manara and the system they are in be seen as resilient? Before answering this question, we first need to understand religious interpretations of generosity. During the interviews with the beneficiaries' ideas of equality and fairness were subjects frequently mentioned. As I will show, these ideas should be understood as juggles with on the one hand wishing more equality, being remembered, while on the other hand accepting this is the share from God. The latter is based on the belief that those who are generous earn extra credits for the hereafter

As I have shown in the previous chapter, the pressure on donations should be understood from a spatial dimension, because women become more alienated. Women showed their frustrations regarding the fewer donations. Three of these women referred to God to explain their perspective. Diana for example, believed it is up to God who decides about the division of money:

It's not unfair. They are refugees. That's why they give them the money. I am not objecting to them they get help. But I am asking for help. [...] Give us some donations, nothing more. I only take in Ramadan. God will give us. [...] When donations are for Syrians, then the donations are in their name. I am ok with it. God has sent this for them. When someone says this is for someone, it's for them. God has split my money here. I don't have anything to do about it.

Because Syrians fled from war and arrived in a country that is not theirs, Diana believes people should provide help to these refugees, since they are needy. However, Diana also shows that she struggles with the idea that Syrians receive lots of help, while experiencing a harsh situation herself as well. Likewise, Amal struggles with these feelings and believes the situation of disrup-

tive changes effects her livelihood. She thinks finding organizations that can help her is a matter of luck, but that in the end God will take care of her. Amal sounded desperate. She didn't know what else to do than just to count on Him. Also in Al Manara she experiences more Syrians are asking for help in the Society.

Amal: I don't know why they get more donations than Jordanian. I wonder why they receive more money.

Leoni: You see it as unfair?

Amal: It's not like this. Jordanians have [their own] homes. Syrians don't have. I understand it. Syrians have houses, cloths or food. God has split money to everyone. And everyone gets what he needs.

Despite her frustrations, she reminds herself this is God's decision and believes He will take care of her in the end as long as she is generous. She reminds herself Syrians do have houses and other stuff, but these are not their *own* homes, not their *own* clothes, while she has. She knows she should be satisfied with what God has given to her. In the end, as she assures herself, God will take care of the situation and it will be fine, if not in the present, then in the hereafter³².

It seems religious and personal perceptions of equality and fairness create a fragile equilibrium. Women seem to juggle with what they feel and experience, and with what they believe and have learnt. This turns into contradictory answers of on the one hand the preference for more equality (chapter 4), but on the other hand the acceptance that this is how God shares the limited resources, because Allah is perceived as generous and merciful³³. This is how women seem to juggle with their everyday religion in times of crisis.

Inclusiveness in the City of Brotherly Love

In the capital city of Jordan, that in the biblical times used to be called Philadephia, or City of Brotherly Love (Reed, 2013), both the providers as well as by the receivers often emphasized inclusiveness of Syrians in their community. Since Jordanians and Syrians used to be from the same country, Great Syria, they have relatively similar cultural habits, norms and values, mainly based on Islamic interpretations. Najwa called Syrians "family" and Hadra "same as us". Syrians are not only perceived as the same because in the past 'Jordanians' and 'Syrians' used to be neighbors in the same country, but also because they are perceived as their 'brothers' and 'sisters'. According to their Islamic interpretations Muslim create a bond, an alliance, which is referred by Qur'án as *brotherhood*. In the principle of Islam, this bond transcends the idea of tribes and nationality³⁴ and can therefore be perceived as an inclusive mechanism among Muslim Jordanians in Al Manara.

According to the social identity theory, ideas of sameness are important to construct group identities (Demmers, 2012). However, within this sameness, women tend to create differences. Identity is not only about 'who or what we are ,' but also about 'who or what we are not' (Demmers, 2012). Constructionists perceive identity as relative, situational and fluid. In times of crisis, boundaries are drawn in which national identities can become over-communicated and

³² The interpretation of generosity, fairness or justice is derived from the religious idea that one should trust God who cares for the rich and the poor. 'O believers, be upholders of justice, witness for Allah, even if it be against yourselves your parents, or kinsmen. Whether rich or poor, Allah takes better care of both. Do not follow your desire to refrain from justice' (4:135 *in* Leaman, 2006). As in the quote cited below, Allah especially cares for, or rewards, those who do good to others.

³³ In the Qur'an, Allah is often described as merciful and generous (*Karim*): 'Allah is beneficent, the merciful' (1:1), 'Allah is ample-giving, knowing' (3:268), 'So Allah gave them the reward of this world and better reward of the hereafter; and Allah love those who do good (to others)' (4:147).

³⁴ The Qur'an refers several times to the idea of Muslim brotherhood. According to this holy book, the meaning is that Allah tries to shape Muslim as one people, as being a nation that strive after one ultimate goal (Qur'an, 1935).

differences emphasized (Eriksen, 2010), as seems to be in this case as well. In a group interview, they expressed that despite the similarities, there is 'something' in Syrian's mentality that they do not understand. Also during individual interviews, women called Syrian refugees selfish, clever, and always asking for more, while they see themselves – Jordanians – as satisfied with what they get or "shy" or embarrassed to ask for more. Besides, as shown in chapter 4, some women thought receiving donations is their right, and didn't understand these local donors that tend to donate to Syrians. Um Nadal clearly explained to me this perception among the receivers from her Islamic perspective:

People who share the same religion have the same rights. Relatives and neighbors should have rights, and people with other religions as well. That's why Jordanian families have more rights to receive more charity than Syrian refugees. As relatives, [people have the] right to receive help. As Muslim ,brothers' the other person is obligated to provide help. Jordanian families are more relatives than Syrian refugees, so we have more rights to receive charity.

In other words, according to Um Nadal's interpretation of the Qur'an, Muslim brothers are obligated to help each other, but it's more important to help closer relatives first, those who are more the same. According to this logic, Jordanians have therefore more rights to receive charity. Interestingly, the idea of 'who has the right' becomes a religious matter, a cultural logic, in which justice – an important value of Islam³⁵ – is argued from a religious perspective.

Najwa explained to me that brotherhood helps Jordanians in difficult times:

[W]e have brotherhood of Islam, love, relation, everything. This helps people to go on and live their lives.

Najwa clarifies Um Nadal's explanation of how the network of 'closer brothers' helps her in difficult times, especially as a tool to cope with struggles in life. Um Nadal shows how donors, according to her, interpret these religious idioms of closer brothers wrongly³⁶. Um Nadal clearly describes the underlying struggles: On the one hand there seems to be feelings of obligation to help the needy, especially the Muslim brothers – because God has told them to do so. On the other hand, beneficiaries have the feeling of their 'right' to receive charities – according to the principles of Islam – without being selfish – something Allah condemns³⁷.

Hence, inclusive mechanisms become a matter of just and unjust. Questions arise about the interpretation of Muslim brothers as written in the Qur'an and therefore who have more right for charity, Jordanian or Syrian brothers and sisters. This is reflected in Jordanian women's perceptions on the smaller numbers of charities they receive as a result of changing structures in the former city of Brotherly Love.

Pity

Surprisingly, the feeling of pity among Jordanian women I spoke with seemed to be play a major role in this resilient way of thinking, which can partly explain why there are no strong tensions from Jordanian women towards Syrians. All the women I spoke with showed empathy with the Syrians that search for refuge in their community. Diana saw providing helping Syrians as an obligation, because they are war refugees. Others told me similar ideas:

³⁵ According to Engineer (2011) and Leaman (2006) in *The Qur'an: an encyclopedia*, Justice is an important value in the Islam, and a pillar of individual, family, and social lives.

³⁶ Because I had the feeling women were not always capable explaining me certain viewpoints or reflect on their feelings. I use Um Nadal's explanation to clarify my point, even though she is an intermediary. Placing her explanations next to the women's, I believe she managed to provide an honest picture from the receiver's struggling lives.

³⁷ According to the scripts in the Qur'an, Allah condemns those with interest in accumulating (*riba*) wealth in wasteful ways. One should strive for wealth, but the less fortunate should benefit from this as well (Leaman, 2006), otherwise it is greed (Engineer, 2011).

Because they are helpless people. I feel sorry for the Syrian refugees (Hadra).

I feel pity for [Syrians]. It's out of their hands that they came here. Of course, everyone gets upset. But this is what God wants. What can I do. [...]. They are forced to come here, not out of choice. [...] I feel very pity for them. May God be with them (Amal).

Women often called the crisis as something 'out of Syrian's hands'. This emotional understanding is combined with compassion. Women see Syrians as needy and homeless that ran away from war in their home country. This understanding contributes to a situation where women do not blame them for the pressure they perceive on their daily lives, and, instead, to compassion and sympathy. In my perspective, this sympathy should be understood from a religious perspective. Seeing this situation as something from God, or hoping God will take care of it, helps women in accepting the situation as it is, believing they cannot do anything about it. The reference to God also reminds them to be generous, to have patience, because only then God will reward them. As I have shown in the previous chapter patrons express solidarity with their 'weaker' clients, an important expression interpreted from the Islam, in order to make one's life rich. Also the clients expressed similar forms of solidarity:

[O]ur people like to help others. Even though we are poor, but we like to help. If there is a Syrian woman, I may help her also. (Diana)

Diana indicates that despite her harsh circumstances, she would be still willing to help women. According to one of the employers of a local development in Marka, east Amman, Syrian and Jordanian women easily get involved with each other, because as women they have many similarities and similar burdens. Therefore, Jordanian women would have a better understanding of the situation of Syrian women. Also social scientists argue generosity is gendered; an expression inherent to women's behavior to others (see for example: Vaughan, 2002; Komter, 2005; Morny, 2013). However, I do not think gender is the only denominator of these feelings of pity, since these were often expressed in general terms towards Syrians, and not only towards other Syrian women. In my understanding a change in the hierarchical categorization within the care system has taken place. According to the women as well as their providers, despite one's own condition, one should help the other person in need. At the same time helping another person in (maybe more) need would create a better feeling. Diana, who told me she experiences lots of stress and depression from life, explained to me why she would help Syrians:

I feel like my situation is difficult. Sometimes when I listen to other's story, I think: 'Oh no, I am better than them. They need more help than I do'.

According to the rule of generosity, the stronger help the weaker. Hence, with the influx of Syrian refugees the hierarchical categorization of strong and weak has changed. This categorization is highly relational, which means that 'the weak', in this case the Jordanian women of Al Manara, became less weak in comparison with Syrian refugees. This finding seems to correspond with the social psychological approach on the social identity theory. According to this approach, we evaluate our status by comparing ourselves to relevant and inferior others in order to make our status and group identity meaningful in relation to the out-group³⁸. Although the change in category is important for the argument I make in this chapter, this approach goes beyond the scope of this thesis³⁹.

³⁸ These comparisons are sometimes made based on relatively 'small' differences. Freud has used the concept of 'narcissism of minor differences' to emphasize the establishment of a positive group identity in relation to the outgroup. See: Demmers, 2012.

³⁹ I did not include this approach in the larger framework of this thesis, because this approach assumes individuals constitute social life, rather than acknowledging both structure and agency (See Demmers, 2012). Indeed, SIT is based on the assumption of the fundamental human needs. Scholars using SIT nevertheless provide some interesting in-

These feelings of pity, and the change of self-ascribed 'position' within the care system, can provide a deeper understanding of peaceful behavior and attitudes among these women in Al Manara. In the interview with Fatima I asked her what she thinks of her husband that tells her not to look back to the help provided to Syrians, because God has given this to them:

What can I do? I can't go and protest against the Syrians refugees, [...] because I feel pity for them. When I see it in the news, I feel sorry for them.

In other words, despite Fatima's dissatisfaction of the situation that causes her a lower income, she will not act against Syrian refugees, because of feelings of pity. In this way, compassion positively contributes to peaceful situations in times of crisis.

While the social identity theory argues that positive self-esteem and satisfaction of the need of differentiation prevent hostility, I believe this is too simplistic. In my perspective we need to understand these peaceful attitudes from the intersection of gender and religiosity, situated in its historical and cultural context – something SIT excludes in its social psychological approach. As I mentioned in chapter 4, Jordanian women have a better capability than men to deal with difficult changes. Their everyday religion and women's capability to cope help women to relativize and empathize with the situation. Below, I elaborate on the cultural and historical context in order to provide a better understanding of the resilience of the female clients in the care system. Here I also show SIT provides important insight in, but cannot completely explain Jordanians' hospitality.

Hospitality

'Jordan is a hospitable country'

I remember the first days in Amman. I stayed in a hostel in downtown. It was very rainy and when I passed the small shops, I always heard the same: "Ahlan wa-sahlan⁴⁰" and "Hello! Welcome!" Wherever I went, I could not escape the welcome greetings. In the first days I found this rather annoying. I related these greetings to my 'otherness', as a Western, blond women. Only later I understood that these "annoying" greetings had something to do with the Jordanian culture: a culture of hospitality.

Of course, I cannot take these experiences as exactly comparable with the hospitality towards Syrians. However, it does show a characteristic in Amman that plays an important role in how Syrians are received in the community in east Amman. But not only Amman, Christophersen et al (2013) also characterize Lebanon as a hospitable country, a characteristic that has become under pressure since host communities are receiving Syrian refugees, sometimes providing them shelter in their homes. In this section I show ideas of hospitality from a cultural perspective, including its religious interpretations.

According to the interviewed beneficiaries, Jordanians' hospitality is 'something cultural'. It is enculturated and proceeded through generations, in which parents teach their children to respect and welcome everyone who enters the house, as Amal explained to me. Hospitality should not only be understood from its cultural context. Instead, perceptions and feelings should be placed in Jordan's historical context. This means that I do not take religion as a determining

sights. For more insight in the social identity theory (SIT) from the Social Psychological approach, I refer to Demmers (2012) who has clearly elaborated on the large and diffuse debate. Brewer (2001), for example, shows how in-group identification is established in relation towards (hostile) feelings towards others. Seul (1999) focuses on religion and identity groups in order to explain conflict.

⁴⁰ Translation: 'Welcome'

variable or factor as such. Instead, the way Islam is interpreted, the way idioms are used and how people make sense of themselves and the world around them through religion, as Sulivan (2011) argues, should be placed in Jordan's history of 'foreigners' crossing the national borders.

Before moving to the subject of religion, I first would like to elaborate shortly on Jordan's history of migrants. A variety of opinions regarding hospitality were expressed during the interviews. Some of the women, for example, expressed proudness at Jordan's hospitality towards different nationalities crossing the country's borders:

[W]e welcome them. I am proud of my government, proud of my country (Diana).

As Jordan is a hospitable country, and I am Jordanian, we are welcoming them in our country (Amal).

The fact that Jordan keeps receiving refugees creates a feeling of national pride among women such as Diana and Amal. These ideas often seem to be based on ideas of normality. "Because we are Arabs", was a repeated sentence for the explanation of Jordan's continuation of receiving refugees. While I heard no one expressing they want to get rid of Syrians, I heard ideas that Syrians are still welcome, but that Amman is getting too full. Najwa, for example preferred Syrians in camps, instead of living in the East Amman's host communities.

These gestures of hospitality, feelings of frustrations and pride about one's own identity, and ideas about receiving Syrian refugees should be understood from a historical context, in which Jordan has become a refugee haven (Chatelard, 2010). Jordan hosts other migrants, such as Egyptians, Sudanese, female domestic workers from Southeast Asia. However, when interviewees referred to Jordan's immigration history, they mainly only mentioned their experience with Palestinians and Iraqis.

The country experienced several waves of Palestinian refugees since the formation of the State of Israel in 1948 (Chatelard, 2010). While both groups still make distinctions between Jordanians and Palestinians, they are often referred as 'Jordanians'⁴¹. Many Palestinians, but certainly not all⁴², have a Jordanian citizenship. Besides, people I spoke with say that Palestinians and Jordanians have similar habits and language, which makes them more 'similar'. According to Shteiwi, many Jordanians also recognize that Palestinians helped building up the country.

Two other major waves of migrants of Iraqis took place since 1991 Gulf War and after 2003 with the removal of Sadam Hussein and the invasion of Anglo-American military (Chatelard, 2010). During these years Jordan experienced an enormous increase in prices of food, fuel and gas. The perception of prices nowadays often reminds them about the time when Iraqis came, which contributes to the feeling of what the costs in terms of pressure and impact on their households are for providing these migrants a safe stay. Besides, as both the beneficiaries as well as providers mentioned, with these waves of migrants Jordan saw them coming, but never leaving. This creates the expectation many Syrians will stay too, while deeply inside hoping they will return as soon as the war is over.

During the interviews with different organizations⁴³ as well as with women, people referred to Jordan's history of migrants, fleeing from conflict, crossing their borders, in order to make clear the Syrian crisis is not a completely new experience. Some told me this with pride, while others saw it more as a burden. A third group experienced it as proudness, while recognizing the burden at the same time. According to Dr. Shteiwi these expressions are not contradicto-

⁴¹ As my informants and a translator explained to me, among some people there are still tensions between Jordanians and Palestinians, since the annexation of the West Bank in 1950 (see: Brand, 1995). These tensions have to do with identity politics (Brand, 1995; Ryan, 2012).

⁴² The Jordanian state distinguishes Palestinians from the West Bank and from Gaza. Both groups experience their 'citizenship' very fragile. For Palestinians that are not from Gaza the state can determine to redraw his/her Jordanian passport, and therefore his/her citizenship. Those from Gaza, such as Fatima, do not have a Jordanian citizenship and are therefore excluded from certain public services, such as healthcare. They are highly dependent on UNRWA.

⁴³ Here I do not only mean Al Manara Society but also other non-governmental organizations I spoke with, such as GUVS and Rikaz.

ry. According to him, the Syrian influx is a matter of a sudden existential wave of refugees. People are hospitable, as Shteiwi argues, but the experience and effect is more intense than before with Palestinians and Iraqis.

In this way, previous experiences influence women's ideas on receiving another wave of refugees. In sum, the influx of Syrians and the different reactions on this phenomenon should be placed in a historical context.

Similar personal experiences

[Syrians] don't have other options. We try to help them. I have similar experiences, because I am Palestinian.

These are the words of Manal, who was born in Hussein Camp, which is one of the Palestinian refugee camps on the outskirts of east Amman. Since Jordan welcomed her family in the country, she feels she is morally obligated to do the same towards Syrian refugees that also fled from war, who left their houses, their belongings and some of them their beloved ones.

According to Davis (2013) Jordan's sympathy and hospitality towards Syrians can be explained by the fact that many Jordanians are Palestinian with similar experiences from previous wars. Similarly, other reports on Lebanon and north Iraq (World Vision, 2013; IOM, 2013) also argue similar experiences. In Iraq's case, experiences from the past when Syrians welcomed Iraqi refugees are explanations for solidarity and hospitable attitudes from host communities.

My findings support these statements, but also seem to show that these understandings are more complex than stated in these reports. To understand this, the social identity theory, as explained above, provides more insight in the need to compare with relevant others. Diana relates her Palestinian background to Jordan's poor economic situation, in which the poor help the poor.

I am a Palestinian. Jordanian people welcomed them. They don't distinguish between nationalities. Our people like to help. As they are poor, they help poorer people.

According to Diana, Jordan keeps welcoming other migrants despite the country's limited resources. Since she recognizes herself as Palestinian, she feels her country needs the keep welcoming Syrians, despite the poverty, as they did with Palestinians as well. Also Amal recognizes herself in the Syrian experiences. Although I do not know her ethnical background⁴⁴ she felt she had similar experiences as Syrians.

I have experienced this same situation. Because I am poor and get help from other people. Because of their situation, I feel pity for them. Because of the war in Syria they had to come here. So they don't have any choice.

Amal expresses she experienced a similar situation, because she feels dependent on the help of others, similarly to Syrian refugees. Just like for Manal and Diana, comparable experiences help in empathizing with Syrian's harsh situations. We shouldn't understand Jordanian's reactions as sympathetic and hospitable, just *because* they are Palestinians. This is a too simplistic explanation. As I have shown, the ethno-historical together with the economical background play a role

⁴⁴ As also stated in the introduction, I purposively did not ask about the participant's background, unless they hinted to this or mentioned it themselves, because people often recognize themselves and others as Jordanians, while not being born in Jordan or while the parents are originally not from Jordan. In other words, I wished not to emphasize their ethnic category when for them it did not matter in the first place. However, I do mention it as a separate subject here, because it is important to understand women's idea from their ethno-historical and economical context and not to generalize the women's perceptions as counting for other women in East Amman as well.

in the reactions of women regarding the hospitality towards Syrians. According to the SIT, people need relevant others in order to create their identity or status. In this case, the weaker became stronger. According to Islamic rules in the care system, and shown before, the stronger are supposed to help the weaker and to express solidarity, to sympathize with their suffering. In this way, positive self-esteem of the in-group, generosity and Islamic interpretations of hierarchy of compassion results in sympathy towards Syrians.

Principles of hospitality

The principle of hospitality is, contrary to charity, a short-term gesture of generosity that lasts three days. In my interpretation, Jordanian's Islamic ideas of being hospitable, is to be generous to their fellow people, regardless of their religion. According to a Jordanian friend, a Muslim is obligated to give the guest coffee. When this person drinks the coffee, the guest 'agrees' with the hospitality. The host is not allowed to ask any uncomfortable questions (such as who the person is) for the next three days. The host should provide the guest a shelter and food, and make him or her comfortable. After these three days the host is allowed to ask questions such as what help he or she needs. According to Najwa, honesty in hospitality is very important:

Being generous and welcoming others, being good to others, loving each other, being honest. The main idea is not to be in the extreme, but moderate. Being honest in every day living in dealing with others. And being mercy with others.

For Najwa, honesty means not to exaggerate and truly caring. The host should give the guest as much as a person can afford, but should not affect the person financially too much. This idea partly explains her frustrations regarding Syrians: she perceives Jordan as a hospitable country, but the influx affects them economically too hard. In this way a tension arises between ideas of hospitality and charity. While hospitality, according to the principle last three days, Syrians are still seen as guests. However, meanwhile they became the needy and thus the principle of charity and caring starts. As shown above, charity is based on the idea of sharing, but it seems women experience this as too heavy a burden.

Women I spoke with believe God will reward those who have been hospitable, generous, towards their guests. However, in practice there is often an expectation of reciprocity: this person is supposed do the same or more in return the next time. In case it is less, the relationship will be affected. I asked Amal what she expects from the relationship when Syrians return:

I hope it will be better. As Jordanians have been good to them, they should be good. *Inshallah, Inshallah*⁴⁵.

The short term of hospitality becomes especially clear in the expectation Syrians will go back. Although most of them anticipate some of the refugees will stay, they hope most of them won't. These hopes were always religiously expressed, believing that in the end God decides what will happen. "Inshallah, they will go back to their country", as both Diana and Fatima expressed their hopes. But in reality, women do not know what will happen and how long the crisis will continue. In their daily lives, everyday religion – knowing that only God decides, He who is Generous, and Merciful and He who will divide equally – creates not only questions about justice, but especially helps women in creating hope for future prospects that seem uncertain.

One of the major works on hospitality within philosophy is Jacques Derrida (2005). Although the term has a connotation of inclusiveness towards the other, it contains a peculiar

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⁴⁵ Translation: 'God willing', or 'if Allah wills'

meaning⁴⁶. Within social and cultural theory, hospitality is addressed as an ambivalent relationship between the guest and the host. It relates, among other things, to moral conceptions -such as caring, honesty, and reciprocity- cultural practices and symbols -such as coffee in the case of Jordan. Based on Derrida's work, anthropologist Friese (2008) relates the term to migration. According to him, hospitality is an ambiguous term, because while it refers to a shared place. exchange and alliance, it also means mistrust, demarcation, hostility and rejection (Friese, 2008). This seems the case in Jordan too. Besides, when it is a voluntary act, there is an expectation of obligated reciprocity. While in this case women did not show hostility towards Syrians, this case does show hospitality and the everyday religious interpretation of this form of generosity often appears in conflicting ways. Hospitality is not endless and thus contains limits⁴⁷. Also Lebanon is facing limits of hospitality with the continuing flow of refugees. Christophersen et al (2013) argue the contradictory attitudes of absorbing more refugees (a form of hospitable attitudes according to them), while experienced pressures contribute to calls for no more Syrians. I argue these apparent limits are more complex than they initially seem. In this case of Amman, these limits of hospitality show the ethical and religious dilemma women are in. These beneficiaries juggle between justice, equality, and fairness on the one hand and generosity, compassion, and solidarity on the other.

As I tried to show above, hospitality should be understood both from its historical and cultural context. By placing it in a specific context, we become able to understand better how women use religious idioms and interpretations according the context they live in, which helps them in dealing with pressures on their daily lives. In this way religiosity contributes to remaining resilient, while being vulnerable, against disruptive changes.

Included outsiders and excluded insiders

It seems a paradoxical situation has appeared of being hospitable and recognizing the necessity of charities on the one hand, while suffering from this continuing hospitality and charities on the other. Dr. Shteiwi does not see this as a tension. As I also mentioned above, he thinks Jordanians' reactions derive more from the existential impact of Syrian refugees, since the influx contributes to job competition, increase in prices, and pressures on services and education. This does not mean a change in the ideological value system –as he calls hospitality. Since Syrians are 'brothers' and 'sisters', Jordan is obligated to support them. However, the influx has affected Jordanians' daily life and the fabric of the structure of society. It is the challenge for Jordanians, according to him, to find a balance between these two. In other words, this duality expresses itself in a fragile equilibrium between obligation to support and welcome Syrian refugees and pressures on daily lives. As shown above, it seems that the rule of generosity, expressed in women's everyday religion, helps them in coping with this duality.

At the last day that I held interviews in the Al Manara Society, I talked with Najwa about the pressure Syrians pose on the society and especially on the donations she receives. At the end of the interview I asked if she would like to add anything else or mention something I did not ask. She believed she said everything she wanted to tell me, but that she would like to emphasize one thing:

⁴⁶ As the philosopher Jacques Derrida, based on Kant's work on peace and hospitality, explains: the term 'hospitality' derives from the word *hospes*, meaning 'host', 'guest' or 'stranger'. It has a direct relation with *hostis*, meaning 'stranger' or 'enemy' (Derrida, 2005).

⁴⁷ Here I situate my argument in the debate of (limits of) hospitality. Derrida's work on hospitality has made the first important analytical step in this debate. Others, such as Friese (2008) analyze hospitality from an anthropological perspective. From a more political perspective, scientists (such as Assier-Andrieu, 2000) analyze this gesture in relation to legal and political limitations. Others (see for example Miller & Hashimi, 2001) look at issues such as national borders, territory and ideas of nations and citizenship.

Syrians are still like families. But it shouldn't be like that it affects donations; that it is on behalf of us. It shouldn't be like I give half of my house and I can barely live in my own house.

When this interview finished, Najwa leaves the classroom. When she opens the door, Amal, the new Syrian volunteer, who stays in Jordan since two years as a refugee, is standing in the corridor. The two women say each other enthusiastically hello. 'Kifek'⁴⁸?! Najwa turns her face towards me. "Look!", she says, "She is Syrian and I love her!" Amal and Najwa hug each other while laughing.

This moment, these smiles, and that laughing made me realize why I came to this place: the peaceful and warm attitudes from Jordanians towards Syrians. As I observed in the Al Manara Society in my last minutes: despite the rumors, the suffering, and tensions, Jordanian and Syrian women in Al Manara still laugh, hug, and make fun together.

This moment described above emphasizes inclusiveness from Jordanian women towards Syrian refugees, especially among women. But this inclusion seems to contain some limits, because generosity may, according to some beneficiaries' ideas, not affect them too much. As I have shown above, charity starts where the hospitality in its principle ends. But despite inclusive ideas of Islam, the modern national borders divide people of former Great Syria in modern national identities in which Syrians remain guests in Jordan. This means that despite the rule of charity is applied, including its struggles and tensions, some principles of hospitality remain, such expectations of return, no financial harm to the host, and the idea of reciprocity. Thus, despite hospitable and solidary gestures, certain limits of hospitality are marked. From the clients' perspective, an idea of *excluded insiders* appears: the idea that those from the brotherhood of Islam can be excluded – to a certain extent – according to some specific religious interpretations. At the same time, the idea of brotherhood and the rule of generosity indicate that there is always a certain degree of inclusion.

But as becomes clear from the previous chapter, patrons seem to work according to a slightly different interpretative scheme of generosity. Patrons have included Muslim brothers (and sisters) from a different country in the care system according to the interpreted religious rules of generosity – meaning helping the weaker. However, Syrians remain 'unofficial' members of this supra-local system. Since they remain outsiders, they do not always receive help according to the same regularities as Jordanian members of this system. Thus, although the providers have included Syrians in the care system, they treat them as outsiders as well. From the provider's perspective Syrians seems to have become *included outsiders*.

In short, both clients and patrons speak according to the same logic of generosity, but the interpretation of it slightly differs. Hence, while the socio-psychological approach of the SIT argues exclusion of Others takes place based on comparison with relative others, this chapters has shown ideas of exclusion are highly ambiguous. The 'palpable' consequence of these specific interpretative schemes in this logic for Syrians goes beyond the scope of this thesis. This theoretical approach does nevertheless give insight the discontent among beneficiaries towards donors and patrons and the opposing schemes within the same logic. While hospitality is a short-term matter and charity a long term, these differences show limits of generosity towards *included outsiders* or *excluded insiders*. This seems to be the logic of generosity in times of crisis that contributes to a resilient community in east Amman.

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⁴⁸ Translation: 'How are you doing?'

6. Conclusions

It's to our own good to love Him and worship Him, because when we do, we will be fair to each other. And there will be peace all over the world (Um Nadal).

In this world we continuously live in radical uncertainty. Human beings are exposed to unforeseen threats, in which we constantly find ourselves unprepared (Duffield 2013). This seems to be especially the case for the east Ammanian poor. In this thesis I examined the pressure that the influx of Syrian refugees poses on the daily lives of women in A Manara, east Amman. In line with Butler (2004), every actor in a social system experiences uncertainty, which makes each individual to a certain degree precarious. Yet, precariousness entails inequality. This thesis shows that communities in the periphery are often the most vulnerable ones. Patronage relationships emphasize this inequality and it is enforced with the arrival of Syrian refugees. Before moving to this subject, I first would like to make some concluding remarks on Jordan's patronage system.

Jordan's patronage system: the gift and religious interpretations

This thesis focused on charities that make up an important part of the financial and non-financial care for the vulnerable poor. Power relations are omnipresent in the care system in this civil society level. Organizations and institutions, including its volunteers or brokers, often contain ambiguous and ambivalent characteristics of democracy, power and reputation, caring for the alienated poor in the periphery. As soon as beneficiaries are registered in the organization or entered in the relationship with those working 'independently', these brokers become the beneficiaries' patrons and the female beneficiaries become their clients. They consequently enter into an unequal power relationship that ascribes them certain rules of conducts according to the constructed moral rules of society.

Although patronage is always a reciprocal relationship (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981), reciprocity is not observable at first sight. In this thesis I showed it is manifested in the religious sphere of the care system. In line with Scott (1990), in the public transcripts these patrons dominate over their clients in different ways, such as through donations in the form of the gift, and to a lesser extent their knowledge and position. While voluntarily, donations, in the form of the gift, bind these two actors and leave them with moral obligations, such as solidarity, loyalty and respect. While loyalty is reciprocated directly, it seems the indirect spiritual payback from Allah is more valuable to the patrons. According to the culturally interpreted religious rules of their social interaction, patrons are obligated to help the weaker, which eventually enriches them spiritually and provides them the opportunity for earning credits for the hereafter.

It could be argued patronage is a form of a game with sets of rules, in which both actors try to win as much as possible by wish fulfillment (Scott, 1990). Both are expected to play according to the moral rules of this game. Backstage (Goffman, 1974), in the forms of hidden transcripts, clients' rumors, gossips, and grumblings appear when they start to distrust their patrons. These infrapolitics, a form of political communication, are important artful ways of the subordinated clients to develop a shared critique of power, albeit respectfully, because they are disguised an anonymous. As shown with the case of Um Alaa, these forms of resistance reinforce normative standards and remind patrons of the rules of the game according to the kind of conducts that are implied by these normative rules (Scott, 1990.). These forms of infrapolitics are powerful ways to ruin or affect the patron's reputation when (s)he does not play this game of wish fulfillment according to the negotiated rules.

However, not only clients show resistance against the powers of their patrons, also vise versa. Patrons are highly aware of the rumors and gossips about them that take place in hidden transcripts. They can use the power of the gift when their client is grumbling in order to prevent further destructive rumors and gossips in the backstage. In this way, clients and patrons engage in a dialectic of the political sphere, a form of political action in which both actors try to enrich themselves and each other, either in economic or religious terms.

Crisis and generosity

With the influx of Syrian refugees, women of Al Manara experience a higher pressure on their livelihoods. Prices have risen while they are already struggling with limited incomes. In addition, they experience a pressure on donations because the flow of refugees penetrated into the care system as well. This provides patrons with opportunities to establish an ambiguous power position of remaining loyal towards their clients, based on religious interpretations. At the same time they contribute to their Jordanian client's vulnerability by acquiring Syrian clients under them as well. As a consequence, the patronage system of unequal relationships is reinforced.

Even though the patronage system is sensitive to local sentiments (Roniger, 2004) or disruptive changes, it does not seem to collapse. In my findings it seems that the logic of generosity helps maintaining this system. The patronage system has become enforced, and a new 'lower' or 'weaker' category has entered this system. Both patrons and clients speak according the same religious logic of generosity, in which a person is expected to show solidarity, compassion, and generosity to the weaker or those who struggle (Engineer, 2010). However, women showed they are juggling with ethical and religious dilemmas: taking care of themselves and their in-group or the guest, the new 'weaker' category in the society? This question is an issue of defining the boundary of the in-group. The idea of Muslim brotherhood complicates this question of what actually the in-group incorporates. What are the religious and social values of this group and is there actually an out-group? These questions indicate the idea of what I call *excluded insiders*.

The above-mentioned forms of infrapolitics are a way of clients to deal with the reinforced inequality as a consequence of the influx of Syrian refugees. These forms of resistance remind patrons to remain loyal to their clients, despite the inclusion of new members of a weaker category, namely Syrian refugees. From the patrons' perspective, Syrians are included in the care system according to their idea of *included outsiders*. Thus, patrons and clients speak according to the same logic of generosity, but the specific interpretation differs. In this way they are able to play the socio-political game of patronage according to the religious and normative rules that are attached to their roles of either the subordinated client or dominant patron in times of crisis.

As this thesis shows, this socio-political game is based on the interpretations of religious idioms that should be understood within its historical and current cultural and socio-political context of disruptive changes. These specific interpretations indicate certain limits to hospitality and generosity. Negotiations on the definition of generosity and different interpretations of religious idioms refer to this particular logic of generosity in times of crisis.

Theoretical remarks on generosity and calculation

In the theoretical chapter I elaborated on the debate of the gift, which is according to some authors (Maus, 1954; Verhezen, 2002; Komter, 2005; Murphy, 2006) about the polarization of generosity versus calculation. In this thesis, I have shown that this debate should not only be applied to the gift, but also to the entire situation, in which women juggle between their individual wishes and compassion and solidarity towards the Other. This seems to be the case for patrons as well. It can be argued then that enriching ones life and hoping to earn credits for the hereafter is a selfish thought and a form of egocentrism and calculation. However, according to their in-

terpretation of the Qur'an and as Engineer (2010) explains about Qur'an texts, it is greed when a person inflicts suffering on others by not providing charity, which makes human beings merciless towards others. From this perspective, the gift and gestures of solidarity are forms of altruism. As such, the explanation of these gestures of the gift as a form of calculation by a cost-benefit analysis is too simplistic and not understood from its cultural context.

Like Osteen (2002) I believe we should move away from this debate on the gift, which is presented in terms of either-or. It negates the beautiful aspect that the attached gestures entail. Besides, this type of debate runs the risk to misunderstand the very idea of this gesture, a risk that always lurks when a western outsider tries to understand cultural and social systems. Osteen (2002) argues something similar, namely that our ideology of the gift has been created in antithesis to the market exchange. According to him, it is *our own* discourse that has helped to create this view. I do not wish to position myself in this discussion of discourse in social science. I leave it to the reader to create his or her vision on this issue. However, I do wish to alert ourselves from our own western ideas that easily predominate over the Other. This inhibits social scientists to actually understand the complex social world we are in, a constructed social reality that we, and many academics before us, try to grasp for decades.

A framework of resilient action: a recipe for peace?

In the concluding remarks above I elaborated on religion and patronage networks, but I did not discuss and connect this to the third component of the analytical framework, namely coping mechanisms. As discussed in chapter 2, coping mechanisms are understood as a condition for creating or maintaining resilience (Chambers & Conway, 1991; Walker & Cooper, 2011). Here, I show these mechanisms should be understood in its historical and present context. In the case of Jordan, they cannot be disconnected from religion - a resource of resilience – and networks – a form of social capital that can enhances livelihood strategies.

Livelihood strategies are important for creating or maintaining resilient lives. They are shaped by social, cultural, economical, and political contexts. Moreover, the way people speak and use certain religious idioms should be placed in a historical context in order to be able to understand everyday forms of behavior and perceptions in times of disruptive changes. Jordan, for example, has a history of migrants crossing the national borders. The way women cope with everyday changes are influenced by these experiences from the past and related to specific cultural norms and values of generosity. Furthermore, it should be understood from their economical status as the urban poor in the periphery, and their socio-political position in their patronage relationship. Such a multi-contextual approach provides deeper insight in resilient lives of affected host communities by refugee flows.

But coping strategies are not only shaped by their context. Women also shape the context they are in and the structures they are created by. This becomes clear when we look at patronage networks: according to the rules of the game, clients use the power against their patrons in order to secure their income and to prevent that all donations will end up in the hands of Syrian refugees. Besides, Al Manara women remind their patrons to be loyal and show solidarity towards them by their everyday forms of resistance. In this way they actively maintain certain social and political structures in their society in which they try to remain included. This seems to be the performance of resilience. By questioning religious interpretations within the present situation, women also shape the cultural structures of the care system in which the logic of generosity is manifested. Women seem to juggle between justice, fairness, equality on the one hand and solidarity and compassion on the other. This juggling shows not only the ethical dilemma women are in, but also the flexibility of the cultural system of generosity, which seems to be adaptive in times of changes. In this way religion becomes a resource of resilience. Women of Al Manara do not only have the power to adapt (Lyon & Parkins, 2013), but also to question interpretations. This contributes to the cultural system of generosity. These ways of coping with changes is the resilient action, as displayed in figure 2, of women in east Amman according to the logic of generosity in times of crisis.

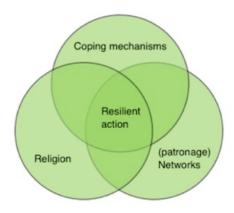


Figure 2 'Resilient action' based on King's (2004) micro-political analysis on collec-

Then is this suggested framework of resilience a recipe for peace? In other neighboring countries such as Lebanon, Turkey and North Iraq the poorer communities also seem to suffer from pressures due to the influx of Syrians (Migration Policy Center, 2013; Dinçer, et al., 2013). Especially in Lebanon social tensions became stronger as the number of refugees increased (Migration Policy Center, 2013). Applying this model to any neighboring country of Syria leaves out the importance of the cultural and historical contexts. In contrast to studies that have argued that Islam, or religion in general, can contribute to conflicts (see for example Seul, 1999; Hasenclever & Rittberger, 2000; Fox, 2007), this thesis shows that Islamic values can be important ingredients to maintain peaceful relations and situations among different communities. This is an interesting given for research in these other host countries. An in-depth comparison with these other countries goes beyond the scope of this thesis. I would like to leave this as a recommendation for comparative research, which I will further elaborate on below.

Recommendations

With this thesis, I aimed at contributing to the debate on resilience, an important concept that deserves further research. In this part I provide some distinctive recommendations for development workers and researchers related to this field and for conflict analysts. These are the two fields of knowledge this thesis is situated in and contributes to.

Development work

This thesis contributes to insights in the subject of refugees in host communities, in which development workers and researcher related to this field, among other things, are interested. As argued above, this thesis should be seen as a micro-political study on resilience. From this point of view the findings presented here should not be used as a blueprint for any related country hosting Syrian refugees, since this would imply a culturally insensitive application of the three components of resilience to any Islamic country. This research has only been conducted on a small scale and merely in one neighborhood in east Amman. The in-depth comparison of these findings with the northern governorate of Jordan, where the pressures are even higher than in Amman, and with other related countries that host Syrian refugees, is therefore of great importance. Important research questions are: how do these three components work in other areas of the Middle East and in Jordan specifically, and which of the three components seem to be most important in creating resilience in this specific place? These questions are important to create strategies to sustain resilience or to help creating resilient communities.

For international development workers an in-depth understanding of the values of the Islam is extremely important for understanding frustrations as well as peaceful attitudes. As a friend in the development sector noted, this knowledge is often lacking among professionals as a consequence of hasty research in the field. Yet, the cultural understanding of Islam, or any other religion, – meaning how the religion is interpreted and how idioms are used in a specific context in a certain period of time – is highly important in order to correctly address particular issues and to adjust development strategies in order to promote cohesion between host and refugee communities.

Lastly, I encountered informants who experienced a lack of interest in them or care from the international community. Related to this, women experience unequal access: in their idea Syrians have easier access to food, money, and blankets than they have. Above all, besides the pressure on prices since the influx of Syrians, women feel their life has become even harder. Increased feelings of dissatisfaction among the host community can increase negative feelings towards refugees who receive help from international organizations. Since international organizations in Jordan are obligated to invest 30 percent of their budget and efforts in the host community, what can professionals do in order to create feelings of equality between the two communities? In other words, how, in quantitative and qualitative terms, can this 30 percent be best spent – in material as well as immaterial ways – in the host community, and how can the remaining 70 percent contribute to a satisfied perception among both communities? Answers to these questions require an in-depth cultural understanding of equality, justice and fairness according to (supra-) local interpretations. Since women are often 'gate keepers' of their families in terms of material aid, a gender perspective is important in order to adjust strategies in the field related to these questions.

Conflict analysis

I would like to end this thesis with some final recommendations to conflict annalists to contribute to one of the important questions they raise, namely as why (or why not) conflicts or tensions start (Demmers, 2012). Hence, this case study contributes to global peace issues. Firstly, while this thesis provids some theoretical and empirical insight in how peaceful situations can be sustained, this nevertheless needs to be further examined in order to provide a more comprehensive insight in maintenance or creation of peaceful situations. In other words, how can the three components, namely religion, (patronage) networks, and coping mechanisms, be ingredients for creating peace? Or how do they contribute to violence when they are not met? Many conflicts include religious groups, and as some academics (see: Seul, 1999; Hasenclever & Rittberger, 2000; Fox, 2007) look at the role of religion in the contribution to conflict. How, instead, does religiosity seems to be a resource of sustaining peace, in negotiating or reconciliation processes of conflict in other contexts?

Secondly, according to Duffield (2013), international organizations working on resilience emphasize and further contribute to the global inequality between the elite and the poor. While he has a more structural perspective, rather than seeing conflict as a duality of structures and agency, his work can be a starting point for further research on the contribution of the international community to rising tensions. Important questions to ask are: What does the feeling of responsibility of the international community for refugees, and their acts that consequently follow, mean to the isolated position of the global poor in the host communities? How does global governance influence perceptions between different communities? But also, what is the power of the global poor, on local settings, to deal with these forms of governance?

Lastly, during this research I encountered that Jordanians I spoke with mentioned the 'price of Syrians'. When some of them told me about marriages they said that the price of Syrian women, the *mahr*, has reduced, especially of those in refugee camps. Those in the urban areas, particularly in Amman, are in comparison to those in other cities and the camps, more 'expen-

sive'. Furthermore, Syrians seem to cost less for employers and I heard stories about landlords asking Syrians for higher rents. Thus, an interesting empirical anthropological research can be conducted on 'cultural markets' in times of crisis. How should we understand these 'cultural market'? How does the idea of material value of a community change as soon as they become refugees in a host community? And, more from a gender perspective, how do Jordanians and Syrians negotiate on the prices of Syrian men and women?

In sum, in the fields of conflict studies and international development are interesting and necessary questions left to be examined. With the above recommendations I tried to provide some suggestions for further research that can contribute to these fields.

Appendix 1: Contextualization of informants

Providers

Individual broker

Um Nadal

Al Manara Society

Husam

Um Fadi

Huda

Um Alaa

Rikaz

Osama Adairi

Beneficiaries49

Hadra

Diana

Samar

Manal

Najwa

Amal

Used to work in a mosque and teach Koran. She has a degree in Koran from the center that belongs to the Ministry of Awqaf. For 25 years she collects donations for her receivers and brings donors in contact with needy families. She used to collect these donations for the mosque, but since, according to her, she was not specialized in the Sharia, the ministry of Awqaf told her to stop with it. She therefore continued this work outside the spheres of the mosque.

He is volunteering for this Society since 5 years. Before these years he volunteered ten to twelve years in Al Nassr, the area where the neighborhood Al Manara is located.

Volunteer of Al Manara Society (Al Manara Board) since five years. She grew up in the neighborhood Al Manara. She started to volunteer when her children went to school. Together with Um Alaa she studies the beneficiaries' cases in order to decide the category they are in and the kind of help they need.

Volunteer of the in Al Manara Society (Al Manara Board) since 8 years. She is responsible for administration. She lives in Al Manara and studied Psychology in University of Beirut, Lebanon. Before volunteering, she used to work for UNRWA. After finishing her job there, she wanted to volunteer for Al Manara, because people recommended this to her. Therefore she became member of the General Board. After two years she was elected to volunteer in the Society. She first volunteered for four years. After three years she decided to volunteer again.

Volunteer of the Society (Al Manara Board). She studies the cases of registered and newly registered households together with Um Fadi. She describes herself as active in finding donations. She supervises food donations of Family Kitchen (see below) that comes by every week.

Sheikh Osama Adairi is the Imam of a mosque in Al Manara. He is also the president of the charity organization Rikaz that is located one minute walking from Al Manara Society. In addition he works for the ministry of Awqaf. They gave him the task to establish an initiative to help Syrian refugees. He decided to found a daughter organization of Rikaz.

39 years old. Married and four children. Husband is jobless and unable to work. Her income comes from the Ministry of Social Development, Social Innovation, a mosque, and the Al Manara Society.

Sister-in-law of Hadra. Husband is sick and unable to work. Three children. Since she lives in the same house as Hadra, she has the same sources of income sources as Hadra.

34 years old. Married. Four children. Because her family is from Gaza, she is unable to have a Jordanian citizenship, which excludes her, among other things, from public healthcare and therefore relies on UNRWA. Her husband works as a school bus driver. The household's income relies on the husband's salary, Al Manara Society, personal donors, sewing, and the Zakat Committee of the Ministry of Awqaf.

36 years old. Married twice. Now separated, but not divorced. Two children (one from previous marriage, one from current marriage). She lives in her father's house, but sometimes in her husbands'. Income: from family, Al Manara Society and Zakat Com-

ittee.

39 years old. Married. Three children. Depends on income of: husband's salary,

'friends'/other patrons, mosque, Al Manara Society.

48 years old. Married. Six children. Her husband cannot work, because his legs were amputated due to a disease. Income derives from: Ministry of Social Development, more affluent friends/patrons, Al Manara Society, and a mosque.

 $^{^{49}}$ Although women were very open in their average incomes, for privacy reasons I chose not to write this down

Fatima

Married. Six children. Lives with father-in-law, because her husband can only work a little since a fight where he got hit on his head. She sees herself as a Palestinian Jordanian, who fled from the war in Kuwait. Searching for donors who can financially 'adopt' her sun with Down Syndrome (6). Income: salary of her husband, and the Al Manara Society (mainly Ramadan, but four years ago when other volunteers worked there, she used to receive donations more often, according to her).

Interviewed organizations Family Kitchen

opment).

Donor of Al Manara Society by providing food. They believe in food equality and food security between the more affluent and the isolated poor Jordanians. They provide left overs of quality hotels and distribute food packages throughout Jordan.

Collateral Repair Project

Local development organization, established by two Americans in 2006 as a response to the US invasion in Iraq. Their focus is Iraqi refugees and since three years also Syrian refugees in east Amman. They run charity programs, focus on community building, education and emergency aid.

Injaz

This organization believes in the educational support for youth to shape them into active members of the society and in the development of the national economy by encouraging entrepreneurship and employment.

Zenid

Local organization established by JOHUD (the Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development) to promote learning for development. It focuses on community development (economic empowerment, women's rights and advocacy, governance and local development, sustainable livelihoods, Creative ICT for development, health and well-being, youth participation and early child development.

Marqa Society

Founded by the Ministry of Labor and JOHUD, this organization focuses on child labor, by promoting the children in education and their parents to send their children to school instead of to work. As an alternative, they try to support parents as productive members of the household, by helping them finding work and help them financially. Since the influx of Syrian refugees, their strategy has also expanded to Syrian child labor.

Sahab Society

Development organization located in a smaller town near east Amman. Their job is to identify the local needs of the community in east Amman and Sahab in order to help them to revise the actives based on these needs. Their programs, among other things, includes raising public awareness among youth, supporting women, clothing banks.

GUVS General Union

General Union of Voluntary Societies. Their vision is a sustainable development of Jordan society through the development of charity initiatives and to promote the values of volunteering in civil society. The union consists of several smaller unions of charity organizations in a specific region. The Amman Union is specific to the region of Amman. The Al Manara Society, among civil society organizations, is member of this Union. The Union checks the Society and supports them

and Amman Union

to the region of Amman. The Al Manara Society, among civil society organizations, is member of this Union. The Union checks the Society and supports then financially.

Founder of the Center for Strategic Studies of University of Jordan. Lecturer in

Expert

Founder of the Center for Strategic Studies of University of Jordan. Lecturer in the department of Sociology of University of Jordan, Amman. His main field of expertise: civil society, poverty and gender.

Dr. Musa Shteiwi

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