“Syrian Guesthood”

A field study on the displacement experiences of Syrians, as guests, in the urban setting of Amman

Master Thesis | Ruth van de Velde

Photo cover page (2017): The Amman Citadel, a historical site on the highest hill in Amman. A woman and her son are playing with a kite. All photos are part of the private collection of the author, taken during fieldwork (2017).

Student

Student	Ruth van de Velde
Student number	930209861100
Master	International development studies
Department	Sociology of Development and Change
Chair group	Disaster Studies
Email	ruth.vandevelde@wur.nl

Supervisor

Supervisor	Lotje de Vries
Department	Sociology of Development and Change
Chair group	Disaster Studies
Email	lotje.devries@wur.nl

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"Most of the Arab countries do not have the enjoyment and beauty of my country. I would like to tell you a poem about my country. Whatever happens to my country, it will stay my dearest country. My people whatever they do to me, the worst things they would do to me, they stay my people. I will not forget them."

(Qadira, interview 20)

Abstract

The Syrian conflict has caused numerous Syrians to flee to Jordan. Rather than as refugees, Syrians that fled to Jordan have been perceived as guests. Being guests, Syrians have taken a particular position in society, that is significant for the way in which they experience displacement. This research is an ethnographic study, conducted by three months of fieldwork in Amman. This research examines displacement experiences of Syrians, that have fled to Jordan and settled in Amman, from the perspective of their social positions as guests in the host society.

Pan-Arabism and a strong cross-border relationship between Jordan and Syria have facilitated a large influx of Syrians to Jordan. As guests, Syrians have a legal status, that allows them to be in Jordan without the requirement of visas and residency permits. At the same time, Syrians lack fundamental rights, assistance and protection, which is implicated by the lack of refugee status and citizenship. Guesthood, therefore, is generally understood as the juridical implications of being guests within the Jordanian society, in which hospitality has become conditional. This research argues that guesthood, in addition to juridical implications, consist of the interplay between Jordanians as host and Syrians as guests, that is characterised by hostility rather than hospitality. Being identified by their accent as Syrian in everyday life changes the way Syrians are treated by Jordanians which is experienced in displacement in addition to the juridical restriction that set the conditions under which Syrians can stay in Jordan. Syrian's displacement in Amman is experienced as a temporal social reality in which they have continued their disrupted everyday life. Everyday life in displacement is characterised by the navigation of radical and protracted uncertainties to secure stability and alleviation of everyday life in exile until Syrians can return home or are resettled.

Keywords: *Guesthood, Displacement Experiences, Pan-Arabism, Hospitality, Syrian refugees, Jordan, Radical and Protracted Uncertainty, Syrian Accent, Identity.*

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Introduction

Chapter 1

"It started with the revolution, where the government killed people. I walked all the way from Syria to Jordan. In the beginning, it was a peaceful revolution, but at one moment the government/army started shooting at them. So, the people started to act defensive, they started to defend themselves. My brother got shot and died, he had to defend himself. I was against killing and blood and those things. I took the whole family and chose to be a refugee in Jordan."
(Saeed, interview 8)

It all started with the revolution when in March 2011 in the southern city of Deraa pro-democracy protests were launched. For many Syrians, these protests came out of nowhere. They knew there was turmoil in other countries because of the Arab Spring, but that was somewhere else. In Syria, everything turned south with the arrest and torture of a group of teenagers and security forces opened fire on the demonstrators. The unrest triggered nationwide protests demanding Assad's resignation. After which, the escalation of violence between the government and opposition caused the country to descend into war. Consequently, the hazard of conflict caused people to flee their houses to safer areas and when that was no longer an option Syrians started to flee the country.

The crisis in Syrian has caused an enormous flow of Syrian refugees in need of shelter. Jordan as a neighbouring country, that was able to successfully resist most effects of the Arabic uprising, has experienced an enormous influx of Syrians crossing the border to Jordan (Francis 2015; Mayer 2016). Current numbers that are available estimate the number of Syrians to be over 1.4 million Syrians residing in Jordan, of which over 650.000 have registered as refugees with the UNHCR (Jordan Response Platform for the Syrian Crisis 2016, UNHCR 2017). Out of all Syrians seeking refuge in Jordan 83 percent is living in urban areas, settling among host-communities (Francis 2015; Jordan Response Platform for the Syrian Crisis 2016; Turner 2015).

"So, it [Jordan] has been a really generous host, it has opened its borders for years until it couldn't cope anymore. A lot has changed really in the past four years. And so, the more Syrians came to the country the more rules had to be put in place."
(Juliette, expert interview 1)

Problem statement

Refugee studies generally perceive displacement experiences within the host society to consist of exclusion and hardship (Bas 2016; Arendt 1966 in Mayer and Doyle 2015). The understanding of experiences of displacement, as rightless, stateless and homeless, as expressed by Arendt, emanate from the idea of the nation-state as the sovereign power to exclude and include, and have been dominant in refugee studies (Bas 2016). Refugees in this perspective are understood to be deprived of the rights, assistance, and protection that is provided by the nation-state and solely enjoyed by those who possess citizenship (Bas 2016). The nation-state is thus seen as, the sovereign power that excludes refugees as non-citizens, which determines their displacement experiences. However, since refugees are the ones that experience displacement, rather, a focus on their perspectives and understandings of their displacement is needed. This research focusses on Syrian's perspectives of how they themselves experience displacement, as a reality with juridical implications, in the ever-changing context of the host society.

For the case of Syrians in Amman, understanding refugeehood is even more difficult as Syrians that have sought refuge in Jordan rather than being perceived as refugees are perceived as guests. Guesthood is the mix of unconditional and conditional hospitality that Syrians experience as guests in Jordan; in which they are welcomed with hospitality but at the same time, there are conditions set to their being in Jordan and the access they have to rights, protection and assistance. The guesthood discourse that emerges from the understanding of Syrians as guests consists both of pan-Arabic ideologies of equality and inclusion, and, a mechanism of control by the government. Pan-Arabic ideologies express the understanding of all Arabs to be belonging to one large Arabic nation, in which all Arabs are equal and enjoy the same rights. Pan-Arabism expresses a feeling of belonging based on an understanding of kinship among all Arabs that together form one Arab nation (Mason 2011). This side of the guesthood discourse expresses the understanding of kinship among Syrians and Jordanians as they belong to the same Arab nation. Pan-Arabism emphasises the importance of hospitality and generosity between Jordanians as host and Syrians as guests. However, guesthood is also a mechanism of control as by perceiving refugees as guests they are not granted privileges that are enjoyed by people with an official refugee status (as defined under international law by the 1951 convention on refugee status). As guests, refugees are excluded from society to such an extent that the government is not obliged to provide and ensure rights, protection, and assistance to them. This essentially means that Syrians as guests do not enjoy protection, and assistance where they would with a refugee status. In other words, how Syrians are perceived and their position in society as guests has a significant impact on how displacement is experienced.

The guesthood discourse, thus, incorporates both ideas of the guests as included and excluded from a society which makes Syrian's guesthood, being perceived as guests in society, equivocal. It is precisely the equivocal character of guesthood which is the incentive for exploring displacement experiences of Syrians in Amman. Western perspectives of nation-state systems cannot explain the Syrian's displacement experiences. Therefore, the concept of guesthood is used to acknowledge pan-Arabic ideologies that dictate the guest position of Syrians in the Jordanian society rather than as refugees.

Research objective

This research's main objective is to examine the displacement experiences of Syrian refugees in Amman, from the perspective of guesthood. By exploring Syrians experiences living in Amman, this research attempts to explain Syrian's displacement and the role guesthood plays in the everyday life in exile. Guesthood is understood to influence these experiences as it is equivocal and characterises Syrian's position in society by inclusion and equality but also by exclusion and control or a combination of both. By examining the role which guesthood plays in the lives of Syrians and comparing them, displacement experiences will be analysed. This research will do so by taking a practical and fundamental approach, examining the role of guesthood in everyday life and fundamentally what it means to be a guest. In short, guesthood is used to examine how displacement is experienced by Syrians, who fled to Amman, that possess the legal status of being guests in the Jordanian society. Therefore, the research question is;

- *How do Syrians, as guests, experience displacement in the urban setting of Amman?*

To make displacement experiences more comprehensible this research adopts three perspectives that have resulted in the three result chapters of this report. First displacement experiences will be examined taking a practical approach to the everyday life of Syrians in Amman. Secondly, displacement is examined by taking a fundamental approach to the fundamental impact of displacement on Syrian's identity. And third, the research comes back to the concept of guesthood to examine the role guesthood plays in the displacement experiences of Syrians. Displacement is experienced in the specific context of exile in Amman, therefore, the specific context that Syrians find themselves upon arrival in Jordan is described before the results of the research are discussed.

For the three approaches the following (sub)question have been identified;

Practical approach - Life in Amman:

- How is everyday life experienced in displacement in Amman?
- How do Syrians cope with uncertainty experienced in displacement?
- What consequences has displacement for Syrian's vision of the future?

Fundamental approach – Guesthood and Identity

- What is the importance of identity for guesthood?
- How does displacement transform identity?
- How does gender play a role in displacement?

The paradox of Syrian guesthood

- How does guesthood as label impact displacement?
- How does guesthood as the practice of hospitality impact displacement?

Relevance

This research offers an understanding of refugee experiences which contributes to the broader academic literature on the Syrian refugee crisis. This specific case study allows for an in-depth understanding of displacement experiences of Syrian refugees, as guests, in Amman which contributes to the discussion on the position of refugees within the host society.

Furthermore, this research contributes to the debate about the western perspectives and importance of nation-state within refugee issues. The nation-state and western perspectives that understand citizenship as ultimate for belonging, rights, protection and assistance have dominated refugee studies. Guesthood acknowledges pan-Arabic ideologies that are paramount in inter-Arab relations and is essential to understand migration among Arab countries (Mason 2011). Guesthood and how it is embedded with pan-Arabic ideologies is a phenomenon which provides a different perspective through which refugeehood, as guesthood, can be understood.

Various studies researched the Syrians Crisis. However, most of these studies have focussed on the needs and conditions of Syrians in exile from a policy and humanitarian perspective (Mayer 2016). This research takes the perspective of Syrian refugees and focusses on their status within society and how this influences their experiences of displacement. By providing Syrians with a voice to express their experiences and

understandings this research uses a different lens, than other studies, to highlight the Syrian refugee crisis from the perspective of the Syrian refugee themselves (Mayer 2016; Stevens 2016; Turner 2015). In doing so, this research explored the dynamics that determine displacement experiences of Syrians which reflect their daily life. Understanding what it means to be a Syrian guest helps to understand needs, struggles, and problems encountered by Syrians. A focus on refugees themselves is important as it allows for a fuller understanding of their lives and subjectivities (Ehrkamp 2016). This research moved beyond identifying solely refugee conditions in order to gain a fuller understanding of displacement experiences through the exploration of Syrian's subjectivities. Focussing on Syrian's perspectives allows for a broader understanding of displacement explained and discussed by Syrians themselves.

Theoretical framework

Chapter 2

"Refugee; a status that should be applied to people that flee armed conflict or prosecution and is unable or owing to such fear unwilling to return to the country of origin"
(UNHCR 2016).

"Guest; A person who is invited to visit someone's home or attend a particular social occasion"
(Oxford Dictionaries 2017a).

Introduction

This chapter delineates the concepts that structure the empirical design of the research. Within academic literature, the conceptualisation of the refugee as stateless, rightless and homeless has long been decisive. This western perspective of nation-state understanding of discrimination between the citizen and the refugee, however, has been criticised for portraying refugees as passive victims. Moreover, rather than refugees within the Arab world, forced migrants are perceived as guests. Therefore, refugeeness for Syrians is complex and as this chapter will show is rather conceptualised as 'guesthood'. Guesthood is the precarious position Syrians take within the Jordanian society, in which their forced displacement makes them perceived as a guest, a differentiated group within the Jordanian society. Conflict-induced displacement experienced by Syrians is conceptualised "both in terms of a prolonged subjective experience of disenfranchisement in exile and as a reality with juridical implications" (Horst and Grabska 2015; 3).

Refugee; the stateless, rightless, and homeless

There are various definitions of what a refugee is. As mentioned above the UNHCR 1951 Conventions on the Status of Refugees states that the refugee status should be applied to all people that flee armed conflict and prosecution. The Oxford dictionary, on the other hand, states a refugee as; "A person who has been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster" (Oxford dictionaries 2017b). This definition is more inclusive as it also considers people fleeing natural disaster as included in the definition of the refugee. The 1951 convention further states that the refugee identity is "defined and protected by international law" and "enables the access to assistance from States, UNHCR, and other organisations" (UNHCR 2016). Through the application of this international accepted definition of the refugee, Syrians that have fled the conflict in Syria would consequently be considered as legitimate refugees ensured of protection and assistance by Jordan as the host country. The situation, however, is more complex as the results of this research will demonstrate in the following chapters.

Refugees are people that lack protection by their country of origin which forces them to seek refuge and protection in another country (Fabos 2015). Forced displacement make refugees, people out of place, who depend on the incorporation into "the body of politics of the nation-states in which they sought refuge" (Fabos 2015; 101). Within academic literature conceptualisation of the refugee and its refugeeness, a great level of importance is given to the nation-state in the existence of the refugee. Refugees are understood to be "those who undergo forcible uprooting, who lack protection and who are stateless (Voutira and Dona 2007)". The general perception of the refugee as stateless, rightless and homeless points to forces or powers that have made the refugee, stateless, rightless, and homeless that goes beyond the control of the refugees themselves (Arendt 1996 in Mayer and Doyle 2015). Arendt's perspective of the refugee as stateless, rightless and homeless has been outstanding by the recognition of the importance of the nation-

state system. Arendt saw how the nation-state system allowed for a hierarchy of citizens based on nationality and race (Bas 2016). This hierarchy of citizens excludes members of other national minorities and eventually leaves them rightless (Bas 2016). In Arendt's perspective, the rise of the nation-state has led to the sovereign power to exclude certain groups as non-citizens. Empowering the nation-state to determine who has rights and who has not. Where the state used to provide equality for every individual the nation-state, according to Arendt, protects those with the same nationality only (Arendt 1966 in Bas 2016). Consequently, this has led to the marginalisation and exclusion of various minority groups that lack citizenship.

In addition, "[Sovereignty] creates, sustains, and reproduces the concepts of 'the refugee'" (Bousfield 2005;1). Sovereignty, besides demarcating the boundaries of the nation, demarcates the boundaries between the citizen and the non-citizen (Walker 1993 in Bousfield 2005). Bousfield, as the others above, perceives the nation-state and its sovereignty as decisive for refugeeness as it excludes the refugee from sovereignty, from the field of belonging. The exclusion of the refugee as not belonging to the state makes them intrinsic to sovereignty as the process of exclusion sets out what is sovereignty which includes refugees in defining sovereignty. The act of exclusion of the refugee from sovereignty, the being of and belonging to the nation-state, makes them part of it. This designates refugees to be neither entirely excluded nor included within their host society. In short, Bousfield explains how by determining who are legitimate citizens of a nation, excluding the refugee as non-citizen, setting boundaries to belonging, also includes them. Despite being excluded from society, their elimination acknowledges the existence of the refugee within society. What this essentially means is that refugees cannot be excluded entirely. The presence of refugees within a host society or host country cannot be ignored. The presence of refugees has a significant influence on the host, whether perceiving it from a societal or national perspective. It is, therefore, important to recognise the specific position the refugee takes or is allowed to take within its host society.

The exclusion of refugees from citizenship is important as this has severe consequences for the rights assistance and protection they enjoy. The core of statelessness is identical to the refugee question (Arendt 1966 in Bas 2016). Refugees have lost the protection of their country of origin and do not belong to the country that they have fled to (Bas 2016). Being stateless refugees are being deprived of the rights and protection that citizens enjoy. As a consequence of all the new wars and developments people are being left as in between countries, not belonging anywhere; "people with no protection and absolutely no place to go, the stateless were welcomed nowhere and could be assimilated nowhere" (Arendt 1966 in Bas 2016). Refugees are stateless in the sense that they have no place to return to which makes it impossible to deport them, nor are they allowed to be naturalised within the host society. Because of marginalisation and exclusion of refugees as non-citizens, they become rightless. It is the loss of; "the familiarity of daily life", "the confidence of being someone in the world", and the "naturalness of reactions", hence the loss of social structure in addition to the loss of protection by a government that are perceived to be at the core of refugee questions (Arendt 1994 in Bas 2016). For refugees it is most important to have the right to rights namely; "right to belong to a community that guarantees a person equal status independent of human plurality regardless of citizenship and belonging (Bas 2016; 19). Therefore, it is the sense of belonging

somewhere, being acknowledged as a person that holds rights, in that specific place, is indicated as most important.

Bauman's (2004) perception of the refugee is one of the `refugee as 'homo sacer', people that have no meaning to society rather than being waste. The exclusion and marginalisation of refugees and other minorities are essential to the construction of society (Bauman 2004). In this perspective as in the perspective of Bousfield (2005) in order to construct society, to define what society is, there is the need to determine what it is not. Bauman (2004) explains how the perception of the refugee has changed over generations, refugees are now stateless as there is no authority to which their statehood can be referred. Bauman perceives refugees to be out of place, there is no place for them, except for places that out of place themselves. Here he refers to refugee camps or ghettos and slums which themselves are excluded and marginalised places within a country or society. However, as will be further explained, for Syrians as urban refugees [guests] this is not the case, as they are living among the host population and claim a part of society.

In short, citizenship is seen as the most important condition for refugees to enjoy protection and assistance of their host country. Citizenship is perceived to form the basis from which rights can be claimed from the nation-state (Arendt 1966 in Bas 2016). Most important of all the loss is that consequently to the loss of human rights is the loss of human being; without citizenship, profession and opinion to identify by, refugees as individuals lose their significance of being (Arendt 1966 in Mayer and Doyle 2015). Therefore, the general perception of the refugee is that as a refugee there is no place for you where you can belong, you are not able to go back to where you came from nor are you able to be assimilated into the host society.

Previously mentioned theories are all based on western perspectives of the nation-state as a provider of protection and assistance to its citizens. Since most research is conducted by western researchers, researchers have focussed on western perspectives of citizenship belonging (Fábos 2015). These western perspectives need to be complemented with the understanding of the importance of Arab nationalism – "the shared ideal of the social, cultural, and political unity of Arab peoples" (Fábos 2015; 102). This makes Arab countries different from Western countries with a Westphalian nation-state model. Arabic states combine regional identity of Arabic nationalism with nationalism and the desire for independent policies. This has been the result of the struggles against imperialism and colonialism that different Arab countries have experienced (Fábos 2015). This has resulted in the complex existence of Arab non-Palestinian refugees in Arab countries due to the discourse of brotherhood and unity among Arabs, on the one hand, and national independent polities in which citizenship and protection are only for those who have been born to a father with citizenship, on the other hand. There exists a "major contradiction between the ideal of a supranational Arab nation with the framework of cooperation and interaction among Arab peoples, and a system of sovereign nation-states defined by geopolitical borders that structure people's movements" (Fábos 2015; 104). This contradiction provokes an enduring contradiction between "a unifying supranational polity and competing nationalism and realpolitik" (Fábos 2015; 100).

Arendt, Bauman and other thus mainly perceive refugee status in terms of exclusion. Where the dominant understanding of displacement experiences has been one of exclusion, hardship, and suffering in which the

refugees are pictured as victims unable to take care of themselves (Arend 1966 in Bas 2016; Malkki 1995). Recent studies have expressed an alternative understanding that contradicts this static understanding of refugees being stuck in exile awaiting a better future (Brun and Fábos; Brun 2016). Rather than being static, everyday life in exile is dynamic (BenEzer and Zetter 2015; Brun and Fábos 2015). Refugees do experience marginalisation, control and static that express experiences of being stuck on the one hand (Brun and Fábos 2015). But rather than being stuck everyday life is characterised by transformation, movement, and mobility whether socially or geography that brings people to better or worse positions (Brun 2016). Rather, than being stuck in exile, refugees experience continuous change that influences the way in which displacement is experienced. This research thus perceives refugees as autonomous actors that navigate the conditions of their everyday life. Displacement, as understood in this research, is the social world and lived reality of Syrians who have fled their country of origin and now are displaced guests within Jordan. As this research will demonstrate these social worlds and lived realities of Syrian guests are characterised by legal implications that they need to navigate to secure everyday life.

'Guesthood'

From the beginning of its state building, Jordan has been producing a national identity that is balanced between territorial and non-territorial, supra- and subnational identities (Nanes 2008). Combining the pre-existing, Arabic, Islamic, and tribal identities that together have built Jordan recognises the Jordan identity to include Jordanians of all origins (Nanes 2008). Hence, Jordan is home to a large number of different tribes and cultures that together have built Jordan into the state that it has become.

Jordan has been perceived as a generous host, providing shelter to various refugee groups over the years. Jordan has been the only Arab nation that granted citizenship to Palestinian refugees that have fled to Jordan after the wars in 1948 and 1967. (El-Abed 2014). However, this Palestinians have been the only group. All other groups [of Arabs] that have sought refuge in Jordan have not enjoyed citizenship nor have they been recognized as refugees. These groups, rather, have been perceived as 'guests' or 'visitors' (Mason 2011; Stevens 2013; El-Abed 2014; Mayer and Doyle 2015; Turner 2015; Mayer 2016). Research on Iraqi refugees in Jordan, those who have fled the turmoil and conflict after the invasion of Iraq in 2003, emphasise the 'guesthood' of Iraqis in Jordan. Rather than being perceived as refugees Iraqis were perceived and welcomed as guests, hence as temporary visitors (Stevens 2013; Mason 2011; El-Abed 2014). The sense of kinship among Arabs, within the Middle-East, allows for the temporary acceptance of refugees in need, sheltering them until they are able to return to their country of origin (Weiss Fagen 2009). Groups that have sought refuge in Jordan may have been seen by the outside world as refugees, however, in Jordan and other Arab countries the word refugee is affiliated with, the Palestinian experience and statelessness, and is not representative of other groups suffering displacement (Weis Fagen 2009, Mason 2011; Stevens 2013). Therefore in regard to the statelessness that is supposed to be identical to the refugee question, this does not apply to Syrians seeking refuge in Jordan. Syrians seeking refuge are perceived not to be stateless, as they belong to the wider Arab nation, but as temporary guests that will eventually return to Syria.

As mentioned before Arab nationalism needs to be acknowledged in order to understand refugee issues and practices in the Arab world. Pan-Arabism is a major factor in determining the way in which relations are established. Inter-state migration within the Middle East has historically been shaped by the traditions of

Arab states to receive fellow Arabs as 'visitors' or 'guests' (Mason 2011). Forced migrants and refugees historically have been received as 'guests' by Jordan (Weiss FAgen 2009; Mason 2011; Stevens 2013; El-Abed 2014; Fábos 2015; Mayer and Doyle 2015; Turner 2015; Mayer 2016). This framework of receiving Arabs, whether migrants, forced migrants or refugees, as 'guests', is grounded in notions of hospitality. These reflect wider pan-Arab ideologies in which all Arabs belong to a farther-reaching Arab nation, transcending the boundaries of the modern nation-states (Mason 2011). Pan-Arabism acknowledges all Arabs to be connected through shared language, culture, heritage, and history. As part of this "foreign, Arab nationals are broadly perceived as Arab brethren to whom the same rights as those accorded to nationals should be granted" (Mason 2011; 356). This policy has been formalised in documents such as the 'pact of the league of Arab states' and has been endorsed in the domestic law of many of the Arab states (Mason 2011; 356). Pan-Arabism has allowed for a long history of fluid mobilities within the Arab nation. However, there is made the exception of nationality which is not a right shared among all Arabs but is nationally allocated (Mason 2011). Nationality has remained of importance since many Arab countries struggled against imperialists and colonialist establishing independent states (Fábos 2015). Since nationality is not shared, a distinction is made between people by their nationality, demarcating who is to enjoy protection and assistance by a state [the citizen] and who is not [the non-citizen]. As this research will demonstrate there is a complex paradox in which Syrians are welcomed through notions of Pan-Arabism and where they are differentiated as a specific group of guests to whom special conditions apply.

Pan- Arabic ideologies emphasise the importance of hospitality and generosity embedded in the Arabic culture; providing hospitality to the strangers is essential, especially when that stranger is worse off than you are (Mason 2011; El-Abed 2014). Pan-Arabism allows Arab refugees to be welcomed as guests, with great hospitality and generosity, when arriving in Jordan. This sense of hospitality and generosity has allowed Arab refugee groups to enter Jordan 'as guests' with temporary guest or visitor permits, that can be renewed when wanted (Weiss Fagen 2009). Pan- Arabism through the embedded notions of hospitality, therefore, allows refugees to be welcomed as guests without granting them a refugee status per se.

One the one hand being perceived as guests, refugees experience hardly any difficulty arriving in Jordan. On the other hand, as this research will demonstrate guests are compelled to pay gratitude for the hospitality provided to them which implicates a debt to be paid, which changes the Jordanian-Syrian relationship (Mason 2011); and refugees face exclusion, restrictions, and control by being labelled guests (Mason 2011; Stevens 2013; El-Abed 2014). Despite the acknowledgement of connectivity between culture, language, heritage, and history that transcend the nation-state, the nation-state and citizenship remain unexceptionally important in providing protection and services to its population to which the guest does not belong. By referring to and perceiving refugees as guests, categories are established that distinguish non-nationals from nationals (Mason 2011). Referring to refugee groups as guests have enabled the Jordanian government to manipulate hosting influxes of refugee for its own development and security agendas by discarding the legal obligations to protect these groups and provide for them (El-Abed 2014).

In addition, the labelling of refugees needs to be seen as "a discursive act of state in which power is rationalised, drawing boundaries as to who can be included within the process of subjectification and who shall be excluded" (El-Abed 2014; 82). The guest discourse refers to the way in which "the Jordanian state

regulates and labels most refugee populations [as guests] according to the political agenda whereas referencing three cultural dimensions enmeshed in the practice of hospitality; the Bedouin, the Islamic, and the Arab" (El-Abed 2014; 82). The reception of refugees has been made possible through the use of a public discourse enmeshed in the practice of hospitality. Hospitality as practice "takes place between the ethics and politics of relating to others" and can be both conditional and unconditional (El-Abed 2014; 83). Unconditional hospitality emanates from ethical grounds. Bedouin, Islamic and Arab hospitality all express unconditional hospitality, the need to welcome and accommodate the stranger, the guest. The unconditional hospitality is challenged when "the power of control over territory, identity, and the population is threatened" (El-Abed 2014; 86). When the power is threatened, unconditional hospitality becomes conditional hospitality. When hospitality is only conditional, the labelled people [the guests], become an isolated category. This category then can be separated from the host. Consequently, this means that guests as separated group can be more easily controlled, and it is easier to deny their citizenship rights. Hence, "it is the mixed hospitality of conditional and unconditional welcome that creates a new discourse of guesthood" (El-Abed 2014; 84). Where unconditional hospitality concerns the humanitarian and ethnic politics of relating to each other accepting and helping one's bothers. Conditional hospitality concerns the relationship between the refugee and the state and institutions that labels the refugees as a category to obtain easy control over and enables the exclusion of these groups to keep true to its political agenda (El-Abed 2014).

Guesthood is a paradoxical concept that is composed of both the practice of hospitality and a label through which control is exercised over the guest that together generate the ambiguous position Syrians take within the Jordanian society. Pan-Arabic ideologies and mobility within the Arab region, thus, are perceived to be enabled by notions of hospitality and generosity which are themselves of central importance in the Arab culture (Mason 2011). Pan-Arabic ideologies are dominant in inter-Arab relationships and have allowed for strong ties between Jordanians and Syrians. The strong feeling of belonging to a distinct Arab world among Arab people has allowed for "persistence, even deepening, trans-state social communications and interactions, among Arabs" (Mason 2011; 356). Extended family ties often extend across boundaries and cross-border migration has been constant in the Arab region. Therefore, pan-Arab notions of hospitality have allowed Syrians to be welcomed as guests allowing them to stay in Jordan legitimately. However, realpolitik has affected pan-Arabism by favouring individual foreign policies and splits within the Arab League (Mason 2011). Jordanian policies allow Syrians to be welcomed as guests through a "power structure that privileges the host and sets clear boundaries for the guest" (Mason 2011; 359). Thus, on the one hand, there is the pan-Arabic ideology embedded with notions of hospitality and generosity allowing the guest to be welcomed; indicating some sort of acceptance and even a sense of equality among Arab refugees [as guests] and the host population. While, on the other hand, the refugee or immigrant is "imagined as guest and the 'host nation' maintains its historical position of power and privilege in determining who is or is not welcome to enter the country, but also under what conditions of entry" (Mason 2011; 359). Being welcomed as guests has resulted in refugees taking ambiguous and precarious socio-legal positions in society, being welcomed with hospitality and facing restrictions as conditions under which they can stay, at the same time. Moreover, being a guest brings significant limits to the access refugees have to "services, security, long-term protection and wider social and spatial mobilities" (Mason 2011; 354).

Radical and protracted uncertainty

> *The radical and protracted uncertainty associated with conflict, flight, and exile is central to refugees' experiences, particularly as this uncertainty is caused by the precarious position of refugees and IDPs within 'the national order of things'."*
> *(Horst and Grabska 2015; 3)*

While "uncertainty is a permanent condition in human's lives", "conflict and conflict-induced displacement produce both 'radical' and 'protracted' uncertainty" (Horst and Grabska 2015; 1). Uncertainty in its "meaning of imperfect knowledge and the unpredictability of the future, is central to studies that theorize conflict-induced displacement, transit, and refugeeness" (Horst and Grabska 2015; 1). Therefore, displacement experiences, where uncertainty is the norm rather than certainty, needs to be examined through the lens of uncertainty. While interrelated, making a distinction between radical and protracted uncertainty allows for a better understanding of the "temporal and spatial dimensions at stake in conflict and displacement situations, as well as the risks, opportunities, and strategies that are involved when navigating them" (Horst and Grabska 2015; 2). By differentiating between radical and protracted uncertainty a better understanding of the different processes and experiences of displacement can be explored, that provide a better insight of temporal dimensions of social navigation and adaptation in exile. Conflict and the urge for exile are interfering with a certain stable social reality. The uncertainty this creates needs to be understood and analysed as part of life in which displaced persons seek to reconstruct a stable social reality. The focus on uncertainty allows for an understanding of the context-specific circumstances of exile and how people navigate these and (re-)create better lives.

According to academic literature, uncertainty is produced by 'facta' and 'futura'; access to knowledge and predictability of the future (Horst and Grabska 2015). Uncertainty is created by imperfect knowledge – inaccessibility or unavailability of information itself- and the unpredictability of the future – imperfect knowledge, speed with which dramatic and life-threatening events take place, and, lack of control experienced by refugees over life choices because their ability and rights to build alternative futures is, to a great extent, determined [and limited] by the [host] government. "Accounts of imperfect knowledge, confusing rumours, highly unpredictable events that unfold quickly, and a sense of lack of control over personal circumstances while faced with violence, death, and abrupt changes, as well as with migration management systems – all are common in the life histories of refugees"(Horst and Grabska 2015; 5). Rather than by calculating risk, these situations are dealt with through; coping through hope, waiting, negotiating, and navigating. In addition, risk assessment does not account for the uncertainty experienced in protracted exile.

"The dramatic occurrence and radical uncertainties created by conflict and displacement lead refugees and IDPs to long for a before that is also an elsewhere, as time and place often get intertwined in their memories of the past and hopes for the future […] Many of those who are displaced similarly do not accept where they are, in the sense that they wish to be somewhere else and find it difficult to endure the present when the certainties of their past disappeared so suddenly and their future is uncertain and contested. "(Horst and Grabska 2015;7). Displacement, therefore, takes specific dimensions of place and time within displaced people's lives that people perceive in regard to the life they had before and a life they aspire in the future.

In addition, displacement is the continuation of everyday life conducted through routinized practice and survival strategies. Therefore, a holistic understanding of displacement experiences includes; uncertainty experienced within the continuation of everyday life in a specific time and place in regard to a remembered past and aspired future. This essentially makes, displacement embedded with notions of temporality. Forced migration causes temporary displacement as the host and displaced actors hold on to expectations of return and/or resettlement.

Conflict-induced displacement involves speed and radical change, the protracted uncertainty that follows with long-term displacement is to a certain extent caused by the unwillingness of individuals, governments, and donors to accept the status quo as the new reality. “Over two-thirds of the refugees in the world are in protracted refugee situations” in which they actively and dynamically wait, while managing everyday life (Horst and Grabska 2015; 8). While in early displacement, the radical uncertainty that used to be very extreme with high levels of unpredictability and acute lack of knowledge. In protracted life, the speed in which change happens slows down, access to available knowledge about what has happened and what is happening becomes more available, and everyday life becomes more predictable. When exile becomes protracted, life becomes more certain and predictable through certainty and predictability within the routinisation of everyday life. It is important to acknowledge that while displacement is not generally accepted by those displaced, their everyday life continues. The continuation of everyday, while focussed on everyday life provision such as food, shelter and family care, great levels of uncertainty remain to dictate displacement experiences.

Caused by radical and protracted uncertainty, emotions play a significant role in the lives of displaced people. “The radical uncertainty associated with conflict and exile -with the risk of dying and the unpredictability of the future - creates feelings of insecurity and fear, of ambiguity and contradiction, of physiological stress” (Horst and Grabsky 2015; 9). Radical uncertainty and the stress it produces, make that in early exile emotions play a paramount role in the experience of displacement. This is characterised by not knowing what to do or how to continue, and the experience of emotional episodes of crying. Navigating the uncertainty caused in exile through adaptation to the new situation by rebuilding people's lives through the establishment of adaptation strategies [psychological] and supportive personal relationships [social] increase people's wellbeing.

“The bureaucratic systems that ultimately decide central aspects of refugees’ and IDPs’ future—such as where they will live in the near and distant future and whether or not they have access to certain rights—create incredible levels of uncertainty” (Horst and Grabsky 2015; 10). States play an important role, as they maintain and even heighten uncertainty created by conflict and displacement. It does so, by identifying displaced people as a marginalised group, in terms of the risk they pose to the social order, and by maintaining and enforcing boundaries and division. These measures to control the risk displaced people pose cause great levels of uncertainty. This specifically concerns uncertainty in terms of the control people perceive to have over their own lives and their futures. Moreover, the inability to gain the right information and knowledge about government policies makes that authorities and bureaucracies are in control as the displaced do not have sufficient access to information their (legal) situation. Therefore as guests, the restrictions Syrians experience cause great levels of uncertainty by the lack of control they experience over their lives and futures and lack of access they have to information and knowledge.

To understand the coping of uncertainty to continue everyday life as described above, displaced people use a range of strategies of learning to deal with the fact of not knowing including the strategies of hope, navigation, and negotiation. First, having hope for a future elsewhere makes it possible for people to cope with conditions [in exile] because it allows them to hold on to the idea of temporariness" and "hope transposes energy and resources from the here and now to somewhere else and thus easily runs the risk of preventing people from accepting their present-day realities" (Horst and Grabska 2015; 11). This essentially means that hope for a better future allows people to keep going to continue their everyday life in exile because they perceive it as temporary, while it also prevents people from establishing permanence in exile as they do not accept the idea of being in this specific place forever. Secondly, social navigation is used by displaced people to cope pro-actively with uncertainty. "People navigate uncertainty by maintaining trust in the future and their ability to deal with it, by taking action to prevent negative occurrences or their consequences, and by avoiding potentially negative futures" (Horst and Grabska 2015; 12). Navigation differs in the level of (pro-)activeness and engagement and has various outcomes. This is because of the context-dependent nature of the uncertainty experienced. Social navigation acknowledges the choice of displaced to accept or deny conditions of displacement by actively or passively navigating certain situations. Moreover, navigation involves repossession strategies, which are strategies people use to reclaim control and status. Such repossession can be seen in material gain but also intangible when finding jobs and education. We speak about social navigation because many of the ways in which people find certainty involves negotiation with other individuals and states. Therefore, thirdly, constant negotiation establish certainty socially with and through others. Established social relations and the creation of new ones, can provide security as they are resources of both knowledge and information and provide meaning and status through negotiation.

Conflict-induced flight of Syrians that came to Jordan has been urged by the precariousness conditions that constituted their everyday life in Syria. The experience of violence, which reconfigures society, and the need to take risk forced refugees to seek refuge in other countries. The speed and unpredictability, with which events happen in conflict situations and with flight, generate the particular experience of radical uncertainty. Urged to act, the stage of flight and early displacement are characterised by a lack of information experienced. The "changes and challenges that occur at rapid speed and in highly dramatic ways" experienced during flight and in early exile takes a more slow and protracted form when exile is prolonged (Horst and Grabska 2015; 2). Protracted uncertainty is defined by a higher level of predictability of everyday life but great unpredictability when it comes to people's perception of their futures. The differentiation between radical uncertainty and protracted certainty allows for a better understanding of how displacement is experienced throughout exile. The focus on hope, navigation, and negotiation allows for the exploration of how displaced people attempt to create stable social realities in exile, by challenging their position within the national order of things. "While the changing nature of things can lead to a desire to hold on to the familiar and a resistance to transform for some, it creates opportunities for others" (Horst and Grabska 2015; 14).

Labelling; the 'guest' as label and identity

Labelling is an important process in forced migration issues. The labelling of influxes of forced migrants is an important process makes them a differentiated group from the citizens and other migrant groups within

society. The refugee label is a mechanism to explore the interplay between, on the one hand, the social worlds and lived reality of refugees and, on the other hand, the public policy practices of NGOs, governments and intergovernmental agencies acting under the banner of humanitarianism (Zetter 2007). This will be the case for the guest label applied to Syrians, allowing the research to explore both the lived reality of Syrians as guests, and the mechanisms of policies and practices that set the conditions for their guesthood in Jordan.

Syrians have an everyday presence in the lives of the Jordanian population that must be recognised. Labelling, therefore, does not only affect Syrians but also the Jordanian population. The general perception of the refugee and their position within society that is delineated by the label has a significant influence on how the refugee is perceived by the host population. "The concept of labelling, by examining who you are in relation to others, offers a way of understanding the frequent mismatch between policies agendas […] and the way in which people are conceived as subjects of policy are defined in convenient images" (Wood in 1985 in Zetter 2007). It is precisely this understanding of the "designation" from the "case", labelling refugees to play a particular role and the determination of an asymmetrical relationship between the refugee and the host, on the intervention in the daily lives of refugees (Zetter 2007; Zetter 1991). In short, Syrians being perceived as guests needs to be understood as a mechanism of exclusion as, especially in the case of Jordan, it delineates the restrictions that Syrians endure. Labelling is a mechanism which legitimises exclusion and marginalisation of refugees (Zetter 2007 in Stevens 2013). This, at the same time, allows, for the exploration of the interplay between Syrian's social worlds and lived realities to cope with such exclusion and marginalisation.

It is both the process of labelling and the labels themselves that are of significance. Labelling consists of the delinkage of the "individual identity by replacing it by a stereotyped identity with a categorical prescription of assumed needs (Zetter 1991; 44). Furthermore, it implicates a certain level of control as the refugees need to abide by the stereotype, hence conformity of the label (Zetter 1991). Labelling conveys a set of values and judgments that determine the way in which the refugee is perceived, its position in society and the relationship between the refugee and the host population (Zetter 1991). Labelling concerns the reconstruction of a pragmatic identity where there is an important distinction created between case and story (Zetter 1991). For the case of Syrians in Jordan, this is an important factor as there used to be a strong relationship which is transformed as Syrians have become guests. Labelling, therefore, is the instrumentality of the procedures that construct the refugee identity that an asymmetrical relationship between the powerful and powerless is established (Zetter 1991). Such an asymmetrical relationship is established through the "reinforcement of actions of designation, [as] labelling means conditionality and differentiation, inclusion and exclusion, stereotyping and control" (Zetter 1991; 59). In short, labelling is important for the designation of a specific role to be played by the refugee; it determines the refugee's position in society by the establishment of an asymmetrical relationship between the refugee and the host.

Identity is a very complex concept as it is determined by various factors and interpreted in various ways. "Social identity is our understanding of who we are and who other people are, and reciprocally other people's understanding of themselves and others" (Macionis and Plummer 2012; 964). People's identity is construed in the interaction with their social environments. Therefore, when people's social environment

changes their identities change as well. This is because "Individuals choose different ascriptions as self-descriptive in different situations and context" (La Barbera 2015; 2). In addition, "the process of conferring meaning to the elements that constitute identity and reaching an agreement regarding 'who is who' in interaction with others and society at large", identity negotiation is used by refugee that generates a conflict between social categorisation and self-representation (La Barbera 2015; 2).

Being labelled as Syrian guests, Syrians remain true to their Syrian identity while being in exile in Jordan. This "identity continuity provides a unique basis for national identity and drives in-group defensive reactions in the context of existential threats to group identity" (Smeekes and Verkuyten 2015; 192). Research has shown how "identity offers refugees important resources for trying to cope with the many risks that they face; a sense of efficacy, distinctiveness, and purpose derived from their Syrian identity seems to be particularly important for dealing with the discrimination and adverse circumstances in the country of settlement; and a sense of Syrian belonging, continuity, and esteem appears to be especially important for group identification" (Çelebi et al. 2017; 841). Therefore, while identity has transformed in exile, as the social environment of who Syrians relate to has changed, identity continuation through identity negotiation allows Syrians to cope with discrimination and adverse circumstances faced in displacement.

'Wasta'

'Wasta' "the invocation of a trusted and empowered individual to help one with an issue or challenge", is known in Jordan and other Arab countries as a powerful social relation, beneficial for one social position (Stevens 2016; 57). '*Wasta*' is something everyone has. *'Wasta*' in academic literature is associated with inequality and unfairness, or, corruption where only those who have the right relations can benefit. However, *'wasta'* needs to be acknowledged for its connotation with the importance of "face-to-face contact and good communal standing" (Stevens 2016; 57). *'Wasta'* is commonly rooted in social or familial ties. Social capital is perceived to be essential for the integration of Syrians refugees in Jordan (Stevens 2016). '*Wasta*' is known within the Arab world as an essential social bond, to someone in power that enables you to empower yourself and your position in society. Knowing the right people gets you to the right places.

Strong social networks have been extremely important for Syrians as they have shown to correlate with "improved economic outcomes and emotional wellbeing in urban refugee populations" in Jordan (Stevens 2016; 51). Syria's pre-conflict society was characterised by "dense, overlapping social networks based on intersecting relational identities such as religion, ethnicity, region of origin, family and class" (Stevens 2016; 51). Those Syrian social networks are known to act as traditional protective shelters in times of crisis, which is said to be due to the various forms of capital that exist in those networks. Conflict and displacement are known to deteriorate social networks. Social networks are often used to facilitate the voyages to Jordan but were not sustained in the long run; however, few households have maintained contact with those that facilitated their travel (Stevens 2016). As this research will demonstrate social networks have been essential for most Syrians to facilitate their flight to Jordan. '*Wasta*' and the importance of strong social networks allow for certainty is established through the forming of new social networks in exile.

In conclusion, this research considers Syrian's guesthood as core to their displacement experiences. Guesthood rather than refugeehood is examined in this research as this provide a better understanding of the specific position Syrians take in the Jordanian society. Displacement is understood as a temporal social reality that is characterised by radical and protracted uncertainties. Displacement and guesthood provide a new social environment that influences Syrians identities. The concepts delineated above guide the analysis of the results to examine how Syrians, as guests, experience displacement in the urban setting of Amman.

Methodology

Chapter 3

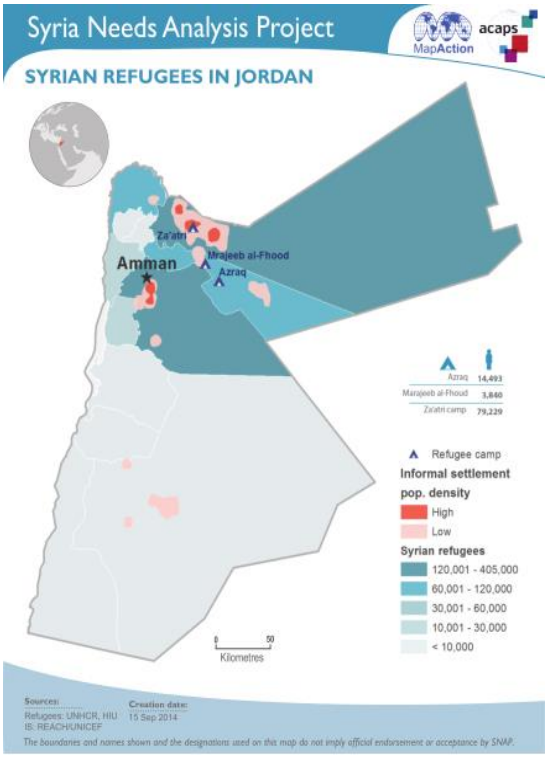
Linkages methodology stresses the "importance of combining an appraisal of the powerful forces that destabilize societies and transform citizens into outcasts and thereafter continue to structure possible outcomes, with a respect for the human beings who are undergoing dislocation and relocation. This means recognizing their fallibility as well as their strengths. It also means recognizing that while as human beings with similar basic psychological and physical needs they can be expected to react in much the same way to challenges to their well-being, they are also unique. In neither study does the individual refugee become a statistic or simply an exemplar of the refugee label. People may behave in strange ways under stress, but their behaviour is made comprehensible in the context of their past experiences and the environments they inhabit which derive from the interplay of global forces and the activities of strangers."
(Colson 2007; 332)

Introduction

This research is an ethnographic study, conducted by three months of fieldwork in Amman, into the displacement experiences of Syrians that have fled Syria and settled in Amman, from the perspective of their social positions as guests in the host society. As proposed in the introduction, the research question of this thesis is; *How do Syrians as 'guests' experience displacement in the urban setting of Amman?* This chapter will discuss the methodology used in the research.

Research approach

Social research "involves the participation in the social world, in whatever role, and reflecting on the products of that participation" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; 16). The use of qualitative case study research allows the research to "study complex phenomena within their context", using a variety of data sources (Baxter and Jack 2008; 544). This research uses a case study to explore the displacement experiences of Syrians residing in Amman, from the perspective of their guesthood. Taking a qualitative research approach allows the researcher to explore Syrian's perspective of their social reality in which guesthood and displacement are experienced. The qualitative field study conducted allowed the researcher to be involved in the participation in the social world to better understand the complex phenomena of guesthood and displacement experiences of Syrians within the specific social context of life in Amman. Taking into account, the context in which guesthood and displacement are experienced allows for a more holistic understanding.



Figuur 1: (Reliefweb 2014)

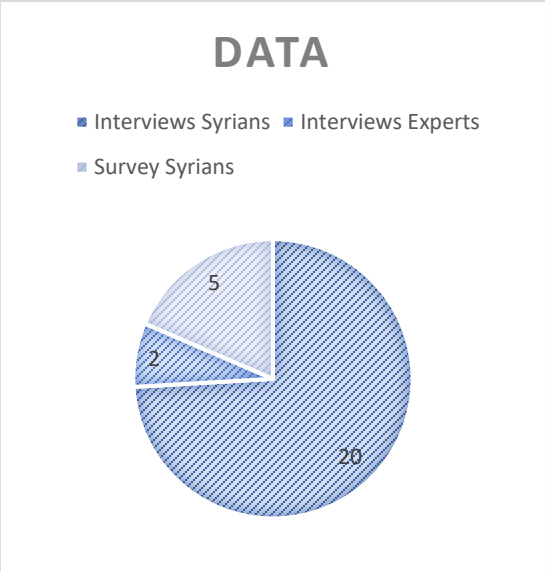
During fieldwork, semi-structured interviews, participant-observation and informal conversation have been conducted. In addition, surveys have been conducted as some respondents did not want to do an interview but were willing to answer questions within a survey. The exact conduction of these methods will be further discussed in the following sections.

Research site

This research is specifically focused on the urban setting of Amman. Of all Syrians that have fled to Jordan over 80% is living in urban settings. Moreover, over 25% of all refugees are living in the governorate of Amman, centred in and around the capital city Amman. The presence of large numbers of Syrians in Amman and their presence among the Jordanian population as urban refugees have motivated the site selection of Amman as the research site.

Initially, Amman was also chosen as a research site because of the differences in social class and living standards between east and west Amman. However, during the research, it was found that there was no evidence of a clear divide between Syrians living in east and west as respondents were living all around Amman. In addition, considerable access to respondents in east Amman turned out to be difficult as it was discouraged to visit these areas unaccompanied and impossible to find a guide or informant that had established connections in this area. Moreover, the specific boundaries of the poor east Amman area turned out to be difficult to indicate. However, Syrians that lived in east Amman have been represented in this research. So, instead of focussing on respondents from either east or west Amman, the research incorporated the city in its entirety as the research site.

Respondents

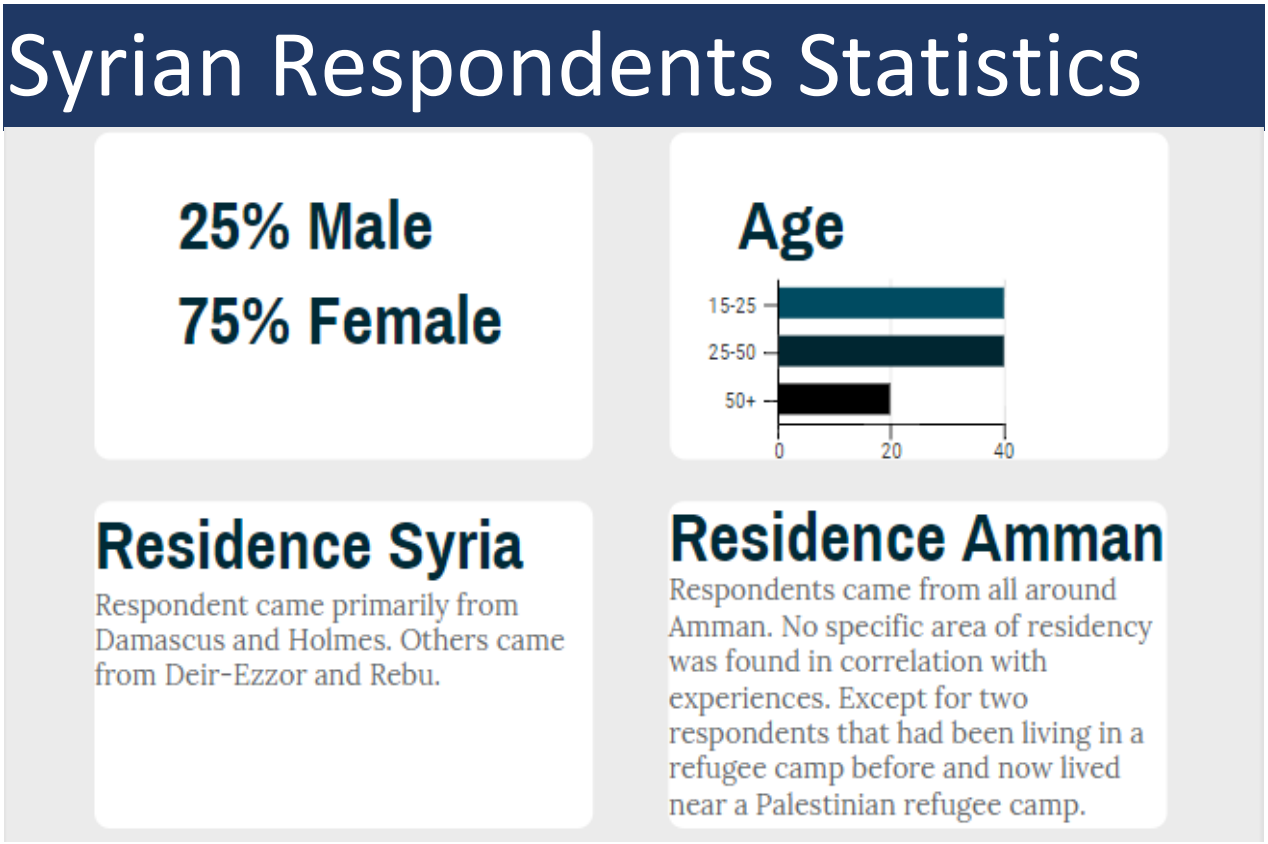


For this research, 27 people have responded in interviews or through the participation in a survey. Five surveys have been conducted since these people were unable to meet for an interview but were willing to answer questions in a survey. The survey was in English and has been distributed to the respondents through a site link where they could answer the questions online. The survey asked for respondent's email-addresses if they were willing to answer additional questions. However, those who left their contact information did not respond to additional questions asked via email. Therefore, it was decided that the data of the survey would be used to confirm data collected by other data gathering methods.

In addition, two expert interviews have been conducted in the first period of the fieldwork. These interviews have been conducted with two female NGO workers that provided the research data about the general humanitarian and legal context of the refugee crisis in Jordan. The experts were working for local NGOs focussed on the provision of education for Syrian children and refugee support in poor neighbourhoods.

The premise upon which the Syrian respondents have been selected is that; respondents identified themselves as Syrians, had fled to Jordan because of the conflict in Syria, and were living in Amman. The respondent selection is based on those who identify as Syrian as throughout the research it turned out not all those who have fled Syria possessed the Syrian nationality. Therefore, among respondents, there has been a diversity in 'pure' Syrians those who fled Syria and possessed the Syrian nationality, and 'non-pure' Syrian; Palestinian-Syrians that fled Syria, Palestinian-Jordanians that fled Syria, Jordanian that fled Syria,

who all identified themselves as Syrian. Although the research did not specify respondent's age, place of residence in Syria, gender, or education, for selection, respondents represented a variety of social-economic statuses.



Access

Getting access should be understood as relational, it is a two-way interaction between the researcher and the subject, for which a certain amount of trust is required (Norman 2009). Security, confidentiality and transparency issues are important factors to gain access and establish the trust of participants (Norman 2009). This research has established access and trust by clearly explaining the research objective, through informed consent, guaranteeing confidentiality and security, establishing privacy, and by ensuring and maintaining anonymity.

Snowball sampling has been used to select and identify Syrian respondents for participation in the research. Snowball sampling, "the technique for finding research subjects by which one subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third and so on, is a non-probability sampling strategy used to locate subject with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study of a particular population" (Clark 2006; 419). Studies conducted in the Middle East, have used snowball sampling as sampling method that enabled them to find respondents in environments in which the research population is hidden (Clark 2006). The common contact that snowball sampling provides is essential for ensuring a certain amount of trust between the researcher and the respondent. Especially for the case of Syrians in Jordan, there is an absence on reliable data on the sampling population as most of the Syrians in

Amman are not registered as a refugee with UNHCR and are hidden among the host population (Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016). The restrictions faced by Syrians, marginalisation, the fact that they are working illegally, or have expired security cards makes that they try to be invisible. The invisibility of subjects makes it difficult to define a sample population that snowball sampling provides a solution for. However, snowball sampling is biased as not every Syrian has the same change to participate in the research. This form of selecting subjects for the research holds the risk of getting biased information as the people in the network can have the same political, cultural, religious background. By recognising the risk of bias that occurs when using snowball sampling, and reflecting on it, the risks of bias can be minimised. In addition, a variety of contacts have been used to start snowball sampling that has defeated such bias.

This research has been conducted without the help of any host organisation that could provide contacts and potential respondents. Before starting the fieldwork contact was established with a Syrian male that was willing to help with finding new respondents. This first interview was conducted with this respondent and took place in a coffee shop setting after which many informal conversations have been conducted. However, while he has been a key actor for the research, throughout the research he has been unable to provide the contacts of additional respondents. The second option that was tried to access respondents has been through one of the experts interviewed; she was married to a Syrian and had more contacts. However, this lead led only to the expert interview as she did not follow up on providing new contact and the arrangement of a meeting with her husband.

Successful sampling was conducted through various contacts since snowball sampling could only provide limited respondents per contact. The first successful sampling was established through a language partner that was teaching at an education centre for Syrian refugees. This provided 3 interviews. These interviews were held at the education centre with the use of two translators that worked there as English teachers. The second range of interviews has been established through a contact that was living in a Palestinian camp and worked there as a music teacher for both Palestinian and Syrian children. He arranged two interviews that were conducted at these family's houses, in which he functioned as a translator. The third contact was gained after a post on Facebook. Three interviews have been arranged through this new contact and were conducted in the office of one of the respondents, and in coffee shops and tea houses. These interviews have been conducted in English. The second key actor in this research was a Syrian translator that had a broad network from which interviews could be arranged. The added value of this network was that it provided a wide variety of respondents ranging in age, gender, and socio-economic status. These interviews were conducted in the translator's house because she had recently had a baby and this was most convenient. Lastly, two contacts that worked at INGOs could provide contact with Syrians that would be willing to have interviews. These interviews have taken place at a coffee shop and a cake shop and were conducted in English.

Data gathering methods

As mentioned before case study research uses a variety of resources that all contribute to a greater understanding of the case (Baxter and Jack 2008). It is important for the researcher to have a clear overview of the data gathered throughout the research to be able to manage and analyse it. Keeping all gathered information structured, by tracking, organising and securely storing it, has been a main priority of the research. Using multiple data sources contribute to data credibility as it contributes to the phenomena to

be studied and viewed from different perspectives (Baxter and Jack 2008). Interviews, conversations, direct observations, participant observation, that have been used in this research have all acted as "pieces of the puzzle with each piece contributing to the researcher's understanding of the whole phenomenon" (Baxter and Jack 2008; 544). The main data gathering methods used in this research are; semi-structured interviews; (participant) observation; and informal conversations.

Semi-structured interviews have been the primary source of data for this research. In-depth interviews are exploratory conversations between subject and researcher to give a "rich store of descriptive and anecdotal data, which suggests patterns, variables and hypotheses for further study" (Jacobsen and Landau 2003; 109). In-depth interviews are important as they are descriptive of the subject's experiences of refugeehood (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). In studies, such as this research, research into contexts where little is known about, in-depth interviews can provide many descriptive data. These in-depth interviews are very individual specific, provide issue-specific accounts, and therefore cannot be generalised to such an extent and should not be assumed to represent the totality of a refugee population's experience (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). However, they do provide extensive amounts of data that contribute to the understandings of this research. In-depth interviews provide the opportunity, through a bond of trust, for the researcher to openly ask questions about the topics to be researched. It furthermore, provides the opportunity for the researcher to ask further explanation and clarification about the issues discussed. This is especially important as it allows the researcher to ask about experiences that point to the interrelation between guesthood and displacement experiences without making the assumption of the existence of this interrelation between the concepts. The informal environment and bond of trust inherent to the in-depth interview allow the respondent to feel comfortable in sharing their experiences and ideas whereas formal interviews and questionnaires will not provide this basis of trust. For this research, in-depth interviews are a means to explore the specific conditions of guesthood, being a guest, and the implications this has for displacement experiences. This research focuses on how Syrians themselves experience everyday life in displacement as guests, as they are the experts and it is their reality that matters.

Informal conversations have been an additional contribution to data gathering in this research. Where the interviews have been more formal in the sense that they were recorded and notes were taken, a topic list structures these interviews and at times there was a translator present. During informal conversations, this has not been the case. Informal conversations have been conducted in informal settings and there was no topic list that guided the conversations. Most importantly no notes were taken during the conversation but important anecdotes and interpretation were written down afterwards. Therefore, Informal conversations have been held with various actors, they could be with; Syrians (before or after an interview was conducted); Jordanians; and NGO workers or expats. These conversations have provided data about Amman as context, Jordanian-Syrian relations and attitudes, the refugee crisis, and Syrians life in Amman.

Participant observation is the third major form of data gathering conducted in the research. "Participant observation be used as a way to increase the validity of the study, as observations may help the researcher have a better understanding of the context and phenomenon under study" (de Walt and de Walt in Kawulich 2005). Major participant observations have been; the house visits during interviews; a checkpoint passport control in a bus with Syrians, Jordanians, and foreigners; the visiting of two Palestinian camps; and other everyday life experiences. All these participant observations have contributed to understandings of

everyday life in Amman and specific experiences of Syrian within this context. However, despite living there for 3 months, within the Jordanian society and among Syrians I have always been an outsider unable to completely participate. At the same time, being a stranger that did not fit in, has been a benefit as this was an experience shared among the researcher and Syrian respondents.

Data analysis

Experiences and understanding are negotiated and expressed within life story narratives (Eastmond 2007). "Narrative analysis is grounded in the assumption that people ascribe meaning to phenomena through being experiences and that we only come to know about these experiences by the expression people give to them" (Eastmond 2007; 249). Translation of those experiences and expression may cause loss of meaning, and therefore, it is needed to incorporate meta-data. Meta-data is information people communicate about their interior thoughts and feelings that can fill in the gaps created through translation. They are indicators of the social and political landscape and how that landscape shapes what people are willing to say to a researcher (Fujii 2009: 148). Narratives explain how social actors, from a particular social position and cultural vision point make sense of the world and their position in that world. By allowing Syrians to explain their experience through narratives, they have the agency to be actively part in the research explaining what they view as important information and how their position is influencing the relationship they have with the Jordanian population.

Life stories allow for the understanding of changing identities within a different context and past experiences being of influence on the choices people make (Ghorasi 2008). A life story narrative allows for the time and space, and bond of trust in which people that are not used to be in a dominant position of power can express their feelings in a process of dialogue (Ghorashi 2008). "Refugees are in the midst of the story they are telling, and uncertainty and liminality, rather than progression and conclusions, are the order of the day"(Eastmond 2007; 251). By establishing a dialogue between the storyteller and researcher an improved equal power relation is possible that allows for the reflection on past experiences and in-depth understandings by asking for a further explanation in case of lack of clarity. Focussing on how narrated experiences are reflected upon by respondents and how they make sense of their specific social context allows for an understanding of the specific social organisation and sense-making that Syrians are involved in while coping with everyday life struggles in exile. The context that shaped and continues to shape the everyday life of guesthood and its implication for their relationship with Jordanians that is narrated by Syrians are important factors in the narrative analysis. Hence, the narrative analysis allows for an analysis of individual experiences and sense-making in a broader context providing data for analysing the relationship between Jordanians and Syrians in the context of the Syrian's position of guesthood.

The data gathered from the interviews have been transcribed to apply data coding. Data coding has been conducted by hand and has been entered into a coding table. Within the coded data three major themes were represented; (1.1) Everyday life (experience) in Amman (1.2) Everyday life (experiences) in Syria (1.2) Dreams for the future; (2) Guesthood and identity; and (3.1) Experiencing being a Syrian in Jordan/Amman (3.2) Syrian-Jordanian relationships. These three coding themes have led to the three result chapters of this report. Despite being categorised into three different codes the data is not solely reduced to one category but can be represented in different categories as all codes are explanatory for displacement experiences.

Reflection

For conduction research, it is important to understand the position the researchers has within the research (Clark 2006; Brown 2009). How do respondents perceive you and what consequences has this for the research? Researchers try to be as neutral and unbiased as possible, but being perceived in a particular way by research participants has a significant influence on the research. It must be acknowledged that the researcher itself is also an object of other people's research (Brown 2009). Researchers, their behaviour and how there are perceived by participants have a significant impact on the research, especially in regard to the bond of trust, hence "access to information […] and research opportunities"(Brown 2009; 213). It is impossible to "completely separate yourself from the field as researcher, […] as you are highly visible and information about you circulates in ways we cannot know" (Brown 2009). Therefore, it is important for researchers to be aware of their position in the research and reflect on the consequence their behaviour can have for the research. The researcher's position in regard to the respondents needs to be considered and reflected on, as "the researcher wears two hats – one of the friend and one of the researcher" (Clark 2006), and the researcher eventually leaves the field and close relationships have consequences for research (Brown 2009).

Reflexivity, "reflecting as reinterpretation and clarification and system-altering condition"(Schmidt 2007) is important in the field as the researcher is embedded in the research and reflecting can help discover different forms of seductions he might face, by shedding light on power relations in the interaction (Robben 1995). Taking the time to reflect on the researcher's position, the context in which interviews and conversations take place is important to gain information that is obscured when only focussing on answers and information given by participants. The importance of reflexivity when doing fieldwork, being involved and familiar with your informants may make you more likely to accept a particular imagined history or become incorporated into refugees' imagined realities without critically reflecting on it and taking in account the different meta-data that exist (Fujii 2009). Meta-data are all kind of information such as rumours, silences, denials within narratives given by respondents that give information about interior thoughts and feelings (Fujii 2009). Reflecting on behaviour, contexts and the inability to gaining access are all circumstances that can tell more about the situation than the initial behaviour, action of refusal itself. Reflecting on such situation will enrich the research by providing data that would not be uncovered. Writing down field notes has been a process used within fieldwork that allowed for reflexivity. This process one the one hand, was a practical means of data collection. On the other hand, it allowed for reflexivity as writing down field notes attention was paid to meta-data such as emotions, unease, power relations, and relationships.

Role of the researcher

The role of the researcher has been interpretative and descriptive of Syrians experiences of displacement. Therefore this research cannot provide an entirely objective representation of Syrian's reality of displacement. Within the research representing Syrian's displacement experiences as guests, the role of the researcher is one among the respondents and translator in constructing the social reality of displacement. As mentioned before reflexivity has been used to understand the position of the researcher and limit the consequences of the research.

Being a female researcher has had both positive and negative influences on the research. A positive aspect has been the high number of female respondents with whom it was relatively easy to get in contact with and to establish a bond of trust as being amongst women. The use of mainly female translators additionally contributed. However, for male respondents, a bond of trust was also established, and in-depth data was gathered.

Translation

Due to the inability of the researcher to speak Arabic and the inability of the majority of the respondents to speak English in several interviews a translator was needed. The majority of the interviews [12/20] have been conducted with the use of translators. Throughout the research, four different translators have been used to conduct the interviews. One of the translators has also been a respondent and played an important role as key actor in playing the role of translator and interpreter. She has been the translator of most of the conducted interviews. She has been the only translator of the four translators that has been paid for her service as a translator. All translators have taken their role very seriously and conducted the interviews professionally.

The use of translators in interviews results in the loss of information as answers do not get translated word for word, but rather a translated summarisation of the narrative is provided. In addition, control is lost when translators paraphrase the questions in different ways than intended. These are limitations to the use of translators that need to be accepted. Throughout the conduction of the interviews with translators, data has been gathered that contained valuable information. Therefore the translation and interpretation of translators have biased the gathered data but their interpretations and understandings of the context have also advantaged data. Therefore, translators and their interpretation have proven an important contribution by putting information into context.

The use of a translator has additional influences on the research as the translator is an extra actor that needs to be trusted by participants of the research. Moreover, the interpreter also needs to ensure, confidentiality and professionality and security of the data gathered throughout the research. Clark (2006) and Jacobsen and Landau (2003), express the potential of problems that can occur when using a translator when working in the field. Besides possible problems, translators can also function as a key informant. In field research in the Middle East translators could secure access to interviews and sometimes are more trusted than the researcher is (Clark 2006).

For this research, the translators have been important as they both functioned as interpreters and have been the ones with the contacts to establish interviews. An essential asset of the translators has been the already established bond of trust which benefitted the interviews. The fact that three of the four translators were either Syrian or Palestinians benefitted the bond of trust. Because topics of interviews concern the relationships between Syrians and Jordanians, being a Jordanian translator could have biased answers given by the respondent. However, the Jordanian translator was an appreciated teacher that had a strong connection with the respondents.

Trust

The consequences of participating in the research and risks that participation can bring need to be understood by participants of the research. Consent and permission are needed from respondents for

ethically gaining permission to use the information respondents give as they are aware of how their information will be used. Informed consent is the provision of sufficiently detailed information on the study, so they can make informed voluntary and rational decisions to participate (Hugman et al. 2011). Refugees are to be understood as equal and worthy of respect which results in the need for a genuine agreement to participate in the research (Hugman et al. 2011). Informed consent furthermore allows for the establishment of promises of confidentiality and professionality. By discussing how respondents would prefer the information given to be used allows for the confirmation of informed consent as the consequences and risks of the research in their preference of the use of information are discussed. Taking into account the sensitivity of the subject of displacement as consequence of the conflict in the country of origin is important Syrians are continuously confronted with their position of exclusion and marginalisation in everyday life. Honour and pride have been affected by the experience of displacement, people have been ripped from their 'normal' lives which make talking about these subjects hard and confidential. Therefore, secrecy and anonymity need to be assured. Trust has been established through informed consent, professionality and the establishment of confidentiality and anonymity.

Ethics: do no harm

The main research method that has been adhered to in this research is the do no harm principle. The potential risk that the research can pose to its participants is something that needs to be thoroughly examined and considered. Respondents of the research have to be updated on the risk the research can pose to their position. Security and confidentiality issues need to be considered as Syrians share intimate and sensitive information. Being identified as Syrian by participation in the research makes it important to consider the consequences of being associated with the research can have for their invisibility.

Do no harm, ensuring the interviewee understands the implication that participation in the research could have for their position has been paramount in this research. Doing no harm is hard to anticipate or control as there are unknown consequences of participating in the research and there may exist risks that are not unknown to the researcher and respondent. However, ensuring that potential risks that can be anticipated are reduced and prevented is essential. Informed consent, confidentiality, security and anonymity have been ensured for respondent in order to adhere to the do no harm principle. Anonymity and confidentiality are provided by this research by not recording the names of respondents but numbering the interviews. The names that are represented in this research are fictional. In addition, the data is handled with great confidentiality; besides the researcher, no other person has access to the data.

Snowball sampling provides insight into a network that may uncover sensitive information about political, religious or personal affiliations. The research used different links and networks to find respondents in order to provide anonymity and security, preventing respondents to be negatively connected to the research. This research provided Syrians in an excluded and marginalised position, people that have become invisible, a voice to express their experiences to such an extent that it is beneficial rather than risky and negatively affecting their position. Hence, the research allowed Syrians to express their experiences, reality of the situation, while being ensured, anonymity, confidentiality, and security.

During the interviews, in regard to sensitive topic, respondents have had no problem answering questions. Where speaking about sensitive topics can be harmful, as they remember depressing events. This has not been indicated as harmful by respondents. During one interview a respondent had to cry, being confronted

with her experiences of being unhappy with her marriage, pregnancy and with her life in Amman in general. The female translator, that knew the respondent quite well, was very helpful in comforting her. In addition, we directed the questions of the interview towards more positive topics in order to cause no more harm.

Validity

While being subject to similar basic psychological and physical needs Syrian have been expected to react in much the same way to challenges, at the same time, they are unique individuals. This research acknowledges the uniqueness of Syrian individuals and their social context that reduce the external validity of this research. The internal validity, the believability and trustworthy of the findings, of this research, is considered as high. Syrians themselves are decisive for the reflection of reality as they explained their displacement experiences themselves. Triangulation, the use of multiple data resources and the different backgrounds of respondents, add to the validity of the research. Guesthood and displacement experiences are concepts to which the findings of this research provide a better understanding.

Limitations

While attempting to reduce the scope, this research must admit to its limits. Displacement is an ongoing process in an ever-changing context. Although the research has tried to grasp Syrians displacement experience in depth, much has changed since the interviews have been conducted. Hence, this research has only been able to research Syrian's displacement experiences in a specific time frame, which is not fully representative of their displacement as their lives in displacement continue.

In addition, while the respondents in this research represented various socio-economic backgrounds, due to limited financial resources and time restrictions there has not been a large sample group. A larger sample group could have benefitted the external validity of the research.

The need for translators has been another limitation of the research. While the use of translators has been beneficial for this research by establishing contacts and bonds of trust between the researcher and respondents. The loss of data through translation must be acknowledged as a limit.

Context

Chapter 4

This chapter delineates the situation that Syrians find themselves in, upon arrival in Jordan. First, the historical context of Jordan's accommodation of refugees will be discussed. This historical context has been significant for the current attitudes and regulation towards the accommodation of refugees. Taking in large numbers of Palestinian refugees and other refugee groups over history has resulted in the perception of Jordan as a safe haven for refugees. However, while generously providing refugees in Jordan a protection space, Palestinians have been the only group that has been absorbed in society by being recognised as refugees and by obtaining Jordanian citizenship. Secondly, the urban nature of the refugee crisis will be discussed. As over 80% of the Syrians are living outside refugee camps among the Jordanian host community, their presence is significant within the host society causing competition between Syrians and Jordanians. Finally, the current legal context will be discussed. Jordan provides Syrian a protection space, by perceiving them as legal guests, in which the UNHCR operates. However, since Syrians are perceived as guests rather than refugees, their status refuses them the rights, protection, and assistance a refugee status would provide.

Historical context

The accommodation of refugees has played a huge part in Jordan's history and the formation of the country. Historically Jordan is known as a safe haven for refugees, hosting serval different people in exile varying from; Sudanese, Somalians, Muslim Circassians and Chechens, Christian Armenians, Palestinians, Iraqis and most recently Syrian fleeing the conflict in their country (El Abed 2014; Francis 2015; Mayer 2016; Stevens 2013). Among the Arabic countries in the region, Jordan has hosted the highest percentage of the overall population of Palestinian refugees from the wars in 1948 and 1967 and has received an excess of Iraqi refugees between 1991 and 2008 as result of the war in Iraq (El-Abed 2014). Jordan is widely acclaimed for its generosity of hosting Palestinians on its territory, providing them citizenship (Stevens 2013).

Pan-Arabism - the ideology that discerns all Arab people as belonging to a wider Arab nation that transcends the nation-state boundaries on account of a shared culture, language, heritage, and history - is commonly referred to explaining the hospitality of Jordan to host refugee groups (Mason 2011). The Hashemite Kingdom "has one of the highest refugee-to-total-population ratios in the world" (Mason 2011; 358). From the beginning of its state building, Jordan has been producing a national identity that is balanced between territorial and non-territorial, supra- and subnational identities (Nanes 2008). Combining the pre-existing, Arabic, Islamic, and tribal identities that together have built Jordan recognises the Jordan identity to include Jordanians of all origins (Nanes 2008). Hence, historically, Jordan is home to a large number of different tribes and cultures that together have built Jordan into the state that it has become.

The Palestinian case

"The Palestinian refugee experience has become the paradigmatic refugee experience in the Arab world" (Mason 2011; 358). Palestinians have been the first and only refugee group that have gained citizenship in Jordan and refugee status. "The Palestinian refugee experience is exceptional and has been dominant for how refugees are perceived and how policy is based" (El-Abed; 90). The Palestinian refugee crisis has been the first time Jordan has taken in such a populous number of refugees. The demographic threat, competition, and tensions Palestinians posed to the Jordanian society have been cited as reasons why future refugee accommodation has been considerably more restricting (Mason 2011).

Jordan extended the "greatest comparative level of political and social rights" to Palestinians of all the Arab countries (Mason; 358). By being granted citizenship Palestinians secured residency and access to the same rights Jordanians have. Additional to their citizenship, Palestinians have been granted refugee status which expressed their special position in society. "Being recognised as refugees allowed Palestinians to remain connected to Palestine as their homeland and it asserts a call for special assistance to be applied induced by poverty after the war" (El-Abed 2014; 90). The special status of being refugees next to their citizenship allowed Palestinians to be absorbed within Jordanian society thus also expresses special needs and adherence to Palestine.

The influx of Palestinian refugees in Jordan has been problematic as it caused its population to double. The populous number of Palestinian refugees in regard to the Jordanian population has led them to be perceived as a demographic threat. The accommodation of Palestinians as citizens had caused an extreme increase in competition for Jordan's already limited resources (El-Abed 2014). Palestinians have been perceived to pose a demographic threat as around 40% of the Jordanian population is of Palestinian origin (Mason 2011). Because of this demographic threat and consequently the competition for resources they posed have been mentioned as the reason why Palestinians have been the only refugee group that has been provided citizenship and therefore access to rights, assistance and protection by the Jordanian state (Mason 2011; El-Abed 2014). Furthermore, a fear of 'Palestinianisation' of Jordan has generated tensions between the Jordanian and Palestinian communities and further complicated the place and space Palestinians take within society (Mason 2011). Coming from war had caused Palestinians to be in significant poverty, the label refugee, therefore, also has been an indication of poverty. The majority of Palestinians have been and are still living in or near Palestinian refugee camps. Therefore, secluded in camps and specific communities, Palestinians remain marginalised from the 'real Jordanians'. Especially in earlier years, Palestinians have been less represented in parliament and have experienced lower employment and education levels than Jordanians.

Hence, the word refugee has become equivalent to the particular position Palestinians take within Jordan society as citizens and their special needs. Being the first and only group to obtain refugee status, the word refugee has become a representative of the Palestinian refugee experience, rather than that it represents the act of flight and displacement experienced by a particular group. Even with different influxes of refugee groups, Palestinians are the only group that has been referred to as and are still referred to as refugees. In later refugee crises, refugees have been referred to as guests rather than as refugees. As guests, these other Arab groups that sought refuge in Jordan did not obtain citizenship nor refugee status.

The Iraqi case

After the invasion of Iraq in 2003, Jordan experienced its second excessive influx, this time of Iraqi refugees. Since Jordan refuses to regard any group other than Palestinians as refugees, Iraqis have been regarded as guests rather than refugees. The experiences of hosting Iraqi refugees have been of importance to set the scene for Syrians, as well. In regard to the Palestinian case where the Palestinians both received citizenship and a special refugee status, the Iraqis received neither of them. To avoid the demographic threat Palestinians posed to the Jordanian nationality, Jordan chose to perceive the Iraqis as guests to avoid providing them with permanent residence and owing them the rights and protection Jordanian citizens are provided with. The influx of Iraqis has been different since the majority of Iraqis have been educated middle-

class Iraqis generating a largely urban refugee population. The supposed socio-economic and security threats Iraqis posed to Jordan's society have been forming general perceptions of the guests making life in Amman more expensive and have contributed to general understandings of migration causing serious security threats.

Iraqis have been welcomed to Jordan through pan-Arab open border policy being permitted to enter as temporary visitors (Stevens 2013). For the Iraqi case, the refugee status has been precarious as the Iraqi conflict did not put all Iraqis in immediate danger. Therefore, as most Iraqi refugees were educated middle-class citizens, Iraqis have generally been perceived as wealthy socio-economic migrants rather than refugees, (Stevens 2013; El-Abed 2014). Iraqis as guests have been offered hospitality but they were not given asylum or citizenship by Jordan. Where most Palestinians have found shelter in refugee camps, the vast majority of Iraqis have been living in the Amman governorate. The Iraqi case was the first time Jordan was introduced to a large urban refugee population of guests, present among the host society.

The association of Palestinian with the word refugee, and hence with permanent residency has distorted the accommodation of Iraqis (Stevens 2013). As guests, with a visitor's visa, Iraqis were allowed to stay for a limited period of time, only. This has been indicated to reinforce the temporariness of Iraqis stay to protect the Jordanian identity already heavily shaped by the Palestinian presence (Stevens 2013). Despite the lack of acknowledgement of Iraqis as refugees, but rather as guests, Jordan has been true to its territorial protection providing a space of sanctuary for Iraqis in Jordan (Stevens 2013). Jordan has renounced the obligation to protect Iraqis by referring to them as guests. However, Jordan has allowed the UNHCR and other (I)NGOs to meet the needs of Iraqis in Jordan assisting rights and protection.

In regard to Iraqi's temporariness, they have been perceived as overstaying their visit, becoming a politically and socially problematic demography. Unable to apply for formal asylum in Jordan, many of the Iraqis have sought asylum in a third country in the west. Officially, those who stayed in Jordan have been guests who have overstayed their entry visas (El-Abed 2014). It has been a commonly held view by Jordanians that Iraqis made life in Jordan more expensive, especially in regard to housing costs. Since it has been mainly educated middle-class Iraqis that were able to come to Jordan many Iraqis were able to find private sector jobs at universities or professional private firms, even though "there is no right to work associated with the visitors status" (Stevens 2013; 15). The apparent wealth of Iraqis, "nouveau riches circulating the streets of Amman with their extravagantly expensive cars", has created tensions between Iraqis and Jordanians (El-Abed 2014; 93). The other, low-middle class, displaced Iraqis, sought shelter in the cheaper areas in east Amman and Zarqa. They have remained highly invisible, supported by local NGOs and the UNHCR (El-Abed 2014). This group has taken a very "ambiguous and precarious socio-legal position", that "severely limits their access to services, security, long-term protection and wider social and spatial mobility" (Mason 2011; 354).

The influx of Iraqis has introduced Jordan to the security threat of migration. "The Jordanian public has composed a shared imagining of the Iraqi presence in Jordan assembled out of the representations offered by local media and government officials in which the sectarian conflict in Iraq and the fear of a Shi'ite expansion figure prominently" (Mason 2011; 366). This fear intensified after the bombings of three hotels in Amman carried out by Iraqi nationals, claimed by Al Qaeda (Mason 2011). These bombings caused

outrage among Jordanians and lead to advanced visa requirements and restricted Iraqi's access to attend public schools, and work and investments of Iraqis in private sectors.

Service-oriented economy

Jordan's hosting of different refugee groups has been designated as a financial solution for the resource pour country (Stevens 2013; El-Abed 2014; Francis 2015). "As a resource-poor country, Jordan relies on foreign assistance for economic stability" (Francis 2015). The burden different refugee groups have posed to the country has been proclaimed by Jordan to obtain financial assistance from the international community to share the burden. Where there is a narrative of refugees as a burden to the country is paramount in Jordan, historically refugee influxes have been opportunities for Jordan to capitalise on international support and they have significantly provided job opportunities for Jordanians.

The "development discourse" analyses the state's development priorities and proposes that forced migration helps to justify the flow of financial resources from the international community in service of Jordan's development agenda" (El-Abed 2014; 82). It has come to the point that Jordan's rentier economy is highly dependent on money generated by human mobility; money generated by remittances of Jordanians and aid money contributed by the international community for the support of accommodating refugees.

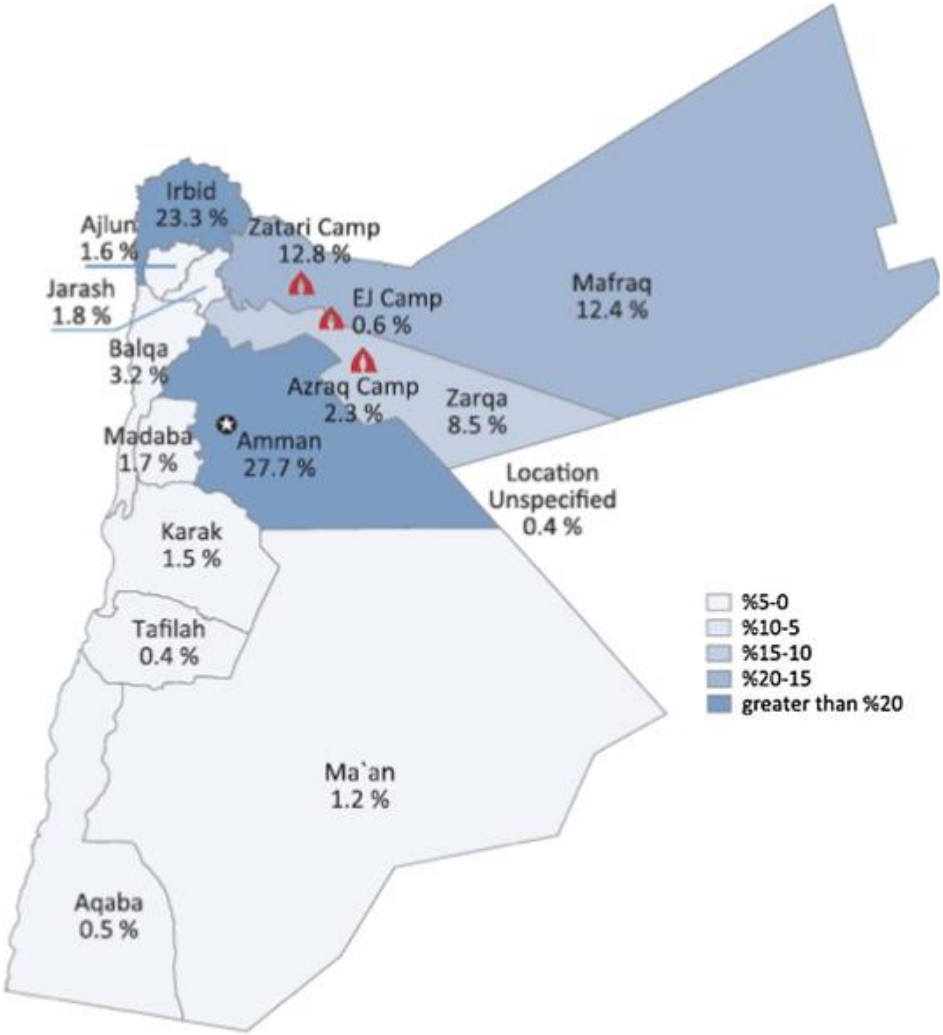
Palestinian's refugee status alongside their citizenship has allowed the country to received aid money from the international community assisting their accommodation of Palestinians. This has resulted Jordan's economy to change "from agriculture-oriented to service-oriented" (El-Abed 2014; 90). The high influx doubling Jordan's population made the country extremely dependent on the financial support from the international community for economic development needed for the absorption of the influx of Palestinians. Financial support has been allocated to both UNWRA and the Jordanian government for accommodating Palestinians and providing services. A significant amount of the donations have been invested in "building the economic development to assist in the big influx of human capital in the big cities" (El-Abed 2014). Thus, aid support was invested in Jordan as country enabling the country to develop as money was invested in infrastructure and other development projects and brought stability to its economy. Because the Palestinian refugee case is ongoing Jordan continues to receive financial support to accommodate Palestinians, proving Jordan with a relatively stable financial income.

In general, refugees have caused "the extension of public and social services straining government's expenditures, increased demand causing prices to rise especially in regard to housing, and the competition over jobs in the informal sector"(Francis 2015; 11). Competition for resources has created tensions between refugee groups and the Jordanian host society. At the same time, the influx of Syrians has been beneficial in bolstering consumer demand, increased foreign aid and has created jobs (Francis 2015). Towards the arrival of Syrians, Jordan was experiencing an economic decline, caused by both "ripples from the global financial crisis of 2008" and "the Arab uprising" (Francis 2015; 11). The expansion of foreign financial assistance brought by the influx of Syrians has increased public investment in Jordan. These investments are perceived to have been vital for Jordan to remain stable among the turmoil in the region (Francis 2015). So, while refugees are perceived to be a great burden to Jordan, they also have provided the country with the financial resources for development and stability.

In short, the Palestinian refugee case has been distinctive, as it was the first large influx of refugee and the first and last group to be granted both citizenship and refugee status. The demographic threat they posed and additional association of refugee as Palestinian have been perceived to be the reason Jordan refrained from providing citizenship to other refugee groups. For the Iraqi case, their status has been complicated by socio-economic reason to come to Jordan. Experiences of demographic and security threats posed by refugees are cited to have caused Jordan's current refugee policy to be highly restrictive (Mason 2011; Stevens 2013; El-Abed 2014). While through notions of hospitality and generosity Jordan has provided its country as protection space for refugees, the country is perceived to take as little responsibility as possible to protect and assist them.

Geographic / demographic context

Exact numbers of the amount of Syrians residing in Jordan are unavailable and existing numbers are oblivious due to non-registration and competing numbers by different authorities and organisations. Official numbers that are available estimate the amount of Syrians to be over 1.4 million residing in Jordan, of which over 600.000 Syrians have registered as refugees with the UNHCR (Jordan Response Platform 2016).



(Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016)

Of all Syrians seeking refuge in Jordan over 80 percent is living in urban areas, settling among host-communities (Francis 2015; Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016; Turner 2015). Most Syrians are residing in the governorate of Amman (27.9%), second is the governorate of Irbid in the north close to the border with Syria (22.8%) and third the governorate of Mafraq (12.1%) (Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016). Leaving the official UNHCR refugee camps Zataari/Zatari camp (12.9%) most significant, El camp (1.0%) and Azraq camp (2.3%) with only around 17 percent of all Syrians residing in Jordan (Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016). It is equally remarkable that such a large amount of all Syrians is residing in the governorates among Jordanian citizens rather than that they are sheltered within refugee camps. Being urban refugees from Syrian middle-class Syrians resemble the Iraqi case.

The choice made by Syrians to claim refugee status, by registering with the UNHCR, and the place of residence has a significant influence on the aid they receive, rights they can claim and restrictions and opportunities they encounter regarding the freedom of movement, residency, employment, public services, education, and health. Being registered with the UNHCR allow Syrians access to special health centres, educational centres, resettlement, and legal protection in case of refoulement. Syrians that are registered refugees and reside in camps are assisted in shelter, food, healthcare and education. At the same time, in the camps, there is hardly any possibility for Syrians to work (if there are already able to get a work permit), and they are not allowed to leave the camp. Syrians have chosen to reside in urban areas because of; the social connections they have there; the freedom and independence they experience in urban areas, and opportunities and resources urban areas provide. Refugees that reside in urban areas face a myriad of problems that are not generally encountered by refugee residing in refugee camps (Jacobsen 2006). In general, urban refugees do not have access to official assistance that is available in refugee camps, furthermore, existing assistance is meagre and needs special permission for performance in urban settings and is mainly focussed on the self-reliance of the urban refugees (Jacobsen 2006).

Over a quarter of all Syrians are residing in the Governorate Amman. Contrary to Syrians who are residing in the refugee camps, these Syrians are living among the Jordanian population. Syrian's settlement among the host-communities has resulted in a significant presence of the refugee crisis in society, and in the lives of Jordanian citizens. The presence of Syrians in the Jordanian host communities has caused increased strains as competition for resources and services has been severe. Consequently, health centres and schools have become overcrowded; there is severe competition for housing and jobs, and prices for consumer goods and rents have increased (Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016). It is estimated that over 50% of male and 6% of female Syrians are economically active (Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016). Already existing difficult economic conditions and increased competition caused by Syrians are perceived to "lowering wage levels, and exacerbating already poor working conditions for low paid jobs" (Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis 2016; 16). This, in turn, is perceived to have resulted in resentment and alienation between Jordanian and Syrians.

Legally, Syrians have not required a visa to enter Jordan nor do they need a residency permit to remain in Jordan (UNHCR 2013). Officially Jordan does not recognise Syrians as refugees but refers to them in terms of guests. Since Syrians are not perceived as refugees by the Jordanian government, they officially fall under

the protection of the UNHCR. Upon arrival, Syrians need to get a security card which allows them to be in Jordan legally. However, Syrians are not allowed to seek asylum in Jordan.

Legal context

This part of the chapter delineates the legal context that Syrians find themselves in arriving in Jordan. As mentioned before Jordan has a long history of accommodating different refugee groups. However, it lacks clear policy and legal framework for the treatment of refugees. In addition, there is ambiguity about Syrians status as the Jordanian government and the UNHCR (as other (I)NGOs) both use a different status. Where the Jordanian imposes a guest status, the UNHCR acknowledges Syrians as refugees, which has a significant effect on the way in which Syrians are treated – the rights, protection, and assistance they obtain from both authorities.

1951 Convention and the MOU

The 1951 Convention on the status of refugees and the MOU are two important agreements to understand Jordan's policies towards refugees. The 1951 convention on the status of refugees is the key legal document that forms the basis of the UNHCR that "defines the term 'refugee' and outlines the rights of the displaced, as well as the legal obligations of States to protect them" (UNHCR 2016). Being a non-signatory of the 1951 Convention renounces Jordan from the legal obligation to protect refugees. Jordan has a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the UNHCR, which sets the parameters for cooperation between the UNHCR and the Jordanian government relating the issue of refugees and asylum-seekers. Therefore, the non-signatory of the 1951 Convention allows Jordan to refer to Syrians as guests and does not obligate them to provide protection. While through the MOU Jordan welcomes Syrians providing the protection space of Jordan as a country where the UNHCR is responsible for providing rights, protection, and assistance.

Jordan's non-signatory of the 1951 convention is often mentioned in academic literature as contradictory to Jordan's authentic hospitality and generosity of hosting refugee groups (Mayer 2016; Riach and James 2016; Mayer and Doyle 2015; El-Abed 2014; Francis 2015; Stevens 2013). In addition, the fact that Jordan does not have any domestic law regarding refugees and asylum-seekers - but these people fall under the law on the residence of foreigners, where any non-Jordanian citizen is considered foreigner making no distinction between refugees and non-refugees - is mentioned as intention to renounce any responsibility regarding the protection of refugees (Mayer 2016; Riach and James 2016; Mayer and Doyle 2015; El-Abed 2014; Francis 2015; Stevens 2013). At the same time, this goes against Pan-Arabic ideologies that perceive Arabs to be equal and not foreigners, as it goes against the image of Jordan as generous host providing hospitality and generosity to those in need.

The MOU is the mandate that allows the UNHCR to operate within Jordan as protection space and sets the conditions under which the UNHCR can work in regard to issues of refugees and asylum-seekers. "Drafted in 1998, the MOU outlines the major principles of international protection, including the definition of a refugee and the principle of non-refoulement. The Memorandum was specifically drafted to allow the UNHCR to cope with Iraqis that were settling in and transiting through Jordan due to repression and violence at home. It specifies that asylum-seekers may stay in Jordan pending refugee status determination (RSD) and allows mandate refugees a maximum stay of six months after recognition, during which a durable solution must be found" (UNHCR 2013; 1). The MOU sets a definition for the refugee by acknowledging the

definition provided by the 1951 Convention. However, since the implementation of the MOU, both Iraqi and Syrian refugees have not been acknowledged by Jordan as such. Therefore the MOU primarily functions to allow the UNHCR to operate rather than it delineates national policy regarding refugee by Jordan. Syrians in Jordan do not bear an official refugee status and therefore, in regard to non-refoulement, Syrians have faced the risk of forced return when they did not have the rights documents or for reasons of security threats (UNHCR 2013).

National legislation

The Jordanian government provides the protection space, by issuing security cards to Syrians and through conduction of the response plan responding to the effects of the Syrian Crisis. The legality of Syrians being in Jordan is secured through government-issued security cards, "documentation that enables refugees to prove their legal status, identity, and family relationships in Jordan" (Norwegian Refugee Council 2016). Issued by the Jordanian government, Syrians have the official status of Syrians in Jordan, hence Syrian guests in Jordan. All Syrians need is to be registered with the Government of Jordan, where they receive a security card that allows them to be in Jordan and move freely around. In addition to the facilitation of free movement, the security card entitles Syrians to services such as healthcare and education. However, in practice, an additional asylum-seekers document provided by the UNHCR is necessary to access these services since they are the one providing and supporting these services.

While Jordan does not have clear domestic laws and policy regarding refugees, there is a response plan to the Syrian crisis. Their situation analysis of the crisis is very peculiar regarding Syrians status; "Jordan is host to about 1.4 million Syrians, including around 630,000 refugees"(Jordan Response Platform 2016). The response plan sets out a "programme of high priority interventions to enable the Kingdom of Jordan to respond to the effects of the Syria crisis without jeopardizing its development trajectory", focussing on (Jordan Response Plan 2016; 8). Where refugees are those registered with the UNHCR, the others are those Syrian guests. While a definition of a refugee is included in the MOU, Jordan avoids using the terminology of Syrians as refugees but rather refers to them as guests.

International legislation: providing the framework for the UNHCR to work in

Where the Jordanian government refrains from acknowledging Syrians as refugees, the UNHCR does and provides them with an official asylum-seekers status. Established in the MOU, the UNHCR is the leading (international) authority responsible for the protection of Syrians in Jordan. "UNHCR has been reinforcing the capacity of Jordanian institutions to handle the large numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers by providing resources directly to refugees, actively pursuing resettlement of refugees, and in limited cases seeking voluntary repatriation of refugees"(UNHCR 2013; 1). Their overall objective in Jordan is to expand the protection space by; securing "that persons of concern have access to services" such as healthcare and education; "provid[ing] safety nets in the form of cash for the most vulnerable" and; "seeking durable solutions by assisting refugees through vocational training and other activities"(UNHCR 2013; 1). Syrians who register with the UNHCR are provided with an asylum-seekers document that provides them with the protection of the UNHCR.

The UNHCR at the same time has aimed at reinforcing the capacity of the Jordanian government in handling the influx of Syrians by providing assistance and services directly to Syrian refugees. At the beginning of the

conflict, a lot of donations have been generated to assist in the protection of refugees by the UNHCR which allowed the generous provision of healthcare, food coupons, educational, livelihood and basic needs assistance to those who register as Syrian refugees. Being registered with the UNHCR allows Syrians to obtain monthly food coupons of 10 JD that provide them with food security. Healthcare services are provided free of charge to Syrians in urban areas. Financial assistance is provided to very vulnerable families for financial security. Education is supported by the UNHCR that allow Syrian children to go to school. Since many children are behind and education provided by the government is not deficient, informal education is provided. Training and other activities are provided to Syrians to provide skills and opportunities in Jordan but also in regard to return to Syria. Since asylum is not granted by the Jordanian government, the only option Syrians have is to be resettled by the UNHCR to a third country.

Therefore, where the Jordanian government provides its country as protection space the UNHCR is leading authority in providing the protection, assistance, and services to those who have registered as a refugee. In regard to nation-state system ideologies, the UNHCR acts as a surrogate state where Jordanian only provides rights, protection, and assistance to it citizens. By refraining from perceiving Syrians as refugees, Jordan avoids any legal obligation to provide rights and protection. Being guests in Jordan, therefore, entails the legality to reside in the country, and the hypothetical entitlements to social rights, such as education and healthcare. The MOU has provided the UNHCR with the authority to provide Syrians with rights, protection and assistance. While by refraining from the responsibility of providing rights, protection and assistance Jordan, shields itself from the negative consequences of absorbing Syrians within its society.

Conclusion

The Palestinian case and Iraqi case have been eminent for the way in which Syrians are perceived and the conditions under which they can stay in Jordan. While the Syrian case has resemblance with the Palestinian case and Iraqi case, the context of their displacement is different. Where Palestinians have gained citizenship and are the only group to have an additional refugee status it seems they have been completely integrated into society. At the same time, Palestinians are still a marginalised group in society secluded in camps with lower employment and education statuses. The Iraqi case has more resemblance to the Syrian case regarding status as both Iraqis and Syrians have been perceived as guests within society. Like the Iraqis, the majority of Syrians are living outside camps in urban settings and face restrictions regarding access to rights, protection and assistance. However, Syrians have been able to come to Jordan without the need for visas or residency and have been provided security cards that legalise their being in Jordan. Moreover, the influx of Syrians is higher and more intensive than was in the Iraqis case. In addition, there is more presence and cooperation of Jordan with the UNHCR who functions as authority to provide rights, assistance and protection to those that register as a refugee. The Syrian case is thus unique as Syrians are legally allowed to be in Jordan but have a guest status rather than refugee status. Which has a significant impact on Syrian's position in society as they have no citizen's rights but are legal guests.

Life in Amman

Chapter 5

Fear and uncertainty have been the incentives for Syrians that made them decide to flee. This chapter sets out the results of a three-month fieldwork period in order to analyse the way in which displacement, as guests, is experienced in the everyday life of Syrians that fled to Amman. Central to these displacement experiences are radical and protracted uncertainty that allow for the understanding of differences in displacement experiences in early and protracted exile. In addition, this chapter focusses on the hope Syrians have for the future, that allows Syrian's to perceive their displacement as a temporality that eventually will end in return or resettlement. The next section will introduce the approaches and motivations taken that enabled Syrians to come to Amman. After which radical and protracted uncertainty will be discussed by focussing on how Syrians navigate these uncertainties. The chapter ends by exploring Syrian's hope for the future, to understand how they position displacement as temporal condition and setting within their lives.

Coming to Amman

> *"I came to Jordan in October 2012. I came to Jordan by car, by taxi. We travelled with my two sisters and my sister's husband. We chose Jordan because we had three options, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey; they are the closest to Syria. Turkey is a totally different country, with a different language. So, it was out of the question. Lebanon, we do not have any experiences there, we don't know people there, we do not have any relatives there. In Jordan, we have relatives. My aunt is married here. My father has relatives living here. They also encouraged us to come here. They asked us to come, offering us a house and helping to find jobs. This has been kind of encouraging for my family to come here."*
> *(Nour, interview 14)*

This story refers to the choice Syrians have made to come to Jordan, which started their life in exile. Respondents explained they had chosen to come to Jordan because Jordan was the safest and closest option, but most importantly because they had social connections in Jordan that could possibly help them. The majority of the respondents [18 respondents out of 20] explained they had chosen to come to Jordan because they had social relations there. Jordan was not the only possibility; Lebanon and Turkey have been indicated as options but respondents did not go because they lacked social relationships there. Moreover, these countries have not been chosen because they were perceived to be too expensive, affected by the Arab spring [Lebanon], or because of the different language that is spoken [Turkey].

According to Sharia law [Islamic law], females are not allowed to travel by themselves. Therefore all female respondents have travelled to Jordan accompanied. Most respondents have been travelling in groups of mother and child(ren), sisters accompanied by a brother or husband, or father and mother travelling with children. Among all the respondents only one male travelled alone to Amman, where he joined his brother who was already there.

The quote, that started this section, refers to the story of Nour, who came to Amman with her family. The support provided by their social relations have allowed them to come to Amman. Nour's case stands out because her aunt and uncle had an extra house that they accommodated for them. The strong social relationship [social capital] between the two families and the fact that there was a house available [physical capital] has helped them considerably. In most cases [13 out of 17], social relations could only provide

shelter for a limited period of 10 days to a month. After which they had to find a place for their own. This will be further discussed in the next sections.

Those who fled Syria, with social relations in Jordan, have been able to find shelter through notions of hospitality. Bedouin, Arabic and Islamic ethics embedded with notions of hospitality are paramount in Jordanian traditions (Mason 2011; El-Abed 2014). These notions of hospitality require these people to provide another with hospitality and generosity especially when the other is worse off than you are. In a conversation, a Jordanian male explained that, within his tribe, when someone comes to you for help, you should always provide help (Fieldnotes, 21-4-2017). Furthermore, he explained that you would shelter him or her in your house, and the first 7 to 10 days you will not ask them about their problems out of hospitality.

> *"We walked from Syria to the border, from Daraa [a city in the south of Syria, close to the border]. The Jordanian government welcomed us and then immediately send us to Zataari camp. The Jordanian government moved all the refugees that came in, to Zataari camp. There were people with us that had injuries; they took them to the hospitals."*
> *(Saeed, interview 8)*

For the three other respondents that did not have any relationships that could shelter them, their motivation for coming to Jordan was the fact that Jordan was closest and they had heard stories about how the Jordanian government was helping Syrians. For the specific case of the male in the quote, Saeed [8] explained that when the regime killed his brother, he felt he had no other option than to flee. Together with his wife and four children, they walked all the way to the Syrian-Jordanian border. Since, they had no social relations, or place to go to, the Jordanian authorities sent them to Zaatari refugee camp. Zataari refugee camp is the biggest camp, situated in the north close to the border, and is operated by the UNHCR. Saeed explained that the life in Zataari is very different from life in Amman because the camp is a closed and controlled space. Refugees cannot move freely in and out of the camp and are dependent on the aid and assistance provided by the UNHCR. At the beginning of the refugee crisis, it was possible to leave the refugee camp if you had someone in Jordan who would stand as a guarantee. Two of the three respondents found people outside the camp that could stand as a guarantee. For them, social relations that had also fled to Jordan after they did, stood as a guarantee. For Saeed, two of his children had serious lung problems. The dusty environment of the camp caused their lung problems to become worse. This allowed them to leave the camp and find a place with better environmental conditions somewhere else, even though he had no one to stand as a guarantee.

In one specific case, two female respondents, mother Nasira [12] and daughter Naima [10], did not intentionally come to Amman to seek refuge. They had planned a trip to Amman, to meet with their daughter and sister, who was living in Austria. They chose to meet in Amman because that was most convenient for all. Initially, they planned to spend 3 months in Jordan, after which they would return to Syria. Naima needed to go back to Syria to finish her studies in Damascus. However, during the visit, the situation in Syria had become so severe that they decided to stay in Jordan instead of going back. Since many of Naima's Arabic students she taught in Damascus, had gone to Amman, they decided to stay there to be able to continue working. In addition, they indicated they had social relations in Amman that they could ask for help. Staying in Amman provided more opportunities and ensured certainty that going back to Syria could not.

Respondents arrived in Jordan by foot [1], car/busses [16], or, airplane [3]. None of the respondents indicated they experienced any difficulties crossing the border since they travelled before the border closed. At the beginning of 2014, the Jordanian government closed the border which has made it extremely difficult for Syrians to come to Jordan. In mid—2013 the Jordanian government had already closed the informal border crossing in the west of the country, to all but war-wounded Syrians (Human Rights Watch 2015). Jaber/Nassir official border remained open to those the Jordanian government ruled were not asylum seekers. At the beginning of 2014, the Jordanian government also closed the eastern border crossing. In addition, in May 2014 the Jordanian government barred entry at Queen Alia International Airport in Amman to Syrians without Jordanian residency permits or special exceptions. The closing of the borders was supposedly carried out because of security measures and to control the influx of Syrians. Before the border closed Syrians were free to enter Jordan. Currently, all Syrians that enter Jordan are sent to one of the refugee camps which are closed and controlled spaces.

Hence, making the choice to come to Jordan consisted of a certain amount of agency. This is especially the case because respondents have been using their social and financial capital to facilitate their flight to Amman. By refusing to live in conflict, Syrians have taken manners into their own hands. The period in which respondents travelled has been paramount for their flight. As the period of their journey has been before the borders closed respondents have been able to enter Jordan effortlessly. Notions of hospitality embedded within Jordanian and Arabic traditions allowed Syrians to be sheltered by social relations upon arrival in Jordan.

Radical uncertainty

> *"[The] most difficult part about coming and living here, was in the beginning when I felt I lost everything and that you have to begin your life from zero again, and you do not know from where to begin. You can't find anyone to help you and have to depend on yourself. You do not know anybody, you do not have a job, you don't have a house. The feeling that you can't go back to your house anymore. The feeling of being a stranger and being alone."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

This section of the chapter will discuss how radical uncertainty is experienced by Syrians and the ways in which Syrians have navigated these radical uncertainties. The story above refers to the radical uncertainty Syrians experienced during the first period of their exile in Amman. Fleeing to Amman, despite existing to some extent of a planned decision, has been experienced as radical change. Change has been radical in the sense that respondents explained to find themselves in completely different environments, suddenly pulled out of their lives back in Syria. In Syria, people knew their way around, they had a place to call home, had people around them they knew, whereas in Amman everything was new and unknown.

> *"My friends, I had a beautiful amazing bunch of friends back home. I missed them so much. I was just pulled out of this to being nowhere, nowhere."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

Both quotes, Farah [3] and Sada [7], indicate the radical change they experienced by coming to Amman. For both women and the other respondents, coming to Amman meant they were abruptly taken out of their

normal lives and put into an environment where everything was new. At this point, they did not know where to begin their lives in Amman.

Radical uncertainty as acute lack of knowledge and extreme unpredictability of the future

> *"We don't know the area, we don't know anything. […] We were just walking and discovering things." (Farah, interview 3)*

Upon arrival in Amman, Syrians lack knowledge about everyday life situations and experience extreme unpredictability of the future. Lack of knowledge has been expressed through notions of being in a new unknown place and having to start over from zero. Accordingly, the extreme unpredictability of the future has been experienced through; lack of information; speed in which change occurs; and lack of control people experience over their lives.

Lack of knowledge has been expressed by respondents through notions of being unknown in Amman and feelings of being lost. Respondents indicated they did not know Amman or its people. Farah [3] explained how she experienced life in Amman, as being on a completely different continent rather than a neighbouring country. This expression demonstrates that there has been an assumption that life in Amman would be similar to people's lives in Syria. However, as indicated by Farah and other respondents, coming to Amman, they lacked knowledge about everyday life situations. Respondents explained they did not know how and from where to take taxis to go to places. Since taxis are the primary resource for mobility for those who do not own a car, it has been argued as important to know how to take taxis. Knowledge about taking taxis has been even more difficult since in Amman only recently they started to use street names. When taking a taxi, a landmark is indicated to direct the place of destination. Being unknown to these landmarks makes it very difficult to get to your destination. In addition; where to do groceries; where to register for schooling; how to find apartments or jobs, have been defined as difficult issues people lacked knowledge about. Like Farah, Malik [5], 17-years-old, explained how for him, the first days he felt very lost. They did not know the roads and directions so they would stay at home. Going out, they misdirect the directions for once or twice but explored their way until they would find it.

> *"When we left the house back in Syria, we left it with all the couches and mattresses in it. We had these nice things in the house. But when we came here there was nothing. I was crying, sitting down. What should I do? How can I cook for my children, there [is] no money? It was very difficult in the beginning." (Adira, interview 9)*

In addition to being in a new place, lack of knowledge was expressed through notions of having to start from zero. The loss of material and immaterial possessions has caused Syrians to lose resources that used to provide them with the knowledge to navigate everyday uncertainties. This loss complicates the continuation of Syrian's everyday life in Amman. Adira [9] and the other respondents came to Amman with only a few belongings. By becoming guests in Amman, Syrians have lost everything they used to have. This has been material as in personal possessions such as houses and cars, but also immaterial such as jobs and social networks. Zahra [19] explained how in Syria she was happy and did not worry because she could depend on her family. Family and other social networks that people depended on in Syria provided them with knowledge. Zahra mentioned that by coming to Amman, she had more things to worry about. In Amman,

she worries about her children, their education, but also health problems. These issues had been addresses in Syria because there she had the knowledge and social networks that provided her with solutions.

> *"In the beginning, I tried my best to go back to Syria like that was my plan. [Because I had] nothing, I had zero vision of what I would do in Jordan. It was a dark period of my life."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

The extreme unpredictability experienced by Syrians originates from the interrelation of; lack of information; speed in which change occurs; and lack of control people deem to have over their lives. The lack of knowledge experienced by Syrians, as described above, causes them to experience extreme unpredictability of the future. Sada [7] and other respondents indicated genuinely considering going back to war-torn Syria because they did not know how to continue their lives in Amman. Respondents explained how daily routines, of having education, working jobs, and having friends and family around were missed in the first period of exile in Amman. These daily routines provided people with an everyday life structure that envisioned them with a future. This structure needs to be acknowledged as a form of resource from which people gained their knowledge. Since people lacked these structures in this first period of exile they experienced extreme unpredictability of the future. This caused them to long for stability and normality of life in Syria before the war. And in turn, made people reconsider going back to Syria. They, however, chose not to do so, because the risk of going back to Syria was too high.

> *"It [the future] is something that I cannot control anymore. Before the war, I always had plans for the future. I [had] many plans in my head, many things to achieve. But, now I don't find these things anymore"*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

Since people lacked everyday life structures, they felt they had no control over their lives or their futures. The lack of control experienced by people originates both from lack of knowledge and the radicality in which change has occurred. Farah [3] explained it gave her a sad feeling not to have any base from which you can establish something, or make plans for the future. She explained that she thought this might be because everything they planned and dreamt the things they achieved in Syria. They lost it all.

> *"[In the begin] I struggled a lot, and everything in me was not accepting it. Just every day going back, sitting alone, cry a lot. Wanting to go back, not wanting to have this life. It was not my decision to come here; I do not want to do this. I refused all of this. But I had no other option than to accept it. And to, like every day, encourage myself; I can do it, life will be better, life will be easier, I just have to be patient."*
>
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

Radical uncertainty has caused Syrians wellbeing in the first period of exile to be low, as feelings of uncertainty and pain of loss cause psychological stress. Among respondents, it was highlighted that during the first period of exile they experienced a lot of stress and were overwhelmed by emotions. In addition, the expressed feelings of being lost in Amman infringe Syrian's wellbeing. Navigating uncertainty by adaptation to the new situation, keeping strong and finding routine have been strategies to establish better levels of wellbeing for Syrians. The next section will demonstrate how practical examples have enabled Syrians to navigate radical uncertainty by finding adaptation strategies that navigate radical uncertainty.

The support of social relations is a second strategy to increase wellbeing which is part of navigating protracted uncertainty and will be discussed later in the chapter.

Navigating radical uncertainty

> *"The first thing was to find an apartment. We found one, after spending 10 days with the people we knew. We found a very simple apartment in Weibdeh [a neighbourhood in west Amman]. So, we lived there, but the apartment was very expensive. We could afford it by selling some gold and jewellery. So, we could pay rent and everyday life expenses. […] The house was very simple. The house was not suited for a family [of 5 people]. There was 1 room, a very small kitchen from there to here [the size of the 1,5 by 1,5 meter], the bathroom was also very small and in a bad condition. But we had to move from the family, we had nothing else. When we came to Amman it was the time that all the Syrians started to come to here. So, all the apartments were very expensive, most landlords needed the rent for the apartments to be paid in advance, 6months to 1 year. And we don't have that money. The good apartments, for those, the rent would be 1000JD and they want the rent in advance, but we don't have that money, so we had to accept that [very simple] apartment."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

During the first days of exile, finding a place has been a major coping strategy to navigate radical uncertainty. People's apartments, the securing of shelter feeds people's basic needs. The securing of a home represents physical domesticity, but also connect people to the specific neighbourhood they live in. Therefore, while shelter is a physiological basic need it also feeds Syrians psychological needs as it makes them belong to a certain place and neighbourhood. Having a home legitimises people's stay. As guests, Syrians have been able to rent places themselves, whereby paying they legitimise their being in that particular place. Having a place for their own allowed Syrians to have a base from which they can stabilise their everyday life in Amman.

Finding a place has been indicated as the main objective during the first days of exile. For this research, only 4 out of the 17 respondents had places arranged for them by their social relations upon arrival. In these cases, respondents either joined people that had already been in Amman [3] or a place was provided by their social relations [1]. In the other cases, people explained they had eventually found their homes through advertisement in the street, in papers, or through suggestions of social relations.

For the 13 respondents that did not have a place upon arrival, finding a place has not been easy. This has been the case because of the position Syrians take within the Jordanian society. As mentioned in the quote, the high demand for apartments had caused the rents of the apartments to be very high-priced. The extreme need for Syrians to find apartments, in addition to their already precarious social position [being guests] made them profoundly vulnerable to be taken advantage off. Therefore, the uncertainty resulted from their social position, caused Syrians to accept apartments in inferior conditions for relatively higher rent prices. Notably, this is an issue because, respondents indicated, owning their houses in Syria. Therefore, they did not have to worry about rent that had to be paid every month. Respondents have indicated that coming up with the rent has been one of the main struggles of life in Amman as it is a reoccurring cost that needs to be paid every month. Syrians have had to accept homes in bad conditions because of the need to have a place to stay. The reoccurring rent cost, therefore, has become an uncertainty that has become protracted to secure the certainty to have a place to stay.

> *"I need to work to pay the rent and pay for food and everything for the family. [] Jordanians and some Palestinians do not want to work in a restaurant because they feel too good, to prestige, to work in a restaurant. [We Syrians] must work any job because we really need the money."*
> *(Saeed, interview 8)*

Secondly, the need to secure an income to continue everyday life was indicated. Jobs have been used as coping strategies for life in Amman, as it provides Syrians with the income needed to continue everyday life independently and contributes to Syrian's wellbeing. This is because jobs, besides an income, provide Syrians with dignity and purpose that benefits their wellbeing. Because Syrians are not allowed to work in most sectors, finding a job, legal and illegal, has been extremely difficult. Only three respondents explained they worked legally. Saeed [8] was the only respondent who possessed a work permit. After leaving the refugee camp Saeed was provided with a working permit. In this case, the UNHCR helped him to get a work permit from the Jordanian government because he needed one to find a legal job to provide for his family. Nour [14] indicated she was working in an organisation where 80% of the employees were Jordanian which allowed the company to hire foreigners. Sada [7] was working for a Syrian NGO based in Amman and therefore did not need a work permit but she had worked illegally in previous jobs. Among the respondents most indicated, they and Syrians they know worked either illegally or as a freelancer. Working illegally entails high risk, Syrians that are found working illegally will be sent to Zataari refugee camp or will be deported. Moreover, Jordanians that employ Syrians risk going to jail. However, the need to provide an income Syrians is more important, and therefore, Syrians are forced to take the risk of working illegally.

> *"As Syrian, your pay grade will be different, your types of jobs will be different. You will not be able to find a desk job, you be doing some labour work, stuff a Jordanian will not do."*
> *(Karim, interview 2)*

What had happened is, the first year Syrians arrived they could find jobs easily since they would work for lesser salaries and provide perfect work. Respondents indicated that Syrians are known for their work attitudes, working hard and providing quality work. The competition Syrians posed to the Jordanian workforce caused Jordanians to protest, claiming the Syrians were stealing their jobs. The protests have been argued to be the incentives that led to the law that denies Syrians from working legally. The social aversion against employing Syrians in combination with the illegality of employing Syrians makes it extremely difficult for Syrians to find jobs.

Respondents indicated finding jobs, through advertisement in newspapers or online; finding jobs because they were living close to a place where they were looking for employees; or by help from their social relations. Among the respondents, only Zaina [11] indicated that within her domesticity no one had a job that provided an income.

Zaina's case is specific since she used to be in Zataari camp. All camp residents are registered as refugees with the UNHCR. Because Zaina was abused by her husband she fled the camp with her son. The financial assistance and food coupons provided by the UNHCR are her sources of income which is hardly sufficient to make ends meet. Since the rent of her apartment is 150JD and her financial assistance is only 110JD she struggles every month to make ends meet. She explained she would like to work to secure an income to pay costs, but her shoulder is injured which makes her unable to work. She was also trying to find a cheaper

apartment to lessen the costs but has not succeeded. For now, she had managed to come up with money by borrowing money from her nephew and the financial help she gets from people she knows or charitable strangers. However, sometimes she had to risk being evicted by not paying the full amount of her rent because she just could not come up with the money. The landlord had allowed her to do this when she could come up with the full rent the next month.

> *"So, I started working. My first [job] here was in a T-shirt factory. It demanded a lot of physical efforts from morning till night. Your human body was working like a machine. The salary was something so shaming, 119 JD and they used us, they exploited us as Syrian workers."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

Respondents indicated that they feel that Syrians are being taken advantage off because they are Syrian. The need to provide an income is so high; Syrians are forced to accept lower salaries and poor working conditions. Sada's [7] explained how she had to accept the low salary and bad work condition since she needed a job and the employer could easily find someone else to fill the position. She was working with Jordanian women, but her salary was lower even though they were doing the same job. During the period she worked at the factory she once had to hide in the bathroom because authorities came to the factory to check the documents of the employees. She explained the factory owner did not care about whether the workers had work permits or not, he only cared about making money. The human capital of the respondents allowed them to find a job that in general was beneath their education or their former pay grade. However, they had to accept these jobs since they had to secure an income to continue everyday life.

In short, securing basic needs by finding a place to stay and securing an income have been initial coping strategies used by Syrians to navigate radical uncertainty experienced in the first period of their exile in Amman. The provision of basic needs allows Syrians to navigate radical uncertainty by coping with change through fulling needs in a context of extreme lack of knowledge and unpredictability of the future. Securing basic needs of shelter, food, security and safety, of settling in Amman, form a base from which psychological needs of belongingness and relationships and prestige and feelings of accomplishment are built that secure enhance Syrians wellbeing. While finding a job has been a strategy to secure basic needs in radical uncertainty this has also been enhancing psychological needs as jobs provide Syrians with dignity and prestige as they allow them to give purpose in life. Finding shelter is a basic need but also psychological as finding a home connects Syrians with their neighbourhoods and is a strategy that allows them to find new social relationships. Syrians have been in Amman for almost five years which makes their exile protracted. Uncertainty experienced in everyday life, therefore, also becomes protracted. When life becomes more routinised and is more predictable Syrian's stress becomes less and people become more adapted to their situations. This will be discussed in the next section of the chapter.

Protracted uncertainty

> *"When we came to Jordan we were saying we would come back after 2 months. Every 2 months we were saying we would go back after two months. But now we have been here for 4 years, now I can understand we will not go back in two months as we said. […] I try to let my daughters study and start their life in Amman […] Now my concern is my daughters and son. I want them to continue studying."*
> *(Zahra, interview 19)*

Since Syrian's position as guests, in the Jordanian society, is understood as temporal by both by Jordan as state and Syrians themselves, Syrians continue to experience fundamental lack of knowledge and a profound sense of unpredictability of the future. The radical uncertainty is slowed down because people have been able to settle in Amman to a certain extent. They have been able to find a place to live; secured an income and got to know the city. Because Syrians do not have legal permanent residency, nor intend to live their lives in Amman, as temporary guests their position in society remains highly uncertain. To navigate this uncertainty, exile is characterised by active awaiting a better future. This section of the chapter will discuss how protracted uncertainty is experienced and how Syrians continue to navigate these uncertainties.

> *"We discovered that we had to stay here, things in Syria were not getting better, it [was] getting worse and more complicated. We cannot go back. So, we just have to keep struggling until we find a good job and start to accept life here and get used to it."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

The quotes of Zahra [19] and Farah [3] portray, how Syrians have come to realise the option of going back to Syria has become less and less likely, making their exile become protracted. Respondents indicated the need to accept the fact that they would be in Amman for a yet unknown period of time. However, they expressed notions of temporality as they actively await a better future outside of Jordan. For the time being, they tried to make life as comfortable as possible, by taking and creating opportunities where possible.

Protracted uncertainty as fundamental lack of knowledge and a profound sense of unpredictability of the future

> *"Finding a job, being independent, does not mean that I found my place. Being here, it is still not my place. But I can tell that I accept life, it is not that bad as I thought [in the beginning]. Some people are very nice and helpful. Not all of them. Life is not what I thought of it, in the beginning, it has become better. But still, I struggle. It is not that easy to live here."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

Because of state-induced notions of Syrians as guests rather than as refugees which contribute to a precarious position for them within the Jordanian society, a fundamental lack of knowledge is experienced by Syrians continuously throughout their exile. Unable to gain necessary knowledge about this position and to predict how this position will be in the future, a protracted form of uncertainty is maintained as exile has become protracted. The fundamental lack of knowledge causes uncertainty to remain of significance in their everyday life. An example of this is the confusion expressed among both Jordanians and Syrians whether Syrians were demanded to register with the UNHCR. Most Syrians respondents knew this was not compulsory whereas others and many Jordanians believed it was. Since Syrians fall under the protection of the UNHCR but do not have the status of refugee from the Jordanian government. Registration with the UNHCR is not mandatory. The confusion about legality and illegality of Syrians status, the renewal and validity of their security cards [and also their refugee statuses, when they are registered], the areas they are allowed to come, and, the assistance and service they have access to are all contributing to uncertainty experienced among Syrians in protracted exile.

"There is a health centre here, it is supposed to be for free. When I went there, the doctor told me to get the medicine somewhere else so in any way I still pay, it is not for free. […] There is a hospital [close], it was supposed to be for free. One of my friends, a woman, was there for three days they did not help her. Eventually, she died. And then they had to pay 400JDs. While for Jordanians this hospital is free, for Syrians it is not."
(Adira, interview 9)

As guests, Syrians are entitled to some assistance and services provided by the Jordanian government that are funded by the international community. However Syrian lack knowledge about where to find such services or how to use them. There are a few health centres and hospitals they can go to. In regard to education, there are some schools Syrian children can go to. As mentioned by Adira [9] it is very unclear which centres Syrians can go to for health services. In another interview, Gamila [20] explained she took her daughter to a school close to her. There they told her, your daughter cannot go to this school because she is Syrian, you must take her to another school. The other school was distant from the place she was living. For going to this school, Gamila would need to rent a place on the school bus, which she could not afford. So, for now, the little girl was not yet going to school.

"Everyone thinks you are a third-degree citizen, everywhere you go to. Sometimes even the petty look that people give you, like oh you are a Syrian. This is not the thing that anyone enjoys […] I think I am a person who is confident about himself. I know that I can do a lot if I get the right chances for me. Which is not offered here in Jordan. You are [as Syrian] not offered the right chances. Or not even given the chance to do things, to work to get a proper life."
(Ahmed, interview 1)

As a marginalised group of guests, Syrians indicated being discriminated. Discriminated in terms of being subordinated to opportunities they believe that Jordanians have. The lack of access to rights such as being allowed to work, the right to a legal process and equal access to healthcare and education contributes to the uncertainty and the feeling of being discriminated. Qadira [20] described this when she explained she had been in a fight with her landlord's son. Her landlord did not allow her to have guests over at her house. Ones she had guests over the landlord's son had come over with some other guys and broke the windows of the house. She explained that when her son went to the police to report the incident, the police officers did not follow up on the case because they were Syrians.

In addition, lack of opportunities has been indicated as the reason why Syrians could not envision a future for themselves in Jordan. Syrians explained that as Syrian guests they come second or even third as Jordanians and expats are chosen over Syrians. Since Syrians have been working without permits, and while some Syrians have found scholarships, this does not provide a guarantee of jobs in the future. Syrians have to compete for opportunities from a weaker position of being guests. Nour [14] explained that "as a Syrian, I always have to compete in the labour market I have to have a higher quality of education. Because I am a challenge for employers. You know being a Syrian you are being a challenge for your employer. They take a citizen instead or even an expat". For many this caused them to feel stuck in Jordan and only saw options of a better life existing outside of Jordan. In the quote, Ahmed [1] also explains how as Syrians he felt stuck in Amman because he felt he did not have the opportunities to build a life in Amman. Syrians described the

fact that they had to compete for access to opportunities, rights and services, from a weakened position, as a continuous struggle in everyday life that causes and maintain uncertainty in protracted exile.

In short, protracted uncertainty is characterised by fundamental lack of knowledge and a profound sense of unpredictability of the future. Since it is unclear for how long Syrians will need to stay in Jordan, day-to-day coping strategies needed to be found to navigate protracted uncertainty. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Navigating protracted uncertainty

> *"When I came here I was totally disappointed that I lost my friends, my relatives, our house. It was destroyed, totally destroyed. I felt really bad. So, I could not fit in the Jordanian community. […] And then it became [easier] when I found the second job and I met my friend. So, I got a new friend, it was the first friend. It was very hard until I got the scholarship from DAFI [German funded scholarships for Syrians in Jordan]. […] The scholarship helped me to continue my studies."*
> *(Haneen, interview 13)*

Like Haneen [13], respondents explained that when they had found jobs, started going to school or university, their lives had become significantly better. It was indicated that jobs and education provided Syrians with purpose and routine, and, new social networks.

Jobs and schooling have provided an important routine in Syrian's everyday life in Amman. In addition, they have been mentioned to give them a purpose in life. Having a job or the following of an education makes that Syrians are not just waiting passively for better futures. Hence, jobs and education allow Syrians to temporarily continuation of their everyday life in Amman where they can actively await a better future. This is especially the case for education, as respondents indicated education helped them to keep building their futures.

In addition, respondents explained that because of their jobs and education, they started meeting new people. Socialising with others was indicated as an important factor that bettered their lives in Amman. By meeting new people new social networks are constructed that Syrians can depend on. The establishment of new social relations provides security as they are resources of knowledge and information and they provide Syrians with meaning and status as Syrians position themselves in relation to others.

> *"Here [in Amman] the social relationships are very weak and limited. It is built on interests. If I need something from you I say hi to you, but if I don't I do not say hi to you."*
> *(Qadira, interview 20)*

For respondents there existed a great difference between Syrians and Jordanians in lifestyle. They explained that Syrians are more social oriented whereas Jordanians are more individualistic, not open to meet new people. Like Qadira [20], respondents argued that it had been difficult to meet people in general, and to have social relationships with Jordanians, especially. Farah [3] stressed, that in Syria she had many friends, with whom she had many things in common and shared memories. She explained that for her making friends in Amman was difficult because here she was a stranger that came into their lives. Jordanians already have many friends and needed to accept her. When making new relationships, it has been easier, for

respondents, to make relationships with Syrians as they have more in common, and share experiences. Therefore, it is easier for Syrians to identify with Syrians instead of Jordanians. Jobs and education have enabled Syrians to meet new people with whom they have things in common. Meeting new people and the construction of social networks consequently helped Syrians find better jobs. But most importantly it offered Syrians friends to spend their leisure time with, go out and have fun. This sense of belonging among friends has been explained to make Syrian's life significantly better.

> *"When we first arrived, we had no idea what the UNHCR was. People were talking about it. People were talking about something called the UNHCR. It helps you somehow. So, we started exploring. It was my family who decided to register. I do not remember how we decided to do so. My family does not want to stay here. They hope that [by] registration with the UNHCR they can get resettlement somewhere. It also offers for protection against deportation. It is supposed to be."*
> *(Nour, interview 14)*

Registration with the UNHCR by Syrian and the UNWRA by Palestinian-Syrians has been indicated as coping strategies to navigate uncertainty as these organisations provide assistance and protection where the Jordanian government does not. But most importantly these organisations provide opportunities for Syrians, where they lack opportunities as marginalised guests. As mentioned above there existed confusion among Syrians and Jordanians whether Syrians were obligated to register as refugees. Since Syrians have been referring to themselves as Syrians rather than refugees [this will be further explained in the next chapter], many Syrians initially did not register as refugees. However, in protracted displacement, Syrians have been registering as refugees as coping strategy to navigate protracted uncertainty. For the three respondents that previously had been living in Zataari, it had been a necessity to register, upon arrival, to receive, protection and assistance and shelter in the camp. Although, many respondents initially did not register as refugees as they did not necessarily need it, registering as refugees offers them various opportunities, assistance and protection that made respondents decide to register after all. Ahmed [1] indicated that because as Syrians they need the security card to prove they are Syrians allowed to stay in Jordan, which has the UNHCR logo on the back of it. In addition to the fact that Jordan is benefitting from received money from the international community to accommodate Syrians. He decided to profit from the benefits by registering with the UNHCR. He explained he only registered after living in Jordan for three years.

The main reasons indicated to register as refugees were because it offered the opportunity; to apply for scholarships; availability of education centres; and to apply for resettlement. Respondents that had been going to university had been able to because registering with the UNHCR allowed them to apply for scholarships. Through registering Syrian children have been able to go to educational centres that provided them with supplementary education that helped them to keep up after missed education because of war. In addition, Syrians went to these education centres because the public education for Syrians is of poor quality. There are also educational centres that provide adults with the opportunity to learn to read, speak English and other skills through workshops. Registering also allowed Syrians to apply for resettlement which is argued to provide Syrians with the opportunity of having a better life somewhere else.

Furthermore, registration allows Syrians to receive food vouchers, which provide individuals with 10JD worth of coupons which they can use to buy food. This is not sufficient to provide people with enough food for the month but reinforces Syrians efforts to provide food. There is also financial support available for

Syrians that do not have an income or need their income to be complemented. As mentioned before Zaina [11], was the only respondent who indicated no one in her household had a paid employment. When leaving the camp, she received financial assistance because she had no other income. Respondents indicated it is very difficult to receive financial assistance as it was only provided to those in severe need.

In short, Syrians have navigated protracted uncertainty by establishing social networks that provided a sense of belonging, and, by finding opportunities that provide both alleviation of everyday life and vision for the future. Since displacement is perceived to be a temporality within Syrian's life their vision for the future is embedded with notions of a better life in another time and space. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Hope for the future

> *"I do not know what my dream for the future is, I asked myself this question a lot. I feel like, I do not have any plans for the future, I do not know what will happen. It is something that I cannot control anymore. Before the war, I always had plans for the future. I have many plans in my head, many things to achieve. But, now I don't find these things anymore. Every time and this is really difficult for me. Every time I want to set a plan or say after two years I will be in this place or achieve this thing. I can't find a thing to achieve. I can't dream. And this is really difficult for me. But I can't, I can't control it. Maybe because everything, that we have dreamt to achieve, planed, after having achieved many things in Syria we lost it all. For me like, I live day by day, I do not make plans for the long future."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

In the quote, Farah [3] describes the extreme unpredictability and lack of control she experienced, that causes the creation of futures to be quite painful. Therefore, she would focus on day-to-day plans rather than plans for the longer future. Despite it being extremely difficult to envision their future, remaining hope for a better future and actively take action to prevent negative future outcome are coping strategies to navigate uncertainty. This section discusses how hope for a better future helps Syrians to cope with conditions in exile as temporary and how Syrians actively act to prevent negative future outcomes.

Maintaining trust in the future

> *"It is not good to close hopes. I believe that God will not leave us. […] I suffered and faced many difficult things. I would take it in and cry about it, but then renew. Start over the next day, fresh."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

As discussed above, Syrians do not see a future for themselves in Jordan. Among all respondents, only one female expressed she expected to live her entire life in Jordan. Other respondents explained that they were stuck in Jordan until they could either go back to Syria or be resettled to a third country. The trust Syrians have in these outcomes allow them to cope with the conditions in exile. Trust in the future is maintained by holding on to the idea that their exile is only temporary and a better future is ahead. The idea of exile as temporality may prevent people from accepting their current situation and seeing opportunities. However, as the previous section displayed this has not been the case. Respondents have been actively waiting for a better future by investing in the here and now.

> *"Because we are used to working all the time in Syria, here in Jordan we feel like working because we are used to working. We don't like to sit down and take money. We want to work, also because when in the future we will go back to Syria, we have to continue because we will need to work in Syria as well. Now I have a new experience of working in the restaurant. […] We still want to go back. I think it is difficult. It is not just like, when they open the door to Syria we will immediately go. I need to wait and see whether it has really become safe and quiet again. Because I have kids, and I am afraid. I need to think about the kids."*
> *(Saeed, interview 8)*

Like Saeed [8], for other respondents, the idea of going back to Syria has been a driver to continue everyday life in Amman. Trust in a better future may be problematic as a life after return to Syria will not be the same as it was before. Therefore, a focus on a future return to a place that no longer exists could be problematic. However, as the quote illustrates the changes and destructions that have disrupted live in Syria have been acknowledged. This has been shared among respondents, they knew going back to Syria would not be easy. Saeed mentioned, Palestinians have been in Jordan for 60 years, and Syrians might have to be here for a long time. Therefore, they need to continue life and keep working to be able to go back when it is time.

> *"The people who have left Jordan [able to find resettlement]. I have contact with them and they are very happy. I hope that I can leave Jordan. To Canada to anywhere. All my friends are happy abroad even though they do not know the language. One of my friends is old and moved to Canada. She says she is really happy there. I hope that I can immigrate from here, especially for my son."*
> *(Zaina, interview 11)*

The possibility of resettlement adds to the trust and hope for a better future as it consists of a fairy-tale like solution to exile. Since Syrians in general only hear the good stories about resettlement experiences, some had improbable expectations. Hopes for resettlement can be more problematic since Syrians, in general, indicated unrealistic expectations of what resettlement would be like as better futures without any struggles. Sada [7] mentioned her brother was resettled in America. She explained, that her brother overall was doing good, but that he was suffering from nostalgia and trauma, missing Syria. He was in a completely different country where he did not know the language, making life very difficult. However, the hope for opportunities of starting a better life in a third country allows Syrians to cope with uncertainty in everyday life. The idea of the temporality of exile in Jordan, likewise allows Syrians to cope with the uncertainty in exile to keep going in the here and now as a better future awaits.

Therefore, return and resettlement may not be easy, and risks to not be in the near future, but it allows Syrians to perceive their life in Amman as temporary. By perceiving life in exile as temporary, the stress and struggles of uncertainties experiences are put in a broader perspective that makes it less stressful and allows Syrians to continue their everyday life.

Actively avoiding negative future outcomes

> *"I almost know that I will go back to Syria. This my homeland, this is where my home is, my friends, my memories, my study, my schools. I feel everything there knows me and I know everything. My family is there, everything, every small detail. I like it, even streets, where we lived, the neighbours. My friends, my family, everything, my work colleagues. Life in Syria has become part of me, you left something there and you will always miss it. [Life in Amman] It is not permanent, it is temporary. It will be for a certain time,*

but it will end. You live in a temporary part, but it will end. For now, it is good, it is stable. […] One thing I can [also] admit to you, I received some marriage proposals from some Jordanian people. But I felt, like if things went well and I would accept the proposal, then that means that I will live here forever. He is Jordanian; his life is here, so I stay with him. My life then will take a certain decision in which I would stay here forever. So, I feel like I do not want that. […] Thank god, that the people that I met were not good enough, and things did not work out. I am afraid that if he is pure Jordanian, ghalas all my life is here."

(Farah, interview 3)

The idea of temporality provided through trust in a better future requires Syrians to actively prevent actions that establish permanence in Amman. Avoiding permanence has been especially been an issue among female respondents. The trust in the ability to go back to Syria has enabled Farah [3] to keep continuing life in Amman. Preventing permanence in Jordan has been a major part of the fact that she has rejected several marriage proposals. Marrying a Jordanian would destroy the hope and trust she has in being able to go back to Syria.

"Now because I am married and have a baby I would stay in Jordan even if Syria would come back as it was. Now my job is here. Maybe if I was not married I would stay here not move back to Syria. Because I came here 5 years ago, I build my life here. If I go back to Syria again, I need to rebuild. And I am 31 now, Jani. But if Syria comes back as it was, I would go. A lot. Maybe every month. Maybe in a month, I would go twice or three times. Every time I am not busy I would go there. Because we also have a house there. Also, I would continue my studies. Because I did not finish it yet. I cut it off because of the war. My studies are 4 years, I did 3 and a half. I would continue the half year if I would be able to. If I would be allowed I would. Every time I would feel bored I would go to Syria."
(Naima, interview 10)

Out of the twenty respondents, Naima [10] was the only one who indicated she expected to live her entire life in Jordan. For Naima, by marrying her Jordanian husband, life in Amman has become permanent. For her, the hope of going back to Syria for visits remains, but she would not be able to have her life there. Naima explained that by being married to a Jordanian she has been accepted as Syrian in Jordan. Her husband and son have civil rights and he has a stable work condition that together have reduced the uncertainties she used to experience. In addition, she has accepted her life would be in Jordan, building a future for her and her family. However, while she was accepted as Syrian by being married to a Jordanian, she explained she did not feel like she was one of them [Jordanians]. For Naima [10] getting married allowed her to navigate uncertainties, while for Farah not marrying has been a strategy to avoid permanence in Jordan. Naima's case is unique from the others as the other respondents have acted to avoid permanence in Jordan to remain trust in a better future.

"Three years ago I was asked to travel to Europe. They asked me. I did not accept the offer because I had already left my family from Syria. I do not want to do the same thing again from here. The UNHCR resettlement did not allow me to take my son or daughter. I do not want to make the same mistake again. Leaving everyone and everything behind me. That is why I did not go out. If you want to take me, you need to allow me to take all the family with me. It is nice that the offered the option to go to Norway. But by going they are separating us again. I want to have my whole family with me."
(Adira, interview 9)

Another way in which negative future outcomes have been prevented is by rejecting unsatisfying options for resettlement. Whereas resettlement has been indicated as a favourable future outcome, respondents explained they had rejected resettlement opportunities as this would separate families. Adira [9] explained how coming to Jordan had separated her from her extended family. Because her son was married, he was no longer considered as part of her immediate family by the UNHCR. Therefore, while she was selected she could not bring her son and daughter-in-law with her. The idea of having to be separated from her family again has been such an unfavourable future outcome, Adira has rejected resettlement.

Two other female respondents, Sada [7] and Nour [14] mentioned they had rejected scholarship to Japan [Sada] and Russia [Nour]. They explained that leaving their family again and being all alone in a completely different country where they did not know the culture and language made that they rejected these scholarships. The options of the scholarships have been indicated as unfavourable futures that have been avoided.

In short, preventing permanence and unsatisfied resettlement and scholarships have been strategies that Syrians used to avoid negative future outcomes. This has allowed Syrians to remain hopeful for a better future whereas they do not know what these futures will look like.

Conclusion

By being guests in the Jordanian society, Syrians are allowed to be in Amman. Being just guests, causes Syrians to experience extreme and protracted uncertainty during their exile in Amman. The navigation of radical and protracted uncertainties and remaining hope for the future allow Syrian to (re-)create stable realities in displacement by challenging their position in the nature of things. While Syrians seek more stability they attempt to avoid permanence as they accept their realities only as temporality.

In radical uncertainty, Syrians have navigated uncertainty by securing basic needs of shelter and an income to provide food. While these strategies have primarily been securing physiological needs, they have been contributing to Syrians psychological needs as they contribute to people's engagement in society and therefore their belonging and esteem needs and overall wellbeing. In addition, these navigation strategies provide the basis of a home from which everyday life can be routinised. In protracted uncertainty, the continuation of routinising everyday life, the establishment of social relationships and actively locating opportunities that alleviate life in exile are strategies to navigate fundamental lack of knowledge and unpredictability of the future. Displacement is understood as temporality that is navigated by remaining hope for a better future in which negative outcomes are avoided.

Guesthood and identity

Chapter 6

"For me, I felt like, if they just concentrate on the common things between us. On the old history that exists between the two countries. We are both Arabs, we speak the same language. Before the war, most of the Jordanians came to Syria, and Syrians came to Jordan, because of work, studies, many things. Most of you [Jordanians] are married to women from Syria. Vice versa. So why are you thinking about all the things that separate us? Just think about the things that we have in common. We can be together. We can work together not against each other. But, I realised most people think about the things that separate us from each other, not on the things that we have in common."
(Farah, interview 3)

Syrian belonging, continuity, and esteem are important for Syrian group identification. Often, respondents highlighted how Syria had been a powerful country. They remembered Syria as a place of prosperity. It was explained, the country was on its way to becoming one of the most powerful countries in the region. Syria was the Middle East's main producer for consumers good such as; clothes, fruits, and vegetables, and had a thriving industry. Life in Syria, as experienced by respondents, was very easy and cheap. Speaking about Syria, they advertised the beautiful natural environments. Arabs from all around the region would come to Syria for summer and spend their holidays there. In addition, respondents explained how Syrians are known for their kindness and hospitality. But also, for their work attitudes, they are hard workers, very professional and they produce quality products. Speaking about Syria, it was mentioned that social services were very well developed. Healthcare and education were free, not just for people with the Syrian nationality, but for all who were living in Syria. Not only was Syria the place to go to for Arabs, but before the war, Syria was also the place to go to for foreigners. Especially in Damascus, there were a lot of expats that came there to learn Arabic, but also researchers and archaeologists.

"Syria has been famous for centuries. Syrian people are famous for being educated, for being more civilised, being intelligent, smart, always finding ways to make things work for themselves. How they live their lives happily. […] Even before the war, Jordan does not have a long-time culture. [The Jordanian culture] is not considered as an old culture but as a new one. Damascus is the oldest [city] in the history. The Syrians are known for a long time for being independent, helpful, rich. So now in the war, they have kind of lost almost everything. Everything went upside down for them."
(Farah, interview 3)

So, in general, Syria had a high standard of living. When asked, respondent all mentioned they were proud to have been living in Syria, proud to have been part of this strong and thriving country. For many, life in Syria has made them the adults they are now. Few of the respondents had a particular interest in politics. It seems there was no trust, politics would make anything better. Ahmed [1] explained that his father did not allow him to be involved in politics. He did not trust the regime and the way it did politics. Sada [7] explained during the interview, she did not want to let the conversation to slip into politics because it would lead nowhere. In general, despite the regime, life in Syria was good. When responding to the questions about life in Syria, the main reaction was that it was good and most importantly that it was normal. There was nothing to worry about; there were people around them on who they could depend.

"Things were going the natural way that it should be going"
(Ahmed, interview 1)

Belongingness to Syria and the strength of the Syrian has been important for Syrians individual identities. As Syrian guests, Syrians have remained true to their Syrian identity. However, as this chapter will discuss, the Syrian identity has been transformed in guesthood as their social environments have changed, but at the same time identity continuation has allowed Syrians to challenge exclusion and discrimination. This chapter will start by analysing the complexity of nationality in the identification of Syrians as this has been essential for identification of Syrians in everyday life. This chapter will end by discussing how gender plays a specific role in Syrian women's identities.

The complexity of nationality, and accent

Throughout the research, respondents have mentioned not to be 'pure' Syrian as they did not possess the Syrian nationality but had been living their entire or most of their lives in Syria before they had fled to Jordan. When asking people if they knew people to get in contact with, there was never made this distinction of 'pure' or 'non-pure' Syrians. This has been a reflection of everyday life in which the Syrian accent has been determinative for identification as Syrian. The nationality of Syrians was only discovered during those interviews, not before as their official nationality does not play a determinative role in the identification of Syrians in everyday life. Therefore, being 'pure' Syrian signified, besides being from Syria, the possession of the Syrian nationality. Although respondents all identified themselves as Syrian not everyone did possess the Syrian nationality. The mix of nationalities among those who identify as Syrian is a representation of reality in which pan-Arab notions of shared identity among Arabs allowed for connectedness, strong relations and high mobility among Arabs in the Middle-East. It is only in official context, that nationality for guests has become an issue. This section will discuss how nationality has become an issue for Syrians as guests, and its importance for their guesthood.

Rather than being 'pure' Syrians, identifying themselves as Syrian because of their nationality, respondents identified as Syrians because they were born there, [and] were raised there or had been living there for most of their lives. They identified as Syrian because they came from Syria; their homes were in Syria. However, they were not 'pure' Syrian as they did not possess the Syrian nationality. Of all 20 respondents, 6 people were 'non-pure' Syrians. Respondents in this research have been either 'pure' Syrians possessing the Syrian nationality, had Palestinian-Jordanian or Palestinian-Syrian documents, or possessed the Jordanian nationality. So, the Syrian refugee crisis does not consist of solely 'pure' Syrians but rather exists of a mix of Syrians with various nationalities.

Pan-Arabism, the idea of one Arab nation to which all Arabs belong has allowed for a strong relationship between people from the various Arab nations, cross-border marriages, and has caused people to live in one of the Arab nations without possessing the nationality of that specific country. Syrians that had been living in Syria their entire lives or for most of their lives, in most cases, had a Syrian mother but Jordanian father and therefore did not possess the Syrian nationality. As both in Syria and Jordan, as in many other Islamic countries, nationality is passed on by the father. Cross-border marriages illustrate the close relationship between Syrians and Jordanians and have caused many people to be living in Syria without possessing the Syrian nationality. Those people have made the choice to live in Syria because of; the good conditions and opportunities life in Syria would bring; and; to be around family. Palestinians living in Syria could have either Palestinian-Jordanian or Palestinian-Syrian documents, depending on the documents of

the father. Syrian's lack of official Syrian nationality had never been an issue for people in Syria until the conflict has caused them to seek refuge in another country and their nationality became an issue.

The official nationality of those who identify as Syrians has become an important issue as nationality is the most import aspect of identification, as Syrian, in formal settings. The Jordanian government issues security cards, and (I)NGOs' policies provide assistance and protection, only to those with a Syrian passport. This makes it problematic for 'non-pure' Syrians to gain assistance and protection while seeking refuge in Amman. One of the best examples of this is the fact that only those with the Syrian nationality can register with the UNHCR. Other nationalities must find other organisations or ways to take care of themselves.

> *"When we asked for help, they told us that because we had a Jordanian nationality we can't help you, this help is provided for Syrians. We had no documents to prove that we have fled from Syria. And we went to apply to be registered to be able to move for immigration. But this was also refused, for the same reason, that we are Jordanian, you have a country that is safe. We suffered the same things the Syrians did, but we were unable to get help."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*
>
> *[Me and my family] all have the Palestinian nationality but are born in Syria. It is not really a passport, it is a document. It is not as good as a passport. There is no Syrian passport only the Palestinian document. This means we have only help from the UNWRA and not the UNHCR which is only for the Syrians."*
> *(Nawra, interview 15)*

The Syrian identity becomes more complex, as not all of those who identify as Syrian or are identified [in everyday life] by others as Syrian possess the Syrian nationality. Therefore, people that identify themselves as Syrians that have fled to Jordan, in official contexts, have not been recognised as Syrians because they lacked the Syrian nationality. While in everyday life situation they have been identified as Syrians because they came from Syria and spoke the Syrian accent.

Palestinian- Syrians

Identity, belonging and access have been especially complex for Syrians who have Palestinian documents. In 3 cases, the respondents had Palestinian documents. It was explained that they did not really possess a passport but that this was a document. They referred to it as a document, rather than passport, as they explained it was not as good as a passport. Naima [10] argued the Palestinian document does not provide the same rights as passports do. Nawra [15] explained that she and her husband first possessed both a Palestinian-Syrian and Palestinian-Jordanian document. Because her husband had lived in Jordan before he moved to Syria and married her they also had a Palestinian-Jordanian nationality. The additional Palestinian-Jordanian documents allowed them more access to rights, assistance, and services although it did not grant them citizenship. They had both documents because her husband had a cousin who was working with the Jordanian police [wasta] and could help them to keep the Palestinian-Jordanian document while living in Syria. However, after the refugee crisis, about three years after they had fled to Jordan, the Jordanian government withdrew Palestinian-Jordanian documents of people that came from Syria. Therefore, Nawra and her husband will not be able to renew their Palestinian-Jordanian documents. She can keep the document for now, until it becomes invalid.

> *"I don't feel like I am one of them [Jordanians], except among some people. But in general, I do not feel Jordanian or Syrian. Maybe something in my heart, I feel Palestinian. But also, I think if I would go to Palestine I would not feel like I integrate with them. Yes, it is a bad feeling, really. You don't feel that you belong anywhere, it is a bad feeling. But in my heart, I am Palestinian. This is what I am sure about."*
>
> *(Naima, Interview 10)*

For Naima, identity was even more complex as she had a Palestinian father, Syrian mother, and now was married to a Jordanian. Therefore, her sense of belonging and understanding of who she was in relation to others consisted of the mix of a range of characteristics, being Palestinian, Syrian and Jordanian all at once. For Palestinians, their identity is even more complex as by being Palestinian they fundamentally belong to a country that no longer exists officially. For Palestinians, the question of where they belong is even complex as they did not really belong in Syria as their identity is embedded with the notion of being out of place as Palestinians, but they also identified as Syrian being born and raised there.

Jordanian-Syrians

> *"I am very proud being raised in Syria. I feel it is true that I do not have any document or paper to prove that I am Syrian. But I feel it in my blood. […] In Syria, I have never ever felt that I was a stranger, for a minute even. But here, I feel like a stranger all the time. I feel like I am not Jordanian. Generally speaking, people here make you feel like you are a stranger."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

Syrians that fled to Jordan with a Jordanian nationality also experienced difficulty regarding the perception of their identity. In these cases, respondents either were born in Syria or had lived the majority of their lives in Syria. Officially their refuge in Amman is considered as a return, people returning home. While clearly, in practice these people lost their entire lives, houses, just like the 'pure' Syrians that sought refuge in Amman. Farah [3] and Karim [2], as Jordanian-Syrian respondents, explained their lives are in Syria, they grew up in Syria, and what made them who they are is in Syria. They went through the same experiences and hardship, 'pure Syrians did. However, regarding official circumstances, because of their Jordanian nationality they are not perceived as guests, but rather as citizens. This contradicts the experiences of those Syrian-Jordanians, as; they feel they do not belong to the group of Jordanian nationals; they have never lived or barely lived in Jordan; they know almost nothing about the country or the people that live there. In addition, as will be further discussed below, Jordanian-Syrians are recognised by their accent as Syrian in everyday life situations rather than as Jordanians. Being perceived in everyday life as Syrian contributes to the perception of being Syrian rather than Jordanian. In general, the main reaction of 'non-pure' Syrians with the Jordanian nationality, about life in Amman was that they felt they did not really belong there; their lives were back in Syria.

For those people who are not 'pure' Syrian, it has been difficult speaking about who or what they are. Within interviews, they spoke about Syrians both as 'we' and 'they'. Being Syrian is part of their identity, but they also differ from those 'pure' Syrians. Speaking about the life in Syrians, they spoke about 'we' Syrians. Life in Amman is different from those who are 'pure' Syrian, in terms of official status, but at the same time, they identify as Syrians and are perceived as Syrian by the accent they speak. This illustrates the complexity in their understanding of who they are in regard to others as they fit into multiple contradictory categories.

Despite being 'non-pure'Syrians, they have lived their entire lives or most part of their lives in Syria and express the feeling of belongingness to Syria as that is where their lives, homes, family, and friends are.

The importance of nationality in formal contexts

This research stresses the importance of mixed nationality among people that identify themselves as Syrians as this contradicts with the identification of Syrians by the guest label who possess the official guest status. Nationality as part of people's identity, the way in which they are perceived by others, is determinative for how Syrians are treated in Jordan. However, as this section will argue Syrians official nationality does resemble their official status in Jordan but does not resemble the way in which they are perceived in everyday life situation.

In formal institutions and regarding the authorities, those without the Syrian nationality are not acknowledged as Syrian but rather are identified as Jordanian or Palestinian. The identification of people by their official nationality determines the status they perceive and the access they have to rights, assistance and protection by the Jordanian state and different (I)NGOs. While, in fact, there are numerous people that fled from Syria that do not fit the description of being Syrian nationals to obtain the official Syrian guest status. Therefore, those people are not eligible for the assistance and protection available for 'pure' Syrian, while they suffered the same things. In short, nationality is the most important characteristic to identify Syrians by formal institutions. However, many people that have fled Syria do not fit this description. So, regarding formal institutions and authorities, nationality is an important factor that enables or complicates one's being in Jordan by the access they have to rights, assistance and protection as guests, citizens, or Palestinian refugees.

Contradictory, in the interaction between Syrians and Jordanians, Syrians official nationality is not as important. In fact, the Syrian accent has been the most substantial factor determining that identified people as Syrians. Respondents indicated they were recognised as Syrian by their accent whether they would possess the Syrian nationality or not. Both Syrians and Jordanians speak Arabic, however, there exists a difference in the accents they speak which makes that they use different words and pronunciation. Accent has become an important trait by which Syrians are recognised as Syrian as it is the first thing people notice in interaction. Therefore, accent allows for identification that makes a distinction between Jordanians and Syrian in which nationality plays no determinative role. In environments where people have so many different nationalities that live among each other, people's accents have become traits to identify different nationalities. In regard to Syrians guesthood, in everyday life, everyone who speaks with the Syrian accent is perceived as Syrian. Therefore, while nationality is an important determinant to identify Syrian in official settings, in everyday life nationality turned out to play no significant role in the identification of Syrians.

The importance of accent in everyday life identification

> *"If you as Syrian speak with a Jordanian, they say we speak like a foreign language. They don't understand you. They do not understand the accent very well."*
> *(Qadira, interview 20)*

> *"The accent is different. Whenever I try to come close, and I am a very social person. […] I would say most Jordanians, I do not say all, will not accept me for my accent."*
> *(Karim, interview 2)*

Accent has been an identification of Syrians that differentiates them from Jordanians while it used to function as identification of sameness among Syrians despite their different nationalities. The shared accent among Syrians has allowed for the identification of Syrians by their accent that does not take into account their official status, therefore, speaking the Syrian accent equals being a Syrian. If you speak with a Syrian accent it does not matter what nationality you have, because you will be perceived as Syrian. In everyday life, by not speaking the Jordanian accent you are perceived as a stranger. Consequently, all people that speak the Syrian accent are differentiated, as guests, from the Jordanian citizens. In regard to the influx of Syrian forced migrants, speaking the Syrian accent has resulted in the identification of being a Syrians that has come to Jordan as forced migrants. Speaking the Syrian accents equals being a Syrian that has fled to Jordan which changes the way in which Syrians are treated.

> *"What I realised is that when you are a foreigner, when you are being recognised as a foreigner they treat you well. If they work with you or in another way you will see that they are very helpful, but this is only for expats. But for Arabs or even Jordanians, they treat each other very bad. They are very friendly to expats, making them feel welcome, letting them know how kind they are. In Syria, they are very kind to Arabs, you would keep your rights, being from another Arab country would not affect you."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

The quote of Farah [3] points to the way in which Syrians are treated by Jordanians. She expressed frustration with the fact that foreigners are treated very well by Jordanians, but that Jordanians attitudes to Arabs and Syrians especially are worse. Farah explained that in Syria, Arabs that were living there had been treated as equals. This confirms to the idea of Pan-Arabism in which all Arabs are equal being part of one Arab nation. However, being recognised as Syrian has meant being 'treated badly' by Jordanians. First being recognised as Syrian, for respondents, meant that they faced a lot of question about the conflict and people would petty them. Naima [10] explained that when people know you are Syrians they start speaking about the war, asking you whether you were with Bashar or for the other side. She mentioned that she was neutral about it, having fled Syria she did not want to discuss these things, she wanted to get away from it. Furthermore, Syrians got blamed for what had happened to them and got accused of being a burden to Jordan, making life there more expensive. Respondents indicated they as Syrians did not feeling welcome because everywhere they would go they hear criticism about Syria and because they are blamed for starting the revolution. Multiple respondents told stories about events in which taxi drivers would not take people because they were Syrian. Naima explained she learned to speak the Jordanian accent. She deliberately was using Jordanian words and pronunciation in conversation with people to avoid being recognised as Syrian. Naima also expressed she did not like to take a taxi with her mother who could only speak with a Syrian accent because people would then treat them differently. Once they were taking a taxi the driver had done something with the meter that made the price of the ride very high. When she told him the price for this ride normally was 2JD instead of the 7, 5 JD they needed to pay this time they got in a fight. Naima explained, the taxi driver then started to attack Syrians in general.

The previous examples all have been an example of Syrians being recognised by accent. For official settings, there was once a situation at a checkpoint where a policeman entered the bus to check identity cards and passports of the passengers, which happens very often. Among the passengers, there was one Syrian man who got checked. The policeman took significantly longer to check this man's identity card. Furthermore,

he even said; so, you are Syrian to let the whole bus know he was Syrian. But most importantly, travelling as two European women, our passports were not even checked at all. Whereas we experienced positive discrimination, the Syrian man was negatively discriminated.

> *"Because everyone thinks you are a third-degree citizen, everywhere you go to. Sometimes even the petty look that people give you, like oh you are a Syrian. This is not the thing that anyone enjoys."*
> *(Ahmed, interview 1)*

Ahmed [1] explained he experienced being Syrian most at checkpoints, whereas while walking in the street you can blend in. Being recognised as Syrian by your accent or through identity cards in formal settings are primary moments in which Syrians are identified as Syrian by others that influence the way they are treated. Differentiation between people based on their nationality makes sense regarding nation- state systems, in which citizens are favoured over others. However, Pan-Arabism expresses notions of cooperation, interaction, and unity among Arab people that have allowed them to be living in places without being its 'pure' nationals of that country. As guests, Syrians are perceived to be third-degree citizens to the Jordanians, whereas before the conflict Arabs regarded each other as equals.

In short, where nationality is important in formal settings, the accent is decisive for people's identity in everyday interaction. Mixed nationality among those who become guests in Jordan, has been possible through notions of Pan-Arabism, allowing people to live, as equals, in places where they are not 'pure' nationals. However, Syrians as Arab guests have lost their equality to the 'pure' nationals. Syrian's identity has changed when becoming guests as displacement is a new social reality that constructs their identity.

Changing identity

Respondents explained that they had been surprised by the revolution. For them, it came out of nowhere. Karim [2] explained that everything had happened in a blink of an eye. That nobody thought something like this would happen in Syria. He even mentioned Syria was considered one of the top ten safest places in the world. At the beginning of 2011, there were problems in the region. They knew the so-called Arab spring was going on. However, they were not really paying attention to it because it was another country, and this would not happen in Syria. This perception corresponds to the general understanding that the country was extremely stable. "The regime's media fed this belief, constantly reiterating the assertion that Syria was the most secure and stable country in the world" (Abbas 2011; 1). However, in practice, this stability was mere pretence. "In reality, cracks and rifts appeared that damaged the Syrian society, undermined its cohesion, and created numerous social problems, generating frustration and anger that grew to unbearable proportions among broad sections of the population" (Abbas 2011; 1).

Since for most Syrians there was no indication there would be any problems to be expected, they were overwhelmed when the situation turned into conflict. To them, the situation changed overnight, and the consequences were unbearable to the point that they had to flee the country. This caused people having to leave everything behind, without saying goodbye properly.

> *"I came here the 25th of November 2012. [...] I came here without anything, just my clothes and my passport."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

By becoming guests, people get disconnected from the lives they used to have. Syrian's social environments through which they constructed their identity have changed. This section argues that although Syrian's identities have changed they remain true to their once strong Syrian identity, gained from being recognised with the strength of the country, and the strong relationships through which they positioned themselves. This is because the sense of efficiency, distinctiveness, and purpose derive from their Syrian identity, and the continuation of this identity have been important to cope with discrimination and adverse circumstances faced by Syrians.

Identity transformation

> *"I feel like I do not belong here, I belong in Syria. Life here is not complete because we lost our social network, this is one thing. We lost the context we were living in, it was vivid with beautiful nature, beautiful people. Something [life] was really simple and affordable, we were happier. […] That is why we feel incomplete, that we lost something of our genuine Syrian personality. Everyone is, even though he is wealthy with work and investments, he is not happy. Because it is like, a fish out of the water, if you put the fish in different water in a different place it is going to struggle no matter what."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

Syria's pre-conflict society was characterised by dense overlapping social networks based on intersecting relational identities known to function as traditional protective shelters. The strong Syrian identity derived from a strong Syrian country, the strong networks among Syrians in Syria, and strong identities derived from families, positioned Syrians within their communities. Hence, respondents had to leave behind everything that made them who they are. They have lost everything and needed to start over from zero. In fact, people's entire social safety nets have been diminished. By losing their resources, mainly social and economic, Syrians have lost the ability to take care of themselves in the way they used to before, which has caused them to lose dignity. All the aspects that made Syrians understand who they are in relation to others and reciprocally other people's understandings of them have changed when they fled to Jordan.

> *"Not being with my family is the most painful thing about being here in Jordan. Back in Syria, we had our place in the community, here we do not. Like this is a good family. Being from a family with a good name is a good thing. "*
> *(Ahmed, interview 1)*
>
> *"I missed everything there. I missed my sisters, my relatives are over there. Everything. We here don't have any relatives, because the family is still in Syria. I am not complete. Something is missing."*
> *(Haneen, interview 13)*

For Syrian's, their family has been an import factor for social identification. For Syrians, family has been the main form of social relationships that exist in everyday life. Life in Syria revolved around the family as they provided the strong social networks upon which people depended. Families provided people with a place in society by belonging to strong social networks. Spending leisure time, for almost all respondents, used to exist of spending time with family. Visiting family, going to have picnics together, going outside. In general leisure activities almost always were spend with family. By becoming guests, those strong social networks have fractured. Family members have been separated because, some have stayed, some have fled to different countries in the region, and others have fled to different countries in Europe or even been

resettled to the United States or Canada. Consequently, one of the main struggles indicated by respondents was not being able to be around family. As life in Syria revolved around the family, not being around family was signified as paramount aspect they missed about life in Syria. Moreover, respondents indicated that being without family have made them feel incomplete. Such incompleteness refers to the loss of identity, as Syrians mentioned they lost parts of themselves by losing their connection to family members when they came to Jordan.

> *"Being a [guest] has made me lose dignity even purpose in life."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

Sada [7] explained that by becoming a guest, she had to stop her university education, which was very important for her as it was part of her identity. For many Syrians becoming guests implicated the acknowledgement of loss of dignity being unable to provide for themselves the way they used to before. In addition, the acceptance of low salaries and bad apartments have caused Syrians to lose dignity. This loss of dignity is opposite to the strong Syrian identity they used to have. For many, the fact that they have been able to take care of themselves the first part of their stay regained them from registering with the UNHCR as refugees. For those, who are eligible to register with the UNHCR, eventually did register because of the protection, assistance, and opportunities they provide. However, for many Syrians, it has been a huge step to admit to being a refugee, as this contradicts ideas of strong identities and their ability to continue life in exile independently.

> *"Being registered states you that you are in need and you need to register. You need to be provided by. [For] many Syrians, their pride prevents them to register at the UNHCR as a refugee. I do not want to be registered, written as a refugee. There is a problem with the word. Especially for people that have been living in prosperity. So, my mum was like, I do not want to be registered, I can live on my own. My Dad was like, no we need to do this, we are refugees here. There are many. If something happens we are protected by the UNHCR and so on. So, we did it."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

This quote specifically focuses on being a refugee as this is the term used by the UNHCR that identifies Syrians as refugees. Because for Syrians registering as a refugee, has been more out of necessity to access services and opportunities, they indicated that registering itself has not changed their identity as such. This is because their identity had already changed being refugees by fleeing to Jordan, being displaced in Amman. However, respondents mentioned they are confronted with being refugees at moments they had to renew their registration at the UNHCR offices. Sada explained; "the size of the UNHCR office reflects the size of the crisis and how it is continuing every day".

Becoming guests has not only changed people's identity through the way people see themselves but also through the way others perceive them. Respondents indicated that things had changed in the relationship between Syrians and Jordanian. Before the war, many Jordanians used to go to Syria to spend their holidays and they appreciated Syrian's hospitality. However, since the conflict happened and people fled to Jordan things have changed. Respondents explained how in various cases, Jordanians blamed them for what happened to Syria and that they deserved this. One respondent indicated someone, told her;

"We wished you did not put that much pressure on Assad. He was a very good president, you had a good life. Why you did this? You destroyed everything for us [Jordanians], you destroyed everything for the world."
(Farah, interview 3)

Besides being blamed for what has happened to Syria, it was expressed that the Syrians in Jordan are a burden to the country. They are blamed for making life in Jordan more expensive. Jordanians see them as invaders and opportunity stealers. Syrians are now considered bad people; they take all the jobs and make life in Jordan more expensive. Jordanian people think and speak badly about the Syrians. Syrians get discriminated, whereas before the war this was not the case. Before the war, the relationship between Jordanians was better, they thought highly about Syria and Syrians. Where Syrians have been used to be appreciated for who they are; strong, skilled and clever people, Syrians have become stereotyped with negative characteristics. This has meant the way in which Syrians are perceived by Jordanians has changed from acknowledged people to downgraded guests not accepted the way they have been before. Respondents have stressed on various occasions how they have not been appreciated as Syrians but rather been perceived through stereotypes that do not comply with the strong Syrian identity and their understandings of who they are. Through identity continuation, Syrians have attempted to dispute these stereotypes which will be discussed in the next section.

"The feeling that you can't go back to your house anymore. The feeling of being a stranger and being alone. And that, you lost everything and find your way again. Find a way for yourself in this completely new and different life. Finding myself in it was very difficult. To start to get used to it, to find a point to start from. It was very difficult. That was actually the most difficult part for me."
(Farah, interview 3)

A general feeling shared among the respondents has been that they felt they did not belong in Amman. While pan-Arabism expresses the notion that all Arabs belonging to the same Arab nation, among Syrians it was expressed that they did not belong in the place they were now. Being Syrians in Jordan, it is already implicated that they belong somewhere else. In addition, being guests in the Jordanian, Syrians have been explicitly differentiated as others from the Jordanian citizens. Syrians do not belong in Jordan as they as guests are not part of the social fabric of the Jordanian society and experience exclusion and otherness. Farah [3] explained this clearly when she spoke about the difficulty she experienced finding new friends. She argued that in general people in Jordan make you feel like a stranger. Being new in Jordan, you have become the stranger in other people's life. These people have their lives, friends, and need to accept you into their lives. Therefore, Syrians expressed not to belong in Jordan as they have not been accepted as part of society, lacking social bonds and naturalisation within the Jordanian society.

Identity continuation

"Being in this place or recognising or identifying myself with this situation was very harsh. You start to realise that you are not the same person anymore. Your situation is changed you have to cope with it. […} The worst thing in the world is to be detached completely. To lose your identity, your existence in Syria."

(Sada, interview 7)

While many respondents expressed they had changed by fleeing to Jordan, they explained they were not completely different persons. Experiences gained in the process of fleeing and displacement have been acknowledged to affect who they are, but in general, respondents expressed they were essentially the same persons as they were before the war. Being put in different context they must deal with different conditions. Many indicated that what had happened has made them stronger as they have been able to cope with everything that has happened. Farah [3] explained; "*I am stronger than I expected. Like I proved that I can live in this cruel life, accept other people. I succeeded in making a life here, and that I can depend a lot on myself. [Being] able to live in these bad conditions*". Syrians do not recognise themselves as lost completely, they try their best to oppose such perceptions of Syrians.

> *"[I am] Proud to be a Syrian. Because I am Syrian. No one hates his or her country."*
> *(Jasmina, interview 17)*

Respondents indicated to be proud they are Syrian despite everything that has happened and the way people have been speaking about Syrians. Karim [2] explained "*I am proud of that I am raised back in Syria. It is not a bad thing, it is not. And it is not a shame. Being called a Syrian is not something to be ashamed of, it is something good. I am proud being raised in Syria, it has made me who I am*".

> *"I am registered with the UNHCR. I want to prove that as a refugee I am able to educate and to make a point in society that refugees are not just people that lost everything and just sit down without working or education. Many people think of refugees as people who are lost and have nothing to do. I am not like that. I want to show them that even as refugees we are able."*
> *(Haneen, interview 13)*

Perceptions of being passive opportunity seekers that are stealing jobs and making live expensive contradict Syrian's understanding of themselves as honest people and hard workers. Syrians have challenged general perceptions of Syrians as passive victims by building social bonds and accomplishing participation in society by working and conducting education as Syrians. They have kept true to their Syrian identity as clever people known for their skills and hardworking people that have a purpose taking part of the Jordanian society, claiming their position. Such identity continuation thus has allowed Syrians to challenge exclusion and discrimination expressed through stereotypes within the label of guests and registration as refugees.

In short, becoming guest has caused Syrian's identity to change. Both, in the way Syrians perceive themselves, and especially by the way they are perceived by others. The once strong Syrian identity has transformed within the new social reality of displacement that changed the way in which Syrians relate to others and their understanding of who they are in relation to others. Syrians have become detached from the social context that made them who they are. Where Syrians used to be perceived as equal are Arabs, Jordanian's perceptions of Syrians have changed as; Syrians now are blamed for what has happened in Syria and are perceived as a burden and problem to Jordan. This has caused the Syrian identity to lose status. However, despite this, Syrians have kept close to their identity, trying to remain authentic Syrians that, as guests, are claiming a position in the Jordanian society.

Gender Roles

The majority of respondents in this research have been female; this has provided a great insight into the way in which women have experienced a change of identity. For women especially, becoming guests in Amman has been a meaningful experience. During interviews, Syrian women expressed identity changes and changes in gender roles that have resulted from their new social environment in Amman. For Syrians that came from the city of Damascus, the social environment of Amman has not been as significant as they have already been experiencing more freedom, have been able to conduct education, and were working. This part will explain how a change of identity has been more significant for women, and the way in which gender roles have changed.

> *"Before if they see Syrians, oh, that is really nice of them, especially women, and they want to get married to them. And the Syrian women are very beautiful, very nice, very kind, they treat the husband well, they treat the children well. […] Especially the women. Jani, before you were proud that you are Syrian in Jordan. But now, you feel a bit [a]shamed that you are Syrian in Jordan. Because they [Jordanian people] think badly of you, they think you are easy; you are cheap."*
> *(Naima, interview 10)*

In addition to the identity change described above, Syrian women have experienced identity change more specifically as they have been perceived to be 'easy women' rather than the appreciation they received before. Naima [10] and others explained how Syrian women used to be desired brides before the conflict. After the conflict, this changed as Syrian women have been perceived as easy and willing to marry Jordanians. Farah [3] mentioned that when she was looking for a job she was told; "*why would you go out and struggle when you can also go find a man*". In addition, she explained, that when she was looking for a job Jordanians would ask her out on a date or over to their apartments or said they could not help her because she came from Syria. These negative perceptions of Syrians women, in general, have been struggles that Syrian women have to deal with on various occasions.

> *"Also, my husband here in Jordan, he changed. He became more open-minded. He now knows women are not only for the house, for cleaning. She can also do activities and work. So, he is better now. He is more open."*
> *(Zahra, interview 19)*

Zahra used to live in a conservative area close to Damascus. Her family and especially her father in law were very traditional. Back in Syria, her daughters were not allowed to go to school because they had turned to old. In addition, she and her daughter were not allowed to leave the house unaccompanied by a man. She explained that in Amman when she used to go out she met women that were working, had their own lives, were strong and independent, and did not only depending on her husband. This inspired her to stand up for herself and her daughters. It made her decide her daughters needed to continue school. She explained; "*I would like my daughters to have what I could not have. I want them to have a profession so that if we go back to Syria they can contribute and build it*".

> *"Here I feel like the women can do a lot of things. [There are] a lot of activities and courses for women. 5 months [ago] there was an association for women close to my house. I went to them to see the activities. They told me they had workshops. The workshop I took was for 15 days, it was called; preparation and making women strong after the war; to have a role in life and society after the war. I went to*

this workshop; my husband [first] did not want me to go. I convinced him."
(Zahra, interview 19)

There are many workshops available for Syrian women that teach them about women's rights and to empower them. The (I)NGOs that are assisting in the accommodation and support of Syrians in Jordan focus on gender issues. Therefore a social environment is provided in which women's perceptions of themselves and their roles in society have changed.

"From when I was in Syria I wanted to divorce but I did not want because I was by myself, I was alone. So, when I was in Jordan and he said that I don't want you anymore. He said that; let's get divorced. I agreed, because anyway I wanted to get divorced from him from the beginning."
(Zaina, interview 11)

Zaina [11] explained that her marriage had been bad from the beginning. When she was in Syria she wanted to divorce her husband but she had no support as she had siblings and her mother and father had died. Zaina and her husband had been in Zataari refugee camp when they arrived in Jordan. Zaina said she had been abused by her husband in Syria but this got worse when they were in Zataari. Her husband had fallen in love with another woman in the camp and now wanted a divorce. Zaina explained that she agreed to the divorce because she had always wanted a divorce but now she could because she knew people in Amman that could help her and by being registered as a refugee she got assistance from the UNHCR to take care of herself and her son, being supported as a single mother.

Conclusion

Hence, being guest has been a label used to identify Arabs that migrate to Jordan for over years. The people that are identified through the label and what it means to be a guest have changed. The Syrian identity is complicated by the fact that also 'non-pure' Syrians have fled to Jordan who in official context are not perceived as legal Syrian guest but rather as Jordanians or Palestinians. This is an issue as nationality is used to identify Syrians in formal settings to determine their access to rights, assistance and services and not all people, that fled to Jordan, conform to this description. However, those that identify as Syrians and are identified as Syrians in everyday life because of their accent do not necessarily have the legal guest status. Moreover, Syrians accent is the most important trait that is used to identify Syrians used in everyday life conversations which determines the way in which they are treated by other Jordanians.

Becoming guests has changed Syrians identity as the social environment through which Syrians identified themselves has changed, and the way in which Syrians are perceived by others has changed. At the same time, identity continuation is used by Syrian to challenge exclusion and discrimination faced in exile. As guests in Jordan, Syrians have been explicitly differentiated from the Jordanian citizens, being perceived strangers in the social fabric of everyday life in Jordan. Syrians have challenged such perceptions, through identity continuation as strong, skilled and clever people, by taking claiming a part of society through the establishment of social bonds, employment, and education.

Identity change has been even more significant for Syrian women as they lost their strong identity of being appreciated clever, gentle and beautiful women, and desired wives, to the perception of being cheap and easy women. However, despite these perceptions, displacement in Amman has provided a social

environment in which women's perceptions of themselves and their role in society have improved. This is because it provided a social environment in which support and assistance are available to women to be skilled and independent.

Paradox of Syrian ‘guesthood’

Chapter 7

Guesthood is; "the mixed hospitality of conditional and unconditional welcome" which generates the particular ambiguous guest position Syrians take within society (El-Abed 2014; 84). This chapter discusses the paradoxical and problematic position Syrians have as guests in the Jordanian society and how Syrians themselves experience this. Where guesthood is primarily examined regarding the relationship between the guest and the state this chapter will add to the understanding of guesthood as a concept. It will do so by exploring guesthood in regard to the relationship of hospitality between Jordanians as host and Syrians as guests. This chapter will examine guesthood, first as a label and secondly through the lens of the mix of conditional and unconditional hospitality embedded that creates the guesthood discourse. First, being guest, the legal status imposed by the Jordanian state, is one among a variety of labels applied to Syrians by different authorities and organisations. These different labels convey different policies in which Syrians hold different entitlements. This chapter will explore the paradox of Syrians guesthood in which the guests and refugee labels both do not comply with Syrians experiences of displacement. Secondly, the mixed hospitality of unconditional and conditional hospitality instigates a restricting paradoxical position for Syrians as guests. Syrians are welcomed through notions of hospitality but their life in Jordan is depicted by experiences of the hostility of Jordanians towards Syrians. The second part of the chapter will analyse mixed hospitality, in which Syrians are treated with hospitality and hostility, is experienced and navigated by Syrians.

Paradox of the (different) label(s)

> *"I feel stuck, and it feels hard. […] I am blaming the Jordanian government. They can do [more], they can give us residency so that we can [travel] with it. Like you can move back and forward, can apply for visas and for at the embassy and things. But now it is not a whole legal situation that we are living[in] here. It is like you are in between; you are not a guest and not a resident. A guest would be for business or fun; he could go like, enter and go out of the country easily. Syrians cannot go into the country [anymore]. They can, of course, go out, but then they can never make it back. They are not considering us as guests because if they would they would not do this security card kind of thing."*
> *(Ahmed, interview 1)*

The contradiction and confusion of different labels used to describe the forced migration process of Syrians to Jordan as guests or refugees lay the ground for transforming and politicising restrictive towards and pejorative interpretations of Syrians, by others, in Jordan. Syrians bear the legal status of guests in Jordan. The abundant number of labels that identify Syrians that have fled to Jordan - guests, refugees, forced migrants, asylum-seekers, non-citizen, and foreigners – all hold different entitlements. These labels all are highly politicised bureaucratic labels used by authorities to identify categories to which policies are implemented and managed. Throughout this research, the labels identifying Syrians as guests and refugee have been most prevalent. This has been mainly because those labels have been used by the two major authorities – the Jordanian authorities and the UNHCR [and international community] – concerned with the Syrian refugee crisis.

> *"One of my relatives, the people with whom we stayed, the women told me a story about her Syrian friend. She lived in Jordan for more than 10 years because her mother was Jordanian. Before the war she used to work here, she had work permit and residency. But after the war, the government set a new law that Syrians were not allowed to work here even if they had work permits and residency. The company where she used to work asked her to resign because they could not accept here anymore because she is Syrian. Even though she was here before the war and she has residency and work permit, it is cancelled. Now she*

can't work. I know that now she works as a freelancer, as a translator but in freelance."
(Farah, interview 3)

As Farah [3] explains, before the conflict and the extensive influx of Syrians, Syrians had been enjoying numerous entitlements living in Jordan. Syrians could not gain citizenship, but it was easy for them to get work and residency permits as equal Arab guests. The meaning and conditions of being a Syrians guest in Jordan have changed since the war in Syria. Syrians have been living in Jordan as guests for over decades, allowed through pan-Arabic notions of equal kinship and hospitality. In a conversation with a Jordanian male, he expressed strong disagreement with the understanding of Syrians as foreigners (Field notes 12-3-2017). He explained that Syrians are not foreigners. As Arabs, Syrians used to obtain a special status that has allowed them to live in Jordan heedlessly for years. They could live and work in Jordan without any problems. Syrians have always been welcomed as guests. However, the conditions under which they can stay in Jordan have changed since they have been perceived as a problem; posing a demographic, economic and security threat to Jordan's population.

While the Jordanian government refrains from referring to Syrians as refugees, the visible presence of the UNHCR and many other (I)NGOs, and the Jordanian government's interaction with these organisations designate a compelling narrative of Syrians as refugees. This allows for a complex situation in which two different authorities employ two different labels identifying Syrians as guest or refugee; both adopting different policies regarding the treatment of those identified by the label. While the refugee label is inclusive and holds entitlements of assistance and protection by the UNHCR, the guest label differentiates Syrians and employs rather restricting policies. While both labels hold characteristics that Syrians respondents identified themselves by, they lacked overall representation of their needs and causes. For the case of the Syrian respondents, rather than compliance with both or one of the labels guest or refugees they primarily referred to themselves as Syrians. It is therefore important to acknowledge that the application of the label of being guest rather is not that evident in Syrian's everyday life.

Pan- Arabic ideologies embedded with notions of hospitality have allowed Syrians to be in Jordan as guests are conveyed through narratives in which Syrians are not perceived as foreigners. Therefore, rather than as a new label produced to identify forced migrants coming from conflict in Syria, the guest label has been used to identify Arab migrants for years. Rather than being new, the guest label has been transformed; those who are identified by this label and what it means to be identified with the label have changed. What it means to be Syrian has changed because of the forced migration associated with Syrian's being in Jordan. Thus, the labels available to identify their needs and causes are not representative of how Syrians themselves experience their displacement.

No guests, no refugees

"Because of the way the Government was speaking about our situation as Syrians, they consider every Syrian as a refugee, even the students, even if you have residency in another country you are considered as a refugee. This made me feel unwelcome. The university forced the Syrian students to get some kind of, they said, security card. Every Syrian need to have one. But in the back, as you see there is the UNHCR [logo]. Why [are] you doing this? So, then I was like as long as you are considering me as a refugee and getting money from the world, for every single country for this situation; now I am going to do it, now I

am going to register myself as a refugee for real."
(Ahmed, interview 1)

Ahmed [1] expressed frustration with the fact that all Syrians are perceived as refugees because they need to possess the government issued security cards which have the UNHCR logo on the back of it. For the case of Syrians in Amman, they will always be refugees perceived as refugees in the sense that they are have been displaced because they had to flee to Jordan because of conflict. And as long as there is (international) interest for the Syrian refugee case, (I)NGOs will be there to support and assist them. However, at the same time, they will always be guests, Arab kin, that have been legally welcomed through notions of hospitality. While being allowed as legal guests in Jordan, in protracted displacement, the unconditional hospitality that allowed them to come to Jordan is mixed with conditional hospitality that is paramount in Syrian's everyday life.

Being guests, Syrians are forced migrants that are legally allowed to be in Jordan. Their legal status of being guests, despite the possession of certain entitlements, puts significant limits to the conditions under which they are allowed to stay in Jordan. The security card Syrians need to possess is the best symbolisation of the paradox of their guesthood. While the security card legitimises Syrian's stay in Jordan as guests, the card is distributed in cooperation with the UNHCR and every Syrian whether registered as a refugee or not, needs to possess the security card. The security card, therefore, perfectly illustrates how two contradicting labels are applied to Syrians at the same time, that both are not representative of Syrians situation.

For Syrians in Amman, they are refugees in Jordan as they have fled their country of origin and sought refuge in Amman. However, as will be further discussed, they do not identify as a refugee and notions that are connected to this status such as encampment, dependency, and victimhood. Thanks to the guests label, legally Syrians are guests that remain true to their Syrian identity. However, as Ahmed [1] mentioned, as guests Syrians face many restrictions that genuine guests would not experience. As mentioned in the previous chapter Syrians keep close to their Syrian identity. What it means to be Syrian has changed. Being guests and refugees has become part of the Syrian identity of those Syrians living in Jordan. Although, identifying as Syrian is most representative of their cause and needs as it represents adherence to Syria and the once strong Syrian identity.

The refugee label is extremely broad but at the same time contains specific negative associations of being passive victims that is not representative for the urban displacement of Syrians in Amman. Despite the fact that most of 'pure' Syrians have been registered with the UNHCR as refugees, they do feel represented as refugees. As mentioned before, Haneen [13] explained; *"I want to prove that as a refugee I am able to educate and to make a point in society that refugees are not just people that lost everything and just sit down without working or education".* As refugees Syrians acquire more entitlements special to their status, as defined by the 1951 convention. In addition, the refugee label complies with Syrians displacement, the needs of special treatment and adherence to Syria as their home country. Being a refugee, furthermore, is highly stigmatised with encampment, dependency, homelessness, loss and weakness, and, for the case of Jordan, symbolic for the Palestinian cause. Refugeehood with its connotation of victimhood and passiveness, such feelings of inability does not comply with Syrian's agency and self-sufficiency experienced in their everyday life. Syrians in Amman have been working, renting their own apartments, and continuing

their education, which is one of the many examples in which Syrians have shown ability, agency, and mobility in everyday life contradictory to general perceptions of refugees as passive victims that need to be taken care of. So, while refugee status acknowledges Syrian's displacement and their special needs as displaced forced migrants, it renounces Syrian's self-sufficiency, agency, and mobility which is central to their displacement experiences.

As clearly expressed by Ahmed [1], the major paradox of the guest label is the presumed hospitality for Syrians as guests and their freedom in contradiction to the control over the guest exerted by boundaries set to their being in Jordan. While hospitality allows Syrians to be welcomed in Jordan, guesthood in practice is defined by limitations and obligations that they need to find their way around. For the guest label, as the official legal status conveys the notions of hospitality that are paramount within inter-Arab relations and acknowledges Syrians mobility and agency. In addition, as guests, Syrians keep true to their Syrian nationality. On the other hand, the guest label does not take into account Syrian's needs and causes produced by their forced migration, but rather sets restriction in the conditions under which they are allowed to stay in Jordan. This, in turn, has caused frustrations among Syrians for not being treated with the hospitality that used to exist in intern-Arab relations.

The Paradox of hospitality and its hostility

> *"For my friends and neighbours who came with us to Jordan, I can tell that they do not feel welcome here. Now, they felt like everywhere they go they hear those bad comments about Syrians; they blame them for starting the revolution. Syrians that come here are being blamed for what has happened in Syria. They are blaming Syrians without even thinking, that it is not our fault. It is not that we wanted to come here; we are not here to steal your jobs, get anything from you. We just fled from war. We came here just searching for a safe place, country. We just want to live safely. We do not want to affect anybody. They found themselves forced to hear very bad comments about Syrians. Some of them heard that they deserved what has happened to them. So and they cannot debate with them. Jordanian[s] are saying you are in my country, you do not have the right to say anything about me, my point of view or against what I am saying. If you do not like the country you just go back to war. My neighbour heard this one time, they told her; if you do not like the situation here why don't you just go back and go and die there."*
> *(Farah, interview 3)*

Hospitality is paramount in inter-Arab relations. The mixed hospitality that creates the discourse of guesthood, consists of a mix of unconditional hospitality that welcomes the guest through humanitarian and ethical grounds and conditional hospitality when it concerns juridical and institutional grounds. Whereas unconditional hospitality – the ethical need to welcome the stranger especially when that stranger is worse off than you are – has been dominant in the Syrian-Jordanian relationship, it is challenged by conditional hospitality - the perceived threat of Syrians to the Jordanian power of territory, identity and population. The guesthood of Syrians has become critical because of the large influx which has been perceived as a threat to the Jordanian population, their jobs, housing, and expenses. Conditional hospitality challenges unconditional hospitality concerns the relation of the Jordanian state and Syrians in which control is exerted over Syrians by the state. Unconditional hospitality, in the sense of ethical responsibility to help others, is asserted by the Jordanian government by providing Syrians with legality in Jordan without the need for visas and residency permits. Here hospitality concerns humanitarian and ethical politics of relating to each other, accepting and helping Syrians as kin. Unconditional hospitality is furthermore

expressed by Jordanians through the notions of family and acquaintances that urged Syrians to come to Jordan and sheltered them their first days in Jordan. Hence, unconditional hospitality, the need to take care of the stranger, has allowed Syrian to find shelter in Jordan. However, this is where the unconditional hospitality ends as acceptance of Syrians is limited to the provision of a protection space and provision of assistance is reduced to (I)NGOs that are present in Jordan.

Thus within the discourse of guesthood, produced by the mix of unconditional and conditional hospitality, a paradox emanates as being unconditional and conditional hospitable, at the same time, is conflicting. Syrian respondents expressed their frustration about the lack of hospitality provision by Jordan as a state in the provision of rights and assistance and by Jordanians in acceptance and helping Syrians as equals. Therefore despite the fact that notions of hospitality have allowed Syrians to come to Jordan, this section demonstrates that the overall attitude of Jordanians towards Syrians has been rather hostile. After the initial welcome that allowed them to come to Jordan, most Syrians explained they did not feel welcome but rather mistreated in regard to the way in which Jordanians treated them. This determines Syrian's experiences of displacement and makes them feel unwelcome rather than welcome in Jordan. While within the academic literature, the guesthood concept mainly focusses on the relation between the host state and the guests in which the conditions under which Syrians can stay are set. This section argues that among the Jordanian host population a hostile attitude towards Syrian has replaced the initial hospitality with hostility that makes Syrians feel unwelcome.

Conditional hospitality a mechanism of control

> *"Syria was a place of prosperity, not only for Syrians but also for others; Lebanese refugees. I remember in my school days that I had Iraqi friends and Lebanese friends. I don't remember they were mistreated. She [one of my friends] was going to school just like me, I saw her every day in school. She was schooled and given knowledge. Why is this [conflict in Syria] all happening, you start to question the world, and question [the] morals of the world. It is really horrible. I mean, Iraqi people they have struggled a lot with the war going on there and Lebanese, but not like us. And they were able to prosper in one way or another. I am not saying everyone was able to prosper. But when it comes to us, why? This ungratefulness to reply back to us like this. [...] Someone who treats you so good, and the next time you meet him, with something unpleasant after all the things you have done for him. You do not know how to explain people and how they treat you.*
> *People were enrolled in schools. Lebanese were welcomed. I remember [her], as a friend, she is married now to a Syrian guy. Even many of them entered university without money. [Everyone enjoyed] free education. There are different options in which everyone has the ability to get [an] education. I do not know what is going on in the world it is creepy.*
> *They [Jordanians] came to the most beautiful country, Syria is such a beautiful country, and they enjoyed it. People came to Syria to enjoy the nature, to enjoy the food, to enjoy the culture. It is a place that tells you history without making an effort to know it. You go to places; you can appreciate the history without reading any books. The alleys, the old street, old Damascus the place where all the tourists come, there are castles. In every way you can imagine, there is a lot of beauty. There was free water; Syria has a lot of water resources. Syria has offered a lot, and this is how you treat us back? It is frustrating."*
> *(Sada, interview 7)*

Pan- Arabism, embedded with notions of hospitality and generosity, is dominant within inter-Arab relations. Pan-Arabism perceives all Arabs to be equal kin - producing a sense of belonging - to which the same rights should apply to foreign Arabs as to citizens. This has allowed high mobility between Jordan and Syria before.

However, as indicated by Sada [7], for the case of Syrians that have come to Jordan after the war the situation has been different. Sada [7] expressed frustration with the fact that Syrians have been so good to their guests, to any guests; those who sought refuge in Syria but also to those who visited on vacation. And after all the generosity and hospitality with which they have welcomed others, they, as Syrians, feel they are not treated the same.

Being a non-signatory of the 1951 convention on the status of refugees and by referring to Syrians as guests rather than refugees, the Jordanian government refrains from any legal obligation to take responsibility regarding the protection of the Syrian refugees. In addition, Jordan's policy regarding Syrians as refugees has been restricting. This goes against the image of Jordan as a generous host, providing the hospitality to its Arab brethren.

Before the conflict in Syria, hence before relation between Jordanians and Syrians changed in favour of the Jordanians, being a Syrian in Jordan or a Jordanian in Syria did not matter. People could easily get work permits, have residency permits. For Jordanians in Syria, it was even better as they enjoyed free education and healthcare. But as guests, Syrian respondents expressed they experience very little of the hospitality they once provided to others. Instead of a warm welcome and generosity, Syrians indicated feeling unwelcome and experiencing rather restrictive conditions to their being in Amman. There exists a gap between how Syrians should be accommodated through notions of pan-Arabism and reality. This is expressed by Syrians in frustration about the lack of help and rights they have as guests. The Pan-Arab hospitality regime clearly defines how to receive other Arab nationals. And in the case of Sada [7], it is clear that the hospitality provided to Syrians that came to Jordan is deficient to the standards that she knows of how Syrians welcomed guests. The social reciprocity or the ways in which Syrians and Jordanians normally would relate to each other are different since the Syrian-Jordanian relation is changed from equal kin to host-guest.

> *"But then the government started to get advantage or benefits from the Syrians. In everything that would happen in the war, they would say we have a refugee crisis, a Syrian refugee crisis in [Jordan].We need money to deal with it. This was getting on my nerves, why do you keep doing this, keep making us like we are not welcome here."*
> *(Ahmed, interview 1)*

For the relationship between the host and the guest, it is said that the hospitality that allows the host to welcome the guest becomes a mechanism of control (Mason 2011). As guests, Syrians form a separated category from Jordanians as hosts to obtain easy control over. Within the literature, there is the focus on the exclusion as a mechanism of control where the guests face restriction and exclusion to the conditions under which they can stay. For Syrian's guesthood in Jordan, it is true that they experienced entitlements no other forced migrant group had. Being allowed to stay in Jordan without requiring any visa or residency permits has been recognized as a demonstration of great hospitality shown by Jordan. However, this warm welcome and the entitlements are disputed by the restrictions and limitations that set the conditions under which Syrians can stay in Jordan. One of the highlights of this is the distribution of security cards that visibly makes a distinction between being a regular guest to a specific category. Security cards used by the Jordanian government enabled them to gain apparent control over Syrians as a distinct group. When speaking about the restriction they face, Syrians mentioned the unfairness of those restrictions, since

Syrians would face them just because they are Syrian. Ahmed [1] expresses how the Jordanian government has been speaking about Syrians in terms of a burden they are to the country. For Ahmed and other respondents, the way in which the Jordanian government has been speaking about the Syrian refugee crisis, expressing the needs for financial assistance to accommodate Syrians, and their attitude toward Syrians of restrictions rather than support, has been conflicting.

One the one hand, in regard to the international community, the Jordanian government expresses great hospitality and receptiveness towards Syrians. This claims the support and the assistance of the international community in the accommodation of Syrian refugees in Jordan. While on the other hand, Syrians are depicted as political and social problematic demographic that results in restrictions and exclusion faced by Syrians. Being forced migrant plays a significant role in the transformation between Syrians and the Jordanian state as host. Where the government attempts to represent its hospitality by being receptive to Syrians, the general narrative depicts Syrians as a burden to Jordan that causes problems for the accessibility of socio-economic resources. The threat Syrians where posing for Jordanian's employment, Jordanian's education, healthcare and natural resources consequently resulted in the restriction of Syrian's access to such services and resources by the Jordanian government. Those policies have been rather hostile instead of expressing hospitality towards Syrians. While it is said that the rules and regulation had to be set to deal with the enormous influx of Syrians that Jordan could not cope with otherwise. Such restrictions exclude and limit Syrians within their everyday life.

Syrians as a guest have become a category to which special rules apply that no other category faced. Syrians through Jordanian policies have been differentiated from Palestinians that have obtained citizenship. But also from Iraqis, who have been and still are perceived as guests, that officially have been temporary visitors overstaying their visas but did not need security cards. The Syrian guests are welcomed to the extent that they can reside in Jordan legally, without the need for visas or residency permits, but under strict conditions. Moreover, the security cards that allow them to stay are rather confining the conditions under which they can stay, than, holding entitlements such as access to services like healthcare and education as for these services, in practice, additional refugee status is needed. The paradox of hospitality is thus that it does not reach much further than providing legality in Jordan as policies been restricting rather than welcoming the Syrian guest.

When asked about the differences between life in Syria and Amman, most respondents reacted with answers that concerned notions about restrictions they faced, hence things that they no longer can do. As mentioned before the most obvious restrictions have been the restriction to work, the restriction to Syrians mobility outside the country but also within, and the exclusion of rights and assistance, such as sufficient healthcare and education, that citizens enjoy. For Syrians, there also exists a power difference that is clearly present in Syrians everyday life in Amman. Jordanians, being genuine citizens, are hosting Syrians who, as guests, are expected to show gratitude. This makes Syrians indebted to Jordanians which changes the power relation between Syrians and Jordanians. Farah [3] and other respondents have mentioned events in which Jordanians have mentioned how Jordanians told them that if they did not agree they should just go back to Syrian.

Jordanian host population – Syrian guest relationship

> *"For now I am not facing any troubles. Well, of course, laws are not so friendly regarding Syrians. If we take away the government, if we put that aside, then things are beautiful. But if you listen to the hate speech in the media and from official institutions, people on social media, then life turns into hell. [...] When you criticise] people telling you, oh you hate our country? You are not a citizen; you do not have the right to criticise. This kind of attitude. If you are not a citizen, if you are not Jordanian, you do not have the right to say anything."*
> *(Nour, interview 14)*

As Nour [14], and many others, expressed, for now, they are doing alright, not taking into account the restrictions set by the government, and the general negative attitude of Jordanians against Syrians. In addition, as depicted in the quote, a clear power inequality within the relationship between the host and the guest exists. Hospitality, therefore, allows Syrians to come to Jordan but generates an unequal relationship between the host and guest. The existing power structures within the act of hospitality delineate the obligation of the guests to be grateful to the host. This has been expressed through notions that there is no space for Syrians to complain about their situations. In addition, respondents explained how in situations where they did not do anything wrong, Jordanian have reacted hostile toward them just because they were Syrian.

> *"The owners of our house, they fight with us if we have guests. They don't want us to have guests. The son of the owner of our house, he asked me to not have guests. I did not listen to him. Once I had guests and he came to the house with some other guys and he broke the doors and the glass of the window. Then I went with my oldest son to the police station and we complained about him. The officer, he was with the guy [took the house owner's son's side] because he thought that I was Syrian. Then when we gave him our id cards he knew that we were Jordanian and not Syrian. Why didn't you tell me that you were Jordanian from the beginning? I told him, I am Syrian, not Jordanian. [It is just that] I have the Jordanian nationality. [When he knew I was Jordanian] he was nice to me. And the son of the house owner did also not know we were Jordanian and not Syrian. That is why he treated us like this. They asked us to leave the case, first I did not agree, but in the end, I forgave him. Initially [the owner's son] was not nice. And also I am Syrian. One of the policemen told the guys they had to apologise to me, and if they would do anything bad to us, he would punch them."*
> *(Qadira, interview 20)*

The case that Qadira [20] narrated clearly demonstrates the hostile attitude of Jordanians towards Syrians. This has been an extreme example. During interviews, when respondents described such negative situations, they explained that not all Jordanians express such negative attitudes. In general, as mentioned before, Syrians have been able to secure their everyday life. However, all respondents indicated to either have experienced negative encounters being Syrian, or knew people that had negative encounters with Jordanians. Therefore, the paradox of hospitality that concerns the relationship between the Jordanians and Syrians, is that there is both hospitality; in the sense of providing Syrians the protection space in which they can continue their everyday life where at individual level strong relationships between Syrians and Jordanians consist, and, hostility; the general narrative of a negative attitude of Jordanians towards Syrians.

"Open minded Jordanians are nice, they do not discriminate. But, the other Jordanians they do. The people who do not have education, they make discrimination."
(Faizah, interview 18)

As mentioned by the respondents, by surrounding themselves with people that accept them for being Syrian, building strong social networks, helps them to discard experiences with hostile attitudes as people who do not know better. It differed among the respondents whether they had many, few, or no Jordanian friends. It was however said that making social relationships with Jordanians was harder than among Syrians or Palestinians. In addition, when speaking about these Jordanian friends, the distinction was made that they were nice to them, regarding, other Jordanians with whom they have had negative experiences.

"[I feel] welcome not, accepted maybe. Accepted as now it is a reality, we are dealing with; it is part of our lives now. Welcome like they want us here, NO. I do have [a lot of Jordanian friends]. My friends do not have a problem with me being Syrian. If they would have, I would not have been friends with them. Among them, I feel very accepted.[…] I was not that uncomfortable for me here in Jordan. But I can say that it could have been [much better] in general. [Mainly in regard to] the people, the way they look, and the government the way they deal with us"
(Ahmed, interview 1)

The general attitude of hostility towards Syrians expressed by the Jordanian population consequently makes that Syrians do not feel welcome. When asked, whether they would feel welcome or not, Syrian respondents made a distinction between feeling welcome among relatives and friends and feeling welcome in general. As mentioned before, social relations have been fundamental in securing Syrian's everyday life in Amman. Therefore, as Ahmed [1] mentioned, and for other respondents, those people close to them do not mind them being Syrian. So rather than being welcomed with hospitality, the general negative attitude of Jordanians towards Syrians that makes that Syrians do not feel welcome, in addition to the restrictions they encounter imposed by the Jordanian government.

Conclusion

There are two paradoxical problems concerning the concept of guesthood regarding the findings of this research. First, as a label being guest, does not comply with the way Syrians perceive themselves and the way they are treated. While the guest label conveys pan-Arab notions of hospitality and kinship between Syrians and Jordanians that allow them to come to Jordan, as guests, Syrians face restrictions rather than that their needs and causes produced by the forced migration are acknowledged. Moreover, the guest label is one among many labels to identify Syrians that are highly politicised and convey different policies and entitlements. This allows for a paradoxical positioning of Syrians in the Jordanian society; they are no real guests, no refugees, but instead, Syrians are both welcomed and restricted by notions of hospitality. Secondly, the hospitality that is embedded within Syrian's guesthood entails a mixture of unconditional and conditional hospitality. The Jordanian state perceives Syrians as guests, but at the same time conveyed restrictive policies that are set to control Syrians. This generates a paradoxical position of Syrians that are being welcomed and are perceived as a burden at the same time. Hence, rather than being treated with hospitality, the generally hostile attitude of Jordanians as host population makes Syrians feel unwelcome.

Discussion, conclusion, and recommendations

Chapter 8

Guesthood of Syrians in Jordan, their particular position of being considered as a guest in society has been the guiding principle to analyse Syrian's displacement experiences in Amman. As this research has shown and will be further discussed in this concluding chapter; while guesthood as a label is embedded with notions of hospitality, the reality of guesthood in the everyday life of Syrians is more complex. It is true that pan-Arabism and a strong cross-border relationship between Jordan and Syria have facilitated a large influx of Syrians to Jordan. Jordan's open border policies towards Syrians and their social connections to Jordanians or Syrians living in Jordan have facilitated Syrian's flight to Amman. The hospitality that is suggested with guesthood, however, seems limited. The results of the research have shown that rather than with hospitality Syrians have been treated with hostility. As guests, Syrians had expected to be equal Arabs among Jordanians, temporary living in Jordan. On individual base, Syrians have established relationships with Jordanians, but the objective general attitudes of Jordanians towards Syrians consist of discrimination, name calling and taking advantage of Syrians that are in worse positions. Therefore, general experiences of Syrians have been that they have not been accepted as equal Arabs among Jordanians, while they have been accepted by Jordanians in individual relationships. This is in addition to the restrictions faced by the Jordanian policies towards Syrians where they are not legally allowed to work and limited in their access to services and motility.

Discussion

This section will discuss the findings of this research in regard to the concepts of displacement and guesthood that guided the research objective. It will do so by discussing the understanding of displacement and guesthood as found in this research and by putting the Syrian case in perspective to experiences of displacement by the previous Palestinian and Iraqi case.

Displacement

Displacement experiences are the continuation of a heavily disrupted everyday life in exile. Despite uncertainty and struggles Syrians in Jordan attempt to live life as normal as possible. Displacement experience is understood, within the academic literature, to consist of exclusion and hardships. This has been true for Syrian's displacement, however, there is more to displacement experiences than exclusion and hardship. It is true that as guests or refugees Syrians have been deprived of rights, assistance, and protection that Jordanians as citizens enjoy. However, such focus on the refugee or guest and nation-state relationship does not provide a holistic understanding as it ignores the perspectives of Syrians themselves and how they experience displacement. This research has taken the focus on Syrians guest position in society to understand the juridical implication of being guests, as dictated by pan-Arab ideologies, but at the same time allowed for the focus on Syrian's perception of their displacement. In short, by taking Syrians guesthood the social position and its implication are acknowledged, to analyse how Syrians themselves experience displacement being guests.

As this research has shown there are juridical implications to the positions Syrians have as guests in the Jordanian society, but in addition to the legal implications, uncertainty and the relationship between Jordanians and Syrians have been paramount for the "guesthood" Syrians in Amman experience. This research argues that displacement is not a fixed but a fluid everyday life reality in exile, susceptible to change. While Syrians strive to improve everyday life situations, the certainty that is secured in everyday life does guarantee better futures, as the policy of the Jordanian government and Jordanian's attitudes have

shown to change over time. While there are more inclusive policies towards Syrians at the moment as more work permits are granted, exile becomes more protracted, donations have lessened, and the Jordanian attitude towards the refugee crisis has become less and less receptive.

Being a social reality, displacement conditions are ever-changing realities for Syrians in which hardship, exclusion, and discrimination are encountered. At the same time, displacement has provided Syrians with opportunities that they would not have had if they had stayed in Syria and there had not been a conflict. Despite being a social reality in which everyday life is continued, displacement is perceived as temporality. Perceiving displacement as a temporality is a coping strategy that allows Syrians to deal with displacement as a temporary state in the here and now and allows them to remain hope for the future. Therefore, displacement is both the acceptation and continuation of life in exile in the here and now, as it is a refusal of the condition of life as permanent where Syrians remain strong to their identity of being strong independent Syrian individuals that belong elsewhere.

Guesthood

Coming from conflict, perceptions of guesthood have changed, as being guests in Jordan has become implicated with the notion of flight. The aspect of forced migration that brought Syrians to Jordan has changed the power relation between Jordan as state and Syrians, but also between Jordanians and Syrians. What it means to be a Syrian in Jordan has changed as first Syrians were equal Arab, but the conflict in Syria has included the notions of exile and displacement to Syrians being in Jordan. Guesthood as a concept encompasses the mix of conditional and unconditional hospitality that Syrians experience being perceived as guests in Jordan. Guesthood, in practice, has different implication concerning the relationship between the guest and the state and the guest and the host society. For Syrians as guests in relation to the Jordanians state, being guest comprises their legal guest status that is defined by the juridical implications of being in Jordan. Guesthood in regard to the relation between Syrians and Jordanians as hosts stipulates what it meant to be perceived as a guest within everyday life in exile in interaction with the Jordanian host society.

Syrians have not been perceived as refugees both by the Jordanians state and Jordanians since refugee status is associated with the Palestinian case. Syrians legal status identifies them as guests, but at the same time, they are refugees because they have fled to Jordan. Being legal guests, Syrians are supposed to be perceived as equal Arab Syrians among Jordanians. In practice, Syrians are no real guests as Syrians are not perceived as equals among the Jordanian host population. While guesthood as a concept allows for a better understanding of the ambiguous position have in the Jordanian society that is produced through notions of pan-Arabism. Findings of this research suggest that guesthood taken from the perspective of the guests themselves is significantly different from understandings of the ideologies embedded in the concept that is focussed on the relationship between the state and its guests. This is because, in addition to the state-guest relationship, the interplay between Syrians as guests and Jordanians as host are significant for the way in which guesthood is experienced. Putting guesthood in a global perspective, being differentiated from the refugee, it is presumed that being guests provides Syrians with more equality towards the citizen sharing the same rights, protection, and assistance. However, in reality, as guests, the only rights Syrians have is their legality in Jordan that is issued through the obligation to possess a security card. The paradox of this security card is that while Jordan does not acknowledge Syrians as refugees this card is issued in cooperation

with the UNHCR. Because of this contradiction and complexities, the question arises; what is left of Syrians guesthood in reality?

There is complexity with the word refugee, as it both refers to the act of flight of people, hence an identification for people that were forced to leave their country, and it refers to the specific official status of being a refugee that acknowledges the special needs of these people and enables their access to assistance from states, the UNHCR and other NGOs. Syrians are refugees as being in Jordan acknowledges their act of flight. At the same time, this act of flight makes that Syrians lost the rights, protection and assistance they used to enjoy as citizens in Syria. Being guests, these needs for rights, protection and assistance are not acknowledged by Jordan as a host state. There is also complexity with the word guest. While, through notions of Pan-Arabism, a guest is someone that is accommodated and provided hospitality with no questions asked. As guests in Jordan, Syrians experience restrictions that are determined by the specific conditions under which they are allowed to stay in Jordan. Guesthood in the state-guest relationship is the legal status of Syrians that provide them legality but no assistance, protection, and rights. Moreover, guesthood is determined by restrictive conditions under which they are allowed to stay in Jordan.

Syrians are guests as they do not need special visas and residency permits to be in Jordan. They are refugees as they have special needs that are caused by their forced migration to Jordan. Pan-Arabic notions have allowed strong relations between Syria and Jordan. There have been Syrians living in Jordan for centuries who have been perceived as equal Arab guests with a different nationality, able to live and work in Jordan taking an equal position in society. The relatedness between Syria and Jordan that allowed Syrians to come to Jordan as guests is a continuation of cross-border mobility between Syria and Jordan.

The guest label and refugee label while used in formal settings to identify Syrians, in practice, have no significance. In everyday life interaction, Syrians are perceived as Syrians rather than guest or refugee. In addition, Syrians themselves refer to themselves as Syrians rather than as guests, or refugees. Within everyday interaction, Syrian's accent makes that they are identified as Syrians. Therefore, within everyday life rather than being referred to as guest or refugee, Syrians are referred to as Syrians. Syrians have a legal guest status that determines their legal position in the Jordanian society. However, in everyday life, it is their accents through which they are recognised as Syrians. Being recognised as Syrians differentiates them from the Jordanians as citizens and influences the way in which Syrians are treated by Jordanians. Guesthood, in everyday life, therefore, is determined by being perceived as Syrian through you accent in interaction with Jordanians. Hence, in regard to Syrians everyday life, guesthood has been paramount in the relationships between Syrians and Jordanians. Being recognised by your accent as Syrian has resulted in various events in which negative attitudes by Jordanians toward Syrians have been expressed. In regard to guesthood, these negative attitudes of Jordanians and narratives of Syrians as not belonging in Jordan, go against notions of equality and hospitality that are faced by Syrians.

Being identified as Syrian consist of being identified as a specific group itself, whether you possess the Syrian nationality or not. Syrians do not comply with the label of being guest or refugee, but it is rather a combination of both. In regard to hospitality embedded within the idea of guesthood, it has been notions of hospitality that allowed Syrians to come to Jordan. However, this hospitality in protracted displacement is replaced by notions of hostility that express a generally negative attitude of Jordanians towards Syrians. Syrians are forced migrants and rather than being guests, being Syrian has become a different label on its

own. When Syrians are being recognised, the way they are treated is different. Whether it is negative attitudes of hostility or it is the pity looks given, Syrians have been perceived as third-degree citizens.

This research argues that guesthood fails to explain Syrians displacement being the relation between the state and the guest that stipulates the juridical implications of being guest in Jordan. This relation is part of displacement, as it provides Syrians with legality and determines the position in society as non-citizens. But this does not explain or account for the displacement experiences concerning the relationship between Jordanians as host community and Syrians as guests. Within everyday life in displacement, the relationships between Syrians and Jordanians plays an important role. Guesthood, beside juridical implications of being a guest, consists of the perceptions and attitudes of the host population towards the guest that determine what it is like being a guest within the host society. In everyday life rather than guests or refugees Syrians are referred to as Syrian. Being Syrian is yet another label, in which Syrians are refugees that are to be sheltered through pan-Arab notions of providing hospitality and are guests by the legal status they possess. Syrians as Syrians take a particular position in society as they are and are not guest or refugees but are shifting between different labels that identify their being in Jordan and provide them with different statuses in different formal and informal settings.

Syrian case/ looking at the future

The case of Syrians as guests in the Jordanian society differs from the Palestinian and Iraqi case. Where experiences of previous accommodation of refugee groups have influenced policy regarding the accommodation of Syrians, there is a significant difference between the cases. The number of Syrians that sought refuge in Jordan has been many times higher than the number of Iraqis. Where this has more resemblance to the Palestinian case the accommodation of Palestinians has been completely different as Palestinians have received citizenship. The Syrian case has most resemblance to the Iraqi case as they both have been perceived as guests. However, while Syrians have obtained a legal guest states, Iraqis have not. Iraqis have rather been perceived as visitors overstaying their visas. Where Palestinians have been absorbed as citizens they enjoyed rights, protection, and assistance that allowed them to build their futures in Jordan. Many Iraqis have returned to Iraq, but others have stayed and build futures in Jordan. For Syrians, most respondents indicated they did not see their future here in Jordan and would go back to Syria if possible.

As the situation in Syria is improving in some areas Syrians have been voluntary returning home. But at the same time, the conflict is continuing and might continue for years. As Saeed [8] explained, Palestinians have been here for over 60 years, we might be here for a long time. It is unsure when Syrian's exile will end, however, Syrians do want to go back as Syria is their home. The question remains whether Syrians will be able to return home in large numbers like Iraqis have or might have to stay for longer with less vision on return? The possibility of going home bolsters the idea of temporary displacement and make life in exile bearable. Life in exile is ever-changing as opportunities are seized to improve everyday life. At the same time, views of being stuck are expressed among Syrians, as it is difficult to find jobs and opportunities that match people's experiences and education and provide them with salaries that reflect this. Therefore, displacement remains embedded with uncertainty and marginalisation while the future remains unpredictable and out of Syrian's control. Therefore, Syrians will continue actively awaiting better futures of either return or resettlement without anticipation of when this will come.

Conclusion

This research has been conducted to find an answer to the question; *How do Syrians, as guests, experience displacement in the urban setting of Amman?* To answer this question the research has adopted the three perspectives of life in Amman, guesthood and identity, and the paradox of guesthood, that guided the empirical chapter of this research. First, displacement is perceived as a temporal social reality in which disrupted everyday life is continued by Syrians that have taken a paradoxical legal position as guests. Syrian's guesthood is their juridical and social position in the Jordanian society which is generated by the host-guest relationship between Jordan as state and Syrians as guests and Jordanians as host and Syrians as guests. Examining Syrians displacement taking a practical approach, displacement, as temporal social reality in everyday life, is experienced as radical and protracted uncertainty that is navigated by securing basic and physical needs, securing routine and opportunities, and by remaining hope for the future. Examining displacement, by taking a fundamental approach to the impact of displacement of Syrian's identities, it was found that the new social environment of displacement has changed Syrian's identity. Through identity continuation -adhering to efficacy, distinctiveness, and purpose derived from their Syrian identity - Syrian's have been able to cope with marginalisation and exclusion faced by being recognised as Syrians by their accents in everyday interaction. In addition, this research found that displacement has changed gender roles, as Syrian women experienced more freedom and have taken more progressive roles in society.

Life in Amman

The practical approach to Syrian's everyday life in Amman allowed this research to understand displacement as a social reality in everyday life. Life in Amman is characterised by navigating radical and protracted uncertainty in which negative outcomes for the future are avoided. The first period of exile is characterised by radical uncertainty resulting from the speed in which changes took place abruptly forcing Syrian out of the stable life they had before the conflict, and lacking knowledge and information that on how to continue everyday life [having no idea where to start from or a vision for the future]. Navigating this radical uncertainty, Syrians managed to secure their basic needs of finding, shelter, food, security and safety that life in conflict did not provide. In addition, physical needs of belongingness and achievement have been met as people were able to find a secure a base of home from which their everyday life could be arranged. When life in exile becomes protracted so does the uncertainty experienced. The protracted uncertainty of Syrians in Jordan is characterised by understandings of exile as temporal and fundamental lack of knowledge as Syrians, as guests, lack knowledge about the exact conditions under which they can stay and the length of their stay. Navigation strategies for this uncertainty comprise of finding routine and opportunities that alleviate everyday life and provide a vision for the future. Routine and opportunities that alleviate everyday life are found in the establishment of social networks and committing to opportunities for employment and education that feed the psychological needs of belonging and esteem or even self-actualisation.

Displacement is conceived as temporal reality in a different place and a certain period of time. By maintaining trust in a better future Syrians navigate the uncertainties and struggles they face in displacement. To ensure better futures Syrians actively avoid negative future outcomes that would make their exile permanent. The effect of Syrians displacement on their visions of the future is that they envision better future but have no certainty of what these futures will look like. This is because better futures can

have different outcomes, whether it will be a return to Syria or resettlement to a third country. It differs individually what a better future are appreciated.

Guesthood and identity

Displacement and hence becoming guests transforms Syrians identities. Syrians have been recognised by their accent as Syrian. While nationality has been perceived as important for guesthood because it differentiates them from Jordanians as genuine citizens, nationality is more complex. This is because those who are perceived as Syrian do not necessarily possess the Syrian nationality. Rather people have been identified as Syrian, when they spoke the Syrian accent, had been living in Syria for all or most of their lives and had come to Jordan as forced migrants. Therefore, a difference between 'pure' and non-pure Syrians has been indicated both by Syrians themselves and Jordanians. This distinction has been important in formal settings as only 'pure' Syrians that possessed the Syrian nationality need the security cards and are eligible to register with the UNHCR. While those who are Syrians with the Jordanian nationality do not face formal and legal struggles, in everyday life they are perceived as Syrian and face the same hardship and social exclusion that 'pure' Syrians face.

Becoming guests, hence experiencing forced migration and taking a guest position in society, has transformed Syrians identities. Before the conflict in Syria, Syria was a strong country and Syrians were proud of their Syrian identity. Syrians identified themselves and used to be identified by Jordanians as strong, skilled and clever people. Syrian's identities have transformed as the social environments through which identity is constructed has changed completely. Syrians identity has changed, first in how they perceived themselves, having lost and replaced the social networks and jobs and education that made people who they are in regard to others. Secondly, the way in which Syrians others, Jordanians, have perceived Syrians has significantly changed. Where Syrians had been appreciated for their strong Syrian identity and country, when they became guests Syrians got blamed for starting the conflict in Syria and pressure they posed on Jordan's resources, by stealing jobs and making life in Jordan expensive. Syrians identity have been transformed by the loss of dignity and a new social position they have in the Jordanian society. But at the same time, identity continuation has allowed Syrians to challenge disconnection from their Syrian identity. The efficiency and purpose derived from the Syrian identity have allowed Syrian to cope with exclusion and discrimination by claiming a position in the Jordanian society through the establishment of social bonds, employment and education.

While this was not an initial focus of the research, it was found that gender has played a significant role for some female Syrians in displacement. Being a Syrian woman, they are perceived as 'easy' women, especially single women. Their position has caused them to be taken advantage off. Where in Syria some female respondents had taken traditional roles of housewives that were not allowed to move around unaccompanied. Coming to Amman has allowed them to take more progressive roles and enjoy more freedom. This has been both because Amman as a city provides an environment where women have taken more progressive roles and there are workshops available for Syrian women that support women's rights and provide them with skills.

Paradox of guesthood

Guesthood has provided the conception of Syrian's legal position in society as starting point to analyse their displacement experiences. While the concept focusses on the relation between the guest and the state this provides a flawed understanding of Syrians displacement. Guesthood, besides the state-guest relationship, is determined by the interplay between the guest and host population. For this research, this has means that guesthood is both, the juridical implication of being a legal guest in the Jordanian society, as it is, the Jordanian attitudes towards Syrians of acceptation and exclusion.

As a label guesthood, therefore, impact displacement experiences as it delineates Syrian's legal position and the conditions under which they are allowed to stay in Jordan. Being guest implies an equal position while rather restriction and exclusion is experienced that is challenged by Syrians through social navigation. In addition, while as guests Syrians should be treated with hospitality it is rather hostility that is experienced. Notions of hospitality towards the guest imply generosity and welcome for Syrians, however, a generally negative attitude of Jordanians towards Syrians is experienced in displacement, that makes them feel unwelcome.

Recommendations

Much has changed since the fieldwork was conducted. Currently, there are stable areas in Syria and Syrians have been returning home. However, at the same time, the conflict is not over yet and everyday bombing is the norm. Displacement in Amman continues and is ever changing. While there have been efforts to allow more Syrians work permits, donations for NGOs have been reduced, and resettlement to America has become less likely. One of the respondents that were selected for resettlement to America before the ban by Trump is still awaiting his resettlement and the chance to go has become less likely. Since there is now voluntary return to Syria and resettlement continues, at the same time most Syrians remain displaced in Jordan. To understand these people's displacement in ever-changing environments continued research is necessary.

Guesthood provides valuable insight to the particular positions forced migrants to have as guests within Arabic society. However, the sole focus on the relationship between the state as host and the guest does not provide adequate insight into the displacement experiences of those guests. This research, therefore, recommends incorporating the focus on the host population- guest relationship in the approach to guesthood. In addition to the state-guest relationship, a focus on the relationship between the host community and the guest allows for a better understanding of the role guesthood play in the everyday interaction with the host community. This is because unconditional hospitality is not solely the control exerted over the guest by the state, but also expressed among the host society.

The issues with nationality concerning citizen's rights and non-citizen's lack of rights has been acknowledged within academic literature concerning guesthood and refugeehood. However, it has only been during fieldwork that the issues of nationality as pure and non-pure Syrians came to the fore. The nationality people have on paper does not necessarily resemble how they are perceived by others. Where these people have fewer struggles in formal settings, because they have citizenship, within everyday life situations they experience discrimination and hardship because they are perceived as Syrian. In addition, Palestinian-Jordanians and Palestinian-Syrians that have fled to Jordan experience difficulty as they are perceived as

neither citizens nor refugees in formal settings for Syrian refugees and have to seek assistance elsewhere. Since this research has found that Syrian-Jordanian's displacement experiences are rather similar to 'pure' Syrians experiences. An interesting topic for future research would be specific on how Jordanian-Syrians that have fled Syria to Jordan are experiencing displacement and integration in Jordan.

While gender has not been an initial focus of this research it was highlighted as an important aspect among female respondents. When asked about differences between life in Jordan and Syria female respondents indicated that in Amman they were working where is Syria they did not. In addition, one of the respondents indicated how she had become more independent and her husband allowed her to go out by herself. These changes are important for displacement experiences, as she indicated that despite the life in Amman was hard and she would rather have been in Syria, she was delighted her husband become more open-minded her daughters can go to school and have better futures.

The particular position of Syrians in Jordan is an important aspect of their displacement and needs to be acknowledged. I hope the guiding principle of guesthood, as particular position of Syrians in Jordan, has been inspiring for future research to better understand Syrian's displacement experience.

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Appendix

Topic list | Interviews Syrians

Personal information:

- Age
- Place of residence Syria
- Place of residence Jordan/Amman
- Education/ work in Syria
- Education/ work in Amman

Coming to Jordan:

- Why did you choose to come to Jordan?
- Date of arrival in Jordan
- Date of arrival in Amman
- How did you travel to Jordan? airplane/taxi/bus/car/by foot
- How were you able to come to Jordan? capital

Life in Syria:

- Description of (everyday) life in Syria
- Descriptions of the main differences between life in Amman and Syria

Life in Amman:

- What was is like coming to Amman?
- First days in Amman versus everyday life now
- What are your main struggles in everyday life?
- How did you find an apartment?
- How did you find a job?
- How did you get an education?

Registration with the UNHCR:

- Are you registered with the UNHCR, why/ why not?
- What is it like being registered as a refugee?

Being a Syrian in Amman:

- Can you describe what it is like being a Syrian in Amman?
- Struggles/ restrictions
- Making (Jordanian) friends
- Receiving help or being independent

- When do you experience most or when do you get reminded that you are a Syrian in Jordan?
- Are you proud being a Syrian?

Wrap up:

- What is the most difficult part of being here in Amman?
- What is the best part about being in Amman?
- What are your dreams of the future?
- Do you have anything to add?

Coding scheme

	Interview number
Personal information	- Age - Gender - Family composition
Place of residence in Syria	
Place of residence in Jordan	
Life in Syria	
Life in Jordan	
Jordanian-Syrian relations	
Guesthood	
Identity	
Paradox	
Main struggles	
Experience being a Syrian in Amman	
Dreams for the future	
Gender	
Finding a job/house/ education	
Family	
Other	