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The Ties That Bind: The Impact of Synergetic Social Capital on Socio-Political Stability in Jordan



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Abstract

This thesis examines the impact of the dimensions (structural, cognitive, relational) of synergetic social capital on socio-political stability (measured using 4 thematic areas designed by the Fund for Peace's Fragile States Index) in Jordan. The explanatory case study synthesises the responses to 10 semi-structured interviews into a single narrative and attempts to determine the quality and effects of social capital in Jordan to prove that social capital significantly contributes to socio-political stability by freeing the resources the government is not able to.

It finds that a high correlation between social capital and stability in Jordan is likely, but is constrained by the fluidity of the concepts and issues of feasibility. The results may nevertheless be used for low-cost local government programmes to build resilience.

Key Words

Social capital, Synergy View, Socio-Political Stability, Fragile States Index, Jordan, Semi-Structured Interviews, Explanatory case Study, Thematic Analysis

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1 Introduction

1.1 Jordan: “Between a Rock and a Hard Place”

1.1.1 Resource Scarcity

On my most recent trip to Jordan a friend maintained that Jordan was “between a rock and a hard place”. The aphorism certainly fits well here, and is part of the reason why this country is such an intriguing object of analysis. It suffers from extremely limited freshwater resources, a declining water table, rapid desertification, salinity, and has to import nearly all its energy, which constitutes almost 30% of Jordan’s imports (CIA, 2018). Agriculture and public services are constrained by these factors, and industry is weak, so the state has little to offer in terms of exports.

1.1.2 Palestinian Percentage

Nearly half of the young state’s population is of Palestinian descent, with most of them having arrived after the 1948 creation of the state of Israel and the 1967 War. Those first two waves have received Jordanian passports and full citizen rights. The people that arrived after them had less luck: While many are members of the workforce and go about their daily lives, their opportunities regarding e.g. the military or education are constrained, with another portion living in camps such as Gaza Camp, the poorest one in Jordan. Jordanians and Palestinians unite behind the Palestinian issue.

1.1.3 Iraqi and Syrian Refugees

In the initial stage of the conflict in Syria and Iraq Jordan opened its doors to a large influx of refugees as it had for the Palestinians. The UN counts about 660, 000 registered refugees, but realistically the number can be believed to be twice as high. The majority of the refugees not located in one of the UN refugee camps reside in and around the capital city Amman, often in substandard housing and with little access to public services (CIA, 2018). In time both border were closed for security reasons and immigration laws tightened.

1.1.4 Economic Hardship

Jordan’s economy is among the smallest in the Middle East, and has suffered immensely in the past years due to the financial crisis, followed by the loss of two of their biggest export countries, Iraq and Syria. Current relations with Saudi Arabia are strained over political differences concerning Yemen and Qatar, and continued clashes in Palestine have further

crippled the economy, which has shrunken to a fraction of its former self. Steadily rising unemployment, budget deficits, debt, rising prices, and threats to the foreign aid that keeps Jordan afloat increase hardship (CIA, 2018; BBC, 2018; Statista, 2017).

1.1.5 Strikes and Protests

While protests have been common since the Arab Spring, tax rises and austerity measures have brought people onto the streets in masses, marking the largest marches in years. The focus of the protests is the recently deposed prime minister's plan to support an IMF-backed tax bill. This bill comes after an increased sales tax and the scrapping of bread subsidies hit the population. Police used tear gas and blocked roads to protect the area surrounding the cabinet office. King Abdullah has asked the people to be patient with necessary measures to decrease national debt (BBC, 2018).

1.1.6 Parliamentary Inconsistency

After continued protests prime minister Hani Mulki, who had only served two years, and was exceedingly unpopular for championing austerity measures promoted by the IMF, has recently stepped down and been replaced by Omar al-Razzaz, who will be the 13th prime minister this century (The Guardian, 2018). Additionally the country boasts many dozens of political parties. However, since the country is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy King Abdallah II holds most of the political power (CIA, 2018) and is e.g. responsible for appointing governors and members of the Senate (Statista, 2017). The country rallies and unifies behind him.

1.1.7 Regional Anchor of Stability

Another friend had called Jordan the "eye of the storm", a fitting metaphor for a country surrounded by war. Iraq and Syria are in shambles, clashes between Israel and the Occupied Territories seem to be getting bloodier, and Saudi Arabia is creating turmoil both at home and abroad. Jordan seems to be the little bastion of peace that gathers everyone expelled from home, no matter how thin their resources are stretched. Western countries recognise this, and keep the regional anchor of stability afloat so that Israel's neighbour, their airbases, and millions of refugees remain secure.

1.1.8 Jordan and the Fragile States Index

To conclude, the Jordanian economic and demographic situations are appalling, but for some reason the country has remained relatively stable, in that political leadership (in the form of the king) is stable, there is no social or religious conflict, and people are still somehow managing. Nevertheless the Fragile States Index, a global index for stability, puts Jordan on place 70, far below e.g. Saudi Arabia. The primary goal of this research will not be to examine the validity of the index, but it might nevertheless do so by default if the hypothesis is confirmed.

1.2 Thesis Statement

Jordan is uncommonly stable taking into account the economic, demographic, and political hardships it is facing. The Fragile States Index places Jordan on place 70 globally, primarily analysing the means offered and situation created by the government and institutions. The hypothesis is that dense social networks in Jordan, relying especially on common loyalty to the monarchy, the tribal system, national pride, and religion, give people the resources they need in everyday life.

1.3 Research Question

To what extent can Synergetic Social Capital Theory explain relative socio-political stability in Jordan?

1.4 Academic Relevance

1. The literature has mentioned multiple correlations between sources, functions, and consequences of social capital, and feature of a stable state, but the only comprehensive effort analysed this correlation on a local level. This research tries to establish a significant correlation on a societal scale.
2. The Fragile States Index, which will be used as an indicator for stability, mainly takes governmental and political actions into account. While issues such as social conflict are included social networks and the benefits they offer are disregarded. The hypothesis argues this is a significant oversight that skews the results.

1.5 Societal Relevance

1. Examining the Jordanian public's response to extreme economic and social hardship may offer different approaches to developing low-cost local government programmes to increase the resilience of poorer communities. While theoretical policy prescriptions might offer various methods to reduce poverty and develop economically, resource scarcity and budget deficits are a reality many policy-makers have to work around.
2. As traditional values and networks seem to be disintegrating in Western democracies and society is continuously polarising, insights into the creation, quality, and effects of social networks might hopefully inspire further research into possibilities of building social capital and civil society in the West.

1.6 Situation within Crisis and Security Management

The thesis examines social capital in Jordan as a method to gain resources that the government is not able to provide in what is essentially both an enduring economic and a refugee crisis, and social capital has proven to help communities recover from shocks. More prominently the research focusses on the challenge of keeping Jordan as a harbour for many peoples and a geopolitical hotspot safe by ensuring the country's stability. It incorporates the multidisciplinary approach of the course by incorporating insights from the fields of politics, international relations, economics, and development theory.

1.7 Thesis Plan

The theoretical framework begins with a short history on the evolution of capital beginning with the classical Marxian notion still used in modern economics. Its basic principles can still be found in the concepts of human, social, and cultural capital, which analyse labourers' capabilities, social networks, and ideological hegemony respectively.

Honing in on social capital several prominent theorists' views are introduced briefly, along with some of the studies and contentions produced by the discipline. Four main conceptualisations (communitarian, institutional, communitarian, and synergy) examine different units of observation and policy prescriptions, and three types of ties (bonding, bridging, and linking) determine the heterogeneity and closeness of social relations, as well as the resources they can be expected to offer.

A focus on the measurement of social capital will reveal several difficulties, as well as two main methods, namely the analysis of group memberships and societal norms.

Most correlations between social capital and stability concern certain effects of the two phenomena, but one study has examined the correlation between social capital as a combination of socio-cultural milieu and institutional environment on a local level and will be used as a template.

The section will conclude with the choice of the synergetic approach to social capital and the measurement of social norms and values in the light of the literature review.

The methodology introduces a causal research question that includes stability in Jordan as an independent variable and social capital as a dependent variable in combination with an explanatory case study research design. Indicators will follow the four thematic areas developed by the Fragile States Index, with express instruction to interview respondents to answer from a citizen's point of view, bringing as much personal experience and cultural insight into the answers as possible. The research design is qualitative and focussed on the individual as the unit of observation and Jordanian society as the unit of analysis. Case sampling follows Robinson's four-point plan and defines the sampling universe as geographically and somewhat demographically homogeneous, the sample size as 9-15, and the sample strategy as purposive quota sampling.

The data analysis will be separated into the aforementioned four sections of cohesion, economic, political, and social indicators. Within these areas interview responses will be synthesised into a single narrative and analysed in section 5. Combined with document and statistical research this is expected to reveal a correlation between social capital and stability in Jordan.

Further research possibilities limitations will be discussed after a brief discussion of results and conclusion.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Evolution of Capital: From Marxian to Cultural

2.1.1 Marxian Capital

The notion of Marxian capital is intrinsically social, and refers both to the production and exchange surplus (i.e. profit) that a capitalist might gain from the production cycle of a commodity, as well as to the means he might re-invest into the next one. In order to achieve this the bourgeoisie, which holds the means of production, engages in an exchange relation with the labourer who is paid a wage on which he subsists. The generated use value for the producer and subsequent market price surpass the labourers' exchange value and create profit (Lin, 2001, p. 4-7).

2.1.2 Human Capital

From a Marxian perspective human capital is really investment in capital. This concept shifts the lens from the capitalist to the labourer, who can now invest in himself to gain education and training and ultimately, higher wages (Lin, 2001, pp. 11-13; Becker, 1994, p. 17). Initially this notion was criticised in social sciences circles which were still focussed on the exploitation of labour by capital, but has since been widely accepted in academia and business practice. It provokes questions such as whether skilled and unskilled labourers are engaged in Marxist bourgeoisie-workers class warfare (Becker, 1994, p. 16).

2.1.3 Social Capital

Social capital refers to the resources gained via social structures. In a more abstract way than in the Marxian notion society is seen as a marketplace where commodities such as goodwill, trust, and reciprocity are exchanged, and potentially offer positive returns. The amount of social capital an individual or institution holds determines their respective positions and the resources they have access to. Economically it could be considered a "concept of location effects in differentiated markets" (Burt, 2000, p. 347). Approaches are varied and consist of the communitarian, networks, institutional, and synergy views, which will be elaborated on.

2.1.4 Cultural Capital

Bourdieu conceptualised the newest form of capital as a way for the elite to sustain and promote the status quo. A society's dominant class designs the institutionalised education system with the goal of selling their culture as the supposedly objective one. Symbols and

meanings are internalised by the students and shape social reality. This concept has its roots in social practice and diametrically opposes human capital by observing elite cultural imposition, as opposed to labourers’ self-interest (Lin, 2001, p. 14). Both concepts significantly relate to social capital since they alter both the “social marketplace” and its “buyers”.

Table: 4 Types of Capital

	Source	Input	Output	Goal
Marxian Capital	Surplus Value	Capitalist Resources	Commodity or Service	Economic Profit
Human Capital	Self-Improvement	Labour	Improved Workforce	Increased Wages
Social Capital	Social Networks	Networking	Relationships & Goodwill	Access to New Resources
Cultural Capital	Cultural Education	Dominant Class’ Ideology	Internalisation of Meanings	Cultural Dominance

2.2 Social Capital Definitions

2.2.1 Louise Hanifan: Introduction of the Term

The term social capital was coined by Louise Hanifan, who in 1916 described it as those “tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of a people, namely, goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit” (1916, p. 130). Believing that individuals are helpless socially and have to collectively accumulate capital in community building to improve living conditions, she observed schools in a rural community in West Virginia for one year following the arrival of a new district supervisor. She found that measures such as community surveys, community centre meetings, and school exhibits improved recreational, intellectual, moral, and economic conditions (Hanifan, 1916, pp. 130-138).

2.2.2 Pierre Bourdieu: The Theory of Capital

Bourdieu heavily criticises the field of economics for constraining the definitions of capital and profit to self-interested motives and monetary value. This narrow perspective excludes

nearly the entirety of civilian production and exchange relations. So academics have to take economic, cultural, and social capital into account to see capital and profit even where it is not widely recognised. Capital is accumulated work of a material or incorporated nature that belongs to individuals or groups (Bourdieu, 1983, pp. 183-186). Bourdieu defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, cited in Portes, 1998, p. 3).

2.2.3 James S. Coleman: Rational Choice Approach

Coleman observed the economic and social intellectual streams and criticised them for discounting social context and having no purpose and direction, respectively. The former sees individuals as independent and egotistical while the latter sees them passive as a product of their social environment. So Coleman conceptualised social capital a combination of the economic principle of rational choice and the social intellectual stream to analyse social organisation. Social capital is thought to be derived from obligation, expectation, trustworthiness of structure, information channels and norms and effective sanctions, and affected by both positive and negative externalities. In an open social system e.g. norms may not be able to develop effectively enough to limit negative external effects (Coleman, 1988, pp. 95-105).

2.2.4 Robert D. Putnam: The Civic Perspective

While Putnam does not want to develop the theory of social capital, his concentration on group membership as a way to gauge civic engagement is nevertheless renowned. Civil society and social networks have proven to be crucial to a stable democracy, good governance, job placement, and economy development. While the norms and values that constitute social capital have been seen as outdated and antithetical to modernity, Putnam notes that highly developed industries reveal close interpersonal and interorganisational networks. In a 20-year study of regional Italian governments he observes networks and norms in the form of civic engagement and group membership. These networks promote reciprocity and a communal sense of self that reap collective benefits (Putnam, 1995, pp. 65-67).

2.2.5 Ronald Burt: The Network Approach

Burt sees society as a marketplace in which some people are more successful in pursuing their others. Human capital theorists would argue that these people are more qualified than others, whereas social capital provides the contextual explanation that they are better connected. Burt identifies three types of advantages that network positions offer:

1. Network Models of Contagion: Since information and its courses are fallible, peer behaviour are emulated.
2. Network Models of Prominence: Since information and its sources are infallible, reputations and trust are important assets.
3. Network Models of Range: a, Closed networks offer a competitive advantage by managing risk and facilitating communication, and b, networks may bridge structural holes and offer superior access (Burt, 2000, p. 347).

2.2.6 Nan Lin: The Resource Approach

Lin sees social capital as an “investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace”. It is an asset since connections offer access to resources embedded in collectivity.

Lin also identifies the four most pressing controversies in social capital research:

1. Social capital can be seen as an individual asset or a collective good. The latter conceptualisation makes a concrete analysis extremely difficult.
2. The discourse disagrees on whether or not closed or open networks are more conducive to fostering social benefits.
3. Coleman observes the tautological nature of social capital, where the cause is determined by the effect.
4. The problem is so abstract and diffuse that is neither measurable nor falsifiable (Lin, 2001, pp. 26; 33).

2.2.7 Woolcock and Narayan: Dimensions of Social Capital

“It’s not what you know, it’s who you know” is the aphorism aptly used by Woolcock and Narayan. They define social capital as “the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively”, focussing on the source rather than the consequences with the community as the unit of analysis, and have identified the four distinct approaches addressed in 2.3. The networks constitute an important asset developed via norms such as trust and reciprocity

formed through an iterative process. Contemporary studies on social capital are located in the fields of families; education; community life; work and organizations; democracy and governance; collective action; public health and environment; crime and violence; and economic development (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, pp. 225-229).

2.2.8 Francis Fukuyama: Social Capital and Liberal Democracy

Francis Fukuyama defines social capital as “an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals”, but also as the “sine qua non of liberal democracy” (2001, p. 7), taking an unusually political stance in the literature (despite treating economic issues as well), which is largely dominated by economists, sociologists, and development theorists. The religion, tradition, shared historical experiences, and norms of varying complexity undergird the society need for limited government and modern democracy to succeed. Group solidarity may result in out-group hostility, whereas an excessively open society is potentially problematic as well: Citizens in a democracy are free, but are weak in their equality because they lack conventional attachments (Fukuyama, 2001, pp. 7-8; 11).

2.3 Conceptualisation Approaches

2.3.1 Communitarian View

The Communitarian view looks at group membership and density to determine community health, operating under a “more is better” principle. Several issues with this can be raised: Not all societies work towards improving society. Some may be openly hostile or violent towards out-group members, applying morals only to the group. The Ku Klux Klan and the Mafia are examples mentioned often in the literature. Groups like this may significantly damage development efforts. Similarly in-group bias may be responsible for other negative externalities such as corruption and nepotism (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, pp. 229-230). Practically it is not feasible to attempt a nation-wide census of associations, let alone in Jordan, where informal social structures are wide-spread, and a more holistic analysis is necessary.

2.3.2 Networks View

The Networks view is closely associated with Burt and is built on two premises:

1. Both social capital's vices and virtues are taken into account, rightly examining negative as well as positive externalities, both of which impact development, and
2. Sources and consequences are separated, as they might not be mutually positive or negative and might not affect groups identically.

It is also stressed that intercommunity ties are crucial to keep solely horizontal ties from leading to sectarianism. This approach examines community groups and firms with the goal of economic development and poverty reduction. The former might require close community membership (bonding capital) initially, but bridging ties are needed to participate in networks outside their community (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, pp. 230-234).

2.3.3 Institutional View

While the Networks view concentrates on economic actors, the Institutional approach analyses political and legal institutions seen as responsible for the health of civil society and community networks. The framework these institutions impose on society determine the capacities of social groups for (successful) collective action (North, cited in Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 234). This approach offers two variants, qualitative and quantitative respectively:

1. Case studies based on comparative history examine the relation between institutions and government, arguing that the retreat of government is not connected to the success of firms and communities, and
2. Quantitative national studies study correlation between government performance and the economy.

Both methods lose sight of social capital's complexity in statistical evidence (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, pp. 234-235).

2.3.4 Synergy View

The Synergy camp combines networks and institutional views and argues that state-civic synergy is achieved by complementarity (mutually supportive and legally assured frameworks) and embeddedness (quality and depth of social ties).

The Synergy view arrives at three conclusions:

1. Both state and societies can produce positive and negative externalities for the attainment of collective goals,

2. States, firms, and communities need to cooperate across sectors and pool resources to be capable of sustainable development,
3. The state is central in this process as it mostly provides public goods, enforces the rule of law, and forge partnerships that reach across socio-economic, ethnic, racial, political, or religious lines.

In the light of these beliefs three research tasks are proscribed:

1. To analyse the interactions between communal social relations and institutions, as well as the character of both of these entities,
2. To formulate institutional strategies based on bonding and bridging capital, and
3. To determine how positive manifestations can offset negative externalities (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, pp. 235-238).

Table: 4 Views of Social Capital

Perspective	Actors	Policy Prescriptions
Communitarian View Local Associations	Community Groups Voluntary Organisations	Small is Beautiful Recognise Social Assets of the Poor
Networks View Bonding & Bridging Community Ties	Entrepreneurs Business Groups Information Brokers	Decentralise Create Enterprise Zones Bridge Social Divides
Institutional View Political & Legal Institutions	Private & Public Sectors	Grant Civil & Political Liberties Institute Transparency, Accountability
Synergy View Community Networks & State-Society Relations	Community Groups, Civil Society, Firms, States	Coproduction, Complementarity Participation, Linkages Enhance Capacity & Scale of Local Organisations

(Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 239)

2.4 Types of Social Capital: Bonding, Bridging, & Linking

2.4.1 Bonding Social Capital

Bonding social capital is most common and refers to the most immediate and homogeneous relationships. These are the family and friends that provide immediate assistance in times of crises. Demographic characteristics, resources, and beliefs are largely similar, increasing the danger of closed networks, out-group bias, and a small radius of trust (Aldrich and Meyer, 2015, pp. 258-259). Coffee and Geys have found that women's groups and retired people's associations are the associations with the highest amount of bonding social capital (2007, pp. 121-122). The wide-spread adherence to religion, tribalism, and the Hashemite rule potentially offer Jordan uncommonly high bonding capital.

2.4.2 Bridging Social Capital

Bridging social capital creates more generalised trust (Coffe and Grey, 2007, p. 122) and novel resources than bonding capital, since bridging relations literally "bridge" racial, ethnic, social, religious, and economic divides between more loosely connected individuals. The heterogeneity of these connections drives economic development and societal advancement. Political institutions, hobby groups, humanitarian networks, and educational groups produce the most positive externalities (Aldrich and Meyer, 2015, p. 258; Coffe and Geys, 2007, p. 121). In Jordan bonding and bridging social capital can be found in intercessory wasta, a tribal conflict mediation process (Ali, 2016, pp. ii; 3).

2.4.3 Linking Social Capital

Linking social capital connects citizens to people or institutions of authority, and thereby provides an important foundation for democratic governance. These networks offer resources in the form of e.g. national security, healthcare, pension, loans, housing programmes, or social security. These interactions are influenced by norms of authority and respect (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015, p. 259). In Jordan the Hashemite monarchy, the extensive security apparatus everyone seems to be connected to, and religion (as an institution) are sources of linking social capital. Due to the tribal system power gradients between individuals might be less powerful than usual.

2.5 Measuring Social Capital: Membership, Trust, and Civic Engagement

2.5.1 Problems: Multidimensionality, Changeability, Lack of Synergy

Finding precise measures for an abstract concept like social capital is difficult, but necessary to achieve methodological rigour in analysing conflict, development, and governance. Woolcock and Narayan have identified three reasons why a single measure is not feasible:

1. Definitions of social capital usually incorporate multiple dimensions and units of analysis,
2. Organisational dynamics change, influencing manifestations of social capital, and
3. A lack of research cooperation, multinational data, and cross-methodological synergy means that data is derived from multiple sources of approximated information (2000, p. 239).

Despite these limitations, two methods are accepted.

2.5.2 Method 1: Group Membership

The first of two common methods to measure social capital analyses group memberships (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 12) as a central component of civil society. Size, number, internal cohesion, density, and characteristics of informal and formal associations, institutions, and networks are looked at. Some of these indicators are again difficult to quantify, such as e.g. internal cohesion. While it has no accepted measure, group cohesion is instrumental for potential collective action and needs to be analysed. The emergence of online groups further complicates research (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 13). Several national surveys attempting to quantify government services have been carried out by looking at group membership, e.g. in Bolivia (Grootaert and Narayan, 2000), Burkina Faso (Grootaert, Oh, and Swamy, 1999), and Indonesia (Grootaert, 1999). Density, heterogeneity, and degrees of active participation were considered the most salient indicators. A large-scale study by Narayan (1997) surveyed 1,400 Tanzanian households on issues like group functioning, contributions, participation in decision-making, interpersonal trust, heterogeneity and change to establish a social capital index at the local level. Informal and/or traditional associations are expected particularly in developing countries (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 240), which could make them more difficult to document.

2.5.3 Method 2: Trust and Civic Engagement

The other method measures levels of trust, civic engagement (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 12), norms, and values via e.g. surveys to determine social capital. Whereas simply quantifying associational life disregards richness and experiences this method is contentious as the process of finding measures for complex relationships and beliefs is not an easy one. Additionally Woolcock and Narayan note that the quality of the available research is not ideal. Yet this method is most feasible for this research, since it acknowledges subtleties of culture. Inglehart's 1997 World Value Survey is among the most comprehensive efforts using this method, separating countries into moral landscapes. A questionnaire by Onyx and Bullen, carried out in New South Wales, identified eight indicators for individual social capital: community participation, social proaction, feelings of trust and safety, neighbourhood connections, connections with family and friends, tolerance, value of life, and work connections. Other efforts to establish indices have included the National Index of Civic Engagement in the US (National Commission on Philanthropy and Civic Renewal (1998) and the role of intercommunal networks in exploring roots and determinants of Hindu and Muslim riots in India (Varshney, 2000) (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, pp. 240-241).

2.6 Social Capital and Stability

Temkin and Rohe have conducted a ten-year study examining the impact of social capital constituted by sociocultural milieu and institutional infrastructure on neighbourhood stability. Variables used in the analysis of the socio-cultural milieu included recognition of the name and border of a neighbourhood, attachment and loyalty towards it, rating of it, activities and recreation within, the density of its networks, the probability of residents borrowing from, discussing with, visiting, and helping each another, the percentage of friends and relatives among residents, percentage of residents grocery shopping and working there, and worship. Volunteer activity was singled out as the most purposive political activity. They found that neighbourhoods with a wealth of social capital were less likely to decline, were central in neighbourhood dynamics and has positive and significant effects on neighbourhood stability, whereas low amounts were highly correlated to lower housing professions, lower mean incomes, and a higher percentage of blue-collar workers. The three components of social capital that were most significant in ensuring stability were 1, loyalty, 2, attachment to the neighbourhood, and 3, the percentage of residents believing their neighbourhood is a good place to live (Temkin and Rohe, 1998, p. 66; 81; 83-85).

Other authors have found that high social capital is connected to a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability (Moser 1996; Narayan 1995), and resolve disputes (Schafft 1998; Varshney 2000) (cited in Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 226).

2.7 Chosen Conceptualisation

Both the Networks and the Synergy approaches would have fit the research focus, but since the Networks view focusses excessively on economic entities, the Synergy View will be used, albeit with a clear concentration on community networks over state-society relations.

Bonding, bridging, and linking ties will be examined in this research to enable a comprehensive perspective. However, linking social capital will only be seen as bottom-up, as the focus of the research is the individual and society, not the government or affiliated institutions. So questions concerning linking social capital might ask about citizens' relation to authority.

This thesis will use the second method of analysing norms and values, as it is the only one of the two to reflect the richness of culture and society, and the goal of this thesis is not to quantify but to visualise the stock of Jordanian social capital. Using the first method would not have been feasible.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research Question & Operationalisation

3.1.1 Causal Research Question

To what extent can Synergetic Social Capital Theory explain socio-political stability in Jordan?

3.1.2 Sub-Questions

1. How can synergetic social capital be visualised?
2. To what extent and in which areas can synergetic social capital be identified in Amman, Jordan?
3. What factors contribute to the triumph (or defeat) of this social capital against economic and demographic pressures?
4. What lessons can be learnt from this about social stability in enduring crisis situations (such as refugee crises)?

3.1.3 Research Objectives

1. To identify the reasons behind Jordanian resilience in the face of great social and economic pressure.
2. To provide an alternative perspective on crisis management and social resilience.
3. To determine the capabilities and importance of social capital in national stability.

3.1.4 Operationalisation

3.1.4.1 Independent Variable: Synergetic Social Capital

As mentioned above the concept of synergetic social capital will be used since it offers the most comprehensive (and empirically verified) analysis. Additionally the social capital respondents are talking will be classified according to heterogeneity and horizontality (i.e. as bonding, bridging, or linking capital) and according to the aspects included, which were termed structural, cognitive, and relational by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1997, cited in Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998, p. 485).

1. The structural dimension of social capital refers to the position an actor occupies in the social space, which determines which resources he has access to.

2. The cognitive dimension consists of shared attributes like language and values within the social system which foster understandings.
3. The relational dimension refers to assets located within relations, such as trust and trustworthiness (Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998, p. 485).

Table: *Aspects of Social Capital*

Structural	Cognitive	Relational
Social Structure	Shared Understandings	Nature & Quality of Relationships
Network Ties & configuration Roles, Rules, Precedents, & Procedures	Shared Language, Codes, & Narratives Shared Values, Attitudes, & Beliefs	Trust & Trustworthiness Norms & Sanctions Obligations & Expectations Identity & Identification

(Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998)

3.1.4.2 Dependent variable: Stability

The Fragile States Index offers an elaborate operationalisation of stability. It divides the concept into Cohesion, Economic, Political, and Social indicators, which have three subsections each. This framework is a continuation of the Fund's earlier work, the conflict assessment framework CAST developed to quantify the vulnerability of states to collapse in pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict situations. The current index offers comparative numbers that are salient in an analysis through time.

The interview questions were designed in accordance with these categories, even though their coverage depends on the potential influence of social capital on the respective issues. In categories that concern the state and its branches questions address the people's relationship to and beliefs about these institutions.

1. The Cohesion indicators include the security apparatus, factionalised elites, and group grievances.
2. The Economic indicators analyse economic decline, uneven economic development, and human flight and brain drain.
3. Political indicators are covered by state legitimacy, public services, human rights and rule law.

4. Social (and cross-cutting) indicators include demographic pressures, refugees and IDPs and external intervention.

3.1.4.3 Justification

The chosen indicators for both social capital have two strengths and two weaknesses each. They were chosen for their specificity to the dependent and independent variables and for their comprehensiveness. With this operationalisation an astounding subtlety of both concepts can be revealed. However, the chosen indicators for social capital are not particularly easy to measure or rigorous. This is due to the abstract and intangible structure of social capital itself, the literature on which agrees on the difficulties of measuring it. With this and the recent literature review in mind, the chosen indicators are the best possible option and adequate for the focus of the research.

3.1.3 Internal Validity

Of course there are many factors that can contribute to internal stability. However, due to the extreme poverty of the majority of the Jordanian population and the high number of refugees that have live in the country for many years, as well as a lack of democratic tradition and the relative novelty of a party system, the reasons for this stability may reasonably be found within social and not political or economic realities. The research looks at factors such as e.g. tribalism, ethnic and religious homogeneity, and the Jordanian welcoming culture and gain insight into these factors with interviews. This should lead to a relatively reliable picture of social capital in Jordan and its effect on social stability.

3.2 Research Design

This researcher adopts a qualitative, inductive and interpretive approach, which was expected to be best explored by a case study.

Baxter and Jack cite Yin's commandments of considering a case study approach:

"... a case study design should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context" (Yin, cited in Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 545).

1. Slightly rephrased the research question would be a “why” question.
2. The interviews will explore social behaviour of Jordanians in general. Since there will be no contact to the majority of the unit of observation.
3. Contextual conditions are essential to the topic of this thesis.
4. Social capital is notoriously difficult to grasp, and it is near impossible to separate phenomenon and context.

The research design will be an explanatory case study, as it will be “used to explore [a situation] in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes” (Yin, 2003, cited in Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 548).

3.2.1 Unit of Observation

The unit of observation will be the individual and more specifically people who can be expected to have a large amount of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. The research time frame was too narrow to interview a large number of people and both the dependent and independent variables of the research (social capital and stability in Jordan, respectively) are too abstract to allow for a quantitative study. To nevertheless explore these abstract topics in depth and across social and cultural lines, the choice of individuals’ expertise and lived experience as a unit of observation seemed optimal.

3.2.2 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis focussed on the impact of social capital, i.e. the nature, strength and effect of Jordanian inter-societal relations of a structural, cognitive, or relational nature. Since Jordan’s economic situation and refugee problem are dire, and linking social capital is expected to be low, the research will attempt to analyse Jordanian stability via the positive impact of bonding and bridging social capital. There is the potential issue of proving the causation between one and the other, which was minimised by addressing issues impeding stability, and by asking respondents the right questions.

3.2.3 Pitfalls

The research is mostly constrained by issues of feasibility. Both the time spent in Jordan and the expected word count of the thesis limit the possible scope of the research. This is potentially damaging to the subject matter, as the unit of analysis (Jordanian society) and the variables (social capital and stability) are incredibly complex. This is addressed by the goals

of the research, which aim for a small but rich insight into the fabric of social relations in Jordan and the resources citizens gain from them as opposed to a large quantification of social networks.

Similarly the sample size might be insufficient, but the time frame did not allow for a significantly larger one.

3.3 Case Sampling

The research method was qualitative as a naturalistic, inductive, and holistic approach seemed to fit the research question and objectives best. The abstract nature of the topics under study also required a flexible study plan.

This qualitative nature of the research was expected to affect case sampling in several ways, e.g. in that transferability will likely be valued over generalisability. Random sampling, while preferable in quantitative studies, was discounted as some informants were expected to deliver richer information than others in the field of social capital. The sample size was small by necessity, as the in-depth interviews with select experts yielded extensive information from a natural setting, and the ultimate analysis should feature their individual voices.

This approach required a judgement sample targeting subjects with special expertise e.g. in academia, the clergy, education, policy, diplomacy, and sociology, which ensures a varied approach even with a limited pool of experts (Marshall, 1996, pp. 523-524).

The case sampling followed Robinson's four-point plan for sampling in qualitative interview based research by determining the sample universe, size, strategy, and sourcing method to increase the research's transparency, coherence, context, and rigour (Robinson, 2014, pp. 25; 38).

3.3.1 Sample Universe

The inclusion criteria for the target population cast a wide net, requiring respondents to be either non-Jordanian experts or based in and around Amman, be educated (i.e. have a working knowledge of English), and be considered a useful source for at least one type of social capital. The second and third requirements suggested expert or elite interviews.

The corresponding set of exclusion criteria and the real life setting of the research resulted in some geographical and demographic homogeneity (Robinson, pp. 25-26, 28), which was addressed by including respondents from different nationalities and social backgrounds.

3.3.2 Sample Size

Due to the time constraints on the research and the goal to extensively analyse each interview there were only ten respondents. The original goal was to interview four people primarily for each type of social capital, with the possibility of asking another question set depending on expertise and time. It was seen as methodologically lax to ask separate sets of questions, so instead of asking about bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, the 10 respondents (with the option of holding 9-15 interviews in order to account for possible problems of access or feasibility) were asked the same questions about the four groups of stability indicators.

3.3.3 Sample Strategy

The research will use a purposive sampling strategy based on the theoretical framework of social capital, selecting individuals that are likely to have the expertise needed to answer the research question. Quota sampling will be used to set a flexible sample size range (Robinson, 2014, p. 34). Every respondent is targeted for his/her expertise in specific professions that can be expected to engage with multiple sectors of society regularly. The interviewees hold professions in academia, transport, consultancy, education, development agencies, and business.

3.3.4 Sample Sourcing

Sample sourcing requires practical, organisational, and ethical skills (Robinson, 2014, p. 35). Several respondents were sourced via connections to institutions made on prior trips to Jordan. These provides an ideal starting point in looking for qualified and willing respondents. Some respondents in e.g. academia and diplomacy had to be contacted online or over the phone, although connections were also able to help. Several of the ten respondents also offered to refer other potential respondents via snowball sampling (Robinson, 2014, p. 37).

3.3.5 External Validity

The interviews addresses citizens from Amman and the surrounding region on grounds of feasibility. The sampling groups are disproportionately urbanised and educated, which the research aims to balance via the statistics and document analysis. Using the amalgamation of several methods an equal picture should be achievable.

The results will likely not immediately translate onto other countries due Jordan's relatively rare position of economic distress and outstanding social stability, as well as the cultural and historical component to social capital, which cannot develop overnight. However, results should offer valuable insights into ways to integrate social capital into crisis management.

3.4 Data Gathering

3.4.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The research adapted an ethnographic style of interviewing designed to submerge the researcher in another world (Leech, 2002, p. 665) to take social and cultural nuances into account.

While structured interviews focus on pre-established questions with limited responses and thereby deliver precise and reliable quantitative information, they would have lacked the flexibility and content validity to ensure this goal. Unstructured interviews on the other hand would have delivered the desired breadth to understand complex societal phenomena but might not represent a reliable data source (Leech, 2002, p. 665, Fontana & Frey, 1994, pp. 363 & 365-366).

Therefore the research focussed on semi-structured interviews using both open- and closed-ended questions (Harvey, 2011, p. 435) as a middle ground that allows to test the applicability (Leech, 2002, p. 665) of the social capital theory.

The interviewer had to establish trust beforehand by ideally presenting a short introduction, a one-minute version of the research in laymen's terms, and a rough structure of the interview (Harvey, 2011, p. 433; Leech, 2002, p. 666).

Questions concerning the four sets of stability indicators were asked with explicit prior instruction to bring as much personal experience, interpretation, and insight into the answers as possible. The questions were intentionally worded very broadly in order for this to be possible.

It included open grand tour or example questions to establish rapport, moving towards potentially more sensitive issues, as well as closed questions (Leech, 2002, pp. 666-667). Due to the nature of the questions interview lengths varied between 30 and 90 minutes.

3.4.2 "Elite" Interviews?

The question of whether or not the interviews should be considered elite interviews is a contentious one, as there is no accepted definition of the term. The research would refrain

from fitting a definition to its respondents (Smith, 2006, cited in Harvey, 2011, p. 432). Job titles are not considered a reliable indicator, and in a purely relational sense (Stephens, 2007, cited in Harvey, 2011, p. 433), it would be difficult to compare the respondents to the researcher as the former's socio-economic and educational backgrounds will vary and will not facilitate comparison.

Perhaps respondents could be considered elite in that they are at the top of their respective fields, which if all initially targeted respondents reply affirmatively, will include business, literature, diplomacy, media, sports, policing, social work, charity work, academia, and education.

To avoid conceptual errors interviews will not be considered elite despite a clear top-down approach.

3.4.3 Methodological Challenges

Errors within the interview would most likely concern respondent behaviour, question wording, or questioning techniques (Fontana and Frey, 1994, p. 364), and while these are not to be discounted entirely, the triangulation of methods is expected to give a holistic view of social capital in Jordan that accounts for cultural and emotional nuances.

Specific difficulties with top level employees interviewed arose regarding interview length, the issue of recording, and sensitive questions, since company policies or time schedules might be constraining. Interview slots were between 45 and 90 minutes long to meet this constraint, and questions were devised with cultural taboos in mind, but there were still some cancellations, re-schedulings, and respondents who wanted to be anonymous and/or not recorded.

Loaded, double-barrelled, leading, and presuming questions were mostly avoided as well (Leech, 2002, pp. 666-667), but some double-barrelled questions were permitted.

Other challenges included gaining trust and access and positioning oneself (Harvey, 2011, p. 432; Fontana and Frey, 1994, pp. 366-367), and were met with the knowledge gained on prior trips to Jordan.

Problems specific to Jordan included the sensitive nature of certain questions, the danger of ambiguities in asking questions across languages and cultures, as well as the handling of traditional gender roles (Fontana and Frey, 1994, p. 369).

3.4.4 Statistical Analysis

Statistics from sources such as e.g. the Jordanian Department for Statistics, UNICEF, the Fragile States Index, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, and Statista were used. For bonding and bridging capital this data will yield information such as the ethnic or religious makeup of the population. It will be most useful for determining linking social capital, as cultural and legal restrictions prevent most questions concerning the royal family or the police.

Here crime rates, party affiliation, voter turnout, approval ratings, and opinion polls can be used to determine the relations between the Jordanian people and the authorities.

3.4.5 Document Analysis

Document research in Jordanian history and culture will be used to analyse and supplement the information gained in the interviews, as well as balance out biased answers. This provides a broader context for the research, explaining e.g. the lack of a party culture in Jordan and the connected reliance on tribal customs, the cultural proximity of the Jordanians to the Syrian and Palestinian refugees, and the role of religious customs in social capital.

Where appropriate Arab or Jordanian news outlets (e.g. the Jordan Times) were consulted, although it had to be verified with other sources on account of some Jordanian state censorship.

4 Data Analysis

4.1 Cohesion Indicators C

4.1.1 Security Apparatus C1



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.1.1.1 Personal Interaction with the Security Apparatus C1 1

In Jordan the people care about security very much (Laith) and therefore like to cooperate with the police, military, and security services where possible (Elias, Salam), e.g. when it comes to fighting extremism or upholding the rule of law, and follow many rules and procedures to keep the country safe (Laith). However, the apparatus can be a “nightmare... when it comes to political freedoms and demonstrations” (Elias). There is cooperation between the military and universities in the form of lectures, seminars, and academic studies (Diabat) as well as between the military and the service industry: Dr. al Sadi and his companies worked with the Jordanian military to train first the Iraqis in rebuilding, retraining, and re-equipping themselves after the Iraq War, and ultimately went on to support Somalians, Palestinians, and Syrians, i.a. (al Sadi).

Jordan spends 4.31% of its GDP on the military, the 12th highest proportion in the world as of 2015 (Business Insider, 2017) and gives enormous importance to the military and security. Living in a country surrounded by others at war the people value security over personal security or democratic freedoms. Seeing the situations the refugees in Jordan find themselves in lends motivation to remain stable. Additionally the country is dependent on foreign aid, which is largely dependent on the country remaining stable and fulfilling the conditions set by the West and the Gulf countries.

Structural social capital is evident particularly in the position of the security apparatus in society: The people working in it are respected and extremely privileged. The historical importance the industry has adds to this. The benefits gained reflect positively on the tribe, which motivates people to aspire to the industry. Cognitive social capital is located within the high value collectively placed on security to remain a safe space within the Middle East. This shared narrative adds to national identity and strengthens communal thinking. In this sense (of identity) it overlaps with relational social capital and demonstrates the connection between these dimensions of social capital. The trust placed in the military, the security services, the police, and ultimately always also the king is embedded in society. Guided by these beliefs Jordanian people give the security apparatus the freedom to act nearly without checks, and help wherever they can.

4.1.1.2 The Prestige of the Military C1 2

A couple of decades ago the military sector was very popular and private industry small (Mofleh, al Sadi). While entrepreneurship has risen and investments are being promoted, many people still believe *wasta* (good connections) are needed to be successful in the private sector (Laith) the public sector and specifically the security industry is still the employer of choice for many young people (Mofleh, al Sadi, Professor). It is an honour to be seen serving the country and the king and queen to keep the country stable, especially as a graduate from a military academy (al Qaisi, Shehadeh). The position offers security, social care, health care, and a stable, albeit not incredibly high (al Qaisi), wage to those that qualify for it, and bring great prestige and pride to the individual and his tribe (Consultant, Said, al Sadi, General, al Qudah, Consultant). It is “traditionally respected” and is seen to bring benefits to the family or tribe (al Qudah, Professor). These positions are not open to Palestinian Jordanians (Said), but of the “proper” Jordanians a large majority will go into the private sector (Laith).

In Jordan the king and queen, as well as the country itself, and patriotic pride are valued highly, so a job working to improve the country and keeping it safe offers a considerable stock of social capital. Material and social benefits are awarded to the family and the individual and added to the ideological value it is considered a stable job that can feed a family, which is no small feat in the current economic climate. However, the practice of excluding some of those with Palestinian roots, as well as children of Jordanian women with foreign men limits the security apparatus’ potential.

The social structure clearly giving preference to those working within the security apparatus gives primary and secondary resources, for beyond the stable wages, job security, and social security, Jordanians award them trust and respect. The dimension of cognitive social capital is present in a less overt manner: The police and the military are responsible for many tasks outside of ensuring national security, like building camps for refugees and caring for the poor. Since these duties are seen as honourable in religion and tradition individuals are further elevated. Relational social capital is signified by the trust Jordanians place in the security sector.

4.1.1.3 Relation between the Security Apparatus and the People C1 3

The relation between the people and the security apparatus is said to be very good (al Qaisi, Shehadeh) since its employees are seen as friendly, contributing to national security, and extremely helpful (al Qudah, Shehadeh, Professor). It fluctuates with demonstrations and conflicts when they are forced to oppose one another (Said), but due to the size and interconnectivity of the population everyone has friends and relatives in the sector (al Sadi, General, Mofleh, Diabat). Additionally the job they do is seen as respectable because they provide security (al Qaisi, Mofleh). In this pursuit people believe themselves a part of the security system (Consultant) and support it ardently (Diabat), especially considering the war zones surrounding them.

Since the first and third questions are so similar, both the personal comment and analysis of social capital in this section is largely the same as in section 4.1.1.1. The goal in repeatedly asking for respondents' personal thoughts and contributions was to establish personal rapport during the interview, but also to examine whether their personal actions fit with the public's opinions they revealed to me, and to get first- (or more accurately second-) hand examples of the implementation of the phenomena they were talking about.

4.1.1.4 Proportionality of Security Apparatus' Actions C1 4

The security apparatus' actions are seen as strong (Mofleh) and proportional (Consultant, General, al Qudah, al Qaisi, Diabat, al Sadi), especially considering their resources (al Qaisi), dangers (Consultant, Mofleh) and challenges (Professor), helping families to sleep at night (Mofleh). Dr. al Sadi goes so far to call the Jordanian security and intelligence services the

“best in the Middle East”. Sometimes they are “very away from perceiving what’s surrounding them” and act disproportionately (Elias). If the police were to do so there is a department responsible for oversights that will check the incident (Shehadeh). Apparently a “social police” meant to improve the relation between the security apparatus and the people is currently being set up (Said).

The ends is largely seen as justifying the means in Jordanian security. While the economic situation is precarious and many people are struggling to survive, they are still aware that their situation could be a lot worse. In their eyes the strictness of the security apparatus is what stands between them and war, which might possible be true, considering the potential of radical influences from inside and abroad.

The security apparatus changes the social structure further, to one in which citizens largely look up to them, and social relations are governed by the need for security. Cognitively there is a shared sense of pride for the country, its security apparatus, and its stability, with which people identify themselves (relational).

4.1.1.5 Public Contribution to Security C1 5

The citizens have a good relationship to security (al Qaisi) but might also at times resent its behaviours (Said). The social contribution towards security is very strong for it (Said), and citizens are seen as informants and first responders in incidents such as the shooting in al Karak (General, al Sadi, al Qaisi, al Qudah, Diabat). Many families have members working in security, and citizens encourage, respect, and support them (Consultant, Diabat). They also contribute by being aware what is going on (Shehadeh, Consultant), and the current situation is worrying most people (Professor, Consultant). Since they are aware of it, they do not protest as much as they otherwise would against e.g. rising prices, fearing the repercussions for security (Professor). Another threat includes the danger of radical elements in the South of the country that are hostile to the monarchy, but the majority of the country are very attached to it and jump to defend it (al Sadi).

In Jordan the people take a considerably more active role in maintaining security than people in e.g. Germany or the United Kingdom. It is not only seen as a duty of the government to maintain security, but a collective responsibility. This might be caused by the proximity the

Jordanians have to multiple crisis zones, not just geographically, but also socially, via the refugees they meet and hear from in their own country. There is a danger in everybody being a potential informant, since this might lower trust among citizens. This is uncertain however, as the common need for security at any means might bond citizens further.

Structurally the participation of the Jordanian people in security gives them increased importance as citizens and shares the responsibility of caring for their country with them, caused by the shared recognition that security is paramount for continued stability. This is embedded in their identity (relational).

4.1.2 Factionalised Elites C2



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.1.2.1 Political and Judicial Representation C2 1

Several respondents maintained that both the political and the judicial systems are representative of the population (General, Mofleh, al Qaisi, Diabat), maintaining a proportionality in religion and tribes (al Qudah, al Sadi), to manage the dual loyalty to tribe and country (Consultant). Some disagreed (Professor), saying representatives abandon all ethics once they are in power (Said). The opinion of the representation of women is split, but interestingly in the interviews it was a man who believed it to be representative (Al Qudah), and a woman who disagreed (Professor).

The tribal system in Jordan is strong, and supersedes any democratic principle. Offering tribal and/or geographic representation ensures that tribes are represented according to influence and keeps them from taking steps to be more powerful. This system also defines the social

structure, and frees resources for individuals based on who their family is and who they know. Tribes may be many thousand people strong and yet the shared name gives a strong sense of community (cognitive) and gives others an immediate perception of your character (relational).

4.1.2.2 Elite Recruitment C2 2

Relations, the family, and money, i.e. favouritism, are very important in progressing professionally (Diabat, Shehadeh, al Qudah), but slowly things are changing to be more meritocratic (Mofleh) and the Professor and Consultant maintain hard work and accountability are factors. Geographic location is important since several fields try to achieve quotas from Jordan's twelve areas of governance (General, al Qaisi). The tribes (Consultant) and trust (Mofleh) are accorded very high importance.

The negative externalities of social capital are apparent in a system of favouritism and nepotism which is normalised in Jordan. However, it could also be said that the tribal system is a regulator in socio-political issues. The tribes take care of their own, but this sort of representation also ensures stability. It is problematic if positions are given to those that are not qualified for them, but this seems to be changing. All three dimensions of social capital can be found in the tribal system.

4.1.2.3 Tribal Influence C2 3

Tribal influence used to be more significant than it is now, and tribes had their own law and methods for keeping the peace (Consultant, al Qaisi). Nonetheless it is still central (Consultant, al Qudah, Diabat) and may exert power over even the government and institutions (Said), depending on site (General) and reputation (Professor). The system of geographic representation is designed to keep the tribes under control (Mofleh). Now the system is slowly changing with people become aware of it (Professor), and the king working to bring foreign employees to the country (al Sadi).

Rightly one of the participants (Consultant) mentions that the influence received via tribal is no different from the privilege enjoyed by wealthy families in the West. It seems that the tribal system might actually be a regulator that significantly contributes to societal stability

by solving tensions horizontally, without involving the government. As mentioned in the previous section all three dimensions of social capital can be found in the tribal system.

4.1.2.4 Cross-Cultural Respect C2 4

Historically Jordan is a transitional country and a country of migration, which influences the public attitude towards other cultures (al Sadi). Cultures respect each other in Jordan (Mofleh, al Qudah, Diabat), with individual exceptions (General) and provided a certain cultural knowledge is present (Consultant). At times there is some discrimination (Professor), especially in trying times, when other cultures are used as a scapegoat (Said). The size of the country contributed to this as most people know each other (al Qaisi), or at least the family or a common friend.

Cross-cultural respect is ambiguous in Jordan, because while it may appear to exist, Jordan is not home to many people outside of the Arab-Islamic cultural circle. A small minority of Christians, Armenians, Chechnyans, expats, and some others are mostly geographically concentrated to Amman, or in the Christian case, cities like Salt. There does seem to be an effort to open the country up to international influence. If there is any social capital here it is in the respect that religion prescribes people to have, which results in an openness to strange people that is unthinkable in Europe. In the nature of the embeddedness of these dimensions, this attitude would be located at structural, cognitive, and relational levels.

4.1.2.5 Uniting Beliefs C2 5

People in Jordan are united (Diabat, Said) by tradition (al Qaisi, General), religion (al Qudah, Shehadeh), Arab culture, family, respect, ethical issues, the way they treat the elderly, and dress code (Professor), which contributed to stability and development (al Qudah). Yet when it comes to critical points some are excluded (Said), playing on divisions such as the significant one between the melting pot Amman and the rest of the country (al Sadi) or different qualities of life (al Qaisi). Another perspective is that there is not currently more than culture in Jordan, since most people share a common background and culture (Consultant).

A significant unifying factor certainly is religion, and this does not necessarily have to be discriminating towards Christians e.g. Faith is respected even if it is not Islam. It is atheism

that receives confused stares, but also not necessarily intolerance. These unifying beliefs offer significant relational and cognitive social capital that offers familiarity even for strangers. Resources are freed e.g. by religious tenets to be helpful to others.

4.1.2.6 Stereotyping and Scapegoating C2 6

Stereotyping and scapegoating are common especially of the government (al Qaisi), which is seen as responsible for the lack of resource, the large number of refugees, corruption and subservience to the West (Diabat), the Iraqi and especially the Syrian refugees (Mofleh, Shehadeh), the latter of which are seen to take jobs from Jordanians because they accept lower salaries, and the Gulf countries (General), who reduced aid after conflicts over Qatar and Yemen. Dr. al Sadi argues that scapegoating is Arab culture, with Israel being the main target in the region, but foreigners, e.g. Iraqis, are blamed as well, e.g. for the shortage of water and rising property prices. Historically the region has seen little to no independence for near 600 years, and the culture of scapegoating derives from always having someone else to blame (Consultant).

The negative externalities of in-group loyalties are apparent in the scapegoating of certain sections of the population. While these attitudes might strengthen social cohesion between “proper” Jordanians, they are likely to hamper integration of the refugees in the country. This view portrays Jordan as a closed society, which can have positive and negative effects on social capital.

4.1.2.7 National Identity C2 7

The respondents identified the Hashemite rule (al Sadi, Shehadeh), religion, tribes, corruption (Said), the welcoming nature (al Qudah) and pride for king and country (Consultant, Mofleh) as concepts central to Jordanian national identity. However, there is also always the tension between Palestinians and Jordanians, the former of which might identify as Jordanian via their passports, but still feel Palestinian (Professor). In the face of the regional problems caused by extremism and sectarianism this chasm has begun to close, cementing a unified national identity (al Qaisi). Since the country is so young there are significant regional differences, in that e.g. the South is culturally close to Saudi Arabia, whereas the North with Syria (al Sadi).

Being able to identify so many concepts constituting national identity reveals a wealth of relational social capital, and considerable social cohesion. The concepts are overwhelmingly positive as well, with the exception of corruption, which should however be seen as a negative externality of tribalism rather than an indicator of its own, and the tribal system is likely a source of social stability.

4.1.3 Group Grievances C3



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.1.3.1 Jordanian Minorities C3 1

Asking about minorities produced an unusual variety of answers: Said argued that because minorities look upon themselves as such, they reproduce a history of oppression and do not stand up for their rights. Al Qudah, al Sadi and Diabat said minorities are treated well, the General says better than the majority at times, while al Qaisi maintained that there are no minorities in Jordan. The Consultant laughingly said the Jordanians might just be a minority at the moment before saying Jordan was mindful about showing itself to protect minorities.

Jordan has been a transitional country since its inception and relies on foreign assistance since it lacks resources, political and economic power. The public image it has is therefore important for internal stability and continued support from outside, without which the country could not keep itself afloat. It is dependent on good relations. This touches all three dimensions of social capital.

4.1.3.2 Oppression C3 2

Palestinians that arrived after 1967 are disadvantaged in Jordan since the state ceased to give them full citizenship rights, meaning they do not have the same access to e.g. the public sector or education as Jordanians have (Said). LGBTQ are extremely marginalised since Islam believes their sexual orientation to be wrong, so their lifestyle is seen as an insult (Mofleh). Other respondents stated there is no oppression (Diabat, Shehadeh, al Sadi, General, al Qaisi), saying that some groups felt oppressed because they are a minority, but are essentially treated better than others. Al Qudah mentioned the king's insistence to represent all areas as well as the Bedouins in the government.

Jordan certainly seems to be a far cry from equality, but the reasons for it are not quite apparent. Possibly the closed nature of the social network and culture cause this, or the widespread homogeneity of the population. It certainly signifies social capital within the main population, which is the very large majority in the country, but the nature and the extent of the negative effects on minorities would have to be further explored.

4.1.3.3 Group Grievances C3 3

Group grievance are origin, religion (Said), the surrounding conflict, displacement, limited resources, and above all the state of the economy (al Sadi, General, Shehadeh, Mofleh, Diabat, al Qaisi, Professor). The rapid population growth and the right to return for Palestinians are also contentious issues (Professor, al Qudah). Tribes may have contemporary grievances with the division of resources (Consultant), which is why it is such a challenge for the king to ensure everyone is kept satisfied.

The economy is the most destabilising influence in the country and has the potential to destabilise the country if it does not recover soon. Due to the tribal and religious society people are taking care of each other where the government does not have the resources too, but there are limits even to this.

4.1.3.4 Political Opposition

Jordan was under martial law for a long time, until 1989 (Elias), a time in which most political freedom, like the freedom of speech, were prohibited or very constrained (Professor). After martial law was cancelled the Communist Party e.g. had only about 200

people (Elias). Even today new parties must get approval from the Department of Interior Affairs and the Department of Intelligence (Said), but Jordan has dozens of parties now, making it very difficult to build a majority or opposition for that matter (Consultant). In any case the king appoints the prime minister, who in turn appoints parliament (al Qaisi), so Jordan is not a democracy (al Qudah). Today there is wide-ranging freedom of speech, but there are limits (monarchy, religion, and sex) that are still taboo and can get people into trouble (Mofleh, Professor). Some Islamic and pan-Arab currents emerge in times of crisis and try to capitalise on societal tensions, but apart from the Muslim Brotherhood, which is kept under control in Parliament there is no real political opposition currently, because people don't want to "rock the boat" too much in conflict and an unstable economy (al Sadi, Consultant, Diabat).

4.2 Economic Indicators

4.2.1 Economic Decline E1



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.2.1.1 People's View of the Economy E1 1

Privatisation policies by King Abdallah (Said), the loss of all three major market to conflict (al Qaisi), and corruption (Diabat) have caused the economy to be at the edge of collapse (Consultant, Diabat, al Qudah, Shehadeh, Professor, General, al Qaisi). People cannot continue to support themselves, with rising unemployment and rising prices, yet stagnating salaries (Shehadeh), but people are scared to protests for fear that unrest will push it over the edge (Professor). They adapt to the living situations and hold back for the most part (Said), with the recent protests being an exception. The future is regarded with mystery, since there a

lot of unknowns. Just recently it looked like war would break out again in the Middle East before quieting down again (al Sadi.)

The economic situation offers mostly cognitive social capital, as people have a shared understanding of the hardships they are facing, and support each other through the crisis. While there is some resentment for Syrian refugees Jordanians understand what they went through to get to their country, and ultimately their cultural circle is extremely similar.

4.2.1.2 Initiatives to Combat Poverty E1 2

The king has attempted to create jobs, privatise, promote entrepreneurship, and bring investors to Jordan (General, al Sadi, Diabat, al Qudah), but attempts have had limited success as investors and tourists are wary of the political climate in the region, and opt to target other countries (al Qaisi). Charity is very successful in Jordan (al Qaisi) as Islamic principle dictate something akin to a charity tax on any profit (Professor). There are also NGOs and government initiatives like Injaz, which offers job training programmes and start-up funds (Shehadeh).

Most of the charity given in Jordan is rooted either in the direct commandment to pay alms in proportion to one's earnings or in the general directive to be kind and charitable. The societal worth attached to charity ensures that everyone helps where and when they can. To some extent it could be seen as a success of trickle-down economics, and alters the social structure, shared understandings and relations significantly.

4.2.1.3 Personal Contributions E1 3

Personally near all of the respondents contribute to the alleviation of poverty: The entrepreneurs Dr. al Sadi and the Consultant employ thousands of workers and support, mentor, and finance entrepreneurs, respectively. Professor Diabat supports his students in training for and searching for jobs, and the Professor's university offers scholarships to the needs, often financed by rich people, even though these programmes lack direction. Mr Said teaches children from poor families pro bono. Mr. al Qudah works with the development and employment fund connected to the German government, and gives loans to unemployed and poor people, as well as providing them with training. The police has departments in each of the municipalities responsible for sometimes providing money, housing, clothes, and food to

poor families. Mr Mofleh and Mr Shehadeh both work with non-profits and have volunteered with Gaza Camp, the poorest Palestinian refugee camp, and Basmitak Attallim before. They both work towards teaching the poor the skills they need to be self-sufficient.

4.2.2 Uneven Economy Development E2



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.2.2.1 Causes of Poverty E2 1

During the Cold War the government tried to employ as many people as possible in the government to contain communism (Said), which has damaged the economy on account of the life-long pensions the employees get. Additionally there seems to be widespread corruption within the government (al Qudah, Professor), making the distribution of already limited resources uneven (al Sadi, Diabat). A lack of training and education for some (Consultant) and the habit of taking loans (Mofleh) further set some people back. Some people blame the refugees (al Qudah). As heard in several other answers before, the concept of self-reliance was brought up by Mr. al Qaisi and Mr. Shehadeh, stating that people should be happy with what they have and go out and make their fortune

This expectation that people should be self-reliant and not receive help from the government has come up several times. The notion that the government is responsible for a social security system is alien. This creates a culture of self-help and help within the community, which creates substantial bonding and bridging ties.

4.2.2.2 Beliefs about Poverty E2 2

The family and social clubs (General) support the poor. The rich support the poor via charity (Mofleh), but the lack of a middle class makes the difference between them even more distinct, causing a culture shock at times (Shehadeh). Schools, universities (Shehadeh) and NGOs help as well. Again, the “people support each other” and tribal support networks take care of those who need it.

4.2.2.3 Personal Contribution to Economic Equality E2 3

As mentioned above Mr Mofleh is involved in programmes that teach disadvantaged families skills to be self-sufficient. The university the Professor works at also works on giving the students, who mostly come from lower- and middle-class backgrounds, the confidence and optimism to succeed, as well as giving them a sense of belonging. The development agency Mr al Qudah works at provides loans, and the Consultant supports small and medium-sized enterprises, which constitute a majority in Jordan. Additionally the army runs markets with reduced prices for the poor (al Qaisi).

4.2.2.4 Social Relations and Hiring Practices E2 4

Intercessory *wasta*, the mediation process rooted in tribal times, is used to recommend someone you know to someone who occupies a high post and is still widely used in Jordan, with little regard to competence, efficacy, or qualifications (Said). Especially when it comes to the policy of geographic representation mentioned before this process is still very common (al Qaisi). This is still very influential (Professor, al Sadi), but is not used in all fields (Shehadeh, al Qudah). In fields where competence is very important, such as health and the military, it is not used anymore (Diabat, al Qaisi, General). Many entrepreneurs are now pursuing more meritocratic hiring practices (al Qaisi, Consultant).

“Vitamin W” for *wasta*, as Mr Mofleh called it (C1 4) regulates professional and social life in Jordan according to tribal norms, and is a cornerstone of the social structure. It is the process with which people reach their goals where it is not usual for the government to intervene. Essentially it is structural and relational social capital powerfully combined.

4.2.2.5 Contributions to Job Training E2 5

The prisons contain factories to woodwork, and the inmates can complete their studies (General). The army continuously trains people at home and abroad (al Qaisi). Dr. al Sadi and the Consultant both provide training within their businesses, and Mr Shehadeh and Mr Mofleh, as mentioned before, are involved in teaching poor communities how to sustain themselves. Both of the professors’ universities give their students job training opportunities. The development agency Mr. al Qudah works at offers both vocational training for those wanting to start a business as well as already establishes entrepreneurs, and IT courses for university graduates.

4.2.2.6 Homelessness E2 6

With the exception of one respondent, who stated that homelessness was common despite records denying this (Said), every other respondent agreed that there was little to no homelessness. Housing programmes by the king (General) and society take care of them. The Arab-Islamic society is very connected and family is revered, so it is considered a shame upon the family's reputation for a relative to sleep in the street (al Sadi, Diabat, al Qudah, Professor, al Qaisi). For orphans and old people e.g. there are homes for them to stay in (al Qaisi). Today it is not even necessary to belong to a tribe: Local neighbourhood networks offer help to everyone (Consultant). While there are few homeless, there are some beggars (Mofleh, Professor).

Again structural and relational social capital combined: Norms and expectations urge Jordanians to give help to those who need it, which creates a social structure in which reciprocity is enshrined into everyday life.

4.2.3 Human Flight and Brain Drain E3



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.2.3.1 Prestige of Being an Intellectual E3 1

The prestige of being an intellectual in Jordan depends on the university degree, the salary, and the opinions an individual might hold (Diabat, Shehadeh, Professor, Said, General), but is generally respected (al Sadi, al Qaisi, Consultant, al Qudah). It is suggested that a title or government-friendly opinions are more central to this prestige than anything else. A deficit in

these areas will likely lead to marginalisation (Said, Professor). Belonging to an influential tribe will add to the privilege and increase the chances of receiving awards (Said).

Socially being an intellectual is respected because it allows individuals to network the elites and influence decision-makers (Consultant).

Using *wasta* or blatant nepotism and favouritism in an intellectual field inhibits its academic and creative potential. Since intellectuals are considered part of the elite and have the power to influence decision-makers the incompetence is transferred onto the policy level.

4.2.3.2 Making Jordan an Attractive Place to Work and Live E3 2

Jordan is currently focussed on making the country attractive to investors and tourists (Shehadeh). The army and the police are doing everything to make the country as safe as possible to boost both, going as far as having policemen accompany tourist groups at times (al Qaisi, General). Additionally the army is involved e.g. in planting trees to make Jordan greener (al Qaisi). The Consultant is involved in a project to clean up the side walls of some high wall and reduce littering. Dr. al Sadi is the chairman of the investment society in Jordan and is trying to promote Jordan as a stable country with good infrastructure and large potential markets.

4.2.3.4 Brain Drain E3 3

Many educated people are leaving the country because they cannot find a job at home or are looking for better salaries (Said, General, al Qaisi, al Qudah, Diabat, Professor). Especially university students are unsuccessful in finding a job since the market is saturated with them. What Jordan needs s people to work in the industrial and technical sectors (al Qaisi). There push and pull factors: Although many people want to leave for economic reasons, the surrounding countries are looking for Jordanian human capital as well. Jordan has a very high number of doctors and engineers (Consultant), who have helped construct large parts of the Gulf States (al Sadi).

4.3 Political Indicators

4.3.1 State Legitimacy P1



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.3.1.1 Confidence in the Government P1 1

Mostly the government does not have the confidence of the people (Diabat, Consultant, Said, al Sadi, Professor) on account of nepotism, corruption, dishonesty, and the economic situation (al Qaisi, Shehadeh, Mofleh, al Qudah). Sometimes incidents like this are blown out of proportion by the people however (Al Qaisi). The government should be given some leeway since they are constrained by resource scarcity (Consultant).

4.3.1.2 Political Rights P1 2

Opinions on political rights were varied. Some agreed there are political rights for everyone (al Qaisi, al Sadi, al Qudah, Diabat), with social media now performing checks on people in power (General). Mr. Mofleh and Said argued that the guarantee political rights depend on how close someone is to the government. The Professor said rights themselves are a very vague and near meaningless concept in Jordan.

4.3.2 Public Services P2



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.3.2.1 Transport Infrastructure P2 1

In the past infrastructure policies have been lacking, so the roads are small (General) and the overall infrastructure is bad (Said, al Qudah), leading to car accidents (General) and congestion. Especially in the capital traffic has become a major issue (al Sadi). Even now government plans to improve the infrastructure are not being implemented as promised (Mofleh). There is a plan to build a rail network, but hopes for a speedy completion are low (Professor). Even though Jordanians have begun to complain about the circumstances (Shehadeh), they are not doing very much to change them (Consultant, Said), except to protest it on social media (al Qudah).

4.3.2.2 Public Service Deficits P2 2

The government handles resources and rations (General), but has a deficit every year, and has to increase the prices as a result (al Sadi). Jordanians handle deficits by “going around the system of finding a way to get what they want done” (Consultant). They suffer, complain (Diabat, Professor), blame the government (Said), and protest only now (al Qudah). They have to believe the system will get better in the future (Professor). It is “one of the world’s wonders... how people manage themselves in Jordan with this low rate of salaries versus those many taxes” (Said). Two of the respondents said that while the public services weren’t ideal, they were adequate (Mofleh, al Qaisi).

This reveals one of the most prominent premises of the Jordanian social structure: The people love their country and king, but do not expect or trust the government to provide for them.

Due to the current circumstances it is unable to do so as well. Social currency like tribalism, trust, and reciprocity is used to cope, if not succeed.

4.3.2.3 Contribution to Improvement of Public Services P2 3

This is the first question addressing personal contributions that had very few affirmative answers, but the improvement of public services is seen as a governmental duty. Mr. Mofleh helps to improve public services in his charity work, which includes painting and cleaning streets, cooking for families, and giving money to those who need it. There is also a website called AskJO, on which everybody can ask for advice and help, e.g. for donating blood (Mofleh). To oversee and quantify the quality of public services a Ministry for the Improvement of the Managerial Issues of the Public Sector has been established and is responsible for awarding the King Abdallah Prize for Transparency and Excellency (al Qudah). The Consultant has contributed an environmental congress held in Jordan.

4.3.3 Human Rights and Rule of Law P3



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.3.3.1 Demonstrations P3 1

Peaceful demonstrations (al Qaisi) have become very common (Diabat) since the Arab Spring and most frequently take place on Fridays, e.g. in front of the Al Hussein Mosque in downtown (al Sadi, Said). Issues include e.g. the US decision to move the embassy to Jerusalem (Shehadeh), the Gaza War (General), the economy (Mofleh) and the gas agreement with the Israelis (Said). Two respondents mentioned that they are not as popular as they used to be (Consultant), because citizens do not want to add the current insecurity (Professor). Nevertheless it is considered a healthy way to express public opinion (al Qudah, Mofleh, al

Qaisi, Consultant). Government has to give approval for demonstrations and will then provide security forces to protect the protesters (Shehadeh, Consultant).

4.3.3.2 Social Rights P3 2

Jordanian culture encourages the following of social rights (al Qudah, Diabat, General, Mofleh, al Qaisi) within bounds: Palestinian rights, talking about politicians, and LGBTQ rights are problematic (al Sadi, Shehadeh). The promotion of them is not on the government's agenda (Professor) and many people are not aware of social or political rights (Said).

4.3.3.3 Religious Freedom and Extremism P3 3

Religious freedom exists (Shehadeh, al Qudah, al Sadi, Mofleh, General, al Qaisi, Consultant, Diabat), but not always in practice: Mr Said stopped believing at a young age, but still cannot publicly disassociate himself from it for fear of repercussions. The Professor argues that religious freedom cannot exist underneath a demonic institution trying to uphold the status quo, but society prides itself on the religion and it is a hard issue to debate publically.

Religious extremism is present as well (al Qudah, Professor, Said), even though there are few incidents (Diabat, General). Jordan is known to be very moderate (Professor). Still a considerable number of ISIS leaders, including leader Al Zarqawi, were from Jordan, especially the South which borders on Saudi Arabia (al Sadi). Mr al Qaisi disagrees that there is religious extremism in Jordan.

20 or 30 year ago religious divisions were not a part of the public's consciousness, but rhetoric now includes it (Consultant). The danger is that the fear for security, as well as the economic situation, motivates people to join these groups (Professor).

Asking about religious extremism is almost more relevant than asking about religious freedom in this particular case, as it shows how closed Jordanian society as a network is, and how significant the negative externalities are.

4.3.3.4 Political Power Sharing P3 3

Some people consider Jordan to have a process for political power sharing (Professor, Diabat) while others disagree (Said, General). In a country that has about 80 parties it is not easy to have power sharing (Consultant). The system (Consultant) and the election laws have to be changed (al Qudah).

4.4 Social Indicators

4.4.1 Demographic Pressures S1



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.4.1.1 Norms for Caring for Older People S1 1

There is tremendous respect for the elderly and a close connection to the family (Mofleh, Said). The elderly are cared for by the family and only put into pensions or homes if there is a unique circumstances because it is seen as a great shame for the family to do this, leading to their blacklisting in society (Professor, al Qudah, Consultant, al Sadi, General, Said). Religion says that those that don't respect their parents to not go to heaven (General), and caring for the elderly is considered a sacred duty (Diabat). Even the elderly on the streets are accorded respect (al Qaisi). With Westernisation some young people are changing their behaviour (Consultant, Mofleh).

Asking about the treatment of the elderly and the holes e.g. reveals how a society treats its weakest members, who cannot contribute economically. In the west it is quite common for both of those groups to be slowly pushed out of society and disregarded, whereas in Jordan culture and religion, which overlap considerably, demand that people take care of them, and they see it as a privilege to do so. It further cements the religion and culture of welcome as cornerstones of Jordanian social capital.

4.4.2 Refugees and IDPs S2



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

4.4.2.1 Palestinian and Syrian Friends and Family S2 1

All respondents resoundingly affirmed that they have Syrians and Palestinians in their close circle of friends and family.

4.4.2.2 Contribution to the Improvement of Refugees' Situation S2 2

The government issues rules for the police on how to treat refugees, and the police participates in several initiatives to improve their situation (General): The army also provides them with shelter, food and security (al Qaisi). Mr. Mofleh started out helping at Zaatar Camp in 2012 and has contributed since then, e.g. in Gaza Camp, where Mr. Shehadeh is involved with the charity Basmitak Attallim. The Consultant contributes financially to the families and Dr. al Sadi helps with the queen's efforts to improve education in the refugee camps.

4.4.2.3 Opinion on Syrian Refugees S2 3

Jordanians have not wholly accepted the Syrian refugees (Said), because they believe they have a bad influence on the country by accepting lower salaries and taking jobs (Consultant, al Sadi, Mofleh, General, Professor). Additionally the scarcity of resources in Jordan is worsened by the influx of people (al Sadi, al Qudah). On the other hand they understand their plight and sympathise with it (Mofleh, Professor, Diabat). For this reason and for the shared religion Jordanians want to give them a safe place to stay (Consultant, Mofleh), and share what they have (al Qaisi), but also hope that they will return to Syria after the war is over (al Qudah). Ultimately the refugees might benefit the economy (Consultant).

4.4.2.4 Refugees' Problems S2 4

Integration, shelters, jobs (Diabat, al Qudah, al Sadi, Said), water, health, education (Mofleh), trauma (Consultant), and women and marriage (Professor) are stated as problems that refugees face in Jordan, so there do not seem to be one or two crucial points. Many of the refugees worry about their young daughters and marry them off quickly to give them security (Professor). The government now tries to improve the overall situation by offering health services, water,, electricity, and more (al Qudah).

4.4.2.5 Palestinian and Syrian Integration S2 5

The Palestinians that arrived in '48 and '67 are well integrated, but those that arrived after '88 did not get the same privileges (Said). The majority are seen as a part of the population nonetheless (Consultant, al Qudah, General) even though they do not get the same privileges as others, but there are also those that live in refugee camps until today (Mofleh, al Sadi, Professor). The Palestinians are also culturally closest to the Jordanians (Shehadeh).

It is different for the Syrian refugees who will likely never be completely integrated into Jordanian society (Said). Most people are hoping they will go back home after the Syrian war is over (al Sadi, Professor, Consultant), because there are not enough resources for the number of people currently in the country (Mofleh, Shehadeh). Other people believe that their integration is going well (al Qudah, Consultant).

4.4.2.6 Violence against Refugees S2 6

Most respondents believed there was no violence against refugees (General, al Qaisi, al Qudah, al Sadi, Consultant, Diabat) and Mr Shehadeh believes the government would intervene very quickly if there was. Mr Said mentioned a recent incident in which three young Jordanians kidnapped, raped, defiled, and murdered a Syrian elementary school child. They were executed (Said), lending credence to Mr. Shehadeh's opinion. Inside the camps there appears to be some violence, but the government has acted upon it by choosing model individuals to create a sort of "refugee police" within the camps, which will be more respected on account of sharing an origin (Mofleh).

4.4.2.7 Conditions in Refugee Camps S2 7

The refugee camps are deemed safe by some (al Qaisi, al Qudah). The closed camps boast police department, human rights organisations (General), full security awareness, unmanned aircraft and surveillance, mostly to insure against the risk of terrorists entering the country via the refugee camps (al Sadi). Mr Said has said he has heard of minor and expected scuffles happening e.g. during the distribution of aid, which is sorely needed (Shehadeh) and Professor Diabat says conditions have improved markedly. The Professor has called them “concentration camps”, since no one can enter or know what is actually happening.

4.4.3 External Intervention X1



(Fund for Peace, 2018)

The sub-section will not be analysed, as it pertains to relationship between Jordanians and foreigners. The answers to the questions are in the appendix and might be used to supplement the discussion and results, but its content is deemed to be outside of the research focus, and will therefore not be analysed here.

5 Discussion & Results

5.1 Discussion of Results

The Synergy view argues state-civic synergy is achieved by complementarity (mutually supportive and legally assured frameworks) and embeddedness (quality and depth of social ties), and assumes that the state is central as it provides resources. That is the premise that this research is going to counter. Given the concentration on social capital complementarity (mutually supportive and legally assured frameworks) is not part of this thesis' focus. However, it doesn't have to be, because frameworks are what the Fragile States Index looks at. Due to Jordan's low ranking it can be assumed that these frameworks do not offer a wealth of social capital or resources, and do not contribute positively to stability. In fact, the interviews have uncovered several of these deficits, such as rampant corruption despite limited resources or unsound economic policies. So the goal is to describe the quality and effects of the embeddedness (quality and depth of social ties) of synergetic social capital (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, pp. 235-238) on socio-political stability in Jordan. To do this the narrative created by the interviews will be analysed via the dimensions of social capital.

5.2 Dimensions of Social Capital and Stability in Jordan

Table: *Stability and Social Capital Dimensions*

	Structural	Cognitive	Relational
Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public Sector Prestige - Familial Proportion in Military - Tribalism - Closed Network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Security - Religion - Welcome - Economic Hardship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trust in & Help for Security Apparatus - National Pride - Hashemite Rule - Wasta
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public Service Deficits - Religion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Charity - Interfaith - Wariness of Demonstrations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-Reliance - "Going Around the System" - Distrust of Government
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of Resources - Dependency on 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adaptation to Economic Hardship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Charity Tax - Wasta

	Foreign Aid	- Social Responsibility	- Self.-Sufficiency
Social	- Religion - Family	- Charity - Welcome of Refugees - Dislike of Refugees	- Care for the Elderly

Separating the three dimensions of social capital is difficult as they are very much intertwined, but it is possible to identify some thematic concepts from the indicators. They are not precise concepts and are not meant to quantify social capital, but to identify features of social relations which shape the manner in which citizens gain resources. Some of the themes in the graph have been summarised under a collective term in the following. These themes also contribute to the socio-cultural milieu that was a unit of observation in Temkin and Rohe (1998).

1. Structural Social Capital: The structure of Jordanian social relations is defined by its closed nature, tribalism, the security industry, and religion. Ties to the tribe are strong enough that practically the entire tribe's resources are at the disposal of one individual, resources that are necessary in the current economic climate. The individual attempts to return the benefits to the tribe by earning honour and respect which reflects back to the tribe. This is done e.g. in the security system, which offers great prestige and security to its employees. Most tribes have relatives in the sector and benefit from it.
2. Cognitive Social Capital: Shared understandings can be found in religion, the culture of welcome, economic hardship, and security. The Jordanian people are highly homogeneous and share narratives like religious tenets, which includes the culture of welcome, although this does not stem from religion originally, the shared economy hardship, and the recognition of the importance of security in the light of the conflicts around them. These shared understandings foster closeness and trust (essentially relational social capital) even to strangers.
3. Relational Social Capital: The nature of relationships is characterised by the Hashemite rule, wasta, national pride, and self-reliance. These concepts lie at the core of Jordanian national identity, e.g. the Hashemite rule, which is revered in the

country. Wasta and self-reliance are two seemingly dichotomously opposed concept, unless one notices the individual and the tribe as the same unit. Wasta is a mediation technique which at its worst is nepotism and corruption, but nevertheless lends social stability and offers new opportunities. While relying on this heavily Jordanians also seem to be very self-sufficient and not rely on the government for help.

5.3 Conclusion

The thesis has addressed the three research objectives mentioned in the beginning:

1. It has discovered a wealth of synergetic social capital in Jordanian society that gives the citizens resources that the government is not able to.
2. It has offered a bottom-up approach to crisis management and social resilience that is applicable at low cost and at micro-, meso- and macro- levels of intervention.
3. It has, with the help of Temkin and Rohe (1998), shown a likely correlation between social capital and stability in Jordan.

5.4 Research Limitations & Future Research Avenues

The results are constrained by the fluidity of the two concepts involved, as well as the small sample size, but considering this thesis was designed to offer a small insight into the general make-up of Jordanian social ties, it has met its goal.

Further research would require a far larger and more diverse sample, and could offer concert possibilities to the Jordanian government to combat the hardships they are facing with the untapped potential of a wealth of social capital.

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7 Appendices

7.1 Consent Form

Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I agree to voluntarily participate in one of **approximately** 12 research interviews conducted by Svenja van Gunsteren from Leiden University (NL). I understand the project is designed to gather information on social capital in Jordan.

1. My participation is voluntary and will not be compensated. I may withdraw consent, decline to answer, or end the interview at any time.
3. The interview will last 45-90 minutes. Notes and audio recordings will be made during parts of the interview. Select statements may be made off the record.
4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports if I do not wish it, with the exception of the thesis copy made available only to the two Leiden professors grading it.
7. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me.
8. I have been given a copy of this consent form.
9. I have been given the option of partial anonymity and decided to
o remain partially anonymous o not remain partially anonymous

Signature Participant

Date

Name Participant

Signature Researcher

For further information, please contact svenjavg54@gmail.com (Svenja van Gunsteren)

7.2 Interview Questions

	Cognitive: Social Structure - Network ties and configuration - Roles, rules, precedents, and procedures	Structural: Shared Understandings - Shared language, codes, and narratives - Shared values, attitudes, and beliefs	Relational: Nature & Quality of Relationships - Trust and trustworthiness - Norms and sanctions - Obligations and expectations - Identity and identification		Type of Social Capital
Security Apparatus C1 1				Have you or your area or work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before? If yes, how?	Bridging
C1 2			How prestigious is it for someone to join the military?		Bridging
C1 3	What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?				Linking
C1 4		Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional?			Bridging
C1 5	How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?				Linking
Factionalised Elites C2 1	To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems, respectively,				Linking

	representative of the population?				
C2 2	Describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan.				Linking
C2 3		How does tribal culture influence elite selection and representation?			Bonding
C2 4		Evaluate cross-cultural respect in Jordan.			Bridging
C2 5		Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs?			Bridging
C2 6		Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent? If so, along which lines?			Bridging
C2 7			Try to describe national identity in Jordan.		Bridging
Group Grievances C3 1	What are the respective situations of Jordanian minorities?				Bridging
C3 2		Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed?			Bonding
C3 3				What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?	Bridging
C3 4	What is the situation of the				Linking

	political opposition?				
Economic Decline & Poverty E1 1		How do people view the economy?			Linking
E1 2	What are the most relevant initiatives to combat poverty in Jordan?				Linking
E1 3				Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan? If so, what?	Bridging
Uneven Economic Development E2 1		To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?			Linking
E2 2		What do people think about poverty (and the poor) in Jordan?			Bridging
E2 3				Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor? If so, what?	Bridging
E2 4	How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?				Bridging
E2 5				Do you or your area of work contribute to job training? How?	Bridging
E2 6	How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan? Why/why				Bridging

	not?				
Human Flight & Brain Drain E3 1		Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?			Bridging
E3 2				Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live? If so, what?	Bridging
E3 3	Is there a relatively high proportion of higher educated people leaving the country?				Bridging
State Legitimacy P1 1		Does the government have the confidence of the people?			Linking
P1 2	Do political rights for all parties exist?				Linking
Public Services P2 1	What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan? How are people meeting its challenges?				Bridging
P2 2			How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?		Bridging
P2 3				Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?	Bridging
Human Rights &		Are			Linking

Rule of Law P3 1		demonstrations common in Jordan? How are they viewed?			
P3 2			Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?		Bridging
P3 3	Does religious freedom/ extremism exist?				Linking
P3 4	Is there a process that encourages political power sharing?				Linking
Demographic Pressures S1 1			Describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people.		Bonding
Refugees & IDPs S2 1				Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family and friends?	Bonding
S2 2				Have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan? If so, how?	Bridging
S2 3		What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees?			Bridging
S2 4	What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face that come to mind?				Bridging

	How are Jordanians addressing them?				
S2 5				Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well? What about the Syrians?	Bridging
S2 6	Are there reports of violence against refugees?				Bridging
S2 7	Are conditions safe in refugee camps?				Bridging
External Intervention X1 1		What are Jordanian stances on foreign military in Jordan?			Linking
X1 2	What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?				Linking
X1 3				What is the opinion on foreign aid?	Linking
Additional			Describe the culture of welcome in Jordan		Bridging
			Given your answers, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?		Bridging

7.4 Interview Transcripts

The interview transcripts are slightly amended to exclude short interludes, like external phone calls or order, and question explanations, that do not contribute to the research or offer any new information. In some places grammar has been improved upon, if the change had no impact on the meaning.

7.4.1. 09.04.2018 Elias Hamad Said

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, it is the 9th of April and it is quarter to two. Could you just state your name and your former position or current position please?

Elias Said:

My name is Elias Mohammad Said. I worked as a journalist for a [unintelligible] daily, Jordanian daily, for ten years. I was the Secretary of Editing in the cultural department and I was the Secretary of the translation department there. I also worked as a teacher of Arabic for non-speakers for four years, and I am now working on translating a set of scientific books for a certain publishing house.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you very much. Since we already talked about the aims of the research before we started the official interview I'll just head straight in, and start with the questions. So, have you or your place of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before. If yes, how?

Elias Said:

Not precisely, but in general Jordanian people like to cooperate with the security apparatus, when it comes to dangers like e.g. discovering that some people belong to extremist parties, some people have extremist ideas, some people do bad things against certain other people in the street, e.g. a man who does bad things or says bad words to a boy, or another man, or especially another woman in the street. They intervene and they collaborate with the security apparatus. But on the other hand, the security apparatus seemed to be a nightmare for Jordanians when it comes to political freedoms and demonstrations.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, we will get to the political freedoms later, then you can elaborate on that. How prestigious is it for someone to join the military in Jordan?

Elias Said:

To be pulled, especially men, and maybe a woman, of tribes, it is very, very prestigious, because joining the military means obtaining security, social care, health care, and so on, and a stable wage that comes by the end of the month, and this privilege is not given to any other people belonging to the Jordanian society. E.g. it is not available for Palestinians or for the sons of the woman who got married to a non-Jordanian man. E.g. when you are a daughter or a son of a woman who is married to an Egyptian man or a woman, then you don't have these rights, you don't even have the right to sometimes get to the university, and obtain your high education.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Elias Said:

It is not a constant relation. Sometimes it is paradoxical, sometimes a conflict rises between these two parties, between people and the security apparatus, the security forces, especially in the demonstrations and the protests against bad situations, as we can see and as we have witnessed in parts of Southern Jordan. So this relation is not constant.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional?

Elias Said:

Not all the time. Not every time. Sometimes. This depends on the assignment of the security people or the security men. Sometimes they are very away from perceiving what's surrounding them. If we e.g. consider the events of Al Karak fortitude [fortress] then the security men behaved randomly and this caused some deaths.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Please for the sake of the record could you just shortly explain what happened in Karak?

Elias Said:

In Al Karak some people started to shoot tourists, and before that some of them were suspect. According to the official narrative these suspects were led to their places and they have been asked to bring out the weapons they own in those places. According to the same narrative also the policemen, the security men, waited for these people outside their place in order to get their weapons, but they have been, yani [i.e.], surprised with gun shots. Some of them were killed. And this narrative is beyond

reason, but I don't know why the government, why the spokesman of the government said this, had this explanation. By the way, recently I've heard about a sort of **social police**, and training groups to practise this is funded by the British government mainly, and it is carried out by two British companies, and they are now preparing people to improve their sense of the police. And this is another way, which I consider creative, to improve the image of the police and the security apparatus among Jordanians.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you know what the social police does?

Elias Said:

The social police is not now well structured. They are still training, and programmes are going on I think until the end of this year. Maybe it will take more than this. I don't have precise information, but they have not yet practised their job.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, we will move on a little bit as to the topics, so the next question would be: To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems respectively representative of the population?

Elias Said:

This question also is problematic, because e.g. the members of the Parliament are supposed to be representatives of the people, but unfortunately what people notices and what people witnessed, what people experienced is that these men, when they occupy their seats in the Parliament, they abandon all their obligations. They also deny all the ethical structure of the whole process and they started to seek for their personal privileges. These people, I mean the members of the Parliament, have disappointed Jordanians in many, many cases. And I think the trust given to them during the electoral process will not be given to them again. But let us remember always that most of them, more than 97, 98 % of these members of Parliament have been elected according to tribal regulations and [unintelligible].

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, now I have to apologise, I did forget one question about the last topic, which I will ask now. How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?

Elias Said:

I think the situations experienced by Jordanians have taught them many different and sometimes paradoxical things. E.g. the Jordanians stick or like to be secured people,

but on the other way they hate, they don't digest, they cannot digest the behaviours of security people in certain situations. So, and by the way people like the rough and arbitrary assumption of security and safety. So, I think their contribution to security officially is very weak, but socially it is, it can be strong.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, could you please describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan?

Elias Said:

I can't claim that there is a process, a certain process of elite recruitment in Jordan, but it is used to label certain people to be elite, and this is not precise, because elite as a class of people born in Europe maybe used to control the resources of the country, used to watch the legislations of the judgement system, and used to watch also the human resources and to control them. In Jordan we don't have this kind of elite. In Jordan we have highly educated people, we have highly cultural people. These people are called, roughly and arbitrarily, randomly, elites, but indeed I don't think that they are elite. At the end there is no specific process to recruit elites. By the way, during the 80s of the last century a politics of polarisation have been created in Jordan so the Department of Intelligence tries to polarise some cultured people, some writers, some poets, some novelists, and also this very same policy of polarisation was practised by political parties, opposition political parties. They also tried to attract, or to polarise, this kind of people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How does tribal culture influence elite selection and representation?

Elias Said:

For years, this culture has never tried to do something in this aspect, but recently tribal people insist and practise pressure on the government and on the official arms of the government to employ their sons, to employ their men and son on. And unfortunately some prestigious military awards have started to be given to writers, to people according to tribal norms.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Evaluate cross-cultural respect in Jordan.

Elias Said:

Cross-cultural respect. When Jordanians experience bad economical situations they don't welcome the others. I am talking now about Syrian refugees for example. Now according to normal or usual Jordanians one of the basic reasons for the economic

decline in Jordan refers to refugees, to the existence of this high number of refugees. Sometimes they refer this to the existence of the Palestinians. This is on one hand, on the other if we generalise this across border concept to talk about the relations with the people of West Bank, with the people of Israel, then very, very, very few number of Jordanians think of accepting or of encouraging the culture of normalisation with the Israelis. Yet they don't like this normalisation to be founded with the West Bank Palestinians.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs?

Elias Said:

Yes, there are, but I don't know how strong they are or how they can really unify or create common relations between separate cultures in Jordan, because apparently Jordanians seem to be in harmony, seem to co-exist with each other, but when it comes to critical points, we can find or we can see the exclusion of many cultures within the same society. By the way, Christians are not allowed to build churches wherever they like. This depends on the number of Christians in a certain e.g. area. If this number exceeds 2.5% I think of the Jordanian population then they are allowed to build a church, but if it is not, then they cannot build their church. Imagine when you talk now about e.g. cultures that cannot be explicit in Jordan, like Assufiyeen, Abbadiyeen, Addrus, even Addrus in Jordan yani [i.e.] they don't say loudly that they are Addrus.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you, so you've answered part of the next question. Is stereotyping or scapegoating prevalent? If so, along which lines? With "along which lines" I mean e.g. along religious line, or ethnic line, or socio-economic lines.

Elias Said:

Mainly along religious and ethnic lines. I don't think the people here can easily have on stand and one vision even towards big problems. They always have different views and they always have different evaluations of their situations.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you try to describe national identity in Jordan?

Elias Said:

Yes. I have been asked this question by a PhD student by the way, and when I try to perceive the elements consisting this identity I found only four, five elements maybe,

but they are very shining ones: The Hashemites, religion, tribes, and nowadays I think corruption will be a consistent component of the Jordanian identity, because it is practised everywhere and by everyone.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you for that answer. I'm moving on to the third topic. The first question is: What are the respective situations of Jordanian minorities?

Elias Said:

Minorities not in Jordan but even in other parts of the world have this problem: They look on themselves as a minority, not as an integrated part of the society. Let me remind you of what happened when Mubarak was removed from the presidency of Egypt. There have been elections. The Copts in Egypt preferred to elect Shafeeq, who was a man belonging to the current of Hosni Mubarak himself, because they did not want to give their votes to Mursi, who was a man belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood, and giving their votes to Shafeeq prevented Sabahi, who was a liberal man, and a very, very good person, and was well educated, highly educated, and he was a member of an opposition party, so giving their votes to Shafeeq prevented Sabahi from being the president of Egypt, and then Egypt was ruled by the Muslim Brotherhood. This happens in Jordan. Any minority in Jordan perceives itself as a minority before it looks on itself as a part of this society. So their own concerns come first. There is another thing that is more dangerous I think, because these minorities are continuing to reproduce the history of oppression. "We are a minority, we are oppressed, we can't intervene in this, we can't do this, we can't do this. I think it is better for them to call for their rights, to do something in order to obtain their rights.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed? I believe you've answered this somewhat, do you want to say anything more to that question?

Elias Said:

Both. Both. Some, some groups, some ethnicities, some, yes they are oppressed, and of course they will feel like they are oppressed. A shining example here is the Palestinians, the Palestinians who live in Jordan. In old days, I mean directly after the '67 war, they have been given citizenships, they have been given passports, they have been given all the rights that can any citizen enjoy, but after that these rights started to decrease, and these Palestinians started to feel they are deprived from many services, from many privileges, e.g. now in recent days it is rare that you can see a Palestinian

join the army, it is rare that you can see a Palestinian occupy a high post in the government. It is rare that you can see even Palestinian in the Parliament and so on. Yani [i.e.] many people feel they are oppressed, and I wonder, how can this be reasonable if we agree that more than 70% of the Jordanian population come back from Palestinian origin. This applies to other peoples on Jordan, to other groups in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So what would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?

Elias Said:

Origin, and religion. Origin and religion.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Thank you. What is the situation of the political opposition?

Elias Said:

In 1956 the martial law, military law, has been applied in Jordan, until, this continues until 1989. During this long period of time no real political life was allowed in Jordan. No Parliament, no political parties, especially opposition parties, except the Muslim Brotherhood, which was not an opposition party, and even the freedom of gathering, the freedom of expression, these freedoms were not yani [i.e.] stressed in Jordan, and they were yani [i.e.] to a certain degree not allowed. So though the opposition parties used to practise in the darkness, underground, and this led to a catastrophic end. I personally discovered e.g. that the members of the Communist Party, after freedom, after martial law was removed, after freedoms got back to Jordanians' daily lives, the members of this party were only 200 persons. Now opposition parties are allowed to be licensed, and this allowance, this license, will be got from the Department for Interior Affairs, and the Department for Interior Affairs will not get the license for anybody to be established unless the Department of Intelligence approves this. And there is another condition, which is a very funny one. E.g. any opposition party, or any party in general in order to be established must have 50 founding persons. And these parties will get a fund of about 50 000 JDs every year by the government, and of course these parties have never tried to read the real, the reality, the real situation of Jordan consistently, they have never tried to adopt well-defined and applicable strategies to change or reform the situation. So they are weak, they are marginal, they are away, very away from decision-making in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright thank you, just to let you know, we're through a quarter of the interview now, in terms of the topics covered at least, and we passed the 30 minutes mark just as you were beginning to answer that question, so that you know where we are, roundabout. So the next question pertains to economic decline and poverty and is: How do people view the economy?

Elias Said:

Unfortunately people started talking about the Jordanian economy very, very recently, when they discovered that Jordan is a really poor country, especially after the politics of privatisation practised by King Abdallah, when the government sold everything to foreign people, foreign companies, huge companies, leaving the Jordanians with nothings. But the Jordanians can't point out the real reason behind this economic situation. E.g. the government, because they are manipulated by the government all the time, by the authority all the time. E.g. when the government tried to justify the agreement of Wadi Araba, it spread the news that after signing the agreement, we will get more development, we will get a better economic situation, improve the budget, and so on. But in reality, what the Jordanians discovered, is that the prize they have gotten, after signing this agreement is signing the agreement itself. And that is what they have been told by American responsables, officials in the embassy. So they don't or can't point out the real reasons of this bad economical situation. And what astonishes me all the time is that yet they can adapt themselves to living in any situation. I don't understand how but they are doing it, and they are, they don't, e.g. they don't go out into the streets demanding reforms, better conditions, and improvement of their lives. They just go with it, they live with it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan, and if so what?

Elias Said:

No. Personally, I recently started to educate poor children between 8 and 14 years old, in a certain district of Amman here, but in general no company, no establishment, no work or place, to the best of my knowledge, tried to do something regarding that, especially that the definition of poverty is not clear to Jordanians, e.g. the government talks about poverty pockets, and it determines these pockets to be existing in certain and very specific parts of Jordan. Amman is not mentioned at all, but when you go to Amman, to eastern Amman, you will see about 80% of the Ammani living there, the

people of Amman living there, and in these places you will see people who can't even find their daily food. You will find people who are attracted by Muslim extremist groups, because these Islamic groups can give them some charity, some money, some clothes, some food, so they are easily driven to these groups. So practically even Amman, even in Amman there are many poverty pockets, and there are many poor people, but the government does not want to recognise this, and it has its own and very brilliant process to divert the attention of the normal Jordanians from these poor people. "I am living in Amman, how can I be poor?" Yet he is jobless, he doesn't have enough money to cover his daily expenses, and many people now, many Jordanians, started to think of running prostitution business, many of them started to deal with drugs, many of them started to rob, to thief, to kill. These whom I'm talking about are living in Amman, not in... Not to say anything about those called poverty pockets by the government.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Elias Said:

The politics of the government. The politics of the government, because during, yani [i.e.], this is a very long story, during the Cold War Jordan like many other countries threw itself in the warm arms of the United States in order to prevent the spread of communism, and this required that there must not be e.g. workers. The government from that time until maybe 1990 the government tried to employ every each Jordanian in one of its establishments, in order to keep them controlled, in order to keep them in need of the privilege of that job. So the politics of the government.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor? If so, what?

Elias Said:

No. No one thinks of this. No one thinks of approaching this gap.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Thank you. How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Elias Said:

Yes. Widely known is the so-called wasta, to yani [i.e.], to recommend someone who occupies a high post to employ someone who is relative to you because you are

belonging to a big tribe, but not according to the competence, the efficiency, the education, or the qualification.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you or your area of work contribute to job training and how?

Elias Said:

Only specific establishments started to care about this. It is worth mentioned here, Injaz. This establishment is worth mentioning in this context. But before Injaz yani [i.e.] there was no care about this question.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you shortly describe what Injaz does?

Elias Said:

Injaz trains people to run their own projects, and to be they are also qualify them to be working in high standard companies, e.g. it trains them in mastering computer skills, trains them to also to learn the modern concepts and principles of business management, and it points their eyes to new jobs, to new interests.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan? Why or why not?

Elias Said:

Homelessness in Jordan is very common, but official records will deny this, and always the government, it tries to shine Jordan as a place empty of homeless people and empty of dangers, as a safe place. But indeed if you walk in any street you can see how many beggars you meet, and you go to many places you will find some people who sleep on the pavement in the daylight in front of everybody, and I know many of them who have died on the streets.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Elias Said:

Not all the time. Because when you are an intellectual who opposes the government, the regime basically, and its politics, you will be marginalised. If you are an intellectual belonging to a big, large tribe, then you will have all the privileges in your hands, and even some literary awards are given according to tribal norms. So some intellectuals live in high standards, some of them in very, very low standards. Some of them, those who live in low standards, consider being an intellectual is a very bad thing.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live? If so what?

Elias Said:

No. Unfortunately no. We are sitting here in the Society of Jordanian Writers. It has more than 90 members, but I have never seen the slightest activity to make Jordan attractive for other people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a relatively high proportion of higher educated people leaving the country?

Elias Said:

Yes, indeed yes. There are many highly educated people, many of them are jobless.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people?

Elias Said:

No. At all. I consider this to be one of the development challenges in Jordan. The people do not trust the government. In any way.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Thank you. That was very precise. Do political rights for all parties exist?

Elias Said:

Apparently yes, but practically no. E.g. I don't think that the opposition parties can push their members to the Parliament. I don't think that even the Muslim Brotherhood can push their men to the Parliament in the same way that tribes in Jordan do this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan and how are the people meeting its challenges?

Elias Said:

Very, very bad structure, indeed all the infrastructure in Jordan is bad, it has very low standards, and people don't think of doing anything in this regard, yani [i.e.] they blame the government, they sometimes blame the countries who give aid to Jordan, like Saudi Arabia, Gulf countries and other, but even they can't try to control themselves having this bad infrastructure especially when it comes to transportation.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?

Elias Said:

Blaming the government, that is, there is no real demands for reforms, and people always blame the government and say that x is corrupt, y is good, nothing else.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So how they do they compensate for these deficits, how do they make up for them in their daily life when they need it?

Elias Said:

This is one of the world's wonders, I don't know how can people manage themselves in Jordan with this low rate of salaries versus those many taxes, and versus this increasing, this boost, which is very continuous, in the pricing. This is very problematic to me, and I can't understand it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?

Elias Said:

No, no. All, even the journal paper I worked for, have never done anything in this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are demonstrations common in Jordan, and how are they viewed?

Elias Said:

Yes, they started to be common in 2010, then they started to decrease in, in 2010 there were strong demands for reforms, but they have disappeared. Now, from time to time, every Friday, there is a demonstration coming out from the Al Hussein Mosque in downtown, it continues for half an hour or so, and then everybody goes back to their place. But these demonstrations are not effective, and they don't have real cases to fight for, they don't have real demands to fight about. The only things these demonstrations concentrate about nowadays is e.g. the, against the American embassy after the decision of Trump that Jerusalem is the ever-lasting capital of Israel, and also regarding the, against the gas agreement with the Israelis, yes. But you can't see demonstrations demanding to bring corrupt people to courts, to trial.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you shortly describe the gas agreement with the Israelis?

Elias Said:

It is a very funny agreement. Jordan will have gas supplies form Israel for 10 billion dollars, and I don't know what Jordanians will gain from this agreement, because the

price of the gas is continuously increasing, and until now there is no measurable impact of this agreement on the Jordanian people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Elias Said:

Many Jordanians are not aware of social rights, many of them are not even aware of political rights, so this is not a big issue for Jordanians, but amazingly recently some groups started to fight for their rights, and I think these can be categorised as internationalists, homosexualists, but their voices are still very [unintelligible].

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious freedom exist, and also, does religious extremism exist?

Elias Said:

Religious extremism always exists, and it always existed, and I think it will be existing all the time. Religious freedom, no it does not exist, e.g. I belong to a Muslim family. Though I am areligious, but I can't declare this, because if I do, then I am vulnerable to be killed. Not officially, but socially. A certain man will come, and kill me, as what happened with the late intellectually Muaiad Hattar when he was assassinated on the steps of the court, by the way. He was going to attend his trial, and a certain man shot him by six or seven bullets to the head.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a certain process that encourages political power sharing?

Elias Said:

No, not very clear process.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

We are somewhat jumping in topics now. Could you describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people?

Elias Said:

Yes. Jordanian people are stuck to their family lives. So elder people are cared for them very, very, very well, but in very, very let me say difficult cases these elderly people will be pushed into pension homes e.g.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family or friends?

Elias Said:

My family came from Palestine, and I have many, many Syrian friends.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright thank you. Have you or your area of work done something to improve the situation of refugees in Jordan and if so, how?

Elias Said:

I think this mission is left to the NGOs, some of the NGOs, and some of the funding countries, but not to the society itself.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees, and with new I do mean since the beginning of the civil war in Syria.

Elias Said:

You will hear this all the time from Jordanians when they have a wave of refugees, e.g. the boost of property, of apartment prices is due to the Iraqi refugees, the Palestinian refugees, and so on, yani [i.e.] so people don't welcome, don't accept refugees.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face that come to mind, and what are Jordanians doing to address them?

Elias Said:

To be integrated into the society. It is very, very difficult for them to integrate into the society and not to forget that Jordanians don't welcome refugees, because they think they will have their jobs, their opportunities, which is not true.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well?

Elias Said:

In some years, yes. But after 1988 they started to be divided from the society, the rights of the other citizens, and they started to be excluded.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What about the Syrians?

Elias Said:

The Syrians will never be integrated into the Jordanian society. Let me mention this parable which I think is worth mentioning. In an interview with a woman who runs a prostitution business in Irbid, she's Jordanian, she said to the journalist the business is crippling, it is declining, they are facing many problems now, and now the journalist asked her why, she said because the Syrians in the refugee camps are mastering

everything, and they have beautiful girls, smaller girls than we are, look at this. So yani [i.e.] refugees are not acceptable in Jordan, by Jordanians. This is what I'm telling is or contradicts the official narrative.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Elias Said:

Yes. Yes. Two-three months ago a Syrian elementary class student has been kidnapped and raped by three young Jordanians and afterward they have killed him brutally, they have deformed his face, his eyes. I have been informed that these people have been executed, these three. And you can find of course many aggressive actions against Syrians in many, many places in Jordan, especially against women, against old people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To add a question there, are they always so heavily prosecuted as the crime you mentioned there, so are they prosecuted like a crime against a Jordanian girl would have been?

Elias Said:

If no settlement have been achieved between the family of the criminals and the family of the victim then normally they will be executed yes, but if a settlement is achieved then there will be no execution.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So the legal system allows for the settlement of conflicts according to tribal law?

Elias Said:

Yes, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Elias Said:

I don't have any information about this, I don't have records or statistics about this but people who visit, people whom I know and visit these camps report from time to another some tension between security forces and the refugees, but these tensions are not strong.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you elaborate on the tensions, tensions how?

Elias Said:

E.g. when aid, clothes, food, money comes to these places people will push each other, rush, hurry in order to receive their shares and the police there try to control the process and I think this will cause some tension between the people and the security forces.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright thank you. We are moving on to the very last topic and we are approximately at one hour and five minutes now. I would like to ask: What are Jordanian stances on foreign military in Jordan?

Elias Said:

They don't like the existence of any sort of foreign military in Jordan, e.g. they don't like the existence of American soldiers in Jordan. When they sense that there are Israeli soldiers in Jordan they get mad and they don't know what to do. They try to make sure of this information. But even if they are sure of this information they do not know what to do, but they refuse absolutely any form of military, foreign military existence in Jordan, especially the existence of US soldiers.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Elias Said:

This is paradoxical also. E.g. NGOs and usual normal people welcome this thing. Opposition parties refuse this aid and they consider it to be sort of colonisation, new sort of colonisation, cultural colonisation, so furthermore usually funding countries give these aids to the Ministry of Planning and in most of the cases Jordanians don't see this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Elias Said:

It happened that Jordan military soldiers have been sent to work with the UN peace groups in different parts of the world, it happened that Jordanian soldiers have been sent to control situations in countries such as Saudi Arabia and Bahrain and Sudan for example.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

I have two additional questions now, the official questions are over. First of all could you describe the culture of welcome in Jordan?

Elias Said:

Jordanians are welcoming people, in general they are very, very welcoming people. And despite, regardless of their situation they always like to welcome others as guests. They like to receive them in their house, in their homes, to let them know what is their food, how do they cook it, Mansaf is a shining example, yes indeed they are welcoming.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright thank you. Given your answers, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Elias Said:

Stability of Jordan is very connected to the fact that it has the longest borders with Israel, so Jordan must stay stable according to the Israelis and according to the Americans, but there are interior factors that prevent this stability from being, yes from continuing, from lasting, e.g. economic situation. Bad economical situations will breed more extremists, because bad economic situations result in homelessness, joblessness, and these people will find joining extremist groups a reasonable solution. So stability in Jordan is controlled by many factors and some of these factors are paradoxical.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So the interview is finished but I would like to ask you if there is anything you would like to add to the topics and specifically the concepts of social capital and stability in Jordan?

Elias Said:

This is very new concept, social capital, and I think Jordanians practise sort of social capitalism without knowing the concept and before knowing the concept. Jordanians like to help each other, especially in the parts that are away from the centre, e.g. in the villages, in many parts of South Jordan, but I don't know if they can help the government manage itself and manage its crisis.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Well thank you very much and that was the interview.

Elias Said:

Thank you.

7.4.2 10.04.2018 Anonymous Police General

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area or work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before?
If yes, how?

Anonymous Police General:

The police and the intelligence services regularly work together. While the police is civilian, the national security intelligence is comparable to the CIA.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prestigious is it for someone to join the military?

Anonymous Police General:

The prestige may be very high, depending on the rank. The position gives citizens a better status and is traditionally respected.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Anonymous Police General

The relationship is very good as the population is very small and every family has close relations in the military or police force.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes, people believe their actions because they see them, and their experiences are backed up by statistics.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?

Anonymous Police General:

Of course. The Jordanian people are the first line of defence by providing information, as they did during the last terrorism act in Karak. In this case they were also the first responders, using their weapons to defend against the attack.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems, respectively, representative of the population?

Anonymous Police General:

Both system are representative of the population.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan.

Anonymous Police General:

In the military you are promoted, progression in other field will depend on your action in the country, your background, and at times your origin, as some fields try to hire proportionally from Jordan's twelve areas.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How does tribal culture influence elite selection and representation?

Anonymous Police General:

It has an impact, but the size of the tribe determines how large it is.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Evaluate cross-cultural respect in Jordan.

Anonymous Police General:

Most of the time there is mutual respect, but there are individual exceptions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs?"

Anonymous Police General:

The main thing that controls everyone is tradition, e.g. respecting the law. While some traditions differ, everyone adheres to the important ones.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent? If so, along which lines?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes, many people believe that Jordan's economic situation in the past few years is caused by the Syrian and Iraqi refugees, as well as by problems with the Gulf countries.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Anonymous Police General:

The people know that they can make an impact in the country and trust in their government.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the respective situations of Jordanian minorities?

Anonymous Police General:

They receive legal treatment and are treated equal to the majority, at times even better.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed?

Anonymous Police General:

Sometimes groups feel oppressed because they are a minority, but they have to follow the law and feel its consequences like everybody else.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?

Anonymous Police General:

The economic situation.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the situation of the political opposition?

Anonymous Police General:

The opposition will just try another time while the majority goes to government. Most of the contenders have jobs or businesses, so a loss does not hit hard.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do people view the economy?

Anonymous Police General:

As I said, the economic environment is very difficult at the moment, and people are struggling with it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the most relevant initiatives to combat poverty in Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

I think the government is concentrating on the private sector by decreasing fees on investments to bring money to Jordan and create employment opportunities.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan? If so, what?

Anonymous Police General:

In each of the twelve areas there are many police departments with a sector for society that advises against crimes and sometimes provides money, housing, clothes, and food to poor families.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

It depends on what the people think. I can't think for all of them, but I think your status depends on how hard you work.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What do people think about poverty (and the poor) in Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

The family will provide for poor relatives. Otherwise there are social clubs to help them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor? If so, what?

Anonymous Police General:

No, that is not in our jurisdiction.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

It influences them, but not in a dangerous way, so for doctors or in the military e.g. this would not work. In other, less important fields social relations can have an impact.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you or your work ever contribute to job training? How?

Anonymous Police General:

The prisons contain small factories for prisoners to be able to do woodwork, as well as giving them an opportunity to study to complete their education.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan? Why/why not?

Anonymous Police General:

There is very little to none. If the country doesn't provide, society does. Jordan has a lot of programmes to provide housing, I believe created by the King.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

It usually is, depending on the salary. That is the first thing you look at.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live? If so, what?

Anonymous Police General:

The police and intelligence services are increasing already high security and thereby boosting tourism by e.g. having police officers stay with tourist groups.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a relatively high proportion of higher educated people leaving the country?

Anonymous Police General:

Those that are very highly educated are not leaving, but some people leave for a few years in search of higher salaries.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes, not all the time, but mostly.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do political rights for all parties exist?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes. Social media now performs a monitoring role, and human rights are strong in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan? How are people meeting its challenges?

Anonymous Police General:

In the past there have been no specific policies for road construction, so the roads are small and car accidents are the main problem. On the other hand the police can follow anyone easily. Just recently arrests were made just one hour after two bank robberies. The highways on the other hand are large, and criminals can get far on them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?

Anonymous Police General:

The government handle national resources and rations e.g. water per area, delivering to different areas each week.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

We contribute by applying the law, and looking after rights and due process.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are demonstrations common in Jordan and how are they viewed?

Anonymous Police General:

People demonstrate for important or sudden issues, like the Gaza War and certain government decisions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious freedom/extremism exist?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes and yes, but the police protects against the latter. There are very few cases.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a process that encourages political power sharing?

Anonymous Police General:

No, but people can impact government decisions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people.

Anonymous Police General:

There are a lot of programmes, hospitals, and homes to treat them well. Healthcare is for free for older people. In our tradition older people are respected and treated well, and the religion says that people who do not respect their parents so not go to our version of heaven.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family and friends?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes, there are more Syrians and Palestinians than Jordanians. There are maybe 2 million proper Jordanians and they constitute less than 50% of the population.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan? If so, how?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes, the government issues rules on how to treat refugees, and programmes between the government and the UN help refugees by providing homes, jobs and money.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees?

Anonymous Police General:

Sometimes they help the economy, but mostly they influence it badly, because they get the same opportunities as Jordanians, and sometimes more while agreeing to lower salaries. So there are fewer jobs available to Jordanians.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face that come to mind?
How are Jordanians addressing them?

Anonymous Police General:

N/A

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well? What about the Syrians?

Anonymous Police General:

Yes, the Palestinians are a part of the population just like the Jordanians and hold high positions e.g. in the military. Syrians do not get the same opportunities, but are treated the same.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Anonymous Police General:

No.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Anonymous Police General:

I haven't worked in the refugee camps but each one has police departments and human rights organisations.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the Jordanian stances on foreign military in Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

Most people do not have an opinion, because it is not their job. The others do not think it is a bad idea.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Anonymous Police General:

Jordan cooperates with Arab and foreign countries extensively and in different sectors.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Anonymous Police General:

We help other countries by taking in refugees in the middle of war zones, and we need it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the culture of welcome in Jordan.

Anonymous Police General:

See it, feel it, live in it. Your opinion is worth more than my description.

If there is a quarrel in the street people try to stop it before the police can arrive. In a bank robbery the citizens followed the criminal. In Karak the people handled it. Sometimes the citizens catch the criminal before the police arrives and hands him over.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Given your answers, how would evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Anonymous Police General:

It is more stable than the majority of other countries.

7.4.3 10.04.2018 Laith Mofleh

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, and we're recording. I'm just going to say it's the 10th of April. It's a quarter to nine right now. If you could just say your name, your current position, and where you've worked in the past.

Laith Mofleh:

Okay, my name is Laith. I'm 26 years old, a Jordanian guy. I have been work with many places. Some of them in volunteers to support my people in Jordan and the people, they came from out, and some of my work it was like supplier and chain and this kind of things at managing shops and I'm a student, and I'm playing rugby in Jordan club.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, and I want to say as well that we met while you were a supervisor in Gaza camp.

Laith Mofleh:

Yes. It was a supervisor for a crew, we call Basmitak Attallim, and we have been work at Gaza Camp through 2013. It was a project that started from four students and suddenly, the other actually from Germany, and they are very like the builders who create the Basmitak Attallim and after that it came, like pour money of subject Basmitak Attallim. Like Shamsuna and many thing else support like art, and health, and education, and attitudes and split between others.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So the first question is, have you or your area of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before? And if yes, how? With the Jordanian security industry, I mean the intelligence services, the military, and to some extent the police.

Laith Mofleh:

The only point in Jordan we care about is the security. And actually before we entered to the camp and take the students there, there is some points, we check them before we enter. To make sure that everything it's clear and everything is legal, and to secure all the people they came from out and inside. This kind of things and some of them like a procedure for anyone who would go to this kind of camps, and they are ready. Just through like UN and this kind of things. So we must walk through all these procedures and security in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prestigious is it for someone to join the military?

Laith Mofleh:

Before 80s and actually because I'm a guy in 90s, and always will have a seat with the family and discuss how this kind of things. About what happened in the past, and then what will happen I the future. So in the 80's the private sector in Jordan was small. And because it was open between before 88 it was between Jordan and Palestine, it

was open and even it was one parliament. After 88 it split. So from that point, the people, they clearly find that there is a difference between to go like in a private sector to work or in military. So all the people in Jordan, actually, they will fight to go to military places in the ages and the past because the education it was few. But now because the education, it's more, and the people they look for work to continue their education. And now because we have a good field in the private sector, so there is a good percentage, and I can't give you a one, but through my ... As a guy I am popular and this kind of things that have a little people around me. And you know the Arab countries, especially Jordan, they have a good connections with each others, no, now they go to the private sector. Even if from the government they jump to this side. But always there is like a two team like Barcelona and Real Madrid. There is a people they would love to go to the government sector and there is a people go to the private sector. And there is one thing, it's like security word or something, like secret. I will tell you about that because in Jordan we have families, and you know we are in Jordan it's a bit about these kind of things. So in Jordan, when someone have like his family related, most of them from Palestine. They will not take a good chances to work with government. Not a good chances, there is a chances but very few. And the other people, no, they are like from a family, Jordanians in Jordan. No, most of them, like 90% they will go to the government sector.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, great. You're giving very extensive answer by the way, but that's good. What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah! Actually most of this kind of things, as I said before, all the relations in Jordan, it's open. Like now, I have number for, let me say like, someone in the parliament. Someone, he is in ministry. Someone, he work with the King Abdullah. Someone in police, someone in hospital. So in Jordan, because we are very good in connections in the each others. So you will not find any these kind of issues about there is like a sensitive thing between these other sectors. But no, it's good. It's a good thing, and why? Because the people in Jordan, they know the security it's came from this people. So it's a respectable thing, and it's a thankful this kind of things. This is what we believe and what we feel as a Jordanian.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay then the next question is partially answered. Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional?

Laith Mofleh:

So we get educated in the school and even in university, there is always a dangers came from outside and inside. And all of us in the same country, the people and the government and the security system, all of us we want the safe for everyone inside. Because at the night all of us we sleep in the bed, and we have a family and these kind of things. Actually in Jordan, no, they are strong. But somehow because we have something, even it's many news it was written about, the vitamin W like wasta. Like someone who would support you. But these kind of things, it support you in like easy things, not the big ones. And actually now because the technology it's getting popular and the social media it's against these kind of things. And the older people, they have social media even the ages. There is a company its called "The Club", they give us like a satisfaction and number for these kind of things. Like most of the people now they use the social media up of 40 ages. So this is very good. And the people they have understand what's happened inside. And all of them, as I said before, everyone say to others. So no, the government they work hard everywhere and every place, there is a place to or there is a time to be better. So I want us to be better, more than we have now and like everyone. You know? But what we have right now, no, it's secure. And I can walk at the night and go into morning and even contact with anyone, and jump between through all the cities in Jordan. Like go to Mafraq, Ma'an, Zarqa, whenever and it's very safe and it's under control. But sometimes we have like a culture issue for the ladies. Like she can't go after too late, so this is a cultural issue, not a security gaps. This is the point.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How have the Jordanian people contributed to security? So not the government or the military, the police. But like, let's say normal Jordanian people. Do they do something to increase security?

Laith Mofleh:

Yes, let me say like they do it and compare like between us and like USA. USA like you can buy weapons. These kind of things. No, in Jordan it's not allowed to get a weapon automatic. Like for hunting, I am a hunter. I could go to hunt pigeons and this kind of things, and this is a family thing. So the weapon I get choose, it's even ... Before I got it, it's like we have a procedures to get through. All the government, and

the police's station, and these kind of things. But its not like what we hear that the Europe thing happened. Like it's open, like to have M-16 in your home? No. But in Amman this is very safe. Out of Amman because we are in Jordan. We have the Middle East, and we have a Bedouin's life. This kind of thing's it's like, it's touch our behaviours. Like when you have a weapon it's mean like you are the man. When I was 16 years old, my dad he give me a gift like a weapon. So it's a good thing, and it's point to be a good man. Not to take them to like bad place.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, so there's safety regulations.

Laith Mofleh:

Yes, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems representative of the population?

Laith Mofleh:

Population of what?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So you look at the Jordanian population and the-

Laith Mofleh:

It's very mixed.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

... majority for example ... Well, many are Arab Muslim, but of course you have different countries, many. And then you have a Christian minority, and you know. So you look at the makeup of the population. Is the makeup of the political and judicial systems-

Laith Mofleh:

Aha! I understand. We have a cottage 00: in Jordan, even the parliament. We have a cottage for women, we have a cottage for Chechens. These kind of people, we have a cottage for them. And some people they represent themselves. Even like a Christian, we have (inaudible) as there is a people in Madaba we have a people. So actually our king, he's so smart in these kind of things, and we'll respect it because we are one family in Jordan. We don't care what is your religion it is. Just give me like your attitude, it's good we will respect you. If its bad, you're not welcome. But still if you have like, let me see, if you are a Jordanian, you have under the law like. Everything

under the law. You can't jump off it. So, in Jordan then yes, we have a mixed like this makeup you see before.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

It's representative.

Laith Mofleh:

And it's good, it's good, much like we hear outside of Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan. So elites I'm counting as people who are at the top of their field, you know. So doesn't matter which field. Let's say someone in government or like a CEO of a company and like what is the common process for them to get there?

Laith Mofleh:

In Jordan, in the beginning, the relations and your family name it will support you. But now in like in ... in this year's the educated it's very something you could put it in the top actually. After that ... Yeah, like family and the education.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Oh, slowly changing as well.

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah, because ... Slowly changing to be better. But always even if you have a company in any place, you would love to know the people you work with them. Especially Middle East we give this kind of things like trust. We would love to work with someone we know, even from relations. Like if I sit in this table and there is another one here, I looked in his eyes. "Okay what's your family?" He say from ... a name of family's. "Okay, so you know someone?" He say, "No, but I know him." So I give him the trust fast. These kind of things, it work a lot especially at works. Yeah but the end of the day, like education it will support because it's like prove it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, so, the next question is similar. How does tribal culture influence elite recruitments?

Laith Mofleh:

No, actually, it's like it's still a fight but some of the places you can fight to keep to catch them. Like even in the news before one month it was like a joke because someone, his death, and you know when you went to put a good word in the newspaper. Like she is the son of... So they write of him family name in the same

newspaper, surname, and all of them they were in the ministries. Like, you think about that, all of them from the same family, and all of them they were in the ministries. So what's going on? We know that it's happening in Jordan, and as I say before, even in politician's side. Like the king, he choose every, form each side he choose one. To make everyone equal and everyone calm down and yes there is someone here to present you especially Jordan we have like more than 10 cities, 11 cities? And it just be from each on like we will put someone. Like for two months the security guy they choose them from Salt the other guy from other ministry they choose them from Madaba. SO always they-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, it's proportional.

Laith Mofleh:

... Yeah always they try to choose each one from the different bases in Jordan because to make the people satisfied about that and this is work actually.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Evaluate cross cultural respect in Jordan. SO how much respect do the different cultures have for each other?

Laith Mofleh:

Jordan before like 20 years and listen Jordan its young country we will not say its like China or Egypt or this kind of things but in Jordan we have mixed culture its came fast you know and now in this times you will find a lot of people and you will not notice that it's something weird. Like before ten years when you find someone of 20 years when you are find someone he walk and he's an expat Oh the people oh oh I'll start to make jokes with them this is our culture and its still until now. We are very welcoming you know? But now it's getting less especially in these kind of places like we sit now in Al Weibdeh places they say okay it's as you say it's a foreigner people, it's a visitor people so in Jordan let's get back to the main question.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How much respect between cultures-

Laith Mofleh:

In Jordan, any culture it's come to Jordan its welcome, but without broke our culture. We will accept it. If you will not get hurt with any other culture I Jordan okay you are welcome do what you want.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

You have a good attitude like you said earlier.

Laith Mofleh:

Yes, so you'll be more than welcome why not? We want the people to live in their natural so yeah that's fine. The culture is welcoming.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Do separate cultures that live in Jordan hold one or more common belief? So are there certain opinions that unite them that they will have?

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah each one like different part of society and he want to prove that I am the right and you are the right too but this is your life and you can do whatever you want. So I will relate this question with the other one before, like if everyone he could live as he would love to and this is actually its happening in Jordan in different cities everyone have a culture thing like they have a unique thing but all of them they are something nice.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent if so along which lines. SO with that, yeah I know its worded difficulty, so with that I men ... Scapegoating means, for example, you say the economy is bad because of the Syrian refugees. Or you know young people are starting to change their opinion because they are becoming more westernized you know you choose a certain group and you say this problem is because of them. Does this happen? And if so how much and with along which lines I mean is that you know along religious lines as you say okay the Christians or along ethnic lines across national lines.

Laith Mofleh:

Yes. I would love to ask you questions through my answer. Like if you have a stomach its hurt you you will go ask he cook in kitchen or someone he will clean or a doctor. You will ask who?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Well, the doctor.

Laith Mofleh:

The doctor because he's a professional. In Jordan most the people they say okay the economy its bad because the Syrian because ... why you don't know because maybe the Syrians because they came in population and give us more people why we not use these kind of things to make a benefit for us and them? And actually this question was

asked through generalist Egyptian guy to the president of UAE. And he ask them like why you are a small country and you have this kind of things successful so he said okay look to japan they don't have any metal things like they don't have oil and this kind of things you have in the gulf but they are successful why? Because they use the population in good way. They use the mind. Like china they are one billion people, and they have the best one in the world. Like they get the first teeth in Jordan in the world in the economy so my point okay everything it will affect if you make mix with different nations and these kind of things. But what believe they are all our brothers and they came to our home and actually it's their home they are the visitors ad we need to welcome them in good way but the point because the Jordan it's that they have like as we understand before it's not strong enough to take more weight in their body. We will say welcome but we would love even to get supported through the countries even they support the war, these kind of things. Okay you make the problem try, don't solve it from A to Z but try to support of it because we still around and this is the actually its make Jordan this kind of relations because we are good with everyone and this is our king you know he have connections with everyone even with our enemies they make a length to make everything good and secure and safe and no one get hurt I think this is his goal and this is because I am a citizen in Jordan and I feel this and I love it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

That's a good answer. Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Laith Mofleh:

Each day I start my day to go to work and find my neighbours and these kind of things. As a young guy in a young society this is what I would love to say so I feel when I go to my work and find my neighbours like doing their work and these kind of things its support me and it fill me that ... yeah it's still here But some of them like each day like the national day and these kind of things and each day we hear that your economy it's get better it's give us a good feeling you know or we get a good word in the public security world these kind of things our kingdom his son his brothers they act in good way and we saw this in the news and these kind of things we proud of them when they do these kind of things because they give an image in Jordan outside especially he is a young country. Like we find like the king he speak through like Germans and American-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, they're very popular.

Laith Mofleh:

... and France and they doing good you know if I was a teacher I would give us a star and, yeah its nice.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yeah that's true no actually yes the king and the queen were in The Hague just now when I was there and they're all so ... yeah, talking to the royal family there. All right, that's 1/4 of the interview now, I hope it won't be too long. But just so you know where we are. Alright, so the next question is what are the situations of Jordanian minorities?

Laith Mofleh:

I will answer in this question from two side. As a Muslim and as a Jordanian, and both of them its the same what we say penny?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, same coin?

Laith Mofleh:

Yes! Same coin, same coin. As a Muslim we need to respect any other religion whenever it isn't. The god he send 140 books for the humanity from Adam to Mohammed the last receiver. So we believe in that. So in Jordan anyone he go to church and to go whenever he want and this kind of things so in Jordan no its ... sorry, I need to...

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Jordanian minorities, you said two sides of one coin as a Muslim you have to respect all religions.

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah, it's fine. We work together. We live together. We play together. We send the kids together in the schools. They fight together, and they get laugh together. Actually it's the same family but like in different kinds. Like okay you have Jordan this kind of things maybe it's very good point to copy this picture and send it outside because in Jordan like in government we have a Christian in schools we have a Christian in doctors. So it's split with ease and our friends so we don't find there is any issues. Ever ever. Even sometimes Christian people they speak some Qur'an. And some of us we speak from the bible and it's yeah it's fun sometimes we discuss about religion but

the end of the day okay we are brothers and you have your religion its fully respected. Never anything of this kind of things happened.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

That's a good answer. SO you answered part of the next question. The next question is are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed?

Laith Mofleh:

In Jordan? The gays. But now because listen this is one of thing like the culture thing that you said before. Respect when you enter in the Jordan culture and the Arabic culture actually the Muslim culture. Even in Islamic we have a way to act with this kind of people. Even-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Oh yes, okay. Explain, I don't know-

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah, my point like we respect them. They choose if you want to advice, advice, but the end of the day it's his choice. The god when he sent us to this earth he give us each one a paper you could write anything you'd love to and the only judgment you will get it through the god. My ... like ... our work to advice after that it will be a bad thing but this is the thing I tell you before it's a culture thing. And they like attack this kind of culture, and this is why we get very conservative like even in the Europe they say okay we have a bad attitude to act with this kind of people. My point because the ... I remember that the ambassador said they're from USA, he made them an event in the public and she speak about it very, so it was a very like slap in the face for the Jordanian because we don't accept these kind of things in our culture. You can't put it in the front of the public of the news and these kind of things. For this is why. But actually it's something and its happened in any place, even in Jordan there is a many I can't give you numbers but there is a people. They still are people. The people they live in Somalia, like USA like in Jordan. They have a heart, they have a mind, they have things to get it out and things to eat and these kind of things. They are a family, nothing different. But the point like each one he want to act from his mind, its very different in Government you need to ask someone like especially to give you this kind of question. But in the freedom of things, anytime you will hate a culture or a difference of culture main culture like Jordan culture yeah it will get a defensive.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, yes. All right.

Laith Mofleh:

But then in Jordan government they save them somehow.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society? So grievances are like points of conflict, problems. So what would you say are the biggest problems that the Jordanian people think that they have?

Laith Mofleh:

Like all the Jordan, all the world like some of part of them like listen nothing complete in the world as a person or as a country there is nothing complete so each one have something loose so when we speak about Jordan okay we have the things like in the soul things we are satisfied because they are related with the religion a lot and we don't have a high percentage of not believers in the world so we have believers in Jordan a lot and like more than 95% of these persons they believers. This is support Jordan from his side and the economy side and actually because I'm in the 20 ages and this is something I looking forward the okay there is a very competitive in the places at work. Why? Because when you have a lot of people and it's like you want to make a team. And you have 10 people you will choose the 10 people to have the team in football or 15's or 7's in the rugby. SO if you have 15's all of them you will try to fit them but if you have 300 you will choose the better people. So in Jordan no they have like one of the issues like they looking about its like economy things they look forward and the other things I think it's good.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. What is the situation of the political opposition in Jordan?

Laith Mofleh:

Always is when we get born. And this is something I about to speak about it to first case was for us its Palestine. This is actually, that was the first case and it is still the first case whenever it happens. Iraq down, Yemen down, Egypt oh oh oh, Libya down, and Syria down these kind of things get down down down down but we will not forget the first case and this is the thing we think, we feel it's from the pattern. If you solve it, every building it will be satisfied and relaxed. Politician in Jordan its came with not formal places. Like we speak about it at home at work and any places and because Jordan its very good country about this kind of things like not there is no one in intelligence they will cut you in head and why you speaking politics? No we don't have these kind of things but we have limits. If you pass this limits you will get

questions from the government. But less of that like speak everyday we have all of it but informant like we have a small politician people not a formal people. When we speak formal and informal a formal they have jobs and they have a day to work with all the politician and have the relations with these kind of things its happened but because Jordan its small but they have a large like issues around so we have a lot of people they speak of politician so it's in everyday we speak about it but not in a smart way if we put it in the smart way to be better and now there is company it through UK and I got the sound of Arab I got a training of this and they it was certified about negotiation and to put these kind of things in politician in a good way. Like discuss with me, give me your point, defence and attack but in respect. This is good thing we learn it. Yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Alright. How do people view the economy?

Laith Mofleh:

Okay. Before the Government sector they would love to have a private sector and a government sector. But this is in government it's not allowed. Now it became like popular like how I am in government and I will let open shop and I will write in it and my brother or my friend name and this is its happening but in Jordan, listen, no one here would love to be like not strong. All of us and this is something in humanity you always you want to be more better not stronger about the fight no stronger in God and this I something god he love it too. Like the god he love the super Muslim not the weak one and this is not about the Muslim yeah like do and work and try to make your lifestyle better try to make a country better if you are happy in the morning all the people around you they will be happy. This is something we believe and if you start your day angry all the people you will show them angry because you will, it's like a mirror you know so back to the economy no we need to work hard more and use our hands as our prophet ask us. Use our hand to work not relations. Relations is good but if you related with something in hand like you do, you work, you deserve okay.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, okay. What are the most relevant initiatives to combat poverty in Jordan? So what kind of programs are there to make people less poor?

Laith Mofleh:

Ah. Actually we in Jordan like you need some times to look what's the benefit that you have to work on it. Like if you are a good speaker try to work with something where you will be speaker in public if you are a good handling try to work... So in Jordan we have like tourist site and education site and now medical and now actually it's in everything because all the country around they need us. So we like to build these kind of things to be more proactive to support other people and each actually to support us. But the main point and we need factories. Yeah, we want to stop to order from China, China, China. Okay they hit a lot and they have a good like pricing and these kind of things for pieces, price, product, promotion these kind of things they work hard about it and this is something we would love to have it like more ...

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So you're trying to build on that. Yes.

Laith Mofleh:

... made in Jordan. Made in Jordan and education. No continue move move after the second war in the middle east the responsible about the military in Jordan I think I forget which country it was England or Germany, they say okay how much budget do you need to rebuild your army. He say I don't need the army, rebuild our university. And it was Jordan University 19-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

German-Jordanian university, yes.

Laith Mofleh:

... German-Jordanian and the Jordanian university too. It was 1964. So this kind of things we missed it and we would love to have it again. Education and create things and invention. Now in Jordan like as a ... am I ... global entrepreneur, we need this kind of things to happen again.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan, and if so what?

Laith Mofleh:

As a personal side, I have been work with the volunteers sector. And some of them like in the private sector. And the point like we support people to trust themself that they can do something and get and come through that. How? We teach them and we give them the tools to work. Like small machines to fix the clothing and to create a hat in the winter and to make cups. And sometimes to write like a thing and sell it

through their name. So these kind of things, it's useful you know. Other things like we work about supply chain and this kind of things we order from out in Jordan and to sell. Actually most of them it's inside because as I said before our made in Jordan its few. If you make it bigger, it will be like we will send out of Jordan, this is my point. Like sometimes economy to make it for persons it will support families but if you support the economy in the country it will support everyone.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan? So the Jordanian people why do they think that people are poor and what do they think the reason is?

Laith Mofleh:

We don't think, we live on it. We live in silence because as I said before we have a connections with others. And we so every day like a people. Like they need something. Someone he call me okay Laith I need to take 50 JD because my mom she need the medicine and my salary is not here no. So I go to him sometimes I need the money and call my friend, listen, today my nephew he have a broken hand and these kind of things we are not signed him in the private sector or government sector to recover him through medicine. So I need the money for like something emergency. So these kind of things we feel that every day and we live on it. And actually like in Jordan the people as any country there's a people like wealthy and people the middle, and people the poor. In Jordan, the middle class its came down. We need to support it to build it up as Turkey. I respect Turkey economy ... They jump 60 percentage or 60 equal like 60 times like if it was 2 and now it 32. If it was 2 now is 32. So they jump you know and they take the middle class and take them to up. In Jordan no the middle class it's getting down, and I was one of them and I feel myself ... Like I still fighting, never I will stop I will do the best and I wait. But in Jordan in general no I saw what's happened and all the people we follow the economy like its came from USA to make all the people they need to pay for the banks for the banks for the bank okay take. And this percentage it get higher every month, not every year. It's like a disease, the people they can't control. They can live in 1000 no they put 2000 on their neck just to feel like, okay I feel better but actually it's fake.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Okay. What do people think about poverty and the poor in Jordan?

Laith Mofleh:

This thing. It's it must be something not give for good... like if I give it because I feel that I need to give it. No, it must be like we have in our feeling like it's something you should give it. It's not about your question or because the poor people the wealthy people whatever the people they are, they need to support each other. And this is through religion it support us too, to stand with each other but actually there is when the gap in the middle its hidden its make a hard connection between the wealthy and the poor and this is something we saw it through the camps sometime we take some of people they came with us and they have good income or they are wealthy and they go to the camps they have like whew, it's like a culture shock. Even they live in the same country but they see oh really? This is in Jordan? Yes this is in Jordan this is exactly part of Jordan and never could we like say oh no it's not from us. No as you say.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yeah, I see it myself. Yes. The next question you sort of already answered but some of them are similar because I have to cover all the ground. Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between the rich and the poor. If so, what?

Laith Mofleh:

Yes, actually the company I work with and actually other company, private sector and the volunteer sector in the volunteer in the camp we start to build more than 50 programmes in the families. We have a word we work with and this is a please make it a headline in this all this interview. There is a big word from china it came like it's told like teach me how to fishing it's better that to give me every day a fish. Yes this is a very point we focus about and work hard like we don't want them to wait us to give them no they need to work hard if you work hard you will get. If you don't work and sit, you will stay. So this is this point it's we felt it and it work many people they use to call us and okay we need support now even they support the family around them its like a disease in good way. So this-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, so you're teaching them how to support themselves.

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah because even when someone he was poor and he get better this is the only one he feel the people around him so he need all the people to be with him and get up. This is the point.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Laith Mofleh:

Like as you say like you will give one job because you know his family and these kind of things?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

For example.

Laith Mofleh:

No now in Jordan its they have we you know when you have extra weight it will make the body less power. This kind of attitude mind it get noticed from a good percentage in Jordan. Okay you are from my family? On my head, I will respect you come to my home, eat Mansaf, drink tea you will get all the things that you need to give as a visitor, but at work if you don't deserve it get out. And this in culture it's got popular even in government sectors this is something respected in Jordan but it is still a big percentage but it's getting less. It's something good you know? You felt it, it's good.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Do you or your area of work contribute to job training and how? I know this is the same it's because you give such extensive answers just...

Laith Mofleh:

Sometimes words change everything ... say it again?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you or your area of work contribute to job training and how?

Laith Mofleh:

Oh, yes! We train them. As I said before, in economy side we need to make them better but sometimes they need tips in socializing. Like how to contact with people. Like in business etiquette and these kind of things. If I want to take you to trust, first thing like look to your eyes some of these side tips support them, and sometimes we link them without sight of their places. Like they live in the camps and it's very hard to go to Amman. So we teach them how to contact how tos, the social media, how to use the internet, how to use your connections, how to build, to lead in the market. These kind of things we teach them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright.

Laith Mofleh:

And we give them a trainings too. Even the after sale like try to check what you do it's nice, and some of us teach them to make a study through their items. I write a story. It's support when you write it. When you see a picture it's nice. When you see a picture with words it will be nice. If you see a movie it will be attractive. This kind of things how to lead.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. Just to explain, as sort of like a small intercession, I cannot give you my own opinion on these things while we're talking. If we can speak about it later it's amazing, just so you know why I'm saying so little.

Laith Mofleh:

It's my opinion.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

I'm not allowed to lead your answers in any way. So we can do that after that. Alright great. How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan? Why, or why not? So how common is it?

Laith Mofleh:

In Jordan, I would not say it's very popular because I get attached with some cases. But actually in Jordan we have two sides. Sometimes we have a government side. We call it like they take care of these kinds of people and they take them to a home and they give them a salary and these kinds of things. We have it. And they get the salary and the government plays security. But never I saw like something I saw it in American they live under the fate of the bridge and they came from the "Hi! How are you?"

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes.

Laith Mofleh:

These kinds of people... one time it's happened in Sharia Mecca and it was a big sorry for this guy because he always so all the guys they follow they cut his hair and they clean him. They take him and give him a suit and these kinds of things. And they find he got like a mental thing and they get him for government. And we still have this thing again, it was funny, you know? So these kinds of things, no, we don't usually saw them, there is a people they begging like in some places. And this is the job for the government but it's a few people. And some of them they are fake. Not real.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes.

Laith Mofleh:

Like they don't need, because we believe the people they need they not ask, they work. And they have (inaudible).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan, so if you're for example a professor, a writer, something like that, is that considered a good job to have?

Laith Mofleh:

We got told that in U.K. Like sometimes if you told that your father he's a taxi driver they will respect you because it's hard to get a taxi driver. And we saw this in some programme in Jordan and the Middle East who changed this mind.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, in London you have to learn three years to become a taxi driver.

Laith Mofleh:

Yes. So it's something good. In Jordan, in the past, I don't believe that I feel this but sometimes we saw the people like they try to say like my father did this kind of things but no. In Jordan, actually we respect everyone, even the cleaner at the street, we say he cleans us because we make the streets rubbish not him. So he clean us so we respect him. This kind of people you have it in an old community and in old countries in Jordan like in the world. But in Jordan, we have these kinds of people but few percentage. It's very, very small. Like I don't have any friend like this and if I have, I would not punish him but I would be annoyed actually because he would not respect someone he just work. He's better than the people, he's better than the thief, he's better than the killer, maybe he's better than you with got. So we don't know what he sold, he work, and you need to respect him. But these kinds of things to get back sorry to cut you, I just say a professor on these kinds of things, always, the kids "Okay! He will be a professor, he will be a doctor, he will be us, we are the people like other people like we prefer, but there is a family no, say you twos, and these kinds of things. A good percentage follow these kinds of things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, and you can interrupt me any time when I'm starting to say a new question. The more information the better. Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live?

Laith Mofleh:

Always, always. And we have a lot of experts. They came and visit us, and actually we don't give them anything fake. We try to live as a local guy, and the same day you just join us through eating bondola and falafel and hummus in the morning. Not the steak. And like food and the respect when people talk. You can't hide the public because you go to street Jordan all of it is a street, streets are family people. You can't hide and you can't make it fake. If you make it in home, okay, you can fake it but these kinds of things move and we go outside and always we want to show the people who we are really, because we are a really good people really, it's not just a world to make the people, or we don't try to make people of us. We are people, we deserve to be loved, because we are very good. This is what I believe. It's not about the speak and anyone here would love to try to come to Jordan they're welcome. If the people they hear this record.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a relatively high proportion of highly educated people leaving the country?

Laith Mofleh:

Maybe leave to continue their credit and they came back but actually not because Jordan it's like all the people they're looked at in the eye because even in... I have some expat people, they came to Jordan and they say this country it will be something and it's because it's live in something big. So I want to be part of it and it has a lot of challenges and in the humanity the people that I love their personality like they love the challenge.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes.

Laith Mofleh:

This is the place, Jordan. Okay. You have to challenge because there are very smart people and very like the culture, it's mixed and there is a lot of barriers. So it gives you the challenge this kind of feelings.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What sort of barriers?

Laith Mofleh:

Barriers? The language. The culture, okay? The competitors. You have a lot of competitors, but it's not a big huge barrier, just the people they work on themselves

and the people they want to be at better and it's like... they will be successful in these kinds of things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people?

Laith Mofleh:

Yes. They get their confidence from us or us for the government.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Jordan confidence for the government?

Laith Mofleh:

For me, both. Yes, even before one month it's become popular. I would love to speak with you, because you get my trust actually and it's getting popular in the Facebook like "Yeah, the king, he remove his brother, something it will happen, blah blah blah, blah blah blah, blah blah blah", the first people defence, even it's the people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

With government, I do not mean the monarchy, I'm not asking questions about the monarchy...

Laith Mofleh:

Oh! In general? Security?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

-people in government, politicians, do they have the confidence of the people?

Laith Mofleh:

Listen, who's a politician from the people, you know, but always we have when someone say bad all the Jordan, we believe they have limits. So it's not about the trust, we trust them, but not 100%, because we feel that sometimes we are weak. They need to be more strong. Maybe because it's good, strong, they catch the main thing, but some politicians, we need better people. I would love to find someone who speak strongly who say wow, I can say this. This is the politician, like someone you say something, you can say it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

He's honest.

Laith Mofleh:

Yes! And honest actually. And you can say something you cannot because you didn't have the attitude or the mind, it's from many things. But one of them it's like we have this mind to read the future through the history. He's wise, we need these kinds of

people and we have one of them. It was his uncle for the king, and most of time he's stop of the government programme, or these kinds of things. He like, he defends it, and we have a lot of people they are good actually I can't cover them. And because I'm not a very, very like, it's not my job to be a politician but I really care about this kind of use and I need it and I find that we need better people. We need strong people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, I'll talk to you about that later. Do political rights for all parties exist?

Laith Mofleh:

Yes, but the percentage is very different. Like the people they are very close from government you will see them in the highest, you know? And the people they are list okay they shout, shout, shout, shout, shout, shout....

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes.

Laith Mofleh:

So yeah, I feel, as I say before, we need more people who are strong and sure it will be very different things. But when they sit in the table each one have time to speak, so the strong pool will take a bigger percentage. This is my point.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan and how are people are meeting its challenges? So with transport infrastructure, I mean for example the Jordanian roads.

Laith Mofleh:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

And if there are problems there-

Laith Mofleh:

There is.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

-what are people doing to handle it?

Laith Mofleh:

One of the big issues actually even now, even before I speak about it, when the government say "Okay! Wait, we have a big project and we will work on it, it's like fast pass, it will go through all the cities, and this kind of things". We get excited, we still wait one year, two year, three year, four year, nothing happened. Few thing

happened. Okay, then they say "Okay, someone is fake", but still in Jordan you can go anywhere. It's good because there are buses, we look forward to something better, but what we have now, it's good. If we were to compare with other people around us, we are good.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes.

Laith Mofleh:

We could be better because there is better. But what we have, it's good. It is satisfies...

Svenja van Gunsteren:

There's always a better-

Laith Mofleh:

Yes. But we need it's better. But our roads, they need to work more especially Amman because it's a big city in the news and it needs to be good. But now we have Uber, Kareem, these kinds of things, you know?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is Kareem legal now?

Laith Mofleh:

No. It's just a no. It's something if us, confused. Because you feel like there's someone from the ministry and like Amman municipality. They came and had like a talk show with people and yeah it's a good project and after today the government will stop someone and give him a part. Why? Before one day it was someone responsible from the government and it's a huge one. He say it's fine. Why not? So it's still like unknown. But, even if it's not allowed, we feel that it's fine, you know?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services, so public services this is now not only transport but also for water supply, education, health, things like that.

Laith Mofleh:

Listen, because Jordan, it's became open more than other countries, so I tried to, I have been in Germany and I have been in U.K. and I have been in the U.A.E. Sometimes you feed the oil it's go to home without calling someone to bring the gas at home. It's in home. The hot water, the cold water, the electricity. These kinds of things, it's easier. But in Jordan, we are satisfied, the things we need them more, the health, these kinds of things, we need health insurance because we need them better as we see it in Jordan and we when we hear about it in the news and what's the Jordan in

region and what we do, no it must be better. And education. We need... it's good, but the private sector, it gets the most percentage of care even from people, we need to get back to the government. All the countries, they give the government more, even the government it's more expensive than the private sector or it's a good, like if you were to give recommendation for someone okay, when you say government, they are good, they are very good. In Jordan, no, it's in the opposite way. Even, even in the last year, 7 from 10 people, they get the highest in high school from the government schools, and I'm proud of them. But even the public people we don't like it because some of them I think that the wealthy people because they want to see their kids at a better place, colourful place, these kinds of things. And this is one of part we work with the our crew in the camps. Like to paint a building and these kinds of things to make their lifestyle better.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Good. Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?

Laith Mofleh:

Yes. Sometimes we paint the streets, sometimes we clean the streets, sometimes we visit the old people, like they don't have a family and we cook for them, we play with them, we give them, I try to touch that feeling that you are part of this society and like you are my mother, and you are like my father and we are like your kids, and sometimes we have relations and go each week, these kinds of things in Jordan it's really popular. Now in volunteering even, now it's each time getting better. And it is money you think it is like to give blood for the hospital, if someone, he need work, we have ASK JO in Jordan. It's a public page in Facebook and it has a high percentage of people. Someone says I need a job. A lady she says "Okay, I have two kids and one of them he needs the job, he needs to continue his living". This, we still out together. This thing it's nice and I hope it will not go from us because other culture come from outside, they try to take this kind of us from us and I saw a movie before weeks. There is a guy that said now in the Middle East you are very weak in your heart about these kinds of things in mind. Like, no smart and these kinds of things. Not respectable. So the other guy, he was old, he said "Listen, now if you visit any home in Jordan, of Middle East, he will take a food from his neighbourhood to give it to you." This is something respectable. In U.K., in general, we see sometimes if someone is dying in

the streets they walk around him. This is something that could never happen in Jordan. Never. Or even in the Middle East.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are demonstrations common in Jordan and how are they viewed?

Laith Mofleh:

Listen, it's not something popular. There is a people they try to lead us to these kinds of things. Some of them in Jordan then some of them from out. In the beginning, if it was something for good for Jordan and for our people, for us, we will join. But most of it like me, I never go because I feel it's useful but there is something I could work to make it better. Like each one has, like at home, your brother he could support his dad and cut the wood and the lady she cleans. So each one has his opinion to do their things. You can't find all the people in the street. But most stay popular in Jordan speak out on the street and say "Hey, hey, what we want!" It has a high percentage in Palestine. The second thing, it's about the economy thing and the bad thing that's happened in the government. "This ministry, it's bad and we don't want him!" These kinds of things. As any audience they will do these kinds of things. But in Jordan, each time it gets better most if we have more people and more issues that's happened around us. In Jordan, we don't go to street a lot. Why? Because most of our people in government and these kinds of things. So when we speak we feel it's work. So we don't need to go to the streets. But sometimes we show we need to show them that there is a people and they have bad feeling and we have our voice.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

A way of showing your opinion?

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah. We in Jordan are related to all the communities and all the countries. So what will happen there it will happen here because it's the same needs. Though these kinds of things we care about it. Yes by chance on a TV show they ask me about or do you prefer to change some of these kinds of things, and I don't know what these kinds of things must, if I say let's make it better okay. I don't know what to say. But if we make it better for us, and for the countries, I'm with it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. The next question is really two questions. First one, does religious freedom exist in Jordan?

Laith Mofleh:

Yes. But how? Because I want to give you a clear question not just say...

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, are you allowed to have any religion in Jordan and to exercise is freely as well.

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah. As an extra, in the past, I get love with a lady, I respect her now. She's not with me. She was not a Muslim. My family they accepted her. Their family accepted me even if she was out of Jordan. So we have this kind of thing. It was nice. And as any couple, they find a point that it will not be solved and it's a hard thing to love. It's like a mountain. So I can't move right she can't move left, we can't jump over it. So, khallas [finished]. It's better to us. You're asking me about Jordan, yes it's happened. There are no issues.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Second question is does religious extremism exist?

Laith Mofleh:

No. Prophet Muhammad he said, what we say in newspaper. Okay, 2,000, they speak about the religion and 58,000 speak about the attitude, the good attitude, I don't know we say (foreign language). I don't know what's the meaning in English but it means good attitude. So he told us to be, it's like a 97 from 100 percent speak attitude with other people. No we are very careful about these things. We want to be a good image for everyone. For everyone exactly. And none of us is full, everyone has their mistakes. And they're God he's the only one with the responsibility to forgive. I could forgive you if you slap me on my face, it's my decision. But if I do a mistake with myself and I feel guilty. Like if I walk and see I broke a tree. No one sees me but I feel guilty from inside. The only one good feel of me, the owner of the tree of the God, so this is a point.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, okay. Is there a process that encourages political power sharing without... is there a process in Jordan that spreads political power out so more people have it so that different groups can carry political power.

Laith Mofleh:

As I say before, the strongest people they will be show in the front and they will be in the top but if you ask me if the government if they support this kind of people. I believe in every place there is good people and bad people. So these kinds of things, yeah, maybe it's happened but if I know I would show because I see hear from people sometimes, yes. They have it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. We're through three quarters of the interview now just so you know and we are at one hour and five minutes that's actually quite good. So the next question is describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people.

Laith Mofleh:

Oh, this is so much. As a Jordanian, for me, if I saw someone old I need to stand for her. This is something respectable. Not all the Jordanians they do and I'm not all of Jordan I'm one of part of them. And if I saw a old lady carrying bags I would run to support her. Even not old, because you'd be specific in your question. I will fight to make them happy because I feel that it's something God asked me. My behaviour acts as me. And because they do a lot for this country to be in here. So they deserve. And for other people like he is old and we get taught and told and it's something nice even if we make it we don't feel like ah, I don't want. No I would love to. My coincidence, yesterday I saw a movie for Jackie Chan. He's famous. And they told him like how it was in the past like when his teacher in school, he was just sitting there alone and he said "Hey, Jackie come!" And he slapped him. And he go back. It was respectable. And when someone he's King, he will stand. Now, they will sit. I think these kinds of things came from the American movie. I don't know why Americans today they have a bad attitude. But this is what we now in Jordan. We respect the people, the old people especially. They have a special respect because they deserve it and through religion, through our attitude in their families. It's exactly in home, like inside. You could give as much you can but you need to know that you can make it better. Even more than hundred persons.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. We are moving onto the topic of refugees so the next two questions will be very silly to you. The first question is do you have Palestinians as Syrians in your circle or family and friends?

Laith Mofleh:

Sure. Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, of course. I still have to ask all of the questions. The second question is have you or your area of work contributed gone towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan? If so how?

Laith Mofleh:

Like how we work with them?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, how you have made their situation better.

Laith Mofleh:

As I said before, in 2012 Zaatar camp it was the largest camp in Jordan, it was open, and suddenly there is a teacher. She used to teach me in the school. She said "Okay, I know you are a good guy" and these kinds of things and we would go support our brothers. So we have a track and have a lot of items and these kinds of things, and it was a close from Eid like it's a Happy Easter by the way. You are a Christian?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Oh, I'm not. But thank you.

Laith Mofleh:

So this kind of thing like, when we go there in the first time, yeah we support them as much as we could through giving them these kinds of things because it was the first income so we don't have the time there to teach them to do things even their situation it's not stable. So in the beginning we showed them the care and welcoming and forget what's happening and these kinds of things it will work with the time and laugh with them and try to take the bad energy, give them the good energy and these kinds of things because they need it. And they deserve it. After that, when they get more stable in Jordan and they get to a place they could get support through other things. And even through government now they open and through the private sector it's open. As workers, and as education, in the schools they open for the Syrian and the Iraqi refugees, these kinds of things has happened before in the Palestinians and we didn't know what will be in the future. I hope not. Not to be unwelcome but we don't want anything bad to happen with anyone else.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees and with new I mean since the beginning of the Syrian Civil War, so new in terms of a lot newer than the Palestinian refugees.

Laith Mofleh:

Like which sector?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Let's say the general Jordanian opinion, but if there are several very important opinions name them all.

Laith Mofleh:

First of all, we need to give them a secure place to stay. This is the main goal because they came from our, we don't care what religion, what attitude, the they are killers, they are thieves, in the beginning because the government will take care of these kinds of things but we say about the people, not about government. So first thing we would make them give them a good place as a safe place to stay and calm down. And then to prepare them papers. After that, the Jordan they find that the Syrian people take a lot, a lot, a lot of work place in Jordan. This is what's making some of them nervous. And it's like discussions between two clubs, in Jordan even. They deserve to have the chance and fight if you can take it and other people say why do I need this competition. I don't need it. I'm a Jordanian and I must have this job. So I don't need them so it's like two people of mine and they discuss and maybe there are more of this things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright.

Laith Mofleh:

By the end of the day they are our brothers and neighbours and have the same religion. Many things gives us relations with them. Even the people that don't have a religion but we say about most popular in general like the high percentage as you say are very religious.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Very similar next question. What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face that come to mind-

Laith Mofleh:

Water, water, water.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How are Jordanians addressing them?

Laith Mofleh:

The worst thing because 70% of the world is water. And 70% of your mind and plane, it's water. So water, health, education.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

For the refugees?

Laith Mofleh:

Yeah, we speak about the refugees they need this kind of things like the Mussolini (?) thing, the security and the food and these kinds of things we find that it's a very good... How does Jordan act with them? Or the people?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. How are they-

Laith Mofleh:

The schools that open for everyone. The water, we have an issue with the government. Like countries say "We support Jordan, we will support Jordan", take this many people and we will support you and we support you, we will accept them, bye bye! Some of them, they give you 20% from the high percentage and many things for those it's not show for public it's for the government office the king. There's not a lot for us to discuss about this and maybe we don't know what's going on there. But we feel that we need water, work sector, health sector, education sector, even the zones because Jordan, okay they try to take them out or make a home-building like what is was happened with the Palestinians. But this is the point that we don't want what was happened before with Palestinians. They say okay, stay, but you will get back tomorrow. They stay and now they are Jordanians and they left their homes. They have a family, yes. It's not that about that we are not welcoming it's like you have a home and you kicked out and you came to my home, you are welcome but I would love to get back your home because it's your home. This is the thing. Yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, the next is another double question. Do you think that Palestinian refugees have been integrated well?

Laith Mofleh:

If I say no, I will be a liar. And if I say yes, I will be a liar. It's half a percentage. Sorry to be in between. But actually one of my goals in my life I would love to be with the army because my grandfather he was in the army but I'm not allowed it. I'm not allowed it but I know I will not be more like other people. And I will be not welcoming, it was a big fight for my family. If I take the choice that day I will join

because I love to compare and if I do well I will work well but in Jordan, like let me say, 90% with good reason (?) but this 10% I care about because yeah because even if it's one percent for the people it is... hard to choose. Don't take this one percent from me. I need to choose. This is the point. But in Jordan, no. We split everything, the jobs, the economy, the everything. Even the security. Everything, everything, everything. I speak about little things and actually, no we take it on a (foreign language). When this is in Jordan, no we take it... As you say because now I am responsible to be to speaker about these kinds of things but some of them, they don't take even the 10% like (foreign language). They didn't take even the 10%. They don't allow to work, they don't allow to study as a Jordanian, they don't allow to live as a Jordanian, they don't allow to move as a Jordanian. So these people now in Jordan more than 50,000. They jump of these numbers. So no, they don't have it. If I was the speaker of these kind of people, I would say 90% they have a bad, but if I speak about the old Palestinian Jordanian, like me, no we take good percentage.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. And what about the Syrian refugees?

Laith Mofleh:

Now, listen. The Syrian refugees, it's a hot potato. We didn't find a place, you know? Like we split them right, left, up, down, this kind of things. We wait to find situation but it will not be the same for the Palestinian surely. Why? Because we don't have anything else to split with others, actually. It will be a miserable thing if it was, sorry to use this word but this is the only word I feel. No, it's very different. But now they are shared with education, like the most thing that's needed, education, healthcare, and water and these kinds of things are shared. But they have many things that are still hard but it's easier for the other people like the Egyptians and the Lebanese and these kinds of things. Syrians they don't have permission. To be good with them more

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Laith Mofleh:

From inside, there is. Because they came from a war. And they came and mixed together and you don't know who's good and who's right. So always situation, these kinds of things as I say, there is good and bad. But it's getting more controlled because now the government they try to do these kinds of things. A security from themselves. Like the bring someone from inside. What's your name? They find his

character, it's good. They call him and say we give you training, you will be a police inside. He loved it. And they find a good personality to put it there and even the people inside accept it more. Like if I was a security came from outside to inside they would not welcome, you are not from our skin. This is what they will say. But when they put some people from inside and they make an office and they make a market inside, the government it was smart that movement to make it better. But there is some point about the bad situation but it's all of it is under control. Normal. Not big things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Okay. Similar question. Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Laith Mofleh:

In Jordan, we get support from all the countries in the world. Okay, it's make them life, but as you say, they came. If you stay in there one month, one week, it's good. But to make them lifestyle it's bad. It's bad. My grandfather lived in that situation and it made them stronger and they make us think like this. But no, if we could give them I would work 24 hours in a day.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, so we're moving on. There are only five questions left now so you're holding up very well and we're almost done. What are Jordanians stances on Jordanian opinions on foreign military in Jordan?

Laith Mofleh:

We have a foreign military like to be work with like academy and these kinds of things and exactly how it's working when he study in the Cambridge. And even his brothers. And this is a smart way to mix with these kinds of things, even the companies in Jordan in the private sectors, they have sharing about experiences. So your question about the security, they still in Jordan, they have a community, they have a work together and a training together and it's very different. So I need to clearly the question and to give you the answer. I will answer for both. In Jordan, when you have a training with the expats it's good because it gives you experience. And in Jordan, we don't have a military like the Gulf. Like they have a large thing. No, because why? Because in Jordan, they have a contract with other people to be like a friendship, and to be secure with their government. When we were kids, I make my friendship with someone strong and someone makes a friend with me like I'm a good, well-done train about karate or boxing so he gets safety and I get someone who is

smart. So it's like a friendship. In Jordan we have both. Okay? And both of them, we don't care about we accept them until the king he accept him because we believe him. Because for us he's like politician. Not big brother in like a story we read it in Russia. It's not exactly that one, but we trust him so much and there is no one better he could lead Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Again, similar question. What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Laith Mofleh:

Like, listen. We trust our military system. It's very well done. I believe in them because they don't get us involved in a war and they give good defence in Jordan. We have many times there is a situation happened in the line with the Syria, or the line with Iraq because we have five flights. Four of them in the earth and one of them in Egypt. And all of them, they are good control. We like what they do and we want them to be always better without any fight.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Laith Mofleh:

Jordan, we teach in the university in 2013, that we have the highest number of volunteer army in Somalia or Sudan. So it was a respectable thing. It's volunteering we are volunteering everyday inside.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

And the aid that comes from other countries to Jordan, what is the opinion?

Laith Mofleh:

Volunteer. It's nice but the situation in Jordan we need more actually and as we heard from government, no, they need to work with us more, as much as we give, they should give too.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Alright. Only two more questions. Describe the culture of welcome in Jordan.

Laith Mofleh:

You are welcome. Welcoming in Jordan? We love to someone he got this experience to answer, it's you but now because we are in an interview, you can't. In Jordan, in our tradition if someone entered our home. In the Bedouins, you can't ask him his name or what he wants for three days. For three days he needs to be under your safety

and welcome with food and sleep and everything. Anything, you could give us most a thing, give it. After three days, we ask him, "What's your name, and what do you want?" And that's our old culture. But now, we are very welcome, like we would love to help anyone even if we don't know them. Especially if he is an expat far away. So fast we will offer, let me invite you for a cup of tea. Anything you need, do you need anything, are you hungry, and some people expect this part to feel like stop asking these kinds of things because we felt there's very something wrong but this is our culture. If we could give our visitors and sometimes it's bad to give it to more than necessary, but we get born in this and this is the only way to live.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

It's fun because I told you, you were my second interview for today and the other guy also said that I would be able to answer that question better. But yes, that opinion will definitely go into the thesis as well. Alright, last question, given all the answers you have given me how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Laith Mofleh:

Jordan, it's getting better in many things. It's get involved with many things. Jordan needs to be stronger to get these kinds of things. But actually, our king he is so like not super hero but he get himself and sometimes not because he chooses, he must be make the decision because there is no one else as the case for Palestine. Because he's responsible from all the Muslims even. So this kinds of things, it sparks, it involved in a strong way, it's not his choice, he must be in that place and he takes the decision. So Jordan, if I will evaluate it, each time, if you get 2% up, there is something it will get down it 2%. We need to make it all of it. We are enough. We need to make it better.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, is there anything you would like to add on the topics that we've discussed?

Laith Mofleh:

I think all the questions it was like extremely more I was thought, it will be, it's very-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

It's more than I thought.

Laith Mofleh:

No even it's the one who put these questions is so smart and they understand actually I feel, he cover all the things I have ever asked or I get questions from people that came from outside. And I feel that they have the focus in the point in support and to find where is the pain to fix it. So I don't feel there is anything I could put, but I will give

think like, Jordan it's a good guy in that class and always we feel that we will make everyone happy in that class even if we get us involved in something we don't need actually in that moment to get involved too. But we will get involved too and this is the culture of Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, then I'll end the interview now and I would like to talk to you about some of these topics just in a second, but yeah that's it, and thank you very much. Your answers were very, very good.

Laith Mofleh:

Thank you, thank you.

7.4.4 11.04.2018 Ammar al Qaisi

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So it is the 11th of April, and it is just about half past six, could you please state your name and your current and former positions.

Ammar al Qaisi:

My name is Ammar Mohammad, I'm a retired military colonel from the Jordanian Army. I used to be an assistant for the Chief of Protocol for the Jordanian Armed Forces.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. Just to warn you, I can't give much information in between the questions, I can't give you my opinion. I can tell you everything afterwards, but for now I'll just be asking questions. Have you or your area of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before, and if yes, how? The security industry is the security agencies, the military, and the police. I know some questions for you will seem weird because you were a part of that, but I have to ask everybody the same questions.

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, I did, because I was a military colonel, so of course I will deal with all the military industries for a long time.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prestigious is it for someone to join the military?

Ammar al Qaisi:

It has two ways: The prestige, it's kind of an honour, because you are chosen among many, many people to join the military, especially if you are graduated from academy, like a military academy or college, so it is a big honour for us, because we are serving our country, this is the honour. As a prestige, it's not a prestige in any way, because it's a big burden, it's a big service, the money, the salary, is not that high level, to live in prestige, so the only thing you got is the honour.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Ammar al Qaisi:

The relationship is very good and very respected. The people here respect the security so much, and that came from many reasons, like what we have now the high level of security in our country is due to the loyalty of the soldiers and the security people in doing their job, and they do well. So this reflected to the point of view of the people, that yes we are safe here, because we have a good army, we have good police, they are helping us to sleep very well in our nights compared with other countries we inside it. So yes the relationship is exchanging respect between the two sides.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional to the threats they face?

Ammar al Qaisi:

So much. Yes. In compare with our possibilities what we have, facilities. Jordan is not a rich country, but it is very well organised. So we don't have that big amount of money, we don't have these abilities, but we have good organising with what we have.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?

Ammar al Qaisi:

“The people in Jordan here very cooperative with security and intelligence because they understand and the people here are very educated and they understand that if you see anything mysterious or anything that could guide you to the danger and they don't report it to military or intelligence it will one day reflect on them. So these relationships between security and the citizens here is very strong and the security all the time telling the people that you should be our assistant. We can't do this for

ourselves, we can't put a policeman for everybody to watch. You are our eyes and our ears, and you can report this in friendly way of course.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So if you see a crime e.g.?

Ammar al Qaisi:

"Of course! Not only crime, but also if I saw an accident. And some injuries, I have to report, because there is something dangerous. It is on this level. For accident I can report. And it's easy way. You just call free call, 911, it's very easy number to call them, and they do well, they come very quickly.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To what extent are the Jordanian political and legal systems representative of the population?

Ammar al Qaisi:

This does not exist in the government here. Here there is no difference between Muslim and Christian at all. I don't deal with anyone like what is his religion. Here the people like each other, they love each other. Here you can find the church and the mosque in the same area. You can listen to the prayer calling, and the ring of bells, at the same time, and we never took this point of view, like he's a Muslim, he's a Christian, in our country. This has not happened. It does not exist in our country. And the representative for the Christian is high-level, and they have very good positions in the government, so no, these, I can't, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Maybe Jordan has a difference to other countries, maybe it is similar in some aspects, but in Jordan here, as I told you, the people are very educated here, so everybody have a chance to be a leader in his field, but there are some point of view from the king or the government to take into consideration, like I can't make the whole government from the North, so I have to divide the government from the areas, to make it equal. So maybe someone from this area is more qualified, but I can't give him this position, because I give this position of someone else from another area, so the geographic distribution take place here, not the qualifications. We take the qualification here, but if two people from the same area, this one is more qualified, I will take him, if there is a position for him, but in some area, another area, if this one is more qualified, but I

have to give it because of the geographical position, so yes, it's affecting the qualifications by distribution.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Ah yes, I've heard about this. How does tribal culture influence who becomes an elite?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Now, if we said it twenty years ago, it was very effective. The tribes here have a law, and this law, and this law become more effective before you go to law. So this good thing in my opinion, it's a very good thing to let the people solve their problems before they go to the law. If they could solve these problems according to the traditions they have, it's very good. For me, my responsibility is to solve it, why should I take it to the law. So yes, it is very effective here in Jordan, but it was more effective twenty years ago. No the tribes are distributed, mixing with the people. So the law is stronger than before. The people go to the law, because they believe it is easier and it is very, very clear for them. So yes, tribal law is very effective here in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How much respect between cultures is there in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

There are no different cultures. It's only one culture, with different ways. I can't find another culture in my country to say oh these people, I don't know how to mix with them. Jordan is a very small country, and from the North to the South the people know each other. If not me, someone I know, so I can meet some people every day in another places, because I know I met him before. It's a very close culture, it's not many cultures.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, you somewhat answered the next question, but I still have to ask it: Is there a set of beliefs or opinions that the cultures in Jordan share?

Ammar al Qaisi:

There are many common, not different. Most of our thinking is the same, but maybe the level of the life is different. There are some people that are very rich, some in the middle, some don't have anything, but if we go to some government place, we will be treated the same. Nothing different in the way we live. It is in the way the same

people live, if I choose my way to live. But there are many traditions, we have to respect all.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. I'm trying to translate this question. Are there problems that you blame on certain groups? Does this happen a lot? And if yes, which groups are they?

Ammar al Qaisi:

In my opinion, there are two groups that should be blamed. First of all the people themselves, and second of all the government, but I give 70% to the people and 30% for the government, because I choose the way how to live, and how to succeed in my life. I will not wait for the government to guide me, or to take my hand to success. I give you everything, and you can choose. Most of the people here in Jordan they want they want the academic studies, The academic studies were very useful 50 years ago when the government needed educated people to come teach them. But now it's full. The government positions are full, so you have to find another way. And thirty years ago is not the same as now, it was completely different. So the people have to find, for myself, I was a colonel in the army. Yes, it was a good position with a lot of prestige, but there was not enough money, so I have to find another way to gain my money. The government jobs is not enough. If you are rich and you want some position in the government, yes, you can go. But if you don't have any money and you are looking for some work in your life you have to find your path. So I blame the people here, because most of us want the academic, and academic studies now don't work a lot. Most of the people now are educated, but they don't find jobs for their educated. Now you can be educated, but it's not a condition for your life to work in your study. It's good to be educated, to have this position in your mentality, but after that you have to find your way. If you found something good, and you are professional in this way, continue. But if you didn't you have to find another way.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Ammar al Qaisi:

There are many opinions. Some people think that if they have the passport they are Jordanian. The problem that when people go out the country and are asked where they are from they will say I am Jordanian, because I got good, good passport. But inside the country, if you ask someone where they are from, they will say they are Palestinian, and he doesn't have the nationality, and he's never been there. So your

reality in Jordan depends on whether you are Palestinian origin or Jordanian origin. But this is a stupid opinion, because Jordan and Palestine used to be one country. Forty years ago it was one country. And now we are looking for something that makes us two parties. We should be one party if we want to continue in this life. We are looking for this thing which makes us two parts, if you are Jordanian in origin or Palestinian in origin, and we have this conversation about Palestine and Jordan. We are one country. If you go from here to Jerusalem it's forty kilometres, but from Amman to Aqaba it is 400. You understand me? So this is stupid thing in our society, but the people in Arab Spring try to finish this. Why? Because we found that after what happened in Syria and Iraq that we live together and we all together, and this is our country. Where to go? If some problems happened in Jordan where can we go? To Iraq? To Syria? To Israel? So this idea of Jordanian and Palestinian start to disappear, or at least the people stopped talking about it, because we live in the same country and we have no chance to go.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. How are minorities treated in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

There is no groups. I can be me and you a group as friends, but not separate groups in society. This is not happening, never. The people here can get married to anyone, even Christians, so there are no groups in our society. Groups by the meaning that like in Syria or Lebanon Hezbollah, or Armenian. Yes, sometimes I am from the same family, we go and sit together. Yes, the family or the tribes. The tribes are our group. But there is no group take place and separated from society. That does not exist in our society, never.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright you've really answered half of this question already. Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Let me tell you something. These little groups that you talk about, they have rights more than the general groups. Like Christians, they have very high level positions in government and the society. Like Armenians, they have a complete area for them with shops and houses, and they feel that they are very strong in Jordan. Like Circassians and Chechnyans, these people are in very high positions, like air force, they are pilots in the air force, they have all the old traditions, from before they came to Jordan. Did

you know that the guards in the King's Palace they are from Circassia and Chechnya. So there are no groups in Jordan that do not have any rights. They have rights more than the normal people. The big groups as you say.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Economy. That's it. We don't have any other problem, but economy. If everyone has good position and good money, that's it. Everybody happy.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

"How is the political opposition treated in Jordan?"

Ammar al Qaisi:

Now we have political parties, but for now they are not effective in our society. The Prime Minister is appointed by the King, and the government appointed by the Prime Minister, so no political parties go to the government. So still need time to have this. And the opposite, because there is no party come to the government by itself, you can choose from other parties your government.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do people view the economy?

Ammar al Qaisi:

They are very desperate about economy, yes. But of you know the reason. You will stop asking. Of course it's clear, we are in the middle of the herd. Now if you have a shop, and it works very well, and suddenly the neighbours of your shop, the people who come to buy from you, they move to another place. What is going to happen to your shop? It's going to be closed. Why? Because there is no market. Nobody will buy from you. This is what happened to Jordan. Jordan is in the middle of the two market, or three markets let me say. Iraq, Syria and Palestine: These three countries were the market of Jordan. The products of Jordan used to go to these three countries. And now we have Saudi Arabia and Gulf area. But the main and most effective markets were Iraq, Syria, and Palestine. Anything happens in these countries we are affected. Anything happens in Middle East we are affected, because we don't have these kind of resources that we can build ourselves. We depend on our position, and this position now is very affected by the war in these countries. This is the point.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the most relevant programmes to fight poverty in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

This question you shouldn't ask me. In my opinion everyone... The poverty in Jordan we can say that it is very few, people say no that are very many poor people, but these people, they didn't see the world's poverty, they don't know it, here the people can assist everybody. Charity is very well in Jordan, but this is enough. There are very many projects that should take place in Jordan, from the government and from the investment. The king and the government, they all the time trying to bring the investors to Jordan, but when, as you said now, if the tourists, normal people, they try to avoid coming to Jordan, because there is a war. So how can a lot of investment come to Jordan in this timing of the war? They can't take a risk, come to Jordan, because it will be a failure. It will fail, because the markets, when you invest you need markets, and the markets are closed. So the investments will go back.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to fight poverty in Jordan and if so, what?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, we are trying not to be poor. Yes, we work hard.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

They compare. The people here compare. If I have an old car, and old house, and my children go to the government schools, and there is some people that have luxury car, big villa, and their kids go to private schools, so I'm poor. Some people, I don't know how to say this...To be convinced with what you have is to be rich. You know, my cousins, they are very rich people, they have a lot of cars, their houses are very nice, but I think I live better than them. This is my opinion. It is what you think about yourself, how you live. Maybe we have to follow some rules, the government should take care of these people by building some houses for them, by offering them jobs, but they can't offer everybody jobs without their plan for jobs. If I and some group we plan to make a project, the government should support us, to have this project in existence. But I don't know this is a big problem, not only in Jordan. I think, the same ways you solve in your countries, we should solve it here. It is not a different way.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What do people think about poverty and the poor in Jordan? I know many of the questions are very similar, but I still have to ask them all.

Ammar al Qaisi:

They want to stop it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor, and if so, what?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, in the army there are many markets that were opened for the people with reduced prices, and there is many projects where happened, I took a place in the poverty places, I'm talking about the army, and even there are many schools that were opened in poverty places for the people there, for the children. And this what I know.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

If I have a private project, not with the government, of course I am following the qualifications, the experience. If this one is fit for what I do, I will hire him. In the government sometimes it is different, because they are following some procedures, because we have something called wasta. The wasta here in Jordan is taking place very well, because if I'm from the North, from some family, and one of my relatives comes and says I want to be hired in something, it's not easy to hire him, even with wasta, it is not easy, but I can find him how to hire, because now that the jobs, many jobs is related to the, if you are graduated from college you have to go and apply for the service, this civilian service centre, and you go, and they put it in the computer, and they can find on computer, by computer how to, if some area needs some teachers e.g., you will be hired according to this selection, but some people yes, wasta was very strong in the past, now with the social media, with the Parliament they are watching everything, they can tell and stop it. But it still exists.

Svenja van Gunsteren.

Do you or your area of work contribute to job training and how?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, of course. This is number one in the army. Training is number one. Courses inside the country and out of the country. They have very good relations with the academies and the whole world. You can find Jordanian offices everywhere. This is

for the army side. Now it is up to you because it's a private job. You can improve yourself or not, you can stay, as you like.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How common is homelessness in Jordan? Why or why not?

Ammar al Qaisi:

We don't have homeless. It's very, very few. If you want to be homeless, you can be, but nobody here is homeless. I can't find any homeless in the streets, nobody sleep in the streets, unless he want to stay like this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, and why is this?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Because our society is very cooperative, we can't leave anybody to live like this. Because the family here is very related, so you belong to one family, and they are responsible for you, not the government, so here the people they help each other.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What happens to people who don't have a family?

Ammar al Qaisi:

They go like, if he is an orphan, there are many, many centres who take care of orphans, if he is old man, he will go to the centre for the old men, but this is very few.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, of course. It's a very good position, yes. To be a professor, in a university, it is very good, high level, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live, and if yes, what?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes. The army used to make many, many projects by improving the areas of their responsibilities by, they can plant here many, many trees, because the first problem here in Jordan is the desert, so the army took the role to plant many, many trees here in Jordan to make it more green, and by securing the country, the first essential thing is to have tourists, to make it attractive, is to have security, so yes of course.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a relatively high number of highly educated people leaving the country?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes. It's a very, very high number, and this is the problem with Jordan in economy and in jobs. That there are very high number of educated people they don't have positions for their studies, so in my opinion they have, the people now just have to think about the industrial, the artificial, the technical studies, because we don't have here in Jordan. The people are professors, all. All the people are studied, educated, they want to have positions in the government, take salaries, take loans, because it is the easier way. But they have to find now, in my opinion now they have to find another solution, to collect your money rather than take a loan. This is the other way, the other option, and this is what I'm doing now. I don't want to take any loans from banks because it is destroying me, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people?

Ammar al Qaisi:

No. Two reasons: Because in my opinion, in every government, in every society, there is corruption. In every government, in every society, even in the house you can find in the one family, you can find corruption. Sometimes small cases of corruption in the government destroy the confidence for the people. One case is enough to destroy their confidence. This is number one. Two, the people here in Jordan are analysing too much, depending on their imagination. If there is one small of corruption crisis, so I can make a story about this, without knowing anything. So these cases of corruption in Jordan, the people think that the economy of Jordan is affected by corruption only. They are not following the real reasons of the economy. We have many outside reasons, like the pressure of the American government in the Jerusalem case, the Gulf area. They, because we still have relations with Qatar, we didn't go with them against Yemen, so they try to make it kind of punishment, they stopped the aid of Jordan. There is a very big, big pressure from the outside on the economy. And they can do it, because they are very rich, they can, at least they can stop importing the Jordanian products, and that's enough, because we are, if we are surrounded by three countries, no we are surrounded by four, because it's Saudi Arabia in the South. So yes, they don't follow the real reasons, they follow small cases of corruption in the government, and they say that this is the reason. They don't follow the big issue.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do political rights for all parties exist?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, of course.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan, and how are people meeting its challenges?

Ammar al Qaisi:

The roads are very well. There is a very good network of roads, and the transportation is not that well, because in my opinion Jordan is a small country, so transportation is like trains, we don't need it, because from the North to the South it is 400 kilometres, you can go with your car. And here the mentality of the Jordanians that I want to have a car, this is one of my rights, I want to have a car. So buying a car in our society is a priority. If I have a car I will not go in transportation. Every house has three or four cars in front of the house. Okay, if all of us go in cars, who's going in transportation? For this the government doesn't give importance to the transportation, because everybody has a car. Even if there is a good transportation they will not leave it, they will not take the transportation. They will go with the cars, because three brothers they work in the same office, they will go in three different cars. Why? Because maybe my girlfriend call me, I want to see you. I will not wait for you to take me. I want to take my car and go. If I want to go to shopping, I will not wait for you, take your car. If we go for the same party, we will take three cars, because it is the mentality. I want to drive. I want to drive. I want to feel myself. It's different mentality. It's easier to go in transportation-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No, it's similar in Germany actually, people think similarly.

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, I think it's one of the priorities. Car?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Oh yes, in Germany the car comes before the house.

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes exactly, because I spend my time more in the car than in the house.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Jordanians have insurance for the kids less than six years and for the old men after 60 years. The people between these groups they have, it is not expensive, because we have many government hospitals, but there is a big load on these hospitals and as I told you there is a compare between the rich and the normal people, I will not say poor people, the normal people and the rich people. The rich people they go to the private hospitals, they have good care, they have the medicines, but they pay a lot. Believe me, they pay a lot. So I compare myself with my brothers. Hey go to the Central Arabic Hospital. It's five stars hospital. But I go to the Medical City. The Medical City is for everybody, military, e.g. It's crowded. I have insurance, free. It's crowded. But when I look for my cousin e.g. he go to the private hospital, I feel sorry about this. I feel that I'm not fine. I want more. I want to be like that. This one is paying a lot of money, so if you want to pay, go. I give you this for free. Of course everything free needs more suffering. So it's available. The healthcare here in Jordan is number one in the Middle East by the way. So what we need more? We don't want to wait. This is the problem. We don't want to wait. So we have a good healthcare, but it's crowded. That is the problem.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan and if yes, how?

Ammar al Qaisi:

It's already there, it's already existing. We are one of the poorest countries in water resources, and our houses never have shortages in water. And it's almost free, because I pay every three months ten JDs or twelve JDs, maximum. So it's free. And it's very, very pure water, so it already exists, so why should I do anything about it?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Are demonstrations common in Jordan and what do people think about them?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, it exists already and this kind of democracy, which we were happy about that to express what is your opinion, but without violence. Yes, this is very healthy society. If we have this, this is very healthy.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, I've heard about that, the demonstrations in front of Al Hussein Mosque against the US decision to say that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel.

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, they had many, many demonstration here, but without any violence. So this is healthy thing, and it's happening everywhere, and if you have an opinion as a group, you can go and do it. So yes, it exists here.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes. 100%.

Svenja van Gunsteren.

The next part is a double question. So the first question is: Does religious freedom exist?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. And does religious extremism exist?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Here in Jordan no. The people are very, even the religious here, are in good harmony.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Well, it's a very subjective term. So e.g. some people in the West would say the Muslim Brotherhood is a part of that as well. But it's a matter of-

Ammar al Qaisi:

No, no, it's a party, it's a political party.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a process that encourage political power sharing?

Ammar al Qaisi:

No, religion does not interfere here in politics, and this is the right thing. If you are religious you have the Mosque you can live your religious life as you want, but not in political issues. For this in Jordan, we don't have problems here, like in Lebanon.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people.

Ammar al Qaisi:

This is number one here. The first thing we learn here since we are children, how to take care about the old people. Like now, I will take the example of myself. I have to visit my father every day, and take my kids with me, and my father is an old man, so I have to show them, not only to do, but show them how I take care of my father. Now I

don't tell my son, my son is nine years old, now when my father, when his grandfather, wants to stand up, he will run suddenly and take his hand. And he will take him to, and I will watch him, and I to myself I' not looking, so he's doing like this, and he's proud about what he's doing, cause he is seeing his father do that. And what his father does, I should do it. I must do it. So it's consequence actions. Even if I found an old man in the streets and no taxi stopping for him, you will find many, many cars stop for him to ask him where do you want to go. And they take him wherever he wants. So this exists in our society and it is very strong here in Jordan to respect the older men. And even is someone saw me shouting at an old man, you will see two or three people coming to me and say stop shouting at him. Talk to him in a respectful way. So this exists in our society.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

This is a silly question but I have to ask it anyway. Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family or friends?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Of course. Of course. My wife is Palestinian.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, the answer is the same for everybody. Have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes. The army is number one who receives the refugees and they take care of them and they give them shelter, food, everything. And security of course. And they build for them many camps, and they live there. Who is securing them? The army. The first people who see the refugees are the army.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the Jordanian opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees?

Ammar al Qaisi:

They are very happy about helping the refugees, and they are very sorry for them, and they are sharing them everything. You can ask anyone, what do you think about the Syrian refugees, they will start to pray for them, and they say anyone will come to me to help them I will help them. So it's optimistic point of view.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face and what are Jordanians doing to address them?

Ammar al Qaisi:

I think in Jordan they live better than in any other country. They don't have problems in my opinion except maybe the problems came to the Jordanians, because now the schools are full with Syrian refugees, so the Jordanian students, they don't have the good chance as they alone. When you find 30 children in the same class, it's not like 15. The focus on the students, on 15 will be better than on 30, and now we have two separate timings for the, e.g. our kids they have to go in two parties now to the school: The morning and evening part. And we didn't used to have this before.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well?

Ammar al Qaisi:

There are no Palestinian refugees anymore. They are citizens now. So I don't call any of the people that came since 1948 or 1967, I don't call them refugees anymore. They are citizens now. What is happening to the Jordanians is happening to them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What about the Syrian refugees?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, very well.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Ammar al Qaisi:

No. No, no, no, not at all. If this will happen, then not because he is a refugee, but because he has a problem, as a person.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are the refugee camps safe?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, more than safe.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the Jordanian opinion on foreign military in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

In my opinion, we can't be a professional army without mixing with the others, because they come here. Now, all of our weapons, they are American. We import our weapons, we don't have our industry here. Even the whole world, they have two parts, Russian and American, and the whole countries take and buy their weapons from the

two countries only. I can't buy from the US a weapon and tell them don't come for us. Of course we get many, many training. If we bought weapons from them we have to get the training. So they have to have some courses, or some officers go the US to have the training on these weapons, so this cooperating is necessary. But the people do not look like this this, they look that, like in Germany now, there is a big, big American base, and they think that this base is controlling Germany at all. And in Qatar, they have another one. In Japan they have another one. So they think that these bases are controlling. I don't know about what is happening there, but I know what's happening in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, the next question is similar. We're almost done by the way. Sorry that it's taking so long. What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Ammar al Qaisi:

They do well. Yes, they do well, cooperating with everybody.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Ammar al Qaisi:

It's good. Of course, we need it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Two last questions. Could you describe the culture of welcome in Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Maybe we are the source of welcoming in the world. We are very welcoming people. We are welcoming people from everywhere. Jordan has a mix of refugees which does not exist in the rest of the world. People from outside they call Jordan the mother. Yes, because when Iraq War came the refugees came to Jordan, Palestinian people came before that. Circassians and Chechnyans since a long time. And Syrians they came now. The Egyptians they are there. We are welcoming everybody. We never said go out for anyone. No, I don't remember this, we have said this to everyone.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, last question: Given your answers, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Ammar al Qaisi:

High level. High level. We have problems, but it's still stable.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, that's basically the interview part. Is there anything more you would like to say about the questions I have asked, or about the topic, anything you would like to add?

Ammar al Qaisi:

I hope that these questions will give a good description for Jordan, or I mean the answers to these questions. There are many questions that shouldn't be there, like, it's okay, but it's to clear the reality, like groups, these groups-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Ah, I told you this, because I have to use academic indicators-

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, I know, I know. I'm talking about my opinion about the questions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, I would like to hear that.

Ammar al Qaisi:

I think maybe Jordan has specific nature about, different about everybody. Maybe you will find in some country, like Egypt, like Syria before, if you come to give some policeman money, he will be happy with this. Here in Jordan if you give a policeman money he will be very upset. This is the first thing I look. If this happen in Jordan, so we are not fine.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Oh, do you mean like giving someone money for food or something, or corruption?

Ammar al Qaisi:

No, if you found some policeman, he's in a patrol, he stopped you, maybe you didn't put the seat belt-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

And you try to give him money instead? Bribing?

Ammar al Qaisi:

Yes, he will be very upset. If you say okay I will not do it again, he will leave you. If you want corruption, how much this corruption is, very deep in the government, in the society look to the policeman. He is the first to know if there is a corruption or not in the country. So I think we are very fine, because this is not happening. And that's it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, then thank you very, very much, and that is the official part of the interview.

7.4.5 12.04.2018 Dr. Majid al Sadi

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, so it's the 12th of April, it's a quarter to 11, we have just gone over the consent form, and I'll just head straight in with the first question: Have you or your area of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before, and if yes, how?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes, in 2003, after the fall of the regime in Iraq, the Iraqi armed forces and the security forces needed to rebuild the whole system again, and they needed to retrain, re-equip with modern equipment. And one of the things we did, we trained Iraqi establishment police they call them. Asset security, pipelines, power stations, and all that, because there was a lot of looting. The fall of the regime of course brought dramatic destruction to the infrastructure of the country, so we and the Jordanian security forces established a training facility here, where we trained thousands of Iraqis. Then we trained Somalians on anti-piracy, Palestinians, Syrians, all nationalities. So that is our part of participation.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. How prestigious is it for someone to join the military in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

It is prestigious. In a small country with very limited resources people tend to want to work for a government. It's basically for the national security payment, health insurance, stability of a job, the very limited resources and small private sector back then, 25 years ago, and everyone wanted to join the military, and basically the military has that kind of stability for a job, and good pay, different from other establishments, so it is prestigious, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Majid al Sadi:

It is quite a strong one, in fact most of the population is from the security agencies, police, the army, probably half of the population and the other half is their relative, so it is quite strong.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional to the threats?

Majid al Sadi:

I think so. I think the, and this is a very well-known fact, the Jordanian security agency and intelligence, it's the best in the Middle East.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?

Majid al Sadi:

Quite a lot actually. There are a lot of people who inform the government or the agencies if they notice unusual activities. However, there are large parts of Southern Jordan close to the Saudi border that have a radical element, and people who wanted to change the regime, change the kingdom into a republic, all that kind of rhetoric. However, the public here are very strongly attached to the Hashemite rule and are willing to defend this system, because they have seen what happened around them: In Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, you know. Where the strong leadership disappears the whole country fragments and disappears basically.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems representative of the population?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes, I think it is quite a good balance. And even the formation of the government, which is approved by His Majesty in the end, it has a proportion of element, religion, tribes, and it goes everywhere, in the government judicial system, so the representation is quite fair.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

Ah, that is quite a tricky question. You have to define the word elite.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

We'll use it in the broadest sense, someone at the top of their field, what is the common process someone would go through to get to the top of their field?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, success, I think it's a major factor in any business, I'm talking as a business community. The interaction with the social elements, working with NGOs, working with refugees, doing something exceptional for the people like for myself, being an Iraqi in Jordan, it's quite difficult to do. However, I have succeeded quite well by

working with Her Majesty the Queen on improving the Jordanian schools, rebuilding them, running programmes of exchange between foreign universities. Now I'm bringing Iraqi students coming from Iraq into the programme and we have them currently now, SOAS University, so I think it's to be exceptional in your work and your success, keeping your track record clean with the banks in borrowing and payment and all that, it's all an element of success.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. How does tribal culture influence elite selection?

Majid al Sadi:

Quite a lot. For Jordanians, it's quite important. However, His Majesty the King, since he took over, he introduced the idea of young, creative European or American graduates into the culture. Jordan is known to be very Arabic, with nationalistic and proud feelings among the people, and they always prefer their neighbouring graduates, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraqi graduates, Syria, and ruling family of government. When His Majesty came he introduced the element of people who graduated from the US, Europe, the United Kingdom, to take positions, and age difference, so it's quite, he made the balance, you look at it now it is quite a mix of the two, successfully working.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Evaluate cross-cultural respect in Jordan.

Majid al Sadi:

Well, Jordan is known over history as a transitional country. People migrating from the West, which is Iraq, into the West to Jerusalem, and the greater Syria, which is Damascus. It's always been transitional. Since 1948, with the establishment of the state of Israel millions of Palestinians have crossed the river Jordan into here. It's over 2.5 million refugees who live in Jordan. Half of the Jordanian population are of Palestinian origin. Also in the 70s we have the Lebanese because of the civil war, then we have the Iraqis, over 1.5 million in 91, and it's been ever since. Only two, three years they have 1.5 million Syrians. So you can see all of these huge migrations into the country have created a new Jordanian personality, which allows other to live and share resources. Limited resources, if I may say.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs?

Majid al Sadi:

I wouldn't say one common belief. We have tribal, and people outside the capital in Jordan, two completely different culture to the capital. The capital is the melting pot of many migrants, therefore the culture here is different, the language here is different, the perception of foreign people is different than outside the capital.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent and if so, along which lines?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, this is an Arabic culture to be honest, and always we look for a scapegoat, and any problems here, I mean the biggest scapegoat we're talking about, is Israel. So we blame everything that happens in the area. Then the people tend to blame foreigners, for the difficulties, for the shortage of water, the increase in prices, property prices, and the Iraqis are to blame for this. This is a major scapegoat that we buy property at any prices Jordanians can't afford, so the stereotype talk is usually on economic grounds.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Majid al Sadi:

A very difficult one, very difficult indeed. And this is a major conflict in the area, who's Jordanian. If you want to go back 100 years ago there is no Jordan, it is the land between Mesopotamia and Palestine, which is Greater Syria into Mesopotamia, which is Iraq now. So the country did not exist, it's a few tribes in the South, a few tribes in the North. The South are more attached to Saudi Arabia type of culture, the North is closer to Syria, so it's a different culture all together. So what's the national identity? I think the Hashemites, His Majesty the King, is the main uniting factor for the Jordanians.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the respective situations of Jordanian minorities?

Majid al Sadi:

Well they can absorb millions of foreigners into the country, they have a Christian minority, which are in fact, considering all the Arab countries, are the most powerful in the country. Most of the banks are owned by Christians. They are very well respected and very well liked in the society, so I wouldn't call them minority to be honest.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed?

Majid al Sadi:

No, no to both.”

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?

Majid al Sadi:

It's poverty. It's a country without natural resources, a very difficult terrain, the mountains, there is no rain, so agriculture suffers quite a lot. Also surrounded by a belt of fire, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Saudi Arabia. It is not an easy thing to run a government here with very, very limited resources, but it has survived for the last 50 years, it has become stronger, it has become the focal point for the Arab world at the moment. Everyone meets here in Jordan. So their grievances are basically poverty and limited resources.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the situation of the political opposition?

Majid al Sadi:

I think the only opposition is the Islamic movement, the Islamic brotherhood, but they are currently in Parliament, so they are participation, under control, if you like.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. How do people view the economy?

Majid al Sadi:

With great mystery. There are a lot of unknowns that factor where we are going from here. We thought the Syrian issue was going to be settled, now we are seeing we are on the verge of war in the next couple of days maximum, so people are always expecting what is going to happen next, so that's always the question.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What are the most relevant initiatives to combat poverty in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, creating jobs is the main thing, and His Majesty is leading a good team of economic advisors encouraging the rest of the world to invest in Jordan by creating jobs.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan and if yes, what?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, again, we created the jobs, we have over 1800 people working directly with us, and thousands of indirect workers.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

Lack of resources, basically, lack of raw materials as well. A limited border with large producers and consumers of goods, like Saudi Arabia and Turkey, so the competition is quite high in industry, which creates poverty.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What do people think about poverty and the poor in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

Like you say, 90% are poor in Jordan, so the answer is there.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor and if so, what?

Majid al Sadi:

Not really. We are in the service industry, we cater to the ones that have the money.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

Very much so.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you or your area of work contribute to job training and how?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes, we do quite a lot of training, because we are in the service industry, hotels, tourism, training pilots and cabin crew, it's all by training, so we do quite a lot in this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan? Why or why not?

Majid al Sadi:

I think because of the Arab and the Islamic culture here you don't have homeless quite a lot. I haven't seen any, to be honest, so I can't comment on that. But if you go to Europe you see them all over the streets, you don't see them in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

That is true. Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your place of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live? If so what?

Majid al Sadi:

Well we are promoting, being the chairman of investors in Jordan, an investor society. I am always promoting Jordan as a stable, nice country, good infrastructure, good banks, good connection with airlines with the rest of the world, so... And it's good to huge potential markets: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, with huge populations, and capital, so it is an attractive place to be in for business.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a relatively high proportion of higher educated people leaving the country?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes. The whole Gulf States were built with Iraqi, Palestinian, and Jordanian expertise, so a lot of them, they don't get much packages with a degree or a Master's degree here, so they will look for an opportunity abroad.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people? With that I mean the political government, not the monarchy.

Majid al Sadi:

I've never seen a government that has the confidence of the people anywhere in the world.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Do political rights for all parties exist?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan, and how are people meeting its challenges?

Majid al Sadi:

That's quite a good question. Within the capital, I think outside Jordan it's fine, they have a very good infrastructure for highways, and constantly improving. Within the

capital it's quite difficult to move, you can see it now. There are millions of cars on the roads that are not really sufficient to handle. So they're thinking of having trains now, mono rails, and all that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, it is very difficult for them. It is a huge deficit every year, and the government is counter-attacking this deficit by increasing prices.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to improve public services in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

No.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are demonstrations common in Jordan, and how are they viewed?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes, they are quite common, since 2011. With the Arab Spring it's become, every Friday you have people demonstrating for different purposes, so yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Thank you. Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Majid al Sadi:

That's a difficult question, depends what social rights are. I think they do support women's rights, employment and all that, but when it comes to a sense of areas, if you say Palestinians' rights, then yes, that is going to be a problem. Gay rights, it's going to be a problem. So things within the culture of the Arab and Muslim world, I would say.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious freedom exist?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious extremism exist?

Majid al Sadi:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you elaborate a little on that?

Majid al Sadi:

Well if you've seen, the majority of ISIS leaders are Jordanian. ISIS was established by a Jordanian called al-Zarqawi, who was killed by the Americans in 2016, I think. There are a lot of ISIS support or this extreme thinking supporters, believers of Wahhabism, which is Saudi Arabia's religion, and they are from those areas closer to them, so it does exist.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, thank you. Is there a process that encourages political power sharing?

Majid al Sadi:

I don't know.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No worries. Describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people.

Majid al Sadi:

It's in the culture. In this part of the world we care for the elderly until they die and that is why there are very few old people homes. In the culture it is not accepted.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

The next question is silly in this questionnaire, but I do still have to ask it: Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family and friends?

Majid al Sadi:

Oh yeah, absolutely.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, that is the common answer to that question. Have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan and if so how?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, I have my programmes, personally, which is the Changing Lives Programme, which was based on exposing the case of those guys and why they are here by bringing hundreds of foreign students, in fact last night they exceeded the 600 number, which is fantastic, and have them here in Jordan for two weeks to work with the refugees, talk to them, understand their case, their problems, why they're here, what's their hope, when they are going to go back home, if there is a home to back to. So really I think this did change the life of so many people. Also I put Her Majesty's on refugee camps improving the education in refugee camps.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Thank you. What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees?

Majid al Sadi:

Well Jordan is, as we said in the beginning, quite limited with the resources, water, power, sewage, food supplies, and to receive 1.5 million and almost a third of your population overnight, and you have to provide everything for them, it's a huge weight on the shoulder, and the world is not doing much to help. 20 million, 50 million, even that, it's costing them as I understand around 3 billion dollar, and so the Jordanian population are quite fragile towards the Syrians. Different to the Iraqis, because the Iraqis when we come here we come as a business community, we brought business, we create jobs. The Syrians they are here to take, and this is something they hate.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face, and how are Jordanians addressing them?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, employment to start with. There are very few jobs available on the market. Jobs come with foreign investments, and foreign investments are so weak, because of the worries of the war around it, because of security people are not coming to this area. So the Syrians are competing with the locals on jobs, and this is something they are very sensitive and is unacceptable to them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, there are two types of Palestinians in Jordan: People who migrated in 1948 and '67 and became Jordanian and they hold the Jordanian passport, and there are 2.5 million in refugee camps, who cannot travel and do not have documents, only a UN refugee document to say who they are. SO the first ones integrated very well, and they have a queen, if you like. The other ones are not really, they cannot, it's not allowed.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. What about the Syrian refugees?

Majid al Sadi:

The Syrians are a different case, because the Jordanian see theirs as a temporary status, and hopefully they will go back to their country, so they are all looking for them to go back. Honestly something we don't know.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Majid al Sadi:

No.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Majid al Sadi:

They are quite safe. It's a closed camp with full security awareness, with unmanned aircraft and surveillance, it's quite, the worry for the Jordanians is not the personal issues in the centres, they worry about terrorism, because when they come in masses you don't know who they are.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. What is the Jordanian opinion on foreign military in Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

They don't like it, it's very simple, but they don't see it. That's the advantage.

Svenja van Gunsteren.

What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Majid al Sadi:

Quite strong.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Majid al Sadi:

Well Jordan, since the day it was established it has lived on foreign aid, and they do get around 2 billion dollars from the Gulf States. It used to get a lot more, but now the Gulf States are reducing dramatically their support to Jordan for political reasons, so aid is essential. I mean look, it's 4 million refugees here, so we do need the aid.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the culture of welcome in Jordan.

Majid al Sadi:

Very strong. I mean, you've probably noticed yourself.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Given your answers, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Majid al Sadi:

Jordan reminds me of Switzerland. Everyone wants a safe place to put their money, send their families, and have a stable region, and Jordan is doing this job greatly,

although with difficulty because of limited resources, but it's a great place to live, it's safe, it's easy to travel, but it is surrounded by danger. That is why the security agencies are doing an incredibly good job for the country's sake.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, just a couple more things. If the US, as is decided, will withdraw so much of their aid to Jordan, what do you think the impact of that would be?

Majid al Sadi:

Well, I don't think it's a right statement, because they just agreed on 5 billion, the Americans. The Saudis withdrew their support, and that causes problems.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, so that was the interview, that was quick.

7.4.6 24.04.2018 Anonymous Assistant Professor

Svenja van Gunsteren:

All right, and the recording is going. We've already gone over the consent form, you've signed it. The first question is have you in your area of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before? If yes, how and which security industry? The military, the intelligence services or the police?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

For me, I personally haven't done that. The only thing that we're in contact with is the guards here at the university, that's the only thing, the security of the university, but they're usually very friendly and they only say hi to us, you know what I mean, and very polite.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prestigious is it for someone to join the military?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Some people, they feel that this is what they ... this is their ... let's say in their objective. So, a lot of people would like to, but not everybody. Usually, it depends on your family, if you're from a certain area in Jordan, but it is fine. There are some benefits to joining the army, so ... but in general, it is for certain people but not for everybody.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, if you're from a certain area, you're more likely to join the military or there's more prestige attached to it?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yes, some tribes, that would make ... you know, it would bring a lot of benefits to the family or to the tribe or to the group of people, to the ... this might be a thing, yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Basically, it's to ensure that they secure their safety on their side, to establish security. In general, they're good and friendly, and they're serious about their work, you know, yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional to the threats they face?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Well, you might say yes, yeah, in a way, yeah. For example, the burglars that happen lately, you feel that the response of the security apparatus was up to the challenge. So, I feel yes, yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Jordanian people nowadays are very worried about security especially as we are surrounded by all these wars and all these problems around us, and political unrest and all of that. So, we're very much concerned about security in Jordan, so, we are trying to abide by the law, we're trying to be patient with a lot of things that the government for example, they might impose on people, but still the reaction to that is more peaceful than it used to be in the past. People are very much worried about the question of security.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you give an example of what the government would impose on people as we're-

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Like for example talking about price, rocketing prices, okay? Imposing taxes, still people are accepting that, you know? Because they don't feel that they want to protest

or to go the streets because they might be scared of any consequences to that that might affect the security of this country.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems representative of the population?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

This is a good question, I think they push it, the way it's designed is that it should be a representative but I think the representation of women is not still what it's up to, you know what I mean? We have quite a number of the society that is not being represented. So, to what extent? I think that it might be more representative of what the government wants rather than what the people want.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

You're actually the first woman that I'm interviewing, hopefully not the last, so, that's also the first time I've heard that answer, which is of course good. Describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Could you please repeat elite recruitment?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, so, how does someone come to be at the top of their field, what is the common process that someone would go through?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Again, there seems to be some kind of hierarchy and certain channels that you have to go through in order for you to be elected for a certain position, but it's not always transparent to others. So, I cannot really be 100% sure about that, and to put the right man in the right place or the right woman in the right place, it's not always the case.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

If you had to take an educated guess, what sort of channels would that be? So, what criteria does someone have to fulfil?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

For education for example?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

For example, so, if you say there are certain barriers, certain hierarchies, what do you think those consist of?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Let me give you an example of the way I've been hired here for example, accepted. For me, I think that it was very fair, and not because I don't have any kind of privileges or anything other than my qualifications, and they took me for my qualifications. So, most of the time, they try to really follow that especially when you think of government institutions, because they'll be held responsible, or they'll be accountable for that. But I cannot speak for everything in Jordan, you know, all of the institutions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How does tribal culture influence elite selection and representation?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, tribal societies, the tribe has certain pressure and the power. So, if you belong to these very famous well-known tribes, it does affect. But people nowadays are becoming more aware of that and the government, and you know, the structure, society is changing, but this is taking time. It's going to most probably take a very long time because things that have to do with customs, with traditions, with the way the very deep structured things will always take time for it to change.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Evaluate cross cultural respect in Jordan.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

In general, we have some kind of intolerance, but in general, it's peaceful and there is cross culture, and you know, we accept each other and most of the time, and there are cases, but in general we do have some kind of a brotherly kind of society.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

You mean that each ethnicity or each culture-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, for example, is there one or more beliefs, values that unite the different cultures in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Oh yeah, there is, yes, there is for example if you think in terms of Caucasians and think in terms of Jordanians, Palestinians, and now we talk about Syrians and Iraqis and all of these, yes. In a sense they do, we follow quite similar things together as

Arab culture, and I think what we have in common is much more than what we have in difference. And this is what brings us together.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there certain concepts that you could identify off the top of your head?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yes, concepts of the family, concepts of respect, [inaudible] ethical issues, and the way we perceive, the way we treat the elderly on dress code.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent? If so, along which lines?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Scapegoating and what's the other one?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, stereotyping.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Stereotyping and scapegoating. Stereotyping, yeah, but usually you see these things through jokes, this is the most ... if you want to study something, one of these very interesting cultural manifestations, and you know, you should go for jokes and cartoons. Yeah, whenever you hear a joke, yeah, the whole joke is built on this stereotyping, okay? But I'm a very peaceful person, and very tolerant and I accept so, sometimes I don't really pay attention to these things or even if these things happen before my eyes, I don't notice them. This is the way ... in a sense, I lock them away to move. So, sometimes you might not get the right, why are you even looking for it, if you're thinking of me giving you a very sort of ... and it's a decisive answer, but I'm trying to be as much as possible giving you a clear idea of ... or at least of what I see before me or the experiences that I know about.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Try to describe national identity in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

National identity in Jordan. Well, usually it's quite complex because you have so many now, people originally coming from different places. But most of the time, people in general, they identify themselves by their passport. We have Jordanian passports if they're Jordanian. But and again there's this problem of Palestinian Jordanian, this is also because a great number of people are originally from Palestine. But they also feel divided, they feel they are Jordan, but at the same time, they have to

feel something towards also their origins there because it's important, because they might lose that a kind of identity. So, I think that a lot of people feel that they belong ... this is fine. Have I answered the question?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes you have.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Okay.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the respective situations of Jordanian minorities?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

It's quite interesting that for minorities ... again from my knowledge, I don't see that there are marginalized anyway. No, we don't talk about minorities in Jordan, we think of ourselves as Jordanian. Yeah, we might see some people different, you know, a bit of Syrian, Iraqi, whatever, but I don't know, I don't hear a lot about this. Maybe lately because we have a lot of influx of Syrian refugees, but they are accommodating and they easily find their ways. They're very adaptable, very resilient and I really don't see that much here in Jordan. There might be cases, but they generally don't talk about minorities. It's not a major issue in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

By groups you mean?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

That could be anything really, that could be a religious group, socioeconomic group, ethnic groups.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah I know, again, I'm not very much aware of these various groups to tell you the truth, so I cannot give you a ... how do you say a genuine answer related to this sort of question-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, oh, no problem, all right what would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Iraqis, they're giving over Iraq, Syrians, Palestinians, a lot of people. So you feel this aspect of the traumatic experiences these groups have been facing for a very long time, being a politic (inaudible) and all of that. And then just when it's another place, it's quite hard and large for people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, the biggest issue of contention is that kind of displacement.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Displacement is yeah, it's a very major issue for these people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

And for the Jordanians themselves, what would be the largest points of conflict you would say like the problems?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Jordanian, maybe lately it's the economic situation. This is what's worrying them. Poverty and unemployment and the threats of a population, we have very limited resources. I remember before 1990, before the first Gulf war, Jordan was a very small society, we were barely 3 million, now you are talking about 10 million ... okay, sorry.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No worries.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Sure. So, yeah, these are the worries, the worries that have to do with their everyday life and prices, about employment and sometimes security. Because with all these people coming as well and with poverty, increase of poverty, we're no longer that kind of very safe society now that it used to be. We were so different, it was like a ... literally like an oasis in the Middle East Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the situation of the political opposition?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, I belong to this generation that when I was here at the university as a student. We used to have lot of different political parties of the student body and all of that. There was opposition, it wasn't easy to express your political allegiance or ideas. Nowadays, I think people can say much, say a lot. There's this kind of a margin freedom that is given to them, but of course to a certain extent. And traditional societies, third world countries, there's always a very ... the ceiling is not very high.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So that limits ... I know that it is illegal to criticize the religion or the monarchy. Is there anything beyond that that you can touch?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, religion, the three taboos, politics, raise it to the king, you can talk about anything, say anything about the prime minister, about the ministers, about the parliament but you cannot still say anything against parliament here. Religion, of course it's one of the biggest taboos. And the third one is sex, again the three major, the three well-known taboos.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

And all my questions about politics, they do ask about the government, the prime minister and the parties and not about the monarchy. How do people view the economy?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

It's almost falling part. It's not all totally falling part. It's very ... how do you say, shaky. We don't trust it. We know that it's like we're standing on the whole economy standing on its tiptoes and very vulnerable, any wind would just break it into pieces. It's almost shattered, I mean we don't have a strong economy, we have a lot of ... I mean, that's the other things as well. It doesn't seem that they have a long-term plan, something to say if okay, with the near future and long future, so nobody really can predict when it comes to that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

An additional question to that that is not here. So, originally the US was planning to completely cut their aid or to at least drastically lower it. And in response, Europe has pledged more aid and I do know that the US has said that it will at least pay some. What do you think would be the impact on Jordan if there would be a drastic cut in aid?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

It would be very serious, I don't think we can make it, but I mean something has to happen. There are, you talk about 10 million people, so, I don't think that ... I mean somehow maybe they can get some aid, some kind of help from other countries from Europe. For example from China, for example from Russia, you never know, there are things I'm not so unsettled, you can't lead the scene. The political scene, the economic scene, all these different kind of ... the whole issue about globalization and how things

... because we are in the eye of the storm. We still cannot tell where we're heading. We're so disoriented and we're still experimenting on things and the blows are coming from everywhere, so, God help us.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the most relevant initiatives to combat poverty in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

We have something as you know alms giving and the whole system, the whole Islamic economic system that is based on paying some of ... it's not ... a small amount of your net, of whatever profit that you make or addition that you have and share it and give it to the poor. So, we have a very good economic system when it comes to alleviating and solving the problem of poverty, but we don't follow, I think we should take it seriously. Because you are going to at least pay 2.5% of the money that you save or something extra that you have. And when it comes to rich people, sometimes this amount, this 2.5% is so much that it can solve the problems of so many people. So, I think we need to come together as a society and we need to stop doing all these kind of very sort of extravagant things that we pay so much on. And I'm trying to think what else is well, yeah, at a certain point, people need to do that. They cannot think of others, otherwise things will fall apart and things will explode and in this case, everybody will be losing not only the poor.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan, if so what?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Me on a personal level I try. You know I've been and it's not ... I mean I don't want to brag about that, I don't know. But he's going to know about that. But I mean on a personal level there are so many people who give others and you give on regular basis. I feel happy about it because it makes you feel good. But I mean in general it's so hard. The university, they offer. At the university here they have certain programs that they are ... and they help the needy, and they're willing to do that. Some rich people also they're willing to give money and to take care, to educate some needy and some poor families. I mean the children of some poor families. They are, but it's not something that is done on a large scale, it's something that would really ... how do you say it? Safe guard or would protect or if anything goes wrong and sustainability and maintenance. Sustainability is not there. We might have some projects here and there

but there is no clear vision of carrying the whole project and secure these people from any sort of mishaps that might happen due to any circumstances. So yeah, it's that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

I think we cannot deny what we call corruption. So corruption in so many areas especially the government and especially a lot of people who take so much and do so little and they exploit others. This is everywhere. It's bad, it's really really bad. Because Jordan as we said very limited and when we get all these aids and all of that you need to be very ethical about how you spend the money and what you do with that. I'm not accusing everybody but I'm saying this might have helped us a lot as a country.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What do people think about poverty and the poor in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

People are very much aware of it but they don't do anything about it. Because as I said, it's like you're in a vicious circle. You're scared to protest, to express your opinion and you feel that this would be against being a patriot or you're working against ... you're the enemy of the state or whatever. Because you're worried about others or about yourself. So I think people need to know that there is difference between the state and home. Home is more of a feeling, that attachment and all that. The state is there to also fulfil the rights and needs of its own subjects. That's what a contract is. So we pay taxes, we do this, we do that and we expect something in return. So I think we need to be aware of that difference. But what's happening is that you're in that grey area.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor, if so what?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

The university, you might say that we are working a lot on students ... we receive students from everywhere. And most probably if you think of as a social class that we are middle class and lower class rather than higher class or the aristocracy or the rich people. Because rich people they send their children abroad, very few bring them to the university. If they can afford to end them out they send them out. And we are

changing a lot of our courses and we are addressing a lot of these issues that are there. Focusing on critical thinking, focusing on allowing students to participate in so many initiatives and to be creative and to work to ... and lot of these students work to get their pocket money and to do all these things. Yes? So I think we're working on building their characters, their independence, their involvement in their society. These different initiatives that and the competitions and the prizes that we're giving to students, somehow trying to make them feel more optimistic. And that they're part of their society, they're engaged in it, they belong ... the sense of belonging. All of these I think is a way to make them feel that yes, they have to act as a community, one community and they can come up with ideas. Again, I have some of my opinion that also we cannot leave it to them to solve the problem. It has to be done from ... the government itself, it has to be the whole system. The regime itself, whatever who's in charge, the state itself that has to solve these problems. These individuals cannot do that. But in a sense we're trying to be very positive in tackling these issues.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, you might hear lots of people, "If you know this person then you can get a job, if you don't know that person ..." so they depend a lot on these social connections. It's everywhere social networking, they call it. This is used for the same. The ones, the recommendation letter, all of these are ways of finding and using your social connections to get to certain places. There is nothing wrong with knowing people and getting there, but you have to really be up to that. I think most of the time it's so unfair to be hired because you're known by this person or that person. But anyways it happens.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do or your work ever contribute to job training? How?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Job training, we do ... I can't talk on behalf of the university, I'm still new, but I mean we incorporate in our teaching something about the way you should for example train them for whatever career they're planning to take, especially in teaching since I'm teaching English. So we might draw their attention to certain things but there's nothing very systematic in doing that, okay.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

I'm only talking about myself and my department.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Of course. How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan, why or why not?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Homelessness, again, I cannot give you numbers, I cannot tell. But we don't see people sleeping on the streets. There might be, but usually you don't see it. You might see people begging on the streets, but you don't see people sleeping on the streets. You might have certain like gypsies living outside. They have their own tents or whatever some kind of a nomadic existence, but this is how they live. So I don't think we have it or I'm not aware of it because we don't even talk about it. But there are a lot of things we don't talk about, so I can't tell you. Have you ever heard of homelessness here in Jordan?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No, I haven't.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, but that's the idea, I've never heard of homelessness. When I went to the states, yeah people ... and sometimes you feel it's becoming like what you might call a career, you're homeless. Your job, you know, job description I'm homeless. Sometimes they brag about it, sometimes they feel, "Well that's fine." They have their own newspapers, it's an institution.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Why do you think there isn't any homeless or why do you think you don't see any homeless in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Maybe because we still have the family structure that is quite intact and relatives. People care a lot about their reputation, so they might take in these people and give them accommodation, you know what I mean. So I think most probably has to do with that aspect. They won't jeopardize their reputation by having one of their family members, whether it's a close kinship or far kinship to jeopardize or to make them like you know gossip. A material for gossip or no material for gossip. So I think this might be the reason.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it considered to be prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah but it's not being intellectual, it's rather having a higher education certificate like me having a Ph.D. Because having a Ph.D. doesn't mean that you are intellectual, having a PhD is just a certificate. But a friend of mine might call it a piece of cotton, just a passport that a lot of people know. This is what is prestigious and if you're intellectual, most of the time you might be ... How do you say, very marginalized.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Okay, is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live, if so, what?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah I think the university workplace is by educating the students, by making all these different changes and developments and the updating of its programs and all of that. They're doing what we call their blended learning. Paying attention to all these things yes, to attract more people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Is there a relatively high proportion of higher educated people leaving the country?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Most of the people want to leave the country. And there are, yeah, people always think that the grass is greener on the other side. Alas, I mean we need all the minds to be here, but they run away. I don't know of much but yes, I think that a lot of ... people look at me and say, "Why are you here?" "Where am I going to go? Of course I'm here," you know what I mean. So yeah, I like it here and I hope I will always be here. This is where I feel because this is where I'm needed. We don't have to go anywhere else. This is my personal point of view.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people, again the political government?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

The confidence of the people, none at all. Just the jokes that they keep cracking about the government and you'll see no trust of the government at all. But the idea is, I mean I'm more into education and I know that at the end of the day, even education is a political ... it's politicization. Because you cannot take it apart from the plans and the

strategic plans and all of that and funding and set a budget for education. But I concentrate here and that's who I am, not very much concerned about how things are bad outside. Because if you're going to keep that negativity allowing it to come to you, you won't do anything. So you need to just keep it at bay and keep looking, forgetting about it, as if you're living on different planet.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Do political rights for all parties exist?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Here in Jordan, what do you mean by political rights? In Jordan the question of rights is in itself controversial and is itself very vague. You have rights, but you don't have rights at the time, you know what I mean? You have rights, but most of them don't anything with your rights. So again it is we are stuck with a language. But when we come to think and think of the words themselves they're meaningless. Rights, what rights when you don't have anything? Okay you might have whatever rights you want. I'm not only talking about Jordan, I'm talking general philosophically. But political rights, again, I always say that democracy is a democracy of the ruling class. There's always a ceiling to that. You have to say there's a limit to how much in everything.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan and how are people meeting its challenges?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Well nowadays because of the ... what do you want to call it? They're constructing this kind of transport system, the fast train. And so things are quite hectic. We have a transport system but it's not very advanced again. It's not expensive whatsoever. And it takes you the main veins on the streets. It's helpful when you think in terms of between different areas, not within the vicinity of Jordan and Amman. If you're moving into the governance. You have but it still needs a lot of work and development, advancement and all of that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Jordanians complain and wait. They're helpless, the only thing that they can do is to have good faith in the system and things will get better off. We are in very sort of

challenging positions especially with everything around this area. So, sometimes you have to be wise enough not to do anything, you know what I mean?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes I do. Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

The university, it depends very much because it attracts people from all over Jordan. So, for them the transport system very important. But to tell you the truth again, I cannot talk on behalf of this university because I don't know. I have my own car, and I'm not using the transport system so I cannot be, but students depend on that but not all the times, you know. For example, I'll tell you now in a bit.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, of course.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, sorry, so students for example, they can't stay more than 4:00 because the last bus would be at 4:00. So, again especially for girls, so, this would in a sense limit their freedom and their choices, yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are demonstrations common in Jordan and how are they viewed?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

They used to be, nowadays they're very few. People no longer dare to go out because everything is so shaky, so, how do you say? Insecure and there's so much unrest everywhere. And people are tired and scared of anything that might happen. So, you feel that there's a very low profile of everyone nowadays. They might use the other social networking venues to express and then their anger rather but other than that, no.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

The following of social rights? What do you mean by following? Are you just-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, you could actually eliminate the following, so does Jordanian culture encourage social rights?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, social rights, social rights in the sense that-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Equality for example, fair justice system, things like that.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah, we all aspire. I think we want that kind of equality and equity, and fairness and all of that. Yes, they do in general, but it's not something that is ... how do you say, it's quite urgent for them, you know what I mean? It's not on the top of their agendas, but it's something that certain people might talk about it, yeah. And when you have poverty, you're basically the strand of existence, and you don't worry about other things and you want to serve that basic thing and then you think about other things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious freedom exist?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Religious freedom ... And for me, I think the whole question of religion has to be re-evaluated. Because if religion means to be oppressed, not to be able to think, not to be able to do all that, this is not religion. Again this is another sort of demonic institution that is controlled by whoever is in charge, who wants to keep things as they are. Who wants to keep its control over things or whatever. I don't think we have freedom. I don't think that because the moment ... yeah, it's a very sensitive issue and you cannot express it. You have to be very careful if you're going to go about it. So for me I think that it's very important. It's one of the avenues that could make a big difference in one's life. Especially in a society that is ruined and believes a lot in its religion and it has lots of... it prides itself on that religion.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious extremism exist?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

It does, yeah. It does in a way, yeah. But it's not as viscous as in other places. But there are some people who ... In general, Jordan is very moderate to tell you the truth. It's moderate even in extremism. And thank God that we still like that, despite everything else happening now.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think that could change?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

As I said, "People are scared." And they're a bit wise. Somehow they don't want to push the things off the limit, because they know that looking around because we learn

from mistakes of others, and we heard there's something wrong, we need to learn the lesson. It might not serve their needs, and what they're looking for. But at least they're giving them ... the buzz word is security. So that's how it's going.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a process that encourages political power sharing?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

We have a parliament now. Okay, we have a lot of NGOs. You can never tell, things are not settled in this part of the world. So you can't be sure of how things will look like even in a couple of years. But I think that people will keep trying. There are certain organizations, and the parties and that they want to have that sharing. So yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

They have them, they take care of their own. For example parents, they don't send them to old homes very rare people. And usually when you do that a lot, I mean this is going to be like you'll be blacklisted in society. And we respect them, we care about them, we let them ... I live with my old parents, and I just feel so privileged that I'm doing that. The idea of having that feeling, that privilege that you are being rewarded by God himself for taking care of your parents. This is something that we all do with love by the way. Yeah, you would have certain exceptions, but in general we feel so privileged, we feel so honoured that we serve the old in this part of the world.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Very different than in Europe. Yes, and a lot better. Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family and friends?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yes, they're everywhere. They are everywhere. You cannot tell girls upon girls.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

I know when I get the same answer from everyone, and I know that's the answer I will get. But-

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

You have to document.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Exactly. Have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan, and if so how?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Well, we don't really talk about that. I don't know to what extent but the university, the administration themselves, they're aware of that. But most probably they have certain admission kind of policies that would fit or would work for refugees, certain ... how do you say? Certain privileges or whatever, but I'm not aware of, I cannot ... I really don't know.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

A terrorist. Some people think that again they're extra burden. Because Jordan is very small, very limited. And some people feel that, "No, they added more competition to the country." Which is the healthy one that people ... some people think they don't have anywhere to go, so they would take them in with love. And you know, so it varies.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face that come to mind, and how are Jordanians addressing them?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Women and the marriage young ones, okay. I think this is a major issue.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

For refugees?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yes, for the refugees.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, in what way?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Because first of all they're very worried about their daughters, so they marry them off. And this, we're talking about young age marriage, okay? And also the insecurity that they are ... the unknown for them. They don't know what to wait for, what's going to happen to their homeland, who are they? When the very land you belong to and the regime that you've been supporting, and you're believing in. And everything as you're seeing around you, or what you're seeing is just total destruction. So that's very painful. And yeah, this is a loss, they're losing members in their families, they're losing everything. So God help them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Refugees, I really don't know. Not all of them, we still have the refugee camps. They're separate and the people are there. Some people move out of it, and they become part of the society. But the majority are still there.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. And what about the Syrians, do you think the Syrian refugees have been integrated?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

No, no. Syria not yet. Maybe it will take much longer for them to do that. Because the whole ... this is still new one, and there is a possibility that they might go back home, so it's not easy. But for the Palestinian, no. The Palestinian, a lot of them in a sense they were able.... especially outside the camp. But you might call it the camp, yes, the refugee camp.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

I really haven't heard of that. Maybe within themselves, but outside people in society ... there might be some cases here and there, you know people that feel that ... Because you're a Syrian refugee, you're not a citizen, they might blackmail them. But it's not something that people talk about, we don't really hear it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Again, the refugee camps are like concentration camps, nobody can enter them, so we can't, we really don't know what's happening within the concentration camp.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the Jordanian stances on foreign military in Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

They don't like it, definitely they don't like it. Especially that a lot of people are pro-Syrian, pro-Iraqis, pro-whatever. And they know that these foreign ... what do you call them?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Foreign militaries, yes.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Yeah. They're going to be killing their own people, or the people they like, so they don't like it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

I'm sure there is, but I really don't know.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Again, foreign aid is not for free. It is very important, so there's always a price you pay for when you get aid. And it's not always for you or for one's sake, it's basically you have to abide by certain things and to do certain things that you don't want to do. But you have to do because you're in position that you need to accept that in order for you. It's not out of philanthropy or out of benevolence. So most of the time, I'm quite sceptical, people are sceptical about these foreign aids. Some of them as you said, they might have some kind of humanitarian [inaudible], but in 90%, it's not.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, so there are only two more questions now that are sort of additional questions that I put on you here. The first is describe the culture of welcome in Jordan.

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

Culture of welcome, we're very hospitable culture and we like people. And we feel that whenever we have a visitor, we welcome him into our own house. And we feed them, we tell them about ourselves, and we want too give them so much. You know what I mean. We can take them around. We're very welcoming and very hospitable in general.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, given your answers, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Anonymous Assistant Professor:

I feel that somehow politically it needs to be stable. You cannot have the whole area, because you need some kind of centrist point, an anchor. And I think Jordan is providing that anchor. How much I feel it is stable? I want to feel it's stable. Feel and you'll make it. I want to think that it's going to be stable. But from what we look, if

there's going to be reshuffling of the whole area, Jordan will definitely be part of the equation.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you very much. Then I'm going to stop the tape.

7.4.7 25.04.2018 Salam Shehadeh

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright and the recording is running.

If you could just state your name and your position and your former positions please.

Salam Shehadeh:

Okay, my name is Salaam Mohammed Shehadeh. I am twenty-five years old.

I work as a trainer for students to teach them how they can trust themselves, and think creatively, something like that. I have had this job with the students for the past two years.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

I will have to ask you a question about that later. Alright, and we met in Gaza Camp, where you were a supervisor during that day.

So, I will jump in at the first question. Have you or your area of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before? If yes, how?

And with the Jordanian security industry I mean the intelligence services, the military, or the police.

Salam Shehadeh:

Okay, sometimes I work with the three of them. That is since two years ago when I told you I worked in the World Cup to organize and make our area very safe.

So, let's say the military, not the policemen, are very, very nice to talk to because all of them are friendly. The policeman have orders, he can't create something new. He has orders from his superiors, so he can't do anything else with them. But the military or the intelligence, when you talk with them, they will understand what you need and have an idea of what you want to do.

So they are very, very nicely and friendly to work with.

But the policemen, I don't like to work with them, to be honest, because they do not have an open mind. Because he is a soldier and I am a civilian.

So when you want to work with me and I am responsible for the location, you should listen to what I say... I am not, for example, in the police station and should do what you want. You are in my area, so you want to do what I want. That is the difference.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Could you just shortly explain what you did with the women's soccer world cup?

Salam Shehadeh:

What I did? A training for the students who take the flags and go to the area-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

During the opening ceremony?

Salam Shehadeh:

All the days and match days in world cup. I'm training them how you can to take the flags, how to take the player hands and go to the land of the pitch. And ball boys, I told them when the pole go outside from the lines, he go out, change the ball and he take other balls, do you understand me?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes.

Salam Shehadeh:

The difficult in this way, the managers of world cup, he bring for me girls. A girls from private schools and a girls from economic or government schools. To explain that for you, this is very high class in Jordan and this low class. So, my job to bring them to the middle and be friends, because "the high class is disgusting. These from government schools, I can't talk with them and those girls". Why? Trying to meet them and to make a friendship with them, but all of them have image, those girls will not talk with us. So, my job to make it equal and believe me it's very, very difficult. I have a lot of challenges there, I create a lot of rules, I remember I change rules from FIFA side and the manager from FIFA, he told me, "Salaam, this is first time somebody change our rules in your position." And my position is youth programme, we called it in FIFA youth programme. I change it, why? Because we are not in Europe, we are in Jordan, first of all. In Arab country, and its first time happen here. Second of all, our community do not accept from the family, the father or mother, do not except, you know, "My girl, she will go to communicate maybe with the men about our culture." So, my job cannot ... I should prove nothing happened for your girls. All the girls will have fun more than thirty days. All of them will learn a lot of

things, because after or before the match start I make a lot of games to be all the girls' one team. You know, we say ice broken. And I teach them a lot of things, me and my team. And my team do a lot of things. Because each girl, she have a personality and she have a side how she thinking. So, I should to come to her mind and thinking like what she think to change some of bad ideas about maybe what will happen here.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. That topic will come up again later.

Salam Shehadeh:

I'm sorry about my accent.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No, no, it's no problem at all. How prestigious is it for somebody to join the military in Jordan? So, how good or bad is it seen in society for someone to get a job in the military?

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes. No, good job. I told you in beginning our conversation, each one here in Jordan, specific Jordan, we love our country. So, when something happened, a problem, for example, before two years or one years, happened something in Karak city. All the civilians say, "We can take off our civilian clothes and wear the military clothes because we need to protect our country." We don't want to have anything happen to Jordan like what happened in Syria or Lebanon or another country. Our Jordan, our country, we love it to be honest. This is not for a newspaper or radio. I told you what happened in our hearts. And you know, I am not Jordanian but I know what happened here in Jordan because I live more than [twenty 00:08:29] years here. The Jordanian people proud because our king, proud about our queen, we love them. Because we love them, we don't have any problem to go to the military. Because of that, it's nice job, to back to your question.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people? Again, the security apparatus, intelligence, military, police.

Salam Shehadeh:

Okay. Let's say you can go to call anybody here, you can pick your phone and call 911 and told them, for example, I'm Jordanian, and I'm not from British, okay? I told them I am Al Weibdeh for example and I don't know how I can go out from my location. He will help me.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Wow, alright. Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional to a threat they face? So, do their reactions match the dangers? Do they overreact, do they not do enough, and do they do just right?

Svenja Shehadeh:

It depends. About what happened, if I make anything bad he will punish me, its hard punishment. If I'm equal between the right and the wrong, he will give me like a remember me what the law in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, slap on the wrist.

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes, but if I am right and he's wrong. If I am right and the policeman for example is wrong we have something in Jordan we call it a department responsible about policemen. I can go to this department -

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Oh, oversights, okay.

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes. And he will judge about this case. But to be honest we make control between us. The policemen, just the policemen, we do not like to communicate with them more than you think. Just if I find them in our streets, if I need any help, he will help me. If I do anything, he will help me, okay. But if I do anything wrong he will not talk with me, he just tell me, "Come with me to police station." Okay, why you do not solve it in the street, why I should go back to police station? The military, he do not communicate with people, else if anything happen wrong or right. Wrong if for example something dangerous happened, he will come, he will ... Like, and I am here to survive all the civilians, he thinking like that. The intelligence, he come into you and he sit with you like this, you do not know if he's intelligence or not, else if he tell you. Because we need your protect and we need to survive you and we advise you to move from this place because one, two, three, four happen here. And because you are open minded or not open minded, both of them, you will understand what he need. So you leave, for example, the location what he.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, how have the Jordanian people contributed to security? So, what do the people do to make the country more secure?

Salam Shehadeh:

To understand what the government tell us. And for example, we have a department here in Jordan, we call it Civil Defence. If anybody have any situation he call Civil Defence. For example, my mother is so tired I need to pick her to hospital. For example, if the manager of Civil Defence, he go to TV and he says, "Nobody come down to the streets because the weather is very bad," if there are people understand what he say, nothing happened. But each country have we call it maybe a stalker (?), he want to go to the street and see what happen and what happen if the weather become too bad. He's crazy. Why you do not hear what he say, because he know more than us. If anything happened in Jordan, the government will go to the TV, the national TV, and make a speech what happened in Jordan, and give us what we should do.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How representative are the Jordanian political and judicial system? So, the government and the legal system, do they have the same make up as the population? So, you say, do they have a similar percentage or women or Christians, or those certain groups in the government and in legal systems as they do in the population?

Salam Shehadeh:

Okay. Each country have, we call it in Arabic (foreign language 00:15:29), we say it, you elected somebody to talk about country or a place. We have in Jordan more than, I guess, fifteen capital, for example, or area, like Amman, Karak, and Madaba. One of each this areas, this area allocate them to talk about what happened with us. Some of them do not copy our image and some of them make a pure image what happened in the street. And when this good people talk what happened for example for people the bad things or the right things, call them for who, for the government, the minister of ministers. He call them, "We should change this rule, and we should change this law." I guess this the question, right?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, thank you. Alright, describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan. With that I mean, how someone comes to be at the top of their field, for example politics or business. What is the process that people go through to get to the top?

Salam Shehadeh:

All what you say. The money, the power, the family, the education. But-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Could you say how much, is it similar?

Salam Shehadeh:

No. For example, if you have a high education you will start, for example, away for a government when the first step for you, your people elect you to go to this group, what I said again. And from there, you go to be a minister. Or the second way for just if you have just education, you don't have a strong family here in Jordan, you go to the minister and after fifteen, twenty years, he stay in this minister, maybe you will be a minister or maybe not. But if you have a good family, strong family here in Jordan, and you have a high education, you will reach not in fifteen years, maybe in eight years, seven years. If you have the money, you will do anything.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. A similar question just to clarify. How does tribal culture influence this? So basically the family you are from.

Salam Shehadeh:

All the family really proud for his son because he will have top level in his society, because all people will talk about him. So, most of them will say, "We have a strong man in government so we can go to him to help us." Some of people, if you have a wrong issue or you need a help and you deserve this help, he will help you. If you're not, he will not. Why? Because somebody in government watch you, control you if you do anything bad.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, okay. How much respect between cultures is there in Jordan? And how is it?

Salam Shehadeh:

Very good question. The cultures, our cultures, it's very nice and our society is very strong about family. Here in Jordan, I live with my mother and father and my brothers to got married. But some thinking we hate us. Why? Because a lot of thinking in Jordan or in Palestine, this talk about in Jordan or Palestine because I live in Palestine and Jordan. From ideas, from thirty of forty years, so for example, my father, he want to do something from thirty, forty years. I told him, "Father, we can do that, we are in 2018, and so you can do this." For example, my sister, she graduated from university, interior design. Okay? She want to get a job. First of time, my father he say no, we don't have girls to work. But when he understand, he give her money to finish her study and she want to do something in our life and he saw in his eyes a lot of girls do a lot of things, he say, "Okay, I don't have any problem if she do anything better, she

change our life to be better." So we started here in Jordan, the woman like a man. Some people, he said, no, the woman just for house. To bring children and get husbands and she can do anything. But now, this idea, believe me, just give us three, four years, and will change one hundred percent.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs? So, if there something that all of the cultures in Jordan believe? That unites them?

Salam Shehadeh:

Our religion, I guess. For example, if I want hurt somebody, the man who is beside me, I don't know him and he do not know me and I want to do something bad, the first thing he will say "Salaam, haram [bad], you can't do that." Haram [bad] he's remember me, back to the religion.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, okay. Is stereotyping or scapegoating prevalent? If so, along which lines.

Salam Shehadeh:

No, I will look about the humanity not the religions, not where you're coming from where. I will call him as a human, put the religion beside, put our community beside or your country beside and let's talk what you think. And I will change what you thinking about you, from you, not from your religions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Salam Shehadeh:

What Jordanian mean to me? First of all I will say this country, my mother country, because my mother is Jordanian. I belong to Jordan, if I go to British Virgin islands or anywhere in all the world, someday I go back to Jordan, because this my mother country. Because of that. And to be honest, Jordan and Palestine same country. I told you that. So my country like what I ask you-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So you say that home and family and Palestine are a part of Jordanian identity.

Salam Shehadeh:

Like, know what you mean. You ask me, let me ask you this question. What does British mean for you?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, you would identify important concepts that shape the British people. So maybe you would say their imperial history is very important or they focus very much on rules, and manners. That what makes British people British, that's what they feel about themselves. Or they say the queen, or especially the monarchy, they're a part of who we are as British that what makes us British.

Salam Shehadeh:

You know something? Why I like Jordan, because the royal family, especially our king and our queen, it's friendly with the people, okay? You can go to, for example, to his office, you send for him letter, "I want to meet you because I want one, two, three, four, five." Okay? Because of that, believe me, I love Jordan. Because nobody up of the law.

Van Gunsteren:

Alright.

Salam Shehadeh:

Because of that, I love Jordan in this case more than Palestine.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the situations of Jordanian minorities, so Jordanian minorities for example would be Armenians, would be Christians, would maybe be the Syrian refugees, so how are they treated, how are they viewed in Jordan?

Salam Shehadeh:

About religions, nobody ask that. Maybe I'm sitting with you more than three months, forget that you are from British and I'm from Jordan, but never have I asked you what your religion is. This happen here in Jordan. We do not ask what's your religion. You have your religion and I have my religion. Respect me and I will respect you. If you do not respect me, I will leave you.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright.

Salam Shehadeh:

About refugees, this second country for all refugees, that's what the king says. But some days all the refugees, he trying to give them back. But when Syrians come to Jordan, all the houses and all families, all people in Jordan, say to them, "Come to us, we will help you." And that's what will happen. A lot of problems happen here from Syrians but we say someday he will back to his country because he have a community and Syrian culture and we have our Jordanian cultures. And maybe the Syrians think,

"We are in Syria do that, so I will do this in Jordan." No, you can't do that. That's the fight between Jordanians and Syrians about culture, badly culture.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Are groups badly treated or do they feel badly treated?

Salam Shehadeh:

This groups we have it in here in Jordan. We have for example Palestinian group, we have Jordanian group, we have Syrian groups, and this will happen in Ramadan and match for all this groups. Big match for football. So, how we communicate with us, we will back about respect. We'll come to our Jordan if you are Turkish, or Syrian, or Palestinian, or Egyptians. The Egyptians people, the closest people to Jordanian after Palestinian. So-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Culturally as well?

Salam Shehadeh:

No, I'm talking about personalities. Maybe you will ask any Jordanian, you prefer Egyptian man or Syrian man? Most of them will say Egyptian man. I can talk with them. Yes. Other things, our culture here in Jordan, most of us, if you go out from Amman, because Amman we have a lot of nationalities, go for example to Karak, okay? Karak is a friendly people, you will have a Christians. Maybe you will see Armenians or Muslims, and maybe you will find a little bit Jews. So we'll welcoming you and will not anybody ask you about where you are from, else if you say about yourself. That's your answer for your question?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society? So, of the certain groups in Jordanian society, what are their biggest problems?

Salam Shehadeh:

The economic. The money, money traffic. Yes, the jobs, the salaries. I told you we have a lot of students graduate from university, he will a difficult to find a job and if he find a job, if we want to talk about salary in US dollar, not more than seven hundred US dollar. In Jordan, nothing. If you want to live in Jordan, you should your salary not less a thousand dollar for if you are single. You don't have wife, you don't have children. Because everything is expensive after Syrians come to our Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How have the Syrian refugees influenced this? Why do you say it's worse now?

Salam Shehadeh:

Why? Because the Syrian when he's coming, he take a little bit salary. Two or three or four families in just one house. So, when he go to the shop for example, he have ... For example these stores, he have employees. Each one he take three hundred JD. A Syrian come, and he say, "Give me just one fifty and I am so happy."

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, okay.

Salam Shehadeh:

Because, if he go back to his rent house, he will pay maybe just one hundred dollar or less, because three or five families in just one house. This our problem.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the situation of the political oppositions, so the parties or the politicians that are not voted into government, how are they treated?

Salam Shehadeh:

If he's not elected? Nothing will happen with him, nothing. If you want for example season of elections, I guess in June or July. I forget that. If I don't want to elect anybody and I want to sit alone because I don't like our government. All of them is cheaters, for example, right? Nobody will call me. Nobody will talk with me if I go to ... For example, because the government, like this elections will make a hole in this ... What this? Identity card, not passport, identity card. Make a small hole here. So, for example, you go to the government and he ask you, "Why you do not elect? Because do not you make hole in your card." "I don't like anybody." Nobody will call me.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. How do people view the economy? What do people think of the economy?

Salam Shehadeh:

It's very bad. Very, very bad, because we locate about if you want to up higher the prices you should give us a bonus for our salaries, right? So, when you do not give us a bonus for our salary, how we can live? So, now the people here in Jordan, how we solve this situation to find another jobs or to open a small business for him. Some people, what he did, he create small job and this better people. And the other one, he search about another job and the bad people he make a lot of troubles. But the end of the things, the police stations will take them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the most important programs to fight poverty in Jordan?

Salam Shehadeh:

Injaz department, I work with him. I love what they're thinking or his programme. He told you in just what he thinks his opinions. You are students and you are poor you want to stay still a poor man? No, thank you. You want to still a poor and you don't have a job? What you want if you don't have a money to continue your study, and if you don't want to continue your study, you want to stay just in the streets? No. He teach the students what they want to do after his finish the school or in his stay in the schools. The program in Injaz, he teach you how to make a project and if your idea and your project is very nice, he give you a sponsors to open it and all of them are responsible about the money, how to come inside or outside, and it's very nice project.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Have you or your area of work done something to fight poverty in Jordan, and if yes how?

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes. For example, I remember a woman. Our people gave her help, money, so I guess we met at groups with Basmitak Attallim. We help her to open a small supermarket because she need a supermarket. She think about supermarket, we open for her a small supermarket, and now his life is better. She do not get help from anybody and she teach her children and give her medicine for her his husband. And the other family I remember in Gaza Camp make a small office to make clothes. And some companies not in Gaza Camp, in Jerash, area Jerash, now in US stockers, you know -

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Explain.

Salam Shehadeh:

You know when for example Yen and US dollar and the petrol coming down? What you talking about?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Fluctuating prices?

Salam Shehadeh:

This Company got this company from the United States. But do not forget we have people here poor do not change this state for more than ten years, but this family do not want to change the life or change to do something better. Maybe this family, he do

not have a money and he do not have children, he said, I am poor I will stay poor. He do not think how can I change. And the government can't go to each family poor and help her or the rich people, or the programme, society, do not go to each family and teach her how you can change your life.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. To whom or what is property attributed in Jordan? So, in the opinions of the Jordanian people, who or what is responsible for poverty? For there being poor people here.

Salam Shehadeh:

We have a lot of reasons. Some of reasons from the government, the other reason from this family. Okay, I don't find a job, I don't have money to live, the government do not give me work in our government site, and for example, why you do not change your life? How? If you create for example peanuts, or something like this. A little small cart, you know?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Carts.

Salam Shehadeh:

Carts. You can go to the streets and you can buy. Okay? You will buy. You can rent a taxi. After you finish your work, you give the owner of your taxi the money. You can do a lot of things. You can create something. But about what happens, maybe we have the issues from the poor family and the government. Both of them is responsibility about the poor. What happens here in Jordan? If you do not change, who will change you? That's a question. If I don't like this lighter, why I bring this lighter. I hate it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, this is the question you wanted to answer just now. What do people think about poverty and poor people in Jordan?

Salam Shehadeh:

It's bad thing for any ... The answer, its bad thing. But how to change? Each school here for example in Jordan make something in our religion we talk them (foreign language 00:42:15). What does this mean? How much can give us to go to the poor people give them money. Or if you can't give us a money if you have clothes we do not wear it, give us the clothes and we will go to the poor people and give them the clothes. This schools do that. In universities, we make groups. For example in Ramadan after one month, we make for a children who do not have a family, if do not

have a mother and brothers and mother, we make like breakfast together, we go to our students, we bring them from the government house, we take them to our place and we take a breakfast with us. Or, like what you see, we go to his area and take a breakfast with them and we give them for when the school start, a bag, pencils, books. But not all the Jordanian do that. Maybe because he do not like do that. He give you and you do what you want. You will find that in most of help poor people from students. Our students do that. Maybe you will find some programmes, like Injaz, it's all job to help poor people. Maybe you will find two or three or five help poor people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor? If so, what?

Salam Shehadeh:

We do that and when school starting, when Ramadan come in, any events happen here in Jordan. Talking about religion event, national events. We make something for them. But not daily.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan? So if there's someone looking for a job, or if there's someone looking for a new employee, how do the people you know influence these connections basically? How important are they?

Salam Shehadeh:

This thing happen in Jordan. When I got out from university I'm looking for somebody he's important he bring for me a job. But if I don't have an important person, what I can do? I search for a job. If I do not have the second level I'm looking for a third. If I don't have here will start the students thinking how can I do something? Because now most of the student in Jordan, believe me, most of them, not all of them, starting to do something for himself. So me and Svenja we are friends, we do not find a job, we will start thinking to do something. For example, now we will have a lot of national apps like talabat.com, Kareem, Uber for example. Apps like Uber or Kareem okay? Or something. Now the students thinking about technology to work.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Alright. Do you or your work contribute to job training and how?

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes we do that. In my last job we do that how you can search faster for your job and how you can do interviews because the students that graduate from university, he go to the interview, he said he do not accept me. You ask why yourself he do not accept you, you have the certificate, but maybe you do not have a trust in yourself. For example, or you do not answer right. Or for example, your body language is very weakness or you do not wear something good. A lot of things it depends about why he do not accept you. For example, some of days when I am in university I go to the school I told them, sorry about that, I'm lying. I will finish my university and I want to be supervisor for students. Yes? When he call me and make an interview the manager with me, he make an exception situation for Salaam to work and the little lies I say I work a lot in the schools and this time, at this time, I do not work anytime in a school. But when he give me a month test, I get a success. Why? Everything here in Jordan locking about your personality. If you do not have a strong personality, you cannot live. Or anywhere in all the world. If you do not have a strong personality, you will not work. So the job in my opinion back to the personality of the student who is looking the job.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How common is homelessness in Jordan? Why or why not?

Salam Shehadeh:

Nobody is homeless in Jordan. Everybody have home. Okay. But what happened here? Maybe because he want somebody feeling with them he says, "I'm living in the street, please give me help." So he's lazy. This kind of people make trouble for Jordan. Yeah, this is the answer.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Salam Shehadeh:

No, it's a good job. But the first question, how much you get from this job. They ask how much the salary. If I said for example a little bit, I give them my salary but my salary is a little bit, say, "Leave it man, you don't want." If I have a trust in my personality I say, "No, I like this job and I want to continue." For example my friend Ahmad is a painter in the walls. All the people say, "Ahmad, you lose your time. What you did? Now the government work with them." Now a lot of private companies work with him. But he's have a lot of patience, he trust in himself and he

work. That's we back to the not if you have a creative mind. If you have a creative mind you do not take a care of anybody give you a negative sign.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Is your area of work anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live? If so what?

Salam Shehadeh:

Now the government looking for a tourism. We have a lot of things here in Jordan, we have Petra, we have Aqaba, come to Jordan and promote this area to mark Jordan attractive to come in here. And now we have something change here in Jordan like what I see the last three months. The last three months I do a lot of things. I'm looking now the Jordanian thinking how we bring a lot of people from outside of Jordan come into inside in Jordan and take a tour. Looking to the tourism, looking to the medical, looking to the study here because study here is very hard. This the three things. Yes. That's in my opinion and what I see in the last three months what happened here.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a high number of higher educated people leaving the country?

Salam Shehadeh:

Most of Jordanian have a ... We call the university our gun, like... This is example here in Jordan. The father tell you, you should finish your study because this will help you in the future. So because of that we say your certificate, if you do not go to the university, he take something like mechanic. Learn something like that. But you should learn something. Because of that maybe you will find a lot of people in Amman have a certificate, speak in English, or other. That's what happen here in Amman. Outside of Amman, in Karak, Madera, Jerash, Aqaba. Most of people there the culture says you should have go to work in government or in military. That's the culture of this area. In Amman, most of Amman is study. Most of them. But outside of Amman? No. Most of them engaged with military, police stations or something like that. Or government or politicians. Most of the politicians outside of Amman. From Ajloun, and Karak and, Madaba, Aqaba, and yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government, so the political government not the monarchy, have the confidence of the people?

Salam Shehadeh:

The government, okay. No. We don't have a trust in our government. The people who elected. When the government says the people go to elect somebody to copy your opinions. We don't have any trust with these people. Maybe we'll back the first of all from us. Why? If I know somebody, I go to elect him. But he's not qualified to go to this position. Cause he's my cousin, he's my uncle, he's my friend or from my family. That's our fault. If we change this fault we change everything. And the last year and this year the government says the ministers or the high position of government says to not elect your friend or somebody from your family. Elect who's qualified to this position. And I think now in this election events will change, I think. I'm not trusting with that one hundred percent, but I think will change.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do political rights for all parties exist? Do all parties and politicians have the same rights?

Salam Shehadeh:

To be honest, I don't have the answer for this question.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, no problem. What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan? With that I mean train tracks, roads, public transportation. And how are people meeting these challenges?

Salam Shehadeh:

Before two years until now the people come upset from government why the roads like this. Why we do not have trains? Why we do not have easy ways to use for example my car in the street? When you go now anytime you will have a lot of traffic on the street. Now the government what did make a bridge, make a higher streets, and open streets so she try. The government try to make something. But it's too late. But why too late? Because now you have a street, many streets. Now when you stop there's a street and make something new on the street you make a traffic up of this traffic. You understand that?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Okay. How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services? So, public services, that covers for example health education, transport, things like that. So, how do Jordanians handle deficit? If something isn't going right there what do Jordanians do about it?

Salam Shehadeh:

What we did? Nothing. Yeah. To be honest with you. For example the education, the government school is free. You can go to the school. And if they have fees maybe five GD nothing to all year. But I guess now at this time is free. The health, the government hospitals, if you have insurance you go there to these hospitals and take your medicines or what you need from the hospitals. But the people there all of them up of them. A lot of people there. If you want go to private hospitals, too much expensive. Because the insurance not for all people in Jordan. If you have money you will have insurance. Or you're poor. If you are Jordanian, real Jordanian, not Palestinian Jordanian, you will have insurance military. If you father is a military here in Jordan you will study free. You will take your health free. A lot of things is free. Or if your father on politician side. If you are normal family you will get something hard if you do not have money to do yourself or your life.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

And this does not exist for Palestinians.

Salam Shehadeh:

We are Palestinians, where we go we have a lot of difficulties. Because our passports ... Because until now from 1948 we do not have independent state. We are after the British go out from Palestine the Jews come. So, the Jews is the control us. Because of that, the Jordan, the only country maybe in our area, all countries respect us. Give us some of rights. But I can't go back to elect somebody. I can't go take government insurance. I can't go to for example a military or a government work. So I'm looking now for a job. If I want to work I want to private company. Because nobody will accept me.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Have you or your area or work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?

Salam Shehadeh:

Some of companies for example Zain make a medicine day in a year. Invite all the people in this for example in Ballad city centre area said, "Anyone live here, come to us, we will give you the care what you want." Yes, some of companies do that. Why do that? Because some of companies make that a promotion for them and give the care. We will be honest with you. And the other thing maybe he's good man and he want to do. But a lot of companies do not do this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Are demonstrations common in Jordan and what do people think about them?

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes, when you want to do something like that the government give you approval. If you take this approval you can say anything in the street and the police and gendarmerie will protect you. But if you do not take the approval the government will take the boss from this group and they make a investigation with them. Why do you do that? Why you do not get the approval? But if you want to do something like what happened in Balad last two weeks or three weeks, something touch all Jordanians. Like for example, I will not talk about politicians, but I will say just one question. When Donald Trump says I will make Jerusalem capital of United States all the Jordanians say no. Palestinians and Jerusalem for Muslims and Christians there. How you can't put the Jews this capital? This area for us. Why you do that? So, all the Jordanians go to the Balad because it's the oldest city in Amman and take our opinion.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights? So, I'm trying to translate it. Are social rights followed in Jordanian culture? Are they important? Are they guaranteed?

Salam Shehadeh:

Talk about what you want, do what you want here in Jordan, but do not touch the politicians. Okay if you have any opinion speak about it but do not say anything bad words. Okay? If the (inaudible 01:03:25) say if do not help you about what your problem, you talk about for example on social media, say what you want but do not hurt anybody. And do not a specific man. If you are work in media, for example in TV national or newspaper, speak what you want. But if you are a civilian you do not work in media or in government you can't say anything about that. Just public opinion. You understand?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Does religious freedom exist? The freedom to choose which religion you want to-

Salam Shehadeh:

Here in Jordan now yes. You can say. But here in Jordan, what you're born in religion world you stay to death. But if you want change it, change it. Nobody will talk with you. You go to the palace of justice, you can change your religions and then go to the passport department and change your passport to what your religion you need.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Does religious extremism exist?

Salam Shehadeh:

I cannot promote from my religion from my how can respect the people. But if you want to promote about your religion, whatever, if you're a Muslim or not, in a bad ways, I'm the first one, I will defend about our society. Because if you promote about your religions in a bad way, I will make a fight with you. This is wrong-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there people here that do that?

Salam Shehadeh:

Some people yeah do that. And the government now says you can't do that. Everybody have a freedom to choose the religions and what kind of passport you need. If you want to be still Jordanian or if you want to go outside to for example United States and you don't want back to Jordan, that's just for you. But do not do anything about religion. Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a process that spreads political power out for different groups? So, there might be certain laws or norms that give political power to more groups. You know?

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes? If like tourism industry, I like the ministry. Why? She go out to the streets, she make interviews with a lot of people what you need to change our rules, for example. Every week she go to Jerash city and make like a walking marathon with civilian people, to ask them what you want to do. A lot of ministries or other ministries do not do that. I don't know why to be honest with you. It depends on the minister. If he want to change something he give the power. For example, he go to Jordanian university, he make a public events and ask them if you have anything just say. The minister go or somebody from the minister go to university or a public groups, not a specific group, talk about what he thinking and what you want from me to do. Yes, we call it open conversation with governmental people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do the Jordanian people care for older people?

Salam Shehadeh:

We respect them. If for example now I see a big woman or old man, he need a help, I will leave you now and I will go to help him. Not for me, all the people. Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. This question now, we talked about it earlier. Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family or friends?

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Of course. Alright, have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan? If so, how? Have you done something to make the situation of refugees better?

Salam Shehadeh:

Better? Yes. Forget the Gaza Camp because you know what we do there.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Just explain it shortly for the recording please.

Salam Shehadeh:

Ah, for the record? Yes. A girl she got a letter from German university. She created group Basmitak Attallim, and she have I guess three friends create it just for change life for Palestinian refugees in Jerash city. We're looking for education, better health and the poor people to change his life to the better and open business. And if we look and we find for example a good idea for a project, we give them a sponsors from the private companies to open this project. Because two or three companies from the biggest companies here in Jordan sponsor this group.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the opinion on the Syrian refugees?

Salam Shehadeh:

I'm ask God to back to his countries because it's hard to leave your country and leave in other country. My opinion, we should help him and respect them and teach them about our rules in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What are some of the biggest problems that refugees in Jordan face? And how are Jordanians addressing those problems?

Salam Shehadeh:

The biggest problem when they come into Jordan and take our works I'd say. When he accept less than the normal salary. And this is our trouble.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

You did mention that those are the problems for Jordanians that refugees bring. What are the problems of the refugees themselves?

Salam Shehadeh:

This is if you have a problem with me call our managers. But to be honest with you, if my manager he said I don't want you, for the stores, I talk about, I don't talk about companies. If my manager he says, "Salaam, you are quit, because I don't have money and blah, blah, blah." What I can do this simply, he came from this country. Okay, he take my job and he accepts less than our salary, but what I can do for him? I can't do anything-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, the biggest problem for the refugees is employment.

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Do you think that the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well?

Salam Shehadeh:

Okay. Now the Palestinian are different from Syrian or Iraqi when come into Jordan. Why? Because our culture same thing. Our geographic land, same thing. So let's say we are closest about our thinking. And we change a lot of things like before twenty, thirty years nobody from Jordan or just little bit. Most of them do not take any girl from Palestine and the Palestinian did not take a wife from Jordan. But now it change everything. And our jobs, same thing. I have a partner Jordanian. He's really Jordanian, not Jordanian Palestinian. We work together, we live together. Each body need to help the other one. Why? Because the history, the politicians, what they can do. And the people, what they do for Palestinian here in Jordan and the Palestinian what did for Jordan. So, now you can't make any difference between the Palestinian man or the Jordanian man. Because we think same thing, our thing. We have an issues here in Jordan. These issues that's make a difference between me and Jordanian. For example, if you want go to the work, for example a private company not government because the government I can't work there. If I want go to the private company he'll look into me and this happened with me. Please give me your identity to take a copy for me. I give him like this for example my identity. He told me, "Salaam, what is your nationality number?" I don't have a nationality number, I'm Palestinian. He will say, "Oh, I'm sorry. Give me approval from intelligent department." I go to intelligent

department. He says I don't have any problem, go work there but give me approval. Why the company do that work me. Not all companies but some of them do that. He said maybe a lot of reasons. The famous reasons, you are Palestinian like you are refugees. Or you are citizen in Palestine and you are not a refugees to help you. The second reasons he don't want to make any headache for him the last of year he said maybe I need just Jordanian to work. Like that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

I see. What about the Syrian refugees, they're been integrated well?

Salam Shehadeh:

The Syrians better than any people in Middle East. To be honest with you. These people in Syria, if you read about them, they workers. All them workers.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes.

Salam Shehadeh:

Okay? So, where are you put Syrian, the Syrian he will work. He will do something. Maybe his work in his country a mechanic. He came here to Jordan, he find work in restaurant so he will be cheap just give him less than month. So the Syrians do anything. Because of that they make a trouble for us, cause he -

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So they're not a part of Jordanian society.

Salam Shehadeh:

-he accept anything. Any work.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, okay. Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Salam Shehadeh:

No. If happened, the government make us solve it quickly because if get a bigger this violence, will do a lot of troubles.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Salam Shehadeh:

Now, yes. For example, Gaza Camp, the health is between a good area and not. They need services. I don't know about Syrian camps because to be honest I do not go there. But the Palestinian camps now before two years the UN and all that he say we will bring for them better services.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, safe.

Salam Shehadeh:

Yes, because the responsibility about Palestinian camps. So because of that now few years, last few years, the area there is not good.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the Jordanian opinion on foreign military in Jordan? So, what do they think about military that is not from Jordan. So, for example us military or German military in Jordan. What do they think about that?

Salam Shehadeh:

Now all Jordanian says our military, the strong military in the Middle East, they think. Okay? About US military is very wow strong. Okay? And if you want to talk about this question I think you should ask to somebody in military because Jordanian civilian people, let's say, do not have any opinion about military, because we do not have this information. But we can say in general in Middle East most of Jordanian says that Jordanian military is best of military in Middle East.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. How much does the Jordanian military cooperate with other countries?

Salam Shehadeh:

Cooperate? If you read the news now the Jordan got ready to participate or a training for the countries on area of Jordan and the country friend with Jordan training for the military together. So, they cooperate with the countries around Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the opinion on foreign aid? So, money coming in from other countries or institutions in other countries, what do people in Jordan think about that?

Salam Shehadeh:

I don't have answer. Not I don't want to answer you. If I have the answer I will answer you but I don't have answer for this question.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No problem. Last two questions. Describe the culture of welcome in Jordan.

Salam Shehadeh:

Coffee. Yes, if you go to anywhere in Jordan houses, the first thing, how's your coffee, with sugar or not? Because we are welcoming people and we appreciate our guest in a coffee the first thing. If I give you a coffee that's mean I respect you.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Alright, the last question then. Given your answers how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan. So, how stable do you think Jordan is?

Salam Shehadeh:

I will tell you something. If they fix the economic issues Jordan will be the safer country in Middle East. If they not, we will have a problems. And these problems I don't talk about what will happen in Jordan like Syria or Iraq, no, not this problem. What happened we have a lot of persons will go to jail, for example. We will see a lot of robs. We will see a lot of maybe to kill because I want money. I have got to solve this problem to be good, to be safer.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Is there anything else you would like to say about the topics that we talked about? Anything you would like to add?

Salam Shehadeh:

My message to all world, to be safer and we solve all the violence and here we are in Jordan again respect all people. Most of us respect all people. Now we have a knowledge what anybody from outside in Europe or Unites States think about us because we're welcoming people first of all. Okay, maybe you will find something bad but most of us and public in general, we are welcoming people. We need to be better country in Middle East but the politicians maybe push up the other politicians outside from Jordan push our government maybe to us and the government push up. We hope to be everything here in Jordan is good. We hope everybody outside come to our Jordan to see what's happen here in Jordan. And if we are not safe here in Jordan, and if this country not safe, you are not sitting now with me.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, thank you.

7.4.8 26.04.2018 Salah al Qudah

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, the recording is going. If you could just say your name and what you do for work.

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, my name is Salah Al Qudah. I am the assistant director general for technical affairs and development and the employment fund.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, thank you. I will jump straight in because during the interview, I cannot give my opinion on anything, so I will just say the questions. All right, so have you or your area of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before? If yes, how? With the Jordanian security industry, I mean the intelligence services, the military and the police.

Salah al Qudah:

No, we don't have a strong relation between them ... only we have a security in our organisation. This is the relationship between us or my organization and the security.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How prestigious is it for someone to join the military in Jordan? Is it considered a good job to have, a bad job to have? What does society think about someone getting a job in the military?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, I think they are proud that they are in the military and that they have a good position in society or something like that, because it's our tradition. Tradition, you know.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the relations between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Salah al Qudah:

Relations? They are friendly between them. The relationship is not like Syria and the countries outside or the Middle East. We have a good relationship between people and the security people and military, and support them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional? So are their reactions proportional to the threats, the dangers that they face?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, I think there are handling or dealing with the emergencies and the problems in a medium way.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

All right. Proportional? Okay.

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, proportional way.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How have the Jordanian people contributed to security? So I'm not talking about intelligence military police, but the normal people, do they do something to make the country more secure? And if yes, what?

Salah al Qudah:

Yes, because in many cases now in the court, the police or the military discovered them from the people. People told them that we have suspicious of those people and they did more investigation and these things and they discover those people. And sent them to the court.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So in an informing role?

Salah al Qudah:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems representative of the population? So-

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, I think I get it. All the people here, they are ... all the people outside Amman, you can't I think maybe 30% or 35% of the people outside the Amman, they are in the military in many ways, the military or I think security or police or-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So you're saying the political and the judicial systems are representative because a lot of people are in positions like that?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, I think yes, they represent all the people in Jordan. In another way, as you mentioned that the people now, we have many representatives of many tribes in Jordan and from many, our a minority or what we call them. Many origins, they are representative, they have a representative in our system, political system and legal, and also the Ministry of Jordan or the government of Jordan, they consider the representative of women also in many positions, political or legal.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the common process of the need for improvement in Jordan. So how does someone come to be at the top of their field? What is the process they normally go through to get to the top?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, that process, now I will tell you the truth that we have a favouritism or something like that. Yeah, we have many, many people, they are qualified and well educated, but they can't take a chance. I think the favouritism interferes with this system or these positions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay, you have partially answered the next question. How does tribal culture influence this process?

Salah al Qudah:

I think they are a bigger influence.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Bigger than let's say education?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Evaluate cross-cultural respect in Jordan. So is there a respect between the different cultures in Jordan, and if yes, how much?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, yeah. You have ... we respect each other in Jordan. For example, I was born in Salt. Salt, we have two main cultures or two main, what we call it ... excuse me because I don't use my English- We have two, we have Islam and Christians, and we are living in the same city and we love each other and we like ... we don't have any problems- And I studied in a Latin school in Salt.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs? So if you think about the different cultures in Jordan, do you think there is one or more belief or value that unites them, that they all hold?

Salah al Qudah:

Belief in God and belief in humanity and I think I support the idea that Jordan, we have many origins here and many cultures, but it's like it supports our stability and our development, I think.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, the next question's a little bit difficult, but I'll explain it, explain it. Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent? If so, among which lines? So stereotyping you know. Scapegoating, if you take a certain group and you say that they are the reason for something bad happening, so for example, there might be people in Germany that say the economy is bad because of the refugees then you make the refugees a scapegoat. So is stereotyping and scapegoating common in Jordan?

Salah al Qudah:

Yes, common.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

And if yes, along which lines? I mean which groups are accused, do you know? Is it other religious groups, other ethnic groups?

Salah al Qudah:

No, not religion or ethnics, but about Syrian refugees and the Iraqi refugees, because now Jordanian people are suffering from ... they have a lower incomes, you know, and because of that, I think they are suffering and they are always blaming the government, because they entered the ... no, it's okay ... they entered the refugees, the Syrian refugees, or they allowed the refugees to come to Jordan. Because we have a lack of water and- You know that and now we have a high density of people. Before 2003, Jordanian people was I think, only three or four million or something like that. Now we become nine million, nine and a half or something like that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a difference in how the Syrian and the Iraqi refugees are viewed? Are there different opinions on the two groups?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, yeah. Not from my point of view, but it's from, I hear from the people. I think they are talking about that Iraqi refugees, they have money and they can invest in Jordan, but on the contrary, Syrian people, they don't have any money and they will benefit from our neighbour market and they will not add any value to our economy.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. I've heard that before. Yes.

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, but not from my point of view. I am okay.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Oh yeah, no, no. For the most part, with the exception of a couple of questions, I do want to hear what the majority of the Jordanian people think, yes. Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Salah al Qudah:

I think we are a conservative, somehow conservative, but well educated people and we have open minded also to all the cultures outside Jordan, and we ... also, we are friendly with the people all over, with the foreigners and all the people that they come to Jordan. I don't know what your opinion about that is. You think-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, I will tell you later. What is the situation of the minorities in Jordan? How are they treated?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, treated very well, you know. You have minority from Chechnya, we have minority, they are Caucasian also from Russia. You have Armenian minority, we have from many countries and they, we don't ask them about their origin and these things. We are Jordanian, all of us Jordanian.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed? Are there groups that have some of their rights taken away or are treated badly or are there groups that feel like that is happening, even though it might not be the case.

Salah al Qudah:

I can't understand that one.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, you kind of answered the first part of the question because it's also a part of the question for you. You said minorities are treated very well here. So these groups are not being oppressed, is what you're saying? But are there any groups that feel like they're not treated well?

Salah al Qudah:

Not treat well? No. No, I will tell you what happened when the King asked for a new government. Yeah, they considered the minority and they considered the areas in Jordan, and the remote areas and Bedouins in this new government, you know.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society? So you can talk about all of Jordanian society or about specific groups that you can think of, what are their biggest points of conflict or the biggest problems?

Salah al Qudah:

Biggest problems here in Jordan and we hear, always hearing the stereotype, talking about what we call it, that transfer, that transferring Palestinians to Jordan and Jordan is the, what we call it, like they considered it, or Jordan instead of, is like for Palestinian, you know. This is what, always hearing about this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So, the Palestinian refugees and the Palestinian politics-

Salah al Qudah:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the situation of the political opposition? How are they treated?

Salah al Qudah:

In some way or another way, they ... we don't have the bureaucracy or what we call it, not bureaucracy, democracy. Democracy, we don't have it, a democracy like a Western way or the West way. But we are also better than the area near us or in the region, like the Gulf region, better than that region at this. But not like Western countries and these countries.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So are you saying there isn't a political opposition?

Salah al Qudah:

No, we have. It's not ... we call it, I forget all the-

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No problem. Just try to describe, to use words around it.

Salah al Qudah:

I describe yeah, but I have that ... now, to concentrate more, we don't have, it's like for example in the UK, they have two main parties, yes. We don't have, we have more only people, they are against or opposite the government and the policy in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes, and how are they treated? The people that are against the politics.

Salah al Qudah:

Not, I can't know, they aren't ... they share the parliament. They have, not all of them, they have people that they are representative ... they have a representative in the parliament, but another parties or another people, they don't have any access in Jordanian policy or they can't affect the system here.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do people view the economy?

Salah al Qudah:

They suffer from economy and I think they call it, it's like a disaster. They don't have any ... they are not optimistic.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the most important programs to fight poverty in Jordan?

Salah al Qudah:

Now or from my point of view?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Both.

Salah al Qudah:

Both? The government, they are now supporting the microfinance institutions and support the organizations that they are working on entrepreneurial, and for also, that they are working on unemployed people, they are supported with money and expertise to reach these target group and working on them against the poverty and the unemployment.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Have you or your area of work done something to fight poverty in Jordan? And if yes, what?

Salah al Qudah:

Yes, because I'm working with the development and employment fund, and our core business is giving loans to the unemployed and poor people, with subsidized interest rate, and to also, we give away, we are providing our target group with the training and business training and vocational training.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

I will ask that, about that again in a slightly different question later. The Jordanian people, why do they think poverty exists here? Who or what do they hold responsible for it?

Salah al Qudah:

Many reasons. One of them, that we have corruption. And the second thing is from how I heard, the refugees that they came to Jordan. And the third one that we don't have any plan or a strategy for our economy and the mixed use.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor? And if yes, what?

Salah al Qudah:

Yes, because we are working with the people, the unemployed people and the poor people, and support them or are giving them loans and subsidize the interest rate, and we give them with the long period of repayment, and also provide them with training to have a better life and to become empowered.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan? So if you're looking for a job or if you're looking for work or for your company how do the people you know influence this process?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah. You know, it's our culture like that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So very important?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, very important.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. This is the question I was just talking about, so I ask it again in a slightly different way. Do you or your work contribute to job training and how?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah. Job training? Yeah. Now, we have many programs targeting the unemployed people. We have the two main kind of training. The first one is vocational training. We are a ware buyer for this service. We are doing, need an analysis there or assessment, and after that we can decide that the training courses that the targeted group needs. And the second one is business training. We provide our target group with, if they have any problems, and how to start their own businesses. We can provide them with a package like that or a training course called how to start Your Own Business and another one, How to Improve Your Own Business and How To Expand Your Own Business. Also, we have another program for the university

graduates. We target them because some of them, they don't have any skills in PC or something like that. We give them our ... we buy this service from the training centre, computer centres, and to train people on the PC skills and these things. And that advance to also, skills for computers.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How common is homelessness in Jordan? Why or why not?

Salah al Qudah:

It's not common. Not common until now, yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

So there are homeless now?

Salah al Qudah:

Maybe in Amman, I think you can count them on your fingers.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Why do you think there are so few?

Salah al Qudah:

Because we have some family relations and these things, and they, from our traditions and culture, it's a shame for the people to let another people homeless and these things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan? So for example, if you were a professor or a writer, for example, is that considered a good job to have or a bad job to have? What do people think about other people with those jobs?

Salah al Qudah:

No, no, no. No, it's a good job here in Jordan to be a professor and writer and newspaper and these things, because the people think that he is well educated, the first thing, and have a good personality and consider, they consider them a smart man or what we call them in the, they are leading the society.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live? If yes, what?

Salah al Qudah:

No, no.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No? Okay. Is there a high number of highly educated people leaving the country?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah. Especially, I can tell you, from 2014, I know many people, they are now in Canada and Australia and another Western countries.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is that because of the Syrian refugees started coming, the economy started getting worse?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, but they are searching for a new chance or a new life or have a good life outside Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Does the government have the confidence of the people? Do the people trust the government?

Salah al Qudah:

Those days? No, because of the economic situation and because the tax now, because of the taxes and because of the prices.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

You mentioned you don't really have parties like Western countries, but I'm still going to ask the question. Do political rights for all parties exist?

Salah al Qudah:

Yes.

Van Gunsteren:

Okay. What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan? With that, I mean the train system, the bus system, and the roads and how are people meeting its challenges? What are they doing about the problems?

Salah al Qudah:

Infrastructure? We, I think, we have a poor infrastructure in Jordan, and all of the people talking about this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What do they do to handle these problems?

Salah al Qudah:

Protesting and these things yes, and writing on the social network. You know how they can talking about these issues, in social and Facebook and also protesting in the streets and these things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services? So public services are, for example, well transport again, health, education, things like that. What do Jordanians do to address problems in these areas?

Salah al Qudah:

No, now ... I think two years ago, I heard about these problems and these things and about the performance of public sector. And now, people only protesting for that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan? Has made these public services better?

Salah al Qudah:

We have, yeah. Now that we have a ministry for the improvement of the managerial issues of public sector, and they now started a program for all the organizations, public organizations and ministries, for the developments now and for the services and we have been now something like a King Abdallah prize for the transparency and excellency. And they have many indicators, and then all the ministries and the organizations, public organizations, must attend this, must contribute in this and working on those indicators, yeah, for the quality services and the customer satisfaction and distance.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Are demonstrations common in Jordan and what do people think about them?

Salah al Qudah:

We have them, yeah. In the past, they, all the people, they were still talking that it's our own way to protest and you can create many problems from this for these things, but nowadays, I think they consider it as a good way to, what do you call it, to tell the government their problems and what they want.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does Jordanian culture encourage social rights?

Salah al Qudah:

Encourage social rights? Yeah, of course.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Does religious freedom exist?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, we have it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious extremism exist?

Salah al Qudah:

Yeah, we have it, yeah. Yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a process that encourages political power sharing? So is there a process that gives political power to more than one group that ensures that more people can affect public policy? A way to give political power to more people.

Salah al Qudah:

A way? To choose the right election law. Right one, because until now, I think, the problem with the election, the elections law, because you can't choose only one Parliament, one man or one woman, and I think the last law, you can choose the representatives from all of Jordan. But I think it's not a good way and they have a list and one, only the one people that ranked the higher marks, he would pass. Another people, they fail. I think it's not a good idea.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do Jordanians care for older people?

Salah al Qudah:

We have many societies that they are looking after the older people, but also from our culture, we have a good relationship between family and I think that all the families should take care of older people. They should take and looking after them, and it's a shame if they send them to a society or to a home.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family and friends?

Salah al Qudah:

Palestinians and, yeah, yes, yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to improve the situation of refugees in Jordan? And if yes, how?

Salah al Qudah:

My organization, no. We have, from our mandate, we are working only Jordanian people that they have an ID number.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the opinion on the Syrian refugees?

Salah al Qudah:

Jordanians, I think the Syrian refugees, because we have a border with Syria, I think it's natural to come to Jordan and to stay here, but we have a shortage of resources and these things. I hope that the Syrian problem or the Syrian refugees that they back to their country.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the biggest problems of refugees in Jordan? And what are the Jordanian people doing to change those problems?

Salah al Qudah:

Of refugees? I think low incomes, I think, and also the shelters.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. What are Jordanians doing to change that?

Salah al Qudah:

Now I think for the refugees, we have the NGOs and the UN organizations that they are working on this refugees, but, and the government of Jordan, now also support the refugees by giving them health services and offer many services ... thank you ... and water and electricity and these things.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think that the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well, have become a part of Jordanian society?

Salah al Qudah:

Palestinian? They are, we can call them ... we are the same, now, yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. What about the Syrian refugees? Have they become a part of Jordanian society?

Salah al Qudah:

I think that yes, yes, because you are talking about seven years now, when the Syrian problem happened and now.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there reports of violence against refugees, attacks against refugees? Do you hear about that?

Salah al Qudah:

No, I didn't hear from all that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Are the refugee camps safe?

Salah al Qudah:

Yes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. What is the Jordanian opinion on military from other countries in Jordan? So for example, the US military in Jordan, German military in Jordan? What do they think about that?

Salah al Qudah:

No, we don't have any opposite opinion about this, let me talk, that we call them foreign army, no. So we have all the people are seeing the US army and the other army, and they, it's ... I think no problem with that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. How much does Jordan cooperate with other countries militarily?

Salah al Qudah:

From watching the news, it's from my point of view, I think we have a good relationship between foreign armies and we have many relationships and exchanging the experience with them. I think there's no problems about that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the Jordanian opinion on foreign aid, so money, assistance from outside of the country?

Salah al Qudah:

They respect it very well. They respect and many aid now from GIZ and US Aid and European Union, from many countries we have.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Two more questions. Describe the culture of welcome in Jordan? Or the welcoming culture in Jordan?

Salah al Qudah:

Describe the welcome? I think this question, you must ask the foreigners, not me because I think we welcome all the people from outside Jordan and I think from my point of view, we can also assist them in anything they are need and they want.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Given your answers, so looking at everything that you have just said, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan? How stable do you think Jordan is?

Salah al Qudah:

Medium, I think, if you want to ... or do you want me to answer this question. I think, if the economic situation continues like that, I think we will have problems in Jordan, and this is from my point of view.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright, so those were all the questions. The last thing that I wanted to ask you isn't on here. If you can remember all the topics we talked about, is there anything that you want to add on these topics or anything that you still want to say?

Salah al Qudah:

No, nothing.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Okay. Then I will stop.

7.4.9 28.04.2018 Anonymous Consultant

Svenja van Gunsteren:

The recording is going, if you could just state your name and your current and former positions or areas of expertise.

Anonymous Consultant:

Hello. I'm a consultant for business creation. That's what I've been doing for my life.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. Thank you. What I should have mentioned before: I cannot comment on the questions, or give any of my own opinions, because that would be seen as leading. I will only be asking questions. We can discuss anything afterwards. I'll just jump right in. The first question is: Have you or your area of work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before? If yes, how? With the security industry, I mean the intelligence services, the military, and the police.

Anonymous Consultant:

No, other than the day-to-day seeing the police in the street.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prestigious is it for someone to join the military in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

It is prestigious, I think. People like it because it provides, I think, a decent career, and they feel proud of it. There is a part of pride in it that allows them to see themselves as doing something good for the country and for the people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Anonymous Consultant:

Interesting. Don't know how to answer that one. It's just like any other country. I think people think they are part of the security system anyway, because they all feel that urge, the need to protect the country. How is the relationship? It's just like anywhere else. Still, people tend to protect, or at least try to protect, and being in a country where we are surrounded by literally war zones... I'm going on a tangent, here. I really don't know how to answer that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No worries.

Anonymous Consultant:

I don't know what you're looking for, but maybe you are looking for, are they subjugated to the security?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No, it's more like, what would a common interaction between the two look like? What do the Jordanian people think about the security operative? How do they see it? Whatever comes to mind.

Anonymous Consultant:

I think they see it... They're happy with it. They're proud of it, I think, in that sense, so don't know if that answers it...

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Thank you. Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional to the dangers they face?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yes, I think very, depending on what they are. I don't know that they are. This is very tricky. Given the dangers that we are in, I think they are justified in doing what they seem as necessary to carry out their duties. But again, I don't know if there's a specific incident you're referring to, or just a basic "keeping the order" day to day.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Right. How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?

Anonymous Consultant:

I think they have contributed a lot by being aware of what is happening, and being conscious about it. Because every family here feels the same need to protect the

country for the benefit of all, somehow, and protect the society, and I think a lot of the families contribute people to the security. Every family has somebody in the military and the civil defence. Not every, but the bulk of the families. I think it's a collective effort to maintain order for the benefit of all.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems representative of the population?

Anonymous Consultant:

I think I cannot answer that straightforward, because for me to answer that you can understand the tribal structure of the community, where people have, I would say, most, if not all... Not only Jordanians, but even Arabs, come from a tribe of some sort. There's always this dual loyalty to the tribe and to the country. There's always, in a way, I wouldn't say "conflict", but you have your immediate loyalty to your tribe and family, but then the whole tribe also contributes to the country. So in a way, in that sense, I think that government tries to, not the people, actually, to manage that duality by having people representing the tribes that come from the different territories of the countries. Does that make sense?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. That is a beautiful answer. Describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan.

Anonymous Consultant:

Work hard, for me. Again, going back to the tribe, and you have to understand. Step one, for you, is to understand the tribal system, because that would explain all of this. Because you, depending on your position in the tribe, and the tribe's position within that global spectrum of other tribes, that gives you already an inherent designation, if you want to call it that way. But I don't see, I mean there are people who are born into families of influence, just like anywhere else, and those have an advantage over others. However, I would say the number one contributor is really tribal more than anything else. People from certain tribes, because these tribes have certain powers, already get entitled to certain privileges if you want to call it that way.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. How does tribal culture influence elite selection and representation?

Anonymous Consultant:

Again, just going back, if you're part of a tribe, and that tribe has a certain standing, already you have ... Just like anywhere else, if you're part of a wealthy family or part of an influential family, that gives you that by osmosis, they give you some sort of different standing. Other than that, I think tribes, themselves have developed certain acquired rights that they think are owed to them because of their influence, or the control of a certain territory. That, in itself, allows them to expect certain benefits, I would say, more than anything else. But I think, today, we're in a state where, sadly, I would say this sadly, that the government trying to dismantle influence of the tribe and make it more civic. Which I think is good in a way, but I think the tribes were helping often keeping the order through their own method of ... Literally, there are methods of influence within the tribes. If there was an issue, they figure the tribe would sort it out before it grows beyond that tribe, which helps a lot with maintaining of the order. I don't know if I've answered that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Evaluate cross-cultural respect in Jordan.

Anonymous Consultant:

Cross-cultural respect... That's a tough one. Like anywhere else, I think there is discrimination. Would that be more discrimination or less discrimination than other cultures? I think we have a hesitation to accept other cultures at the beginning, so there is a certain learning before we get to the point where we accept or embrace other cultures. But once we get there, I think we're more accommodating around other cultures. Or that at the beginning, we might seem to be more resistant to other cultures, and simply it's due to lack of knowledge rather than actually being simply discriminating. So I think we have a very tolerant culture, in a sense, but there is a threshold of knowledge that we need to acquire before we can actually be that tolerant. I think it's, again, one of those confusing things, I would say. "I don't know how to behave with you, because you come from a different culture." There is that. That could be interpreted as discrimination, but if they understand that, I think then it becomes completely embracing and accepting.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs?

Anonymous Consultant:

I don't know. Depending on which cultures you're talking about, I think... I don't know. I don't know how to answer that, because I don't understand... I guess we all

eventually need to have some commonality in ourselves. Doesn't mean we have to believe in the same thing. Probably not. But I'm not sure we have more than one culture, actually, today. We're very sort of within the same... We share lots of the same background and culture, even with the refugee crisis, with the influx of people... They still all come from similar territories or similar systems of tribal and cultural backgrounds. Again, not sure how to respond to that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

That was a good answer. Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent? If so, along which lines?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yes, stereotyping is prevalent, sadly, I would say. Because, again, going back to my previous response, I think it is due to lack of knowledge rather than being actually discriminatory. So having no understanding of the other is what allows people to stereotype, deep down people are very sympathizing. I think, just, the stereotyping is there. Yes, we have a lot of stereotyping, although I think it's for the wrong reasons. Scapegoating is also a problem I think, because... That comes, I think, with the territory. You have to understand the history of the territory. The territory has not seen true independence for the past 600 years or more, in a way. In a way, there was always somebody else to blame for your faults or misfortunes. So that created, I think, in a way, a culture of scapegoating, where people blame somebody else for their miseries or mishaps, whatever it is. Again, that is a problem. However, that comes partly from the accumulated history of the past few hundred years' work. The whole region, actually, struggled with having its own... Not necessarily independence, rather than its own identity, at some point. Again, having others dictate what you can or you cannot do is an easy way that allows you to always blame somebody else for your faults.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Along which lines does this happen? For example, gender lines, socio-economic, political, religious, ethnic lines...

Anonymous Consultant:

I think along lots of lines, because it is a true fact that we've lived through. In a way, we have been stripped of the power to make decisions due to lots of outside influence. When you are not responsible for the decision, you cannot be responsible for the

outcome. In a way, even though now that this is changing, it has to change, there's a lot of residue from the past years.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Alright. Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Anonymous Consultant:

National identity. Very proud, very egotistical at some points. They do not accept being looked down upon, and very focused on past glories, let's say. However, to sum it all up, if I want to use one word I would say "pride". People are forever forgetting the day-to-day problems, because that transcended ... Day to day, there are lots of issues, just like any other system. Governments don't necessarily function in the most efficient manner, or in the best interest of everybody. However, take any simple Jordanian and ask what's the most quality or aspect that they like about Jordan ... It's the pride. Jordan has contributed to a lot in the region and historically also ... When a place where either things happened or people passed, or, so there is a sense of pride in the national identity.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the respective situations of Jordanian minorities?

Anonymous Consultant:

Let's define "minorities". Who would be minorities? Because they could be all kinds of people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Whoever you think of, right now.

Anonymous Consultant:

Jordanians.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

They might just be one, actually.

Anonymous Consultant:

I think it's an interesting question. Because we try not to think that way, actually, consciously, because the country has been built up through time and history on the influx of other people. So it has Circassians, Palestinians, Arabs, Syrians, and more. Even before that, the mix of other people came through the country and settled. Again, really, just right now, I'm having a hard time defining what a minority means.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

For example, the Christians, religiously speaking. Or maybe not religiously speaking Armenians, Circassians...

Anonymous Consultant:

I think all minorities have been well protected here, if you think of that way. All religions were practiced freely when they were here. I think today there are no ... Jordan is predominantly Muslim. I think that within Islam there are different sects. Maybe you have individual cases of discrimination, which just happens in any society, but I think there's no conscious act of discrimination against any minority. On the contrary, I think Jordan goes beyond, because it has always been built on that, showing itself as protecting minorities rather than actually discriminating against them, or taking certain rights away. Anyway, I don't know what else to say about that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

No worries. Are groups oppressed, or do they feel oppressed?

Anonymous Consultant:

Interesting. Those hypothetical groups, you said?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Again, whatever comes to mind. Just specify which groups you're talking about.

Anonymous Consultant:

Groups oppressed... I think we have, to answer that question correctly, you have to define "freedom", because I think they go hand in hand.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. So I'm not talking about ... I'm familiar with the concepts of negative and positive freedom. Negative freedom, "freedom from". For example, freedom from persecution, freedom from war. That is not what I'm talking about, but-

Anonymous Consultant:

No, that's not what I'm talking about.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Positive freedom, "freedom to".

Anonymous Consultant:

We're talking about... Yes. That's what I'm talking about. I think, talking about civil societies, you want to talk about rule of law, and touch upon your area of... I think the freedom... People misinterpret the freedom to behave in a certain way, to the extent that sometimes it might affect others. Therefore freedom as we would like to think of it should not be called "freedom" once it tramples upon somebody else's rights. I think

people here ... In the sense, yes, some people might feel oppressed if you tell them, "You cannot do one, two, three, four," but not because their act is actually banned or looked upon as a bad thing, but because, actually, what they're doing ... They have not thought of what is affecting other groups as well.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

It's curtailing positive freedom to ensure negative freedom?

Anonymous Consultant:

This is very interesting. Because I cannot understand how...

Svenja van Gunsteren:

It's reducing the freedom to do things in order to ensure the freedom from bad things.

Anonymous Consultant:

Yeah. I think, if, again, you have ... Was it Plato who said, "The best form of governance is a benevolent dictatorship"? Because, I think, in a society where you still need to educate people about their rights and duties, it is important also to make sure that freedoms are not abused. It goes both hands. You need to understand, "What are your rights and duties?" But at the same time, respect the rights and duties of others. I don't know if that makes any sense.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?

Anonymous Consultant:

It could be economic, could be political. I think taxation, just like anywhere else. We fear that. The country's heavily taxed. I don't think that's what you're looking for, but if you want to take today, ask everybody on the street, they would say, "We have heavy taxes." It's a common denominator. Group grievances ... I think you cannot separate ... I say this personally. Doesn't mean it's the case. This is what I believe. Big part of the positives and the negatives that we have comes from the tribal system. I really cannot, because even if a group says, "We are not represented," it's not because they're actually not represented, but because, actually, the way the system works, they will disadvantage you to not being part of a big tribe, let's say. Or, the big tribes took over. We cannot ignore the fact that we have a tribal society. So lots of times, those grievances are momentarily for a specific point in time for a specific thing rather than a general, I mean, could be today, and next week it'll be gone. The same thing next week. Because that specific group did not get a specific interest or a specific benefit, or whatever it is. But there are lots of grievances, just like any other society. People

say "The government is mistreating us," Or heavily taxing... Even now, now that in the industries themselves ... Certain industries are going back to (inaudible) industries. Again, it's all due to the current socio-economic situation that the country is in. I think the problem is these grievances, or the actions that cause these grievances, are driven as a reaction to something else that is happening. If you search people when you enter public places, people complain. But if you don't, and something happens, they also complain, and you need to protect them. So I think, today, the whole government is reacting to the situation at large around us, and within the country, because we're no different than the other countries around us that, you know there are good people and bad people. Whatever action is being done is done with the ultimate goal of protection of all rather one group over the other, I think. The people might not be happy today, but they will be happy tomorrow.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the situation of the political opposition?

Anonymous Consultant:

Interesting. Depending on how you define political opposition. I think, while we're going down that line... Okay. Political opposition. Don't think we have political opposition. I consider myself opposition, actually. And again, I'm going to go back to the same thing, and I think, for your research, you need to do this. Depending on ... At the bottom of everybody's heart I think we all believe in one thing, that we all want the benefit of Jordan. This is what we want. But momentarily we differ. But then, at the end of the day, you find out people line up behind the leadership anyway, due to the current situation we are in. Political opposition, there is no political opposition I think. Again, that's part of the education of the political system, and we lack that. It's healthy to have political opposition. I think today there are issues that, in a way, make political opposition less important due to the bigger threats. Had we been living in a peaceful time, I think political opposition would be more influential. Today, it's not, because at the end of the day, even political opposition understand that, "Yes, we can disagree on certain things, but there's an ultimate goal that we all need to be in one trench together to survive it". So today I don't think there is political opposition in the sense that you have a party system whereby you have one party, like the majority party and the minority party. Today it's basically very individualistic. I'm not sure how many parties we have. We have plenty, which makes it almost impossible to align one political opposition party, or one majority, for that matter. But I think even

with the individualistic approach, people line up at the end of the day for the one benefit of all. So really, I don't think we have, in the same sense as you have in the West, true political opposition.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do people view the economy?

Anonymous Consultant:

Bad. That's very quickly said, I mean it's no secret. It's really bad. It's very, again, related to what's happening around us. Could be better, definitely, even in those times. But it's the reaction to outside factors that were here before.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the most relevant initiatives to combat poverty in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

I'm not sure I can answer that. I don't have access to that knowledge. I think in any society, anyway, the best way to alleviate poverty is through education. If the people, they become capable of finding their own, to lift the poverty, there are lots of institutions here that deal with poverty, whether NGOs or government. Not aware of the details. I think we need to focus more on the education. We don't really have lots of education here, wherein the quality has gone down. Whereby 30 years ago, the graduates of Jordanian schools and universities were sought after everywhere in our region, today we're no longer as competitive in the marketplace because of the downgrading of the quality of the education system.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Why do you think that is?

Anonymous Consultant:

Well I think it's overextended, simply, just like anything else. It's taking over its capacity. Over the last... When was first Gulf War? 1990s. Since 1990 until today, the influx of people has put a strain on the education sectors, massively, whereby the same schools have to deal with more people with the same resources. Simply, just, it means you either invest in them, and you cannot, because you don't have resources, or the quality basically downgrades. That's what's been happening.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan? If so, what?

Anonymous Consultant:

We always do the initiative of supporting entrepreneurs, mentoring them and helping them. On a very small scale, but we do provide support and mentorship for, mainly, entrepreneurs. We don't do anything else. We've done a lot helping people start their small businesses and get moving with their businesses. Providing them, more than financially, the know-how, but sometimes you're even contributing to financially.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

The government, obviously. They blame the government for everything, which is typical. There is no lack of means for somebody who wants to, I mean let me put it this way. Today, even in my work, or any company that works here, they can't find good people. Quality people get work every day. They could leave your job in the morning, find another one in the afternoon. There is an opportunity for people with quality. I think the problem becomes when people, coming back one or your questions is about expectations of the people, I think some people, because of the tribal system and the belief that some have certain acquired rights they expect that the government will take care of them, and that has led to some people being ... What's the word? Dependent on help from others rather than actually going out there and helping themselves. So I think I want to go back to what contributes to poverty. It's people themselves why... The resources, very little resources, or the lack of resources, but you find those who actually work to uplift themselves are capable of lifting themselves up. The means are there, if they need to. It's this dependence on the tribe ... That's a negative side of having the tribe, where you feel you can depend on them for your support, therefore you don't, sometimes, do your best to achieve certain things. That has led, in a way, to a certain dependence on the government, that people don't go out and ... Definitely, there should be a contribution by the government in terms of education. However, I believe, just like any other country, our best product is the human resource. If we manage to educate and train that human resource, that becomes the best income source for the country and for the people. By exporting those resources, just like you export any other resource, so people could go and work somewhere else, and contribute that. Okay. What was the other part of the question?

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

What? Lack of education. You'd say... Lack of training. And that's self-inflicted, really, more than anything else, because, today, the means are out there. With a little bit of guidance, there are enough institutions with people to allow you to move to the next level to train yourself. I think because some people just ... I don't know why.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. The next question is: What do people think about poverty and the poor in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

Okay. Interesting. I think that, going back... People support each other. That's a big part of the question, even though, at the surface, again, there's this complete divide. But at the end of the day, there are ways that luckier people help those unlucky people, in a way. Now, going back to the tribal, or to the greater family. The greater family and the tribe provide a social support network that supports people within. Like anywhere else, I'm sure there are people who lack certain medical, or resources that they need. But, ultimately, and the credit doesn't go to the government as much as to NGOs and to greater families where there are ways of a support network. That support network, somehow, works, at the neighbourhood level and the small township level. So you can have that physicality, or through the tribal system where people can rely on their families or their neighbourhoods for support.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor? If so, what?

Anonymous Consultant:

I think what we do is very important in that sense, even though that's not the purpose, but that's a by-product of helping people set up their businesses and supporting income for those. Because at the end of the day, the biggest employer in any economy is the SMEs, the small and medium-sized enterprise. People think the big corporates are the bigger employer, but typically, depending on the economy, up to 90% of employment happens through SMEs rather than big corporates. So anyway, I would like to think what we do does support people by providing job opportunities.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

It does affect, I think... Not in my organization. We're very, very corporate, meritocracy oriented. Based on your merit, expertise, that's how we hire. But I cannot rule that social actors don't affect actual hiring, so lots of times, we find people who are not good for the job get hired because of who they know, relative in power, whatever. It's unfortunate when it happens.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you or your work ever contribute to job training, and how?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yeah. That's part of what we do. Job training for our team, and for the company we support. We do, yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan? Why or why not?

Anonymous Consultant:

Why or why not? Again, I would use the same... Go back to my previous answers. There is some homelessness, it's not prevalent, I think, again, because of either the family or the tribe, where people go back to some form of social support through their smaller network, immediate network of the family or greater network of the tribe. Even today we have people who do not belong to any tribe or family. Even foreigners can tap into in the local neighbourhood networks. There is a social network from within the society itself. That's the making of the society itself is based on that, supporting each other.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yes. Everywhere, I think. I don't know how important in Jordan to be an intellectual, but I guess in any society, if you're seen as part of intellectual group or elite, it's always prestigious. Yes, I would say it's the same.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

For any specific reason?

Anonymous Consultant:

Not more than, I think... I should have seen that tricky question coming after that. I think being seen as an intellectual allows you to network with elites in the country from anywhere. That, in its own way, constitutes a privilege, being close to the decision-makers.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live, and if yes, what?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yes, okay, I would love to think that's what we're... Actually, now, we're trying to work with some government agencies and some NGOs. The NGOs, on a very selfish campaign of cleaning up side walls of the highways. I personally feel it's a shame that we have this state of littering across the country. So that's a personal thing I'm doing now. On the other side, by providing, again, the support network for entrepreneurs, as little as, our focus is to create two businesses a year. The two business could be ice cream shops, could be factories, depending on the businesses are. In the little domain, that work, we'd like to think that makes Jordan an attractive, and we've brought lots of people do.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a relatively high proportion of higher-educated people leaving the country?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yes. I think we are, I think, per capita, we're the number one in the world of in term of doctors. I don't know if that's a true fact, but I think it is there, and engineers. However, this becomes the export of Jordan, and I think our main export is to export human resource to the neighbouring countries. That has always been the main source of income for the country actually, but yes, we have a highly educated population.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people?

Anonymous Consultant:

Probably not, at this particular moment in time, and I really think, again, I would like to give the government the benefit of the doubt, but sometimes you can't excuse them. I mean "the benefit of the doubt" in the sense, I can't imagine that the struggle that the government is in today. Really. I run a small organization, and if I'm away from the office for a week, things could, people could slack off. I can imagine the government having to deal with outside issues and inside issues. So in that sense, I give them that excuse. However, I can understand the frustration of the people, and why the people blame the government. They're rightfully so. There is no communication, public communication. The government needs to communicate more with the people, at their level, to make them understand exactly what is happening.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do political rights for all parties exist?

Anonymous Consultant:

Depending what political rights. Again, it's one of those elastic words. Talking about voting and election, and if that is the political right, I think this exists. Even though I personally believe there is a phase of education, of civic education... I was always a promoter and an activist in promoting civil education in schools to allow people to understand their rights and their duties. Because people here talk about rights, but none of them think of their duties. For me, and again, this is being very selfish, I think it's a duty for people not to litter, just like they expect their rights to be protected, I don't think they should be allowed to litter. Unfortunately, not many people see it that way. Their right is to get the freedom, but it's not their duty to take care of the country, public space, or whatever. I think they go hand in hand. Once we get to the stage where duties are seen as equal as rights, we have succeeded. The only way that could happen is through education. That's, I think, an area where the government, I personally believe, is lacking in doing that education. The past generations are past generations. Looking for the future, I think, if you start in schools, from KG onwards, teaching people about maintaining their classroom and maintaining their neighbourhoods and cleaning it up, by the time they graduate, we'll have good citizens who understand rights and duties.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan, and how are people meeting its challenges?

Anonymous Consultant:

Again, you have to understand. The country is literally breaking up at the seams. Public transport is chaotic at best, I think. Public highways are shameful, as well. But, again, I'm not sitting in the decision maker's seat, so I don't understand the limitations that they have. Having said that, I've been to other countries with much, much more resources, and actually our network is better. Especially in the region. Some countries, you have massive resource, the public road network is shameful, given the income level they have. In that sense, if we compare ourselves to them, we're okay, but I don't think that's what we're shooting for. It is a problem area that attention.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are Jordanians doing to meet there problems, to handle these problems?

Anonymous Consultant:

Jordanians as people, probably nothing. Government, waiting for managing their resources and reallocating them, and I think the government has a struggle. One way, I don't know if that's come up, I don't know how many questions we have left, but one way that government has maintained income streams, if you want to call it that way, because at the end of the day, that's what it is. A large sector of the population is through payment of salaries to retirees, which puts a huge, huge, I mean if it were up to me, probably, that system needs to be revised. These days, you go to the government for a month and you leave, and you are entitled to a retiree salary for life. Which makes no sense. Or, public health, today, that makes no sense, I think. We have public health. Doesn't mean it's the best quality, but actually having what counts as public health. Which bigger, more powerful list of countries struggle with. What I can't understand is you still claim public health and you smoke, or you do things that are detrimental to your health, and still, the government gives you the benefit of getting access to public health. Today, I think it's about optimizing resources. I forgot what the question was, but it's about optimizing resources for government to be able to cover those needs. I blame the people as much as I blame the government, because of the resources. Like I said, I completely forget the question.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. It was ... How are people meeting the challenges of the state of transport infrastructure? But you answered it nevertheless.

Anonymous Consultant:

Yeah. They're not contributing. The people are not contributing. Again, I think that's one of the cases, again, truly, of duty versus right. We still struggle... We completely separate duty from right. This is my right to have a perfect road, but it's my duty to maintain it for the next person, and I think that applies to lots of the public services, unfortunately. Not by all. I'm sure there are lots of good people out there. But it is always an issue that people don't seem to think of that it is their duty to help the government actually maintain these facilities, whatever they are.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?

Anonymous Consultant:

Okay. Deficits, actually. I mean, it's a big problem. How do they handle it? They don't handle it because they don't have... They handle it by going around the system of

finding a way to get what they want done. We're not the most efficient, definitely. I would say people have learned how to deal with that by manipulating or massaging the system to get things done. I cannot think of anything else.

Interviewer:

No worries. Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

We have contributed to a big environment congress, we support a couple of environmental NGOs, so I think you'd say slightly. I haven't been involved directly with the public services, but I would think that these somehow overlap. By supporting some NGOs, by supporting certain congresses that happen to do with the environment. Actually have some of the public service by working, this was many years back, on upgrading, by actually going out, getting donations from companies and foreign governments, to upgrade the facilities of the venue to host an International Congress. That, one way I can say. That was a one-off. Otherwise, by supporting the different organizations.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are demonstrations common in Jordan, and how are they viewed?

Anonymous Consultant:

Common. They used to be common. Now, I think, I used to always say, it's good weather for people who like to go out and demonstrate. It's a good afternoon activity. But, nowadays, they're quite, actually, common. They still happen almost every Friday, I think. It's a good way for the population to voice their concern and their criticism of the government, and as long as they're peaceful, I think the government really tolerates them. I don't really follow up on them, but I haven't heard of any major clashes within the last few years, in any demonstrations. Even when the people have demonstration, I think the public security really, really handled it well, while actually providing people the water, the drinks, shelter, when they were demonstrating. Which, in many people's opinions, have led to lack of security, that led to degrading, to having more petty theft, and robberies, and things like this, by people thinking, "Well the government is weak, so we can actually do whatever we want." That's where freedom, and duty, and rights become grey.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Anonymous Consultant:

I don't think the culture encourages it, because that was the culture of the people rather than the government, I think. Let's say if you're not a mainstream, whatever, group, you're on the fringes, I think, socially, even the society itself (inaudible), rather than the government. I would say the society's more important here than the government. I might've misunderstood the question. But yes, you find people rally behind people with good causes and good purposes. But again, depending who the group is, and what is it that they're trying to promote... I don't support them. Does the government support it? Probably not. Have they fought any? Probably, they did. Some who are alien to either our culture or to the religion of the country. Publicly, do they voice that? I'm not sure, actually, or is it case by case? I'm not sure about that.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious freedom exist?

Anonymous Consultant:

Interesting. That's a tricky question. In a simple answer, yes. We have churches, mosques, that's what they have today. We don't have any other religions in the country. And it's protected and guaranteed. Everybody practices their religion completely freely. I think it's the political religion that becomes a problem sometimes, where people use religion for political purposes. But even that exists, and I think nobody prevents it as much as, making sure it doesn't go on a tangent. But, yeah, my short answer is yes, absolutely.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious extremism exist?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yes. I think it does. Because, again ... It's not the nature of the social fabric here. It's an alien thing. I think that has been imported into the country just like anyone else. I, myself, 30 years ago, I didn't know the difference between Shia, Sunni, or any others. Actually, that was for government. It wasn't something that we've actually thought upon. I think with all these extremist movements around us, and I'm sure there are some here, just like any other society. Does it exist? Yes. Does it have a big following? I sure hope not. I don't see it in the day to day, and I think economic hardship is what makes people turn to those groups, rather than anything else.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. We have just passed one hour, but we're doing well. There's not too much left. Is there a process that encourages political power sharing?

Anonymous Consultant:

Political power sharing. We'll assume yes, because today, if I were to blame the election outcome, I would blame the parties, not the government. There's not nothing. "Have free elections. Do whatever you want to do." If you have 80 parties, and parliament of 120 people, that makes it really tough to have power sharing. You only have one and a half people of the party. I'm not sure of the number. It's a huge number, and lots of independents. I think, again, going back to civic duties, people need to work on the structures, and I'm sure, today, where are so many initiatives, but nothing has been super successful.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people.

Anonymous Consultant:

I think that goes without saying, because don't want to change my answer, because I want to say something else. I think it's very respectful. We really respect older people. You rarely see people going into homes or into shelters. It's a shame, actually, for a family to not take care of their members, and elders. Again, with Westernization that is changing. I sure hope it doesn't, so at least when I become old, somebody takes care of me. But, today, no. People do take care of their elders.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Alright. I'm sorry for this question. Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family and friends?

Anonymous Consultant:

Is that even a question? Yeah.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

That is everyone's answer, and I know that is everyone's answer. But, yeah. Have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan, and if so, how?

Anonymous Consultant:

Yes, we have. Again, we're supporting so many people that contributed financially to so many families who needed medical attention, urgent medical attention, or support for economic purpose.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees?

Anonymous Consultant:

I think, initially, it was, I think, feeling that we have to take them in. It's a sad situation, and still is. I don't think that has ever changed. At some point, I think there was a little bit of agitation, because the refugees started taking the jobs of the locals, that was a bit of a problem. Because they were working, they got the rights to work, and I doubt any other company in the region gave them the same rights, so everybody here has the right to work freely. Which is... I mean it should be the case. But in a country struggling economically, that took away from the local population. However, on the long term, personally, I think it will work for the benefit of the country. You have a bigger economy, with a bigger inaudible). Today, I think we're sort of neutral. I think it's no longer, I think it's the Western media that makes it it's an issue, rather than the local... Locally, people stop seeing it. It's everybody blended in, or at least, it is happening. Somehow, we're getting to the status quo. But, again, resources are stretched.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face, and how are Jordanian people addressing them?

Anonymous Consultant:

I think socially, I'm not sure they have lots of, if I were in their shoes, I would be devastated. I'm sure there are lots of social issues that they need. Even mental therapy type of issues, which is normal in any situation. Other problems are finding decent, dignified living. Through work, that is being addressed. You do see some refugees who now started owning places, and owning shops, and doing lots of good work.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well?

Anonymous Consultant:

They're running the country, I think. They have integrated very well.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Syrian refugees have been integrated well?

Anonymous Consultant:

They're all integrating. I do hope, for their sake, that they think one day they go back. I don't know if that's on their minds or not. I'm sure, if I were one of them, it would always be on my mind to go back to my homeland. So I hope the integration that

you're talking about is not a way to take them out of their country forever. It's, hopefully, temporarily, until they go back to their homes and towns.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Anonymous Consultant:

Haven't heard any. Haven't seen any, actually.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Anonymous Consultant:

Probably not, because I've heard they have issues. Again, I have no clue. I'm guessing, because I've never been to one. But from what I hear, there are issues, because they have a big community living in a camp, with very sad and bad situation. Just like any other society, wherever you put it, whether in a refugee camp or in a town, with 100,000 people, you're bound to have problems and issues.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Right. What are the Jordanians' stances on foreign military in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

On foreign military... I am not sure what the current situation is. But definitely people don't like to use Jordan as a Launchpad for operations in the region. That hasn't happened, at least, not publicly, we know about. But definitely people pause (?) the factors of Jordan as a grounds to launch. That's anywhere.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. As far as I know, the US and Germany are stationed near the desert castles in the east, to launch towards Syria.

Anonymous Consultant:

That has been always the talk that something will happen from here, but I don't think people support it in general.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Okay. What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Anonymous Consultant:

You've started asking questions I can't answer, because I'm not privy, other than what's available in the public media. I think we operate, just like any other country, we have activities. We try to be friends with everybody, so that includes cooperating militarily. But, again, I'm not sure exactly of any specific actions.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

That is good enough. That's great. What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Anonymous Consultant:

We've been left shorthanded, because lots of countries suggested they would help with the refugee crisis, and I think they help a little bit. I'm not sure, again. I'm not in the public sector, so I'm not sure of the details. But I know that they haven't contributed did what they promised they would contribute. That's why they have lots of the economic problems today I think.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

We only have two more questions, now, and some additional questions. First of all would be: Could you please describe the culture of welcome in Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

Welcome. Jordan welcomes everybody. I think that's very unique, and very nice. It's truly generally the case, and it's genuine, I think. Yeah, it's, we have no issues with welcoming foreigners, Westerners, and other nationalities. I think it's a genuine hospitality culture, in that sense.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Yes. Given your answers, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Anonymous Consultant:

I think, again, I think if it's left to what happens within the country, it's very stable. I think we all are conscious of the downsides of not having a stable country, and we're all supporting stability. But I don't think today it's only internal matters. There are lots of external matters, so for internal matters I think we're very... Again, if we're left to our own internal issues, just like any other country or society, but the general rule is, it is stable.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there anything that you would like to add on the topics of social capital or stability, or in general, to the areas of the questions that we have talked about?

Anonymous Consultant:

I think we're saying a lot. But I think we are really in between a rock and a hard place, in Jordan, to say the least, and I think we have very little resource. The country has done a lot with the neighbouring countries, with its own population. It's no way an optimal situation. Nobody claims that. But given the situation, I think it's really been tough to even maintain the status quo. We always aspire as people to a better side of

things, but today, I think, we would be very happy just maintaining the status quo, and get out of this corner we're in.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

All right. Then, I will stop the recording now.

7.4.10 03.05.2018 Prof. Khair Diabat

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area or work interacted with the Jordanian security industry before?
If yes, how?

Khair Diabat:

Yes, via lectures, seminars, and the publication of academic studies about the military participation of Jordan in domestic and regional security.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prestigious is it for someone to join the military?

Khair Diabat:

It is prestigious for those with a university degree but for most people it is a chance to find a job and make a living.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the relation between the Jordanian security apparatus and the people?

Khair Diabat:

I think the relationship is very good, since the society supports this apparatus specifically. Almost every family has a relative working in the security organisations.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are the security apparatus' actions considered to be proportional?

Khair Diabat:

I think so.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How have the Jordanian people contributed to security?

Khair Diabat:

In many things: Encouraging their relatives to work in this apparatus, supporting the role of the security apparatus, respecting the status of the employees in this apparatus and by cooperating with the apparatus in certain cases, e.g. by supplying information linked to terrorism.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To what extent are the Jordanian political and judicial systems, respectively, representative of the population?

Khair Diabat:

In my opinion they represent the public very well... But the people don't feel that, because they lack political consciousness.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the common process of elite recruitment in Jordan.

Khair Diabat:

Sadly most elites in Jordan work for themselves. They use their status in society to reach political or economic goals.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How does tribal culture influence elite selection and representation?

Khair Diabat:

To a large extent.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Evaluate cross-cultural respect in Jordan.

Khair Diabat:

I think the situation is very good... Many Christians and non-Arab Jordanians have lived in Jordan without trouble for a long time. They practise their political and economic rights without problems.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do separate cultures in Jordan hold one or more common beliefs?

Khair Diabat:

For the most part, YES.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is stereotyping and scapegoating prevalent? If so, along which lines?

Khair Diabat:

That depends... Due to the bad economic situation you hear this often... The government tends to be the scapegoat... Everyone accuses it of corruption, theft, and obedience towards Western countries and organisations, even though most of Jordan's economic problems have other causes.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Try to describe national identity in Jordan.

Khair Diabat:

It is pretty uniform, but sometimes we have problems, concerning economic or sports-related problems (the relation between East and West Jordanians).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the respective situations of Jordanian minorities?

Khair Diabat:

We don't have that many... Almost 2% are non-Arabs and they have the same rights as Arabs.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed?

Khair Diabat:

I don't think so.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What would you say are the largest group grievances in Jordanian society?

Khair Diabat:

The bad economic situation.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the situation of the political opposition?

Khair Diabat:

There are some Islamic and pan-Arab currents, but they are diverse and have no solutions for the problems Jordan faces. They appear only in times of crises and try to gain popularity by criticising the government.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do people view the economy?

Khair Diabat:

They view it very badly due to corruption, but corruption is not the sole reason for this.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the most relevant initiatives to combat poverty in Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

There is privatisation and the reduction of state subsidies and an attempt to attract international investments.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work done something to combat poverty in Jordan? If so, what?

Khair Diabat:

Yes, I try to help my students find alternatives in their job search, strengthen their capabilities (by learning new languages, training them via workshops) and work in fields outside their specialty.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

To whom or what is poverty attributed to in Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

Many only think of corruption and governmental mistakes. I think that natural resources are the number one cause in Jordan.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What do people think about poverty (and the poor) in Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

No answer.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing something to close the gap between rich and poor? If so, what?

Khair Diabat:

It should do that as we offer studies for policy makers, but sadly no one hears us or reads what we suggest.

Svenja van Gunsteren

How do social relations influence hiring practices in Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

Only in certain higher positions (ministers, directors at university or certain organisations) or in the private sector but most positions in the education or health sector are more competitive.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you or your work ever contribute to job training? How?

Khair Diabat:

Sometimes in lectures or short workshops.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How prevalent is homelessness in Jordan? Why/why not?

Khair Diabat:

It is rare since Jordanian society is very connected. Everybody has a lot of relatives and out of societal reasons they would not let them sleep on the street.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is it considered prestigious to be an intellectual in Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

It is very prestigious especially if you have a PhD in your subject area.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is your area of work doing anything to make Jordan an attractive place to work and live? If so, what?

Khair Diabat:

Sometimes, when you gain more qualifications than others (linguistics, medicine, sciences).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a relatively high proportion of higher educated people leaving the country?

Khair Diabat:

I think so, but due to the higher salaries abroad.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does the government have the confidence of the people?

Khair Diabat:

Sadly no, since the people are not aware of the government's duties. They want their rights without fulfilling their duties.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do political rights for all parties exist?

Khair Diabat:

They have for a long time. Sadly the parties are very weak now and connected to the elites. In Jordan there are almost 50 parties who have the same programme!

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the state of transport infrastructure in Jordan? How are people meeting its challenges?

Khair Diabat:

It is good for a poor country like Jordan, and I think the people are aiming for something better.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

How do Jordanians handle deficits in public services?

Khair Diabat:

They suffer and criticise the amount and quality of these services.

Svenja van Gunsteren

Have you or your area of work contributed to the improvement of public services in Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

Maybe sometimes through advice or trying to establish this consciousness in students (e.g. that we shouldn't damage public services).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are demonstrations common in Jordan? How are they viewed?

Khair Diabat:

Yes, that is common within the frame of the judicial system. But I see that these demonstrations are sometimes over the top and oriented (many participants are not conscious of the demonstration's mottos, e.g. they call for the annulation of the Wadi Arab treaty, a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, but when asked they do not know what it is, many do not know).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does Jordanian culture encourage the following of social rights?

Khair Diabat:

I think so.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Does religious freedom/extremism exist?

Khair Diabat:

Yes and yes, but the extremism is not as spread out among people.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Is there a process that encourages political power sharing?

Khair Diabat:

I think so.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the Jordanian norms for caring for older people.

Khair Diabat:

Religious and Arab cultural norms demand care for the elderly. It is even considered a sacred duty (acting well, helping, respecting).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you have Palestinians or Syrians in your circle of family and friends?

Khair Diabat:

Yes, many.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Have you or your area of work contributed towards improving the situation of refugees in Jordan? If so, how?

Khair Diabat:

Yes, that we as hosts have treated them well and eased their integration, and what we can offer them.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the general opinion on the new wave of Syrian refugees?

Khair Diabat:

The people are sympathetic to their crisis.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are some of the biggest problems refugees in Jordan face that come to mind? How are Jordanians addressing them?

Khair Diabat:

Living and working. The Jordanians are helping the Syrians a lot with this and let them live for little or no money, and they employ them without papers.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Do you think the Palestinian refugees have been integrated well? What about the Syrians?

Khair Diabat:

I think so, but certain problems surface in many areas.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are there reports of violence against refugees?

Khair Diabat:

I haven't heard of any.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Are conditions safe in refugee camps?

Khair Diabat:

They are better now than in the beginning of the crisis.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What are the Jordanian stances on foreign military in Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

Most of them are against it.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the extent of Jordan's military cooperation with other countries?

Khair Diabat:

Jordan is a good strategic partner for many Western countries, especially for the USA (non-NATO ally), and has cooperated with the US in different military tasks (in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, the war against terror).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

What is the opinion on foreign aid?

Khair Diabat:

The people hope for more, but are cautious in their aims (they accuse the donors of seeking hegemony in the region).

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Describe the culture of welcome in Jordan.

Khair Diabat:

It is the cornerstone of every Jordanian house regardless of cultural or religious differences.

Svenja van Gunsteren:

Given your answers, how would you evaluate the stability of Jordan?

Khair Diabat:

Until now Jordan is stable but I fear that the bad economic situation will destroy this stability in the coming years!