



The Social, Cultural and Economic Impacts of Syrian Refugees on the Governorate of Maan

An analytical field study

2015

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Preface

The idea of conducting this study came after the finalization and launching of a previous broad-scope study on the socio-economic impact of the Syrian refugees on Jordan, published in mid 2014¹. It was a unique study as it broached the issue from the cost-benefit perspective and was prepared with the generous funding and support of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). Dr. Naser Abu Zaytoun has the credit of correctly proposing that a similar study should be made with its scope narrowed down to the governorates level. Within the scholarly circle of light, particular attention should be given to the socio-cultural and economic impacts of the issue of Syrian refugees. We need, eventually, to figure out the correct frameworks of integrating, assimilating and dealing with the present issue on Jordan. I have found such an endeavor of particular significance given the clearly prolonged nature of the Syrian crisis, which barely gives hopes for a solution on the short term. In the best and most optimistic scenarios, the crisis does not seem to end within the next ten years, and even if it ends then, its wake will still be felt for longer periods of time. The initiative was warmly welcomed by KAS-Jordan, and its resident representative Dr. Otmar Oehring has, thankfully, been eager to voice his organization's support of the study. The Governorate of Maan has been chosen, because it was a region most affected by the local, regional and international repercussions of the Syrian crisis. It is even singled out as the most salient nationwide in facing and addressing lots of local, regional and international issues.

But the place per se and the probing of transformational side effects of this "choking crisis" on Maan are not the only factors that uniquely set this study apart from other ones. The comprehensive field analytical method of study is not less instrumental. Using the random sampling method, the study was keen to examine, with an analytical eye, the various views on social, cultural and economic issues of the study's two main populations: refugees and nationals. However, the study still did not overlook the significance of secondary data, which is either published in the public domain or made available by the official and semi-official agencies. It also derived firsthand data from direct interviews and observed the privacy and confidentiality of the informants to give those a space of free expression and come up with the most possible required and available transparent and informative input.

With this being said, the study has been meticulously prepared by the researchers, particularly Dr. Naser Abu Zaytoun and the field and analytical work team, who made outstanding efforts in bringing this study into light. Let us hope that this study will help to inform decision makers and those concerned with the extraction of lessons to be learnt, particularly when it comes to the issue of integrating refugees into their host communities. It wants to dig more into the projections of the present unprecedented phenomenon of refugees' impacts on the governorates level starting to unfold since the outbreak of the crisis.

As a lead researcher, I do not really have a word to sincerely thank, on behalf of my colleagues in the team, KAS-Jordan, particularly Dr. Otmar Oehring, for their genuine interest in and generous funding of the study. Their passion for making the benefits of the study reach out to the largest segments of concerned people and decision makers is highly appreciated. My thanks also go to the researcher's team, particularly Dr. Naser Abu Zaytoun, whose dynamism and follow-up have been instrumental for this study to see light. In addition, a thank you is due to Dr. Muhammad Al Nasarat, Mr. Basem Al Nuaimat and all members of the field team for their invaluable contributions to the study.

Dr. Khalid Wasef Al Wazani
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¹The socio-economic impact of the Syrian refugees on Jordan: a benefit-cost framework, Khalid Al Wazani, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), Amman, 2014.

Introduction: Syrian Refugees in the Current Socio-Economic Context of Maan Governorate

The issue of refugees constitutes the most precarious file of the Syrian crisis, given the accompanied humanitarian, social, economic and educational dimensions. Jordan does face a host of challenges, but those are dwarfed by its unique geographical location, which makes it most vulnerable to political events. Jordan's experience with refugees is not new. It already received, for decades, several influxes of forced migrants, but not as intense as the Syrian refugees flowing into the country since the outbreak of the crisis in Syria in 2011. The impact of the Syrian refugees on Jordan has multifarious dimensions. Geographically, it reverberated around all governorates, though to varying degrees, with the majority of refugees centered in the northern regions adjacent to the Syrian borders. This spread of effect is perhaps attributed to the open border policy maintained by the government in respect of the Syrian refugees. Consequently, the adverse impact of the crisis went beyond the mere humanitarian sphere into other social, economic, political and security facets of life.

The impact has been unprecedentedly intense all over Jordan, in general. Demographically, the mass displacement of Syrians increased Jordan's population by 3% in less than a year from the start of the 2011 crisis. Today, Syrians living in Jordan account for over 1,300,000 including 600,000 officially registered as refugees. Out of this figure, only 127,000 live in designated camps, according to official statements, while the vast majority (around 80%) lives in local communities nationwide. Such rates and figures make it very relevant to embark on a study of the cultural, social and economic impacts of Syrian refugees on the governorates level. By making specific reference to Maan Governorate, this study is meant to usher in a series of similar studies to gauge the impact on every single governorate. One particular goal is to learn about the impacts of Syrian refugees on local development efforts and optimum ways of integrating those refugees within the country's developmental frameworks. However, the situation of Maan Government is highly important, given the vulnerability of its environment to changes on the regional, but also on the national level. Historically, Maan has always surfaced on most political, economic and social events throughout Jordan's development phases. The Syrian refugee issue has certainly had vital effects on several sectors in the governorate, which the study tries to expose using both field and secondary sources of information.

Maan has the largest area of the governorates that constitute the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan accounting for about 37% of the country's total area. Its location in the southern part of Jordan gives it the privilege of connecting the country with Saudi Arabian borders, though its population is the lowest amounting to less than 122,000, with a density not more than 3.7 people per sq. km of land area.² Accordingly, population centers sprawl over vast sporadic areas of the governorate. The governorate is administratively divided into four districts as shown in Table (1) below. Those districts are further subdivided into seven municipalities in addition to the special Petra Development and Tourism Region Authority and Maan Developmental Region. From a socio-demographic perspective, the governorate's population accounts for around 2% of the country's overall population, 52.4% males and 47.6% females. There are around 20,000 families with an average size of 5.9, which is higher than the 5.4 national average. Children form the largest age group of the population, while economically active people fall in the age group 15-64, accounting for around 58% of the total population, slightly below the national rate of 59%.

²This data and the remaining figures in this section are adopted from the Developmental Program of Maan Government 2013-2016. The program comes in a bundle of developmental programs initiated by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC) for all governorates.

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T A B L E (1)

Demographic Make-up of Maan Governorate

Administrative Divisions	Population	Demographic Dependency Rates	Area (sq.km)	Population Density	Below 15	15-64	65+
Maan Governorate	121400	72.2	32832.3	3.7	39.0	58.1	3.0
Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	65710	74.3	31681.7	2.1	40.1	57.4	2.6
Petra District	30710	70.4	239.9	128.0	37.8	58.7	3.5
Al Shoubak District	14280	59.2	383.0	37.3	32.5	62.8	4.6
Al Husseinia District	10700	84.7	527.6	20.3	44.0	54.1	1.9
Nationwide	6388000	68.2	88793.5	71.9	37.3	59.4	3.3

Source: Ministry of Planning and International Development (MOPIC), *The Development Program of Maan Governorate 2013-2016*.

Poverty rates in Maan Governorate hit 26.6%, which is nearly double the national average of 14.4%, according to 2010 official statistics. This makes the number of poor populations reach around 31,000, which is around 3.5% of total population under the poverty threshold in the country, with poor families in the governorate accounting for around 3.3% of the national poor family count. Yet, more alarming figures pertain to food poverty rates, as statistics indicate that Maan accounts for 16% of the national gross figures of people below food poverty line. This is illustrated in Table (2) below.

T A B L E (2)

Poverty rates in the most impoverished districts according to 2010 figures

SN	District	Subdistrict	District Poverty Rate (%)	Subdistrict Poverty Rate (%)
1	Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	Al Muraigha	31.4	50.5
2	Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	Ayl	31.4	48.3
3	Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	Al Jafr	31.4	33.8
4	Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	Izreh	31.4	26.5
5	Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	31.4	21.5

Source: Ministry of Planning and International Development (MOPIC), *The Development Program of Maan Governorate 2013-2016*, based on data from the General Statistics Department/ Poverty Statistics Section

Other official statistics talk about modest per capita household income standing at less than JD1,300, that is around 15% lower than the national average. On the educational level, the student-teacher ratio is better than the national ratio, but this advantage is ruined by high drop-out rates, which is almost double the national drop-out average. Illiteracy is also high standing at around 13% compared with 7% at the national level. University education is provided by one public university, Al Hussein bin Talal University, which has eight faculties, in addition to Maan College and Al Shoubak College, which are two colleges affiliated with Balqa Applied University. Medical services have, according to official statistics, the best coverage ratio in the country and are provided through two hospitals, 24 health care centers and 15 rural clinics. However, official indicators also show the inefficiency of the health sector in view of shortage of medical and treatment equipment and lack of specialized medical staff.

On the developmental economic indicators level, data shows that there are 1,400 economic enterprises running business in industry, real estate, transportation and trade. Employed people amount to around 23,000, accounting for about 19% of the governorate's total population. Unemployment rates, however, are higher than 15%, which exceeds the official 12% national rate, according to official statistics. Table (3) below shows the distribution of the employed people with the highest percentage of them working for the public sector, accounting to over 64% of overall manpower. Around 13% work in general trade, and only 6% work in tourism and agriculture. Migrant workers in the governorate account for 1.6% of overall migrant workers in the country.

T A B L E (3)

Key economic indicators and the labor market

Indicator	Maan Governorate	Nationwide
Number of workers	22886	1268093
Ratio of workers	1.8%	
Number of the unemployed	5385	175470
Ratio of the unemployed	3%	
Number of migrant workers	4543	279798
Ratio of migrant workers	1.6%	
Average raw economic participation	27.7	24.7
Average refined economic participation	41.7	38.0
Unemployment rate	19	12.2
Inflation rate	4.83	4.77
Per capita household income (JD)	7513.7	8823.9
Average annual family spending (JD)	6891.3	9626.0
Average per capita income (JD)	1330.1	1660.2
Average per capita spending (JD)	1191.9	1793.0
Poverty rate (%)	26.6	14.4
Middle class family ratio (2008)	29.6	41.0

Source: Ministry of Planning and International Development (MOPIC), *The Development Program of Maan Governorate 2013-2016*, based on data from the General Statistics Department, Ministry of Labor and Civil Service Bureau 2012, 2011.

In the labor market, the economic participation of women in Maan accounted for 43.7% of total manpower compared with 12.1% on the national level. This fairly high rate is attributed to the nature of economic activities that give room for more working women, particularly in health services, defense and public administration. (*Labor and Unemployment Survey*, General Statistics Department, 2013) The economic participation of women in Maan is concentrated in education (54.5%) followed by public administration and defense (19.1%) and human health care and social service (16.2%). (National Center for Human Resources Development (NCHRD), 2012)

On the economic sectors level, mining and extractive industries, particularly phosphate, have proven to be a promising sector in Maan. That sector attracts job seekers, thanks to the immense underexploited natural resources bestowed on the governorate. Those invaluable natural resources include, in addition to phosphate, limestone, clay, sandstone, basalt, semi-precious gemstones, to mention a few. However, those resources are exploited mainly as raw material, and are still in need for integrated industrial structures to allow for more employment opportunities and increased production, hence better income for the population in the governorate. In tourism, the governorate has jurisdiction on the historical and archeological city of Petra, which was recently announced as one of the world's seven wonders. The privilege, however, does not reflect on good real returns for the government. As for agriculture and livestock, the governorate enjoys a relatively good position compared with Jordan's available resources. Cultivated lands in Maan account for around 7% of total cultivated lands in the country, which is a good rate given the low population of the governorate accounting to less than 2% of Jordan's total population. Local livestock accounts for around 8% of the country's total animal production, which is also a fair rate for both local consumption and national and regional export. However, the agricultural policies in place are too weak to place the governorate on an appropriate position necessary to generate income for its population and maintain its food resources and livestock.

On the infrastructure level, transportation, according to official estimates, are somehow satisfactory. Means of transportation are variously available and use main roads and feeder roads well interconnecting residential areas. Water supply services are appropriately available for those residential areas, the same estimates say. The same quality of services is offered in electricity, telephone, telegram, mobile phone and information and communication technology sectors.

In conclusion, the Maan Governorate Developmental Program clearly shows that the main developmental problems facing the governorate boil down to poverty, unemployment, school dropouts, reduced passing rates at the secondary educational level, increased illiteracy, decreased income and spending, shortage of health care professionals and increased family sizes. All of those challenges oversize similar ones at the national level. Of relevance is the abnormal increase caused by the inflows of Syrian refugees by over 6%, adding to the huge developmental burden on the already strained governorate. The developmental pressures, therefore, imposed by the coming of around 7,000 Syrian refugees, pose a serious challenge to developmental efforts, human resources and households living in the governorate. By relying on field analysis of the Syrian refugee burden, the present study seeks to uncover the real situation as felt by both the Maani hosts and Syrian refugee guests. Perhaps, this will inform decision makers and donors in taking appropriate measures to overcome, if not prevent a social, cultural and economic crisis that may erupt at any time. Maan is a disadvantaged governorate according to all official economic, development and social indicators, and the situation may become alarming if more burdens are placed on it.

The next chapter will describe the scientific methodology used in the study to expose the economic, social and cultural effects of the Syrian refugee issue on Maan. The discussion ensues on the findings attained from interviewing a sample population of Syrian refugees and Maanis. The resulting outcomes and recommendations are meant to contribute to the policy making exercise for the integration of refugees and mitigation of current and projected disputes between the hosts and refugee populations.

Scientific Methodology and Theoretical Framework

As mentioned earlier, the study tries to shed light on the impact of Syrian refugees on the social, cultural and economic aspects of Maan Governorate. Official statistics³ talk about the existence of 1,541 Syrian refugee families in Maan, amounting in total to 6,607 persons at the time of the study. The percentage accounts for 2% of total Syrian refugees in the country and 6% of Maan's population. The refugees in question do not live in standalone camps or an independent community but in the local communities. This fact facilitates their social interaction with the local community, especially given the compatibility between the two populations in terms of religion and ethnicity. Consequently, a good percentage of refugees started to integrate, though partially, in the local communities, thanks to labor relations and stronger ties such as intermarriages (if no alternatives are made). But, it goes without saying that the two populations still have differences, at least in culture. Such differences incurred an invisible cost manifested in the form of direct and indirect impacts on the governorate. The abrupt demographic growth is putting more pressures on the infrastructure and public facilities, particularly education, electricity, water and health care, not to mention the special impact on the labor market. In light of this situation, the study tries to answer the following question:

"What are the cultural, social and economic impacts of Syrian refugees on Maan Governorate?"

To answer this question, the study will search a number of other questions addressing the following points:

1. What are the demographic, social, cultural and economic characteristics of Syrian refugees living in Maan Governorate?
2. What is the nature of social capital between Syrians and Jordanians?
3. What is the impact of Syrian workers on the labor market in Maan Governorate?
4. What are the Jordanians' mindsets and conceptions about Syrians?

The study is significant because of the following facts:

- No studies have so far been made on Maan Governorate or on any other individual governorates to cover the scientific frameworks of refugee issues in such a way as to put those issues in a social perspective as they affect in reality land and humans.
- The study adopts a hybrid methodology that uses both quantitative and qualitative tools to provide a comprehensive analysis of all issues under the current study.
- This study seeks to bring insight into the impact of Syrian refugees from first-hand field, rather than just from indirect or secondary data. As such, it exposes the social and economic characteristics of the Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate to help identify the [direct and indirect] socioeconomic impacts on the socioeconomic texture of the governorate. The study further helps in the provision of information and data on the spread of Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate. It will also have an input to those efforts made to lay down the appropriate foundations to address this phenomenon, particularly when dealing with differences. Eventually, the aim is to reach the best way of future integration of Syrian refugees in the host communities. This is particularly important given the prolonged nature of the Syrian crisis, which requires a sort of accommodation to cope with the crisis's development and consequences for an expected long period of time.

The study's goals are as follows:

1. Learn about the demographic, social, cultural and economic characteristics of Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate.
2. Monitor the impact of Syrian workers on the labor market in Maan Governorate.
3. Define the nature of social capital as existing between Syrians and Jordanians.
4. Describe the Jordanians' mindsets, conceptions and perceptions about Syrians.

³Ministry of Interior, Maan Governorate, 2014.

Literature Review

No previous study has specifically dealt with the social, cultural and economic problems arising from the presence of Syrian refugees on the governorates or localities level. Even in the few studies and research that addressed the issue, discussion tended to be too broad without showing interest in specific governorates, including those in the north such as Al Mafraq and Irbid, which are the most vulnerable hosting over 50% of refugees. Some studies, however, have addressed the refugee issue with some quantitative and objective analysis. Those can be summarized as follows:

I. The socio-economic impact of the Syrian refugees on Jordan: a benefit-cost framework, Khalid Al Wazani, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), Amman, 2014.

That study relied on an integrated approach as it uncovered the benefits and costs of the Syrian refugee crisis on the Jordanian economy. It offered, for the first time, an integrated matrix of macro and micro effects of the crisis, by citing not only the costs but also the benefits of the crisis. One main finding was that Jordan's economy can make several benefits just at the same time it sustains huge financial and community losses because of the large influxes of refugees. The study was fair enough to prepare an integrated trial balance showing the assets and liabilities incurred by the Syrian refugee crisis on the national economy. The conclusion was that on both the macro and micro levels, the costs were much higher than the benefits during the studied period 2012-2014.

II. The economic and social impacts of the Syrians crisis on Jordan's economy, Khalid Al Wazani, The Economic and Social Council, Amman, 2012

The study shed light on the economic and social effects of the Syrian refugees on Jordan. The main focus was on the direct and indirect costs on national economy with an analytical overview of some social effects of the crisis on Jordan's economy. In scope, it was not concerned with the impact of the crisis in Syria on Jordan's economy, but was narrowed down to the economic and social impact of the Syrian refugees estimated by over 216,000 flowing into camps and local communities for the period from March 2011 and the last quarter of 2012. It highlighted some facts and figures related to the problem of Syrian refugees in Jordan using available data from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and official Jordanian sources.

The last third of the study was spared for a discussion on the economic and social effects of the Syrian refugees on Jordan's economy. It relied on a quantitative analytical mythology that considered the calculation of the cost per capita and assessment of the total quantitative impact of the refugees throughout the period from June 2011 until the end of October 2012.

The study concluded that the Syrian refugees had a direct impact on Jordanian labor market as they acquired around 38,000 job opportunities until 2012. This figure accounts for 40% of jobs that need to be created every year for national manpower and raises a serious challenge to the national recruitment strategy and national replacement policies.

III. Palestine Refugees from Syria to Lebanon: Legal and Humanitarian Challenges, The Palestinian Foundation for Human Rights (Shahed), a field study, September 2012.

A task force from the Palestinian Foundation for Human Rights (Shahed) made field visits to Palestinian refugees from Syria living in Palestinian camps in Lebanon (North, Beka'a, Beirut, Saida and Tyre). It spotted the situation and needs of refugees using specifically made questionnaires. A number of 1,837 Palestinian families coming from Syria had been documented by September 2012, and that figure was obtained from a thorough study of lists prepared by people committees, charitable organizations and Lebanese public security estimates.

The study researched and analyzed 509 families to learn about their situation and needs through interviews and observations to reflect the reality as it was. It aimed at identifying the needs of Palestinian refugees from Syria, deciding on the interventions needed to help them, and then reporting such findings to the international donors' community and international, regional and local international organizations to encourage them to help the refugees. Here is a summary of the main findings of that study:

- 1- Refugee families have become an additional burden on the camp residents, particularly because the majority of incoming refugees sought shelter with relatives in tiny houses, causing many members of the Palestinian families to leave their homes.
- 2- The economic conditions of host families have exacerbated due to the non-provision of services for the newcomers.
- 3- Palestinians from Syria face health risks, as they are not covered by total health care schemes offered by the UNRWA to registered Palestinian refugees. Children are most vulnerable, in particular.
- 4- The UNRWA has no clear vision on the education of children because of differences between Syrian and Lebanese curricula and huge numbers of students that may not be accommodated by the Lebanese schools.
- 5- Non-governmental organizations are facing a big challenge distracting their attention to refugees at the expense of their originally targeted beneficiaries.

IV. The Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC) Jordan 2014.

The report discussed the impact of the Syrian crisis on Jordan, with specific reference to the effects of the Syrian refugee crisis on education, electricity, health care, housing, labor and unemployment, social protection and water. Al Mafraq was found to top the governorates most vulnerable to the Syrian refugee inflows and that unemployment of young Jordanians is increasing because they are replaced by the cheaper Syrian manpower. Child labor was also on the rise after the displacement of large numbers of Syrians into Jordan. The report also spotted an increasing 300% demand on goods and commodities in some areas of the country.

V. The impact of refugees on the host country's economy, with specific reference to Jordan, Basem Al Lawzi, 2013, Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business, vol.5.No.

The study discussed the impact of refugees on Jordan's economy. The impact was measured by using the unemployment rates, direct refugees investment and rising prices. It concluded that the refugees had a positive impact on unemployment and foodstuff prices. In addition, there was a big impact of refugees on the political situation in the country, as indicated by 65% of the study's population. 70% and 60% said the refugees did have social and environmental impacts, respectively.

VI. Reflections and Costs of Hosting Iraqi Refugees in Jordan, Fafo Norwegian Research Institute, 2007.

The study was made after Fafo researchers completed their first field work on the neighboring countries level to identify the numbers, locations, social strata and ethnic and religious grounds of Iraqis. The study revealed that there were 450,000 Iraqis living in Jordan in addition to 50,000 mobile ones commuting from and to the country. Official estimates, however, talk about 750,000 Iraqi refugees living in Jordan.

It was found that Iraqis received good education in Jordan. Divided by age, 50% were above 25 years old, 28% were under 15 and the rest were in the age group 15-25. On the sectarian distribution level, it was also found that eight Iraqis out of ten were Sunni Muslims or of Arab origins.

Methodological Framework

To achieve its goals, the present study used the “social survey by sample” approach. The purpose was to help in looking into the various conditions of the Syrian refugee families in Maan Governorate in terms of size and economic, educational and social levels.

The First Sample: A stratified random sample was taken representing around 28% of total refugee families in Maan Governorate, amounting to nearly 440, geographically distributed all over the governorate as follows:

T A B L E (4)

The distribution of Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate

Area	Number of families	Number of family members
Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	1221	5225
Petra District	227	952
Al Shoubak District	78	380
Al Husseineya District	15	50
Total	1541	6607

T A B L E (5)

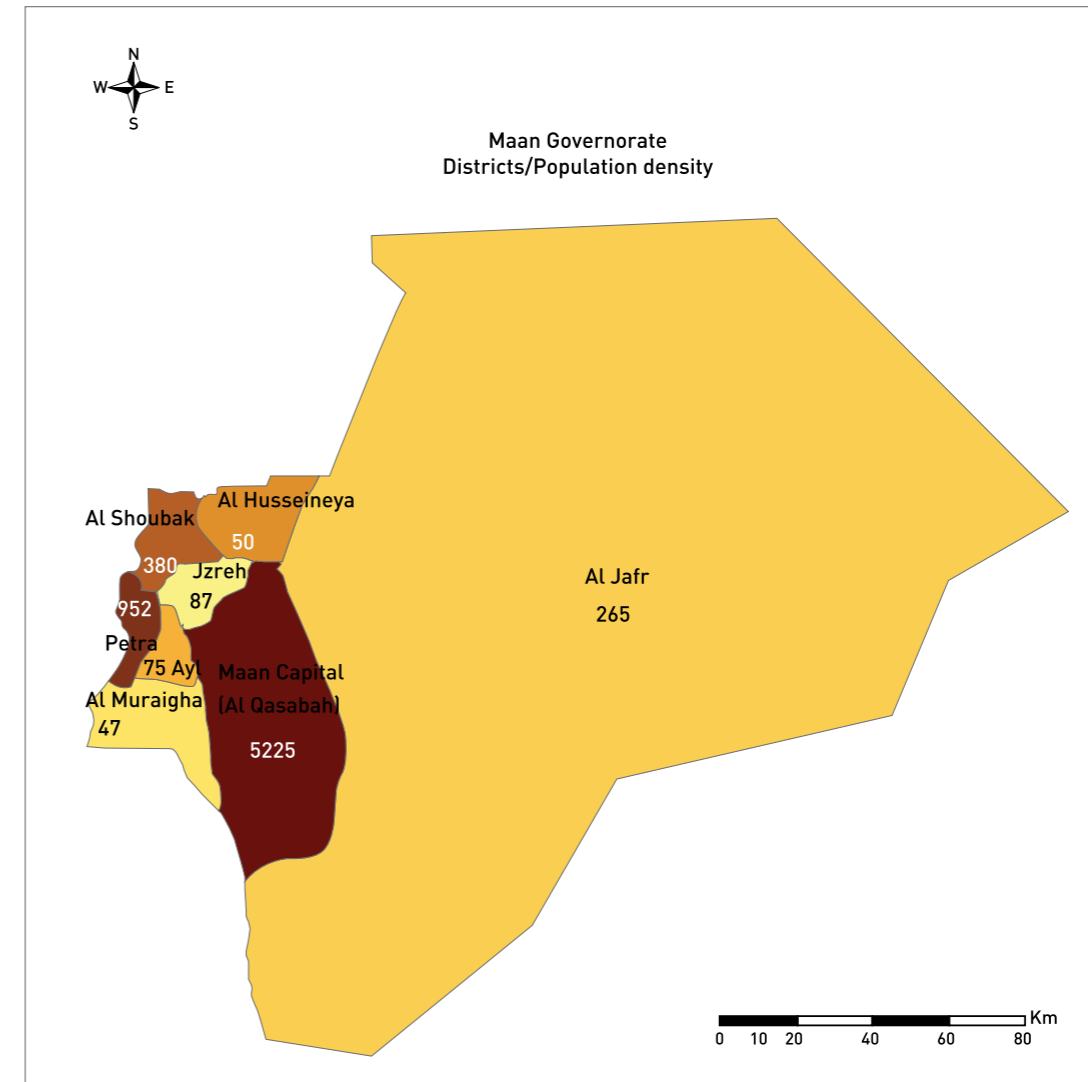
The distribution of Syrian refugees sample size in Maan Governorate

District	Number	Ratio (%)
Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	290	66
Petra	102	23
Al Shoubak	48	11
Total	440	100

Figure (1) shows the distribution of sampled Syrian refugees on the various areas of Maan Governorate: Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah), Petra District and Al Shoubak District.

Figure (1)

The geographical distribution of Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate (2014)



The Second Sample: For the application of the questionnaire of measuring the social, cultural and economic impact of Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate, the study’s sample population comprised 440 individuals. They were distributed on the various areas of the governorate as illustrated in Table (5). They have been chosen by using the simple random sample technique. The number of informants was defined by analyzing an optional random sample comprising 30 individuals covering the targeted areas.¹

¹The average standard deviation of their educational levels was calculated at 0.71088 The required sample size was calculated based on a confidence level of 90% and a permissible error of 0.05 as follows: whereas e: Permissible Error, S: Standard deviation of the sample, N: The required sample size:

$$N = \frac{Z^2 S^2}{e^2}$$

$$\text{The required sample size} = \frac{[1.645]^2 \times [0.71088]^2}{(0.05)^2} = \text{around 547 informants}$$

TABLE (6)

Distribution of sample informants according to areas in Maan Governorate

District	Number	Ratio (%)
Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	397	72.2
Petra District	100	18.2
Al Shoubak District	53	9.6
Total	550	100

Table (3) shows the general distribution of the study sample on the main administrative divisions in Maan, with Al Qasabah District accounting for 72.2% of the sample followed by Petra District (18.2%) and Al Shoubak District (9.6%). The figures agree with the increasing numbers of Syrian refugees in each area, so the distribution makes the sample appropriate in representing the study population.

Data collection sources and techniques

Data collection sources are of two types:

Secondary sources: Those are the bulk of statistics and studies issued by several agencies and published in books, periodicals and statistical pamphlets released by the General Statistics Department, including a variety of data that relate to the economic and social information of the study population.

Field sources: Information from this source has been obtained using the following techniques:

I. Being the most appropriate tool for a social survey and for application on a large population, questionnaires have been used in collecting data from the study sample in two ways:

- The first questionnaire was used to collect the required demographic, social, cultural and economic data of Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate.
- The second questionnaire was meant to gauge the economic, social and cultural effects of the Syrian refugees then feed the resulting data into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) after the required software is designed for the tabulation and categorization of data.

II. The interview guide: Interviews form a sort of an oral questionnaire in which questions and answers are exchanged orally. An interview guide was devised for the purposes of making in-depth studies to learn about the following particular issues: Social relations network, cooperation between Jordanians and Syrians, level of confidence between the two populations or trust in charitable organizations and UNHCR, the nature of social relations and method of integration in the labor market.

III. Observation by participation: Observation is an important means of data collection requiring the researcher to be a member of a group of individuals so that they freely cooperate with him. The purpose is for the researcher to observe the dynamism of social relations, customs and traditions and culture of the Syrian refugees.

Study period:

The collection of firsthand quantitative and qualitative data took two months (September-October 2014) through the application of the study's tool on a sample population from the local community and another one from the Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate.

Sample population:

The first part of this study already referred to the socio-economic characteristics of Maan Governorate, but perhaps it is useful here to refer in a passing way to some socio-economic indicators of the governorate in light of up-to-date available official data as shown in Table (7) below.

TABLE (7)

Economic and social characteristics of the Maan Governorate population, 2010

Indicator	On the governorate level	Nationwide
Per capital household income (JD)	7513.7	8823.9
Average household annual spending on services and health care (JD)	113.5	212.9
Average household annual spending on food (JD)	2866.2	3812.4
Average household annual spending on education (JD)	224.8	549.4
* General unemployment rate (%)	15.7	12.5
* General unemployment rate among males (%)	12.9	10.4
* General unemployment rate among females (%)	26.4	21.7
* Poverty rate (%)	26.6	14.4
* Revised economic activity rate (%)	41.7	39.5

Source: General Statistics Department, Labor and Unemployment Survey, 2012-2013 General Statistics Department, Household Spending and Income Survey, 2010

According to Table (7), the per capita household income in Maan Governorate is JD7,513.7, compared with JD8,823.9 on the national level. As for household spending, it is less than similar nationwide figures amounting to: services and health care (JD113.5), food (JD2,866) and education (JD549) compared with JD212.9, JD3,812 and JD549, respectively on the national level. Poverty rates in Maan Governorate are the highest in the country hitting 26.6% compared with 14.4% on the national level. Unemployment was on the rise reaching 15.7%, the highest in the country with the national average standing at 12.5%.

Some methodological theoretical issues supportive of the study

The subject case of the study can be explained by referring to the following theoretical issues:

The first issue: Social networks afford individuals some sort of protection, fend off risks or offer solutions for the problems they may face. They also offer tributaries supporting the status of an individual in the society.

The second issue: An individual's accessibility to resources through social capital and his own social relations, acquaintances and affiliations depends on the strength and stability of such relations. It also depends on the resources available for such relations built by the individual (the Syrian refugee). Cooperation and trust, as well, are main indicators of social capital.

The third issue: Trust is an important element of social capital on the personal but also on the institutional and public services levels. It gives a feeling of security and confidence in interpersonal relations and a sense of satisfaction about the services offered to them. It also reflects mutual expectations and obligations by neighbors, voluntary institutions and the local community.

The fourth issue: Social capital helps in the creation of social relations networks owned by the individual. Through such networks, an individual is entitled to those interactions that can provide self-gratification.

The third issue: The increased value of gains that an individual acquires by performing an act increases the likelihood of him performing that act again. Interactions are not restricted to monetary considerations, but they transcend that to symbolic values, including, for example, approval and respect. Social interactions, in this context, require placing trust in others to promote interpersonal and mutual relations.

The sixth issue: Rationality, defined by Max Weber as "the best means to reach the best goals."

The Social, Cultural and Economic Dimensions of Syrian Refugees in Maan Governorate as Deduced from the Field study

Social and economic characteristics of Syrians

The field data in Table (8) breaks down the study population by age groups. The highest is the age group 15-64 years (55.3%) the majority of whom are in the labor market. It is followed by the age group 1-14 (43.7%), which is a youthful group, finally followed by the age group →=65+ (1%).

TABLE (8)

Age groups by sex

Age	Sex				Total	
	Female		Male			
1-14	460	43.8	453	43.6	913	43.7
15-64	583	55.4	572	55.2	1155	55.3
→=65+	9	0.9	12	1.2	21	1
Total	1052	100	1037	100	2089	100

TABLE (9)

Marital status by sex

Marital status	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)
Single	608	57.8	646	62.3	1254	60
Married	411	39.1	383	36.9	794	38
Divorced	1	0.01	3	0.3	4	0.2
Widow/widower	30	2.9	5	0.5	35	1.7
Separated	2	0.2	0	0	2	0.1
Total	1052	100	1037	100	2089	100

The field data in Table (9) reflects an increase in the proportion of bachelors by 60%, which is in turn higher in males (62.3%) than in females. It is followed by the married (38%), which is higher among females (39.1% compared to 36.9% of males). This concentrates the majority of the study population in the largest two categories: single and married, which can imply a stronger manpower asset among the study population and a high percentage of youthful populations among the Syrian refugees. Widows and widowers come next with a percentage of 1.7% followed by divorced and separated with percentages of 0.2% and 0.1%, respectively.

TABLE (10)

Educational level by sex

Educational level	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)
Illiterate	74	8.8	51	6.1	125	7.4
Literate (read and write)	45	5.3	56	6.7	101	6
Basic education	604	71.6	621	73.8	1225	72.7
secondary	96	11.4	88	10.5	184	10.9
Intermediate college	15	1.8	17	2	32	1.9
Bachelor's degree	6	0.7	7	0.8	13	0.8
Post-graduate diploma	1	0.1	0	0	1	0.1
Master's degree	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.1
Doctorate degree	1	0.1	0	0	1	0.1
Total	843	100	841	100	1684	100

The field data in Table (10) shows an increase in the percentage of those who have attained basic education (72.7%) followed by those who completed secondary education (10.9%). Illiterates come next (7.4%), followed by those who can read and write (6%), holders of intermediate college degrees (1.9%), and holders of postgraduate diplomas, master's and doctorate degrees (0.1%). The data shows a decrease in the educational level among the study population, which can reflect, in turn, on the type of economic activities the informants pursue.

Learning about the economic characteristics of Syrians is significant because they naturally reflect the needs of Syrians and their abilities to cope with the Jordanian society.

TABLE (11)

Educational level by sex

Manpower	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)
Employed	108	16	520	73.1	628	45.3
Unemployed (previously employed)	5	0.7	47	6.6	52	3.7
Unemployed (never employed)	5	0.7	27	3.8	32	2.3
Student	128	18.9	110	15.5	238	17.2
Housewife	425	62.9	0	0	425	30.6
Persons with disability	4	0.6	4	0.6	8	0.6
Other	1	0.1	3	0.4	4	0.3
Total	676	100	711	100	1387	100

Field data in Table (11) shows an increase in the employed by a percentage of 45.3%, which gets higher with males (73.1%) than with females (16%). This data shows an increase in the number of employed people, who get work in the local market and have an influence on the social and economic conditions of the governorate. They are followed by housewives (30.6%), students (17.2%), unemployed (previously employed) (3.7%), unemployed (never employed) (2.3%), persons with disability (0.6%) and those who work in other jobs (0.3%). The effect of such rates on the local labor market will be discussed later in the ensuing chapters.

T A B L E (1 2)

Breakdown of main career/type of work by sex

Main career/type of work	Sex				Total	
	Female		Male			
	Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio
Superintendent	0	0	8	1.5	8	1.3
Engineer	0	0	3	0.6	3	0.5
Physician	0	0	4	0.8	4	0.6
Driver	0	0	3	0.6	3	0.5
Watchman	0	0	1	0.2	1	0.2
Accountant	0	0	2	0.4	2	0.3
Stonemason	0	0	2	0.4	2	0.3
Farmer	42	38.9	73	14	115	18.3
Worker	10	9.3	153	29.4	163	26
Muezzin	0	0	1	0.2	1	0.2
Technician (electrician, mechanist, hairdresser, tailor)	36	33.3	84	16.2	120	19.1
Merchant (retail store owner)	1	0.9	14	2.7	15	2.4
Construction contractor, wood framer, painter	0	0	33	6.3	33	5.3
Bricklayer	0	0	15	2.9	15	2.4
Butcher	0	0	9	1.8	9	1.4
Blacksmith	0	0	17	3.3	17	2.7
Freelance	13	12	31	6	44	7
Carpenter	0	0	26	5	26	4.1
Chemist	0	0	1	0.2	1	0.2
Salesman	0	0	1	0.2	1	0.2
Cook	0	0	22	4.2	22	3.5
Tourist guide	0	0	1	0.2	1	0.2
Hotel manager + hotel reservation manager	0	0	4	0.8	4	0.6
Baker	0	0	10	1.9	10	1.6
International organization/ associations	6	5.6	2	0.4	8	1.3
Total	108	100	520	100	628	100

The field data in Table (12) shows an increase in the number of people taking "worker" as a career by 26%. The ratio of male workers rise to 29.4% compared with 9.3% of females. Next come those who work as technicians (electrician, mechanist, hairdresser, tailor) with a percentage of 19.1%. Farmers account for 18.3% followed by freelancers (7%), construction contractors, wood framers and painters (5.3%), merchants (4.1%), cooks (3.5%), other jobs such as tourist guide, watchman, muezzin, salesman and chemist (0.2%). The table clearly shows that the majority of those careers are skillful jobs, which answer to the demands of the craftsmanship local market. In fact, skillful jobs can easily make Syrians integrate in the local community and play a role in shaping the social relations between Syrians and their Maani hosts. Interestingly, however, the majority of those careers are not a-sought-after jobs for the Jordanians, which implies that several Syrians have created their own sources of livelihood without really competing with the Jordanian or migrant laborers alike. This point will be elaborated later on in this study.

T A B L E (1 3)

Occupational status by sex

Occupational status	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)
Works for wages/ employed	85	78.7	470	90	555	88.4
Employer	3	2.8	11	2.1	14	2.2
Self-employed	16	14.8	34	6.5	50	8
Family own business without wages	4	3.7	3	0.6	7	1.1
Other	0	0	2	0.4	2	0.3
Total	108	100	520	100	628	100

Field data in Table (13) shows an increase in the number of those employed for wages by a percentage of 88.4%, which gets higher with males (90%) than with females (78.7%). Following are self-employed people (8%), employers (2.22%), family business workers for no wages (1.1%) then workers in other areas (0.3%). This distribution shows that the majority of workers work for other people, which influences the local market by reducing local population's chances to work. This fact can be justified by referring to several points to be addressed in the next sections of the study. Syrian workers are more skillful and more willing to accept lower wages and work for longer hours. Local Jordanian laborers, on the other hand, tend to refuse to work under such conditions looking, instead, for better-off posts in the public service sector. Syrians have also an advantage over migrant workers. They receive cash and in-kind aid from UNHCR and other donors, which makes it feasible for the Syrians to accept lower wage jobs to the detriment of migrant workers, who look for a higher pay.

T A B L E (1 4)

Economic activity according to sex

Occupational status	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)
Agricultural	40	37	71	13.7	111	17.7
Commercial	8	7.4	56	10.8	64	10.2
Industrial	7	6.5	103	19.8	110	17.5
Service	50	46.3	240	46.2	289	46
Constructions	0	0	45	8.7	46	7.3
Other	3	2.8	5	1	8	1.3
Total	108	100	520	100	628	100

The field data in Table (14) shows an increase in the numbers of those working in services (46%), which reflects an increase in the interdependency of services and needs of the population in Maan Governorate. This, in turn, encourages social and cultural interactions between the Syrians and local community. Syrian workers are increasingly employed, for competitive wages, in restaurants, commercial stores and handicraft shops. One main effect of this phenomenon is the deprivation of large numbers of nationals of opportunities to get a job in those sectors. Next affected sectors are agriculture (17.7%), industries (17.5%), trade (10.2%), constructions (7.3%) then other activities (1.3%). There is no doubt, however, that this distribution of Syrians on the various economic activities reflects integration in the labor market and social life in Maan Governorate. The effects of Syrians entering the labor market have also been negative, as several Jordanians were reported to have lost their works to the Syrians.

T A B L E (1 5)

Monthly income from work (JD) according to sex

Last month earning from work (JD)	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)
→100	63	12.1	38	35.2	101	16.1
100-199	274	52.7	53	49.1	327	52.1
200-299	165	31.7	17	15.7	182	29
300-399	16	3.1	0	0	16	2.5
400-499	2	0.4	0	0	2	0.3
← 500	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	520	100	108	100	628	100

Field data in Table (15) shows an increase in the numbers of those whose monthly income ranges from JD100-199 by a percentage of 52.1%, followed by earners of JD200-299 (29%) then those who earn less than JD100 a month (16.1%) The finding reflects a divergence in income levels among the majority of the subject Syrian informants, but it is also an indication that Syrian workers accept lower wages, despite the minimum wage limit of JD190 mandated by the law. Next are those with monthly incomes ranging from JD300-399 with a percentage of 2.5%, followed by those who earn JD400-499 (0.3%). Obviously, therefore, 68% of Syrian refugees work below the minimum wages, and the vast majority of them (98%) accept incomes less than JD300, which is less than satisfactory for Jordanian workers, who just want the meets end. Given the average family in Maan sizing 5.9, the above income makes any family that earns it among the most impoverished families in the country. Accepting such low income jobs will be a big challenge for any local family. One thing that can explain why Syrians agree take low-paying jobs is that they already get cash and in-kind assistance from official, international and non-official organizations.

Syrians' Social Relations Network

Social relations are important in building up the social capital. They grow in a specific network governed by a number of norms and values, such as mutual trust and respect, commitment and cooperation.

T A B L E (1 6)

Strength of social relations with Jordanians in Maan Governorate

Do you maintain social relations with Jordanians in Maan Governorate?	Sex				Total	
	Female		Male		Number	Ratio (%)
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)		
Yes	32	60.4	281	72.6	313	71.1
No	21	39.6	106	27.4	127	28.9
Total	53	100	387	100	440	100

Field data in Table (16) shows an increase in the number of people who maintain social relationships with Jordanians in Maan Governorate by a percentage of 71.1%. Males have more relationships than females (72.6% compared with 60.4%). Belonging to a community is achieved through individuals interacting and building relations between each other. The motivation of such interactions is the very natural human inclination of individuals to identify themselves with a community and rely on it in satisfying their needs. The data indicates a rising trend of social capital, which springs from common social relations and is nourished by building trust and collective work. **The issue supports the above fifth theory**, which proposes direct relations between one's gains from performing a given act and his inclination to repeat such an act. It also appears that interactions are not limited to monetary considerations as much as they also relate to symbolic values such as approval and respect. However, social interactions require placing trust in others to promote interpersonal and mutual relations. In contrast, there are still people who do not maintain social relations with Jordanians in Maan Governorate with a percentage of 28.9%, which gets higher with females (39.6%) than with males (27.4%).

The relations bonding Syrian refugees with Jordanians varied as follows:

T A B L E (1 7)

Strength of social relations with Jordanians in Maan Governorate

What types of relations bond you with local Jordanians?	Sex				Total	
	Female		Male		Number	Ratio (%)
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)		
Friends	6	18.8	55	19.6	61	19.5
Neighbors	19	59.4	161	57.3	180	57.5
Workmates	7	21.9	62	22.1	69	22
Other	0	0	3	1.1	3	1
Total	32	100	281	100	313	100

Field data in Table (17) shows an increase in neighborhood relations by 57.5%, and such relations will surely allow for several forms of social and cultural interaction. They also help integration into the cultural texture in several ways. Next are workmate relations with a percentage of 22%, then friendship (19.5%). The latter form of ties has without doubt an influential impact because friends are most affected by friends. Other forms of ties account for 1%. This data reflects the nature and forms of interaction and cooperation between Syrians and Maan Governorate's population in a relationship that shows a high level of social interactions. **The issue confirms the first theory**, which emphasized that if made available, social relations networks afford individuals some sort of protection, fend off risks or offer solutions for the problems they may face. They also offer tributaries supporting the status of an individual in the society.

Exchanging visits takes up an important position in oriental communities, which cherish visits as a source of strengthening mutual relations, exchanging views, easing tensions, giving help, showing solidarity in moments of joy and grief and paving the way for more participation in a lot of activities.

T A B L E (1 8)

Frequency of visits between refugees and locals

Do you exchange visits with the locals?	Sex				Total	
	Female		Male		Number	Ratio (%)
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)		
Yes	23	74.2	195	69.1	218	69.6
No	8	25.8	87	30.9	95	30.4
Total	31	100	282	100	313	100

Field data in Table (18) shows an increase in the number of Syrian refugees who exchange visits with local nationals standing at a rate of 69.6%, implying a necessary rise of social interaction and integration in the local community. **The issue confirms the fourth theory:** Social capital helps in the creation of social relations networks owned by the individual. Through such networks, an individual is entitled to those interactions that can provide self-gratification.

In fact, there is nothing in the above detailed relations that would guarantee intimacy of relations between Jordanians and Syrians. Evidence collected from the field and qualitative analysis of interviews show that such relations exist but also suggest that they are, in their largest part, not normal and imbalanced.

Interviewed Syrians said they hated life in their new setting because for them, seeking social protection and satisfaction of needs meant they had to be submissive. A.Y.S said: *"I wish to go back to Syria as soon as possible."* *"Jordanians do not seem to know Syrians. They have a misconception about us... I knew that through my interactions with them,"* he/she added.

The type of behavior shown on Syrians, though unspoken, as imposed by existential concerns indicates their dismay of submitting to people for survival.

Another informant (M.S) reiterated the same thoughts as he/she said: *"Jordanians do not know what Syrians are. Interpersonal relations are very difficult. Some are obstinate in clinging to their own views. They do not want to work. They do not want to work. Some of them look down on us."* *"My problem with people" said M.A "I always have to accommodate a lot of them because there is no one to stand at my side. I keep silent a lot [when encountering them] and feel that they are angry with our presence and that they think we are competing with them in labor and economic and social life. I keep silent because I need to work."* R.A said: *"I spend most of my time at work. Jordanians exploit the Syrians because of our urgent need for work even if at lower wages than those earned by other workers."*

Refugees try, in one way or another, to conceal their real feelings and tend to praise and flatter the locals. J.A said: *"I arrived here in Maan at the beginning of the events in Syria. I have been working here for three years..... There were good people who helped me in the beginning, but I am now bent on flattering."* R.A said: *"The Maanis helped us. They supported us with furniture. I did not buy any piece."*

On the social relations between Syrian refugees and Jordanians, M.G and Y.S said: *"I got to know the people in the neighborhood through the Mosque. After prayers, we used to sit for a chat, but that is the limit of my contact with them. I do not exchange visits with them. I saw people envying us for receiving aid."* A.M said: *"I have very little contact with Jordanians. I deal with them as customers only. But I have good relations with my neighbors. They helped me in the beginning."* A female informant choosing the nickname Um Mahmoud said: *"I see Jordanian young men here not keen on work. They are not ambitious, and people here are very simple."* Those relations reflect the social capital. According to Kohlman, social capital exists neither in persons nor in the physical environment but in interpersonal relations and the ability to access information and benefits⁴

Lots of Syrians face criticism and are blamed as the reason for their precarious conditions. This resulted in them curbing their own reactions to the locals. They tended to show a rational image through which they could continue to live their life without any serious encounter. S.M said their relationship with Jordanians is limited: *"I work for long hours. This is why my contact with Jordanians is kept to the minimum. We frequently hear them saying to us: 'you are the reason for what happened to you.' But, what distinguishes this community from other ones is that they are spontaneous and simple."* M.O.H said: *"I worked for many of them who did not pay for my sweat. Jordanians do not pay our dues. We keep silent, for as the Syrian proverb says 'If you are not strong to fight, don't fight.'" M.S seems to agree as he mentions another Syrian proverb: "If you are not sure you will be able to kill, do not start the fight."*

⁴Izzat Hijazi, Social Capital as an Analytical Tool in National Social Sciences, Vol. 43, Issue 1, January, 2006, p.6.

The analysis of interviews correlates with Goffman's dramaturgy's theory and "all life is a stage on which we are all players" approach. He said *"life is, to a large degree, similar to the roles performed by actors on the front stage. Those are different from what is performed in the backstage, as the actors tend to hide before their audience their real life experience."* Thus, the Syrian refugee is presenting his personal character in the context of imitation that is imposed on him by the lived experience.

Level of Trust:

Trust is an essential brick in the construction of man's life. The loss is grave if there is no trust, but when relations are built on trust, the social texture gets more cohesive. It will be able to remove all uncertainties afflicting some members of the society making them skeptical towards others and keep away from them for ungrounded doubts.

The study's informants stress the relevance of Syrians' trust in the Jordanian society and refugee supporting organizations. Um Mahmoud said *"I live on UNHCR subsidies and I trust UNHCR. I have good relations with my Jordanian neighbors and exchange visits with them. They helped us."* Other informants (M.N, R.A, M.A and S.M) agreed saying *"We trust UNHCR."*

Trust is based on accessibility to information and transparency. For that reason, the Syrian refugees seem to trust UNHCR, which is an official organization. In contrast, they do not place their trust in other non-governmental organizations, on the assumption that those lack transparency in the flow of information. **The issue confirms the second theory:** An individual's accessibility to resources through social capital and his own social relations, acquaintances and affiliations depends on the strength and stability of such relations. It also depends on the resources available for such relations built by the individual (the Syrian refugee). Cooperation and trust both serve as an indicator in measuring the social capital.

Some informants refer to cases where they place their trust. R.A said: *"The Syrian refugees have trust not only in organizations but also in the society."* M.H said: *"In this area, the society is conservative. You are not afraid for your wife if she wishes to go shopping because people are religious and will not harass her."* M.N said: *"I only trust my employer. In cases of emergency, he is the one I go for. He has good means and is able to solve any problem. They have helped me a lot in money, medicine and treatment."* S.M, however, said: *"I only trust, to some degree, a selection of Jordanian friends. They are very few. I do not trust local non-governmental organizations but have trust in UNHCR".* Z.M said: *"I do not trust any civil society organization. I trust only UNHCR. I do not trust Jordanians or even Syrians. If anything happens to me, I call UNHCR's hotline."*

Sheikh Abu Ahmad said: *"I trust UNHCR and Jordanian official organizations. In this area, power is with tribal chiefs. The law is poorly enforced, which make me resort to notable figures known for sympathizing with Syrians and offering them charity."*

There are other informants, however, who do not trust civil society organizations like M.N, M.A and S.M. A.M said: *"I trust nobody. I do not trust civil society organizations."* R.A. trusts Jordanian official organizations, particularly the Jordanian health centers.

The degree of trust is zero with some informants like R.A, who said: *"I trust some Syrians only. I do not trust Jordanians."* Abu Bader said: *"I do not trust the judicial institutions. I do not trust that one can get remedy through those institutions but through notables or tribal chiefs only. I do not trust UNHCR."* Similarly M.A said: *"I trust nobody. I trust UNHCR and the medical institution. I do not trust local civil society organizations."* This explains the **third issue** which deems trust as "an important element of capital on the personal, institutional and public services level. It gives a feeling of security and confidence in interpersonal relations and a sense of satisfaction about the services offered to them. It also reflects mutual expectations and obligations by neighbors, voluntary institutions and the local community."

By reviewing the level of trust between Syrians and Jordanians, including official and civil society organizations, the study shows that Maan Governorate appears to be a community of high trust rates. This community has the healthy tendency of strong and spontaneous desire to communicate with others. This explains the proliferation of voluntary organizations and social structures harboring traditional patterns of social relations.

The Social, Cultural and Economic Impacts of Syrian refugees on the Governorate of Maan

The social and economic characteristics of the Jordanian study population:

Table (19) shows the general distribution of the study sample on the main administrative divisions in Maan, with Al Qasabah District accounting for 72.2% of the sample, followed by Petra District (18.2%) and Al Shoubak District (9.6%). The distribution of the Jordanian study population is commensurate with the number of Syrian refugees in each area.

T A B L E (1 9)

Breakdown of sample informants in Maan Governorate by areas

District	Number	Ratio (%)
Maan Capital District (Al Qasabah)	397	72.2
Petra	100	18.2
Al Shoubak	53	9.6
Total	550	100

T A B L E (2 0)

Breakdown of sample informants by sex

Sex	Number	Ratio (%)
Male	276	50.2
Female	274	49.8
Total	550	100

Table (20) breaks down the study population by sex with a predominant representation of males (50.2%) compared with females (49.8%).

T A B L E (2 1)

Breakdown of sample informants by age group

Age group	Number	Ratio (%)
18-28	186	33.8
29-38	169	30.7
39-48	108	19.6
49+	87	15.8
Total	550	100

Table (21) analyzes the age groups of the study population. The majority of informants fall within the age group 18-28, corresponding to a percentage of 33.8%, followed by 29-38 (30.7%), 39-48 (19.6%) and 49+ (15.8%). This distribution shows the diversity in group ages predominated by the youth. The finding agrees with the rise in the relevant population category.

T A B L E (2 2)

Breakdown of sample informants by educational level

Educational level	Number	Ratio (%)
Illiterate	19	3.5
Literate	3	0.5
Basic education	19	3.5
Preparatory	63	11.5
Secondary	117	21.3
Intermediate college	107	19.5
Bachelor's degree	199	36.2
Post-graduate	23	4.2
Total	550	100

Table (22) reflects the educational level of the study population. Holders of bachelor's degrees account for 36.2%, followed by secondary education graduates (21.3%), preparatory schooling (11.5%), postgraduate (4.2%) and illiterates and literates (4%). While this diversity can be accounted for in several ways, the presence of Syrians has had an influence not only on university graduates but also on other educational levels. The rates also agree with the rise in the educational level of the local community reaching 87%.

T A B L E (2 3)

Breakdown of sample informants by marital status

Status	Number	Ratio (%)
Single	190	34.5
Married	331	60.2
Divorced	10	1.8
Widow/widower	19	3.5
Total	550	100

Table (23) describes the marital status of the study population. The majority are married (60.2%) followed by bachelors (34.5%) then by widows and divorced, which confirms that the study population has covered the various marital statuses. The distribution also leads to different opinions about the presence of Syrians in Maan Governorate.

T A B L E (2 4)

Work	Number	Ratio (%)
Public sector	263	47.8
Private sector	98	17.8
Freelancer	46	8.4
I do not have a job	102	18.5
Retired	37	6.7
Social development	4	0.7
Total	550	100

Table (24) shows that 47.8% of the study population work in the public sector, an indication of a rising desire of the population to work in public service, which secures for them stable and socially accepted jobs. Next are the group of unemployed people (18.5%), workers in the private sector (17.8%), freelancers (8.4%) and retired (6.7%).

T A B L E (2 5)

Breakdown of sample informants by monthly income

Income	Number	Ratio (%)
JOD 200 and below	58	12.9
JD201-300	94	21
JD301-400	122	27.2
JD401-500	109	24.3
JD501 and above	65	14.5
Total	448	100

Table (25) shows the monthly incomes of the study population. The majority earn JD301-400 (27.2%) followed by those who earn JD401-500 (24.3%) and JD501+ (14.5%). It indicates that the majority of the study population earn less than JD600 (89.2%), reflecting the average economic level of the study population.

Syrians in the eyes of the study population:

Long before the Syrian crisis, Jordanians' conceptions of stereotype Syrians were formed by natural indirect experience of the local community members with the Syrians. The various means of communications and the modern mass media, especially through Syrian drama, played an important role in building up such stereotypes. However, from a cognitive perspective, it seems that such conceptions have been distorted from reality. They are not even close. Naturally, a mental image or conception builds off generalizations, as an individual's practice is automatically perceived by others as characterizing the whole group, to which that individual belongs, and vice versa. Therefore, individual differences do not seem to prevent the local community from drawing up their own perceptions and mental images about the Syrians. In this connection, the study has found that the subject Syrian refugees are divided into: urban (49.8%), rural (49.3%) and originally nomads (less than 1%). This finding refutes the current mental image about the Syrians.

T A B L E (2 6)

Given your interactions with Syrians, how do you see them?

Given your interactions with Syrians, how do you see them?	Number	Ratio (%)
Exploited by others	192	42.2
Hospitality	28	6.4
Individualism	121	26.6
Cooperation among them	113	24.8
Total	455	100

In Table (26), the data shows a rising trend of those who feel that Syrians are exploiting others (42.2%) while 26.6% believe Syrians show individualistic behaviors. This finding raises again the **sixth issue: Rationality**, defined by Max Weber as "the best means to reach the best goals." This applies to Syrians. In contrast, the various behaviors of the local community were driven by sympathy and emotions, as a response not alien from religious beliefs. The issue reflects in reality on the various forms of cooperation

shown towards Syrians at the inception of Refugee flows. There are also those who believe that Syrians cooperate with each other (24.8%) followed by those who feel the Syrians are hospitable (6.4%). The discussion reflects the stereotype of Syrians in the mindsets of the local population drawn from their daily interactions with the Syrians.

T A B L E (2 7)

Extent of believing in Syrians having different traditions than those of the locals

Do you think the Syrians have different traditions than those of the locals?	Number	Ratio (%)
Yes	450	81.8
No	100	18.2
Total	550	100

According to Table (27), the rate of those who believe that Syrians have different traditions is significantly as high as 81.8%, which reflects the cognitive mindset of the local community and their accessibility to first-hand experience in Syrian culture. In contrast, only 18.2% say they do not believe the Syrians have different traditions.

T A B L E (2 8)

What is , in your opinion, the most remarkable difference in Syrians' traditions?

What is , in your opinion, the most remarkable difference in Syrians' traditions?	Number	Ratio (%)
Syrian cuisine such as the different types of Kubbeh, mahshi, yalanji, etc.	127	28.2
Ways of social communication	203	45.1
Costumes (dress)	74	16.4
Entertainment related traditions	46	10.2
Total	450	100

Table (28) shows more than one manifestation of Syrians differing from the local community in traditions. First, they differ in social communication (45.1%), which reflects the mental perceptions of Jordanians about Syrians in terms of interpersonal skills. Another area of difference is the Syrian cuisine such as the different types of Kubbeh, mahshi, yalanji, etc. (28.2%). This difference highlights cultural aspects emigrating with the refugees. Syrians are keen to bring with them to the local community their cultural heritage related to food, which serves as a vehicle for asserting and presenting their identity to others. There are also differences in costumes (16.4%), followed by differences in entertainment habits (10.2%). All of the above indicate how the image of Syrians is perceived in relation to the habits of food, costumes and social communication.

TABLE (2 9)

Areas of contact between the locals and Syrians

Areas of contact between the locals and Syrians	Number	Ratio (%)
Treatment at work	210	38.2
At market and streets	241	43.8
Participation in social events	96	17.5
Health care centers and hospitals	3	0.5
Total	550	100

Table (29) describes and rates of interactions between the local community and Syrians and where they take place. The first place is the street and marketplace (43.8%), followed by the workplace (38.2%), social events (17.5%) and health care centers and hospitals (0.5%). The data, as such, illustrates how daily individual interactions serve as a direct and influential source of shaping personal perceptions about a person or society. It is a first-hand experience, which has a stronger effect on people's formation of mental images about the others.

TABLE (3 0)

On the extent of agreeing to the government's establishment of camps for the Syrians separately from the local community of Maan Governorate, following the example of Al Za'atari Camp.

Do you agree that the government should establish a camp for the Syrians so that they live separately from the local community in Maan Governorate, just like Al Za'atari Camp?	Number	Ratio (%)
Yes	354	64.4
No	196	35.6
Total	550	100

Table (30) shows a rising trend of those who agree that the government should establish a camp for the Syrians so that they live separately from the local community in Maan Governorate, just like Al Za'atari Camp (64.4%) compared with 35.6% who reject the idea.

TABLE (3 1)

Reasons for agreeing to establish a camp for the Syrians separately from the local community.

Why do you agree to establish a camp for the Syrians separately from the local community?	Number	Ratio (%)
Their traditions are different	45	12.7
This will reduce real estate rental prices	100	28.2
It will make their return to their country easier.	61	17.2
To avoid contact with them	87	24.6
To reduce the burden on services	16	4.5
To improve the economic conditions of Jordanians	21	5.9
To improve security control	24	6.8
Total	354	100

The data in Table (31) reveals several reasons behind agreeing to the establishment of a camp for Syrians separately from the local community. 28.2% of the informants wanted that to happen believing this step would help in lowering the rising real estate rental prices. Avoiding interactions with the Syrians comes as the second reason (24.6%), followed by a belief that this solution would facilitate their return to their country (17.2%), different traditions (12.7%), improving security (6.8%), improving the economic conditions of the local community (5.9%) and easing the pressure on services (4.5%). The analysis of this table explains that the behaviors of local community members reflect their negative attitudes towards the Syrians. This trend came as a result of several factors. **The Syrian refugees had an impact on unemployment rates, standards of living and costs of everyday life. Refugees have also the advantage of getting salaries and aid from the international community and compete with the Jordanians on small-sized and trade enterprises. They are also perceived as blamed for the rising apartment rental prices, as landlords prefer to let their apartments to Syrians for double the usual rent prices affordable by the nationals.**

The stereotype, which is formed in the minds of Jordanians because of first-hand or otherwise second-hand experience can be rational or irrational. It is, at the end of the day, a representation of reality for those who uphold such beliefs. It is also the result of a combination of historical, cultural and social factors, which, in turn, are reflections of reality.

The Impacts of Syrian refugees on the labor market

TABLE (3 2)

Did the presence of Syrians contribute to their access to job opportunities in Maan Governorate?

	Number	Ratio (%)
Yes	533	96.9
No	17	3.1
Total	550	100

Table (32) shows how the presence of Syrians contributed in getting a job opportunity with the vast majority answering by Yes (96%) compared with 3.1% who answered by No.

TABLE (3 3)

Are Syrian workers better than their peers of other nationalities in your area?

	Number	Ratio (%)
Yes	372	67.6
No	178	32.4
Total	550	100

Table (33) shows that Syrian workers are seen as more qualified in the governorate than workers of other nationalities, including Jordanians. The answer "Yes" accounted for 67.6% compared with 32.4% who said "No", which confirms that Syrians do have the skills and experience lacked by local workers.

TABLE (3 4)

In what respects are Syrian workers better than other workers?

Indicator	Number	Ratio (%)
More efficient	121	32.5
Committed	59	15.9
Less efficient	11	3
Quality of work	59	15.9
Less paid	113	30.4
There is no difference	4	1.1
I do not know	1	0.3
Able to attract customers and appeal to their hearts	4	1.1
Total	372	100

Table (34) shows the main characteristics that give Syrian workers a privilege over other nationalities in the governorate. The highest indicator is "more efficient" (32.5%), followed by "less paid" (30.4%), Syrians' spending more efforts on improving their competitive edge in addition to enjoying unique experience lacked by local workers, and finally commitment and quality of work (15.9%).

TABLE (3 5)

If you have some work to be done, which worker would you choose?

Workers' nationality	Number	Ratio (%)
Syrian	51	9.3
Non-Syrian Arab	80	14.5
Jordanian	132	24
The most efficient, regardless of nationality	287	52.2
Total	550	100

Table (35) shows that over 50% of the study population in Maan Governorate make their preference on the basis of quality, regardless of the nationality of workers. This indicates that customers usually care more about time, effort and efficiency in having the job done or service delivered than they care about what nationality the worker has. 24% prefer Jordanian workers followed by those who prefer a non-Syrian Arab category of workers (14.5%). At the bottom is preference of Syrian workers per se standing at 9.3%.

TABLE (3 6)

If you have some work to be done, which worker would you choose?

Reason	Number	Ratio (%)
Mastery of work (quality of work)	39	76.5
They accept to be paid less.	10	19.6
Sympathy with them for their poor conditions.	2	3.9
Total	51	100

Table (36) describes the reasons for people to prefer Syrian workers to other ones available in Maan's labor market. On the top is mastery of work (76.5%), a value essential for competitiveness. Next is the belief that Syrians accept to be paid below the minimum-wages limit (19.6%), which highlights a negative aspect of the presence of Syrian refugees in the labor market. Cheap Syrian labor has been increasingly making employers prefer Syrians to national workers. This trend will in effect lower the standard wages in the labor market. The under-regulated supply of Syrian workers in all sectors has also pushed the trend of wages downward as the supply-demand principle is being further destabilized by the Syrians accepting jobs for lower wages. What happened next was that employers found at hand lots of job-seekers willing to work for lower wages, with the result of either lowering the wages of their current employees or replacing some of them with Syrians. The table still shows that quite a little proportion (3.9%) believes that employers choose Syrian workers as an act of solidarity and sympathy with their appalling conditions.

TABLE (3 7)

Are Syrian workers better than their peers of other nationalities in your area?

	Number	Ratio (%)
Quality of product	104	18.9
Competitiveness in performing a good job	148	26.9
Love of work	32	5.8
Motivation to finish a job	44	8
Increased production	1	0.2
Adverse effect	208	37.8
I decline to answer	13	2.4
Total	550	100

Table (37) reflects on the impact of the presence of Syrians on the labor market. The highest percentage went for a negative impact (37.8%), meaning that the high supply of Syrian workers in the labor market has created an unfair competition. Following is competitiveness in performing a good job (26.9%) with the Syrians able to achieve the required goals efficiently and effectively. Quality of product comes next (18.9%), which means enterprises would seek competition by improving the quality of their products, hence increase the sales and profits, or scale out their services. Finally, only 0.2% believe that the Syrian presence has increased production.

The bottom line of the study's findings in respect of the impact of refugees on the labor market in Maan Governorate is that Syrian workers have had the ability to easily access the labor market (Table 32). They did not face any competition from members of the local community, which had the ability to accommodate the new comers. The Syrian workers have also proved to be able to generate new job opportunities in technical and craftsmanship areas (Table 12). Alternatively, those opportunities were already there open for the new comers. However, regardless of whether the opportunities were new or old, the majority of such jobs are not a preference of national workers. Rather, their non-occupancy reflects a sort of a mindset of Jordanians who prefer to work in the public service, given its added values and privileges (job security, in particular). That Syrian workers accept wages lower than the legal limit of JD190 is yet another factor.

The Syrian workers have also demonstrated skills and experience, which strengthened their competitive edge given the lower level of experience and skills enjoyed by their peer locals or other migrant workers. As Table (34) indicates, the sophistication and history of the labor culture in Syria led its manpower to work in a large number of traditional areas that require the acquisition of technical know-how and commercial minds. Such reflections of the Syrian labor culture have also infiltrated the labor market. According to Hani Al Khouri's study *Strategies of Employment and Human Resources Development in Syria:*

“The culture of individual work or workshop still dominates the minds of Syrian workers and employers. All new methods of organization and work are still imposing complex concepts that do not fit in the current environment of work behavior, particularly in relation to the enterprise culture. Rather, the principle of protecting technical know-how is prevalent to prevent workers from joining a competitor or be competitors themselves one day. Similarly, the culture surrounding work in public service goes along the lines of: salaries are insufficient, workers’ performance depends on the paid salary, and ‘a day’ is for a public servant a chance for making multiple profits derived from corruption in Syria.”

This account is perhaps better understood if it is fitted in the Syrian context of a socialist production and economic system, in which Syrian workers nourish the culture of production and work. The above discussion shows that the struggle for work is weak between local and Syrian job seekers. The main reason is the reluctance of Jordanians to do the sort of jobs that Syrians do. On the other hand, Syrians have the advantage of showing more positive attitudes to engage themselves in crafts and skillful work, compared to Jordanians, who have not yet been influenced by such positive attitudes (Table 37).

General Findings and Concluding Remarks

The findings of the field study boil down to the following general results:

I. On the first question: What are the demographic, social and economic characteristics of Syrian refugees in Maan Governorate?

- On marital status, the married (60%) are higher than non-married (38%).
- The percentage of those who attained basic education (72.7%) is higher than those who completed secondary education (10.9%), followed by illiterates (7.4%) then literate (6%).
- The percentage of employed people is high (45.3%), of whom males account for 73.1%. Since workers are involved in the local labor market, they have an impact, in one way or another, on the social and economic conditions of the governorate. Next in the breakdown come housewives, students and unemployed (previously employed).
- The percentage of daily workers is high (26%), especially in the males category, followed in order by technicians (electrician, mechanist, hairdresser and tailor) with a percentage of 19.1%, farmers (18.3%), freelancers, construction contractors/wood framers, carpenters, cooks and other jobs such as: tourist guide, watchman, Muezzin, salesman and chemist.
- There is an increase in the numbers of those whose monthly income ranges from JD100-199 by a percentage of 52.1%, followed by earners of JD200-299 (29%) then those earn less than JD100 a month.
- The percentage of workers in the services sector is as high as 46%. A good proportion of refugees worked in this sector, given the non-occupancy there. In addition, they themselves have created such opportunities. This means they have infiltrated such jobs that do not appeal to locals either because of long working hours or low payment yet requiring skills and experience.

II. On the second question: What is the nature of social capital between Syrians and Jordanians?

- The arrival of Syrian refugees to Maan Governorate increased the number of those who maintain social relations with Maanis (71.1%). It also increased the relationships with neighbors by 57.5% and visit exchanges by and between Syrian refugees and locals by 69.6%. The visits were exchanged for different purposes including acquaintance building and intermarriages, leading to social interaction in the society. Another result was the resort by some Syrians to several types of “social tricks” to coexist with the local community.
- Social interactions between Syrians and Jordanians fall under the categories of different relations. The Syrians act as if they were on the stage, meaning the relationships they build are not genuine. The need for acquiring more benefits through the sympathy of Jordanians and charitable organizations is one motive for such a tendency. On the other side, the reaction of Jordanians was emotional and driven by religious edicts of showing solidarity, as they sympathized with and hosted the Syrians in their plight and offered them assistance and support. The result is that an individual tends to show, during the acting, the positive aspects of his character and hide his downsides.

III. On the third question: What impact do the Syrian workers have on the labor market in Maan Governorate?

- The study has found that the negative impact is higher than other studied aspects (37.8%) followed by competitiveness in the performance of good work (26.9%) and quality of product (18.9%). The study’s findings indicate that the high supply of Syrian workers in the labor market has created an unfair competition, not to mention the good work performance criterion.
- The high supply of Syrian workers in the various labor sectors has resulted in a downgrade of wages on the basis of supply-demand rule, especially because Syrian workers tended to accept to work for lower wages, given the hard conditions they are living.
- This issue has led employers to prefer Syrian workers to locals, as the formers would be easier to manage, not to mention the exploitive trends of employers who can now find in the cheap labor an opportunity to lay off current Jordanian workers.
- The struggle between Jordanian and Syrian job seekers in Maan is weak. The main reason is the reluctance of Jordanians to do the sort of jobs that Syrians do. Syrians, also, have the advantage of showing more positive attitudes to engagement in crafts and skillful work, compared to Jordanians, who have not yet been influenced by such positive attitudes.

IV. On the fourth question: What different perceptions are there about the Syrians?

- The study shows rising numbers of those who believe that Syrians exploit other people (42.2%). Following are those who believe that Syrians are individualistic (26.6%), Syrians cooperate between one another and Syrians are hospitable.
- The Syrians have different traditions in several respects. The first difference has been found to be in the methods of social communication (45.1%), followed by differences in Syrian cuisine (28.2%), differences in costumes (dress) (16.4%) and differences in entertainment related traditions (10.2%).
- Having reviewed the mental images prevalent about Syrians, the study has found out that Jordanians look at Syrians from the vantage point of people who are in need and as such are trying to get the maximum benefit to avert poverty and unemployment. Those mental images are in essence the product of a set of judgments, perceptions and negative impressions that Jordanians have formed about the Syrians and used such images in assessing Syrians and deciding on what attitude needs to be taken or behavior to be pursued.

In the final analysis, the study shows a need to find appropriate methods of real integration between refugees and the host communities. Such integration must seek to achieve mutual benefits and reduce controversies on the Syrian refugee issue, which offers no hopes for a solution in the near future. What exists on the ground should make it imperative for decision makers to take appropriate measures to bridge the gap of controversy over the presence of Syrians all over the governorates in Jordan. In parallel, a system of common interests must be created to serve local development of the country, in particular, but also to ease pressures on the infrastructure services, such as roads, water, electricity and communication. Not less important is the need for that system to be heedful of any required action for the super-structure services, mainly education, health care, employment, skill acquisition and transfer of experience. The urgent need, now, is to figure out appropriate ways to strike a commercial and practical reconciliation between the two sides through the creation of real partnerships in all facets of professional and practical life. It is also of essence to create a sort of social harmony that is viable and sustainable in the foreseeable future. The Syrian refugee issue is by no means a temporary phenomenon, nor can its burdens be easily tolerated by the local communities, unless and until an appropriate mechanism is devised to achieve integration, bridge the controversy gap and establish communication between the two sides. Hopefully, this study will pave the way for more work on the Syrian refugee issue in other governorates and open up the way for more studies that try to come up with a practical and field database. If such studies are made, they will definitely inform decision makers on the economic, social and cultural levels. They will hence be helpful in realizing Jordan’s national interests while reducing the huge burdens placed on the governments because of the significant presence of Syrian refugees there. Finally, Jordan must work today on devising a clear action plan on the mechanism of treatment of the refugee issue. It should also find out successful ways of integrating refugees and minimizing their burdens. By doing so, weaknesses will be turned into opportunities for the service of refugees and their host communities alike.

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