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Ethnic Collective Action :

A case study of two ethnic groups in

Jordan

by

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Relations**

**University of Warwick, School of Health and Social Studies, Centre for
Research in Ethnic Relations**

October 2008

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Acknowledgements

This thesis represents a culmination of a long held dream. I could not have achieved this dream without the love and support of my wife, Jennifer Mary Nader Phillips. She supported me when I needed it, gave me courage to try when I have been afraid, challenged me when I was wrong and gave the all important push when I was stuck in a rut. She served as a light that has guided me through this long gruelling process. Jennifer , my wife, my best friend, my anam cara. I thank you with all my being.

I would also extend my thanks to my supervisors. I would give a special thanks to Gillian for all the extra effort she has undertaken to help me achieve my goal.

In addition, I wanted to extend thanks to my family and friends who have provided me both support and entertainment.

I also want to thank all those individuals who took part in my fieldwork. Not only the informants and interviewees, but those individual Jordanians and organisations who daily made me feel comfortable , expressed interest in, and helped support my work.

Again I must reiterate the importance of Jennifer and her contributions to my sanity and wellbeing. She inspires me to strive to be a better man and to achieve my dreams and our dreams. This is for you my dearest love.

Declaration

I, Preston Scott Phillips, state that this PhD thesis is my own work.

Abstract

This thesis was undertaken to gain greater insights into ethnic collective action (ECA). A review of the literature revealed five gaps; a narrow definition of ECA, a failure to investigate ECA as an interactive process, a tendency to focus on external structures, a limited acknowledgement of the importance of internal heterogeneity and of intra-actions, and a lack of explanation of the role and importance of actors' worldviews. My research challenged the gaps by proposing that ECA is not only an outcome, but also part of an ongoing process. This thesis builds on elements of the theoretical approaches used by some earlier scholars.

This study of ECA resulted from ethnographic fieldwork in Jordan for 10 months. My research focused on two case study groups, the Circassian and Dom. In addition, I gathered data about the setting and the interactions between Jordanian society, government and voluntary sector organisations (VSO), and the two case study groups. I argue that ethnography provided a methodological framework which allowed me to gain insights into how different factors interact and impact on ECA.

This research makes empirical contributions concerning the situation of Circassians and Dom in Jordan as well as some general theoretical conclusions regarding ECA. The research revealed that ECA is a dynamic and complex process which is affected by numerous factors that do not directly impact on ECA processes, but instead it is the interaction and relationships between these factors that impact on ECA. The main factors involved in understanding the interactions that affect ECA were the level of inclusion extended by external actors to members of the two case study groups, state policies and programmes, the case study groups' levels of cohesion and leadership and the worldviews of external and internal actors.

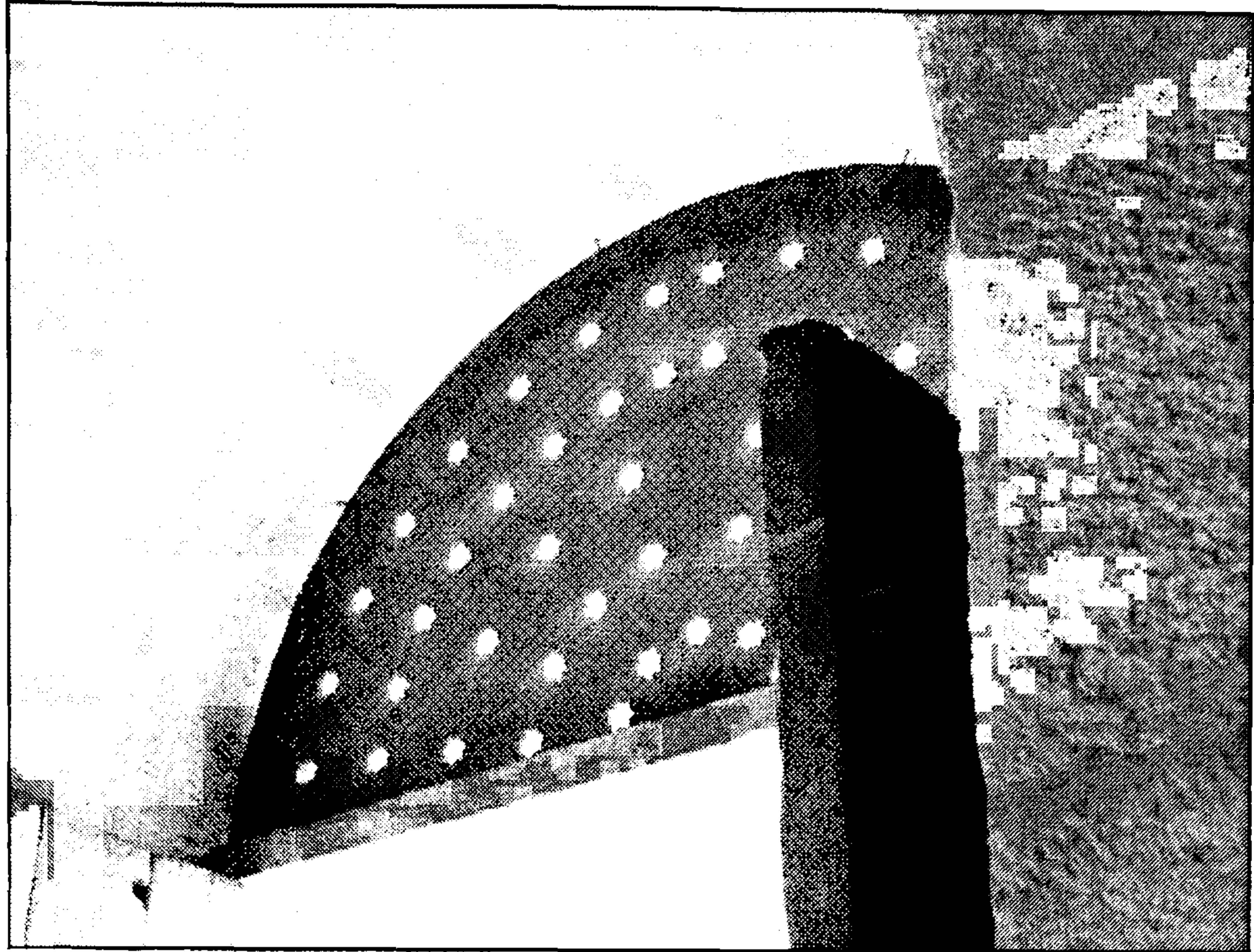


Photo 1.1: Lintel Jerash

Chapter 1: Introduction

This research project was undertaken in order to extend understanding of the important issue of ethnic collective action (ECA) and the inter-action of the numerous factors that impact on the processes of ECA. In order to research the subject of ECA, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Jordan over a 10 months period. My time there was spent focusing on two case study groups; the Circassian and the Dom. In addition, I gathered data about the setting which included the interactions between Jordanian society, government and voluntary sector organisations (VSOs) and the two case study groups.

In this chapter I present the impetus for this research. This includes the personal and academic experiences that led me to pursue a PhD on ECA and the decision to use the Circassian and Dom in Jordan as case study groups. Following this I

present a brief discussion of the overarching goals of the thesis and the research questions which guided the fieldwork. The Introduction closes with a overview of the structure of the remaining thesis.

Impetus for Research

In 2004, whilst carrying out community development work in Ukraine, I decided to pursue my PhD. It had been something I had longed to do for most of my adult life and for many personal and professional reasons it seemed like the appropriate time. With a long standing interest in ethnic relations, I applied and was accepted to the University of Warwick where I began the PhD programme at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations in 2005.

My reasons for choosing to focus on ECA are many and I will briefly touch on a few of these. My interest in ethnic relations and ethnic collective action grew from my personal and professional experiences as well as my academic training. I was raised in a rural town in the southern US; a place known for its struggles to achieve harmonious inter-ethnic relations. Early on in life, I began watching inter-actions between different ethnic groups and questioning the tone and content of these interactions. I observed how ethnic relations in my home state of North Carolina changed over time as ethnic groups struggled against discrimination and inequalities. My experience of watching ethnic groups struggle for civil rights led me to have a keen curiosity about why and how groups were able to achieve their goals in the face of overt obstacles.

My personal interest in ethnic relations resulted in my decision to study anthropology and political science at university. In both of my earlier degrees I concentrated my studies on issues of development and democratization with particular focus on how small groups took on active roles in these pursuits. During this time I had a sense that something more needed to be done with ECA. I often questioned the causative descriptions and predicative models that were used to explain ECA. However, at this point I lacked sufficient experience and training to fully critique and challenge these explanations.

My professional and personal experiences also contributed to my interest in understanding ECA. In my previous employment I observed the complexities inherent in organizing action among actors and engaging with the mainstream society. As I observed and participated in ECA I became aware of gaps in many actors' understandings of how these actions were accomplished and the intricacies involved. My academic studies to this point had also pointed to what I saw as a disconnection between my observations on the ground and the academic theories that sought to explain the causes of ECA. Therefore, as I have always planned to work in fields that would involve ECA, I thought that my observations and my curiosity could be used to my advantage and to the advantage of scholars and activist involved in the pursuit of ECA.

Some specific experiences that guided me along the path outlined above included working in VSOs which were closely involved in different forms of collective action. For example, whilst working at the Arab American Institute, I observed and participated in the internal mechanisms of an ethnic association. I also observed and participated in the ways in which this organisation interacted with other groups within

a wider political environment that was at times hostile to the expression of Arab-American ethnic identification. This work spurred my desire to gain greater understanding of ECA as I often saw how the complexities of internal conflicts and intra-action was part of the process of engaging with external forces. These observations did not seem to be apparent in much of the academic literature I had read to this point, nor did it seem that many of the activists I worked with effectively acknowledged this complex internal and external relationship or put it to use to the benefit of the organisation. Another way in which my experiences contributed to my pursuit of the study of ECA comes from when I was serving as a development worker in Ukraine. During this time, I was exposed to debates around issues of national and ethnic identification. I saw how these issues impacted on national politics during Ukraine's Orange Revolution. This exposure to the passions of this issue and to the ways in which actors' identifications and worldviews contributed to how the revolution was perceived and presented, contributed to my growing desire to learn more about these processes. I also hoped that through research of these processes I could contribute to a wider and more complex understanding of what ECA is and how ECA occurs. I plan to continue my involvement in ECA in my future professional and academic life and see this research as contributing to the academic world's understanding of ethnic collective action, as well as providing information and advice to policy makers and activists.

The practical experiences of collective action and many of its challenges as well as rewards, combined with my personal and academic interest in ethnic relations, led me to choose to undertake a PhD topic that allowed me to increase my understanding of the area of ethnically based collective action. This was not only a

personal goal, but also served to extend the works of earlier scholars and hence contribute to academics as well as policy makers' engagement with the issue.

The decision of where to locate my research was also based on numerous personal and academic factors. Firstly, my personal reasons began with the Dom. This was a group I had learned about in 2000 from the Dom Research Center's website. I have had an interest in both Roma issues and Middle Eastern politics and history for many years. Hence this group appealed to both of these interest areas. I found the Dom to be much less studied and recognized than the Roma. Limited previous research and my personal interest were key components of my decision to include them.

The setting of Jordan was also chosen based on a combination of personal and academic reasons. I have long been interested in the Middle East and in Jordan in particular. My enthusiasm was based on the role that Jordan had played in the region in modern times, as well as its long and fascinating history. From an academic point of view, Jordan represented an interesting place to locate the study. First, the Dom in Jordan, had not received the same attention as the Dom in the neighbouring countries, such as Israel, Palestine, Lebanon and Turkey. Second, the relative long term stability of Jordan created an interesting environment to research ethnic relations, as opposed to the aforementioned states where ethnic/ religious conflict were more overt and influential in daily life and political decision making.

The Circassians were the final piece added to the research. Their inclusion stemmed from a desire to broaden the research by including another group. More specifically, I wanted a group who did not face the same challenges as the Dom. The decision to include the Circassians was made based on the academic contribution the contrast of the two groups made to the study of ECA as well as a personal curiosity about this group from the Caucasus Mountains.

The project then evolved to a study of two Muslim, ethno-linguistic minority groups in Jordan, both of whom had resided in the area since before the establishment of the Kingdom. Aside from these similarities the Circassians and Dom had significantly different challenges and resources. For example, the Circassians have been successful in the government, military and economic life of Jordan (cf. Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007). While, the Dom have faced high levels of discrimination, general poverty and disenfranchisement (cf. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Al-Said 2006, Moawwad 1999, UN 2006, Williams 2003). Despite these dissimilarities I found that both groups were challenged by issues of assimilation and loss of certain unique cultural features. Hence, my research topic was to examine the ways in which these two groups engaged in ECA and what factors impacted on their efforts.

Goals and Questions

As stated, the goal of this research was to expand the understanding of ECA. Having decided on a setting and case study groups I began my review of the relevant literature on ethnic collective action. In my review of the literature on the

topic of ethnic collective action (ECA) I identified five gaps; a narrow definition of ECA, a failure to investigate ECA as an interactive process, a tendency to focus on external structures, a limited acknowledgement of the importance of internal heterogeneity and of intra-actions, and a disregard for the role and importance of actors' worldviews.

My research challenged the gaps in the ways earlier works conceived of ECA. This thesis has as its foundation a conceptualization of ECA as a dynamic, multidimensional process of inter-action which includes activities beyond the narrow realm of non-routine political actions. In addition identifying these gaps led me to develop three research questions on the process of ECA. These questions are:

- 1) What is the role of external political and social structures in ECA?
- 2) What is the role of intra-actions and internal structures and resources in shaping ECA?
- 3) How do internal and external actors' worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

The Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis has seven chapters (not including the introduction) which are divided into two parts. Part One includes chapters 2, 3 and 4. Chapter 2, the Literature Review, covers the academic literature relevant to this thesis, identifies the gaps in previous research and develops my approach to ECA. Chapter 3, the Setting, reviews earlier research and writing on Jordan, the Circassians, and the Dom. Chapter 4, Methodology, reviews the methodology and methods used in my work, as well as the experiences I had whilst carrying out my research.

Part Two includes chapters 5,6,7 and 8, which cover the findings, analysis and conclusions. Chapter 5, Analysis of the External Environment, is an analysis of Jordanian society, the government and VSOs and their impact on Circassian and Dom ECA. Chapters 6 and 7 are an analysis of the factors impacting on the ECA of the Circassians and Dom respectively. Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter that addresses the original empirical and theoretical contributions of this thesis, and provides policy recommendations and raises issues for future research.

Through this work I have made a contribution to future research on ECA, as well as provided empirical data that can be used in policy making and academic work. This research represents the dream of many years, and while taxing and at times extremely frustrating, has been very rewarding.

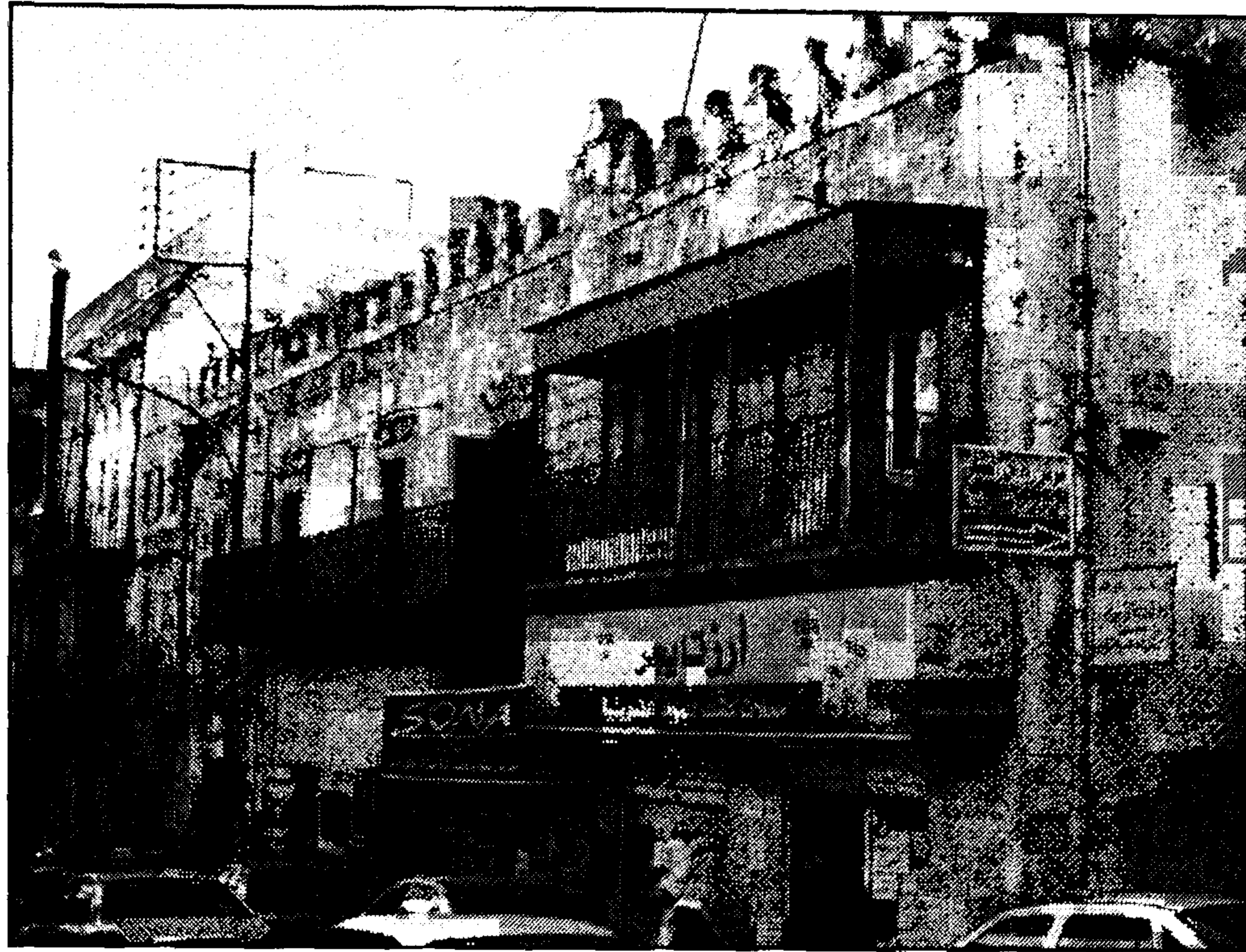


Photo 2.1: Street Salt

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Hechter *et al* (1982: 430) state that ECA is a 'woefully complicated affair', I agree. Through my review of the literature I have identified five key gaps within the scholarship on ECA; a narrow definition of ECA, a failure to investigate ECA as an interactive process, a tendency to focus on external structures, a limited acknowledgement of the importance of internal heterogeneity and intra-actions, and lastly a disregard for the role and importance of actors' worldviews.

Within the literature on ECA a few scholars have made some headway in addressing these specific gaps. For example the narrow definition of ECA as non-routine political action was addressed by Lalich (2006) who conducted research on

the factors affecting the development of ethnically based associations in Sydney. Wimmer (2008) promoted a processual approach to understanding ECA which countered the more commonly used static model of ECA. Other academics who addressed the importance of intra-action, including Barak (2002) who examined the role of intra-action in communal conflicts in Lebanon and Bousetta (2000) who researched ethnically based mobilisations in Brussels and called for more attention to be paid to intra-actions. I also reviewed non-ECA research where I found some scholars who addressed the importance of worldviews in collective action and in ethnicity. For instance, Kelly (1993) used a micro-social psychological approach to examine the literature on how identification and meanings impact on collective action, one example of which was involvement in UK political parties. Other scholars, including Brubaker *et al* (2004), Gil-White (1999) and Hale (2004) theorized how worldviews play a key role in ethnicity. I have built on the research of these and other scholars reviewed and utilized their conceptualisations of the factors that impact on ECA. This research has expanded the investigation of these factors to better understand how they affect ECA.

This chapter provides a critical review of the previous scholarly work on the subject of ECA. The discussion is divided into three sections. The first section defines some of the terms used by addressing the conceptualisations of ethnicity and minorities. The second section reviews the literature relevant to ECA and examines the gaps which I have identified. This section addresses the first two gaps concerning the narrow and static definition of ECA, and provides an alternative conceptualisation which this thesis uses. The literature concerning the three

remaining gaps is then addressed along with the research question that stems from the each of these gaps. The final section locates this research study amongst the previous literature on ECA by drawing on a wide variety of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and political science. The key foundations of this work include reconceptualising ECA, approaching the factors of ECA through an interactive processual frame, engaging with the importance of external and internal factors and lastly recognizing the importance of actors' worldviews to understanding ECA.

Defining Terms

Conceptualisations of Ethnicity

The term 'ethnicity' is used widely and with a multiplicity of meanings in both the academic and non-academic worlds, which is frustrating when attempting to agree on a definition (Fenton 1999). Diverse academic and non-academic definitions of ethnicity address the concept of what ethnicity means and its effect in social, political and economic interactions. The definitions also address the sources of ethnicity as well as how an ethnic identity is ascribed to an actor.

Scholars have defined ethnicity in a number of ways. Academics, such as Barth (1969), Cornell and Hartmann (2007), Drury (1994), Fenton (1999,2002), Gil-White (1999), Jenkins (2008), Rex (1994), and Song (2003), shared certain common elements within their conceptualisations of ethnicity. These commonalities included:

- A sense of common descent; either concrete and known or perceived and imagined.
- A shared idea of culture which can be defined as the broad collection of traits that serve as a differentiation from others and as a set of rules, knowledge and guides for action
- External and internal actors' perceptions of difference

In addition to these, other traits of ethnicity which are frequently noted by these academics include:

- A geographical centre or territorial homeland
- Being part of a larger society and interacting with actors who have other perceived ethnic identities

However, the two features most commonly used by scholars referenced in this chapter, are a sense of common descent and a shared idea of culture.

Prior to examining how descent and culture are used in defining ethnicity I will provide an overview of some of the basic issues of ethnicity identified in the literature. Following this I address the primordialist versus instrumentalist debate on the creation of ethnicity. I then examine the process of external and internal ethnic ascription. Next is a review of the literature concerning ethnic groups. I close with a discussion on what approaches to ethnicity this research relies upon and why.

The Basics of Ethnicity

As stated above, the actual usage and perceptions of ethnicity may vary, but there are some basic traits upon which many scholars agree. For example, many acknowledge that the conceptions of ethnicity reflect a sense of shared ancestry, cultural traditions, and language (Cornell and Hartmann 2007, Drury 1994, Jenkins 2008, Song 2003). Numerous scholars also promote the idea that ethnicity is a social construct and research should acknowledge the importance of meanings that are attached to the conception of the particular ethnicity as a whole (Eriksen 1993, Fenton 1999, 2003, Hale 2004, Song 2003). If viewed from this perspective ethnicity is seen as a part of social relationships not a static and objective trait of a group (cf. Eriksen 1993, Joly 2004a). Building on the conceptualisation of ethnicity as a social construct, it is important to highlight that context and meaning play a vital role during the process of social relations and in understanding the importance of ethnicity within the social world (cf. Candappa and Joly 1994, Eriksen 1993, Fenton 1999, Joly 2001, 2004, Rex 1986, 1991, Song 2003).

The importance of ethnicity to actors stems from the conception of ethnicity as flexible, subjective, situational, and often based on its instrumental value. Some scholars say that ethnicity is a resource which ethnic actors turn to in order to gain advantage in accomplishing one's goals (Drury 1994, Fenton 2003, Eders *et al* 2002, Gil-White 1999, Glazer *et al* 1975) this theory is frequently called instrumentalism (Glazer *et al.* 1975, Drury 1994). Somewhat counter to this is the argument that ethnicity is based on characteristics such as language, customs, history, and religion, as such ethnic organisation is not strictly a socio-economic

exercise (Gil-White 1999, Glazer *et al.* 1975, Hale 2004, Hempel 2007). I contend that both of these perspectives hold weight and hence agree with Joly (2001, 2004) who notes that ethnic identity can be analysed as a powerful factor in collective action. Given the central role of ethnicity to ECA, this chapter now turns to a few central areas of the debates that infuse the literature on ethnicity. These include the impact of the traits of descent and culture, the debate around primordialism and instrumentalism, issues of ethnic ascription, and the conceptualisations of ethnic groups.

Descent and Culture

'Descent' can be defined as actual kinship or as shared belief in common social origins, which, according to Omi and Winant (1994), highlight a sense of primordial ties (cf. Fenton 2003, Mason 1986). Both internal and external actors see the conceptions of 'descent' and 'ancestry' as primary markers to ethnically ascribe individuals. For example, Kukutai's (2004) research among the Maori asserts that the Maori consider descent and tribal affiliation as the major criteria for inclusion in the Maori ethnic group. Gil-White's (1999) work in Mongolia strongly concludes that his subjects believed that biological descent trumps socialization in determining an individual's ethnic affiliation.

The process of using descent as a criterion is not limited to groups establishing their own boundaries. It is also applied by external actors in ascribing ethnic categories. For example, state policies which involve ethnically categorizing

individuals are often informed by the idea of descent and parentage (Kukutai 2004). In addition, Sutterluty's (2006) research examines the ways notions of ethnicity and difference influenced a conflict between Turkish individuals in Germany and the Red Cross over the exclusion of blood donated by those of Turkish descent. According to Brubaker *et al* (2004), this process of external ascription can result in individuals being assigned into categories to which they do not wish to belong, citing examples from Nazi Germany, South Africa, and the Soviet Union.

The second part of a definition of 'ethnicity' focuses on the role that culture plays. Numerous scholars have written that conceptions of ethnicity primarily rest on cultural difference. For example, Fenton (1999) states that ethnicity is frequently associated with cultural difference and Yinger (1986) notes that ethnicity have come to be attached to a group that shares a cultural background. Others contend that culture and ethnicity do not necessarily correspond. Barth (1969) argues that it is not culture but inter-actions that are central to understanding ethnicity. Brubaker *et al* (2004) also note that cultural difference is not the most useful method for understanding ethnicities, arguing instead for an approach that views ethnicity as a social and cognitive construction. Rex (1991) notes that individual identity can become enmeshed in a group identity through 'social rather than cultural practices' (9), but that the cultural should not be ignored as it is the relationship of the individual to these concepts, ideas, and values that impacts upon the social relationships between individuals. Furthermore, Rex and Josephides (1987) note that 'interaction in a social system is obviously affected by the kind of culture and cultural system which the social actors inherit' (15). They (*ibid.*) also point out that

while culture plays a role in the interaction it is not the sole determinate of understanding identity. While I agree that ethnicity and culture are not interchangeable terms, I agree with Rex that it is important not to discount culture as part of ethnicity. Cultural traits and markers may face challenges from scholars, but they are used to categorize and identify ethnicity and hence hold some degree of definitional power (cf. Carter 2000, Fenton 2003, Rex 1991, Rex and Josephides 1987).

Primordialism versus Instrumentalism

Throughout the literature scholars have offered differing hypotheses of the origin, importance, methods, usages, perceptions, and value of ethnicity. Melasivic (2004) notes eight major theories for exploring the concept of ethnicity; neo-Marxism, functionalism, symbolic interactionism, socio-biology, rational choice theory, elite theory, neo-Weberian, and anti-foundationalism. This review will not detail all of these theories, but instead will seek to address the primordial/instrumental debate in the field of ethnic studies and how it has actually become less of a debate when viewed through a particular lens.

Two of the primary debates in studies of ethnicity are whether group attachments are sentimental or rational and whether ethnicities are innate or created. These two areas broadly define the sides of the debate between primordialism and instrumentalism (Fenton 2003, Gil-White 1999, Hale 2004). According to a number of scholars (cf. Drury 1994, Fenton 2003, Gil-White 1999,

Hale 2004, Jenkins 2008, Joly 2004b, Wieworka 1994) these two theories have certain generally attributed traits. Primordialism is the belief that ethnicity is natural and innate, ineffable and possessed of unbreakable ties and based on strong affective nature and ties. Alternatively, instrumentalism is the belief that ethnicity is socially constructed, of varied importance to actors, based on shifting context and circumstances, something that either may be downplayed or even discarded if necessary and based on interactions and social processes.

Primordialism is said to rest on the belief that ethnic ties are innate and natural (Fenton 2003, Gil-White 1999, Hale 2004, Jenkins 2008). Eller and Coughlin (1993) attack primordialism and refer to it as 'unsociological, unanalytical and vacuous' (183). Two of the most central figures of the primordialist approach are Geertz and Shils (Fenton 2003, Gil-White 1999, Hale 2004, Jenkins 2008). Fenton (2003) notes that the writings of these two scholars are often misrepresented (cf. Gil-White 1994, Jenkins 2008). In particular, Fenton (2003) states that Geertz is often said to define ethnicity as 'pre-social, fixed, biological, purely emotional and unreasonable' (83) something Fenton, and others, claims is not an accurate portrayal of Geertz's intent (Fenton 2003, Gil-White 1999, Hale 2004, Jenkins 2008). Hale (2004: 460) also points out that Shils (1957) highlights the role of perception of the primordial nature of ethnic ties. Fenton (2003) and Gil-White (1999) contend that Shils and Geertz state that relationships are not inherently primordial, but instead are given primordial qualities by the actors involved. Fenton (2003) concludes that primordialism is not looking for the source of ethnicity, as is often stated, but for the nature of social cohesion and obligation.

Instrumentalists argue that there are not innate ethnic divisions in humans, but instead these are based on circumstances and hence not some innate 'primordial sense of identity or attachment' (Omi and Winant 1994:2, cf. Glazer *et al* 1975). Tishkov (1997) states that ethnicity is socially constructed and not based on innate ties but instead on the context, opportunities and needs of people at a particular time. Some instrumentalists argue that concepts of ethnicity derive from a need to organize; hence become the foundations for ethnic groups (e.g. Olzak and Nagel 1986). Overall instrumentalists propose, either strongly or moderately, that the concept of ethnicity is socially constructed. Fenton (2003) argues that perhaps the strong versions of instrumentalism have gone overboard and that some basis of social reality needs to be acknowledged; a point I agree with.

Barth is often credited with being the father of the instrumentalist model. Barth's work (1969) proposes that ethnic identifications may be easily laid aside and that ethnicity is but a tool (cf. Gil White 1999). Alternatively, moderate instrumentalists state that ethnic ties are not lightly laid aside and acknowledge the power of ethnic ties which impact on social inter-actions, decision making and the channelling of actions and options (cf. Barth 1994, Song 2003, Vermeulen *et al* 1994). Fenton (1999), for example, acknowledges the importance of meanings and the power they have over actors' lives and choices, but argues that as these meanings are derived through situations and inter-actions scholars must not be closed to the idea of changing and shifting ethnicities. Hempel (2007) contends that the members of groups do not make decisions solely as an instrumental basis of economic means-

ends rational choice, they also base decisions on ethnic attachment and the social and cultural benefits of ethnic involvement.

Others seek to refute this long standing debate. For instance, Brubaker *et al* (2004) challenge the continuance of this 'classic, though too often hackneyed, debate' (49). These, and other, scholars seek to promote a different understanding of ethnicity and ethnic studies by addressing the actual issues that are often faced by social scientists in the investigation of the role of ethnicity (cf. Brubaker and Cooper 2000). I turn towards the conceptualisations of ethnicity outlined by some of these scholars. Hale (2004) leans towards the basic instrumentalist premise, but accepts that the attitudes of individual actors, which are often primordial, are important. Hale's (2004) model provides support for cognitive anthropology, social psychology and symbolic interactionist approaches to ethnicity. This concept was similarly proposed by Gil-White (1999), who points out that members of the general public see descent as primary in ethnic categorization and hold a basically primordial stance on ethnicity, despite the academic understanding of ethnicity as socially constructed (cf. Drury 1994, Fenton 2003, Jenkins 2008, Karner 2007, Rex 1991). He (Gil-White 1999) argues that if ethnic ties are viewed as primordial by the actors then the actors act as if the ties are primordial. Therefore, both primordialists and instrumentalists are in certain ways correct. In the end Gil-White (*ibid.*) proposes a method of researching ethnicity that involves an understanding and an approach which acknowledges the views and interpretations of the actors as well as how these interpretations affect the process of interactions. This concept was also partially supported in the work of Sekulic (2004) in Croatia which noted that while

there is a perception of a primordial ethnic identity, this was not a given as competition with civic identity and shifting social and political contexts were also key factors in identification and categorization. Additionally, Karner (2007) notes that ethnicity has power in society and is real in a sense, but must be understood to exist in the 'realm of *human understanding, interpretation and meaning*' (11 emphasis in original). The importance of actors' beliefs and perceptions, or what I will hereafter refer to as 'worldviews', on ethnic issues and ECA is discussed in greater detail below. Based on the above review, I contend that it is reasonable to question the validity of the continued primordialist/instrumentalist debate.

Ethnic Ascription

The two primary ways in which actors are placed within an ethnicity are by categorization and identification. In brief, categorization rests on external actors assigning an individual to a particular ethnicity, while identification is self-ascription into an ethnicity. As described below, ethnic categorization and identification rest on the worldviews of actors and the meanings that they attach to ethnicities (their own and those of others) and inter-actions.

Categorization is a process taken up by actors which assign individuals into particular ethnic categories. The process of categorization is closely connected with stereotyping and serves a purpose in human interactions (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Hence, one could say that the ability to receive information, categorize it, and then define it, is based on believed meanings and/or stereotypes and eases the ability of

individuals to deal with daily interactions (Hogg and Abrams 1988) .This is important, as Druckman (2006) points out, because stereotypes, such as those surrounding ethnic categorization, play a major role in how identities function and influence inter-action.

While categorization is partially a reflection of social interactions, it has other sources as well. Categorization is often a process undertaken by the dominant group in a society. For example Bond (2006) found claims of Scottish national identity were impacted on by limitations stemming from mainstream Scottish society's willingness to recognize the claim. In other instances categorization is derived from the state. For instance Kukutai (2004) discusses how the state assigns individuals to a Maori category which guides policy decisions. Additionally, Brubaker *et al* (2004) note the example of the Soviet Union as a way the state assigns individuals to ethnic categories and attempts to shift ethnic identities through policies.

Categorization is only one part of ethnic ascription. Rex (1986) points out that frequently the definitions and perceptions of an ethnic category may vary greatly between external and internal actors. Self-ascription or ethnic identification, involves individuals connecting themselves to a particular ethnic identity. This process of self-ascription may or may not be a conscious effort and may vary in intensity. Ethnic identity as used in much of the previous literature implied a static thing, which actually stood at odds with the concept of ethnicity as part of the process of inter-

action. Fenton (1999), Lal (1986) and Kaya (2004) point out that ethnicity is part of a social relationship and an outcome of social inter-actions not simply an objective trait of a group.

Hale (2004) specifically addresses this concept of ethnic identity as part of a process. He (*ibid.*) argues for the utilization of the idea of ethnic identification as opposed to ethnic identity. His (*ibid.*) reasoning is that ethnic identification refers to the act or process of identifying with an ethnicity. The strength and importance of these identification processes will fluctuate depending on circumstances (Hale 2004). Through modelling identification as an active and subjective process it becomes more sensible to group together ethnic identification, ethnic group formation, ethnic mobilisation, etc... all of which may be viewed as processes of interaction.

It is also important to note that individuals have multiple identities which may shift in importance based on the situation. These identities may include gender, ethnicity, class, profession, region, nation, or religion. This research is focused on ethnicities, but cannot ignore the importance of other identities or how these multiple identities interface with each other. They may well serve as a resource or threat that impacts on how an individual behaves and engages with their ethnic identity. These cross cutting and congruent cleavages are noted as important issues of multiple identities in an ECA context.

There are a variety of scholars who discuss the complex interactive nature of categories and identities. Generally they argue that ethnicities are the results of social interactions between actors and are a never-ending process of evolution. For example, Karner (2007) continually points out the fluid nature of ethnicity in his review of how ethnic identity and categories play a role in everyday life. Similarly, Jenkins (2008) identifies the importance of separating categories and identity, but also acknowledges that their interrelation is important to understanding the dynamic ethnicities active in society. Joly (2004b) also suggests that external and internal forces play a role in defining the meanings and values attached to ethnic categories and identifications. This is echoed by Wieviorka (2004) who states that ethnicity is the result of interactions between the structures in society and the mainstream and ethnic minority actors. This research study examined the processes of interaction surrounding ethnicity particularly as they are related to worldviews which is discussed later in this chapter.

Ethnic Groups

Drury (1994) defines ethnic groups as:

A collectivity of people who: 1) share some patterns of normative behaviour, that is a culture which can include a common language, religion and other socio-cultural traits; 2) can often claim common descent or share specific phenotypic traits; 3) usually identify themselves in terms of such shared socio-cultural traits and/or phenotype; 4) are often identified by others in terms of such criteria; 5) interact in such a way as to be socially distinct and 6) form a part of a larger population and interact with other groups within a wider social system' (13)

I would highlight two areas of this definition. First, without interaction with other groups, boundaries and differentiation becomes meaningless (Drury 1994, Eriksen

1993, Malešević 2004). Second, Drury (1994) notes the importance of subjective choice of individuals to identify with the group. In particular, she (*ibid.*) looks at the important contribution of the instrumentalist perspective on ethnicity and how this approach contributes to understanding how a group and its boundaries are created and recreated through identified need, interactions, choice, and negotiations. I would add that the concept of shared understanding among group members allows them to engage in the creation and recreation of boundaries. This does not mean that the term 'ethnic group' denotes a homogenous group in which all abide by the same cultural rules. The rules which govern a particular ethnic group may shift and change, and are contested from both within and without (cf. Fenton 1999, Joly 2004b, Rex and Josephides 1987).

The question of why actors would use ethnicity as a strategic choice to express and pursue interests is central to understanding ethnic relations and ECA (Jenkins 2008, Wieviorka 1994). Since ethnic groups represent a tight knit community of members who share a similar understanding of the world and methods of engaging in it, they are an effective strategic base for striving to achieve shared objectives. For instance, Glazer *et al* (1975) note that ethnic groups represent a unique and effective way to organize interest pursuits of either the whole group or individual members. Scholars point out qualities such as close affective ties, prefabricated networks, cross-cutting cleavages, and readymade symbols and definitions as some of the reasons for the success of ethnic groups as interest groups (Candapa and Joly 1994, Fenton 1999,2003, Glazer *et al.* 1975, Hily and Poinard 1987, Joly 2001, Josephides 1987,).

The ethnic group is an important key to understanding ECA, as is knowing how the groups came into being. Group making is a dynamic process and can be termed a 'social, cultural and political project' (Brubaker 2002:170-171). Ethnic group making relies on the process of ethnicisation, which is the strengthening of ethnic identification (Brubaker 2002: 167). This process relies on the many variables of situation, desire, goals and interpretation. The sense of belonging that is brought about from membership in the group is also important in ethnic political action.

Understanding group making is also important to this research because the establishment of the group may in and of itself be the goal of the collective action. A number of scholars point out that increasing 'groupness', to use Brudbaker's (2002) term, stimulates collective action. Rex (1994) notes that individuals' sense of belonging to a group is central to a groups' success in pursuing collective political action. Additionally, some scholars promote the notion that situations of ethnic contention and conflict create situations in which collective action is undertaken to strengthen ethnic identity and tighten group boundaries and internal ties (Armiraahmadi 1994, Eriksen 1993, Fenton 2003, Fantasia and Hirsch 1995, Polletta 1999). Williams (1964 in Sanders 2002) points out that the more completely the group fulfils the members' needs of association, cultural expression and economic opportunity the less group members need the resources of the dominant society. I would add that not only does building 'groupness' contribute to ECA, but the strengthening of 'groupness', via associations, interactions and everyday activities of identity construction could also be conceptualized as a process of ethnic collective action (Candappa and Joly 1994, Eders *et al* 2002, Karner 2007, Joly 1987, 2001, Nagel, B. 1986, Rex and Josephindes 1987))

What is an ethnic group?

The ethnic group is a complicated area within the field of ethnic studies. Many scholars have differing ideas on levels of involvement, connectivity, and the role of ethnicity or groupness. Below is a deeper discussion on some of these themes with additional reviews of different models followed by a brief summary of which approaches will be used in this thesis.

A. Cohen (1974) points out that there are different levels of ethnic involvement and importance in individual's lives. He (*ibid.*) highlights that there are groups that meet on an irregular basis to celebrate their commonality and that these are not the same as groups whose members have daily interactions and rely on each other for survival. Alternatively, Fenton (2003) highlights three levels of ethnicity. First, he (*ibid.*) describes totalizing ethnicities in which all aspects of life are touched by ethnic identification. Second, Fenton (*ibid.*) notes nil or tacit ethnicities which have no real social significance. Lastly, he (*ibid.*) discusses provisional ethnicities which occur when mobilisation is occasional and situational.

Rex and Josephides (1987) review the literature concerning community, group and associations. They (*ibid.*) highlight works by Tonnies which indicated that individuals may feel a sense of belonging and real commitment to their community, while associations were more likely to rely on shared interest and the 'pursuit of specialized purposes' (15). They (*ibid.*) counter Tonnies' work by turning to

Durkheim. Rex and Josephides (1987) write that Durkheim's approach argues that the individual will have a closer relationship and be socialized in smaller more immediate groups as opposed to feeling a sense of affective attachment to the wider community. They (*ibid.*) point out that it is possible to see Durkheim's approach as applicable when looking at immigrant associations which serve the immigrants' small group needs within the wider host community. This is expanded upon as they (*ibid.*) also note that it is necessary to examine the differing levels of community; i.e. community and primary community. Rex and Josephides (*ibid.*) note that a primary community is, for example, the particular immigrant minority community to which the individual is 'morally bound' and which serves to provide 'emotional and social support' and to socialize the individual (18). They (*ibid.*) contend that it is the primary community which serves as a small group and the larger society as the community in which wider social interactions occur. This requires some sort of bridge between these two levels of community which Rex and Josephides (*ibid.*) say could be 'special agencies for dealing with the problems of its members and their relationship to the larger society' (19). They (*ibid.*) note that these bridges could be kinship groups, informal networks, and/or formal and informal associations. The issue of associations is covered in greater detail later in this chapter.

Joly (2001) raises the question of whether an ethnic group must be mobilized in order to be a group. She (*ibid.*) concludes that groups may involve certain action, i.e. being conscious of oneself and conducting some actions as a collective, but that actual mobilisation goes beyond the basic group. She (*ibid.*) states that mobilization involves a level of group action that 'presupposes acting together in competition for

resources, political purposes and gains' (24). This conceptualization of group levels is important to this research as it highlights how a group is not a simple construct, but rather one of complex levels. Joly (2001, 2004b) also examines the differences between the ideas of '*gesellschaft*' and '*gemeinschaft*' (cf. Rex 1986). She (*ibid.*), along the same lines as Rex and Josephides (1987), states that '*gesellschaft*' (modern society with its associations) and '*gemeinschaft*' (community), are often juxtaposed in a false dichotomy. Joly (2001, 2004b) argues that instead of being mutually exclusive, these concepts are intertwined and can coexist simultaneously. She (*ibid.*) explains that often the community is conceived as providing affective ties and bonds, while associations serve instrumental purposes. However, Joly (2001, 2004b.) has found that community may well serve certain instrumental purposes, while associations can provide emotional and moral support. This approach further provides a level of complexity to understanding how ethnic groups form and operate. It also draws into question the use of a static narrow definition for the term 'ethnic group'.

The last model I would like to address is Brubakers' (2002) concept of 'ethnicity without groups'. He (*ibid.*) conceptualises not a group but a category of individuals that may have varying 'groupness'. He (*ibid.*) defines a category as a collection of individuals who share certain traits (ethnic, racial, or national). Brubaker's (*ibid.*) much more fluid notion of 'groupness' as a process addresses what he calls 'groupism' or the propensity of scholars to label 'discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogenous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life' (164). Brubaker (*ibid.*) proposes instead a continuum of groupness where

categories of individuals may slide up or down depending on a variety of factors and impetuses.

Furthermore, Brubaker (*ibid.*) proposes to analyse groupness as an event. He (*ibid.*) points out that through the use of a continuum model to understand 'groupness' it allows for understanding of the shifting strength of groupness which may occur over time. This frees researchers from focusing on shifts between concrete categories or levels and instead mimics the more fluid nature of social interaction (Brubaker 2002:168). I would add that while I see Brubaker's dynamic approach as useful, I also call into question some of its limitations. I would question the basic definition of groupness as being very similar to solidarity and/ or cohesion. Additionally, I would point out that there may be different levels and types of groups within a particular ethnic category at any one time. These may range from the wide group with potentially low levels of groupness to the ethnic association that is made up only of certain members of the community. Therefore, I advance a caution voiced by Jenkins (2008):

'The axiomatic preoccupation with 'groupness' in many studies of ethnicity, post-Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, has encouraged a continuing reification of ethnic groups and, particularly, their boundaries. This is a serious problem in that it undermines the analytical vision of the human world consistently promoted by Barth himself; a vision of social life as perpetual coalition, fission and negotiation; of collective forms as emergent patterns generated by the ongoing ins and outs of individuals interacting. Social groups are not things.' (169)

Based on the above review, I will be utilizing a fluid dynamic concept of the term 'ethnic group' which delineates a collective that exhibits some degree of 'groupness' and possesses group identification and may be viewed as a distinct ethnic category

by external actors. The members of an ethnic group share a similar understanding of the world and methods of engaging in it. I contend that the ethnic group may engage in some collective activities that could vary in intensity of involvement as well as the participation of its members.

How Ethnicity is used in this Research

Many scholars have noted that ethnicity and its meaning are dynamic interactive processes. Eders *et al* (2002) point out that inter-action occurs and identity is made and equipped with political meaning within the macro- and micro- level structures of a given society. Holland *et al* (2008), in their analysis of social movements, points out that collective identity is developed through social and contextual inter-actions both externally and internally, and that this collective identity has a major impact on guiding social movement activities. Dahinden (2008) looked at the formation of ethnic identities and meanings in Switzerland and found that ethnicity is not static and changes both with inter-action and context. The work (*ibid.*) also showed that ethnically based discrimination and stereotyping can be overcome through shifting ethnic meanings, identities and boundaries. Other examples of the dynamic and inter-active nature of ethnicity come from symbolic interactionists who note that meanings affect inter-actions and vice versa, hence highlighting how ethnicities can colour the engagement between social actors while at the same time shifting the worldviews these actors are using to guide their inter-actions (e.g. Blumer 1969, Charon and Cahill 2004, Dennis and Martin 2005).

Numerous scholars argue that the processes of ethnic categorization and identification are not only about meanings, they also impact on action. DiMaggio

(1997) states that the process of developing social classifications contributes to the 'logic of action' which in turn channels and guides behaviours. In other words, identity serves as a 'structuring category' that provides security, sense of direction and encompasses ideals and values (Nordberg 2006:533, cf. Hogg and Abrams 1988). Furthermore, Bobo and Fox (2003) look extensively at how meanings and stereo-types can result in discrimination and how this can have an impact on the way the 'other' are viewed as well as how one views one's self and one's ethnic group. Another example of how meanings influence perceptions and inter-actions comes from DeVenanzi (2005) whose theoretical work examines how exclusion is often attached to an ethnic minority, making it difficult for members of that group to inter-act with the majority. Holland *et al* (2008) in their analysis of social movements in Canada, Scotland and Nepal, also note that collective identity has a major impact on guiding social movement activities.

The cultural markers of ethnicities are of interest to this research study as they are manifestations of difference and shape the processes of 'othering' (Joly 2004a, Wallman 1986). Some scholars, like DeVenanzi (2005) and Hale (2004), have noted that more important than cultural differences are the meanings attached to the boundaries of ethnicities by the majority and the way cultural differences become symbols that are imbued with, and allow for, the expression of meanings. For example, Nordberg (2006) states that the role of cultural differences is secondary to the stereotypes attached to the Roma in Finland. Additionally, Schwalbe's *et al* (2000) interactionist approach to inequality contends that individuals and groups

whose culture conflict with the dominant culture face more limited chances for success within the mainstream society.

This review found that many previous works have noted the importance of actors' beliefs and perceptions on ethnic issues. Druckman's (2006) critical review of how stereotypes and meanings impact and are impacted by social inter-actions and policy making, makes key contributions towards understanding the processes of ethnic relations. Similarly, DeVenanzi (2005) argues that discrimination and exclusion result from socially constructed ethnocentric views of the dominate forces of society (i.e. the State and civil society). Brubaker *et al* (2004) specifically note that ethnicity is a cognitive construct and is a perspective of the world, and that through cognitive processes and mechanisms scholars can understand the socially constructed nature of issues such as ethnicity. While this is discussed in relation to ethnicity in general, it is not common in the more specific studies of ECA. This connection between meanings and inter-actions is too often divorced from ECA research, thus limiting that research's explanatory worth. In response to this, I have focused on the importance of meanings and worldviews to examine how they impact on the processes of ECA. I argue in this thesis that actors' worldviews which guide the actors' conceptualizations of ethnicity and ECA are central to understanding their subjective realities.

Defining 'Minority'

Across the range of academic research there is limited space given to discussions of the definition of the term 'minority'. This is problematic because it

draws into question researchers' conceptualization of the term and creates confusion for the reader as to the exact meaning of the word.

While a 'minority' may be defined as being less than 50% of a given population, the Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology defines 'minority' as 'a social category of people singled out for unequal and inferior treatment simply because they are identified as belonging to that category' (Johnson ed. 2000: 196). When addressing issues of minority rights, the groups discussed may be numerically less than 50% of the population, but the dictionary definition proposes that the more distinguishing feature of a minority group is that they are marginalized and disenfranchised from participation in the general social, political and economic inter-actions of the larger society.

While a 'minority' may be defined by its disenfranchised status, I choose to use the numerical definition. The reason for this is that there are also *advantaged* minority groups that may receive special privileges, or indeed rule the state. One example of this is the Alawites in Syria (Lucas 1994). I propose that the Circassian-Jordanians and Jordanian-Jordanians can be classed as advantaged minorities. There may also be instances of numerical majorities who face disadvantage; such as black South Africans during Apartheid and Palestinians in Jordan. Because of these points, I argue that overburdening the term 'minority' with more than the numerical meaning only confuses usage. The disadvantaged status of a group is not the defining characteristic of being a 'minority'. Therefore, the term 'minority' in this

thesis is used to refer to any group, both advantaged and disadvantaged, whose population is less than 50% of the total population.

Gaps in the Literature on Ethnic Collective Action (ECA)

This section addresses the five gaps identified in the literature on ECA. First I critically examine the previous narrow definitions of ECA which tended to consider ECA to be only referring to non-routine political actions and then address the often static conceptualisations of ECA. Next, I discuss how the previous scholarly work has focused on external factors. I review the main theoretical approaches and discuss how this research expands upon these approaches. I then review the previous work's limited acknowledgment of the importance of internal heterogeneity and intra-actions in the literature on ECA. Lastly, I look at the limited regard in ECA literature for the role and importance of worldviews and social inter-action.

Defining 'Ethnic Collective Action'

Beyond Non-Routine Political ECA

A problem with traditional conceptions of ECA is that it is too often defined only as non-routine ethnically based political actions such as riots, protests, political mobilisations or revolutions (e.g. Okamoto and Wilkes 2008, Olzak 1989, Wilkes 2004). Brubaker (2002) says that collective action events are rare and one must acknowledge that they may not happen and that these in-actions can serve as a fruitful area of research (cf. Wilkes 2004). While this approach was found to be common, there were a variety of academics who analysed other aspects of ECA, in

particular this included work which addressed issues of ethnically based associations.

Examples of ECA related research with a political focus abound. Whilst discussing the Roma, Barany explains that 'political mobilisation denotes the deliberate activity of a group of individuals for the realisation of political objectives' (Barany 1998:309). He has a political focus on the issue of ECA among the Roma, and pays little attention to cultural processes. While I do not disagree that macro-political actions are an important element of ECA, I think Barany (*ibid.*) has ignored other potential activities by focusing on the political ones.

In their analysis of the Kurdish situation in Turkey, Icduygu *et al* (1999) focus on the role of material and non-material insecurity in prompting a coalescing of Kurdish ethnic identification. Their conceptualisation of security and their analysis is quite interesting, and I agree that insecurity plays a role in encouraging, shaping and hindering mobilisation and action. They (*ibid.*) state that an insecure situation can lead to a politicization of identity. While Turkey is a politically charged climate, I contend that the Kurds are not as limited in addressing their poverty and insecurity as characterized by Icduygu *et al* (*ibid.*). Similarly, Okamoto and Wilkes (2008) discuss minority group collective action, focusing on two forms of action; emigration and rebellion. While their (*ibid.*) conclusions about choosing a strategy based on the opportunity and cost can be extended, their focus limits the usefulness of their data when contemplating alternative views of collective action.

I argue that in order to understand how ECA works, research needs to move away from the political mobilization, the ethnic protest movements, the riots and ethnic conflicts that fill the articles and commentary of ECA scholars, and engage with other forms of ECA. As noted earlier a variety of scholars have undertaken work examining ethnic collective action from a less politicized approach. Some scholars have noted that identity movements, of which ECA and ethnic associations could be included, are not necessarily only looking for political changes but instead may be trying to bring about change in social, cultural or economic domains (Caniglia and Carmin 2005: 205). Melucci (1980) notes another activity is pushing for altering the symbols and their meaning in society which is not the same as pushing for political or economic change.

Another attempt comes from Lalich's research (2006) into the establishment of ethnic group spaces and associations in Sydney. His work focuses on alternative strategies to political upheaval. Lalich writes:

Ethnic collective action is a local response to diverse social and cultural constraints, deprivation and the inadequacy of mainstream social infrastructure. (ibid.: 3)

This definition is good in that it generalizes ECA and does not tie it to a political action. His approach looks at both internal and external factors and acknowledges the intra- and inter-action surrounding the pursuit of ECA. In addition, Lalich looks beyond static outcomes and begins to examine the impact of achieving the goal of

creating an ethnic association for creating a new context for future inter-actions and ECA.

While most scholars have focused on issues of politicized ethnic mobilization some have expanded this as Lalich (2006) did. Bram (2003), for instance, discusses the ways that the Circassians in a village in Israel work to maintain their language, traditions and ethnic identity through collective action. Marsh (2000) discusses the ways that the Zabaleen in Cairo have utilized their ethnic identity and kinship ties to facilitate economic activities as well as forming an organisation that serves as a political voice. Holland *et al* (2008) relates how a First Nation group in Canada was able to leverage their cultural rights as a minority in order to make economic gains. ECA was found to occasionally refer to ethnic group members cooperating around issues of resources, social and economic access, as well as internal collective goals such as strengthening of group cohesion, ethnic solidarity and cultural maintenance, an approach utilized by this research.

Previous research on ethnically based associations was found to contribute greatly to the understanding of how ethnic groups can undertake a variety of collective actions that are not politically based. For instance, Joly (2001) notes that moral, social, and emotional support can be provided by ethnically based associations (cf. Candappa and Joly 1994). While some scholars look at the political aspects of the actions of associations many go beyond this focus (cf. Candappa and Joly 1994, Hily and Poinard 1987, Joly 1987, 1998, 1996, 2001, 2004b, Josephides

1987, Rex 1991, Rex and Josephides 1987). Rex and Josephides (1987) note four key functions of associations: 1) addressing social isolation, 2) assisting individuals in addressing personal and material problems, 3) engaging with the majority society in order to deal with conflict and negotiations, 4) serving to maintain, develop and transfer traditions, language, religion, values, and shared patterns of meaning (cf. Joly 1996, Rex 1991). I would add Gitmez and Wilpert's (1987) point that associations may serve to assist groups with integration into the mainstream or may heighten segregation. That said, it is not the outlining of potential non-politicized action that is key to understanding associations and their impact on ECA, instead the previous work provides a rich theoretical understanding of how associations can play a central role in understanding ethnicity, identity, worldviews, and interactions. These are all key areas that my research has examined.

In her work, Joly (2001) highlights the work of John Rex which showed that although ethnic minorities were often faced with discrimination and disadvantage, they 'were not passive subjects of social processes but active social players' (7). Associations are said to provide the potential hub of activity, through leadership and guidance they serve the wider ethnic minority community's goals (Canadappa and Joly 1994, Joly 2001, 2004, Rex 1991, Rex and Josephides 1987). For example, immigrant communities often relied on kinship networks, institutions, places of worship, shops, and associations in order to begin rebuilding a sense of community (Joly 1994, 2001). Scholars, like Josephides (1987), note that ethnic associations are key to the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity because they are organized along ethnic lines, provide space for the expression of ethnicity, and the

internal structures of the association allow for struggles to take place around ethnicity in a private domain (cf. Fantasia and Hirsch 1995, Gitmez and Wilpert 1987, Polletta 1999). That said, associations, both formal and informal, filled a greater role than simply helping to re-establish and recreate ties and bonds among co-ethnics.

Associations of immigrant communities were often found to replace the kinship networks that may have been fractured through the migration process and in many cases undertook a number of the same functions of socialisation and affective ties and interactions (cf. Joly 1996, Kaya 2004, Lalich 2007, Rex, Joly and Wilpert 1987). These associations serve a variety of purposes including, but not limited to, providing emotional and material support, encouraging the maintenance of traditions such as language or religion, combating social isolation, acting as a voice for engagement with home and host society governments, and working to address problems and issues that arise from interactions with the majority society (Candappa and Joly 1994, Joly 2001, 2004, Rex 1987, Rex and Josephides 1987). Furthermore, resource mobilisation theory highlights that associations, including their structures of leadership and rules of governance, serve as a resource to group action and group making (Edwards and McCarthy 2004, Joly 2004b). I contend that the actions of such associations contribute to building 'groupness' and can be seen as a vital element in understanding ethnic groups and the ways that members may strategize ECA in order to meet their collective goals.

Scholars have examined the purpose, operations, and activities of ethnic associations, including outlining the factors that impact on how these associations function. Based on this broad range of earlier scholarship I contend that the importance of associations to ECA should not be downplayed. Therefore, this literature is important to my analysis of ECA, in particular among the Circassians, whose ethnically based association serves as a central hub of action and interaction for the community. The role of this particular association is detailed in Chapter 6.

While the research on ethnic associations does highlight non-political ECA, such organisations also have a political side. Joly (2001) discusses the role and influence of ethnic associations in Birmingham, UK on local elections and policy decisions. She (*ibid.*) states that these associations served as 'active pressure groups promoting the interest of their members', which has pushed municipalities to undertake 'specific measures' for 'specific groups' (52). Joly (*ibid.*) points out that the associations helped to encourage and facilitate ethnic minority participation in elections, hence making political parties take notice and respond to groups' demands and needs (cf. Candappa and Joly 1994, Fennema and Tille 2001). I contend that while ECA is not just about political actions, it does include this area of activity, and these collective actions (i.e. political pressure and/or activist group) represents an important element of recognizing how some ethnic groups may operate.

Scholars of ECA have outlined numerous types of action and strategies that may be undertaken by ethnic groups. Some of the broad strategic choices earlier scholars identified are listed below. These include Fenton (2003) who notes the strategies of adaptation, acculturation, and assimilation (125-126). On the other hand, Amirahmadi (1994) points out four forms of collective action; autonomy movements, separatist movements, regional uprisings, and ethnic-voting bloc politics. (120). Wieviorka (1994) outlines three types of actions that a group may undertake; withdraw into self, action as a pressure group, or violent action (29). Joly (2001) observes that mobilisation involves ethnic minority groups, often through their associations, negotiating with the majority society in order to express their interests (cf. Candappa and Joly 1994). Barany (1998) points to certain strategic choices made by ethnic actors including attracting votes, activating sympathetic third parties, forming coalitions, lobbying and 'less conventional' disruptions such as protest and violence as potential strategies (310). Rex (1991) provides a good summary of the actions that ethnic minority groups may undertake when he states 'what ethnic mobilisation or the political mobilisation of ethnic minority members is about is the attempt of communities and individuals to lead the fullest possible lives, while at the same time achieving an acceptable balance of cultural identities.' (114). I would also add that Karner (2007) discusses how ethnicity and ethnic connectivity may play a key role in everyday life and everyday group activities. I argue that this approach provides a strong foundation for my approach to the wider definition of ethnic collective action.

Lastly, I would again turn to the literature on associations, as this also highlights certain strategic undertakings. For example, Joly (2001), in presenting her findings

from research among African-Caribbean youth, notes that many of her informants seemed more inclined to pursue cultural and individual pursuits. They expressed a great concern for the impact that their individual actions may have on encouraging a positive self-identification for other African-Caribbeans and how this could potentially strengthen internal networks and bonds. These individualistic activities may limit the possibility of collective action, but they may also serve as a means for building stronger group identification and community roots, which strengthen the capacity for action (July 2001).

Importantly, these activities are not only the purview of ethnic groups. Much as non-ethnic groups can riot, protest and revolt the more routine non-political activities are undertaken by non-ethnic groups. Collective actions become ECA when the actors' ethnicity becomes a major factor in the organizing of cooperation, i.e. via ethnic ties. It is also important to point out that these types of ethnic collective actions are not only about ethnic group leaders nor are they necessarily inclusive of all members of the ethnicity. Instead they may occur in different social and spatial localities, and range from small sub-group actions to ethnic group wide activities. The acknowledgment of the multiple strategies and levels of ECA provides a framework that allows for greater understanding, more opportunity to study examples of ECA and widens the scope of ECA beyond riots and revolutions.

A Processual Approach

Throughout the literature reviewed I found that there was a lack of attention given to the underlying complex dynamic process of ethnic collective action. This

has been acknowledged by other scholars as well. For example, Hetcher *et al* (1982) and Eders *et al* (2002) discuss the complex processes involved in ECA. Despite the portrayal by some scholars of ECA as a process, most have failed to engage with this conceptualisation to my satisfaction. For example, Olzak (1989) points out that collective action can be seen as a process, but defines a process strictly in the sense of a series of events, not as a dynamic interactive system. A further example of the failure to see the dynamic processual nature of ECA comes from Jenne (2004) who fails to effectively explain the process of ethnic group mobilisation. Instead, she (*ibid.*) sees ECA and the factors as a simple causative system. Outside of ECA, Shellman (2006) also proposes a sequential model to predict and explain contentious political action. While these are types of process, they fail to capture the complexities that I see as central to processes of ECA. I argue that noting a sequenced series of events is a process in the strictest sense, but such an approach generally ignores the myriad of factors and possible outcomes as well as how the multidirectional and multidimensional processes occur, which in my view is most important.

Drury provides a definition of 'ethnic mobilisation' (a form of ECA):

*Ethnic mobilisation can be defined as a **process** in which members of an ethnic group, in specific and relevant situations: first, develop heightened levels of group consciousness vis-à-vis other groups; second, employ cultural criteria or other symbols of their unity (including religion and phenotype) to sharpen boundaries between themselves and others; third, prepare, organise and consolidate their resources in order to take action and fourth, take action, usually of a political kind, in order to defend, promote and/or create collective as opposed to individual goals (Drury 1994:15 emphasis mine).*

This definition explicitly addresses the idea of process and outlines steps of group making and action. However, I argue that it misses the need to look at perceptions of problems, evaluations of context, intra-actions and negotiations surrounding goals and strategies, as well as the general complexities of process. In addition, I would caution against the assumption that attempts to achieve and create shared goals is 'usually of a political kind.' (*ibid.*:15).

Wimmer proposes a processual model of ethnic boundary creation:

The model is more complex than others because it integrates existing insights from both macro and micro sociological traditions, rather than pursuing only one avenue of research, such as rational choice theories or, on the other end of the spectrum, the various world-system approaches. ... The model offers a 'full circle' explanation... leading from macro to micro and back to macro level again (Wimmer's 2008: 1010)

Wimmer's (*ibid.*) approach recognizes the importance of processes, in particular the interaction between different levels of analysis, i.e. micro and macro. Although he does not fully engage with the macro and micro as interdependent. I argue, much as Balzacq (2002), Eders *et al* (2002), Dennis and Martin (2005) and Harrington and Fine (2006), that research should not be micro or macro, but rather should integrate the wider interactive micro-meso-macro level processes. Harrington and Fine (*ibid.*: 2) state that 'macro-sociology and microsociology are in a recursive relationship, mutually influencing and providing foundations for each other's existence'. This ties in closely with Holland *et al*'s (2008) holistic decentred dialogic approach to

understanding social movements as part of an inter-active complex process. Also Balzacq (2002) promotes the idea of a processual approach to understanding the inter-actions of actors in a cyclic system of continued negotiation and situational analysis. That said Wimmer's (2008) overall model provides an insight into how the processes and inter-action of ethnic issues can be engaged with by scholars. He issues a challenge to extend his work further in the study of ethnicities; I am undertaking this by building this approach into my research of ECA.

I would also draw attention to Gulliver's (1979) discussion on the importance of cyclic inter-actions to the process of negotiations that provides a strong sense of inter-actions between actors. I use this idea and contend that ECA is not just about the outcome or the action but about the processes leading up to and encompassing the action as well as the reactions to the new post-action context (cf. Gulliver 1979: 273). An example comes from Drakakis-Smith (2007) who focuses on the relationships and dynamic inter-action between Gypsies/Travellers and the Local Authorities as opposed to a unidirectional analysis.

ECA needs an approach which adequately examines it as a complex dynamic process. I argue that the impact of factors must be looked at through a lens that includes the effect the factors have as impetus, resources and in channelling strategic choices (cf. Wallman 1986). The myriad of factors must be engaged with by scholars not only to examine what effect each has but *how* said effect occurs (cf. Sauder 2005, Dennis and Martin 2005). Based on my review, I conclude that ECA

needs to be reconceptualised through a dynamic and processual lens, which recognizes the interwoven nature of the macro and micro approaches, the importance of intra-and inter-actions, as well as the feedback processes in ECA.

Focus on External Factors

Through my review I found that most analysis of ECA concentrates on external factors, such as socio-political structures and majority actions. This represents one of the gaps I identified in ECA research. Below I examine the key ways that previous scholars have examined the external factors of ECA. Following this I address how this research addresses this gap.

The external focus of ECA relevant research is often tied to external structural explanations. This tendency can be tied to theoretical explanations, but could also be seen to be a failure in the methods commonly used in earlier works such as surveys, statistics or formal interviews which do not allow for in-depth analysis of actors' inter-actions with society. The structural focus brings in to play numerous questions about how to balance the structure-agency debate. Harrington and Fine (2006) state that sociology has often focused research on structures while only a few looked at agency and that it would behoove the social sciences to examine these as interconnected. Similarly, Bobo and Fox (2003) note that in investigations of discrimination and segregation sociologists have not sufficiently addressed the micro-social processes embedded in their structural analyses. Schwalbe *et al* (2000) argue that it is not a bridging of structure and action that is needed as structure is 'a

metaphor for recurrent patterns of action involving large numbers of people' (ibid: 439).

In my review I found an over-reliance on explaining the actions of an ethnic group as reactions to the externally driven context and situation. Shellman (2006), writing on contentious political movements, states that most research focuses on structural and environmental factors while ignoring group and individual actions. There are numerous scholars who have laid out theories to explain ECA from the point of view of external factors, in particular political and social structures, which served as impetuses and affected the outcomes of ECA. Some of these are discussed briefly below.

Deprivation theory focuses on the idea that deprivation is the primary cause of political unrest (Wilkes 2004). This involves both absolute deprivation, when basic needs are not met, and relative deprivation, determined through comparisons to other individuals or groups (Wilkes 2004, cf. Kelly 1993). Deprivation, in particular relative deprivation, creates grievances about a group's position and can become an impetus for collective action (Wilkes 2004). This includes not just economic deprivation but also lack of access to social networks and other non-material deprivations. These issues were noted by Baulch *et al* (2002) in their research on the continued cycles of disenfranchisement of some ethnic minorities in Vietnam.

Wilkes (2004) points out that because there was not a great deal of academic support for this theory, it was soon challenged by resource mobilisation theorists (cf. Khawaja 1994). However, she concludes that the two theories complement rather than contradict each other. Deprivation theory holds some elements of promise, namely that deprivation can spur ECA, but in general its application fails to account for the processes of *how* the ethnic minority actor chooses to act. In addition it rests on the assumption that greater deprivation leads to greater likelihood of action, ignoring the plethora of other internal and external factors which may affect ECA.

In their work on competition theory, Olzak and Nagel (1986) outline the notion that ethnic mobilisation depends on the group in question having achieved a sufficient level of social and economic wellbeing. They view these resources as characteristics not as active elements in the process. In addition, they claim that competition between minority groups over access to economic, political and social resources is what encourages ethnic minority groups to act as a collective (Olzak and Nagel 1986). For example, Tsukashima (2007), in his research among Japanese and Latin American trade-guilds, concluded that external competition and perceptions of inequality were the prime forces in facilitating the development of ethnically based trade-guilds in order to protect the group's own economic interests.

Competition theory fails to effectively explain the activities of those ethnic groups that have not achieved a sufficient level of social or economic wellbeing, but may still be active (Drury 1994). Critics point out that competition theorists need to

acknowledge that actors must perceive the situation as unfair if they are to act against it (e.g. Eders *et al* 2002, Kelly 1993). Hempel (2007) states that assumptions of a cost-benefit approach based on instrumentalist competition models are common to ethnic mobilisation studies and she argues for the inclusion of non-economic and political resources in the model, as well as the analysis of how actors select the most efficient source of resources. Competition theory fails to explain outcomes stopping its description at impetus. It also does not embrace the processual parts of ECA. I acknowledge the important role that competition can play, but only as one element in the complex process of ECA.

The next model focuses on political opportunities as an impetus for ECA. This explanatory model focuses on the external aspects and not the ethnic minority actors' reactions (Wilkes 2004). In Fennema and Tillie's work (2001) they examine the factors contributing to political participation of ethnic minority groups in Amsterdam. They (*ibid.*) note that while most research has focused on the power of external institutions, they actually found that internal factors such as trust, experiences and associations are more important than some perceived external opportunities. According to Koopmans the opportunities are:

*Constraints, possibilities and threats that originate **outside** the mobilizing group, but affects its chances of mobilization and/or realizing its collective interests. (Koopmans 1999: 96, emphasis mine)*

These opportunities include the type of governing power (democratic versus authoritarian), stability of the state and its hold on power, and the cohesion and

solidarity of political elites (Wilkes 2004). This model does address one set of external factors that could affect ECA, but does not describe the effects as processes. In addition the political opportunities approach portrays ethnic minority actors as reactive, ignoring internal debate and discussions, and does not effectively explain how or why these political opportunities result in action.

Another externally focused explanation of ECA comes from theorists who promote an idea of ethnic fear and insecurity related to the concept of political crisis. Political crisis can be referred to as part of the political opportunity model (Jenne 2004). Crisis within the state can cause distress, which can then create an environment of insecurity and uncertainty. In short, this approach holds that when the state experiences a crisis of legitimacy or control, minority groups will move to expand their autonomy (*ibid.*). The problem with this model is that it assumes there is a desire for greater autonomy as well as the resources to seek such a goal.

Furthermore, security and ideas of ethnic fear include both material insecurity and nonmaterial insecurity (Icduygu *et al* 1999). While there are some problems with Icduygu *et al*'s work (*ibid.*) it does hold certain promise in addressing collective action. In particular, it draws on both context and actors' perceptions in order to look at the causes of ECA. However, it fails to adequately address the processes of ECA, making the leap from cause to effect with little attention given to the internal dynamics. In addition, this security model fails to adequately address the potential of

proactive action, instead conceiving the minority as only capable of defensive reactionary tactics (Jenne 2004).

Another important external factor is the power of the external and/or dominant group to control the meanings that are attached to ethnicities. Ethnic categories are 'proposed, propagated, imposed, and generally embedded' (Brubaker 2002:170) in the institutions of government, as well as in the social and cultural institutions. Examples include the way the Finnish government's definition of the Finnish-Roma population limits the groups citizenship (Nordberg 2006). Similarly, Fenton (1999) notes that universities and schools are places where dominant cultures can be reinforced and promoted. Furthermore, Diehl and Blohm's (2001) work on ethnic voting and civic engagement in Germany, noted that institutions played a role in the ways that ethnic identities and ethnic cleavages were enacted.

That said, some scholars have noted that ethnic minority groups may engage in various forms of ECA in order to define their own ethnicity. Some examples include the efforts of Circassians in Israel to define themselves (Bram 2003), the Zabaleans in Cairo attempts to maintain their traditions and overcome stigma (Marsh 2000), Crespo *et al's* research (2002) on the internal debates around identity in a Gitano (Roma) community in Spain, and Muhtaseb's (2003) discussion on Palestinian refugees' use of narratives to maintain and manage their identity for internal and external consumption. Despite those scholars noted above who have examined the efforts of disenfranchised ethnic minorities to challenge dominant views, many

scholars still focus on the dominant group's definition, which is sometimes at odds with the ethnic minorities' reality, and too often fail to address the processes of negotiation that are central to creating meanings.

Above I reviewed numerous scholars who attempt to explain ECA via a focus on external factors alone. I do not discount these approaches completely. I argue instead that they should be used as a point of departure on which to build a more extended understanding of ECA. This more in-depth understanding should include greater attention to the internal issues of ethnic minority groups which has been called for by a number of scholars.

Acknowledging Internal Factors

Many scholars have done little to account for the processes of internal negotiation and intra-actions. For instance, Jenne's work (2004) concerning ethnic activities in former Yugoslavia ignores dissenting voices within the communities she is addressing and focuses only on the dominant voices. In doing this, she (*ibid.*) fails to address the process of how the dominant voices came to hold their position. Her (*ibid.*) reasons for this are that 1) the dominant voices and leaders are the main actors that engage in external relationships and 2) it is too complex to engage in an analysis of dissenting voices within the group as well as looking at the macro-interactions. These are excuses for glossing over intra-action. Jenne (*ibid.*) practically acknowledges that intra-action is important, but then goes on to argue that only the dominant actors within a group are vital in inter-actions and ignores the effect that intra-action may have on these dominant actors' strategic choices. Because of

works like this, I argue that the understanding of ECA can be extended with greater attention to intra-action and internal factors.

Some scholars have said that internal factors should be looked at more closely. For instance, Edwards and McCarthy (2004) focus on the uses of internal resources, such as social networks and leadership, in facilitating collective action. Wilkes (2004) contends that internal group educational levels are very important in ECA. However she (*ibid.*) also focuses on external structural issues, particularly economic. Hether *et al* (1982) points to the internal group resources of organisation and control as increasing the likelihood of ECA.

Others have named intra-action, internal negotiation and heterogeneity as important to understanding ethnic groups because often scholars portray the ethnic minority group as a homogenous collection of actors, with the 'social and cultural world' falsely portrayed as a 'multichrome mosaic of monochrome ethnic, racial or cultural blocs' (Brubaker 2002: 164). Busetta (2000:229) notes that most research into ECA is overly concerned with the institutional channels and ignores the internal differentiation within ethnic communities as concerns both strategy and identity. Bhat (accessed 2008) highlights the ways in which intra- and inter- ethnic conflict impacts on the activities of the Indian Diaspora, thus demonstrating the importance of looking at internal factors. Barak (2002: 620) states 'as far as the Middle East is concerned, these intra-communal "decision-making processes" as well as the interplay between them and the inter-communal arena are all too often overlooked'.

Below I examine some of the areas of research reviewed concerning the role of internal factors in ECA. I initiate this discussion by reviewing resource mobilisation theory. This is followed by a review of some of the key internal factors of leadership and cohesion that have been used in previous scholarly works. I then critique the popular theory of social capital.

Resource Mobilisation

According to Edwards and McCarthy (2004) the overarching theory of resource mobilisation argues that access to these internal organisational and infrastructure resources facilitates successful collective action. They (ibid) state that researchers of social movements 'have not yet adequately specified intraorganizational factors that influence their continued mobilization' (622). This is a welcome call for greater research on internal issues, and while this theory focuses on internal factors, it ignores the individual inter-actions, fails to effectively engage with processes, relies on rational choice and neglects the importance of worldviews. This theory only answers the question, 'under what conditions is ethnic action more likely or less likely to occur?' (Drury 1994: 20). It focuses primarily on internal structural factors and neglects the idea that ethnic identity can be a goal and only portrays it as a resource. Additionally, it ignores the role of culture, norms and values, in guiding actions and decisions (Eders *et al* 2002: 74). Hechter *et al* (1982) agree that organisational resources are vital to collective action, but argue the resources are only necessary but not sufficient for ECA.

Resource mobilisation theory also fails to effectively account for the individual, in that it does not discuss the feelings that prompt action (Kelly 1993). Kelly (1993) notes that other scholars attempted to add micro-level analysis to resource mobilisation theory by taking on a lens of rational decision making. One of these is Hempel (2007) who in her examination of ethnic group participation in Mauritius, noted that actors did use a cost-benefit analysis to become more involved with co-ethnics, but importantly notes that this is not limited to economic or political resources and benefits, but also applies to cultural and social benefits. Hempel (*ibid.*) argues that actors' choices take into account the viability and efficacy of the ethnic group to provide resources as well as the alternative choices available to the actor. Kelly (1993) points out that this rational choice approach fails to effectively include worldviews. Hempel (2007) agrees and argues that she embraces them and therefore can advance the understanding of the processes of ethnic identification.

Internal Factors: Leadership and Cohesion

Drury noted numerous internal factors that impact on ECA:

A group which is internally cohesive, bonded together by shared socio-cultural values, has effective leadership and high levels of organizational solidarity (measured by membership, density, inclusively etc...) is more likely to mobilise and take collective action than one which lacks such resources. (Drury 1994: 19)

Other scholars also note internal factors such as group size (Barany 1998, Glazer *et al* 1975), cohesion (Beck *et al* 1998, Phillips and Berman 2001, Kelly 1993, May 1990), leadership (Barany 1998, 2002, Brubaker 2002, Escobar 1992, Putnam 2000, Sekulic 2004), and other internal resources, such as activist networks

(Barany 1998, 2002, Browning *et al* 2004, Edwards and McCarthy 2004, Tsukashima 2007, Wilkes 2004), ethnically based associations (Edwards and McCarthy 2004, Fennema and Tille 2001, Lalich 2006, Wilkes 2004), independent media (Wilkes 2004), and material wealth (Barany 1998, Wilkes 2004). Hether *et al* (1982) also note that a group's monitoring mechanisms are important for effective collective action as it allows the group to control free riders and to distribute resources (cf. Sanders 2002).

All of these resources are important parts of ECA, but they are not sufficient to explain ECA (cf. Hether *et al* 1982). In addition, as they are part of the wider processes involved in ECA, they are difficult to isolate in the face of intra- and inter-actions. Therefore, I build upon these earlier works by taking their conclusions as a starting point to understand how internal resources impact on ECA.

Group leaders are often an important part of intra-action. These figures can serve to strengthen group cohesiveness and solidarity as well as act as a major link with external actors. May (1990) notes that group leaders often bear additional responsibility and blame for failed group actions, and hence should be motivated to encourage the involvement of group members in undertaking what is perceived to be necessary collective actions. The leader encourages the pursuit of the goals of a bounded ethnic group including strengthening group bonds and boundaries (cf. Brubaker 2002). Sekulic (2004) points out that in Croatia, leaders and intelligentsia were often responsible for the encouragement and development of ethnic identities. Putnam (2000) notes the role of leaders in the formation of boundaries, their ability

to bridge with other groups and strengthen bonds within the group. Barany (1998) refers to two types of leaders: traditional and modern. The traditional leader relies on bonding ties while the modern leader looks outward and serves as mainly a bridge builder (Barany 1998). Bonding is held up as a powerful tool that ethnic leaders can use to encourage other group members to act (cf. Drury 1994, May 1990). Brubaker (2002: 171) describes bonding leadership through describing the 'raw materials' that a leader may take up to forge a mobilised force, or to strengthen an already mobilised group. Edwards and McCarthy (2004) note that bridging leaders can actually contribute to greater strength and ability of a social movement as it can then draw on more varied resources and contacts. Garland *et al* (2006) cautions that relying solely on the leader or ethnic organisation as a voice for the ethnic group is problematic as they are often unrepresentative and reflect their own agenda. Brubaker (2002) suggests that research should attempt to understand the process of representation as it will be useful in investigations of ethnic action. I agree with the above sentiments that leadership can provide a powerful force in ECA and that researchers need to avoid the belief that a leader speaks for the community. In addition, I agree that scholars must acknowledge the processes of leadership as integral to understanding ECA.

Social cohesion is repeatedly mentioned as a factor in successful empowerment efforts, but, if lacking, it can also be seen as an element of disenfranchisement and lessened social quality (cf. Beck *et al.* 1998, Phillips and Berman 2001, 2003). According to some scholars, groups with low social cohesion will not possess strong social networks, which in turn limits their ability to gain advantage from collective

action and distribution of other resources as they are not able to access the trust that is such a key part of group making, facilitating the building of internal social bonds and concrete boundaries (e.g. Browning *et al* 2004, Phillips and Berman 2001,2003, Widmalm 2005). In addition, Phillips and Berman (2003) acknowledge that internal cohesion as well as external cohesion plays a role in group activities. Moreover, I note that Bollen and Hoyle (1990) contend that an actor's perception of cohesion or lack thereof is an important part of understanding how cohesion impacts on individual group member's behaviour. I argue that this perception-based analysis highlights the link between worldviews and internal resources. Despite the acknowledged importance of cohesion (real or perceived), Vermeersch (2003) argues that excessively inward looking social cohesion is detrimental to the ability of a group to carry out ECA. This point rests on the important concept discussed earlier that the internal and external are interdependent and that ECA requires access to both. I accept social cohesion as a vitally important internal factor for ECA, but recognize its potentially positive and negative impacts.

Social Capital

The ideas of social cohesion are tightly bound to the concept of social capital. This concept has been popular in recent decades, but I argue it has become overburdened with too much meaning and interpretation. The term 'social capital' was first used by Jane Jacobs in 1961, but the concept has existed in the social sciences since the 19th century (Kay 2005). While social capital has been supported and promoted by a number of scholars, Bourdieu and Putnam have been the most central (Fields 2003).

Bourdieu's conceptualisation focused on social capital as one form of capital, others include economic, cultural and symbolic. His definition of social capital stated that it was:

'...the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119).

I contend that Bourdieu's conceptualisation has some merit as a general idea, it also has numerous flaws that overwhelm its contributions to understanding and explaining ECA. The key benefit of Bourdieu's model of social capital is that it acknowledges the importance of the dynamic and interactive nature of society, but he focuses on a model of action that is reminiscent of the rational choice model (Wong 2005).

The other key social capital scholar is Putnam (1993a,b 2000). This model was popular with policy makers who saw the approach promoted by Putnam as a quick fix to issues of poverty and inequality (Fields 2003). Putnam stated that social capital:

'...refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions.'(Putnam (1993b:167)

I contend that Putnam focuses on the view of social capital as a resource. He does advance the notion that social capital is a spectrum not a binary state, but does not engage with the details necessary to understand how the concept may actually operate within society. Below I detail certain overall critiques of social capital.

According to Fields (2003) social capital is about relationships, trust, shared norms and networks, which are viewed as facilitating social cohesion and cooperation. Other scholars (e.g. Kay 2005, Putnam 1993a,b, 2000, Widmalm 2005) note its role in increasing a group's capacity to exert social control over internal actors or groups and distributing benefits resulting from social engagement. I agree that social capital focuses on the ties that bind individuals within a collective together. However, the concept of social capital fails to account for the dynamic nature of these ties (cf. Kay 2005, Stirrat 2004, Wong 2005). Putnam (2000) acknowledges that social capital requires participation but he neither addresses this in-depth nor explains how social capital is developed and utilized. Fields (2003:139) claims that social capital is about inter-action and bridges the gap between structure and agency. I have not found that the commonly held concepts of social capital do this, and if the concept must be stretched to do this, I would question the use of such a limited explanatory tool.

Bourdieu's conception of social capital is problematic as it was based on a sense of advancement and maintenance of status, power and wealth (Jenkins

1992), and focused on the elite in society thus failing to treat social capital as accessible by all members of society. This description of social capital, as a means of maintaining inequality, counters the generally optimistic nature of Putnam's conceptualisation which pointed out the benefits of social capital to the disenfranchised. Some scholars have acknowledged the dark side of social capital by noting that it can be used to maintain inequality, promote segregation, create boundaries in society and facilitate the creation of 'us' versus 'them' conflicts (e.g. Fields 2003, Janjuha-Jivraj 2003, Kay 2005, Portes 1998). The lack of acknowledgement of these processes by some scholars has resulted in a conceptualisation of social capital that fails to effectively explain much of anything (Stirrat 2004).

Yet another critique of social capital is that it does not effectively acknowledge multiple identities, cross cutting cleavages and multiple loyalties (cf. Janjuha-Jivraj 2003, Kay 2005). I argue that the overlapping ties between and within groups are not sufficiently examined in the traditionally static model of social capital, and hence it is of limited usefulness in this research (cf. Janjuha-Jivraj 2003, Kay 2005).

I join Portes (1998) in questioning if social capital accomplishes anything or is it an umbrella for other terms, subsuming cohesion, solidarity, leadership and trust. Stirrat (2004) argues that social capital is a poorly defined concept which glosses over important and complex social processes. Building on the above critiques, I argue social capital does not provide the in-depth analysis which is necessary to

understand the role of factors in ECA. Hence I will be looking at leadership, social cohesion, ethnic solidarity, and other internal factors separately and avoid the overburdened concept of 'social capital'.

Based on my above review of internal factors I conclude that while they have been overlooked by numerous scholars they are quite important to ECA. Those scholars that have engaged with the issues of internal factors have highlighted numerous factors, including leadership and cohesion. Despite attempts by some academics to create overarching theories that explains the impacts of internal factors, i.e. resource mobilisation and social capital, I argue that these two approaches have not effectively engaged with the processes of ECA, and hence are of limited explanatory value. Therefore, as noted earlier, I will be analysing the various internal factors separately within the overall processual approach to ECA.

Before moving on to address worldviews I feel it is important to note that this research will also attempt to overcome the barriers that separate external and internal focused analysis. I argue that the attention to external factors obscures a clear understanding of ethnic group relations, but would caution that if one focuses only on internal factors then one may lose the importance of context. Khawaja (1994) in an analysis of collective action in the West Bank, states that any explanation of collective action must include both external factors, such as structures and political opportunities, as well as internal factors including organisational and material resources. I contend that attempts to separate these two

types of factors are difficult at best as external factors influence internal factors and vice versa. They are part of the interactive processes that make up ECA. Despite this, I am using the traditional external and internal concepts from the previous literature to frame my research. My analysis examines how these 'external' and 'internal' factors are interrelated and influence each other.

Lack of Attention to the Importance of Worldviews

Many scholars have not effectively analysed the role of worldviews in ECA. As mentioned earlier, the myriad of factors that have been looked at by other researchers are not simply independent variables, but part of complex processes of interacting embedded systems. Part of the failure to access and explain these relationships stems from a lack of scholarly interest paid to actors' worldviews. In addition there has been limited attention given to how these worldviews interact with and influence contexts as well as external and internal structures and actions.

Worldviews, according to Geertz, is a people's

'...picture of the way things in sheer reality actually are, their concept of nature, of self, of society'(Geertz 1973: 127)

While other scholars have used numerous other terms to label similar ideas I will utilize 'worldviews'.

There are many examples of scholars missing the importance of worldviews. Barany (2002), for instance, fails to acknowledge the power of worldviews when addressing the actions of the Roma in Eastern Europe. Similarly, Portes (1987) does not investigate the role of worldviews in the ethnic enclaves of Miami. Instead

he (*ibid.*) relies on rational choice theory to explain actors' behaviours and strategies surrounding their ethnic perceptions. Wilkes (2004) attempts to include some attention to worldviews in her analysis of First Nation protest movements in Canada, however she does not sufficiently delve into the complexities and instead uses rational choice and grievance models.

Some scholars have investigated the role of worldviews in ECA and my research draws from their efforts. For example, Lalich (2006) researched the way ethnic minority actors' perceptions of the external and internal contexts impacted on their actions. Kaya (2004) also investigates how worldviews come into play for the Circassians in Turkey. Kwon's (2008) ethnographic study of Asian and Pacific Islander youth activists concluded that their collective action and pursuit of empowerment was informed by their lived experiences and their shifting views of the world. Beyond ECA, the importance of worldviews in affecting how actors imbue a situation with their own meanings and then react within that situation are more commonly applied in research. This is demonstrated when Holland *et al* (2008) discuss the role of 'figured worlds' and collective identity found in three ethnographic studies of social movements. They (*ibid.*) also refer to the development of 'figured worlds' and collective identities as a process impacted by and impacting on interaction. In another example, Drakakis-Smith's (2007) work on the Gypsy/Traveller community in the UK points out how government officials' attitudes, which are based on knowledge that may or may not be accurate, often guide them to create policies that exacerbate exclusion and discrimination. In an interesting approach, Strydom (2008) discusses how risk is communicated via cooperative learning processes

which help groups to construct a shared interpretation of the situation and challenges, as well as which strategies are available. Jenkins (2008) specifically addresses the importance of worldviews to ethnicity and ethnic groups. He (*ibid.*) states that ethnic groups represent certain social practices 'that have become established over time as the "way things are done" in a particular local context, and of which people in the context are conscious'. (63). He (*ibid.*) continues that these social practices are 'aspects of local social reality in terms of which and with reference to which decisions are made and behaviour oriented.' (63).

One way that some previous scholars have addressed the importance of worldviews was through the perspective of symbolic interactionism (SI). This approach focuses on investigating the complex interwoven nature of world views and social interaction. There were three basic assumptions of SI laid down by Blumer:

- *'the first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them.'*
- *'the second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows'*
- *'the third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive processes used by the person in dealing with the thing he encounters'(1969:2)*

I agree with Blumer's approach. While there have been some criticisms of SI, these have been refuted by numerous scholars. For example, Stryker (1987) addresses the challenge that SI is not structural through pointing out that SI

recognizes that inter-actions are embedded in the structures of society. Balzacq (2002) challenges those who claim SI is only focused on the micro level of society by showing that SI looks at inter-actions which affect the macro-structures and institutions of society. Lastly, Dennis and Martin (2005) refute the claim that SI fails to address power by drawing extensively on early SI literature to demonstrate that it actually does. Because of the way that SI acknowledges the importance of interaction and worldviews, I utilize much of the research from the SI tradition to inform my research and analysis.

Other approaches that focus on the varied roles that worldviews can play in ECA are from social psychology and cognitive anthropology. Hogg and Abrams (1988) note that worldviews are a structure of knowledge that allows individuals to organize information to better explain how the world works and interact with it in a guided (not scripted) manner. Brubaker *et al* (2004) contend that only through examining cognitive processes will scholars be able to understand how, when, and why actors interpret situations and social experiences as ethnic or other terms. They (*ibid.*) argue that ethnicity provides a way of 'seeing the social world and interpreting social experiences' (43). They (*ibid.*) promote the notion of schema which provides actors with a means of representation and aids in processing information. They (*ibid.*) note that schemas 'guide perception and recall, interpret experience, generate inferences and expectations, and organize action.' (41)

DiMaggio (1997) delves into how cognition and culture intermesh and concludes that this is important to understanding social inter-actions. Furthermore, he (*ibid.*) characterizes worldviews as something that exists in the interactive spaces beyond

the individual. This supports the processual interactive approach I use by overcoming the definition of worldviews as static objects and instead viewing them as dynamic outcomes of inter-actions, which also influence and filter inter-actions. Holland *et al* (2008) argue for the importance of recognizing how 'figured worlds', which they say imbue the world with meaning and guide actions, come into play when examining social and political inter-actions of social movements. Similarly, DiMaggio (1997) argues that 'logic of action' guide and channel actors' behaviours. From an external perspective, Sigona (2005) found that the stereotypes and cultural concepts of the Roma held by policy makers in Italy were used to legitimise their pursuit of a segregationist public policy. The worldview approach has been applied to general studies of collective action and social movements, but has not been widely used in ECA.

I contend that worldviews are an important part of social inter-action and could advance the understanding of ECA. This research will build and extend those earlier works that investigated the importance of worldviews. While worldviews can conceivably include the ways that actors interpret and interact with reality as a whole, this research, by necessity and interest, pursues the understanding of only certain areas of this wide reaching concept. In particular, my efforts sought to gain insights into informants' worldviews regarding their own identifications, the two case study groups, challenges and problems they faced when engaging with the mainstream society, the politics and policies of the Jordanian state and VSOs, general views on ethnic minority issues in Jordan, patterns of ECA they observed or participated in, views and opinions about their lives and futures, views of their ethnic

group and its past, present and future, and lastly any pertinent issues that they felt would aid in my research of ECA.

Summary

This review of the literature has shown that there are limited conceptions of ECA. Previous scholars have focused on the external context surrounding ECA and tended to treat ethnic groups as homogenous uncomplicated actors. These scholars have not sufficiently explained *how* external and internal factors affect ECA, and have not explored the importance of worldviews to ECA.

This literature review addressed numerous subjects that are relevant to research into ECA. I began this chapter with a review of the terms 'ethnicity' and 'minority'. I then addressed the literature on ECA. In this section I examined the conceptualisations of ECA that are commonly discussed, and found it to be insufficient for my research. Hence, I provided a different conceptualisation of ECA that included expanding the narrow definition of ECA to include routine non-political actions that involve ethnic groups and ethnicity as factors of action. This research conceptualises ECA as being processual, interactive and dynamic. This review also allowed me to examine the previous scholarship on ECA. I found it lacking in three critical ways, that there was a focus on external factors, a lack of acknowledgement of intra-actions and internal factors, and lastly a limited engagement with the role of actors' worldviews. As a result of these gaps, I developed the three research questions.

- (1) What is the role of external political and social structures on the pursuit of ECA?
- (2) What is the role of intra-actions and internal structures and resources on shaping ECA?
- (3) How do internal and external actors' worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

In general as a result of the review I have elected to use a processual approach to examine the micro-social worldviews of external and internal actors, the intra- and inter-actions of actors with each other and with the macro-structures and situations, and to view all of these factors as interconnected parts of an interdependent social world instead of one subdivided by levels of analysis. Building on this conceptualisation and understanding of the ECA research issues and challenges, I elected to undertake ethnographic fieldwork. The reason for this is that I believe intra-action and processes, and issues such as worldviews and many of the internal and external factors of ECA cannot be understood through surveys, interviews or documentary analysis alone. The next chapter will address the setting of the ethnographic case studies of two ethnic groups in Jordan.

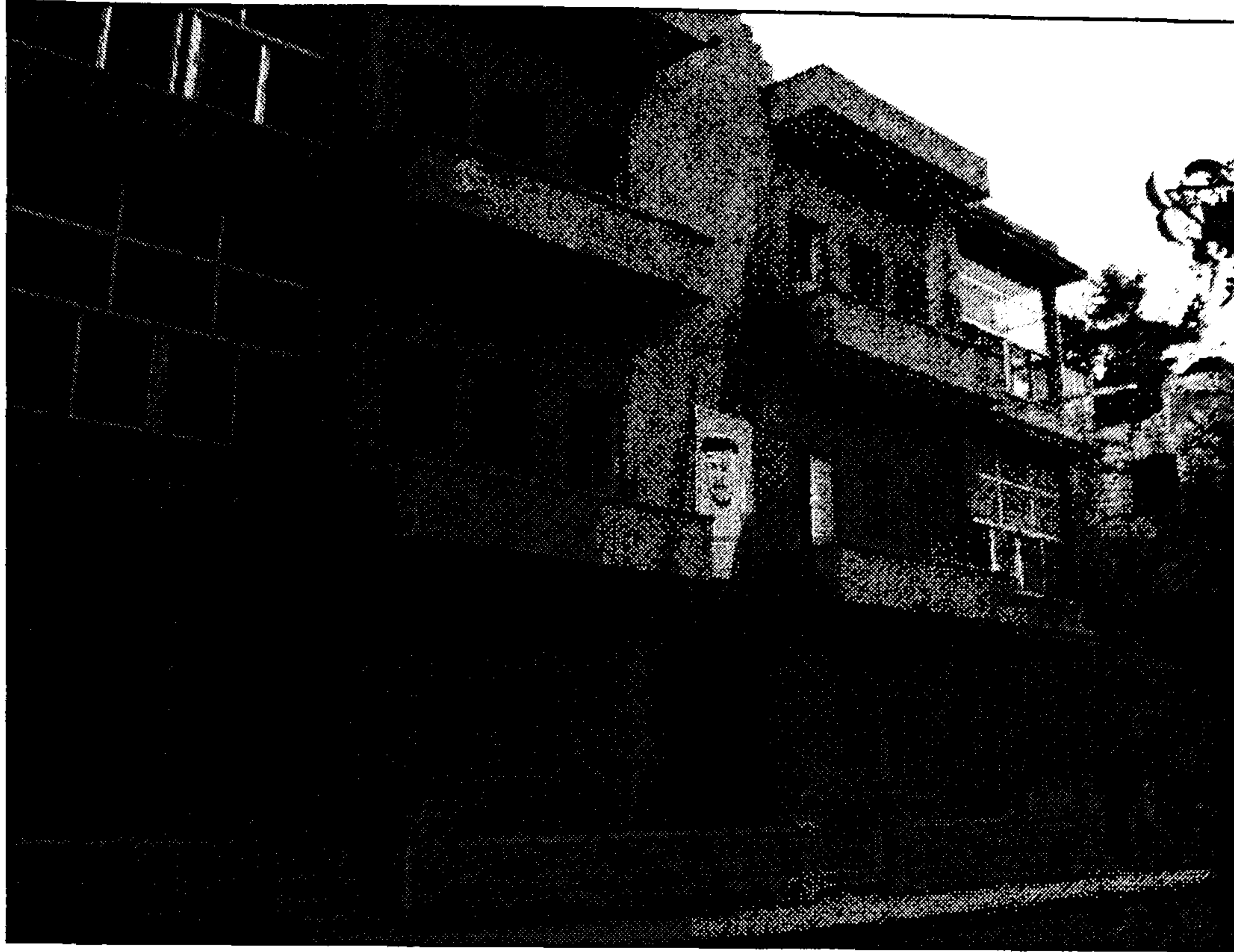


Photo 3.1: Image of King on Building Jebel Al Weibdeh Amman

Chapter 3: Setting: The Context of the Research

ECA does not occur in a vacuum. Hence, it is vital to gain a clear understanding of the social, political, temporal, spatial and economic environments that affect actors within their given setting. This chapter will focus on Jordan as the setting of the research and highlight three points that are significant to this research. The first is that Jordan is an ethnically diverse state and this diversity is rooted in both its past and present. The second is that ethnic diversity in Jordan evokes reactions from society, government and the voluntary sector. The third point is that those groups who make Jordan ethnically diverse are directly affected by these reactions.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section addresses Jordan's past and present. The review of Jordan's past acknowledges key events and historical themes. The present situation in Jordan is addressed through a broad

overview of the current demography of Jordan, and a more in-depth description of the conditions that are directly related to my research such as poverty, inequality, diversity and marginalization. The second section addresses the situation facing minority groups in Jordan with a focus on the history and current status of the Circassian and Dom. The final section of this chapter examines elements of the Jordanian government and the voluntary sector.

Jordan's Past and Present

Jordan's Past

It is important to note the ways in which Jordan's past has shaped its present. This section explores three issues that emerge from the historical context of Jordan; the governmental strategies used to maintain political stability and power, the shifting political borders and population of Jordan, and the broad issue of the creation of a national identity. The examination of these themes will identify how certain historical events are tied to these issues and how they are related to the research. For ease of reference an overarching timeline of Jordan's history which traces critical events that preceded the establishment of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and continues to the present day is in Appendix B. The reader is advised to refer to this before continuing with this chapter.

The first topic from Jordan's history that is pertinent to my research is how the government has maintained political stability and power. Jordan has historically been a monarchy, with the king supported by an elected Parliament. While this has

been the established structure since the first Parliament in 1929 (HKJ c accessed 2007), there have been numerous changes in the way the monarchy and the government operate. Researchers have noted that over the years the Jordanian government pursued strategies of both liberalization and de-liberalization which coincided with the needs of the regime to maintain stability within the country (e.g. Massad 2001, Layne 1989, Ryan and Schwedler 2004). Examples include the establishment of a new parliament in 1950, which provided West Bankers with political representation following the 1947 war with Israel (HKJ c accessed 2007, Layne 1994), the crack down on pluralism following Black September (Nasser 2004, Massad 2001, Susser 1999), the liberalizing of policies in the late 1980s following riots and a national financial crisis (Robinson 1998, Ryan and Schwedler 2004), and the shift towards a more restrictive political environment in the early 2000s (Ryan and Schwedler 2004). The state clearly responded to threats of instability by undertaking different strategies of administration and limiting or extending freedoms based on the needs of the state. Ryan and Schwedler (2004) note the process of de-liberalization served to stifle voices of opposition and pluralism in Jordan. This effect of the shifting policies is relevant to the research study as this could limit the ability of ethnic minorities to express their own needs and identities.

The second important issue is the arbitrary and shifting nature of Jordan's political boundaries and the historical basis of its diverse population. The borders of Jordan were not drawn to suit any standing cultural or physical boundaries. Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, it was the colonial powers of Britain and France who carved the region into spheres of influence through the Sykes-Picot

agreement of 1916 (cf. Anderson 2002, Gil-Har 2000, Massad 2001, Nasser 2004, Nevo 2003a). These borders created divisions that had not previously existed and created difficulties such as dividing families, separating landowners from land, and creating barriers to trade (cf. Massad 2001, Nasser 2004). The inorganic process of establishing the original political borders of Jordan did not occur only once. The boundaries have changed a number of times through war and political agreements. Probably the most important occurred in 1948 with the acquisition of the West Bank and its subsequent loss in 1967.

The establishment of the state and the shifting political borders as well as wars and migration have created a diverse population that includes Iraqis, Syrians, Circassians, Chechens (Massad 2001, Nasser 2004, Khawaja 2003), Hijazi, Turks (Massad 2001, Nasser 2004), Lebanese, Armenians (Massad 2001, Khawaja 2003), Palestinians (Massad 2001, Susser 1999), Bedouin (Layne 1994, 1989), Dom (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1999) and Turkomen (Moawwad 1999). Some of these ethnic groups have received official recognition and privileges while others are not recognized and marginalised. I found the diversity of the population to be important to the research project especially when coupled with differential treatment as this affected external relationships which, in turn, impacted on ECA. At this time I must make a note of certain terms utilized when referring to the population of Jordan. While the Circassians and Dom are both part of Jordan, I will not generally refer to them as Circassian-Jordanians or Dom-Jordanians, instead using just Circassian or Dom. In addition the label Arab-Jordanian, for the Jordanians of Arabic descent, is commonly used in this thesis as are the labels Palestinian-Jordanian and

Jordanian-Jordanian, referring to Jordanians of Palestinian descent or those viewed as native Jordanian descent.

Disparity of treatment towards ethnic groups, particularly by the government, has created some tensions in the establishment of the nation of Jordan. This is especially true in the area of identity. Because of this, I argue that national identity is a key issue. Throughout Jordan's past, the state faced challenges in establishing a sense of nationhood. In Jordan the conceptualisation of what is 'Jordanian' is fuzzy in the specifics (cf. Frisch 2002, Layne 1994). Jordan has refashioned itself and promoted a new image as events in the country and region have shifted (Anderson 2002, Nasser 2004). Many events have affected the creation and promotion of a Jordanian identity. For example, Massad (2001) notes the establishment of the military, in particular the Arab Legion and Desert Patrol and the inclusion of many Bedouin in the army. Additionally, the anti-colonial sentiments of the 1950s provided a basis for Arabizing Jordanian identity (Massad 2001). There was also an intensive period of Jordanization following Black September in 1970 (cf. Nasser 2004, Massad 2001, Susser 1999). In 2002 the Jordan First campaign was aimed at promoting Jordanian identity (cf. Clark 2006, HKJ b accessed 2007, Jordan Times 2002, Nevo 2003b, Ryan and Schwedler 2004, Susser 1999). These are only a few examples of the Jordanian state pursuing policies aimed at the creation and promotion of a particular national identity. This process is a key element of the research because it was found to directly impact on the ability of ethnic minority actors in Jordan to identify with their ethnicity or to establish a sense of inclusion within the shifting Jordanian national identity. While these processes play a role in

maintaining stability for the state they also serve to exacerbate tensions and create a sense of marginalisation among those unable to fully participate within them (Nasser 2004).

Jordan's Present

I begin this section on Jordan's present with a broad statistical overview which provides a profile of Jordanian society. Following this I review some issues that Jordanians face in their daily lives; including economic difficulties, inequalities, diversity, and marginalisation.

Table 3.1: Overview of Population¹

Population	5,600,000 (approx) (2006) (Department of Statistics 2006) 5,906,760 (2006 est.) (HKJ a accessed 2007)
Population Growth Rate	2.3% (2006) (Department of Statistics 2006) 2.49% (2006 est.) (HKJ a accessed 2007)
Age Structure	0-14 years: 37.3% 65 years and over: 3.3% 15-64 years: 59.4% (Department of Statistics 2006)
Life Expectancy	71.7 years (Department of Statistics 2006) 78.7 years (2008 estimates) (CIA accessed 2008)
Infant Mortality Rate	24.0/ 1000 (Department of Statistics 2006) 15.57 deaths/1,000 live births (2008 est.) (CIA accessed 2008)
Officially Recognized Ethnic Groups	Arab 98%, Circassian 1%, Armenian 1% (HKJ a accessed 2007, UK Foreign Office accessed 2008)
Religion	Sunni Muslim 92%, Christian 6% (majority Greek Orthodox, but some Greek and Roman Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Coptic Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox) (HKJ a accessed 2007)
Languages	Arabic is the official language but English is widely spoken. (HKJ a accessed 2007, UK Foreign Office accessed 2008)

¹ It must be noted that statistics from Jordan vary. Even within the same year, Jordanian governmental sources provided different numbers. For example the population differences in table 3.1. Therefore I provide a few sources.

Table 3.2- Overview of Economic and Social Indicators

<i>GDP Per Capita (PPP)</i>	\$4,900 (2007 est.) (CIA accessed 2008)
<i>Unemployment</i>	14.3% (HKJ a accessed 2007) 13.5% (CIA accessed 2008)
<i>Poverty Rate</i>	14.2% (2004) (National Agenda 2006) 30% (2004) (UN 2006)
<i>Quality of Education Systems</i>	27 out of 102 countries (UN 2006)
<i>Literacy</i>	Total population: 91.3% male: 95.9% female: 86.3% (2003 est.) (HKJ a accessed 2007)
<i>Human Development Index Rank</i>	86 out of 177 countries (UNDP accessed 2008)
<i>Overall Health System Performance</i>	100 out of 191 countries (UN 2006)
<i>Judicial Independence</i>	23 out of 102 countries (UN 2006)
<i>Infrastructure Quality</i>	23 out of 102 countries (UN 2006)
<i>Corruption Index Rank (1 being least corrupt)</i>	53 out of 179 countries (Transparency International, 2007)

Jordan faces numerous issues that affect its ability to maintain stability and pursue development. One is that Jordan is a small country with limited natural resources and poor access to trade routes (UN 2006, National Agenda 2006). Additionally, it is situated in a 'vulnerable geopolitical location' sharing borders with Israel, Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Saudi Arabia (UN 2006:x, National Agenda 2006). In its Common Country Assessment of Jordan, the UN noted that despite these

difficulties the Kingdom has relied on 'wise leadership' (UN 2006:ix) and a commitment to the social and economic development of the nation to become 'something of a model of stability, moderation and rational human development' in the Middle East (UN 2006: ix). The UN presents an optimistic perspective of Jordan but others have questioned the state's dedication to democratic processes (Ryan and Schwedler 2004). The issues surrounding development and democratization are not unique to Jordan but are of interest to the research as the future development of the state impacts on the ability of the Circassians and Dom to interact with the wider society, to access resources, and to engage in ECA.

Poverty in Jordan is important to my research, and the economic difficulties in Jordan are highlighted by the number of individuals living below the poverty line. According to Jordan's National Agenda (2006) 14% of the population lives below the poverty line. This differs from the UN Common Country Assessment (CCA) (UN 2006) which indicated about 30% of the population live below the poverty line. This discrepancy results from the choice of the poverty line measurement, the Jordanian measurement considers the poverty line JD 392 per capita per year and the UN (2006: 22) uses US\$ 2/day (approximately JD 514 per capita per year (based on average 2004 exchange rate of 1 JD= US\$1.418 (Oanda 2008)).

Individuals living below the poverty line are faced with challenges when attempting to fully participate in the economic life of the country. Besides the direct economic impact, the high levels of poverty extend into other parts of society

including politics and stability, an example of this was when the financial crisis of the 1980s resulted in riots over the rise in bread prices (cf. Susser 1999, Ryan and Schwedler 2004). The increasing tensions that exist between the rich and the poor in Jordan (Khoury 2003) serve as another example of the way that economic inequality can impact on stability.

Social inequalities in Jordan are seen in citizens' access to and use of resources and services (UN 2006, National Agenda 2006). One particular area is the gender inequalities in the political, social and economic sectors of Jordan in which women are significantly underrepresented (UN 2006, National Agenda 2006). In addition to the inequalities that women face, social patterns of inequality are identifiable for other groups such as people with disabilities, migrant workers, refugees from Iraq, and children at risk (UN 2006). The CCA in particular notes the Gypsy population in Jordan as 'the most marginalized' group (UN 2006:10). The government has committed itself to various international treaties, legislation and policies which call for the state to address social, political, and economic inequalities, but thus far sufficient changes have not been made (UN 2006, National Agenda 2006). Inequality in Jordan is important to the research project as I found that disenfranchisement of certain groups, including ethnic minorities, affected collective action. In addition inequalities in society combined with the diversity of Jordan's population can serve to exacerbate tensions between these ethnic groups.

As highlighted in the section on Jordan's past, successive waves of migration combined with shifting borders have contributed to diversity in Jordan. This is evidenced by the wide range of ethnic groups present. Jordan's diversity is underscored by the fact that about 20% of the population was born in countries other than Jordan (Khawaja 2003) and that 'an estimated three in five Jordanians are ethnic Palestinians and one in ten is Iraqi' (Glain 2003:168). In 2008 Jordan had the highest ratio of refugees to total population (1:9) of any state in the world (USCRI 2008).

Despite the extensive academic and anecdotal evidence of the diverse nature of Jordanian society, the government does not officially gather any statistics on the size of ethnic groups (Reiter 2002). The failure of the Jordanian government to accurately recognize this diversity is important to this research. The lack of full recognition and willingness of the state to map ethnic diversity in its population masks ethnic tensions in the society and in particular the plight of unrecognized groups and the impact of government policies on the lives of ethnic minority actors. The failure to address issues surrounding ethnic diversity affects the ability of ethnic groups to use their ethnic identification in efforts to engage with the larger society and the state. Therefore this has had a direct impact on their ability to undertake ECA.

In addition to diversity, there are important issues surrounding identity. As discussed earlier, Jordan has faced struggles over what it means to be Jordanian

and the state often refashions the national identity as events in the country and region have shifted (cf. Nasser 2004). While this was meant to contribute to the political stability of the state, it has also unintentionally served to exacerbate social tensions and induce a feeling of marginalisation in those who are not fully included in the promoted national identity (Nasser 2004). Khouri (2003) agrees with Nasser and states that in Jordan some groups feel marginalised and that numerous fractures in society result in tensions between religious groups, rich and poor, rural and urban, and ethnic groups (cf. Glain 2003).

Harik (1972: 304) states that tensions and feelings of marginalisation could be related to a system of 'horizontal integration' aimed at 'reducing distinctive characteristics of ethnic groups by obliterating the particular and superimposing characteristics which mostly stand for the dominant group', a process I would call assimilation. This process can severely limit the identity choices of ethnic minority actors, as these actors may assimilate into or disengage from mainstream society. The negotiation of identity can result in tensions, which are further exacerbated when the state is attempting to impose its own vision of the national identity (cf. Glain 2003, Khouri 2003, Nasser 2004) which is problematic when the national identity is defined through exclusion, posing an obstacle to any ethnic group who attempts to maintain their own identity. Those groups who do choose to vocally promote their own identity may well be seen as a threat by those who adhere to the majority identity (Shami 1998).

This section provided a broad overview of key elements in Jordan's past and present which were integral to this research project. Within Jordan's past, a history of shifting political policies aimed at maintaining stability, changing political borders, the ethnically diverse population and national identity issues were identified as relevant to the research in this setting. This was particularly true in relation to poverty, inequality, ethnic diversity, identity and ECA. These issues not only impacted on the lives of all Jordanians, but are of particular importance when researching ethnic minority groups in Jordan. The next section examines ethnic diversity in Jordan further by focusing on the Circassian, Dom and other ethnic minority groups.

Ethnic Minorities in Jordan

This section details the historical background of the Circassian and Dom including how they came to be in Jordan and their current situations. The two case study groups are both Muslim ethno-linguistic minorities who have resided in the area that is now Jordan since before the founding of the Kingdom. However, these two groups are faced with different challenges when dealing with the wider society, the government and the voluntary sector which have, in turn, affected their ECA. Beyond the two case study groups the analysis of other ethnic minorities sheds light on the differences in treatment that various groups receive, as well as pointing out how particular issues, such as inequality and identity, can affect the ways that all ethnic minorities may be treated.

Circassians

This section examines the information available on the Circassians and highlights important issues that were taken up in my research. I outline the Circassians' past, their arrival in the area that would become Jordan and the role they played in the early Kingdom. I also describe the position of Circassians in Jordan today. The section focuses on two important issues surrounding the lives of Circassians; levels of inclusion and assimilation. These issues are revisited in more depth with primary empirical data in Chapters 5 and 6 where I present my analysis of the research findings regarding the Circassians in Jordan from both Circassian and non-Circassian perspectives.

The Circassians migrated to the area that would later become Jordan in the late 1800s (Jaimoukha 2001, Shami 2000, Rannut 2007). Originating in the North West Caucasus mountains, the Circassians are actually made up of different smaller groups; such as the Shapsugh, Kabardians, and Abzakh (Jaimoukha 2001, Kaya 2005, Rannut 2007, Shami 2000). Kaya (2005: 131) notes that these groups were categorized by outsiders under the 'meta-identification' of Circassian. While the term Circassian is commonly used in Jordan, I found that some Circassians use Shapsugh, Karbardian etc, to describe themselves among other Circassians. Another name for the Circassians is *Adiga* which is also used by Circassians (cf. Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007).

Jaimoukha (2001), a Circassian historian from Jordan, states that during the third millennium BC in the North West Caucasus Mountains, the various Circassian

groups began to establish a common cultural and historical heritage. By the tenth century AD they had developed into a potent political and economic power within the Caucasus region (*ibid.*). Their history was marked by numerous wars amongst themselves, but they often joined forces to repel external invaders (*ibid.*). The various wars led to the development of their military skills and *habze* (or *Xabze*) or code of conduct, which is still used by Circassians today and colours their perceptions of what is right and wrong in social inter-actions (*ibid.*). In addition, their military background is directly related to their role in Jordan as members of the armed forces (*ibid.*). Religiously the Circassians were originally polytheistic, and later adopted Christianity or Islam based on the political situation, although by the middle of the 19th century the majority of Circassians had become Muslim (*ibid.*). Their long history was found to be a point of pride among the Circassians in Jordan today, an issue that will be revisited in the analysis of their situation in Chapter 6.

The Circassians maintained their hold on their regions of the Caucasus Mountains but faced numerous challenges which eventually led to their mass exodus in the late 1800s (*ibid.*). The key reasons for this eviction were their aggressive neighbours, the Russian and Ottoman Empires, who were both bent on conquering Circassian lands as well as attacking one another (*ibid.*). The long and sporadic conflict between the Russians and Circassians, which began in the 16th Century, finally ended in 1864 and resulted in the eviction of many Circassians from their homeland into Ottoman lands (*ibid.*).

While there had been outflows of Circassians as mercenaries and slaves over the centuries, this was different. This exodus began slowly in the early 1860s, peaking in 1864 and continuing until the early years of the 20th century (Jaimokha 2001: 21, cf. Lewis 1987, Shami 2000). There is uncertainty as to the number of Circassians that left, but according to Bram (2003) it is between 600,000 and 2 million. During the exodus an estimated 20% of the Circassians 'died from malnutrition and disease' (Kaya 2004:137). Lewis (1987: 96) writes that almost half of those shipped from the Caucasus died. The flight led them to various locations around the world but mainly within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire such as the area that would become Jordan (Jaimoukha 2001).

The first wave of Circassians arrived in the area that would become Jordan around 1880 (Jaimoukha 2001; Lewis 1987). At this time it was part of the Ottoman Province of Greater Syria (Layne 1994). The reasons behind the Circassians settling here are still debated. While most scholars indicate that the reason was to provide security for the Ottomans, others mention the Ottomans' agricultural needs as a reason (e.g. Abd-el-Jawad 2001, Jaimoukha 2001, Lewis 1987, Rannut 2007) and Shami (1998) points out that some Circassians stated their desire to live in a Muslim community as the reason for settling within the Ottoman Empire. This topic was not solely academic as I found it a subject of debate among my informants.

Jaimoukha (2001) notes that the Circassians initially settled in the ruins of Amman and later in Jerash, Sweilah, Russeifa, Wadi Seer and other communities.

Jaimoukha (2001) and Lewis (1987) contend that until the arrival of the Circassians these areas served as watering stations for the pastoralist groups that lived in the region. After initial conflicts with the local groups, relative peace was established and the Circassian communities that relied on agriculture and trade began to flourish (Jaimoukha 2001). Through the support of the Ottoman Empire as well as the Circassians' own abilities, Amman became a thriving town (Jaimoukha 2001, Lewis 1987). While the Circassians dominated life in Amman in the years immediately following their arrival this was not to last. One of the key steps in the development of Amman was the arrival of the railway in the early 1900s which began the transformation of Amman into a more cosmopolitan city, although at this point it still maintained a significant Circassian identity (Lewis 1987, Rannut 2007).

Both the city of Amman and the Circassians were profoundly affected by the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1923 (Jaimoukha 2001). The once compact, mainly agricultural city of Amman made the transition to a fully integrated modern urban centre (Jaimoukha 2001, Lewis 1987). At that time, Amman was a Circassian city and Circassian was the primary language heard on the streets, but this changed with the influx of new arrivals (Jaimoukha 2001). The wealth and skills of the Circassians allowed them to take on a significant role within the Emirate of Transjordan, a role that still continues (Bram 2003, Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007).

Today the estimates of Circassian-Jordanians range from 25,000 to 150,000 (Bram 2003, Jaimoukha 2001, Kaya 2004, Rannut 2007). Scholars state that the

Circassians are in an enviable economic and political position when compared to the position of the Circassians in Israel, Syria, Turkey and even their homeland (e.g. Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Bram 2003, Colarusso 1991, Kaya 2004). Kaya (2004: 224) states that 'the Circassian population in Jordan enjoys an essentially privileged position, having been closely connected to the crown'. An example of this is their position as the Royal Guard. Additionally the Circassians, in conjunction with the Chechens (with whom the Circassians have good relationships), are guaranteed three seats in the Lower House of Parliament and two seats in the Upper House (Howell 2003, Kaya 2004, Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007). They have close relationships with members of the royal family, in particular Prince Ali who was fostered within a Circassian family (Kaya 2004) and has taken an active role in Circassian life (Jaimoukha 2001). While the extent of their influence in the Kingdom is a matter of debate, there is no question of their importance within the structure of Jordanian society. This is particularly noticeable within the governmental sector where they are 'disproportionately represented in senior public offices and military ranks' (Jaimoukha 2001:107-108, cf. Abd-el-Jawad 2006).

Another important element of Circassian life is their ethnic enclaves. During their initial settlement and in the early years of the Kingdom, the Circassians maintained spatially tight knit communities (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007). The limited diversity and boundaries of these cultural enclaves were central to the ability of the Circassians to maintain their sense of difference and to continue the usage of the Circassian language at home as well as within the shared spaces of these areas (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001). Furthermore, the Circassians

of Jordan established their own associations, schools and clubs to serve their community's needs (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007). The Circassians operated as part of Jordanian society while maintaining a sense of difference and separateness (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001, Lewis 1987).

Over time the Circassian enclaves have become integrated as some Circassians left these areas and were replaced by non-Circassians (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimokha 2001, Rannut 2007). In addition to the dilution of these enclaves, many of the Circassians have intermarried with Arab-Jordanians (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007). These two factors increased the pressures on Circassians to culturally assimilate into mainstream society and made the maintenance of Circassian difference and cultural traits more difficult (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001, Lewis 1987, Rannut 2007). Additionally, it has been said that the speed of assimilation could be tied to their high level of inclusion in society (Jaimoukha 2001). In the face of these challenges some attempts have been made to practice selective assimilation by adopting certain Jordanian traits such as establishing a tribal council (Massad 2001, Shami 1998) while at the same time encouraging the maintenance of a separate Circassian identity (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimokha 2001, Rannut 2007). Thus far the Circassians have not been successful in turning the tide and still face assimilation (Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimoukha 2001, Rannut 2007). The processes of inclusion and assimilation are key areas of the research. My findings explore these issues in Chapter 6.

Dom

In this section I address the limited research on the Dom and the debates over their history. This is followed by a description of the situation of the Dom in Jordan today; including their population, living arrangements, social structure and their identity. The section focuses on two important issues which impact on the lives of the Dom: the level of inclusion and assimilation. Many issues touched on in this section are more thoroughly explored through the presentation of primary empirical data in Chapters 5 and 7, which presents analysis of data from both Dom and non-Dom perspectives.

In 1908, Sinclair wrote that little research had been done on the Asiatic Gypsies. This situation has improved little in the hundred years since Sinclair's work. The failure of earlier scholars to advance knowledge of the Dom has resulted in a lack of analysis of the social, political and economic inter-actions of this ethnic group with the wider society in the Middle East. While the Roma, often linked to the Dom via similar linguistic roots, have been given attention by both academics and policy makers, the Dom have been the focus of only a few research studies and policy makers have generally ignored them. The limited research on the Dom in Jordan led me to examine the limited research on Dom in other states.

Another challenge resulting from the limited scholarship on the Dom is a lack of coherent labelling. The Dom, which means 'man' in the Domari language (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1999, Peterson 2003), is a label used by an ethnic group in the Middle East to describe themselves, but this group has many other names,

some of which are *Gypsy, Zott, Nuri, Luri* (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, DRC accessed 2008, Moawwad 1999), *Jott, Ghajar, Bani Moura* (Moawwad 1999) and *Nawar* (DRC accessed 2008, Moawwad 1999, Peterson 2003). Of these numerous names, the most commonly used in Jordan are '*Nawar*', a generally derogatory term, and *Bani Moura*, used by the Dom in reference to their historical and tribal links (Moawwad 1999). As *Bani Moura* is often used as a family description, I choose to use Dom, the broader term for the ethnic group that is not tied to a particular tribal identity.

There are many versions of the Dom's history recounted in the literature and supported by my research findings. The first of these has been related to scholars on many occasions and links the Dom or *Bani Moura* to the Middle East and is used to provide them with an Arab identity (cf. Matras 2000, Moawwad 1999, Williams 2005).

The *Bani Moura* story recorded by numerous scholars (e.g. Matras 2000, Moawwad 1999, Peterson 2003, Williams 2005) is varied but tells the story of two related tribes, the *Bani Qes* and *Bani Moura* who lived either in Syria or in the Hijaz (Matras 2000, Moawwad 1999, Peterson 2003, Williams 2005). The *Bani Qes* were led by Kleb and the *Bani Moura* were led by Jessas (Matras 2000, Williams 2005, Moawwad 1999). The details vary, but Jessas was either tricked to act or acted on his own to betray and kill Kleb, which began a war between the two groups (Matras 2000, Williams 2005, Moawwad 1999). The war finished with the defeat of the *Bani*

Moura who were cursed to be nomadic, never work, never have fire, never own horses and any number of different curses depending on the version that is retold (Matras 2000, Williams 2005). Matras (2000) notes in one version he recorded that the *Bani Qes* were replaced by the *Bani Rabia*, although the main personalities of Jessas and Kleb remained the same.

Other histories state that the exiled Dom were forced to move to India and later returned to the Middle East (Matras 2000, Moawwad 1999, Williams 2005). Yet another version presents an Indian origin and involves the Persian King Bahram Gur who invited or purchased entertainers from India and gave them land to settle on, but when they did not become farmers, the King cursed them to be nomads forever (Matras 2000, Moawwad 1999, Peterson 2003). Matras (2000, personal communication 2007) regards the inclusion of an Indian connection as a recent addition which may be based on inter-action with scholars who informed the Dom of the possibility of their Indian origins.

While some scholars have found variations on the origins of the Dom through inter-actions with this group, other scholars have used the analysis of linguistics and historical documents to establish the Dom's history. Academics' views of the history of the Dom vary but they generally place the origin of the Dom within India and state that the original group or groups in India faced a forced migration into Persia where they were then distributed throughout the Middle East and later into Europe where they become known as the Roma (e.g. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Brown 1928,

Kenrick 2000, Moawwad 1999). Williams (2005) argues that different migrations from India were separated by as much as 300 years and proposes that the first of these migrating groups, the Dom, settled in the Middle East in the early 8th century, and the later group migrated to Europe becoming the Roma in the late 10th century or early 11th century. Some scholars note historical references to 10,000 Luri, another name for the Dom, being purchased and moved from India to the Persian king's court (Moawwad 1999) in 420 AD (Matras 2000). Kenrick (2000) places the Dom in the Middle East over 1000 years ago. While another scholar states that the Dom arrived in Asia Minor in the first century AD (Elysseeff 1889). Finally, Al-Khatib and Al-Ali (2005) state that the Dom arrived in Jordan before the establishment of the Kingdom of Jordan. This is corroborated by Moawwad (1999) who found in his research that the Dom in Jordan claimed to be there for more than one hundred years. This claim to long term residence in the area that became Jordan was supported by my informants.

The Dom's own version of their history provides them with a shared history which is useful in building group identity (Williams 2005). In addition, their version of history focuses on the Middle East, instead of the academic version that casts them as outsiders and affects the way they manage their identity and engage with society. The analysis of my empirical findings on these issues is related in Chapter 7.

Despite the Dom's presence since before the establishment of the Kingdom, there is no official recognition of this ethnic group by the Jordanian government, as

such there are no official statistics about the number of Dom in Jordan (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1999). However, various sources indicate that there are between 25,000 and 50,000 Dom living in the country (e.g. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Al-Said 2006, DRC accessed 2007, Moawwad 1999, Williams 2003). The Dom communities are organized along similar lines to the Arab tribal system (Williams 2005). Their tribal groups are organized around a leader (*ibid.*) who is generally relied upon to interact with leaders from the non-Dom society, and serve as a mediator among the Dom (Matras 2000, Williams 2005). In both Jordan and Jerusalem the tribal identity of *Bani Moura* is used as an identifier (Moawwad 1999, Matras 2000, Williams 2003). Williams (2003) writes that in Jordan there is a single leader of the *Bani Moura* who is the son of a famous musician. The particulars of Dom social structure and leadership were found to be important to ECA as they affected intra-actions and which strategies were chosen (see Chapter 7).

Within Jordan, the Dom are among the most stigmatised groups, inhabit the lowest levels of society and are economically and politically disenfranchised (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Al-Said 2006, Moawwad 1999, UN 2006, Williams 2003). Dom-Jordanians also face low levels of social and spatial inclusion. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali (2005: 187) state, 'gypsies find themselves unable to gain access to the majority group culture and thus they often come to be clustered in their own areas by the element of "necessity" imposed on them by the majority host community'. Social and spatial isolation provided the Dom with an opportunity to maintain their cultural identity and language (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1999). On the other hand, isolation has limited their ability to engage in society and to access the

benefits of belonging to Jordanian society (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Al-Said 2006, Moawwad 1999).

Academics note that spatial isolation, much like social isolation, can serve as a barrier to engaging with the larger society by accessing and using resources, but this spatial isolation can also benefit an ethnic minority group as it protects their culture and insulates them from assimilation (e.g. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Bond 2006, Levinson and Sparkes 2004, Moawwad 1999). According to researchers the Dom engage in varied patterns of settlement including living in tents and moving with the seasons or remaining in a single location year round, as well as others settling in flats (e.g. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1999). Al-Khatib and Al-Ali (2005: 191) state that 90% of Jordanian Dom use tents as their primary residence. My findings contradict the earlier works' characterisation of the residence patterns. Instead I found a much more fluid pattern of residence in which Dom moved between tents and flats (Chapter 7).

Much as with the Circassians, the Dom's isolation helps to maintain their cultural identity. According to scholars, even those Dom who have settled into flats continue to be shunned and persecuted by other Jordanians (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005). Moawwad (1999: 10) disagrees with this point stating that he found that those Dom in flats had 'undergone almost total integration'. My findings indicate that social isolation is a major issue regardless of residence (Chapter 7).

The Dom face numerous challenges in their daily lives. These are related to disenfranchisement, social, economic and political inequalities, identity, stigma and spatial and social isolation. They have been in the Kingdom since its establishment, but lack of official recognition combined with social stigma has contributed to the marginalisation of this group. These issues impact on how the Dom choose to engage in ECA and the analysis of my findings is presented in Chapters 5 and 7.

Other Minority Groups

The ethnic diversity in Jordan combined with the limited official recognition by the government are important to my research as it creates a potential for ethnic groups to be invisible and masks issues such as discrimination, marginalization and disenfranchisement. For example Massad (2001: 273) highlights how marginalisation of ethnic minority groups can affect their lives when he points out that 'many nationalists question the Jordanianness of many other groups in the country, Syrians, Circassians, Chechens and even some of the Bedouin tribes themselves'. Nanes (2008) points out that some in Jordan even question the place of the Hashemite royal family, as they are seen by some as immigrants.

Another way in which my research is linked to the issue of diversity is in the impact of the worldviews of the majority of Jordanians, particularly the views that society and the state have of different ethnic groups. In Jordan, some groups, such as the Chechens, are seen as respectable, are officially recognized and have political and economic resources (cf. Beano 2003, Dweik 2000). Others, such as the Turkomen, are economically, socially and politically excluded from the larger

Jordanian society (cf. Moawwad 1999). These two examples, in addition to the earlier review of the different views of the Circassian and Dom, demonstrate how ethnic minority groups in Jordan are treated differently.

While my research focused on the Circassian and the Dom, no work on ethnic minority issues in Jordan can ignore the Palestinian-Jordanians. Attitudes of the politically dominant Jordanian-Jordanians towards this group directly impact on policy decisions (Nevo 2003a). This can have unintended consequences on other ethnic groups and hence is important to my research. Unofficial estimates indicate that the Palestinians make up between 60-75% of the Jordanian population (cf. Susser 1999, Milton-Edwards and Hinchcliffe 1999, Nasser 2004). Despite composing a significant portion of the population, they have not been well represented within the public sector, particularly since the Rabat Agreement in 1974 (cf. Reiter 2002, Susser 1999, Nevo 2003a). In addition there are limitations on Palestinian-Jordanians' access to university places through unofficial quotas (Reiter 2002) as well as how they may serve in the military (Reiter 2002, Susser 1999). The Palestinian-Jordanians also face challenges around their civic inclusion (Nanes 2008).

Despite a tense stability, verbal and physical conflicts do occur between Palestinian-Jordanians and Jordanian-Jordanians (Nanes 2008, Nevo 2003a). The tense situation surrounding this particular identity can also be used to examine other groups that may experience similar situations. While the Palestinians are a unique

group in Jordan, how they are being treated and responded to in their interactions with society is relevant to my research as it aids in identifying some potential similarities with other groups. This information was used to inform the development of my research. In particular, issues of public expressions of identity that can potentially be seen as challenging the primacy of the Jordanian national identity and, related to this, issues of dual loyalties. As Massad (2001) pointed out there are radical Jordanian nationalists that promote the concept of Jordan for Jordanian-Jordanians, and any alternative expressions of identity could play into their hands.

This section addressed issues of diversity, inequality, and how the government responds to diversity. These were crucial concerns of my research as they underscored how ethnic minorities are treated within the setting which provided a foundation for investigating the processes of ECA in Jordan. The discrepancies between the treatment of various ethnic groups and claims by the government that all Jordanians are treated equally raised issues around discrimination and favouritism, along with the ways in which differences in treatment affected the worldviews of Circassians and Dom regarding their view of others and their interpretations of the contexts in which they live. These issues were investigated during fieldwork and the analysis of my empirical findings is presented in Part 2 of this thesis.

Jordanian Government and Voluntary Sector

The final section of this chapter addresses the government and voluntary sector in Jordan. These are discussed in order to give the reader an understanding of the

structures and operations of these two sectors. Both the government and voluntary sector provided a great deal of data concerning their attitudes and engagement with ethnic minorities in Jordan which influenced how the Circassians and Dom engaged in ECA. Because of the involvement of the government and voluntary sector in the research, this section provides a broad structural overview of the government of Jordan and an examination of how the government and ethnic minority groups interact. Additionally, I present information on two key policy areas; inequality and identity. Following this, is an overview of the voluntary sector which includes a number of basic issues surrounding this sector. This section closes with a discussion of the challenges facing both the government and voluntary sector in regards to ethnic minorities.

The Jordanian Government

Previous research into ECA has often focused on the external factors characterized by the state, in particular the political opportunities model discussed in Chapter 2. The role of the Jordanian government is a central part of the research because of the ways in which governmental practices and policies affect the lives of members of ethnic minority groups within Jordan. Therefore, basic information on the structure of the Jordanian government is presented below. This is followed by a discussion of the character of the government and some of the government's activities which affect ethnic minority groups.

The government of the Kingdom of Jordan is made up of three authorities: the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary (UN 2006). Overseeing these three

authorities is H.M. King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein, who has been on the throne since 1999. The King has the power to dissolve Parliament, schedule new elections and appoint members of the Upper House of Parliament and the Prime Minister (*ibid.*). In addition, he provides guidance and advice on the operation of the government and on the strategic goals of the state (*ibid.*). The Cabinet is appointed by the Prime Minister and there are 27 members (HKJ e accessed 2008). These cabinet ministers deal directly with implementation of policies and programmes, the development of strategies and guidance for the government. They are nominally answerable to Parliament which is responsible for the creation of laws (UN 2006). The citizens of Jordan elect the 110 members of the lower house of Parliament, *Majlis al-Nuwaab*, who serve four year terms (CIA accessed 2008, HKJ d accessed 2007). The 55 members of the upper house, *Majlis al-Ayan*, are appointed by the King and also serve four year terms (CIA accessed 2008, HKJ d accessed 2007). The Judiciary includes three categories of courts; civil, religious and special (HKJ a accessed 2007, UN 2006). The civil courts oversee both civil and criminal cases (HKJ a accessed 2007, UN 2006). The religious courts can be divided into two types, *Sharia*' courts serving Muslim citizens and tribunals serving other religious groups (HKJ a accessed 2007, UN 2006). The religious courts deal with personal affairs such as marriage, inheritance, and divorce (HKJ a accessed 2007, UN 2006). Finally, the special courts, deal with military and state security cases (HKJ a accessed 2007, UN 2006).

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy which, some have argued, has not quite reached a fully democratic status (e.g. Khouri 2003, Ryan and Schwedler 2004).

According to Khouri (2003) the government relies on tribal support to maintain its legitimacy and this special relationship hinders the entrenchment of democratic values. Others have described the current governmental system of Jordan as 'neither typically authoritarian nor meaningfully democratic' (Ryan and Schwedler 2004:139). The Jordanian state has engaged in processes of liberalization and de-liberalization over the past 20 years (cf. Massad 2001, Ryan and Schwedler 2004). Beyond these critiques a report from the Commission of the European Communities (2004) points out that the public sector in Jordan performs better than it does in other countries with similar levels of income. The question remains unanswered as to whether the Jordanian government, and more centrally, the monarchy, have been adopting a more rights oriented model of governing or are they maintaining a strict authoritarian regime (cf. Massad 2001, Ryan and Schwedler 2004, Wiktorowicz 2002). It is important to note the general tone of government and how it engages its citizenry, for this affects how individuals access and interact with the government.

Jordanians interact with their government in a number of ways, some of which highlight the differing treatment of ethnic groups. The first of these is the electoral system, which Ryan and Schwedler (2004) note is set up to discriminate against the urban dwellers, in particular those in Palestinian dominated areas, and to benefit the staunch supporters of the monarchy, often in rural areas. Such a situation not only provides those who are in areas which favour the monarchy a greater voice in government, it also creates a sense of disenfranchisement among those who are given less access (cf. Willmore 2001).

Another aspect of how government inter-action favours particular groups is the quota system which provides certain groups with guaranteed representation in the lower house of Parliament. Those groups include the Circassians and Chechens (three seats), the Christians (nine seats), certain Bedouin tribes (six seats), and women (six seats) (Clark 2006, Rannut 2007). According to Willmore (2001) a quota system can create a sense of disenfranchisement, alienation and resentment among those groups who do not get these benefits. Some argue against the quota system in Jordan noting that in the constitution equality is guaranteed and quotas promote inequality (cf. Clark 2006).

The preferential representation of certain groups which results from these electoral practices is another example of the disparity in treatment experienced by different groups in Jordan. This contributes to a sense of disenfranchisement for those groups who cannot take advantage of the system (cf. Willmore 2001). I argue that such practices also prove burdensome to those marginalised groups who seek to gain access through democratic means, and could increase instability.

A third area which underscores differential treatment is the government's interaction with its citizens as service users and as targets of government policies. Departments within government ministries engage with the public, parliament, the voluntary sector, international organisations, foreign states and each other in order to shape public life in Jordan. The programmes and policies that these ministries carry out are one of the most direct ways in which members of Jordanian society,

including the Dom and Circassians, are affected by the government. Below is a brief look at two policy areas that were significant to the research.

The first area involves discrimination and inequality. In regards to these issues the Jordanian government has expressed their commitment to equality and human rights through its international commitments (UN 2006, National Agenda 2006). More specifically as a signatory (1974) of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination the Jordanian government is responsible for protecting individuals and groups from discrimination (CERD 1997, 1998, OHCHR accessed 2008). In 1997 and 1998 the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination's (CERD) review of the reports submitted by the Jordanian government focused on the fact that the Jordanian government reported their legislative and policy oriented approach to pushing for a more equitable society (CERD 1997, 1998). CERD rebuked Jordan for simply reporting on anti-discrimination legislation rather than providing a more in-depth and accurate review of the means used to actually address the problems (CERD 1997,1998). These reports represent an example of Jordan's approach to ethnic minority issues. That these reports focused on legislative solutions provides an image of a government that has only narrowly addressed ethnic minority issues, this is more thoroughly examined in Chapter 5.

The second area is the creation and promotion of a single Jordanian national identity. As previously mentioned the government has used a fluid and dynamic

method when engaging in efforts to build a national identity (cf. Anderson 2002, Frisch 2002, Layne 1994). Scholars have noted that states who attempt to build a national identification have often done so at the expense of minority groups (e.g. McLaurin 1979, Shami 1998). Diversity has been noted as a key challenge to the building of a Jordanian national identity (Nasser 2004). Attempts to create a homogenized national identity may ignore the diverse ethnic, religious and geographic backgrounds of Jordan's population (Massad 2001:16). Shami (1998: 619-620) states that 'the creation of any nation is necessarily based on the silencing of competing identities'. The identities of ethnic minorities can be seen as threatening to the majority ethno-national identity (Shami 1998). One primary method used by states in the creation and promotion of national identity is the state's utilization of its legitimacy to guide socialization and entrench its ideals in the minds of its citizens (Anderson 2002, Massad 2001).

Nasser (2004) argues that in the early years of the Kingdom a policy was pursued that allowed some diversity in identifications within the overarching identification of 'Jordanian'. This is not to say that there was real freedom for development of multiple identifications, rather it acted as a means of control and exclusion (Nasser 2004). While Jordan was initially open to some diversity, it could be said that these policies were meant to maintain stability and if they resulted in threats to the regime's control and continuation then the policies were shifted (cf. Frisch 2002, Nanes 2008, Robinson 1998, Ryan and Schwedler 2004, Wiktorowicz 2002). Over time policies have shifted to a more narrow view of being Jordanian that reflects the view that Jordanians are a family (Nevo 2003a, Shryock and Howell

2001), who all eat *mansaf* (a traditional Bedouin dish) (Howell 2003), and are very strongly tribal (Massad 2001, Layne 1989, 1994). Ryan and Schwedler (2004: 138) write that the government has been 'steadily less tolerant of the levels of pluralism, civil society and dissent'; I argue that this tendency represents an obstacle for ethnic identity maintenance and ECA.

One key tool the government has used to pursue its national identity is the 'Jordan First' campaign. Launched in October 2002 (Nevo 2003b), this programme, is defined by the King as a means to promote loyalty (Jordan Times, October 31, 2002). There are many other potential connotations attached to the 'Jordan First' campaign (Khouri 2003). The government states that the campaign focuses on local issues and encourages people to address domestic issues (*ibid.*). According to Khouri (*ibid.*) the most common explanation of 'Jordan First' was that Jordan was pursuing isolation. Others noted the campaign is a reminder that they are all Jordanians and this should be the first point of loyalty (Ryan and Schwedler 2004). Schwedler (2005) notes the 'Jordan First' campaign can be seen as a method of suppressing dissent. My research investigated 'Jordan First' and other attempts to create a national identity as they could well have negative repercussions on minority groups (cf. McLaurin 1979). In Chapter 5, I present the analysis of my empirical findings on national identity policies.

The Jordanian Voluntary Sector

Over the past twenty years the voluntary sector in Jordan has experienced rapid growth (cf. Bayat 2002, Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002). This

has been the result of an influx of funds and interest from the West as well as a liberalisation of the rules on association formation by the Jordanian government (cf. Bayat 2002, Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002). This liberalisation has given organisations the opportunity to gain independence from the state, although the results of these opportunities are in question (cf. Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002).

While this growth has been well received by some scholars of democracy and civil society, some note numerous concerns with the development of the voluntary sector in Jordan (e.g. Carapico 2000, Pitner 2000, Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002). Some scholars have pointed out that many of the organizations did not become independent of the government and have become too reliant on Western models of development (e.g. Bayat 2002, Carapico 2000, Pitner 2000, Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002). Additionally many VSOs' close ties to the royal family have been noted as both beneficial and problematic to the sector's freedom to act (Wiktorowicz 2002).

There are also issues surrounding the degree to which these organisations represent Jordanian society. Some scholars have noted that many of these organisations serve only a small part of the population and do not provide the majority of Jordanians access to civil society (e.g. Bayat 2002, Carapico 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002). Lastly, it has been pointed out that some organisations and associations are not active in addressing the issues of disenfranchisement in

Jordanian society (e.g. Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002). While some organizations may provide services to the poor and marginalized, they do not address the primary causes of their social exclusion such as discrimination, respect for rights, and limited democratic reforms (cf. Carapico 2000, Pitner 2000, Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, Wiktorowicz 2000, 2002). This claim by scholars led me to investigate the programmes undertaken by VSOs with particular emphasis on how these organisations engaged with ethnic minority actors.

When VSOs fail to provide assistance or address the basic causes of the problems many Jordanians face, actors may be forced to turn to other sources of assistance. It is here that Antoun's (2001) analysis of tribal and unofficial organisations or networks to accomplish the aims of the official voluntary sector organisations becomes important. Antoun (*ibid.*) argues that the importance of tribal and other social structures in providing the same services as mainstream organizations must be part of any investigation into Jordan's voluntary sector. While Antoun (*ibid.*) focuses his attention on tribal networks, I argue one could easily include other strongly bonded identity groups, i.e. ethnic groups. According to the literature reviewed, establishing a well-defined group is important to the success of ECA (cf. Drury 1994, Fenton 2003, Glazer *et al* 1975, Rex 1994).

In the above section I presented an overview of the Jordanian government and the voluntary sector and highlighted how these two sectors can impact on ECA. Different aspects of each of these groups and how they were related to my research

project were examined. The methods that these groups use to engage with society as a whole and with the minority groups in particular was only briefly addressed here and is more thoroughly examined in the analysis of my research findings in Chapter 5.

Summary

The major objective of this chapter was to provide a clearer understanding of the social, political, temporal, spatial and economic environments in which this research was set. The interactions between the different aspects of the setting create a dynamic environment in which the Circassians' and Dom's ECA is pursued. The description of the research setting was accomplished in three overarching sections: the past and present, the situation facing ethnic minorities, and the government and voluntary sector.

The first section included an overview of Jordan's past and a discussion of certain historical themes. Statistical information gave a broad overview of the current demography of Jordan and a description of the conditions that are directly related to the research such as poverty, inequality, diversity and marginalization. The next section looked at the Circassians and Dom, as well as other minorities in Jordan. The issues of each group's past as well as their present were reviewed in order to highlight certain features that are addressed in the thesis. This chapter concluded with a description of the Jordanian government and voluntary sector which focused on their structures and the roles they play in Jordanian society.

In this chapter I highlighted three points that are significant to this research project. The first is that Jordan's population is ethnically diverse, and this diversity has its roots in Jordan's past and present. The second point is that Jordan's society, government and the voluntary sector reacts in a variety of ways to this ethnic diversity. The third point is that these reactions impact on those groups who make Jordan ethnically diverse. These three points are central to the research and are demonstrated repeatedly in all sections of this chapter. The setting was recognized as an important part of the fieldwork and hence played a role in the ways that I carried out the research while in Jordan. The issues raised in this chapter which were noted as affecting ECA were investigated during research, my findings and analysis of these topics is detailed in Part 2 of this thesis.



Photo 4.1: Youth in W

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology and methods used in conducting this research, including an analysis of why these were chosen and the effect they had on the research design. It also contains a reflexive discussion of the challenges encountered during fieldwork.

My study of ECA in the two case study groups was carried out in order to gain insights into the processes of ECA and to address the gaps identified in Chapter 2. The research was an ethnographic study of the Circassians and Dom in Jordan and their engagement with ECA. This research was designed to understand the ways that the Circassians and Dom engaged with each other, their dynamic environment

and their pursuit of ECA. Hence, I used ethnographic approaches that allowed me to gain insights into their activities and an understanding of how these activities occurred. More specifically, I used participant observation and interviews to collect detailed information sufficient for carrying out an analysis of ECA as carried out by the Circassians and Dom.

The discussion in this chapter is divided into three sections; methodology, methods, and the research process. The first section addresses the ways in which the theoretical approaches laid out in the literature review influenced my methodological choices. The second section demonstrates how my methodological choices influenced the methods I used in my fieldwork as well as what these methods contributed to the research. In the final section I discuss numerous issues related to the research process, including my preparation for the field, key issues which arose during the research and reflections on how I engaged with the different populations under study.

Methodology

'Methodology', according to O'Leary, is 'the *framework* associated with a particular set of paradigmatic assumptions that you will use to conduct your research, i.e. scientific method, ethnography, action research' (O'Leary 2004: 85; emphasis in original). The methodology of this research rested on my conceptualisations of knowledge and the social world, which directly affected the ways in which I engaged with the field and carried out my research and analysis.

My methodological approach to research was based on my belief that the key to answering social questions is through understanding the meanings and beliefs that 'people use to interpret experience and generate social behaviour' (Spradley 1979: 5). My conviction that meaning and interpretation are the key elements in understanding society is reflected in my research goals and methodological choices. My views of the relevant theoretical topics were detailed in Chapter 2.

There is a debate over whether researchers should adopt a rigid methodological structure or embrace a more flexible, open minded, and multi-disciplinary approach to research (cf. O'Leary 2004). One side argues that methodology standardizes the social sciences and ignores complex social realities. I disagree and argue instead that methodology is a way to engage in research that reflects my own approach to knowledge and society. I agree with the statement 'as a researcher you will have certain opinions and views about a wide range of issues and these are likely to find some expression in your research and your reporting of it' (Blaxter *et al* 2001:81). This research reflects that the researcher is part of the research process. The methodology should be applied in an analytical manner, questioned during use, and be reflected on reflexively.

My methodological choices reflected my ontological and epistemological stances, but also arose from this project's research goals. This study examined the factors that shape the collective action of ethnic minority groups. My research was

founded on an approach that acknowledges the importance of worldviews, interpretation and inter-action, and argues that ECA is a process rather than a static thing. Therefore, the methodological frame of this research project reflects my views of the constructed and interpreted nature of social reality, the impossibility of objectivity, the ability to better access meaning through qualitative data, and the importance of the researcher's in-depth participation within the field. As a result, I chose to pursue a qualitative ethnographic study, supported by the paradigms of interpretivism, reflexivity and post-positivism, in the tradition of social anthropological research.

I chose qualitative methodology because it allowed me to investigate lived experiences and find great depth within my case studies (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001). While quantitative methods are useful in achieving a broad generalisable outcome, I was more interested in understanding individual actors' worldviews and examining how the two case study groups operated within a complex and dynamic interactive reality.

Numerous scholars have pointed out that the positivist paradigm is tied to the scientific method and sees the world as a fixed entity with knowable operating systems (e.g. Bryman 2004, Hammersley and Atkinson 2004). Counter to this, post-positivists hold that the world may not be knowable (cf. O'Leary 2004). Post-positivists understand that full objectivity is unachievable and instead acknowledge the subjectivity of the researcher (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, O'Leary 2004). This

approach meshes well with my general ideas concerning subjective realities and is central to my epistemological stance on the importance of meaning, perception and interpretation.

Closely linked with this paradigm is reflexivity. Conducting critical reflection of my work was a central thread throughout the research. By analysing my role, beliefs, and subjective interpretations, I was able to more richly design, carry out, and report the research (cf. Davies 2008, Gobo 2008, Hammersley and Atkinson 2004).

My reflection did not only focus on my own views, but included an effort to understand the subjectivity of the actors I dealt with; i.e. how they saw me and the research, and how these views impacted on the project. O'Leary says, 'Reflexivity in research refers to the ability of the researcher to stand outside the research process and critically reflect on the process' (O'Leary 2004:11). Examining the role of my personal and academic biases in designing the research, sampling, accessing, gathering data, and analysing it were all part of this research. As I brought my own meanings and interpretations into the research I turned introspection into an advantage as suggested by other scholars (e.g. Axinn and Pearce 2006, Davies 2008).

However, there are some limitations to reflexivity. For example, whilst I agree that the researcher should acknowledge biases and undertake self-reflection in

order to guide the processes, I am not convinced that this is fully achievable. Internal reflection and attempts to understand my impact upon the environment is never going to be complete because I, like all people, have biases, blind spots, and impacts of which I am not aware. Hence, whilst I argue that this project relies on my reflexivity, I note that there are still areas that may be overlooked. Additionally, while I completely acknowledge the importance of myself within the fieldwork, I sought to avoid 'turning inward to a complete self-absorption' (Davies 2008:26), but to give the reader insights into myself that served the overall research. Alternatively, I did not wish to make it a recollection of the subjects' voices (Coffey 1999:149), instead I see this thesis as a representation and interpretation of the field through my own eyes, experiences and mind.

The methodology of ethnography provided a means of gaining insights into the ways that people think and feel about their environment (cf. Gobo 2008, Hammersley and Atkinson 2004, O'Leary 2004). This research project was designed to investigate actors' worldviews intra-actions and inter-actions and how these impacted on ECA. This goal is compatible with ethnographic fieldwork which seeks to 'understand, discover, describe and interpret a way of life from the point of view of its participants' (O'Leary 2004: 119).

My research required that I had an open-minded methodology that was teamed with methods that allowed me to achieve a great deal of rich detail about the lives of those studied; ethnography not only allowed this but encouraged this stance

(O'Leary 2004, Spradley 1979). Escobar explained the role of ethnography in the study of social movements and concluded that:

To understand contemporary social movements, one must look at the micro-level of everyday practices and their imbrication with larger processes of development, patriarchy, capital and the State. How these forces find their way into people's lives, their effects on people's identity and social relations, and people's responses and 'uses' of them have to be examined through a close engagement and reading of popular actions. (Escobar 1992:420)

This highlights the contributions that an ethnographic approach can make to the study of ECA. In particular the gaps identified in earlier works, which generally failed to examine the in-depth dynamic interactive processes of factors, led me to adopt an ethnographic methodology as it allowed greater insights into the ways that interpretation and inter-action operated within the setting and the impacts that the various factors had on ECA. There have been some uses of ethnography in the study of ECA and collective action (e.g. Holland *et al* 2007, Kwon 2008) and I am building on these examples. Based on my approach to ECA I argue that ethnography lends itself to gaining insights into how ECA is impacted on by interlocking external and internal factors.

Methods

Having established the methodological framework of my research, I turn to the methods chosen. O'Leary (2004: 85) defined methods as the '*techniques* you will use to collect data, i.e. interviewing, surveying, participative observation'.

This research relied on numerous methods to collect, sort and analyse data concerning ECA amongst the two case study groups. Participant observation was one such method. This process allowed me to gain insights into the daily lives and activities of the Circassians and Dom, and included many conversations which were a major source of information. In addition, I carried out numerous interviews. These methods supplemented each other. Another method of data collection was my daily field notes which included notes on my observations, conversations and thoughts concerning my time in Jordan. These methods are detailed below.

Participant Observation

It was necessary to establish myself within the Circassian and Dom communities to build rapport with their members. While I was mainly an observer and was not a full participant in the Circassian and Dom's social activities, it was obvious that I was there and that I was part of the social context, participating in gatherings, conversations and activities. I also utilized some more unobtrusive methods to observe subjects, but for the most part I was an acknowledged part of the situations.

Central to my participant observation was my engagement with the subjects' lives. I spent time at social occasions and was somewhat involved in day to day activities. Observation is about the 'hearing, feeling, enjoying, fearing, interpreting, talking and sharing' of first hand experiences (Pole and Lampard 2002:70). I used my time among the Circassians and the Dom to learn more about their opinions and

their actions. Not only did I watch how they acted, but I participated in some of their actions. On occasion I was the focus of the activities but at other times I was marginalized.

I began the process of participant observation with a broad focus of what I would be observing. This only slightly narrowed over the course of the fieldwork as I tried to be ready and open in my methods to ascertain any new pertinent information. However, I do believe there were limitations in my research on certain issues, for example kinship and marriage patterns, which did not appear to be pertinent until after fieldwork had concluded.

I observed how the members of the different communities interacted amongst themselves as well as with other groups. This was not limited to the Circassians and Dom. I also saw my daily life in Jordan as an opportunity for participant observation. I engaged in many of the same activities as Jordanians. This provided me an opportunity to not only experience these social activities, but also to engage in conversations. I watched how they interacted with each other and I talked with them about a variety of subjects. My life in Jordan gave me an opportunity to establish a more thorough understanding of the setting of the case studies.

The conversations held with informants were a major source of information. These ranged from a few casual words used to explain something to me to more drawn out conversations about daily activities and critical events. Inter-actions of all

sorts provided data, often when unexpected. My daily life in Jordan gave me ample opportunities to engage with numerous individuals who became informants. These conversations were a means of gaining insights about what the informants thought important, how they viewed me and the ethnic groups I was studying, as well as information about activities in their lives. This information was useful in and of itself, and it also provided a means to better understand the formal interviews and observations (cf. Axinn and Pearce 2006, Davies 2008, Gobo 2008). For example, my conversations were often sparked by something I had observed or heard in an interview. Additionally, conversations, especially with taxi drivers, were often important to help me understand daily life on the streets of Amman.

During conversations I kept in mind the interview guides to remind myself what issues I should raise if the conversation faltered. This said, I typically relied on the informants to comment on subjects of interest to them, to ask questions of me, and to discuss events going on. Informal conversations such as these did not normally occur among the government and voluntary sector informants. However, on occasion there were pre- and post-interview conversations which revealed more personal, as opposed to official, responses. I found that the Circassians, Dom, and other Jordanians were generally more willing than the government and VSO interviewees to participate in conversations in which they could share information about themselves and their opinions. In addition, these informal discussions often facilitated greater access.

Interviews

Interviews were used to extract specific types of in-depth information. I primarily relied on semi-structured interviews as they allowed for greater flexibility and ease in addressing sensitive topics (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Davies 2008, Gobo 2008). Some informants felt more comfortable with greater formality and I accommodated this with a shift in the interview style. Hence, the choice of how to engage was based on individual demeanour and attitude as well as the situation. The choices made and the reasons behind these choices served as data as much as the verbal answers given. This was particularly true when a specific subject or question led the informant to change their demeanour.

I used three interview topic guides during my fieldwork (see Appendix C). Each one was tailored to one of the following groups: the government and voluntary sector, the Circassians, and the Dom. When interviewing academics I created a targeted set of questions based on their individual expertise. It must be noted that the interview guides changed during the fieldwork and interviews. The questions in the guides represented a general core of necessary information as well as a wider range of potentially useful subject matter. The interview guides were also altered based on input from the informants.

There were three issues that arose during interviews which impacted on the process. The first was the power relationships between the interviewee and myself. I often noted that the dynamics shifted depending on the interviewee's age, status or position. I frequently used casual conversations and observations of body language

and tone to ascertain the ways the interviewee related to me. These factors were taken into account as I analysed my data.

A second issue was the sensitive nature of the topic of ethnic minorities in Jordan. Some interviewees told me that as this was a sensitive topic I would not receive full answers from government or VSO interviewees. Because of this, I had to tread carefully in these interviews so as not to appear judgemental (cf. Axxin and Pearce 2006, Davies 2008, O'Leary 2004). I found this difficult in certain situations, but did not express my dismay with the 'standard answer' or over reliance on stereotypes by some interviewees.

I also found that context was an important part of conducting the interviews. The frameworks of formal interviews are not natural or a normal expression of opinions, but a sharing of information in response to questions in an unnatural environment. The data from interviews were informed by my observations of context and actors during the interviews. The examination of the physical and spatial environments allowed me to explore how people used body language to convey non-verbalized feelings and thoughts (cf. Coffey 1999, Pole and Lampard 2002). I often noted that during certain parts of interviews individuals would look to see who was listening prior to answering. In addition, certain questions sparked greater interest which was shown physically even if not expressed verbally.

One of the key contextual issues I found in interviews was the presence of actors other than the interviewee during the interview. This was not a common issue among any group except the Dom. There were only four Dom interviews conducted alone, or with limited participation from surrounding individuals. The norm among the Dom interviews was to engage with a primary speaker, surrounded by three or more individuals who added comments to the process. This presented many difficulties in recording who said what, how it was reacted to, how disagreements were worked out and what topics elicited the most responses. I initially attempted to isolate interviewees until I found that such privacy was unusual among the Dom and actually created difficulties in the interview process. Hence I adopted the use of natural or informal group interviews.

Thus, rather than simply responding to the interviewer's questions, 'natural' group interviews allow the researcher to experience, albeit in an artificial setting, the jokes, insults, innuendoes, responses, sensitivities and dynamics of the group, as group members interact with one another, which may offer new insights into the substantive topic under investigation. (Hyde et al 2005:2589)

While this style of interview does not allow for the in-depth discussion of certain personal issues, using natural or informal group interviews allowed for input from multiple sources in one interview and at the same time provided a great deal of observational data as well as conversations (cf. Blaxter et al 2001, Chatty 2007, Davies 2008, Gobo 2008, Green and Thorogood 2004, Hyde et al 2005). One key benefit was that there were occasionally disagreements which provided a good deal of data about group dynamics, negotiated inter-actions, and hierarchy.

Recording Data

While the above highlights the methods used to gather data, the process of conducting research also involved recording data. The most important recording was through my daily field notes. Written by hand and transferred to electronic format for ease of transport and analysis, they included interview notes, thick description of daily events, inter-actions, observations, conversations, as well as my thoughts on the research processes, my readings, and personal experiences (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Coffey 1999, Davies 2008, Gobo 2008, O'Leary 2004). There were both short and extended notes. The shorter notes were recorded during or immediately after events, interviews, observations and conversations. These were later rewritten in greater detail in order to expand upon them with any details not immediately recorded. This rewriting was done as soon as possible after the event. Rewriting also gave me the opportunity to revisit the situation. The extended notes were more tied to the recording of my thoughts, feelings and plans concerning my research. This process provided a tool to guide my analysis and also served as another opportunity to record my daily observations. Despite the labour involved in handwriting notes and any potential distractions it may cause during interviews and observations, I felt it was worthwhile to take them. One reason was that the use of a tape recorder could cause anxiety as well as limit my ability to breach sensitive topics as 'interviewees tend to censor their speech when it is being recorded.' (Gobo 2008:196).

Analysis

I considered that these field notes reflected description and my interpretation and as such were not raw data, but an early form of my analysis (cf. Coffey 1999, O'Leary 2004). I made conscious decisions on what and how to record data in the moment, but it was not just the data, I engaged in reflexive subjective recording. I used my observations and opinions as well as situational information to supplement informants' voiced answers. By constantly revisiting these notes I was able to adjust the research process. I often considered different interpretations and noted these alternatives. The process of reflecting on the field notes was a vital element to the conducting of a flexible research project as well as the management and analysis of the data (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, O'Leary 2004). A key part of this process was writing research reports, which allowed me the opportunity to briefly summarize my research from time to time and identify any patterns.

The process of analysis, as noted above, began in the field. Upon exiting the field, the data was sorted and another layer of analysis began. I had recorded the interview and other field notes by hand and put them into electronic format while in the field. I did not rely on tape or digital recordings, thus I did not need to transcribe the interviews. In addition, as interview notes were at most four pages long, I felt it unnecessary to rely on software packages such as NVIVO to aid with identifying patterns and pulling together the details from my fieldwork. Upon my return to the UK, the analysis of the data involved intensive rereading of the field notes as well as relying on reflexive analysis techniques. I identified emergent themes and sorted the data using Word and Excel. I then conducted content analysis based on these themes. Through a deeper investigation I began to see patterns of connectivity,

influence and relationships that were tied to the complex processes of ECA. For example, I identified that most interviewees spoke about their expectations of treatment. I then began to examine how these expectations differed between actors and how they could be seen to impact other areas of the interviews, i.e. potential strategies, concerns and challenges.

This research project was an ethnographic study which utilized participant observation and interviewing. These methods were chosen as they allowed me to approach my subject through my methodological lens. These methods provided me with the tools which were used in an effort to gain insights through first hand exposure to the inter-actions in the daily life between actors within the two case study groups (intra-action), between members of these groups and Jordanian society (inter-action) and the worldviews and opinions of Circassian and Dom actors on a number of issues related to ECA. In addition, I examined the socio-political environment through interviews and observations of the Jordanian government and VSO's general activities, their engagement with the Circassian and Dom, and attitudes towards ethnic minorities. These methods provided the necessary depth and richness to carry out the research project and effectively address the research questions.

The Research Process

I relied on ethnographic fieldwork primarily because of the richness of the data it would provide. It was necessary for me to personally engage with the subjects because of my desire to gain in-depth information on sensitive topics such as the

meanings and interpretations of events. My fieldwork was not an attempt to study people, but rather to learn from them (Spradley 1979). In order to carry out my fieldwork there were numerous steps undertaken. The fieldwork began with a pilot project in April 2006 and concluded in April 2007. There was a one month break in May 2006 and a three week break in September 2006. Figure 4.1 illustrates an overview of the activities that took place during the fieldwork.

Figure 4.1: Overview of Research Activities

	4/2006	5/2006	6/2006	7/2006	8/2006	9/2006	10/2006	11/2006	12/2006	1/2007	2/2007	3/2007	4/2007
Pilot Project	█												
Arabic Language Training- University of Jordan			█	█	█								
Arabic Language Training- French Cultural Institute							█	█	█	█			
Fieldwork- General Population	█			█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Fieldwork- Government and Voluntary Sector	█			█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Fieldwork- Circassian							█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Fieldwork- Dom							█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Work at VSO X							█	█	█	█	█	█	█

The fieldwork is discussed in depth below. I begin the discussion with a review of certain aspects of preparing for fieldwork. This is followed by an overview of some of the key problems and issues that arose while negotiating access and carrying out fieldwork which affected both logistics and data gathering. Next, I present a discussion about the key methods of data gathering used within my qualitative ethnographic fieldwork; participant observation and interviews. I close this section with a review of the methods I used to record my data.

Preparing for Fieldwork

Below I discuss three key areas of my preparations; the pilot visit, establishing a base of operations, and language training.

Pilot Visit

My fieldwork was informed by a pilot visit to Jordan in April 2006. This visit supplemented my review of the literature and provided first hand information that I used in the research design. During the pilot visit I assessed the feasibility of carrying out fieldwork and conducted some interviews and observations as well as began negotiating access (cf. Axinn and Pearce 2006, O'Leary 2004).

Over the two week visit I gained insights into what life was like in Jordan, and conducted some basic observations regarding the logistics of living and researching in Jordan. During this time I spoke to a number of Jordanians and assessed their general views regarding the two case study groups. Also I carried out seven

interviews with members of voluntary sector organisations (VSO). These interviews allowed me to test my general interview questions as well as ascertain the way my research may be received. These VSO interviews also helped me to establish contacts with several useful individuals who later aided me in my research project.

Base of Operations

During the pilot visit I formed a relationship with a research VSO (VSO X). The relationship was initially established via an interview with the executive director. She expressed an interest in the project and suggested working together to facilitate the research. VSO X provided me with a base to operate from as well as financial and logistical assistance. The financial assistance was a small salary and required that I conduct training sessions on research methods for the staff. The organisation provided logistical support through arranging meetings with VSOs and government offices. In addition to scheduling meetings they provided a research assistant who also served as an interpreter, a car and driver, and use of a workstation including internet access and printing privileges. While they were extremely helpful, there were some problems with this relationship that affected the research and forced shifts in methods and logistics.

The key example was the research assistant assigned to the project did not meet my expectations. While initially very helpful in arranging meetings and serving as an interpreter, her level of dedication declined as the project continued, and eventually I had to alter methods of arranging meetings and seek new interpreters.

The decline in the effectiveness of the research assistant resulted in a slowdown in the fieldwork process in late 2006-early 2007.

Language Training

The development of my Arabic language skills was an important part of the research process. During the pilot visit I realized that although there were numerous English speakers in Jordan, particularly in the voluntary sector, my day to day operations would be severely restricted without some level of proficiency in Arabic. Therefore, in spring 2006 I enrolled in beginners Arabic at the University of Warwick's Language Centre. This was followed by classical Arabic Level 2 at the University of Jordan in summer 2006. After the summer Arabic course and living in Jordan for three months, I felt that it was more useful to learn colloquial Arabic. Therefore, I enrolled in the French Cultural Center's colloquial Arabic level 2. Upon completion I enrolled in their level 3 course, which I also completed. Fluency in Arabic was not achieved and, as planned, I relied on interpreters for many of the interviews and conversations. This said, my level of Arabic was sufficient to allow me to interact on a personal basis with informants.

I also thought it important to become familiar with the languages of the Circassians and the Dom. While I learned very little of the Circassian language, no more than five or six words, these words were useful in showing some knowledge and bridging some boundaries. In addition, I relied on my knowledge of the Russian language on occasion to interact with Circassians from Russia who were visiting or now resident in Jordan.

Among the Dom I made an effort to learn some of the Domari language. Utilizing internet resources as well as inter-actions with informants I learned some nouns and verbs that could be mixed with Arabic. This knowledge served as a means of accessing the community as well as of encouraging inter-action.

Access and Sampling

The goal of the research was to understand the ways that different factors impact on ECA. This required that I decide what section of each population (Government and Voluntary sector, Circassian and Dom) would best allow me to answer my research questions (cf. O'Leary 2004). To begin this process I mapped the government and voluntary sector to devise a desired sample. Initially, I planned to access offices and VSOs involved in welfare and service provision, but this expanded to include cultural organisations.

I used purposive sampling to decide on which members of the Circassian and the Dom I would seek out (cf. O'Leary 2004). Amongst both the Circassians and the Dom a broad sample was chosen in order to gain input from different areas of the communities, including those with strong and weak ethnic identities as well as avoiding only speaking with those who presented themselves as leaders or representatives of the group (cf. Brubaker 2002, Garland *et al* 2006, May 1990). It must be noted here that demographic diversity (i.e. gender and age) was not central to my sample. In agreement with other researchers I felt that a broad sample based

not on demographics but the above mentioned traits related to their ethnic identity was more useful to my research (cf. Pole and Lampard 2002, O'Leary 2004).

In addition to the above purposive methods, I relied on snowball sampling to build a network of informants. I overcame some the obvious problems of representation and diversity that come with snowball sampling by using alternative means of accessing subjects which I deemed important to the research (cf. O'Leary 2004). Even though snowball methods created some problems in developing a diverse sample, there were benefits such as ease of access and greater potential trust which were important as this research addressed sensitive issues (cf. Pole and Lampard 2002). The process of sampling was constantly reviewed and revisited so that it reflected the realities of my fieldwork (Gobo 2008).

Access is a process that requires a great deal of effort and energy and is not a 'one-off exercise' (Blaxter *et al* 2001:156). Blaxter *et al* (2001: 157) state 'every time you meet another individual or meet the same people again... you will need to engage, whether explicitly or implicitly, in a renegotiation of access'. The initial negotiation of access was followed by continual attempts to maintain and deepen the access within the group (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Crespo *et al* 2002, Davies 2008). I made an effort to build rapport with informants in order to gain their trust and encourage openness. As failure to effectively gain deep access can derail the most well planned research project, I followed the advice of earlier scholars and established alternative plans (e.g. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Pole and Lampard 2002, O'Leary 2004).

One issue that affected access and how informants related to me was my relationships with certain central figures within the fieldwork (cf. Coffey 1999). This increased my reliance on these individuals to gain greater access and advice (cf. Coffey 1999, Pole and Lamard 2002). The relationships developed with certain individuals and organisations are detailed below.

Government and Voluntary Sector

The process of choosing which government and voluntary sector organisations to investigate was a difficult one, because of the wide variety of institutions available. Originally, I mapped the available organisations and government offices. Based on the initial interviews and advice of key informants I chose to expand my initial list of government and voluntary sector organisations beyond welfare and development style organizations to include culturally oriented organizations as these also dealt with issues that are part of the approach to ethnic minority issues in Jordan.

The assistance of VSO X was essential in accessing the government and voluntary sector. My connection with a reputable local organisation encouraged other organisations to agree to be interviewed. Additionally the research assistant provided by VSO X was useful in arranging meetings. Despite this assistance, initial request for interviews were often refused.

Because of the early refusals, I developed a new way to request meetings. The original approach had presented my interest in ethnic minority issues and in the Circassians and Dom. Along with the advice of the research assistant and staff at VSO X, and the analysis of initial interviews, the interview request script was restructured to make it more appealing to the organisations contacted. The new script reduced the emphasis on ethnic minorities and concentrated on the role of their organisation. This process not only resulted in more interviews, but I also gained additional data as I observed the reaction of the interviewees when the issue of ethnic minorities was raised. Over the course of the fieldwork I conducted 43 interviews in the government and voluntary sectors (see Appendix A).

Circassians

The Circassians were initially approached via the Circassian Charity Association (CCA). The CCA is the largest Circassian club in Jordan, and has branches in seven cities. I focused on the Amman branch. The initial contact with the CCA led to invitations to their events, as well as introductions into the community of members that frequented these events. The CCA provided a gateway into the community and arranged a Circassian contact person to aid with my research. It must be pointed out that this individual could have been a way for the CCA to monitor my activities and control access (cf. Hammersley and Atkinson 2004). I worked with this individual but also used other key informants in my work with the Circassians.

Three important elements dominated the choices of who I spoke with among the Circassians: identity, involvement and status. I relied on purposive snowball

sampling in order to seek out individuals who met these elements. I built a network among the Circassians via my inter-actions with individuals and the use of snowball methods. During fieldwork I attended 19 CCA events which contributed to maintaining and increasing familiarity among the Circassians and served to deepen my access. I carried out 28 interviews with 22 individuals (see Appendix A).

The interviewees were generally very helpful in suggesting other individuals who could be involved. The network grew, but snowballing did pose certain problems as cited above, hence I sought my own informants through simply asking individuals at events to participate in the study. Additionally, I approached individuals who I observed publicly displaying objects, activities or behaviours signifying Circassian identity. I also relied on speaking to people about the project whilst at cafés, parties, shops or at interviews with other individuals. These practices resulted in interviewing seven Circassians who were not closely tied to their ethnicity or to the CCA. These individuals were very useful to the research as they provided a different picture of what it meant to be Circassian.

A very important event that affected access among the Circassians occurred in the final months of my time in Jordan. Whilst attending a party hosted by an informant and attended by many older Circassians who were leaders within the community, I was verbally threatened by one of the Circassians. The threat stemmed from the fact that I was studying both the Circassians and Dom and it was thought to be disrespectful to Circassians for these two groups to be studied simultaneously. This incident was relayed into the wider Circassian community and

became a topic of discussion at the CCA. Two additional verbal threats were made by two additional individuals to me during the following months. These incidents impacted on my access and changed my relationships, both of which were critical parts of the fieldwork. Despite the detrimental side of this event, it provided good data as I examined the reasons behind the initial and subsequent threats. The concern expressed by some informants of these threats that Jordanians may think the Circassians and Dom are the same initially struck me as strange, because the two groups are so obviously different. The Circassians who discussed this expressed that their belief in themselves as an elite group in Jordan meant that they should not be linked with a marginalized and stigmatized group. They saw it as both insulting and potentially dangerous to their standing in Jordan.

Dom

Much like the Circassians, I thought it was vital that the Dom sample be diverse. Hence I also sought informants with differing levels of identity, involvement and status. The use of the purposive sampling was by necessity flexible as I was faced with many issues that challenged my initial sampling plan. Therefore, I adjusted my strategies to establish broader networks of informants. My strategies resulted in 31 interviews with 28 individuals as well as a great deal of time spent in observations and conversations throughout Amman and within the Dom areas (see Appendix A).

I initially planned to rely on the leader of the Dom, DL, to gain access. Unfortunately, he proved to be unhelpful, despite numerous visits and his offers of assistance. Recognizing that the gatekeeper is important to continuing and

deepening access, but that DL had effectively closed my access through him, I had to find alternative routes into the community. I utilized numerous strategies including conducting visits to Dom areas and using any potential means of introduction. The most important of these means of introduction came through an interviewee at a VSO, who introduced me to one of their volunteers who had conducted a photojournalism project that looked at the Dom. This young Arab-Jordanian man was willing to accompany me and introduce me into the nearby camp and to serve as an interpreter. This access route, provided connections to over 150 Dom living at a site I will refer to as HS. Once initial contact was made, snowball methods, as well as spending time within the camp, gave me more in-depth access.

Another alternative route was established when a son of DL introduced me to a few members of Dom neighbourhood W, where DL and his family lived. This was fortunate since this is how I meet Dom T, a shopkeeper. Dom T was well connected and provided a link to the neighbourhood, hence becoming a key informant. His skills in English allowed him to provide some translation; he also provided a base of operations in W and arranged some interviews for me with his friends and family. As a key informant, Dom T was present in numerous interviews and provided input during these. His sometimes vocal presence led me to often revisit the interviewee in a different location, in order to clarify points that may have been contentious or not clearly related.

Upon meeting, most Dom would question my presence within their communities, but once I explained I was a researcher and I assured them I was not part of the

government or a journalist they were generally willing to become participants. Additionally, many informants facilitated the use of snowball sampling by suggesting other informants. As I became a familiar face, answered questions, took pictures, participated in community events and practiced my Domari language skills, the Dom became more accepting and open to sharing information with me.

Two key issues affected my access among the two Dom communities I worked with. First, was my initial connection with DL which affected how informants responded to me, particularly in W. My connection and early reliance on DL slowed my initial access and limited the openness of some informants. The alternative means of access which bypassed DL worked in the favour of the overall research project and allowed for broader access to information and would have been gained otherwise. In addition, once I had removed myself from direct contact with DL and his immediate family, I began to gain different information, particularly about the quality of DL's leadership.

An issue which impacted on my research with the Dom was the critical incident of the eviction of the Dom in HS. This event impacted on my relationship with the Dom from HS as well as my ability to conduct fieldwork. Initially I thought this event would hinder access and while it did to a point, it also provided new avenues of access and situations that helped to build greater trust. The eviction changed the spatial layout of the encampment, resulting in closer living conditions as well as larger gatherings, which I took part in. My access was also helped by my participation in the rebuilding of one particular tent; the family who lived in this tent

invited me to tea and to watch television with them. This tent became a common stopping off point at the beginning and the end of visits to the camp, and the family extended an invitation to me for accommodation if I ever return.

General Population

My access to the general population in Jordan came through my daily life experiences as well as efforts I made to engage in conversations and situations where I could observe and discuss the two case study groups and issues important to the research. I relied on some purposive sampling in this effort as I attempted to visit different areas of Amman and discuss these issues with a wide variety of individuals. I gathered information from taxi drivers, shop keepers, restaurants workers, cafe patrons, neighbours, teachers, students and friends. I meet with members of other minority groups such as Chechen, Turkomen, Iraqis, Kurds, and Christians. I was rewarded through open conversations with people from all walks of life. Over my ten months in Jordan, data from the general population served as a great source of data concerning how the Circassians and Dom were viewed and interacted with, as well as a wealth of information about the socio-political environment in the country. This data was very useful in analysis of interviews as well as in its own right.

Issues that Impacted on Fieldwork

Once I entered the field and gained initial access, I faced numerous challenges that affected the research. Below each issue is discussed and examples from this research project are given. These issues included the use of interpreters, the need

to be flexible and make changes in the research process, the impact of myself as the researcher on data and the fieldwork, and, lastly, how my own personal issues played an important role in this project.

Interpreters

Using an interpreter carried with it certain problems, particularly related to the use of language and its complex meanings (cf. Gobo 2008, O'Leary 2004, Spradley 1979). Despite this, my Arabic skills and the English skills of informants necessitated that I rely on interpreters. Over the course of the fieldwork I utilized six different interpreters, none of which were professionally trained and each possessing a differing level of proficiency in English and translation skills (cf. O'Leary 2004). I have received training in how to work with interpreters in a previous professional role. Therefore, when I noted problems with the way a person was translating I attempted to provide instructions regarding timing and the expression by the interpreter of their personal opinions. This generally went unheeded by the interpreters. This posed problems at times, but I adapted my style to each interpreter, and debriefed them in order to receive any information that may have been missed during interviews or conversations.

Another key issue I found was the need to be aware of how the interpreters were translating language and relaying meanings (Spradley 1979). The same can be said for those informants who spoke English, as they translated for themselves. I was concerned with what concepts troubled them in translating and what meanings were

lost (*ibid.*). It was therefore necessary to ask probing questions and examine the meanings in many ways, not only through opinions but also by asking for examples.

A last issue I found with the interpreters was their attitudes, especially regarding the Dom. One interviewee said that there was no research done on the Dom, because no respectable Jordanian would spend time with them (External Interview 9: notes 2: 6/08/2006: male/ Jordanian/ professor). I initially thought this may be a minority attitude, but discovered that this was a prevalent view. Hence, I had to encourage the interpreters I used to engage with the Dom in a non-judgemental way. I often had to remind interpreters about the way they spoke with the Dom or what words they would use, specifically reminding them to not use the term '*nawar*'. I did find that the interpreters' attitudes towards the Dom shifted through involvement in the project.

Flexibility

The research project was designed to be flexible and methods were shifted, revised, discarded, or taken up depending on the needs and situation. During my ethnographic fieldwork I used qualitative methods of interview, conversation, and observation in order to gain the desired data. However, these processes were altered based on a constant re-examination of the role of the researcher, the subjects, the setting and the way these elements interacted at a particular time and in a particular way (O'Leary 2004: 11). Flexibility, as noted by numerous scholars, represented a key skill utilized in the research process and the project reflected this

(e.g. Axinn and Pearce 2006, Blaxter *et al* 2001, Pole and Lampard 2002, O'Leary 2004).

One reason that changes took place was the way the informants viewed and reacted to the project. I also used events and situations to constantly re-evaluate the project design and to adjust it to the realities of fieldwork (cf. Axinn and Pearce 2006, Blaxter *et al* 2001, Pole and Lampard 2002). In addition, I continued reviewing literature and rethinking the theories and ideas that informed the research. Conducting reflexive analysis of the researcher's role as well as thought processes proved to be an agent of change. I found that integrating my theoretical perspectives with the empirical realities was difficult, but reflection made it possible to work within this dynamic and complex process of fieldwork to arrive at an effective means of gathering the appropriate data.

Role of the Researcher

As research is a social process, it was important that I acknowledged my role and how it affected the data gained (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Coffey 1999, Davies 2008, O'Leary 2004). Since the subjects categorized the researcher and assigned me a particular role, I examined how the informants saw me and how this shaped the information they shared (Spradly 1979). It was necessary to understand how I, as an outsider trying to locate an insider perspective, affected the data, how information was shared with me, and how I took the data in and recorded it (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Coffey 1999, Davies 2008, O'Leary 2004).

I assumed various roles within the context of the fieldwork and the informants saw me through their particular lens (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Davies 2008, Coffey 1999). The ways informants interacted with me was affected by my self-presentation, their perception and the setting. I found that informants often seemed unsure of how to categorize me. Hence, I frequently encountered a reluctance to open up to me. Such responses led me to make several efforts to cross boundaries and improve my access. Activities such as language usage, helping to build and move tents, participating in cultural events, watching television, sharing personal information about myself and social inter-actions that were not obviously research helped to facilitate greater access and lessened reluctance to open up.

There were certain traits that affected the ways I engaged the informants and vice versa; these were age, gender and outsider status. I had not initially considered age a major issue, but during the research it became apparent that it did impact on my inter-actions with those who were older as well as younger than me. With older individuals I was treated as a student there to learn, while among younger individuals I was given a certain level of respect, as one would a teacher. This was particularly apparent among the Circassians whose cultural traditions often see age as a key factor affecting social inter-actions. Amongst the Dom and external actors I found age to be less of a factor.

That said I did find that the age-based relationships among the Circassians were useful as I could utilize their system to gain additional information as the older informants wished to demonstrate their importance. In much the same way, the

youth often wished to show that they knew and understood complex issues beyond their years. In order to do this, they would sometimes talk at length about issues such as the future of the Circassians and their relations with non-Circassian Jordanians. The youth often talked at greater length than older individuals who perhaps would be more cautious.

Another key factor which affected the research process was my gender. As a male, I faced some limitations in gaining access to and interacting with female informants. This was less apparent among interviews with females in the government and VSOs as well as among the Circassians. The problems became much more apparent outside of these groups. Among the general population Jordanian women did not spend much time with unrelated men without potential problems. Hence males are overrepresented in my data from the Jordanian population. Among the Dom the issue was ambiguous. The initial meetings with the Dom included women sitting in the larger group and participating in the larger discussions and in informal group interviews. As more time was spent among the Dom and queries were made about interviewing females, it became obvious that I would be limited in my access. Only four Dom women (all 30+) agreed to interviews and then only with their children or husbands present. The younger women were not open to interviews even in group settings, but there were some who interacted with me in a casual way and chatted about some subjects. I attempted to utilize female interpreters, but this proved difficult as most Arab-Jordanian women I knew did not wish to enter the Dom camps. The few who were willing presented scheduling difficulties. As a result the research reflects a mainly male oriented perspective on

the study of ECA. I regret the lack of information from this segment of the Dom and Jordanian population.

Another variable which affected the research was my outsider status as it prevented me from being accepted as a full insider (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Davies 2008, O'Leary 2004). I faced challenges around acceptance, access and trust. For example, 3 interviewees explained that the government informants would never be honest with a foreigner. A second example of how my outsider status affected my research, was in the way the Circassians related to me their dislike of the Arab population, something an Arab-Jordanian researcher may not have been told. Thirdly, as a foreigner, I believe I did not take things for granted and asked numerous questions (often to the exasperation of informants) about what my informants saw as common experiences.

It is important to note that the everyday is not the everyday if there is a new actor in the scenario. Hence my analysis acknowledged the role of context, particularly my presence, on the informants' answers and behaviours. I found that during my research I affected the ways the informants responded to me and hence the data. First, I was talked down to by older informants and at times felt younger informants were eager to please. Second, I gained limited access to female perspectives, particularly among the Dom and general Jordanian public. Last, I felt that my outsider status provided some insights into common events, but limited my access. These limitations were acknowledged during the research but in many cases were unavoidable, and are reflected in my analysis.

Personal Issues

It is important to note my own personal feelings and events that occurred during fieldwork as these impacted on the research and analysis (cf. Gobo 2008). I also feel that the readers should be made aware of any personal biases so that they are more able to critically read the research.

I faced numerous frustrating moments during fieldwork. Coffey (1999: 41) points out that a researcher has to sometimes engage in unpleasant tasks, spend time with people they may dislike and may have to bite their tongue at times as part of the limits that are placed on a researcher conducting fieldwork. These stressors were generally seen as part of the process and I relied on flexibility in attitude and scheduling to deal with these issues. That said, there were three main areas of frustration that impacted on my research. The first of these was a generally expressed lack of critical attention directed at ethnic minority rights by government and VSO interviewees (see Chapter 5). Secondly, a deficiency of research and knowledge relating to ethnic minorities in Jordan and a tendency to rely on commonly held stereotypes to inform policy and decision making in the government and voluntary sector. Lastly, I must acknowledge my personal biases and frustration with the subjects, especially in relation to the Circassians.

When I asked about the situation facing ethnic minorities in Jordan, about ethnically based discrimination, or about the Circassians or Dom, the 'standard answer' was 'all Jordanians are equal'. This 'standard answer', which was given to

me by 9/9 government and 17/34 VSO interviewees, was quite frustrating. This lack of expressed concern and/or acknowledgement of the situations facing ethnic minorities in Jordan set a challenge for me as it created a barrier to further investigation. During the fieldwork process I noted how my frustration grew as the 'standard answer' conflicted with my own worldview and values, a challenge I tried to work past. While I can understand the security concerns that may be the root cause for the standard answer, this does not excuse it in my mind, or make it more palatable to me (cf. Kumaraswamy 2003). That said, despite my frustration I feel that the 'standard answer' led me to insights into how context, worldviews and interactions influence the creation of policies and programmes.

A second issue was the lack of concrete information or expressed concern regarding the two case study groups. Additionally, external informants' feelings about these groups were often based on assumptions about the ethnic category. When government and VSO interviewees told me that they do not actively reflect and question these assumptions and instead rely on these stereotypes to guide policies, I found myself questioning their professionalism. Similar to the 'standard answer' this reliance on stereotypes was seen as data and again highlighted the importance of context and worldviews on the development of policies and programmes.

The last area of my personal bias to examine was my relationship with the informants, in particular with the Circassians. I acknowledged to myself many years ago my general reaction to wealthy individuals is normally characterized by

suspicion of the source of their wealth and an assumption of their arrogance. Among the Circassians I was faced with displays of their wealth relative to other Jordanians and heard claims that they were suffering economically. These combined to create a general dislike of the Circassians, but I attempted to put my feelings aside and to gather data while filtering out the effects of my assumptions. This was not the only issue with the Circassians. I was also affected by the threats issued against me by a few Circassians. These issues impacted on my relationship with the Circassians and the way I approached my research and analysis.

An ethnographic approach recognizes the impact of the researcher on the research and analysis (cf. Blaxter *et al* 2001, Davies 2008, Gobo 2008). Because of this, I fully acknowledge that I had my own biases and faced limitations in my research. I argue that this does not discount my research. Instead, by mapping these biases and reflecting on their impact, I have addressed them to some extent or have underlined them as issues that future researchers may more effectively address.

Summary

This chapter provides an overview of how I chose the methodologies and methods used in this fieldwork, how these were applied to the research process and how they altered through use. I engaged in a dynamic social process that was informed by my own assumptions and preconceived ideas. I prepared for the field through reviews of relevant literature and creating an initial research design. I understood this would change once I became immersed within the field. Therefore, I

built flexibility and reflexivity into the process in order to account for the dynamic nature of research. Throughout the process I constantly updated the research design and my personal approach, shaping both subsequent data collection as well as analysis in the ways discussed above.

My conceptualisation of ECA as a dynamic interactive process led me to conduct ethnographic fieldwork as I saw combining this conceptualisation and methodology to be a means of gaining a more in-depth understanding than the previous research of ECA achieved through other methodological approaches or with a narrow conception of ECA. I utilized the methods of participant observation, informal conversations, and interviews. These methods were used to gain insights through first hand exposure to the daily life of actors.

I found that it was important to recognize that the informants, the setting, the methodological choices, the methods and myself are all part of the process of research. The relationships between these elements provided a basic stage for the fieldwork. Reflexive reflection during the fieldwork combined with the advice of participants helped to drive the research forward. This method of data collection was seen as part of the process of research. The dynamic nature of conducting research involved shifts in the ways the methods were applied as well as what data was collected. I noted above the numerous issues that were at play during fieldwork, the effects that I had on the research, the ways that I dealt with the different groups, and the realities of conducting research in a dynamic complex social environment. Part 2 of this thesis present the analysis of findings from this ethnographic research.



Photo 4.2: Conversations Amman City Centre

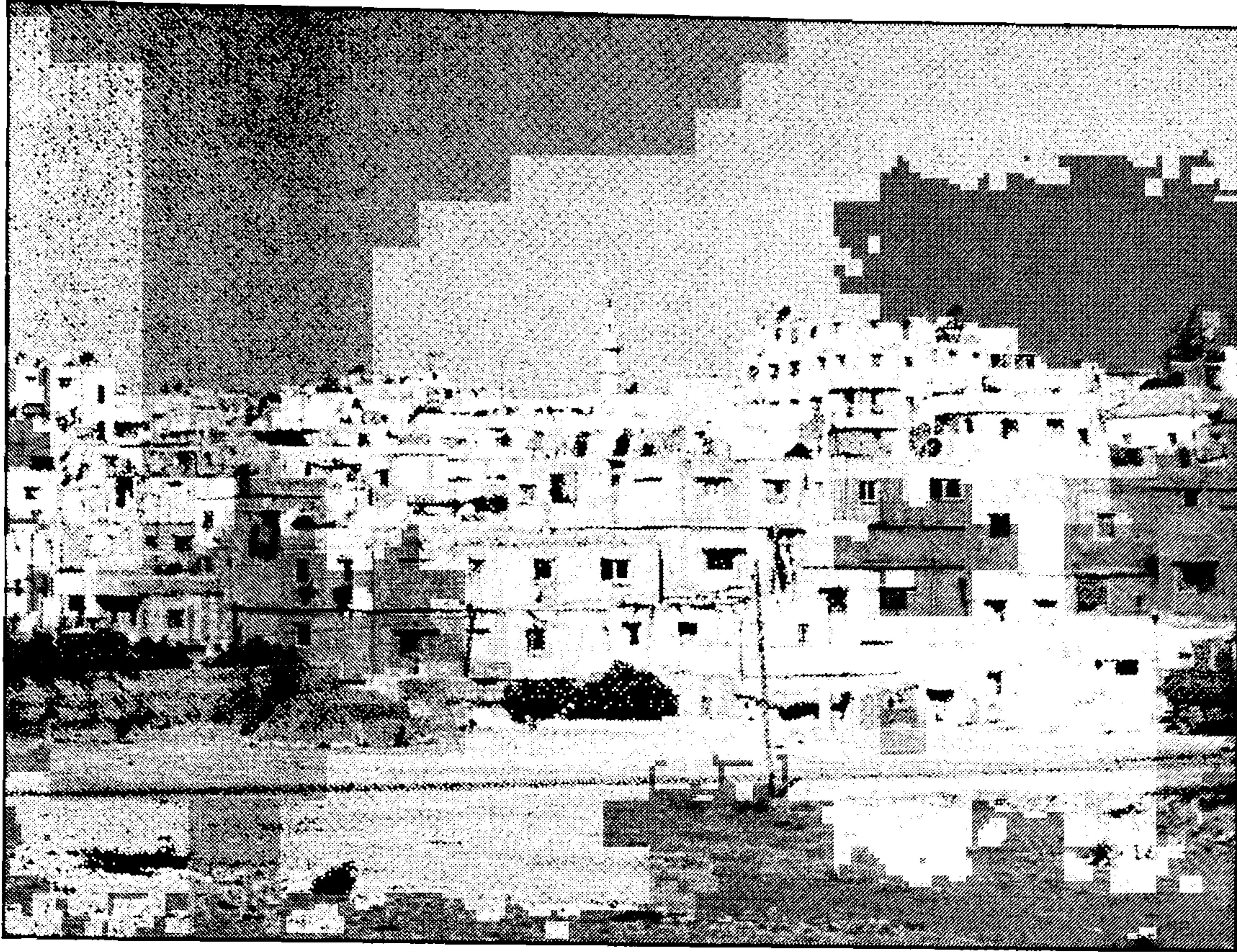


Photo 5.1: View of Neighbourhood W

Chapter 5: Analysis: External Factors in Jordan

This chapter addresses the following research questions:

- 1) What is the role of external political and social structures in ECA?
- 2) How do external actors' worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

The answers to these questions are based on the analysis of data gathered during my fieldwork, mainly from interviews within the government and voluntary sector but also from participant observations. Through my analysis I was able to understand how factors impacted on the interactive processes of ECA. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are a variety of potential factors that can affect ECA and this chapter presents an analysis of external political and social structures which affect ECA in Jordan. In addition to examining these external factors, I also address how external actor's worldviews play a key role in understanding the complex dynamic

and interactive processes of ECA. In order to examine the role of external factors my fieldwork included interviews with 9 government workers, 34 VSO staff and 4 academics, (see Appendix A). This data was supplemented by my participant observation during the ten months I lived in Jordan.

This chapter presents my findings and analysis in two broad sections. The first section corresponds to the first question and examines the two key aspects of the political and social structures in Jordan that I found affected Circassians and Dom ECA; levels of inclusion and government and VSO policies and programmes. The next section addresses the second research question regarding the impact of external actors' worldviews on ECA. This chapter closes with a brief summary of the importance of external factors, particularly the importance of acknowledging the interactive nature of the various external and internal factors.

External Political and Social Structures

- 1) What is the role of external political and social structures in ECA?

Level of Inclusion

An ethnic group's level of inclusion in a particular social and political setting is complex and can range from high levels of inclusion to high levels of exclusion. Inclusion is approached in my research as a dynamic reflection of social interactions. I argue that it is important to recognize that the level of inclusion extended to ethnic minority actors by the majority society can impact on the lives of individuals, groups and ECA. Therefore I argue that within the process of understanding ECA, the level of ethnic minority inclusion plays an important role.

This section presents my analysis of the issues surrounding the Circassian and Dom levels of inclusion in Jordanian society both civically and socially. Next, I analyse the effects these levels of inclusion have had on Circassian and Dom ECA. Lastly, I address how exclusion and inclusion relate to the other factors that affect ECA.

Inclusion in Jordan

In Jordan, as in all states, there are different types of inclusion. Two types that are addressed here are civic and social inclusion. I found that these two types of inclusion were extended to ethnic minority actors by the majority society differently based on the particular ethnicity and how the meanings attached to an ethnic group matched the commonly accepted traits associated with being either civically or socially Jordanian. I concluded that the analysis of ECA in Jordan required me to research how both civic and social levels of inclusion affect access to different parts of social, political and economic networks as well as how the internal and external actor's worldviews (including views of self and other) impacted on these different types of inclusion. This highlights the interactive nature of these factors, a key finding of this research.

Civic inclusion in Jordan rests on laws of citizenship. In theory, legal inclusion grants access to all the rights and duties of citizenship equally. According to 24/43 government and voluntary sector interviewees, all Jordanian citizens have equal rights, access to services and legal protection. However, I would argue that in practice I found Jordanian citizenship to be nuanced with different levels of access

and inclusion. While the government of Jordan does have legislation in place that guarantees the equal rights of its citizens, it was pointed out to me in an interview with a human rights organisation that this is not always the case in practice.

The interviewee tells me that there is an obvious gap between policies, legislation and reality. (External Interview 15: 1: 27/09/2006: male/Jordanian/ executive director).

Unequal citizenship has created an environment in which, despite official civic inclusion, access to the full rights of citizenship was still limited for some citizens.

For instance a VSO interviewee noted:

The Dom are second class citizens at best (External Interview 42: 2: 18/12/2007: male/Jordanian/ programme director).

These findings are similar to conclusions drawn by other scholars who have said that while citizenship can provide access to certain legal rights and duties, it does not necessarily extend to respect and social belonging within society. For example Nordberg (2006) found that while the Roma in Finland are legal citizens they still face challenges in exercising full citizenship rights. Similarly, Dagnino (2005) examines differentiated citizenship experiences by some actors in Brazil, while DeVenanzi (2005) points out that outcasts and stigmatised actors face 'incomplete citizenship'. This is also discussed by Phillips and Berman (2001: 25-26) as 'discriminated citizenship', a situation they define as when some ethnic groups are 'denied access to elements of community citizenship' available to other communities.

Social inclusion in Jordan was found to be more exclusive than civic inclusion. It

is not granted by the state, but by society and rests on individuals and groups being accepted within Jordanian social networks. As discussed in Chapter 3, Jordanian identity is typically defined in an exclusionist manner, an often noted example is the process of partial civic and social exclusion of the Palestinian-Jordanians (e.g. Nanes 2008, Nasser 2004, Nevo 2003b, Massad 2001, Susser 1999). My ethnographic fieldwork gave me the opportunity to encounter examples of how this 'othering' was also extended to the Circassians and Dom. During one conversation with a teacher I found:

X says that the Circassians are not really Jordanians, because they are too arrogant and the Dom are not Jordanians because they are not civilized. She notes that the Jordanian-Jordanians treat both groups as outsiders, just like they treat the Palestinians (Fieldnotes: 2: 12/2/2007: female/Jordanian/ teacher).

This 'othering' relied heavily on the boundaries of Jordanian identification and the real and perceived differences from the 'norm' that other ethnic groups displayed (cf. Kelly 1993, Hogg and Abrams 1988, Schwalbe *et al* 2000). It is this area of research that demonstrates the importance of the relationship between minority inclusion and the worldviews of external actors.

Government and VSO interviewees typically used group differences to explain their relationships with the two case study groups. This reliance on difference was central to understanding the process of inclusion in Jordanian society. Real and perceived differences impacted on the strategic efforts that ethnic minority groups undertook to achieve shared goals, especially those actions that involved expressions of their ethnic identification; i.e. their difference. In one VSO interview:

The interviewee was of the opinion that differences cause problems

and therefore all citizens should take on Jordanian culture in order to minimize difference (External Interview 22:1: 8/10/2006: male/Jordanian /country director)

I found that the external actors focused on differences in defining the other, for example in one interview with an academic:

The professor says that the Dom are not like Jordanians, because they have a different culture than Jordanians (External Interview 12: notes 2: 16/08/2006: male/Jordanian/ professor).

Another example of the role differences play in affecting inclusion came from a Circassian who worked at a VSO:

The interviewee expresses her belief that while Circassians speak Arabic, are good Muslims, and loyal to the King, they are very proud of their differences and hence are not fully part of Jordan (External Interview 41: notes 2: 12/12/06: female/Circassian/ training officer).

According to informants, in order to attain full civic and social belonging an actor must seem to behave like a Jordanian (cf. Baumeister 2003, Nordberg 2006). One interviewee explained to me that:

Assimilation was key to developing a stable society (External Interview 15: 1: 27/09/2006: male/Jordanian/ executive director).

Despite both case study groups being seen as different there were other factors affecting inclusion. The economic and political status of an ethnic minority group within Jordan and the meanings attached to the particular ethnicity informed the nature of social, political and economic inter-actions between the majority actors and the actors of the two case study groups. This impacted on the two case study groups and affected how the two case study groups undertook ECA. This again highlights how worldviews play an important role in processes of ECA.

In general, I found that the Circassians in Jordan are included both civically and socially. No external interviewees denied that the Circassians were citizens and their social inclusion was confirmed by 32/47 external interviewees. This high level of social inclusion was attributed to Circassians contributions to the state, their loyalty and honour as well as their Muslim identity. This view was summed up by one government interviewee:

The interviewee explains that Jordan benefits from the presence of the Circassians. He adds that the Circassians are a part of the society of Jordan and are part of the state. He concludes by telling me that no one can ever question their loyalty to the state (External Interview 31: notes 1: 19/11/2006: male/ Jordanian/ departmental director).

However, the Circassians' inclusion is not 100% complete, as demonstrated:

X states that the Circassians are Jordanian but not real Jordanians (External Interview 37: notes 1: 11/12/06: female/ Jordanian/ programme officer).

This interviewee's comment was directly related to the Circassians' civic inclusion, but also highlighted a level of social exclusion, tied mainly to the exclusivity of Jordanian identity. The comments of interviewees highlighted that civic inclusion does not necessarily guarantee full social inclusion.

I found that the intensity of the negative meanings that external actors expressed about the Dom contributed to low levels of social and civic inclusion and hence led to some degree of social marginalization and incomplete or discriminated citizenship. 18/47 external interviewees said the Dom do not belong civically and 27/47 said they are not socially part of Jordan. Despite a majority of the interviewees

acknowledging the Dom as citizens, there was a limited acceptance of this as important. In other words many of the interviewees did not seem to care if the Dom were citizens. A clear example of how negative worldviews of the Dom affected inclusion came from an interview at a museum:

Interviewee is agitated when she tells me that she did not care what passport the Dom have, they are not and will never be part of Jordan (External Interview 44: notes 2: 23/01/2007: female/ part-Circassian/ director/curator).

The expressed disinterest in the Dom's citizenship status, impacted on the ability of the Dom to access services and rights provided to citizens. This served to entrench the feelings of marginalisation and discriminations expressed by most Dom.

Generally external informants rationalised the Dom's exclusion with reference to the negative stereotypes of the Dom including the view of the Dom as immoral, which was expressed by a majority of interviewees. For example:

The interviewee explains that she believes that the Dom are not going to be part of Jordan because they are lazy, are beggars and thieves, and they do not care about right and wrong (External Interview 39: notes 2: 12/12/2006: female/Jordanian/ office coordinator).

While both the Circassians and Dom faced gaps between their levels of civic and social inclusion, their overall levels of inclusion differed greatly. Below I discuss how the Circassians' high levels of inclusion provided more opportunities while the Dom's low levels of inclusion hindered their political, social and economic inter-

actions and access. The level of inclusion extended to both these groups was found to be interwoven with the worldviews of external actors, particularly in regards to the stereotypes they held of these ethnic categories.

High levels of Inclusion

High levels of inclusion, either civic or social, can play an important role in allowing ethnic minority actors access to civil rights, protection, and services as well as social, cultural and economic networks. Baulch *et al* (2000), for example, points out how disenfranchised ethnic minorities in Vietnam as well as those who have not assimilated to the mainstream have been disproportionately left out of the state's economic gains. For the Circassians who are generally socially included and viewed positively by external actors, social inclusion enabled access to external social networks and external tolerance of the Circassians' expression of ethnic differences both of which are useful in undertaking ECA.

An additional aspect of Circassian civic inclusion involved special access to political networks. The Circassians' civic inclusion has been augmented by certain special privileges including guaranteed seats in the Jordanian Parliament (which they share with the Chechens), serving as the King's royal guard, and an overrepresentation in the upper levels of government and the armed services. An indicator of their acceptance by most Jordanians was that only 5/47 external interviewees said that they felt the Circassians were not deserving of these privileges. This positive view of these privileges by external actors highlighted how the Circassians can undertake certain activities in part because of the generally positive view external actors have of their ethnic categorization.

My fieldwork among the Circassians revealed an understanding of these political and social opportunities as a resource, which they could utilize in successfully acting as an ethnic collective. However, some Circassians saw it as a threat, thus highlighting the importance of interpretation via the Circassians' worldviews. While such political and social opportunities are important to ECA, the traditional opportunity model fails to effectively address issues of worldviews or the dynamic processes of inter-action (cf. Fennema and Tille 2001, Koopmans 1999, Wilkes 2004). Therefore, I see the opportunities granted to the Circassians as a potential resource but my research demonstrated that the particular nature of the impact depended on the inter-action with numerous other factors, including the Circassians' worldviews.

Assimilation was already discussed earlier, and some Circassians note that their civic and social inclusion accelerates this process. Another potentially negative effect of inclusion is co-option, as noted in a VSO interview:

Interviewee explained that the Circassians are part of the regime and the regime rewards the Circassians to make them remain loyal (External Interview 16: notes 2: 27/9/06: male/Jordanian/ executive director).

I argue that the power, influence and position of the Circassians within Jordan's civic and social life mark them as a powerful force in Jordan and as targets for co-option by the state. One government interviewee, after noting the Circassians as a threat to the stability of the state, continued:

The interviewee points out that the Circassians have been made part of the regime, and while he doesn't like it, it does make the Circassians believe they are accepted, he says, 'they are more royal than the royals' implying that the Circassians have become invested in the monarchy's survival (External Interview 24: notes 3: 17/10/2006: male/Jordanian/ research officer).

This hyper-inclusion could be seen as a form of control utilized to minimize the threat of a group with potentially powerful voices. McLaurin (1979) points out that states in the Middle East which seek stability and legitimacy must prevent the actions of groups that can threaten their hold on power. During my fieldwork some Circassians explained that because of their positions in society, the military and the government they could easily have attempted to take control of the state, but added that there was no need to do this as the Circassians were quite happy with the system the way it was (Fieldnotes 26/11/2006, 22/12/2006, 4/1/2007).

The Circassians' nearly complete civic and social inclusion had a variety of effects on their lives. Firstly, they benefited politically and economically from their inclusion, thus allowing them to take advantage of their rights as citizens as well as become accepted and respected members of Jordanian society. This acceptance of Circassians as part of Jordan also allowed them opportunities to confidently express their ethnic differences as well as to pursue protections for their ethnicity. The most clear cut example was that the various Circassian associations were accepted and encouraged by the state and society. For example in a governmental interview:

Interviewee states that Jordan is proud of its Circassian citizens and encourages them in their cultural displays and associations (External Interview 31: notes 1: 19/11/2006: male/Jordanian/ departmental director).

This statement and others like it showed that the level of inclusion, both socially and civically, contributed to the ability of the Circassians to undertake this form of ethnic mobilisation and organisation. Alternatively, social inclusion served as a vehicle of assimilation and co-option, which drove higher levels of fear and insecurity amongst the Circassians and hence, according to Circassian informants, encouraged them to undertake defensive measures through collective action, which included the Circassians' associations' and school's attempts to preserve their traditions, language and pride in being Circassian.

Low Levels of Inclusion

Low levels of inclusion can also have both positive and negative impacts on the different stages of ECA. The effect is dependent on how the ethnic minority actors perceive the limited inclusion and how they react to it. The excluded group faces challenges in accessing resources and achieving a sense of security. For example, the low level of inclusion extended by external actors to the Dom made it difficult for them to express their ethnicity or make claims through ECA.

According to my research, most external actors stated that the Dom have equal rights because of their citizenship, but 9/47 external interviewees openly stated that they thought the Dom were second class citizens. In addition there was limited belief that the Dom should be part of Jordanian society, with 27/47 stating the Dom did were not socially included. The Dom acknowledged this limited citizenship themselves, for example:

DOM T says that the Dom have citizenship and passports and legally we have rights, but the Dom are not respected (Dom Interview 14: notes 2: 1/3/2007: male/Dom/ shop owner).

The low level of inclusion extended to the Dom, not only impacted on their access to social and political opportunities, it also created a sense of exclusion which was expressed by many Dom. The Dom's belief in the lack of respect impacted on their feelings of distress and frustration, as well as their expectations of discrimination.

Another impact of the low level of social inclusion was the Dom's social and spatial isolation. My research, as well as that of Moawwad (1998) and Al-Khatib and Al-Ali (2005), showed that most Dom in Jordan lived in spatially isolated areas and even if surrounded by non-Dom were socially isolated. There were two overlapping reasons given for this spatial isolation. Approximately half of the government and VSO interviewees believed the Dom preferred isolation, and 22/43 of these interviewees thought that the reluctance of Jordanian-Arabs to live near the Dom also contributed to the spatial isolation. In one VSO interview I found:

While the interviewee felt that her organisation should be engaged with the Dom in relief projects she states that she cannot imagine living near and interacting with the Dom. (External Interview2: notes 2: 12/04/2006: female/ Jordanian/ departmental director).

This interviewee and others like her, acknowledge the Dom's needs and their isolation, but demonstrate the strength of the negative views of the Dom held by Arab-Jordanians. This individual expressed embarrassment at her opinions, but said that it is the way she was raised.

Spatial and social isolation limited the strategic choices available to the Dom to address poverty or to facilitate the growth of bridging ties with non-Dom. This is

similarly discussed by other scholars. Sigona (2005), for instance, discusses how Roma camps in Italy served to recreate and reinforce stereotypes among mainstream society and policy makers, while at the same time serving the Roma as site of defence and refuge. Baulch *et al* (2002) discusses the ways that social isolation is a contributing factor to continued poverty for some ethnic minorities in Vietnam. That said, isolation also had positive effects on ECA. For example in the area of language and cultural maintenance, I found, as have other scholars, that isolation helped the Circassians in the past (e.g. Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Jaimokha 2001, Rannut 2007), and currently assists the Dom in maintaining their language and cultural traditions (e.g. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1999).

I found that the level of civic and social inclusion extended to the case study groups reflected the external actors' worldviews. For example, my research revealed that the overall positive opinions held about the Circassians combined with citizenship and perceived contributions to the state gave the Circassians a high level of civic and social inclusion despite ethnic differences. On the other hand, the overall negative opinions held about the Dom, in spite of some civic inclusion and sharing in both tribal and Muslim identifications, led to a denial of widespread acceptance socially or civically. This highlights the interrelated nature of the factors affecting ECA, but also the need to acknowledge that civic inclusion alone does not ensure social inclusion.

Policies and Programmes

This section provides additional information to answer question one. Here I present an analysis of how the Jordanian government and voluntary sector engaged with minority issues in general and the two case study groups in particular through policies and programmes. I found that the Circassians and the Dom interacted differently with the wider society and are not affected in the same way by governmental policies and programmes. These interactions ultimately affect their ability to effectively engage in ECA (cf. Willmore 2001). States may exclude and/or include different groups in order to achieve their preferred result (cf. Maktabi 2000). Based on my research, I would add that policies and programmes in Jordan often reflected and served to maintain current views and beliefs of the government and societal elites (cf. Fenton 1999, Nordberg 2006, Sigona 2005). This argument was illustrated by an interviewee from an international VSO:

Interviewee states that any activities the VSO wishes to undertake must fit within the framework of the government and achieve the government's desires. She adds that the government does not address issues about cultural differences, instead it pursues policies of cultural sameness (External Interview 23: notes 1: 10/10/2006: female/ foreign/ programme officer).

This section will focus on four key areas of external political and VSO policies and programmes that affected the two case study groups. These were recognition policies, the Jordanian government's (and by extension the VSO's) policies and approach to ethnic minority issues, the use of targeted programmes and the creation of a national identity.

Recognition

Recognition can be a powerful force in changing opinions about a group. Likewise, a lack of recognition can isolate ethnic groups, facilitate the continuation of negative views and limit possible avenues of recourse to address ethnically related issues (cf. Baumeister 2003, Fenton 2003, Nordberg 2006). Maktabi (2000) states that unequal recognition undermines equal forms of citizenship. In this section I examine the role that policies of official recognition granted to the Circassians and the lack of official recognition of the Dom had on the ECA of the two case study groups.

The Circassians are recognized by the Jordanian government as an ethnic minority group. For example:

Governmental interviewee states that the Circassians play an important role in Jordan and the state encourages and celebrates Jordan's diverse ethnic heritage, represented by the Circassians, the Chechens and the Armenians. (External Interview 30: notes 2: 19/11/06: male/Jordanian/ project officer).

Another governmental interviewee stated:

The Circassians are part of the tapestry of Jordan. (External Interview 44: 2: 23/01/2007: female/ part-Circassian/ director/curator).

In official documents and websites, the Circassians are noted to be 1% of the population along with 1% being Armenian and 98% Arab (CIA accessed 2008, HKJ a accessed 2007, UK Foreign Office accessed 2008). Despite being ethnically different, recognition served to provide positive reinforcement of the Circassians' ethnic identity and gave them a place within Jordan through representation in museums, websites, reports, and cultural festivals. I found that the Circassians

benefited from this recognition as it supported the ability of the Circassians to assume a role within the wider Jordanian society and facilitated both civic and social inclusion.

The Circassians are viewed as part of Jordan to some extent because of the official recognition they receive. However, I found there was an imbedded reinforcing cycle in which official recognition stems from the positive views which external actors held about Circassians and that official recognition in turn served to support the official positive portrayal of the Circassians.

My research led me to conclude that official recognition impacted on Circassian ECA. The acceptance gained through official recognition allowed the Circassians to express their ethnic identity more freely, which is an important resource in ECA. Examples of this were the acceptance and encouragement of Circassians' cultural associations and the inclusion of Circassians in museums and cultural shows. In addition, Circassian individuals often displayed symbols of their ethnic identification, which demonstrated that they had the pride as well as the freedom necessary to carry out ethnic displays and ethnic activities. This freedom was confirmed by many external interviewees, as well as by Circassians and Dom.

Another impact of official recognition on the Circassians was increased social and political inclusion and access to resources which provided a stronger platform for the pursuit of ECA. The acceptance of the establishment of Circassian

associations was one result of this recognition. These associations served as both an example of and as a resource for ECA. Circassian interviewees noted that their associations and school represented their best efforts to collectively maintain their culture, traditions, language and in some instances a social distance from majority society.

Two aspects of recognition were hyper-inclusion and co-option, which was discussed earlier, and the acceleration of the process of assimilation. Assimilation was acknowledged by some non-Circassians:

A teacher states that the Circassians are quite adapted and are really like Jordanians (Fieldnotes: 2: 19/11/06: female/ Jordanian/ teacher).

Assimilation was viewed as positive by many non-Circassians. That said, I found many Circassians felt that official recognition contributed to increasing the rate of assimilation. Many Circassian informants utilized the word 'fear' when discussing assimilation or loss of cultural difference.

The lack of official recognition of the Dom impacted on their lives as well as on the ways they may engage in ECA. My data indicated that the Dom faced strong negative stereotypes and exclusion. In addition I concluded that the lack of official recognition limited their use of ethnically based strategies in ECA. This conclusion was also voiced by some external actors and Dom, for example:

The leader of the Dom in Jordan states that without being officially

recognized, it is very difficult for the Dom to ask the state to provide aid for the Dom as a separate group (Dom Interviews 1:notes 1: 26/9/2006: male/Dom/ leader).

Non-recognition can lead to invisibility for an ethnic minority (Kabeer 2006), but in the case of the Dom this has not occurred. Despite not being officially recognized as a separate ethnic group, nearly everyone interviewed had and was willing to express an opinion about the Dom. However, I did encounter some people during my fieldwork and interviews who claimed either that there were no Dom in Jordan or that there were only a few. This was despite the UN noting the existence of and difficult situation facing the Dom in Jordan (UN 2006). For example:

The head of a human rights VSO maintains that the rights of the Dom were not important because there were 'no gypsies in Jordan' (External Interview 16, notes 1: 27/09/06: male/Jordanian/executive director).

The lack of recognition of the Dom created certain difficulties in using ethnic identification as a means of engagement with the government, made the Dom officially invisible and hence created barriers to ECA.

Policies on Ethnic Minority Issues

During my external interviews there were two key ways in which policies on ethnic minority issues in Jordan were articulated. The first was what I have referred to as 'the standard answer'; that all Jordanians are equal. The second was the expressed opinion that ethnic minority issues are not important. External actors' often relied on 'the standard answer' to explain why ethnic minority issues were unimportant in Jordan.

The 'standard answer' and general attitude that all Jordanians are equal was expressed by 27/43 interviewees from the government and voluntary sector. The 'standard answer' was explained by some actors, for example:

The interviewee states that the 'standard answer' is used to cover up problems and present an uncomplicated picture (External Interview 27: notes 2: 1/11/06: female/Jordanian/executive director).

The 'standard answer' downplayed the effects of diversity and possible ethnic minority problems, including inequality and discrimination, and served to justify the lack of policy initiatives to address these issues.

The expressed belief that there was no discrimination and Jordanians were all equal was refuted through my findings (cf. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, CERD 1997, 1998, Kaya 2004, Massad 2001, UN 2006). The use of the 'standard answer' to hide problems could be related to the general feeling of instability related to the demographic diversity in Jordan, namely the presence of the Palestinian and Iraqi refugee populations (cf. Kumaraswamy 2003, Massad 2001, Nevo 2003a). This defensive denial of inequalities and diversity may help maintain stability and hide issues, but I argue that it actually exacerbates the issue of ethnic inequalities in Jordan by not allowing an open dialogue or an opportunity to examine and address the causes of ethnic inequalities.

This limited acknowledgement of ethnic inequality hindered the ability of ethnic groups to engage in ethnic claims making since the official position of the state is that ethnic issues are not important in Jordan. Based on my findings, I argue that the

lip-service given to issues of ethnic equality by the government and VSO informants creates an environment in which ethnically based problems remain unaddressed, legislation is passed without any concern for its impact, ethnic discrimination is practiced with impunity, and policies of social change and equality are not pursued with vigour.

I would argue that 'the standard answer' can be tied to the general deficiency in research about ethnic minorities in Jordan (except for the Palestinians) (cf. CEC 2004). For instance, while interviewing the director of a research VSO:

The interviewee points out that in Jordan the government does not look at ethnic minority issues because they do not want to know what is there, they think they understand but they do not (External Interview 6: notes 2: 17/04/2006: female/Jordanian/ executive director).

This lack of research persists despite the need for policies and programmes to be grounded in evidence and concrete information about the population served (cf. Kabeer 2006, Kumaraswamy 2003, Reiter 2002).

An example of the deficiency in research on ethnic minority issues comes from the Jordanian census, which did not take minority and ethnic identity into consideration. I conducted two separate interviews at the Jordanian Department of Statistics. The individuals provided me with practically the same answers:

Upon asking 'why questions about ethnicity were not included in the census?'. I was told by both interviewees that there is no need to ask such a question as all Jordanians are equal. I ask 'How do you know all Jordanians are equal if you do not ask questions that may help to identify social patterns of inequality based on ethnicity?' In both cases they repeat the 'standard answer' and explain that there is absolutely

no reason to ask about ethnicity as there are no differences in the treatment of people based on either their ethnicity or their religion (External Interview 33: notes 1: 26/11/2006: male/Jordanian/ programme officer: External Interview 34: notes 1: 26/11/2006: male/Jordanian/ departmental director).

This lack of official statistical data is problematic to the development of policies and programmes as it limits the understanding of the situation facing the citizens of Jordan by failing to identify any demographic patterns of inequality (cf. Kumaraswamy 2003). However, one interviewee pointed out there was not complete conformity within the government on this issue:

Interviewee says that a government minister requested that a question about ethnicity be included in the census, but this was denied, he says he cannot share which ministry made the request (External Interview 34: notes 1: 26/11/2006: male/Jordanian/ departmental director).

This shows that there may be less consensus than that presented by the 'standard answer'.

In addition to the lack of governmental data, there was limited academic research about the two case study groups. According to informants from three universities and three research centres in Jordan, the main reason for the lack of research conducted by Jordanians was tied directly to the attitudes held by many Jordanians about the Circassian and Dom. While these researchers acknowledged the political climate in Jordan as limiting to research about ethnic minorities, they more often pointed towards Jordanians' views of the two case study groups as reasons for inaction. 4/7 academics/ researchers noted that a belief in the insular nature of the Circassians created a barrier to research. 6/7 academics/researchers stated that the reason the Dom were little researched was because most Jordanians did not wish to interact with individuals that society generally held to be uncivilized

and unclean. 2/7 of these interviewees explained that Jordanian researchers would see it as degrading to spend time with the Dom and would not be able to do in-depth research because of this. One explained:

His students would think the Dom are so dirty that they could not even accept the tea they may offer (External Interview 9: notes 2: 6/08/2006: male/ Jordanian/ professor).

During my fieldwork I observed this behaviour by some of my interpreters. They would accept glasses of tea from the Dom but not drink them, or would be obviously uncomfortable in the Dom's tents. During debriefing sessions they often discussed this discomfort and their dislike of the Dom. The reasons for a lack of research by non-Jordanians were not known.

The absence of concrete knowledge and research limited the ability of VSOs and state institutions to engage effectively with the ethnic minority groups (cf. Kabeer 2006, Reiter 2002). The lack of official acknowledgment of ethnic minority issues, combined with the lack of research created a difficult environment for the Circassian and Dom to utilize their ethnic identity as a means of action. This is somewhat ameliorated for the Circassians by the positive views that external actors hold of them. In addition, the limited prioritization of ethnic minority issues in Jordan (beyond the Palestinians and Iraqis) has made making ethnically based claims difficult at best, again hindering the ECA strategies available to the two case study groups.

Targeted Programmes

Targeted programmes are one way in which the needs of a particular group may be met through undertaking cultural and contextually appropriate methods, rather than a 'one size fits all' approach. As Young (1998) notes, the pursuit of equal treatment in an environment where groups have differing levels of access serves to perpetuate these inequalities (cf. Kabeer 2006, Nordberg 2004). Some scholars critique targeted programmes stating that they encourage inequalities (Maktabi 2000) and are based on viewing targeted ethnic groups as homogenous (Kukutai 2004). My research into the programmes being carried out by the government and VSOs indicated that certain needs, i.e. poverty and education, are being addressed, but the programmes are not generally tailored to address the specific needs of members of particular ethnic groups. There were 16/34 interviewees from the voluntary sector who expressed interest in undertaking programmes to address ethnic minority issues, but only 7/34 of these suggested doing anything with groups besides Palestinian and Iraqi refugees. In addition I found some targeted programmes for women and children, migrant labourers, and Bedouin. But I only found two programmes which had attempted to target the Dom. Aside from those started by the Circassian associations I found none aimed at serving the specific issues facing Circassians.

The lack of targeted programmes can in part be attributed to the impact that external actors' worldviews have on the creation and pursuit of policies and programmes. For instance, the Circassians were viewed in a positive way and this aided their access, recognition, and inclusion, which was demonstrated through their

guaranteed representation within Parliament and hyper-representation within the upper echelons of government and the military. Positive characterisations, particularly of the wealth attributed to Circassians, also had a negative impact on the chances that low income Circassians would benefit from any targeted government or VSO poverty alleviation programmes. Numerous interviewees characterized the Circassians as wealthy and self sufficient. Among the 16 interviewees who mentioned wishing to engage on ethnic minority issues, 8 mentioned that the Circassians were not in need of assistance from external sources. For example, in one interview at a large Jordanian VSO I noted:

Interviewee says that the Circassians do not face any problems but if they did they are capable of addressing them internally (External Interview 36: notes 2: 11/12/2006: female/ Jordanian/ departmental director).

Interestingly, none of the five Circassian (or part Circassian) government and VSO interviewees indicated a need for their organisation to target Circassian issues despite indicating that they felt their ethnic community faced certain problems around cultural maintenance and a lessening economic and political position in society.

According to my fieldwork, this limited engagement resulted in those Circassians in need turning to the Circassian community for assistance rather than to government or VSO programmes (see Chapter 6). Thus this lack of targeted programmes and access encouraged Circassian ECA in order to protect and provide for the group members' resource and security needs and in turn served to

support the external actors' belief that the Circassians are self-sufficient and protective of their co-ethnics. These strategic choices and their impact on relationships and inter-action highlighted the complex cyclic nature of the processes involved in ECA. The support functions carried out by the Circassian Charity Association (CCA), such as providing food and monetary donations to Circassians who were unemployed, sick, disabled or widows, are examples of ECA which reinforced my conclusions that even positive stereotypes can negatively impact on the lives of the Circassians, while simultaneously having a positive affect on ECA, the success of which supported the originally held stereotype.

Disenfranchised minority groups disproportionately fail to benefit from policies that do not contain a particular targeted element (cf. Baulch *et al.* 2002, Nordberg 2006, Young 1998). Therefore, the failure of the government and VSOs to target programmes towards the Dom, whom the UN (2006) referred to as the most marginalized group in Jordan, limits the ability of the Dom to overcome the obstacles they face. My research revealed three main reasons why most government and VSO interviewees did not feel that the Dom were being served through targeted programmes. The first reason was a lack of civic and social inclusion, the second was perceptions of Dom culture, and last was the will and priorities of the government and VSOs.

18/47 external interviewees felt the Dom do not belong civically in Jordan and had no right to access programmes and services. During an interview with a government policy maker I noted:

Interviewee states the Dom are not like Jordanians, that they are not citizens and cannot access our programmes (External Interview 13: notes 1: 17/08/2006: female/ Jordanian/ programme officer).

In addition to the issue of civic exclusion, 27/47 interviewees felt that the Dom did not belong socially. In another government interview I found:

Interviewee explains that the Dom are not part of Jordan, they do not belong anywhere or have any place, they have no loyalties and so we do not do anything for them (External Interview 14: notes 2: 24/09/2006: male/ Jordanian/ departmental director).

As noted earlier low levels of civic exclusion created a barrier for the Dom in accessing full rights as citizens, confirmed by Dom informants who said they are denied access to services.

Almost half of the external interviewees considered the Dom to be impoverished because of their cultural practices and unwillingness to change their ways. During a VSO interview I noted:

Interviewee explains that the Dom do not want any help, they are happy to be poor, they like to beg, they are ok with this and so we do not interfere (External Interview 10: notes 2: 13/08/2006: male/ Jordanian/ executive director).

External actors often supported these attitudes by giving me the example that the Dom do not send their children to school which the external actors believed demonstrated that the Dom do not wish to lift themselves out of poverty. While my research among the Dom did support the external actors' belief that many Dom children did not attend school, I would argue that policy makers could use this as a reason for engaging with the Dom and promote education programmes. 2/9 government interviewees claimed that there is no way to effectively engage children when they are mobile or nomadic. However some VSO interviewees indicated that

there are programmes in place that serve children in the Bedouin communities, which seems to indicate that there is capacity to meet the needs of mobile communities if there is the will to do so.

The final reason given for not targeting the Dom was tied to the willingness of state and voluntary sectors. While 7 of the VSO interviewees, representing 6 separate VSOs, expressed some interest in targeting programmes towards the Dom, only two organisations had attempted to carry out such programmes. 6/7 interviewees who noted that they wanted to do something for the Dom pointed out that they were prevented by a lack of commitment and willingness by their organisation, by donors or by the Jordanian government. In an interview with a VSO programme officer I noted:

The interviewee indicates that no one really wants to help the Dom, the government and VSOs are not willing to do this because they do not think it is part of their job (External Interview 7: notes 3: 18/04/2006: female/ Jordanian/ programme officer).

In another interview one individual expressed some interest in pursuing a policy of engagement and research among the Dom but faced limitations:

She says that no matter what she wants or thinks would be best, her organisation must do what the Jordanian government wants, and they do not want to target the Dom (External Interview 43: notes 3: 22/01/2007: female/ Jordanian/ project officer).

The attitudes expressed by these government and VSO interviewees demonstrate how the negative views held about the Dom impact on government and VSO actions. This provides support for my argument that worldviews play a central

role in inter-actions, structures and ECA. Much like the Circassians, the Dom were limited in their ability to access programmes and are faced with a lack of any programmes or policies that target their specific needs. This said, the Dom faced this situation for very different reasons, as a lack of access impacted on Dom ECA. Since there were no programmes that targeted their special needs, they looked towards ECA as a means to serve these needs, although I argue in chapter 7, that they were less successful than the Circassians.

Pursuing a National Identity

Another key area of policies and programmes which I found impacted on ECA was the attempts by the state, supported by the VSO and Jordanian-Jordanian society, to promote a standardized national identity. Much of the drive for a national identity has led to a pattern of assimilation in Jordan. While the factors of a standardized national identity and assimilation may be useful to a nation that struggles with potential internal instability, but, as many scholars note, these factors should not be ignored as they impact on the lives of ethnic minorities and ECA (e.g. Baumeister 2003, Massad 2001, McLaurin 1979, Shami 1998).

Only 7/43 government and VSO interviewees expressed a belief that ethnic differences provide strength to Jordanian society. This belief was limited to certain groups, such as the Circassians, Chechens and Armenians. More importantly, around half of the interviewees pointed out that ethnic difference should be downplayed, kept private or eliminated. In addition many others said that they felt

that to be a Jordanian, one should behave like Jordanian-Jordanians. Attempts by the government to promote a homogeneous national identity hindered the ability of ethnic groups to maintain a sense of difference. This is exemplified through the Jordan First campaign which is considered by some to encourage assimilation in order to achieve greater stability in the nation (cf. Khouri 2003, Jordan Times 2002). While there are varied opinions about this programme (cf. Khouri 2003, Ryan and Schwedler 2004, Schwedler 2005), a majority of those external interviewees and informants who discussed Jordan First described it in assimilationist and exclusionist terms. One governmental interviewee noted:

Jordan First is meant to tell us that Jordan is for Jordanians (External Interview 30: notes 2: 19/11/2006: male/Jordanian/ programme officer).

Another example from my fieldwork:

The taxi driver says that Jordan First is about security and the elimination of difference. He adds that it means Palestinians are expected to be Jordanians (Fieldnotes: notes 3: 14/12/2006: male/Jordanian/ taxi driver).

The belief in assimilation was mentioned by a number of interviewees, one example was from the director of a human rights organisation:

The interviewee states that assimilation and removal of cultural differences is the way forward (External Interview 45: notes 1: 28/1/2006: male/Jordanian/ executive director).

The pursuit of a national identity that superseded other identities and called for, what many interpreted as, an assimilationist approach to diversity limits the ability of the Circassian and the Dom to express their ethnic identity, make ethnically based claims or engage in ethnic group making. It must be noted that in Jordan, as well as other countries, the expression of difference may be seen as a threat to the stability

of society and the state (cf. Baumeister 2003, Nordberg 2006, Ryan and Schwedler 2004, Shami 1998). Because of the Palestinian issue, the general view of ethnic issues as a sensitive security issue limited the ability of all groups to pursue ethnically based strategies that required public expression and promotion of their ethnic identity. Although some groups were more acceptable than others, I found that there were limits on the acceptability and the potential reaction to such displays.

External Actors' Worldviews

The worldviews of external actors were investigated mainly around the issues of how they viewed themselves and the 'other'. The external actors' worldviews were found to shape their views about ethnic categories and identities, inform the development of political and economic structures and practices, affect inclusion of ethnic minority groups and guide the creation of policies and programmes targeting ethnic minorities. Therefore, the meanings external actors attached to ethnic minority groups influenced social inter-actions (cf. Blummer 1969, Dennis and Martin 2005, Harrington and Fine 2006). Many of the factors discussed above made reference to the influence of external actors worldviews. In particular the stereotypes held about the two case study groups and ethnic minorities in general influenced the levels of civic and social inclusion and policy and programme decisions. In this section I present a more in depth analysis of worldviews and how they inter-act and impact upon other factors and are an interwoven part of a complex process that influences ECA.

This section includes two main areas of discussion. The first area I found to be important in the analysis of worldviews was how they were developed, reproduced and often go unchallenged. In order to uncover these processes I examined the similarities in viewpoints expressed by external actors. The second area of worldviews I found to be important was the view of the 'self and 'other', namely the views Jordanians had of themselves and the opinions and stereotypes Jordanians held about the Circassians and the Dom.

The Development of Worldviews

40/47 external interviewees were Jordanian citizens and held views about the Circassian and Dom similar to those I gathered during my ethnographic fieldwork in the wider Jordanian society. The seven non-Jordanian nationals interviewed told me that they did not know much about the Circassians and even less about the Dom and that they based their opinions on what they had learned about Jordan or what they had heard from Jordanians. In other words, most of these individuals expressed that their views were based on second hand information rather than direct experience and inter-action.

Many Jordanian informants expressed the opinion that by being Jordanian, one had a clear understanding of the other ethnic minorities in Jordan. In one interview with a government official I noted:

The interviewee says that the government knows all it needs to know about the Circassian and Dom because we (the government) are Jordanians. (External Interview 14: notes 2: 24/09/06- male/ Jordanian/

departmental director).

Similar to the non-Jordanians, most Jordanian nationals I spoke with also indicated that they were often informed about the case study groups by limited social inter-actions and second-hand sources. In many cases, when discussing minorities, informants did not express a clear source of information, instead they said that they knew about the case study groups by being socialised in Jordan.

6/9 interviewees from the government and 13/34 interviewees from the voluntary sector said that there was not a lack of information about ethnic minorities. Only 10 external interviewees, 6 from the voluntary sector and the 4 academics, suggested there was a need for more research in this area.

As discussed earlier, the limited concrete information about the two case study groups was partially due to a lack of overt prioritization by the government, VSOs and local researchers of ethnic minority issues in Jordan. This could be tied to the political climate of Jordan which emphasized the importance of maintaining stability and solidarity in Jordan despite many waves of immigration due to instability in neighbouring countries. 27/43 government and voluntary sector interviewees were not forthcoming in discussing issues related to ethnic minority rights, ethnic group needs, or discrimination. During a VSO interview I found:

The interviewee states that concern with minority issues is not Jordanian, instead it is something that the West has developed and used as a way to cause trouble in the Middle East (External Interview

29: notes1: 9/11/2006: male/Jordanian/ executive director).

The reluctance to discuss ethnic minority issues was evidenced when organisations refused interviews by providing the rationale that ethnic minority issues, in particular the Circassian and Dom, were not relevant to their organisation. As discussed in Chapter 4 in an effort to gain access, I altered my letter of introduction to explain that I was doing research on how VSO and government organisations engaged with citizens. After making this change many more organisations agreed to meet with me.

Even after gaining access, many interviewees were uncommunicative on the issue of ethnic minorities in Jordan, often providing a 'standard answer' that served as a foil to my efforts to probe deeper. When I asked about the situation facing ethnic minorities in Jordan, such as ethnically based discrimination or about the Circassians or Dom, the standard answer that 'all Jordanians are equal' was expressed by 9/9 government and 18/34 voluntary sector interviewees. An example was noted in one interview with a government official:

When asked about ethnic minority rights, the interviewee says that ethnic minority rights are not an issue, all Jordanians are treated the same, all Jordanians have equal rights and equal access as well as equal duties and equal responsibilities (External Interview14: notes 1: 24/09/06: male/Jordanian/ departmental director).

As discussed, when I asked why the government and VSOs did not wish to discuss ethnic minority issues, I was either faced with the 'standard answer' or some cited the security and stability of the state. This practice of providing a 'standard

answer' and limiting discussion of ethnic minority issues indicated a political sensitivity surrounding this subject (Kumaraswamy 2003). While there is a threat of instability that impacted on this policy and guides the ways in which the interviewees discussed ethnic minority issues, the lack of overt official attention paid to these issues also impacted on the ability of ethnic minority groups to raise any ethnically related problems as the official framework does not exist to address or acknowledge them.

View of self and the 'other'

The importance of external actors' views of themselves directly impacted on ethnic minority group inclusion as well as the nature of national identity. In this section I focus on my findings and analysis around the attitudes and beliefs, i.e. stereotypes, held by the external actors about the Circassian and Dom. Stereotypes are common ways in which people attach meanings to particular categories of people and are often based on unconfirmed beliefs stemming from a process of socialisation, and numerous scholars argue that they affect social, political and economic inter-actions (cf. DiMaggio 1997, Harrington and Fine 2006, Hogg and Abrams 1988, Kelly 1993). They are not necessarily negative nor are they necessarily false. The view of 'the other' in Jordan can be characterised as stereotypes.

I gathered data about the attitudes and beliefs external actors held about the two case study groups. During my research I discovered a fairly standard set of

stereotypes for each group, and while there are nuances, it can generally be said that the Circassians are viewed positively by external actors, while the Dom are seen negatively. In this research I found that external actors' views of the Circassians and Dom played an important role in guiding how society, the government and voluntary sector of Jordan engaged with the Circassians and Dom. As noted earlier in this chapter, these views impacted on both inclusion and policies. I also argue that these views impacted on the processes involved in ECA. Finally, I concluded that a lack of critical reflection on these views by the external actors made it difficult for the case study groups to challenge the stereotypes.

Views of Circassians

A positive description of the Circassians was expressed in 34/ 47 external interviews. Foreign interviewees shared these attitudes despite admitting having little concrete experience with the Circassians. This was exemplified by an interview with a foreign worker at an international development organisation.

Interviewee states that she has only read about the Circassians in government documents which noted the contributions of the Circassians; hence she assumes they are good people who care about the state (External Interview 23: notes 2: 10/10/06: female/ foreign/ programme officer).

The positive traits my informants associated with the Circassians included citizenship, contributions to the state, loyalty and honour. In addition, most of the informants pointed out the Circassians' importance to the Kingdom in both the past and present. When I asked one VSO interviewee about the Circassians I found:

X says that the Circassians are part of Jordan, they have always been here and they are good people. He adds that he believes the Circassians care about this country. (External Interview 22: notes 2: 8/10/2006: male/ Jordanian/ country director).

In another VSO interview:

Interviewee states that the Circassian are not lazy, that they work hard and are rich. He also says that the Jordanian tribes sometimes use the Circassians as mediators in inter-tribal disputes. (External Interview 6: notes 2: 17/04/2006: female/ Jordanian/ executive director).

Other positive views included the beliefs that Circassians were wealthy, well connected, and highly capable of looking out for their own needs. While this last belief was expressed in a positive light by most, a few viewed it negatively and connected it to the traits of arrogance and elitism.

Table 5.1 Positive Stereotypes of Circassians expressed by Interviewees

TRAIT	Number of Respondents out of 47	% of Respondents
Citizenship	34	72.3
Contributions to the State	35	74.4
Loyalty and honour	32	68.0
Importance to the Kingdom, both past and present	36	76.5
Wealthy and well-connected	30	63.8
Ability and desire to look after their co-ethnics (positive)	20	42.5
Social Inclusion	32	68.0
Civic Inclusion	38	80.8
Viewed as fellow Muslims	33	70.2

Of the 9 interviewees from the government, 4 expressed some negative opinions about the Circassians. In the voluntary sector only 4/34 interviewees held similar negative views, only one non-Jordanian expressed any negative stereo-types. There

were also 2 academics who expressed slightly negative stereotypes. The negative views expressed in these interviews were similar to the negative views I heard from general society during my fieldwork and focused on views of Circassians as arrogant and insular to some degree as well as the beliefs that they are different from Jordanians and possessed anti-Arab attitudes. During one conversation:

The individual says that the Circassians do not care about us (Jordanians), they are only interested in themselves. At University they sit away from everyone else and start fights with Jordanians and Palestinians (Fieldnotes: 14/10/2006 female/ Jordanian/ teacher)

In addition 2/47 interviewees said that they thought the Circassians could be a threat to the stability of Jordan. In a government interview:

X uses a low tone when he tells me that the Circassians are powerful and have ambitions and need to be controlled by the monarchy. He continues and states that they (Circassians) are not part of Jordanian society and hide themselves away and avoid Jordanians because they are arrogant (External Interview 24: 3: 17/10/2006: male/ Jordanian/ research officer).

I found that the limited negative views of the Circassians expressed by external actors, including those who saw them as threatening, had little effect in day to day activities. That said I did find that the Circassians were acutely aware of the negative views. Some Circassians used this awareness as a justification for their own anti-Arab/pro-Circassian attitudes. Although this was a minority opinion, it still interacted with other factors to create an impact on Circassian ECA pursuits (Chapter 6).

Table 5.2 Negative Stereotypes of Circassians expressed by Interviewees

TRAIT	Number of Respondents out of 47	% of Respondents
Arrogant and insular	10	21.2
Different than Jordanians	5	10.6
Anti-Arab	3	6.4
Threat to stability in Jordan	2	4.3
Ability and desire to look after their co-ethnics (negative)	7	14.9

The difference between the government and VSO interviewees' expression of negative views of the Circassians was interesting. Initially I thought this difference could be explained by the fact that there were 3 Circassian (or partly Circassian) individuals among the VSO informants as well as one Chechen and seven foreigners. Of these 11, only one expressed a negative opinion of the Circassians. Even if these actors are removed from the equation, only 3 of the remaining 23 VSO informants had negative views. However, 4 /9 government interviews were negative. The rate of Circassian representation in the upper echelons of the governmental sector is higher than in the voluntary sector, so one could speculate that issues such as jealousy and rivalry could have influenced the governmental interviewees' opinions. In addition the overrepresentation of Circassians in government combined with the possible nearness of them in office space could account for the caution I observed when negative opinions were expressed. The stronger negative comments were issued only if no one else was in the room and were generally preceded by the informant looking around to ensure that no one else was near. Interviewees frequently used lower tones when discussing these negative views.

Views of the Dom

Most of the government and voluntary sector interviewees viewed the Dom negatively. The main trait associated with the Dom was immorality. In addition many interviewees did not feel that the Dom were part of Jordan either civically or socially. One example of these views was expressed in a VSO interview:

The interviewee says that the Dom are not Jordanian, that they are dirty and do not care about anything. He also says that they have no morals and are uncivilized (External Interview 10: notes 3: 13/08/2006: male/ Jordanian/ executive director).

Another example from a trip in a taxi:

The driver says to me that the Dom are like donkeys and are closer to animals than humans (Fieldnotes: 214/12/06: male/ Jordanian/ taxi driver).

These negative views were not only expressed verbally. During my ethnographic fieldwork I often witnessed Dom being told to leave store fronts, cafes, or street corners. In one instance I was eating at a café when I was approached by a young Dom informant (10-12 y.o.). When a café worker saw me talking to him, she rushed over to 'rescue' me from the child. She yelled at the boy to go and he left. She then said quite frankly, *Nawar* are no good (Fieldnotes: 1: 4/03/2006: female/ café worker).

Table 5.3 Negative Stereotypes of the Dom expressed by Interviewees

TRAIT	Number of Respondents out of 47	% of Respondents
View with Disdain	39	82.9
Immoral	35	74.4
No Civic Inclusion	18	38.3
No Social Inclusion	27	57.5
Their culture contributes to their poverty	21	44.6

There were a few respondents who gave less negative views of the Dom. While still not completely positive, there were 10 interviewees who acknowledged that the Dom faced exclusion and discrimination which contributed to their current state of poverty and marginalization. Of these semi-positive interviewees one was Circassian and two were non-Jordanian. The interview with a Circassian who worked in a VSO revealed:

The interviewee notes that the Dom face challenges in that the Jordanians dislike them and mistreat them (External Interview 41: notes 2: 12/12/2006: female/Circassian/ training officer)

Another VSO interviewee noted that:

The Dom cannot get any jobs because no one hires them (External Interview 45: 1: 28/01/2007: male/ Jordanian/ executive director).

The acknowledgement that discrimination hinders the Dom, did not necessarily translate into better treatment. As noted earlier, individuals who expressed a desire

to engage in programmes to serve the Dom were hindered by their organisation's lack of willingness to do so. In addition, this acknowledgement was often limited with the majority still seeing the Dom's behaviours and traditions as solely responsible for the Dom's treatment by the majority.

There were some positive comments I heard about the Dom during my time in Jordan. Most of these comments centred on their abilities as entertainers and the beauty of Dom women. One informant spoke at great length:

X states that the Dom are the best musicians and dancers, and that their women are beautiful. He tells me that this is the reason the Dom women dance at nightclubs (Fieldnotes: 1 26/2/2006).

Another positive characteristic attached to the Dom concerned the freedom of their lifestyle which interviewees interpreted to mean that the Dom were not tied to the strict rules of Jordanian society. This was exemplified in a VSO interview:

The young woman speaks wistfully about the Dom's freedom to travel and never having to work. Although she goes on to condemn these traits of Dom life and explain that they have no morals and that such a life is not for anyone (External Interview 40: notes: 3: 13/12/2006: female/Jordanian/ project coordinator).

This view of the Dom as free was a romanticised view of their lives, which was noted by Al-Said (2006) in her overview of the Dom in Jordan. Although these views, as demonstrated in the example from the VSO worker, were still tied to negative images of the Dom lifestyle. In addition, the romanticised notion actually served to hinder the Dom's access as well, for they were seen as free from society's restraints, and hence not wishing to access the system. The belief in the Dom

women's beauty was also tied to stereotypes, particularly about their sexual promiscuity.

Interviewees' behaviour shifted when discussing the two groups. When discussing the Circassians they were more conscious of their surroundings, but when the Dom were being discussed the interviewees did not seem concerned with who was nearby when they expressed negative views. In addition, other individuals who were present felt comfortable in expressing their negative opinions as well. This could be tied to the lack of presence the Dom had in the government and voluntary sector offices where these interviews took place.

All of the interviewees saw the Dom as different from Jordanians. Even those who said the Dom belonged socially and were positive about them, also said that the Dom were different from the majority of Jordanians. Being different was often used to negatively compare the Dom to the majority Jordanians, i.e. that they were *less civilized* and *less moral*. The recognition of differences did not translate to official recognition as an ethnic group, instead the Dom were negatively portrayed as an uncivilized sector of the population that does not belong in Jordan. This limited the ways in which the Dom could express their ethnicity or make any ethnically based claims. Because of these limits, the Dom had a narrower range of ECA strategies available which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

The negative views expressed by external actors influenced the dearth of programmes addressing the needs of the Dom community. Most of the interviewees expressed no interest in undertaking organisational efforts to engage with the Dom community. The key reason for this, noted by 20/43 government and VSO interviewees, was that the Dom's poverty is a result of their traditions and that the Dom do not want to be helped or to change. Interestingly the Dom expressed the belief that the state would not help them, which I argue highlights the need for better communication and consultation. Many external informants considered the Dom beyond help and 3/43 interviewees actually said that providing aid to the Dom would be a waste of resources because the Dom would just squander them. These comments highlighted how negative opinions influence the inter-action between the government and voluntary sector and the Dom.

Summary

This chapter provided an outline of how certain external factors impacted on ECA for the Circassian and Dom. This research was guided by three research questions and within this chapter I addressed the following two:

- 1) What is the role of external political and social structures in ECA?
- 2) How do external actors' worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

As noted in Chapter 2 many previous scholars have viewed these external political and social structures as independent variables and did not acknowledge their interdependence (e.g. Barany 1998, 2002, Nagata 1981, Okamoto and Wilkes 2008, Olzak and Nagel 1986, Wilkes 2004). I explored more in-depth questions of *how* these factors affected ECA.

I concluded that external political and social structures were not isolated but part of the complex interactive process of ECA. Their impacts were the results of interactions with other factors such as worldviews, internal structures, resources, and context. Two external political and social structures that I found impacted on ECA for the Circassians and Dom were the level of inclusion and the policies and programmes through which the state and VSOs engaged with the two case study groups. The effect of these factors were found to be modified by the worldviews of external and internal actors as well as inter-action with other factors.

In Chapter 2, I noted numerous scholars who examined how worldviews can impact on and are influenced by inter-actions (e.g. Blummer 1969, Dennis and Martin 2005, Harrington and Fine 2006, Hogg and Abrams 1988, Kelly 1993) but found that few had addressed ECA within this framework (e.g. Bram 2003, Crespo *et al* 2002, Nordberg 2006). While I inquired about both the internal and external actors' worldviews, this chapter focused on my findings about the external actors. I concluded that the worldviews of external actors were central in understanding the different factors and their impact on ECA. Not only were worldviews tied to social inter-actions, they were a key element in the creation of policies and programmes (e.g. recognition, targeted programmes, the general treatment of ethnic minority issues and the pursuit of a national identity). These then in turn played a key role in shaping ECA amongst the two case study groups.

This chapter has highlighted some of the conclusions I arrived at through my research and analysis. I found that external social and political structures play a

much more complex role than previous scholars had presented. Through examination of how these different factors impacted on ECA, I was able to dig deeper and understand the key ways that the relationships between these factors shaped the factors themselves and their impact. In addition, I found that the worldviews of external actors were important to understanding the source of the meanings that impacted on inter-actions and policies, and how the view of self and other affected these issues. I concluded from this work that worldviews are of central importance and that inter-actions and interpretations filtered through their worldviews are vital to explaining the relationships that shape ECA.

I found the influence of the external environment on ECA to be great, but I also found the internal environment and the inter-action between the various factors to be as important. Therefore, the next two chapters explore the factors of ECA through the research conducted amongst the Circassians and Dom.

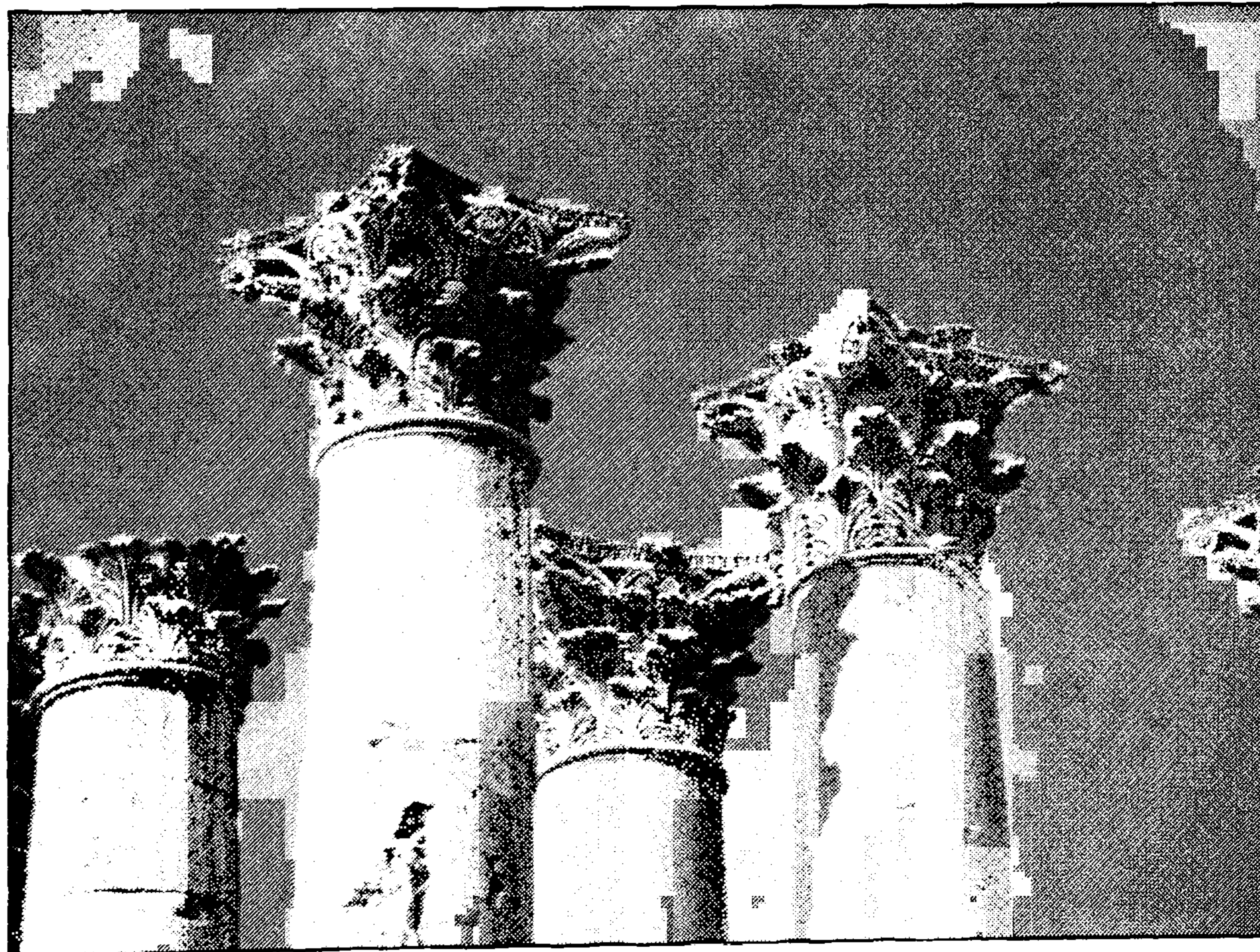


Photo 5.2: Columns Jerash



Photo 6.1: Circassian Dancing Thursday Night Event CCA, Amman

Chapter 6: Analysis: Factors impacting on Circassian ECA

In this chapter I address the findings from my fieldwork among the Circassians as well as the factors that I believe are key to understanding Circassian ECA. My fieldwork included attending 19 Circassian Charity Association (CCA) events which contributed to maintaining and increasing my familiarity among the Circassians, and served to deepen my access. In addition, I carried out 28 interviews with 22 individuals (See Appendix A). My findings were supplemented by the research I carried out with government officials, VSOs and the general population of Jordan. Through analysis of the data from these various sources I concluded that internal factors' effects are interdependent with each other as well as external factors and the worldviews held by Circassian and non-Circassian actors. The impact of internal factors on ECA were found to be shaped by their relationships with each other and with the dynamic and complex process of ECA.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section I present the analysis of general data about the Circassians in Jordan including their concerns, goals and strategies. The second section includes three examples of ECA undertaken by the Circassians to address their concerns. The final section outlines the main internal factors that I found affecting Circassian ECA; cohesion, internal structures of intra-action, and worldviews. Within this section, I discuss how these factors interact with each other as well as provide an example of how the level of inclusion extended to the Circassians by non-Circassian-Jordanians impacts on Circassian ECA via its relationship and inter-action with other factors, particularly internal Circassian factors. The chapter closes with a review of the conclusions concerning Circassian ECA.

An Analytical Overview of the Circassians in Jordan

During my research Circassian informants estimated a population of between 50,000 and 200,000. While no one knows for certain how many Circassians there are in Jordan, they are a numeric minority within the state. They are citizens and officially acknowledged as a separate ethno-linguistic group. While scholars (e.g. Abd-el-Jawad 2006, Kaya 2004, Jaimoukha 2001) have generally written about the high position that the Circassians hold in Jordan, their high levels of inclusion, and the benefits they receive through their relationship with the monarchy, some of the Circassians I spoke with voiced a different view.

As illustrated in Chapter 3 there has been a fair amount of research done on the Circassians in Jordan and some of my findings agree with the earlier work. For example, the history related to me during fieldwork was very similar to that of earlier scholars, including the presence of disagreements over details. One example of these disagreements was highlighted in a discussion with two informants following an event held for visiting dignitaries:

Y and Z tell me about the arguments that ensued following the slide presentation at the recent Circassian event. They say that the older generation felt the presentation did not present the honourable and glorious history of Circassians but instead showed too many refugee pictures. They also tell me that others argued the pictures implied the Circassians arrived in Jordan defeated. The slide presentation, put together by Z, evoked a reaction among the Circassians and according to these two informants reopened an issue around the perception of their past that always causes problems. (Fieldnotes 13/02/2007: pg 2).

Other Circassians I spoke with confirmed that this was indeed a point of contention within the community. The two key areas of disagreement centred on: 1) why and how they left the Caucasus Mountains and 2) why and how they settled in Jordan (specifically Amman).

My research found the Circassians have multiple stories about the reasons for leaving their homeland. These include that the Circassians were forced to leave by the Russians, the Ottomans, or as part of a deal reached between these two powers. In addition, their exodus was framed in differing ways.

One interviewee explains that the Circassians have a sad history which is full of tragedy and betrayal (Circassian Interview 8: notes 1 13/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 60s).

An older informant says that the Circassians were warriors and arrived in Amman as warriors and farmers not refugees (Fieldnotes 11/12/2006: pg 2)

The histories related to me about the arrival of the Circassians in Jordan also varied. The main differences were in the reasons Circassians gave for settling in Jordan and in the ways the Circassians said they worked to establish Amman. Generally the stories presented the Circassians as energetic and entrepreneurial.

Interviewee states that the Circassians settled this untamed land and established a city where only ruins and waterholes existed (Circassian Interview 19: notes 1: 18/01/2007: male/Circassian/ 30s).

Some examples of the reasons I was given for the settling in Amman included:

Informant A says that the Circassians settled in Amman to provide security for the Ottomans. The Circassians, he continues, were told to settle here because they were loyal and brave. The other men at the table express agreement (Fieldnotes 26/11/2006)

During dinner an informant says that the reason the Circassians settled in Amman was because they were on their way to Mecca and just stopped here (Fieldnotes 02/02/2007)

A majority of Circassians focused on the importance of providing security to the Ottoman Empire, as well as to the new settlement they established. However, there were other reasons given by Circassians including, a desire to resettle in new lands, a sense of adventure, freedom, and agriculture. The key was that the Circassians represented themselves as a civilising force, which brought security and development to the region. While there was disagreement about why they settled in

the area, there was no question among the Circassians I spoke with about the contributions they made to Amman and Jordan.

The accounts of settlement varied in the descriptions of the inter-actions between the Circassians and the Bedouin, for example:

The interviewee notes that while there were some skirmishes the settlement of Amman was basically peaceful (Circassian Interview 3: notes 2: 2/11/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s).

Interviewee says that the Bedouin would constantly raid the Circassians to capture Circassian women who were much more beautiful than Bedouin women (Circassian Interview 12: notes 1: 21/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 60s).

Informant C says that the defeat and pacification of the Bedouin by the superior Circassians did not take very long (Fieldnotes 04/01/2007)

Although there were variations in the histories related to me by the Circassians, the majority portrayed their ancestors in a positive light. I found that history was very important to the Circassians in Jordan and played an important role in ECA. History was used as a resource to create a positive view of their ethnicity, which facilitated an increase in group cohesiveness and ethnic solidarity via shared history and pride. History was also used to influence the non-Circassians' perception and encouraged including Circassians by presenting a view of the Circassians as a central part of Jordan's history. Because of the ways the Circassians use history both internally and externally, I argue that history may be seen as a resource ethnic minorities can use to influence factors of inclusion and group cohesion. I would also contend that history is directly related to the worldviews of Circassians and the ethnic pride of this group is often tied to their past.

Circassians' Concerns, Goals and Strategies

In order to understand the factors affecting ECA, I gathered opinions from the Circassians about ECA. I inquired about what concerns and goals they had as individuals and as a group as well as what strategies they undertook to address them. While the Circassians, like all groups, are heterogeneous in nature, there are certain issues that were shared by a majority of the individuals I spoke with. These were the perceived lessening of Circassians' economic, social and political positions in Jordan, the threat of assimilation, and the perceived weakening of group cohesiveness and ethnic solidarity.

Most of the material reviewed in Chapter 3 states that the Circassians are given special privileges and positions, are overrepresented within the higher echelons of the military and government, and are quite economically affluent. These views were expressed by the majority of the non-Circassians that I interviewed as part of this research (see Chapter 5). Interestingly, 16/22 Circassians I interviewed specifically mentioned a **loss** of political and economic resources. I found this portrayal of loss was not an absolute measure nor was it in relationship to the average Jordanian citizen. Instead, the Circassians perceived their loss of economic and political position in relationship to the historical accounts of their past which included descriptions of Circassians as wealthy, landed and well-rewarded for their service to the monarchy. The perception of changing status impacted on their lives and was discussed by Circassians of all generations as a central concern of the ethnic group. In order to reverse this trend many proposed they engage in ECA.

The Circassians spoke about assimilation into Jordanian society with great trepidation and expressed sadness at the loss of their strong ethnic identification, traditions, language and uniqueness among Jordanians. Their difference and cultural markers were displayed with pride by most of the Circassians I spoke with. There was concern expressed by many Circassians over the maintenance of these markers and what many interviewees referred to as a 'melting' into Jordanian society. All Circassian interviewees expressed concern over the issues of losing their language, traditions, and difference from Jordanians. Many Circassians considered the rate of assimilation, increased by higher rates of interethnic marriages and the loss of ethnic enclaves, to have led many Circassian youth to be blind to the importance of maintaining their language. This fear was not unfounded:

The young man tells me that he does not see the need to speak Circassian. He says that the elders always talk about how it is so important, but they also say that being Circassian is more than speaking the language. He also points out that because he lives in Jordan, even though he is a Circassian, there is not any need to speak Circassian (Fieldnotes 26/11/2006)

13/22 Circassian interviewees expressed a sense of concern over what they perceived as a weakening of group cohesion and ethnic solidarity. They noted that Circassians were becoming more independent from the ethnic group and attaching less importance to their unique ethnic identification, which they connected to the process of assimilation. Another reason mentioned was the spatial dispersal of the Circassians away from the ethnic enclaves. Key resources available to Circassians to counter the perceived loss of group cohesion were the Circassian associations and school, Circassian history and Circassian language.

The Circassians worked together to address their needs and goals, to counter threats, to create a sense of stability, develop stronger bonding ties and to reaffirm their solid ethnic group boundaries. The Circassians responded to the threats they perceived by strengthening their group cohesion and seeking security among their co-ethnics. The interviewees were open about their belief that in order to stem their perceived loss of position, power, wealth, language and tradition and to encourage stronger ties to their ethnic identification, they must work together and create situations that they, as a group, could benefit from. They focused heavily on group building and developing practical programmes aimed at maintaining traditions (e.g. dance and language classes). Each of these strategic decisions reflected the dynamic complex inter-action of factors affecting ECA.

Examples of Circassian ECA

Below I analyse three examples of Circassian ECA which I observed and analysed in my research. The Circassians undertook these activities in order to address the concerns outlined above. In the presentation of each example, I discuss factors that affected the particular case of ECA. It is important to reiterate that this research does not focus only on the riots and revolutions model of ECA commonly used in previous literature and the examples of ECA below represent collective and cooperative activities undertaken by actors to accomplish a shared goal. These examples are ECA in that they are undertaken by members of an ethnic group and they rely on their ethnic identity as both a resource and as a means of framing the action, as well as the impetus' for action. They represent the form of ECA proposed

by this thesis and detailed in Chapter 2. Following these examples I provide a more detailed look at the factors and the ways which they interact.

Language Maintenance

A majority of Circassians felt that their ethnic identity was under siege due to an increasing rate of assimilation. The Circassians possessed resources and faced certain obstacles in combating this threat. These resources and obstacles impacted on their strategic choices. One area that was important was the Circassian language. Many Circassians stated that while being Circassian was more than speaking the language, their language was a key marker of their ethnicity and important to their sense of separateness, ethnic pride and cohesion.

Most Circassian informants felt that a lax attitude in recent times to teaching, learning and using the Circassian language had been a major factor in its decline. They often said that parents did not speak the language at home, therefore the children did not develop a basic understanding. In addition, many Circassians expressed that their language may be lost through assimilation, hence they must work to maintain its use. Because of this stated concern the majority of Circassians reacted by encouraging a more proactive attitude towards the language and making Circassian language proficiency a point of pride and identity. The pursuit of this goal not only addressed language use, but also affected group cohesion, ethnic solidarity and the Circassians' feelings regarding assimilation and inclusion.

The Circassians undertook two major strategies to achieve the collective goal of maintaining their language. First, they established the Prince Hamza School. While this school was not solely for Circassians, the majority of the students were Circassian. I was often told that the tuition of the school was expensive with a number of Circassians telling me that it was beyond their economic reach.

X says he could not send his children until after he was given the rank and salary of general (Circassian Interview 25: 19/02/2007: male/Circassian/ 60s).

The school offered courses in Circassian language, which some Circassians acknowledged were helpful in maintaining their language. However, there were those who claimed the curriculum did not push students in this subject and failed to provide the needed support for language preservation (cf. Rannut 2007).

There was also a language course offered at the Circassian Charity Association (CCA) setup partially as the result of displeasure with the school's efforts. This provided a variety of learners the opportunity to practice their Circassian language skills. These courses were attended by a wide range of learners from 10 to 65 years of age. The attendees were encouraged to practice outside of class with their parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, or each other.

A majority of Circassians stated that they thought the efforts to maintain their language had been somewhat successful and were preventing, or at least slowing, the disappearance of their language. In spite of this positive feeling, some said that

in ten or twenty years the language may be used only symbolically or worse still disappear completely.

The pursuit of language maintenance was affected by numerous factors, all of which influenced each other. The Circassians worldviews impacted on the ECA to maintain their language. Their positive perception of themselves provided a strong incentive to members to preserve the Circassian language. In addition, the commonly held negative views of Arab-Jordanians by Circassians encouraged the Circassians to maintain this marker that set them apart from the majority.

The interviewee says that the Circassians are becoming more like Jordanians, but if they maintain their language they will always be different (Circassian Interview 8: notes 2: 13/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 60s).

Some Circassians saw this differentiation as detrimental to their economic and political position in Jordan and wished to avoid discrimination by assimilating into the majority society. This was a minority opinion.

I was told by a fluent speaker of Circassian, that his former girlfriend knew Circassian but did not speak it. He said there are other young people like this, who believed that if they spoke Circassian and acted like Circassians then they would not get a good job. (Fieldnotes 4/01/2007)

Another factor was the high level of civic and social inclusion extended to the Circassians by other Jordanians. This had both a positive and negative effect on language maintenance issues. The benefits derived from civic and social inclusion increased material and non-material resources that could then be used in

establishing language programmes as well as the economic security to dedicate time to these pursuits. Additionally, the high level of inclusion gave the Circassians' freedom to openly express their ethnicity. However, numerous individuals argued that this freedom and inclusion served to accelerate the process of assimilation. Many Circassians pointed out that the loss of ethnic neighbourhoods and interethnic marriages were central to the loss of their language and of assimilation.

The interviewee said that the freedom given the Circassians to act as Circassians and to move where they wanted, made them ignore the importance of actively maintaining their identity. He argued that the freedom made them lazy (Circassian Interview 29: notes 1: 3/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 30s).

Some proposed, in varying degrees, a push for closing their ethnic boundaries and re-establishing a sense of separateness from the non-Circassian population in order to preserve language and traditions.

The high levels of ethnic group cohesion amongst the Circassians also helped in language maintenance. The Circassians intra-ethnic ties reinforced their positive view of themselves. In addition the structures of the Circassian associations provided space and opportunities for language practice, learning and negotiation about how to best pursue this goal. This said, the Circassians' perception of a lessening of cohesion and a weakening of intra-ethnic ties was viewed as a threat to language maintenance, and thereby serving as an impetus to pursue using the Circassian language in order to address their lessening cohesion.

Thursday Events

At the time of my fieldwork, the CCA had been holding regular gatherings on Thursday evenings for many years. The goal of these events had been to provide an opportunity for members to socialize with fellow Circassians, to discuss business and issues affecting Circassians, and to speak Circassian. These events represented a chance to reaffirm one's connection with the community and served as a form of group building.

When I ask one of the organisers what was the purpose of them coming together tonight, he tells me that it was to enjoy being Circassian and to express themselves ethnically without worrying about what other Jordanians would think. (Fieldnotes 18/01/2007).

Yet many Circassian informants noted that these events had become stagnant. They said that the Thursday Events were only for older men to gather and play cards. During my fieldwork, the Thursday Events were being changed to be more energetic, fun and educational. It was hoped that this change would attract more young people to the CCA and encourage their connection to their Circassian identity. This goal, along with general group building, was noted by numerous informants as important to combating assimilation and the Circassians' perceived loss of political and economic position.

Implementing changes in these events faced challenges. One potential obstacle to the inclusion of youth was noted by 8/22 interviewees, who pointed out that the Circassians' tradition of *hbaze*, the code of conduct, hindered the involvement of youth in community decisions. The traditional role of youth as silent and compliant, served to exclude the youth until they got older and were allowed to assume a more

active role in community life. One individual in his 60s (CIRC 1) was continually noted as a voice promoting the younger Circassians, but because of internal political issues this individual was poorly positioned to pursue his plans for greater inclusion of the youth. In numerous conversations I found out about his plans as well as the obstacles these plans faced.

CIRC 1 notes that the structure of the organisation and Circassians themselves are the reason they will disappear. He says hbaze is good, but times have changed, they cannot use the old ways anymore but must adapt and move forward. He says the CCA is not agile
(Circassian Interview 20: notes1: 20/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 60s)

X, an organizer of events at CCA, says that if CIRC 1 is not given some control and his plans put into action then the CCA will shut its doors because in fifteen years no one will go there (Circassian Interview 17: notes 1: 11/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

Another obstacle was that the plans for the inclusion of youth were seen as attacking the traditions of the Circassians:

The interviewee tells me that people are attempting to destroy part of being Circassian. He says that the young people have to wait, those are their rules, that the elders speak and the young men listen
(Fieldnotes 11/1/2007)

CIRC 1 explains that there were two factions in the CCA. He says that many people, especially in the older generation did not want to see any changes. The other group, which included younger and older individuals were able to use their influence to push through the changes. He says that because the Circassians have a good association (the CCA) and people can have their voices heard this was able to happen. He says that the problem is now that if the Thursday Events do not work, then it will be harder to make other changes in the future (Fieldnotes 11/12/2006)

Prior to my arrival in Jordan, the initial internal resistance to changes in the Thursday Events had been overcome. The organisers had encouraged involvement of young people by promoting the idea of reclaiming and reenergizing one's ethnic ties and identity through participation in the events. In addition, they informed the parents that the events were a safe place for the youth to come to spend their Thursday evenings.

Towards the end of my fieldwork, disagreements over the events created a rift between those who were pushing for greater youth inclusion and those who wished to maintain more traditional elder-youth relationships. Because of this conflict, the attendance and frequency of the events declined.

The differences of opinion were not about if the youth should be engaged, but how this should be done. The impetus for the reigniting of this debate was a few incidents involving drinking and fighting among the Circassian youth which had occurred at the Thursday Events. These incidents were taken as examples of the ineffectiveness of the new methods. The internal systems of the CCA allowed this conflict to take place without causing undue damage to the community. The internal debates resulted in the youth inclusion orientated organisers being replaced.

When I spoke with the new organiser I found:

X tells me that he does not wish to act like CIRC 1 (the old organiser). He feels that CIRC 1 went too far too fast. He thinks that CIRC 1 was trying to take over the CCA and win the support of the young people. He says that he is not there to be the friend of the young people but to give them a chance to learn and to network. He says that these events

should not be just about dancing, drinking and fighting.(Circassian Interview 28: 25/03/ 2007: male/ Circassian/ 40s).

Despite the internal conflict, the events continued, albeit with a different tone. The events were still focused on group building and encouraging youth involvement in Circassian activities, but this inclusion was aimed at teaching the young people to follow traditions rather than giving them a voice in community life. In addition, the organisers now expressed that the goal of the events should be to facilitate the use of Circassian cohesion in order to work towards reversing the Circassians' perceived loss of political, economic and social position in Jordan.

The Thursday Events were an example of ECA that was used in order to address the concern amongst the Circassians that group cohesion is lessening. As described above this activity was impacted on by numerous issues including cohesion, traditions, worldviews, and mediation and leadership structures of the association. These different factors all contributed either positively or negatively to instituting changes within the Thursday Night Events, but more importantly they interacted with each other, and within a framework of intra-action, to impact on ECA.

Seminars

The strengthening of cohesion and the facilitating of group action to prevent the further loss of economic and political positions were the central goals of the strategic action of holding a seminar series. These seminars were organised by the

CCA and held in their conference rooms. This strategy relied heavily on the Circassians' cohesion, which also benefited from the action.

One organiser of this series tells me that the hope is that the series will provide the attendees with an understanding of the shifting economic patterns in Jordan, to encourage the younger Circassians to take up positions within the private sector and to work together as an ethnic group to protect and promote each others growth. (Fieldnotes 22/12/2006)

The seminars focused on two areas. The first was to address the Circassians' traditional economic concentration in the public sector by encouraging growth in different skill sectors in order to diversify the Circassians' economic activities. The organisers discussed offering training programmes to teach technical skills, tutoring in sciences, maths and soft skills, such as leadership and communication. The second main goal was to encourage Circassian professionals to build a network amongst themselves. This involved mentoring the youth and encouraging the hiring of and working with other Circassians in order to make economic gains as a group as well as individually.

Many Circassians complained that the Jordanian-Jordanians hired relatives and favoured Jordanian ethnic connections over merit when hiring employees (cf. Mohamed and Hamdy 2008). The Circassians said they avoided this practice.

The interviewee tells me that a Circassian would almost rather hire a non-Circassian who may be less qualified than a Circassian who is well qualified because they do not practice nepotism. (Circassian Interview 17: notes 1: 11/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

X says that the Circassians are like a broom for the government, when they (The government) hire their cousins and brothers who cannot do the job correctly, the Circassians are then brought in to clean up the mess made by others doing the job incorrectly. He tells me that once the Circassians have fixed the problem the Arabs will give the job to their cousin again. (Circassian Interview 13: notes 1: 22/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

The seminar series, particularly the goal of using ethnic networks to facilitate greater employment, indicated that the Circassians were adopting a practice they had previously denounced.

X tells me that the Circassians must work within the same system as other Jordanians or they are only hurting themselves (Fieldnotes 21/12/2006)

I asked one of the organisers about the promotion of ethnically based hiring:

X says that they are not telling people to just hire someone because they are Circassian, but to treat shared ethnic identity as a positive criteria for employment. He says that this is the way they can work together in order to protect themselves. (Circassian Interview 10: notes 2: 21/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 50s)

The seminar series which included the pursuit of a network to encouraging the hiring of co-ethnics in order to protect Circassian economic positions and gains, represented methods of working together to address their perceived lessening of economic and political position in Jordanian society (cf. Portes 1987, Wong 2005).

The seminars I observed were well attended. The organisers told me that there were more scheduled for the future as well as additional training projects on hard skills such as mechanics and engineering.

Analysis of Factors of Circassian ECA

- What is the role of intra-actions and internal structures and resources in shaping ECA?
- How do internal worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

In this section of the chapter I address the above research questions and present the key factors found to impact on Circassian ECA. This chapter focuses on factors which stem from the Circassians themselves and their community including group cohesion, internal structures of intra-action, and worldviews. As noted previously, these factors do not exist in a vacuum, instead they are part of the complex interactive processes of ECA. While each is presented separately below, I include discussion of the ways that these impact on and are impacted by other factors and how these relationships affect Circassian ECA. In addition, this section closes with an analysis of how the external factor of inclusion impacts on ECA via relationships with internal factors. This serves as an example of how the factors are not independent of each other, but part of a process, thereby countering some of the proposed explanatory models reviewed in the literature review.

Group Cohesion and Intra-Actions

My research revealed that the Circassians' engagement with ethnic cohesion was complex. Most Circassians expressed pride in their identity and strong ties among co-ethnics. A generally high level of group cohesion provided the Circassians with a resource they could use to pursue their shared goals. Despite these findings, there was a perception held by a number of informants that ethnic cohesion was weakening. Below I examine the ways that I found these two

perceptions of cohesion served as a resource, an impetus to act, and impacted on strategic choices.

The ethnic ties that bind the Circassians together were based on their shared sense of history, values, traditions and goals. The importance of the Circassian ethnicity to the group members was demonstrated by the prioritization of this ethnicity over the civic Jordanian identity. 14/22 Circassian interviewees considered themselves to be Circassian first and Jordanian second. Furthermore 6/22 indicated that they saw themselves as equally Jordanian and Circassian. Only 2/22 regard themselves to be primarily Jordanian.

The ability of the group to serve both the individual and group was a key way that cohesion was found to act as a resource. This tendency shows that cohesion can be used in action thereby resulting in greater cohesion. The Circassians would often discuss the contributions the group, in particular the CCA, made to the shared goals of the Circassians. 13/22 pointed out the value of a central organisation to facilitate debate and discussion around issues and to focus material and non-material resources and reinvest them in ways that serve the entire community.

The CCA does more by taking a little from everyone and making it work together than individuals could do all on their own (Circassian Interview 24: notes 2: 13/02/2007: female/ Circassian/ 50s)

Many informants noted that the Circassian group provided for its own and protected its members which encouraged individuals to turn to the group for the provision of their needs and wants. During a discussion on cohesion I found:

One woman says that the Circassians share each others past and each others future. She continues that the Circassians work together as individuals and act as Circassians to defend our families (Fieldnotes 4/01/2007)

The group's ability to provide for its members and to protect itself from outside threats is one reason that group cohesion can grow (cf. Icduygu *et al* 1999, Jenne 2004, Wilkes 2004). Additionally, Circassians' worldviews and identity, in particular their history, language and traditions, were found to be vital to the maintenance and promotion of group cohesion. I contend that cohesion was found to be important in creating resources to respond to threats. In addition, it increased from intra-action within the framework of internal structures, and building on beliefs and understandings about shared identity.

The perceived importance of cohesion to the Circassians was also demonstrated by those Circassians who believed that their level of cohesion was weakening and that there was a growing sense of individualism. 13/22 Circassian interviewees expressed that increasing the level of cohesion should be a key goal. The belief that cohesion was weakening, coupled with the majority of Circassians pointing out a desire to increase cohesion, not only shows it as something they deem important, but as a factor that can serve as an impetus for action. It is also seen as a goal. Therefore, the ECA undertaken by the Circassians often sought to build cohesion in addition to any other goals. The three examples of ECA included above all relied on a level of cohesion as a resource while at the same time the Circassians were seeking to encourage greater ethnic cohesion and group making.

This was in addition to other goals, such as language maintenance, youth inclusion and making economic gains.

The perception of a lessening level of cohesion amongst the Circassians was tied to a number of different issues. Some of the Circassians noted issues of internal conflict which led to problems for the Circassians around working together.

Interviewee tells me that she feels the Circassians work together in some instances, but that they must overcome arguments in order to accomplish anything constructive (Circassian Interview 15: notes 3: 22/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 20s)

The issues raised around internal disagreements and coordinating actions, spoke directly to the internal structures of the Circassians that deal with intra-action, in particular mediation and negotiation. Thus highlighting the importance of the factor of intra-action as well as internal structures and systems to ECA as well as the impact on other factors. While the Circassians have internal structures and accepted procedures for handling internal discord and debate, I found that these occasionally failed to manage the internal conflicts.

The woman tells me that the Circassians have problems working together because they are proud and do not like to be told what they should do (Fieldnotes 14/12/2006)

The Circassians, according to the interviewee, all see themselves as equals and so when they have different opinions they have troubles making decisions (Circassian Interview 6: 8/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

That said, I generally found that disagreements were handled through accepted means of mediation and resolution. The example of the Thursday events demonstrated how internal conflicts were resolved through the structures of the CCA. Another example of the importance of the CCA's structures involved their leadership elections. The disagreement over how to address the perceived threats was a key issue in these elections.

A small group of Circassians quietly shared with me how they planned to win the next elections. The key grievances expressed by these individuals were the incompetence and lack of long term planning by the current leadership. This subgroup also expressed, a desire to target more programmes towards the Training Seminars and business development goals. This subgroup thought these programmes would serve to build stronger group ties among Circassians as well as provide additional resources to overcome the loss of financial stability. They agreed that all groups perceived the external threats facing the Circassians, but differed in how they should be addressed. Therefore they also perceived an internal threat, and hence were using the structures of the CCA to address the internal threat. (Fieldnotes 25/03/2007)

This quotation highlights how the impact of internal discord can be limited by an organisation or an ethnic group which has internal structures and shared procedures in place to facilitate negotiation, mediation, and intra-action. This is a key foundation of Circassian cohesion and ECA. While there were problems, the Circassians facilitated negotiation and operated their group activities well. My research indicated that this was due to the dedication and involvement of individuals who had strong ties to each other and to the ethnic identification.

This high level of cohesion, along with the internal structure to absorb and facilitate debate and conflict was sufficient to contribute to the ability of the

Circassians to pursue ECA as a way to address their shared goals and overcome perceived threats. The overall impact of group cohesion for the Circassians was a positive one. The perception of a lessening cohesion by many Circassians acted as an impetus and encouraged the Circassians to think about how best to move forward as a group. It also raised awareness of additional issues tied to cohesion, i.e. the rate of assimilation, and how they can be addressed through ECA.

Circassian Actors' Worldviews

The Circassians' worldviews affected the ways they interpreted and inter-acted with their environment. I found that worldviews were important in guiding intra- and inter-actions. In this section, I discuss the Circassians worldviews and focus on three key areas; their view of self, their view of the 'other' (Arab-Jordanians), and lastly their interpretations of their situation. The analysis of my findings leads me to contend that worldviews directly affect the ways that the other factors are viewed and engaged with. In other words, the Circassians' worldviews serve as a means to frame and interpret their world by enabling them to attach meanings to the intra-and inter-actions which guide their strategic choices and behaviours.

The Circassians, like any other ethnic group, are made up of individuals and are internally diverse. When Circassian interviewees were asked, what it meant to be Circassian, they responded with a wide range of answers including adhering to cultural traits and traditions, valuing honesty and loyalty, speaking the Circassian language, and acting honourably. Interviewees also tended to speak of their shared history and common descent. All of the Circassian interviewees viewed their

ethnicity positively and focused on qualities such as honesty, loyalty, honour, strength, intelligence, and being energetic and driven.

X tells me that being Circassian is more than speaking the language (he does not speak the language). He says one has to live like a Circassian, which means you always act with honour (Circassian Interview 7: notes 2: 12/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s).

The interviewee tells me that Adiga means perfect man and that this guides their view of themselves' (Circassian Interview 15: pg 2: 22/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 20s)

Interviewee states that being Circassian is difficult to define; it is not dancing or language (he speaks language fluently). It is in ones heart, one must act Circassian. When asked what that means the interviewee said that one should be honest and loyal and follow the hbaze (the Circassian code of conduct) (Circassian Interview 19: notes 1: 18/01/2007: male/Circassian/ 30s).

The woman said that to her being Circassian means being proud of the long history and traditions of her people (Circassian Interview 27: notes 1: 22/03/2007: female/ Circassian/ 60s)

The Circassians' relationship and adherence to 'hbaze', the Circassian code of conduct, was often used to describe what a Circassian should do and strive to be. This historical connection to their ancestral traditions was often seen as a model of their past and what they should strive to do now. This connection to a Circassian code of ethics was often used to instil pride in their heritage and traditions. In some cases, individuals proudly discussed their relationship to the Biblical figure of Noah and told me that the Circassian language is one of the oldest languages on the planet. Also they often related a sense of historical superiority to their fellow Jordanians

The old man tells me that he studied history and he knows that the Circassians are superior to all others. He says that the Circassians must remember this and make sure everyone else knows (Circassian Interview 22: 2/2/2007: male/ Circassian/ 80s).

This superior view of themselves impacted on their views of others. When asked to describe the majority population in Jordan, interviewees would often begin by defining this group through a comparison to the Circassians. These comparisons were both positive and negative. 4/22 interviewees expressed solely positive comments about the majority Jordanians:

X says that the other Jordanians are like Circassians. Noting that they are Muslims and so everyone gets along (Circassian Interview 2: notes 2: 22/03/2007: female/ Circassian/ 60s)

The woman says that the Jordanians are like Circassians, they believe in hospitality and honour (Fieldnotes 22/12/2006).

However, 7/22 expressed a negative view by pointing out that the Circassians were superior to the Jordanian majority.

The interviewee points out that the Jordanians are not as driven as the Circassians and that they do not live as honourably as Circassians do (Circassian Interview 6: notes 3: 8/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

There were 5/22 interviewees who did not use comparisons and instead just described the majority population in a negative way. It must be noted that these interviewees often used the terms 'Arab' and 'Jordanian' interchangeably. Some examples included:

The young man tells me that all Arabs are thieves and liars, and have no honour (Circassian Interview 16: notes 1: 4/1/2007: male/ Circassian/ 20s).

X tells me that if you go to any event you can see that the Circassians are sitting politely and attentively, but the Arabs are wild, talking and standing. He says that they are like the 'Nawar' which he knows I am studying (Circassian Interview 25: notes 2: 19/02/2007: male/Circassian/ 60s).

12/22 interviewees held negative opinions about the Arab-Jordanians and did not seem particularly interested in shifting these views, while 6/22 expressed both positive and negative views. The younger generations typically expressed stronger negative comments. The youth often spoke about the past and regretted that they would not have the same life as their ancestors had in Jordan. This situation was often blamed on the Arab-Jordanians. I see this as being a response to the Circassians' perceived loss of economic, political and social position in Jordan.

The Circassians' views of themselves and the Arab-Jordanians were found to be important as they impacted on the Circassians' pursuit of ECA as well as the ways the Circassians interpreted and framed inter-actions and other factors. A majority of the Circassians I interviewed (14/22) expressed that they thought Jordanians saw them as honourable, trustworthy and as fellow Jordanians. My research among the non-Circassians supported this belief with most saying they saw the Circassians in a positive light.

X says that the Jordanians think of us as trustworthy and loyal, they come to us to mediate their problems.(Circassian Interview 1: notes 1: 13/04/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s).

During the interview she says that many Jordanians respect the Circassians because of their history (Circassian Interview 4: 4/11/2006: female/ Circassian/ 50s).

Y explains that the Circassians are a key part of Jordanian society and most Jordanians know that (Circassian Interview 29: notes 1: 03/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 30s).

Beyond this general belief in being viewed positively by Jordanians there were two issues relating to how the Circassians believed the Jordanians viewed them. The first was that some Circassian interviewees said that Jordanians have a very limited understanding of what it means to be Circassians. Second, 6/22 Circassian interviewees noted that they felt some Jordanians saw them negatively and discriminated against them.

Many Circassians stated that most Jordanians do not really understand what it means to be Circassian. They argued that often the focus is on the traditional Circassian dancing or language as the definition of Circassian.

The interviewee says that when she tells Jordanians she is Circassian they just look at her blankly and then ask if she knows how to dance (Circassian Interview 14: notes 2: 22/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 20s).

The older man said that the Jordanians teach students nothing about the Circassians in their history books (Fieldnotes 22/12/2006).

X says that at best the Jordanians think of Circassians as weird (Circassian Interview 10: notes 1 21/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 50s).

While a majority seemed to think that the Circassians were viewed positively or perhaps misunderstood, there were a few Circassians who believed that the non-Circassian-Jordanians saw them negatively and/or were losing respect for the Circassians. They said that they felt this way because they had seen shifts in the economic, political and social position of Circassians in Jordan and they had sometimes experienced negative treatment by Jordanians.

Some of the Circassians said that some non-Circassians saw them as being arrogant and isolationist. The Circassians who expressed these opinions normally explained why they felt that the Jordanians were wrong, which can be seen as demonstrating their dedication to and pride in their identity.

The interviewee says that many Jordanians think of the Circassians as arrogant. She says that she thinks they are mistaking pride for arrogance (Circassian Interview 24: notes 2: 13/02/2007: female/ Circassian/ 50s).

Alternatively some were unapologetic.

A young Circassian woman says that many Jordanians view the Circassians as racist, and then says that they are correct, most of the Circassians are racist and do not like the Arabs, an opinion she herself espoused. (Circassian Interview 14: notes 2: 22/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 20s).

Another key impact of worldviews on ECA related to how Circassians expected non-Circassians to treat them and how they reacted when not treated as expected or when faced with the perceived changes in their position in society. According to most of the Circassians interviewed, they received special privileges and treatment

in Jordan because they deserved it. In other words, the Circassians often noted that they expected and generally received positive treatment from non-Circassian-Jordanians, who they felt viewed them in a positive way.

That said, when the Circassians did not receive the respect they felt should be extended to them by non-Circassians, they expressed dismay and used the experiences as evidence that their position in Jordan was declining. Some Circassians I spoke with would occasionally express that they felt that the changing attitudes of the non-Circassian Jordanians towards them was making life more difficult. Some Circassians even viewed the world as discriminatory towards them. Although there were some expressions of direct discrimination against Circassians, the examples I observed did not seem that different from what other Jordanian citizens experienced.

The young man said that he had to wait for three days for his driving licence because the Jordanians do not like Circassians (Filed notes 4/01/2007)

A young university student tells me that she knows people who have not gotten jobs because they are Circassian. (Circassian Interview 14: notes 2: 22/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 20s)

The failure to have their expectations met exacerbated feelings of exclusion for 7/22 Circassian interviewees. However, most Circassians felt included within society. I found that these negative experiences provided examples for the Circassians to use when trying to strengthen group boundaries, increase group

cohesion, and reinvigorate a push for isolation and social distance which many saw as a resource to combat assimilation.

Another area of the research into worldviews was how the Circassians viewed their language and traditions as well as their assimilation into Jordanian society and culture. All of the Circassian interviewees expressed concern over the issues of losing their language, traditions, and their difference from Jordanians.

In response to the question about the future she says that the Circassians are not really Circassians anymore but that they are Jordanians. She tells me that this should be stopped (Circassian Interview 9: notes 1: 18/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ teenager).

Interviewee says that if the Circassians do not do something, in fifteen years the Circassians will be Jordanians and only remember how to dance (Circassian Interview 27: notes1: 22/03/2007: female/ Circassian/ 60s)

The fear of assimilation was mentioned by many Circassians as an impetus for ECA. The majority of the Circassians said that they should take action in order to slow/reverse the process of assimilation into Jordanian society and the accompanying loss of language and tradition. I argue that this perception of assimilation is countered by the reality of their ethnic group cohesion and sense of shared tradition and culture, but agree with the informants that the rate of assimilation is on the rise. I found that because of this impetus for action the Circassians have become more aware of their own ethnicity and have made efforts as individuals and as a group to protect their difference. Assimilation was also challenged by the Circassians' positive opinion of themselves which facilitated pride

in their ethnicity. I argue that the Circassians' shared history and their view of themselves as superior to other groups had a great deal of influence in encouraging members to openly express the Circassian identity. In addition their pride and sense of superiority provided a reason to Circassians for not becoming more like the Jordanians. Despite this, assimilation is a reality for Circassians.

The Circassians' worldviews were found to be central to how the Circassians engaged with each other and the rest of Jordanian society. As discussed above, the views of difference expressed through ideas of superiority, expected treatment and separateness created a feeling of insecurity which prompted ECA and served as resources in pursuing ECA. The Circassians' worldviews impacted on intra- and inter-actions and perceptions of social distance. Additionally, Circassians' negative attitudes of the non-Circassians and their expected treatment from non-Circassians strained relations between Circassians and non-Circassians and acted as grounds for the Circassians to pursue a stronger ethnic community. Below I examine the ways that I found the level of inclusion extended by the non-Circassians to the Circassian community was interpreted and reacted to, which demonstrates the way that internal and external factors are interwoven.

Living with High Levels of Inclusion

In Chapter 5, I discussed that the majority of Jordanians considered the Circassians to be part of Jordan both civically and socially. I also noted in that chapter how issues of inclusion and hyper-inclusion impacted on the lives of the Circassians and their ECA. In this section, I delve deeper into how Circassians'

worldviews impacted on their inter-action with these high levels of inclusion and how this relationship shaped Circassian ECA.

The Circassians viewed inclusion as a resource which contributed to their civic and economic status in Jordan. However, many Circassians also perceived inclusion as problematic because they felt it contributed to the increasing rate of assimilation. Below I review these two interpretations and discuss the strategies that Circassians pursued to deal with inclusion. I will specifically address how balancing these views of inclusion affected ECA.

Most Circassians noted that they are part of Jordan and recognised that they are both civically included and socially accepted. Their high level of inclusion was mentioned time and again as a key resource, particularly in terms of their relationship with the Jordanian government. The benefits noted included the quota in Parliament, over representation in the upper echelons of the government and military and their positions as Royal Guards in the King's court. As presented in Chapter 3, the inclusion of Circassians in the government of Jordan has allowed them a higher level of access to networks of decision makers and enabled them to maintain a secure position within the government. Most government and VSO interviewees noted that the high level of Circassian involvement in government is acceptable. The Circassians often pointed out that they had earned these additional civic rights because of their long service and loyalty to the monarchy.

When asked about the future of the quotas in Parliament and their position as Royal Guards, the older man tells me that these were the rights as Circassians. He says that they had fought in wars and

supported the monarchy for these rights. He notes that the parliamentary quotas are to help protect the Circassians' place in society and the privilege of being the Royal Guards is granted to them because they are seen as the most loyal and least corruptible group in Jordan. (Fieldnotes 8/02/2007).

The Circassians I interviewed agreed that inclusion provided them with access to influence as well as the power to act.

X tells me about the past and that at one time the Circassians controlled over half of the highest and most important offices in the entire government and military (Fieldnotes 21/12/2006)

When discussing the rights of ethnic minority groups in Jordan X tells me that the Circassians are given the freedom to do what they want (Circassian Interview 18: notes 3: 18/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 30s).

Inclusion, especially politically, provided a great number of opportunities, but some Circassians believed that it also created problems and obstacles.

The interviewee says that it is because we can do whatever we want, and that we were not under attack or threat that we have lost our way. He says that the Circassians became lax and started to think of themselves as Jordanians' (Circassian Interview 19: notes 1: 18/01/2007: male/Circassian/ 30s)

Many Circassian interviewees noted that in Jordan the freedoms and special protections they received negatively impacted on the vibrancy of their ethnic identity. This view is supported by other scholars who have pointed out that in neighbouring countries the Circassians were not given the same rights and that these groups have been able to maintain tighter cohesion while in Jordan the Circassians have better maintained areas of cultural life, such as dancing (cf. Abd-

el-Jawad 2006, Bram 2003, Colarusso 1991, Kaya 2004). This sentiment was echoed by many Circassians.

X says that in Turkey they have better associations than we do, they are more cohesive and active, to them Circassian means something more than dancing (Circassian Interview 29: notes1: 03/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 30s).

The Circassians generally noted that inclusion within Jordanian society contributed to the erosion of the Circassian language, traditions, culture and pride. Most of the Circassians expressed that assimilation was the Circassians' major problem and said that they were becoming Arabized/Jordanianized.

While at the CCA Informant Q points out an engagement party that was being held in one of the larger rooms. He notes that it is all women. He says that in his youth, not to long ago he reminds me, the women and men would be together. He says that the women being separate is very Arab.(Circassian Interview 13: notes 3: 22/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

Most Circassians acknowledged the importance of their civic and political connections and believed that the majority of Jordanians saw them as fellow citizens, but most of the interviewees also expressed a desire to find a balance between social distance and civic closeness. I found that the desire to maintain some level of social distance from non-Circassians was often tied to the negative characteristics they attached to the majority population and/or a desire to protect the Circassians' group boundaries. Many Circassians pointed out the loss of their ethnic neighbourhoods and the greater rates of intermarriage as negatively affecting their ethnicity by increasing the rate of assimilation.

When discussing the loss of the Circassians' power in Jordan the interviewee ties it to the influx of newcomers into Circassian neighbourhoods. He says his father told him that in the 60s the Circassians ruled Amman and if you did not speak Circassian you could not operate effectively in the city. (Circassian Interview 13: notes 2: 22/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

The interviewee says that the Circassian neighbourhoods have all but disappeared. He notes that the Circassians did not realize how important the neighbourhoods were until they were gone. He says that the Circassians should work now to reform the neighbourhoods or at least assure that the Circassians are all closely connected socially (Circassian Interview 10: notes 1: 21/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 50s)

On the issue of relationships, 12/22 Circassian interviewees noted that they had mainly Circassian friends. In addition, while no one absolutely ruled out intermarriage, there were 12/22 who expressed a strong preference for marriages to occur between Circassians.

X says that he thinks that his daughter should marry a Circassian. He adds that she is free to choose, but that he would prefer her to marry a Circassian (Circassian Interview 7: notes 1: 12/12/2006: male/ Circassian/ 40s)

The interviewee, whose husband was Arab, says that she faced many problems from her family when she got married, and also when they had children. She notes that she is sad that her children were not given the opportunity to be more involved with the Circassian community (Circassian Interview 8: notes 1: 13/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 60s).

The Circassians noted that inclusion and high levels of inter-actions and intermarriage were the key reasons for assimilation, 8/22 interviewees said that this was to be expected:

X says that while it makes her sad, the Circassians are a very small group and it is natural that they adapt some of the ways of the majority. She notes that this does not mean the Circassians should give up, but that they should not blame the Jordanians for their assimilation
(Circassian Interview 15: notes2: 22/12/2006: female/ Circassian/ 20s)

When discussing the loss of the Circassian language in daily life he says that the reason for this is because we do not use Circassian. He says that the language is only used by old men to gossip. He points out that it is no longer the language of business or politics.(Circassian Interview 18: notes3: 18/01/2007: male/ Circassian/ 30s).

This final point was also noted by the scholar Abd-el-JAwad (2006) when he referred to Circassian as a symbolic rather than an instrumental language.

Since inclusion has potentially positive and negative effects for ECA, it creates a difficult tightrope for the Circassians to walk.

During our discussion about how the Circassians are affected by assimilation the man says to me that the Circassians are faced with a challenge. He states that while they enjoy the freedom to be Circassian in Jordan it is this freedom that makes them become more like Jordanians (Fieldnotes 2/2/2007)

The belief in the benefits of inclusion combined with the perceived benefits of some level of isolation created a situation in which the Circassians had to balance the two in order to reap the maximum reward and achieve their stated goals of maintaining their high economic, social, and political position in Jordanian society while avoiding assimilation and building higher levels of group cohesion and ethnic identity. On the one hand, inclusion was often seen as a strategy to maintain or better their level of political and economic opportunities. On the other hand

Circassians' argued that pursuing stronger bonding ties and shoring up group boundaries made it more likely that the goal of avoiding assimilation and increasing cohesion and solidarity would be achieved.

The man tells me that the Circassians have to make a decision about their future. He says that he thinks that if they fail to choose a direction soon or try and use both, they will lose both their political voice and their identity (Fieldnotes 22/12/2006)

I argue that as inclusion is perceived by the Circassians as both a positive and a negative force, they are faced with the challenges of balancing the opportunities and threats presented by this factor. In choosing collective strategies to pursue some of their stated goals, in particular that of combating assimilation, the Circassians have to negotiate this challenging issue and devise plans to utilize and overcome inclusion. The Circassians' pursuit of ECA is shaped by their understandings of how inclusion impacts on their lives and drives the development of goals and resources. The internal debates over these issues rest within a process of intra-action that is affected by the organisational structures and resources as well as their level of group cohesion. I argue that this is a key example of how ECA is a complex dynamic process that relies on the relationships between internal and external factors.

Summary

The Circassians focused their collective activities on achieving three major goals; the preservation of their heritage and traditions, reversing the loss of social, political and economic positions within Jordanian society, and building greater levels of group cohesion. I found that many of the Circassians shared these goals and

participated to some degree in the ECA aimed at achieving them. Even those who were not directly involved in activities (such as language training or the seminar series) were often associated with one of the Circassian organisations which contributed a great deal of resources (financial, logistical, and structural) to pursuing these goals.

Through my research and analysis I addressed two of the research questions in regards to the Circassians. I argue that the Circassians high levels of group cohesion and internal structural and organisational resources were important in affecting ECA. In addition, I found that the worldviews of the Circassians also impacted on ECA in numerous ways. These internal factors and worldviews interacted with and were reinforced by the external factors set out in chapter 5. The hyper-inclusion of the Circassians into Jordanian society was viewed by the Circassians as both a resource and a cause for their concerns. Importantly, the role of inclusion was constituted and reconstituted through the ongoing dynamic interlocking of internal and external factors. These factors were found to act like the mechanisms of a clock, influencing and affecting each other and together advancing the system. This interactive relationship was what impacted on the process of ECA.

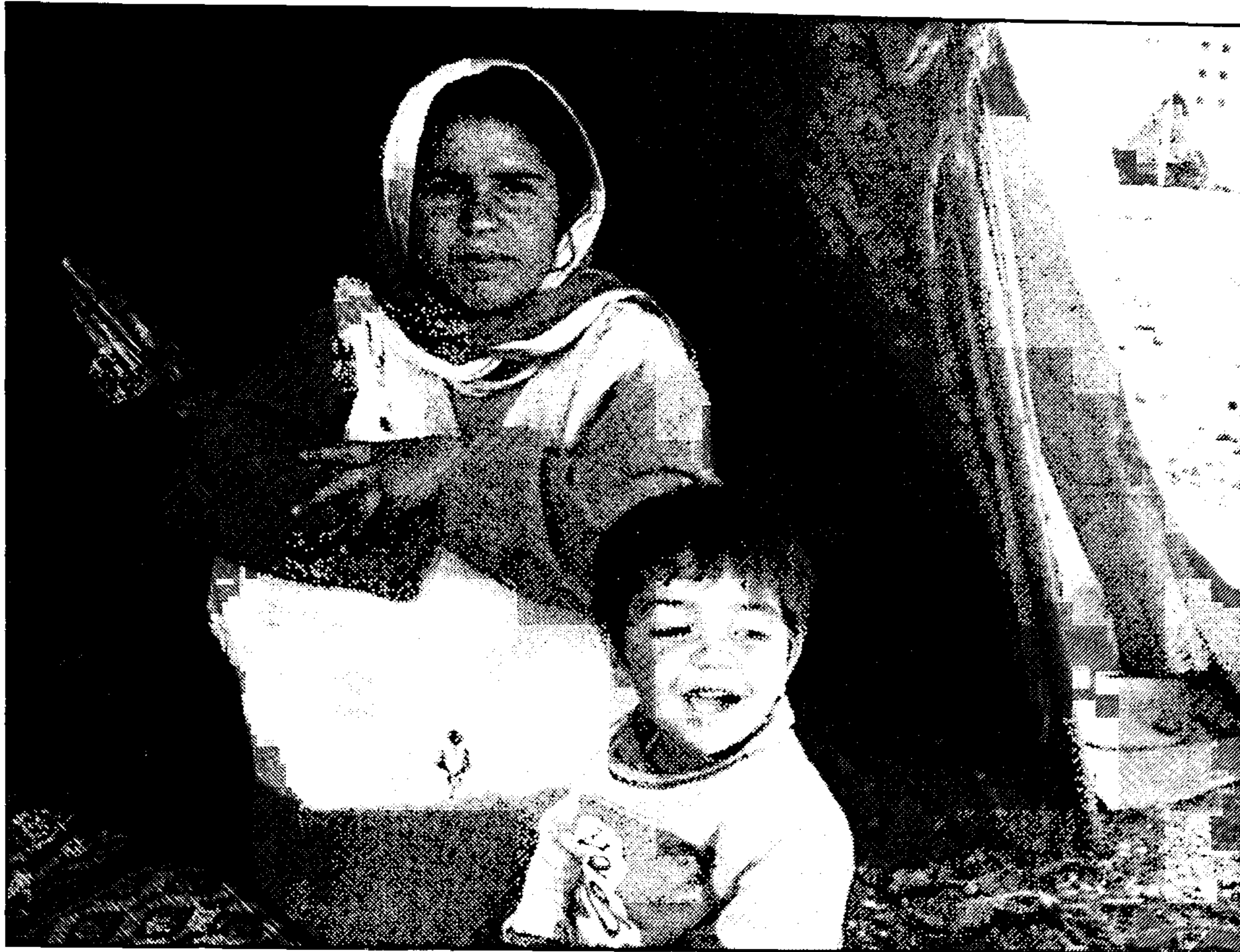


Photo 7.1: Dom woman and child at home in HS

Chapter 7: Analysis: Factors impacting on Dom ECA

In this chapter I present my findings and analysis of data gathered from my fieldwork among the Dom, including the factors influencing Dom ECA. This data came from 31 interviews with 28 individuals as well as a great deal of time spent carrying out participant observation with conversations throughout Amman and within the Dom areas (see Appendix A). I also included the analysis of data from the research I carried out among the government and VSO as well as the general population of Jordan. By analysing the data from these various sources I concluded that internal and external factors' effects are interdependent of each other and the worldviews held by Dom and non-Dom actors. The impact of these factors on ECA was found to be shaped by their relationships with each other and with the dynamic and complex process of ECA.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section I present the analysis of general data about the Dom in Jordan including their concerns, goals and strategies. To illustrate the Dom's concerns and goals, the second section includes three examples of Dom ECA which address their concerns. The final section, presents the main internal factors affecting Dom ECA, cohesion, leadership, and worldviews. This section also presents analysis of the ways in which the Dom engage with the low level of inclusion extended to the Dom by non-Dom-Jordanians. The analysis addresses the importance of inter-action of factors and their relationship to each other and the impact that this relationship has on ECA.

An Analytical Overview of the Dom in Jordan

Dom1 explains that the Dom are like Arabs, but are not like them because the Dom live different lives. He tells me that they have to live the way they do because they are Dom and this is what they do. He continues that the Dom gather metal because they have no money or land, that they stay together because they look after each others' needs and that they are not fully part of Jordan because they are disliked. (Dom Interview 11: notes 2: 27/02/2007: male/ Dom/ older-family leader/ HS).

As discussed in Chapter 3 there is limited research on the Dom in the Middle East. Within this narrow literature there are only two pieces of academic work that specifically address the Dom in Jordan; both of these concentrate on language maintenance (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1998). My research focused ECA amongst the Dom and is not an exhaustive presentation of the many facets of their history, social situation, culture or language. That said, my research did gather some information about these areas and in general my findings supported the works of previous scholars. In this section I provide a brief analysis of my general findings

on the Dom in Jordan and addresses the Dom's expressed concerns, goals and strategies.

During my research, Dom informants estimated the size of the population to be between 30,000 and 150,000. No one knows for certain how many Dom there are in Jordan. While they are not officially acknowledged as a separate ethno-linguistic group, the Dom told me that they are Jordanian citizens. They would show me their identification cards and some said that they served in the military. The position of the Dom as citizens was important as their worldviews and beliefs led them to feel that they should have the equal rights of other citizens but the Dom often expressed that they were not treated as Jordanian citizens. I found that the non-Dom generally viewed the Dom as second class citizens or as non-citizens. The conflicts that arose from these differing worldviews both served as an impetus for Dom ECA as well as creating an obstacle for Dom ECA. This is revisited in greater detail below.

The Dom's social structure, as explained to me by numerous informants, began with the overarching Dom group. The Dom in Jordan noted that they were *Bani Mourra*, and indicated that the *Bani Mourra* in Jordan were made up of 16-32 family groups and each of these were broken up into smaller more immediate family groups. While, these groups were noted, informants pointed out that there were intermarriages and social connections between them.

My informants generally recounted a similar history to that raised in previous research (cf. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Kenrick 2000, Matras 2000, Moawwad 1999, Williams 2005). The Dom in Jordan told me that all Dom are not *Bani Mourra*. Other academics noted that Dom in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and even Sudan (Bochi 2007:85) all refer to their *Bani Mourra* ancestry. The broad use of the *Bani Mourra* story, recounted in chapter 3, is used by Dom in Jordan to give themselves a place and sense of history, they often used this history to speak of the reasons they are in Jordan and are part of the Arab world. In other words, much like the Circassians, the Dom used their history as a resource to contribute to ethnic pride. Many academics noted the Dom's connection to India and while 24/28 Dom interviewees knew of this connection but few saw it as very important. Almost all Dom I spoke with concentrated on their history as the *Bani Mourra* in the Arab world. Examples I noted include:

The young man tells me that the Dom are Bani Mourra, that they know they are from India but that it is not part of them or the history they use. He says that instead they focus on the history from the Middle East and that of the Bani Mourra (Dom Interview 18: notes 2: 18/3/2007: male/ Dom/ shop owner- 30/ W).

An older woman from HS, says that she prefers to use Bani Mourra because that is her tribe and her history, she says that India is not important (Dom Interview 22: notes 1: 26/3/2007: female/ Dom/ 50s/ HS).

This limited connection to their Indian past, led many Dom to focus on an 'Arabised' view of themselves (cf. Matras 2000, Moawwad 1998, Williams 2005) and their shared history played a role in building group identity (cf. Gil-White 1999, Kukuti 2004, Omi and Winant 1994). Both of these are discussed later in this chapter.

Previous research noted that the Dom in Jordan have three distinct patterns of residence; very mobile, partially mobile and settled (e.g. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1999). My research contradicted this as I found the resident patterns to be more fluid and dynamic. My Dom informants explained that they moved from flat to tent or from settled to mobile depending on their needs and the needs of their families. For example:

The interviewee explains that he is currently living in a tent but only because his son is newly married and has a small child and so they are using the family's flat (Dom Interview 9: notes 3: 23/02/2007: male/ Dom/ older/ HS).

This willingness and ability to shift residence based on the needs of their extended family, was important to this research as it demonstrated how group cohesion, trust and bonding ties can facilitate action. I found that the flexibility exhibited was also a resource that contributed to the Dom's ability to survive in their marginalised position in Jordan.

Another aspect of Dom ethnic identity I examined was around labelling. As noted by Marsh (2000) naming can provide a sense of self-identity as well as serve outsiders as a way to categorize, often negatively, a group. Most Dom used the term '*Bani Mourra*' although they would also use the term 'Dom'. In fact one of my first meetings with the Dom in W was with a group of children who described themselves by using the term 'Dom' (Field notes 12/12/2006). As *Bani Mourra* was more of a

family/ tribal label, I choose to use Dom as a more broadly applicable ethnic label, this was accepted by the informants.

While 'Dom' and '*Bani Mourra*' were used by the Dom and acceptable to them, the word '*nawar*' provoked quite a different reaction from the Dom as it is not well liked. I experienced this first hand in one incident:

X, my interpreter, despite being told numerous times to not use this word, referred to the Dom as 'nawar' in the first meeting with a family leader in W. Anger boiled over and the meeting ended with yelling and many dark stares. We were escorted away by one of the younger men. (Field notes 17/2/2006).

This incident caused great insult and although I eventually got access to many of the people present that day I never gained access to this family leader.

As noted, the previous scholarly works on the Dom in Jordan and the neighbouring countries, proved to be quite similar to the basic information I discovered concerning the Dom's position in society and their basic conceptions of their lives. My research has extended this in certain areas, and added empirically and well as theoretically to understanding the Dom in general and Dom ECA in particular. One area of great interest was the concerns emphasised by my Dom informants.

Dom Concerns, Goals and Strategies

To understand ECA it was necessary to understand the Dom's collective concerns and goals. In addition, it was important to gather information about the strategies the Dom utilized to address these as well as how these particular decisions were made. The heterogeneous nature of the ethnic group was shown through the Dom's debates about what caused problems and how they should react. The diversity and the debates highlighted the ways that external and internal factors and worldviews interacted to impact on the processes of ECA. In addition, my research into these processes provided some insights into how the factors were interwoven and how these relationships influenced ECA.

Most respondents raised three concerns. Two of these issues were specifically mentioned as originating outside of the Dom ethnic group, while the last was seen as both internal and external. I contend that the 'external' issues are also internal as their actual impact is filtered through the Dom's understanding and interpretation of these via their own worldviews. The first and most commonly expressed concern of the Dom was poverty which was raised in some degree by all the interviewees. Exclusion and discrimination were the second concern and was commented on by numerous Dom interviewees who expressed concern over the way they are treated by other Jordanians (18/28) and the state (16/28). The third concern mentioned by 10/28 interviewees was a fear that their language, traditions and culture were disappearing. Many Dom claimed that exclusion as well as language and cultural maintenance were seen by group members to be less important than poverty alleviation. I argue that my findings indicated that most Dom, particularly the poorer Dom, focused their energies on immediate survival and livelihood strategies,

particularly related to poverty and material resources, as opposed to addressing discrimination or language maintenance. This impacted on how ECA was pursued.

When I asked the Dom about their strategies to address these concerns, the most common answers concerned poverty. In most instances the first strategy noted was to engage in different economic activities in order to provide for their basic needs. These activities included employment, begging, and gathering and selling metal and bread. While 15/28 Dom interviewees expressed that the scarce resources encouraged them to work together with other Dom, 11/28 told me that they prefer to work as individuals or only with their immediate families. This hierarchy of preference was exemplified by one interviewee:

The interviewee, a street cleaner, says that his goal is to make sure his children and wife are fed, and that they have the things they wanted, and then to care for his sister. Everything else came later (Dom Interview 24: notes 1: 28/3/2007: male/ Dom/ 30s/ W).

Another strategy to address poverty and discrimination was to seek political representation. 14/28 interviewees expressed hope that their leader (DL) would be elected to Parliament or that the Dom would be given a guaranteed seat in Parliament like the Circassians and Christians. They noted that this would provide them a voice in government and enable them to gain respect as a group. This strategic aspiration was derided by 8 Dom interviewees, who pointed out limitations to DL's trustworthiness and competency as well as their belief that the state would never allow a Dom to be in Parliament. These issues are discussed later in this chapter.

While most Dom stated that discrimination was a problem few suggested undertaking strategies that would seek to change the external actors' worldviews through changing their own behaviours or that the Dom's own actions could contribute to ending discrimination. One key informant expressed the less popular approach:

Dom T says that he believes the Dom could gain respect in Jordan, change stereo-types and eliminate discrimination through making economic gains within Jordanian society and becoming educated; all the while maintaining a pride in their heritage (Dom Interview 12: notes 3: 1/3/2007: male/ Dom/ shopkeeper- 30s-W).

Examples of Dom ECA

Below I analyse three examples of Dom ECA from my fieldwork. The Dom engaged in ECA in response to changing situations or to address their concerns with poverty. In each example, I discuss the factors that impacted upon the ECA undertaken. This research does not focus on non-routine ECA commonly used in previous literature. The examples of Dom ECA represent collective and cooperative activities undertaken by Dom which rely on their ethnic identity as both a resource and as a means of framing the action. In addition these are not examples of ethnic group wide ECA, but instead represent examples of how ECA can be undertaken by smaller groups representing sections of the ethnic group population. Hence, these examples represent the form of ECA proposed by this thesis and detailed in Chapter 2. After these examples I turn to a more detailed look at the factors, as well as the ways that they interact.

The Eviction

A major incident during my fieldwork was the eviction of the Dom of HS which provided me with an example of how ECA was used to counter adversity. This example was found to involve the inter-action of many external and internal factors including discrimination, poverty, isolation, leadership, group cohesion, and ethnic solidarity. Below is the excerpt from my fieldnotes:

The taxi pulled closer to HS and I could not see the tents. I asked the driver to stop. I looked across the road and saw nothing. I walked into the local café I often visited.

I asked the cook, where the Dom were. He told me that the police used a bulldozer to destroy the tents and sent them away. The Dom had told me that the police would sometimes come and destroy their camp and make them move because they did not own the land they lived on.

I sat and thought while I had tea. I was upset. In a moment of reflection I pondered why I was upset, as a researcher or a person, and the answer was both. As a researcher I felt I may have lost access to a group with whom I had spent a few months building relationships. As a person I thought about how bad I felt for my informants. To be pushed out of your home. Many of the children had lived there for most of their lives.

I walked over to the area where the encampment had been. It was ruined, small piles of left over refuse lying around, dug out spaces where the tents had been. I saw cups and plates, single shoes and bits of plastic and cloth.

I spotted some of the Dom at the far end of the field. They sat amid their remaining possessions, bundled and ready to move. A tent frame lay mangled over to one side and the children were playing on it.

They told me what had happened. The police came and made them move, the police tore the tents down with bulldozers and beat some of the men who argued with them. Some were arrested. I asked where

everyone else had gone. They told me that they had moved over the hill and pointed towards the ridge that ran along a dirt road that cut through the field.

I was escorted by some of the children to the hill top. Looking down I saw a much smaller area with the Dom setting up their tents. Three or four tents were already erected and people were moving around with their packs of possessions. I was welcomed and waved down.

Most people seemed quite busy and unable to spend time with me. I was not offered tea or a place to sit, which I did not mind but noted as unusual behaviour. I assisted a few families with moving objects and setting up tents. One of the tents was on the ridge at the edge of the depression that the other tents were in. Once it was finished and the carpets were placed within, I was told to sit, while the Dom who lived here continued to move in their possessions. I was given some tea by the older woman of this tent. (Fieldnotes 11/03/2007: pg 1-2)



Photo 7.2: Dom man in HS on Day of Eviction

Following the eviction, heavy rains flooded the new encampment at HS. The Dom dug a small series of trenches through the camp to drain water away from the

closely compacted tents. These had to be cleared regularly since they often overflowed. Tempers were short and individuals were busy. Despite the tents being finished everyone was still sorting their possessions. I was told that they had lost many items.

Over the next few weeks two more tents were erected, one by the leader (Dom1) of one of the family groups that lived in this encampment. Dom1 had moved away to a relative's flat until the land was dryer and his tent constructed. The other new tent was set up by a family that had been at the old campsite, but had moved to another encampment until they felt ready to return.

The limited space of the new area had pushed the Dom's homes to within a few feet of each other and raised tensions. The recently returned Dom1 spent much more time out of his tent than I had observed before. He also talked with a wider audience than he had previously. In addition, there were more large social gatherings held. I often was asked to join in these groups instead of visiting the tents individually.

The eviction and the move impacted negatively on the quality of life of the Dom in HS. I observed tension and worry among group members. I watched them struggle to keep their remaining possessions safe from the rain and water. The collective actions I observed during this time revolved around the Dom working together to help each other rebuild tents as well as trying to maintain their drainage

system. This post-eviction environment also highlighted how Dom1 took on a role in HS that went beyond his family group. I observed the Dom in HS, despite tensions, tightening group bonds through greater inter-action and cooperation.

Despite illegally residing on the land the Dom expressed that they felt the eviction resulted from discrimination. This perception confirmed their expectations of discrimination. The Dom noted that it would affect how they would interact with outsiders.

An older Dom man explains that he feels the police and government do not care about them, that they care more about the sheep they put where the tents were. He continues that since they were made to move and live here, they had to live together and protect each other, without that they would have nothing (Filednotes 25/03/2007).

This and similar statements demonstrated the Dom's fatalistic view of themselves as powerless to prevent such activities and instead focused on their need to be cohesive in the face of this adversity.

The Dom of HS pulled together as a group when faced by external actions that decreased their resources and increased their sense of instability. Despite the tensions and the closer living conditions, Dom1's leadership was a factor in overcoming these obstacles as he facilitated stronger social ties and cooperation which aided in addressing threats to the encampment. Increasing group cohesion represented a form of ECA as well as a resource used in the mediation of potential conflicts between Dom in the encampment.

Dom1 says that he is not that important, it is just that someone must do something, and he is there to help the Dom here to talk about problems and to help them work together to make it better for all of them.(Fieldnotes 21/03/2007)

The eviction and the Dom's reactions to it are examples of how different factors interact to impact on ECA. In this situation, the external environment was filtered through the Dom's worldviews (i.e. expectation of discrimination). The arrest of some of the men led to job loss and declining income, and exacerbated the economic insecurity of the Dom. I observed that this increased the need for begging and more efficient gathering of metal and bread, and more children were involved in these activities than prior to the eviction. The role of group cohesion and leadership cannot be ignored in the above example, nor can the Dom's perception of a low level of inclusion and discrimination. These factors all contributed to the particular strategic choices made by the Dom of HS and how effective these choices were.

The Jamayia

One afternoon as I drank tea in HS with a group of Dom, four men approached. I was ignored by these newcomers which was strange. A conversation ensued. My interpreter quickly told me the conversation was about money and that someone felt left out of the jamayia (a type of Rotating Savings and Credit Association [ROSCA]). The interpreter also explained what he knew of a 'jamaiya' as I was unfamiliar with the term. The conversation escalated but eventually calmed and money exchanged hands and the newcomers left.

I asked what had happened. It was the first time I had seen large money transactions and I got a sense that they were tense for a minute. They explained that they shared money between each other. Each month members of the collective savings scheme will put a certain amount into the collection. One member each month gets this money to use.

I asked if this was a common way to make larger purchases, and they said yes. Some of the Dom belonged to multiple collective saving schemes. For example that afternoon one family; a husband, wife and working aged son, placed money into three collective savings schemes. They noted that it was pay day and hence they had enough money to do this.

I also asked about the ways the money was used. This question had numerous responses. The older Dom told me that they used it to buy large amounts of food, like rice. Others mentioned investing in their family's shared housing. I was told by one Dom, who owned a truck that he would use some of his money to decorate the vehicle. Two of the younger Dom said they would use it to buy clothes or gifts for their wives. In addition, I learned that the money could be used to help pay for weddings or as gifts for new born babies. A middle aged male Dom, explained that occasionally they have to use it to bribe the government, the police or doctors. One female Dom told me that other people in Jordan do the same thing. When I asked non-Dom Jordanians about ROSCAs, they said that poor families do this and that this is not unique to the Dom.

I observed the Dom exchanging money with visitors both familiar and unfamiliar to me. I asked if there were social relations that determined who was in the ROSCA. I was told that it was only with other Dom and they had to trust them. I asked if family mattered in these exchanges, and they said no and reiterated trust as the key criteria. I also asked if the ROSCA benefited social ties. They said that it did make them trust one another more as well as make them more involved in the other members lives.(Fieldnotes 25/03/2007)

This collective action redistributed scarce resources in order to periodically facilitate larger investments or purchases. The impetus for the ROSCA was a livelihood strategy. ROSCA's are a common means used throughout the world, and is not necessarily ECA. In the case of the Dom, they relied on their ethnic connections, and hence the ROSCA was an ethnically based activity. Again as discussed in Chapter 2, this fits the conceptualisation of ECA used in this thesis.

The Dom, in general, expressed that they did not have access to significant sums of cash that could be used for larger purchases, hence they turned to this method of saving/sharing that allowed them to access large sums of capital to supply for their needs or wants. Besides providing material resources the ROSCA produced social benefits. The process was influenced by group cohesion, solidarity and trust and increased these internal organisational resources. This strategy was also affected by the Dom's low level of inclusion in the wider society as well as their worldviews, namely their expectation of discrimination, which contributed to the ROSCA's membership being limited to Dom.

Gathering Metal for Resale

During my fieldwork I observed the Dom undertaking various livelihood strategies to overcome limited economic resources. Some were individualistic and others were group activities such as begging and collecting metal and bread for resale. These strategies were not only aimed at overcoming the effects of poverty but were shaped by the limited economic resources. For example:

The interviewee feels that because the Dom are poor they cannot buy things to sell like other people and that because all they have is their hands. They cannot do anything big (Dom Interview 21: notes 2: 26/03/2007: male/ Dom/ 20s/ HS).

One key form of collective economic action I observed was the process of collecting metal.

Seven boys between 9-12 years old ran screaming across the road. The oldest two carrying bags full of discarded cans. I watch them scamper down a hill towards a group of garbage bins. The smaller boys climb up and in. They are laughing and yelling the entire time. After some effort they begin to sort the garbage, discovering items of metal and old cans to save. I know they will take these back to their encampment for resale when the time comes. (Fieldnotes 18/08/2006).

During my research I often observed young Dom going to gather metal (and other useful items) from garbage bins. The children, normally between 6-15 years old, would share the work and the rewards. Instead of each child looking in every garbage bin they spread out and effectively covered a greater area. They worked as a collective unit, based on mutual need, kinship, friendship, proximity and ethnicity in order to gain items that they would later convert to money or recycle into toys, clothing, furniture or other usable resources. In one discussion with a group of young Dom:

The group tells me that they work together to help their families, but also because it gives them a chance to be with their friends and to be away from their parents. This group also explains that it is difficult to collect metal and the non-Dom would yell at them and treat them bad (Fieldnotes 24/01/2007: near HS).

The non-Dom mentioned scavenging by Dom children as one reason for negative stereotypes. The Dom children mentioned being treated badly. While I did observe derogatory treatment of the collectors, most of the time I saw non-Dom ignoring the Dom.

The process of gathering metal was affected by several factors. Poverty served as the main impetus and impacted on strategic choice. Another was the expectation

of discrimination, the Dom expressed that because they would not receive good pay or jobs, it was necessary that children gather metal. During one interview:

Interviewee points out that while he works he does not get paid much, and that his children can get metal that is worth as much as his salary, hence the children should work (Dom Interview 15: notes 1: 04/03/2007: male/ Dom/ 40s/ HS).

Yet another important factor was group cohesion. Much like the ROSCAs, this economic activity requires trust. Cohesion supplied a means of organisation, facilitated sharing the rewards, controlled free-riders, and limited the major conflicts. The data I gathered did not overtly indicate the use of family ties, as the children formed groups from across the camp and told me that they were not in the same family, although there may have been marriage ties. That said, there is a great deal of literature that indicates, and the Dom extended this same idea to me, that ethnic ties are often viewed as kinship ties (cf. Gil-White 2004, Kukutai 2004). Therefore it could be argued that working relationships among Dom were also kinship ties, especially in light of the Dom more commonly using *Bani Mourra*, a family oriented label, to describe themselves and their co-ethnics.

Despite this cohesion I observed arguments and physical violence erupt between the children on occasion. These conflicts typically revolved around two things. The first was usual issues that may be seen between young people such as teasing and general bullying. The relations between the collectors were occasionally strained, and sometimes they were tense, but I found a sense of normalcy in this sometimes violent behaviour. The typical social relationships that I observed in the encampments involved a great deal of raised voices, arguments and on occasion

violence. The displays did not indicate dislike but demonstrated, through the normally quick peacemaking and displays of friendship which followed, a form of bonding. The youths I spoke with considered aggression to be part of normal interaction and did not attach great significance to these types of casual conflicts which were often quickly forgiven.

After observing a fight I asked why they were fighting, one young Dom explained that they are not really fighting but having fun (Fieldnotes 15/01/2006).

More intense conflicts were often rooted in economics. Scavenging for metal/scrap involved work, but it was also about sharing and enjoyment. The sense of fun disappeared during situations where large non-dividable finds occurred. In these situations, conflicts about who would get something would sometimes arise. After I observed a fight over a large piece of scrap (car bonnet) I noted:

The young Dom boy says that these conflicts are serious but the fight solves the problems (Fieldnotes 20/03/2007).

The children relied on this method of conflict resolution and generally accepted the results. The children told me that after a fight, the winner took what they wanted and it was over. Despite their claims, I observed some discontent with this form of conflict resolution.

The smaller 12 year old Dom says that he would be mad for a week sometimes, cause it meant he did not give as much to his family (Fieldnotes 20/3/2007).

Social relationships impacted on the process of collecting metal. Social cohesion and trust allowed the groups of collectors to form and act, and participants noted that this was an important part of this process. Not only did social cohesion and trust serve as resources but they were also strengthened through the collective activity. The bonds also aided in resolving conflict situations. In the case of the minor issues, there was little disruption to the collective action. In more major conflicts the Dom youths sometimes strained the bonds and in certain cases severed them for some time. To me, this indicated a weakness in their resolution system. Another important result of the processes of collection was explained to me by an older Dom:

He says that when the boys go out to get things, that they are free to make their own decisions and that these are important things they do. He continues that it makes the young boys ready to be men. (Dom Interview 5: notes 3: 15/01/2007: male/ Dom/ 40s/ HS).

Analysis of Factors of Dom ECA

- What is the role of intra-actions and internal structures and resources in shaping ECA?
- How do internal worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

Within this section I address the above research questions and the key factors found to impact on Dom ECA. I focus on internal factors of the Dom community, but these factors are not independent, instead they are part of the complex interactive processes of ECA. Below I present them as separate, and discuss the ways that these interact with other factors as well as how these relationships impact on Dom ECA. The factors discussed below include group cohesion, leadership, and lastly, worldviews. In addition this section includes an analysis of how the external factor of

inclusion influences Dom ECA. This an example of how external and internal factors are an interwoven part of a process, disputing some of the claims made by the proposed static models discussed in the literature review.

Group Cohesion and Leadership

Group Cohesion

I found that the Dom expressed a sense of ethnic solidarity and a belief that they are excluded from the wider society because of their ethnicity, but a very limited sense of ethnic cohesion.

Informants explained that people were most loyal to their family groups, but they were also loyal to the overarching identity of *Bani Mourra* or Dom. During numerous interviews, it was added that they are also loyal Jordanians. The hierarchy of connections to family, ethnic group, then state was found to be important in shaping reactions to needs and perceived threats. Most Dom actions focused on small group/ family connections. This was an example of how individuals tend to begin with individual activity and move to higher levels of group activity only if the lower levels fail (cf. Kelly 1993). Among the Dom I observed competition for resources between co-ethnics and internal conflicts between family groups, which hindered cooperation. I found that 11/28 interviewees were more likely to engage in close family activities than wider ethnic activities and 7/28 Dom pointed out that internal discord and conflicts actually made them shy away from working too closely with other Dom. Conversely 15/28 stated that the Dom work together across family boundaries, although they too noted that immediate family was most important.

Through my analysis I concluded that one reason for this hierarchy could be the limited role the ethnic group played in providing needs. Numerous scholars have discussed the effects of insecurity, poverty, resource provision, and exclusion on the creation of stronger group boundaries (e.g. Bram 2004, Icduygu *et al* 1999, Nordberg 2006, Wheeler 2005). Their conclusions were that if groups addressed these issues then members felt more bound to this particular identity and group cohesion and solidarity increased and boundaries became more concrete. Extending their conclusions, I agree that external threats can lead to greater cohesion, but this would depend on the ability of the group to serve its members. I argue that the weak ethnic group cohesion amongst the Dom is connected to the failure of the ethnic group to provide support to its members despite insecurity and external threats.

The wider Dom ethnic group provided limited resources to address the grievances of the group and hence members looked elsewhere for support. I found that because of the Dom's expectation of discrimination, many Dom felt they could not rely on non-Dom and relied on their immediate and extended family connections to provide for needs. For example:

An older woman, explains to me that the Dom do not and cannot look outside to non-Dom for help, they must take care of their family and neighbours. (Dom Interview 22: notes 2: 26/3/2007: female/ Dom/ 50s/ HS).

In W a young man says that when jobs are needed the Dom do not rely on outside connections, they instead turn to their families (Fieldnotes: 31/3/2007).

Hence they relied on extended families and their Dom neighbours. These smaller groups had tighter bonds based on kinship, trust, and previous experiences of these groups helping one another overcome the effects of poverty and discrimination. While the Dom acknowledged that being Dom was part of their identity few seemed to think that the ethnic group contributed to their survival.

The reliance on family as opposed to wider ethnic group connections was evident when discussing employment.

A group of three cousins tell me that they all work at the same place. They say that this is good because they can look out for each other and get other relatives jobs. They explain that the eldest had gotten his job there first and then helped his cousins to get hired (Dom Interview 26, 27, 28: notes 2,2,1: 31/3/2007: males/ Dom/ 20-30/ W).

There were many examples of family connections providing support and assistance.

An interviewee who sells newspapers states that he received this position from his uncle (Dom Interview 29: notes 2: 31/3/2007: male/ Dom/ 20s/ W).

A later interview with this uncle revealed:

Interviewee says that he prefers to hire his family, that way he knows that if something happens to him, he would be taken care of (Dom Interview 31: notes 1: 31/3/2007: male/ Dom/ 40s/ W).

These examples demonstrated familial employment patterns. While a patron/client style relationship are common amongst other groups in Jordan and elsewhere, this system of relationship building highlighted how the Dom relied on kinship, as opposed to ethnic wide ties to access resources and care for their needs. In the final example, the uncle expressed a concern about the future which he planned to address by investing in the family group which will aid him if necessary. This kinship based system was key for the Dom actors who were investing their resources in this long term strategy for economic security and was an important example of how external threats may be responded to through kinship-based cooperation.

While kinship ties were important, there were also some examples of inter-family cooperation. The connections between these groups were not investigated thoroughly as I had not anticipated they would be a central part of the research. Therefore, while informants told me the family groups were separate, it is possible that they had marriage ties that led them to cooperate. I found that in times of need the Dom worked outside of their immediate family group, possibly relying on marriage ties, ethnicity, friendship, trust, common need or spatial proximity. The examples of Dom ECA presented earlier demonstrate how inter-family relationships may serve in cooperation. Many individuals said trust and friendship determined how groups formed. However, they could have also been connected by marriage. While these examples of collective action move beyond the immediate family, they still do not represent actions that involved the wider Dom ethnic group or addressed the grievances and shared goals of the ethnic group as whole. Instead they are representative of more intimate ECA that served those involved who are linked by

kinship, trust, marriage, and residence, although each of these elements were generally linked to their shared ethnic identity. These therefore tie into my reconceptualisation of ECA.

Trust and the tendency to work together varied among the Dom regardless of settlement patterns or age. A low level of ethnic cohesiveness was exemplified by the tendency to favour smaller groups, an example of micro-cohesion. The decisions to work in groups including members of different family groups, showed some degree of macro-level trust and solidarity. However, it also reflected the failure to engage in wider ethnic actions and the lack of support from the wider ethnic group.

Leadership

In Jordan, each Dom family group had a leader. The Dom as a whole were led by DL, who also led a family group. Informants told me that DL's position was based primarily on his father's fame in Jordan, the connections DL had established and the importance of his family group. DL stated that he had received his position because he had skills and a drive to lead.

Despite Dom informants acknowledging DL as the main leader, many of those who voiced their general support for DL did so with little conviction. In addition 8/28 Dom interviewees openly questioned DL's competence and trustworthiness. I found the lack of full support of DL stemmed from failures in group mediation, group building, external relations and addressing ethnic group goals. I argue that these

were some of the reasons the Dom have not undertaken wider ECA and instead relied on the tighter more trusted bonds of family and immediate community.

During my fieldwork I learned that one responsibility of Dom leaders was to mediate conflicts among the Dom as well as between the Dom and external actors. Mediation was a collectively accepted activity which, if successful, could strengthen bonding ties. In conflicts among the Dom, the various leaders played different roles to resolve these issues. If a conflict was within a single family then the family leader mediated between those involved. If it was between two families, the two family leaders would be consulted. If they could not resolve the issue they would turn to a third party, either another family leader or DL.

One example shared with me during my fieldwork was the mediation of a conflict between two family groups at HS.

The individual tells me about a fight over money that had occurred in HS between two young men from different families. This issue had gone unresolved and so DL came to make peace. The individual says that DL made everyone sit and talk about it and then he made a decision. I ask if it was effective and the individual says that yes, while everyone was not happy everyone accepted the decision and the conflict was put in the past (Fieldnotes: 2: 24/1/2007).

I argue that this is an example of ECA, as the actors involved used collective cooperative activities that relied heavily on the ethnic connections and shared traditions of their group to solve a collectively faced problem. In addition, it demonstrates how leadership contributed to successfully carrying out ECA that

reaffirmed ethnic group membership and demonstrated the effectiveness and support offered through group membership which served as a key element of group cohesion.

8/28 Dom, both young and old, openly expressed that they did not see DL as a good leader and felt that he served his own needs more than the groups, many others expressed some displeasure with DL. These informants related to me that DL was not providing strategic leadership for ECA, mediating internal problems effectively, nor using bridging ties to serve the entire community. It has been noted that ethnic group leaders may often not fully represent the group's members (cf. Garland *et al* 2006, Kelly 2003). In many ways, I found this was the case amongst the Dom. My data revealed many Dom believed DL placed his individual and immediate family's goals above the group's goals. An example of how DL was viewed came from another family's leader:

The individual says to me that I should never trust DL because he will lie to me, he will do anything to help himself, he is only interested in getting rich and getting power (Fieldnotes 17/2/2007).

Following a fight between individuals within DL's family group three Dom, two from DL's family group, told me that the leader failed to reconcile the situation and the family group broke up into two groups. They questioned DL's ability to lead all the Dom families if he could not control his own family.

One example of how DL worked with external connections was his inter-action with a local VSO. I interviewed both the programme director at the VSO in question as well as DL about this event. The vocational training and education VSO reached out to DL to establish a programme to serve the Dom in W. The VSO and the Dom leader arranged a second meeting, in which DL had promised to bring other leaders of the community to discuss the programme. Unfortunately, after the initial meeting DL failed to gather supporters for this programme and did not attend the next scheduled meeting with the VSO's programme coordinators. While there were some failures in follow-up on the part of the VSO, I argue DL could have handled this in a different, more constructive way, which would have served the Dom better.

Interviewee states that it was not a popular idea to engage with the Dom, he says he knew it would fail. The interviewee says that the project did fail, because the leader did not show he cared about participating. He states that the belief that the Dom do not want help and are happy to be poor was confirmed for himself and his staff (External Interview 21: notes 2: 5/10/2006: male/ Jordanian/ director of programmes).

On the other hand in an interview with DL:

He says that the VSO showed a lack of respect and blamed a conflict of schedules for the programme not working. I ask why he did not follow up and he explains that there was no need because they did not want to help the Dom (Dom Interview 3: notes 4: 25/11/2006: male/ Dom/ 40s/ primary leader/ W).

Like the VSO, I faced similar difficulties in engaging with DL. He often cancelled scheduled meetings and did not provide promised introductions. Not only did this affect my access to other Dom leaders but it also hindered my research. His behaviour served me well in the long run as I was forced to find alternative routes of

access, and escape what may have been his attempts to control the information I received. His impact on my research could be seen through the ways his sons would often watch me in W and how people conversing about DL would often change topics while DL's sons were nearby.

I contend that generally DL's leadership impacted on the whole of the community. Because the average Dom did not have the skills or experience to effectively engage with policy makers and negotiate access to programmes and services, they often turned to DL. I found that his position as the main spokesperson and leader of the Dom combined with his limitations in these areas hindered the Dom community from making ethnic claims and taking part in programmes, even when access was offered.

I found leadership and mediation to be important to Dom ECA. Because of the low levels of wide ethnic cohesiveness among the Dom, I argue that leadership became even more important as a resource. For example, my research found that ethnic group wide leadership was limited and thereby hindered this broad level of ECA. That said I found that smaller family groups had better cohesion, and family leaders were often viewed more positively and ECA was evident in these smaller units.

While ethnic wide group cohesiveness was weak, 20/28 interviewees expressed pride in their ethnic identity. In interviews, the Dom found it difficult to define their

ethnic identity beyond the relationships based on common descent. They discussed the Dom as a larger group and very few would deny a sense of commitment to this identity. Despite this sense of commitment, the Dom's low level of ethnic wide cohesion limited ethnic group wide collective action. I contend that the failure of the wider Dom collective to provide for the needs of group members facilitated the tendency to look to other sources of support, normally the smaller extended family units or spatial communities. These obstacles of cohesion could be overcome or mediated through the efforts of a leader, as demonstrated in the activities in HS following the eviction, but the Dom ethnic group as a whole currently lacked this resource.

Dom's Worldviews

The Dom's worldviews affected the ways they interpreted and interacted with their environment. The importance of worldviews in guiding inter-action is a central finding of my research. In this section I discuss my research and analysis of the Dom's worldviews and focus on three key areas; the Dom's view of self, their view of the 'other' (Arab-Jordanians), and the ways they interpret situations. I argue that worldviews impacted on how other factors are viewed and engaged with. In other words the Dom's worldviews were instrumental in framing and interpreting the social, political, economic environment they lived in, allowing them to attach meanings to intra-and inter-actions which influenced their activities.

The Dom I spoke with used a wide range of descriptions of what being Dom meant. These included such things as language, living in tents, living a free life,

generosity, collecting metal and bread, keeping donkeys, dancing and music. I found that they considered themselves a group of people connected by descent and, to a lesser extent, shared values and traditions. A majority of Dom emphasised their similarities to Arab-Jordanians, but a majority of Dom also expressed pride in their ethnic identity. An example of the Doms' connection to their ethnicity was their use of Domari. My findings corroborated earlier works (e.g. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali 2005, Moawwad 1998) which noted the use of Domari is lessening, but only 10/28 interviewees expressed some concern over the language's disappearance. Those actors concerned were generally of the older generation or held a more stable economic position than most Dom. During one interview I noted:

The interviewee says that most Dom do not care about their language because they are too busy surviving and Domari doesn't help them do that (Dom Interview 24: notes 2: 28/03/2007: male/ Dom/ 30s/ W).

The lack of concern expressed about their language led me to conclude that attempts by the Dom to pursue collective action and achieve shared goals would rarely utilize this ethnic marker.

Despite a general expression of ethnic pride there were some individuals who held negative views of their ethnic identity. 5/28 stated that they did not like being Dom and told me that what the non-Dom say about the Dom is true.

The interviewee complains incessantly about his life and the life of the Dom and reminisces about when his father used to own land. He says that he does not like living here (HS), that he does not like living in a tent, that he does not like being poor, that he wants a house, and finally that he does not like living like a nawar(his word). (Dom Interview 4: notes 3: 14/12/2006: male/Dom/ older/ HS).

His use of the word 'nawar' indicated negativity about Dom identity and lifestyle. 8/28 Dom interviewees noted that they believed that most Dom do not do all they can to make their own lives better. These individuals stated that many Dom are lazy and aimless. They stated that the Dom themselves are responsible for their lives and the ways that they are treated by non-Dom.

Negative views by external actors of one's ethnic identity can create a situation that leads members to abandon that identity (cf. Kelly 1993, Nordberg 2006). Among the Dom this was not the case. When I asked about passing or masking one's ethnicity, the informants expressed shock:

Interviewee says that 'One who denies his origin has no origin at all' , He continues that if someone pretends that they are something else then it shows they had no honour or pride and do not deserve to have a family. Those Dom who sit nearby and my Jordanian interpreter all agree (Dom Interview 14: notes 2: 2/3/2007: male/ Dom/ 20s/ HS).

My findings countered the position that devalued ethnic identities may be abandoned, but did not fully support the claims that stigma will encourage greater ethnic cohesion.

The Dom's view of the Arab-Jordanians is the second area of worldviews examined. In 16/28 interviews the Dom said they were not that different from their non-Dom neighbours. They noted that they ate the same food, sang the same songs and were the same religion as the non-Dom.

We pray as they do, we are supposed to be the same (Dom Interview 15: notes 1: 4/3/2007: male/ Dom/ 30s/ HS).

The older woman says that they are just like any other poor people in Jordan, that they are no different (Field notes 27/02/2007).

Many Dom pointed to the history of the *Bani Mourra* to show that they were Arabs. A belief in an Arab origin or a belief in being a Jordanian citizen led the Dom to contend that they should not face discrimination or isolation. They expressed frustration that their fellow citizens would discriminate and look down on them. The Dom's view of the other, provided them with a sense of normalisation, but served as a source of frustration because of the way they were treated or perceived that they were being treated.

I questioned the Dom about how they felt the external actors interacted with them. Their beliefs about this, their expectations for treatment, similar to what Bailey called forecasting (1969), guided their inter-actions and their interpretations of the environment. These views guided the choices of strategies, including seeking employment, accessing services, and using ethnicity to make claims. DL summarized how he thought the non-Dom viewed the Dom.

DL says that the non-Dom think the Dom are criminals and lazy, but, he explains, that the Dom are not, that they are just trying to survive. He continues that the non-Dom treat the Dom like lesser people because of the way the Dom choose to live. (Dom Interview 3: notes 2: 25/11/2006: male/Dom/ 40s/ primary leader/ W).

20/28 Dom interviewees said they felt that the Jordanians saw the Dom in a negative way (39/47 external interviewees expressed negative views of the Dom).

When I asked about these opinions, i.e. 'Why do non-Dom have negative opinions of the Dom?' some would avoid the discussion by changing topics. Most Dom would say the non-Dom are wrong. Others would agree with certain traits but normalize activities, such as begging or scavenging, by saying that the Dom do this to survive or that all poor people in Jordan are like this. In a few cases, the Dom agreed with the negative characterization without offering excuses, expressing dislike of the Dom lifestyle. The differing opinions about why the Dom were viewed negatively, shaped attempts to address this negative view, requiring internal negotiations about which strategies could change the non-Doms' view or otherwise overcome the effects of discrimination.

The ways the Dom thought the non-Dom viewed them shaped how the Dom expected the non-Dom would react to them. 18/28 interviewees stated that they expected to be treated with discrimination. An example of how the expectation of discrimination can shape reactions follows:

The interviewee is a father of four children. His middle daughter is severely disabled. He states that he relies on what income he can gain through work, but that he also has to turn to his extended family for support. He explains that currently he gets nothing from the government. He believes this is because the state does not care about the Dom. (Dom Interview 31: notes 3: 31/03/2007: male/ Dom/ 40s/W).

The belief that the state did not care and did not help the Dom was expressed by numerous other individuals who faced difficult situations. This and the expectation of discrimination served as an impetus to action, and affected which strategies the Dom considered effective.

Despite this sense of external discrimination, 6/28 interviewees denied that the Dom were discriminated against. An example of this difference of opinion occurred during an interview:

After the interviewee states that the Dom are not discriminated against numerous on-lookers dispute this. These individuals cite that they work as cleaners but get paid less than anyone else, including the Egyptians who, they note, are not even Jordanians. The interviewee denies this is because of discrimination but rather explains that it is because the Dom do not work as hard. An argument ensues, and many of the young men leave the interviewee's tent (Dom Interview 4: notes 3: 14/12/2006: male/ Dom/ older/ HS).

This disagreement amongst the Dom highlights the heterogeneity of the group, the ways worldviews influences interpretations of the same event, and lastly the difficulties involved in intra-actions, namely negotiations and conflict. These issues serve to increase the difficulty of engaging in ECA.

Another way in which the Dom's worldview impacted on ECA was in the high level of indifference about undertaking strategies that would address anything beyond survival. Building on the way they expected to be treated by the majority society, including the government and voluntary sector, many Dom expressed that they felt it was not worth the effort to try and engage in actions that would challenge the non-Dom's views of them. These interviewees expressed that they were trying to survive and provide for their basic needs, perhaps give their children a better life, but were not pursuing major changes or attempting to address the root causes of their problems.

Interviewee states that the Dom will not try to accomplish a great deal because they know they are not allowed. He says that even the history

of the Dom tells them that they are cursed. The other Dom in the tent expresses their agreement. Interviewee continues and explains that the Dom know that they can never achieve greatness because they are not accepted or treated fairly. If someone starts to do well they will be pushed back. Again the majority of the tent, including the children voice agreement (Dom Interview 6: notes 3: 15/01/2007: male/ Dom/ 40s/ HS (visitor from flat)).

The Dom's general pessimism was evident when discussing DL's campaign for Parliament. Only 4 interviewees, including DL and DL's son, expressed strong support for DL. A majority of Dom said they would vote for him because at least the government would know about the Dom. Despite that, most said that they did not expect great benefits for themselves or for the Dom community. Two examples of how individuals' expectations of discrimination affected their view of potential representation are presented below:

Interviewee says that because of the way the non-Dom saw the Dom that even if DL made it into Parliament no one would listen to him (Dom Interview 5: notes 2: 15/1/2007: male/ Dom/ 40s/ HS).

N says that he wants the Dom to be represented in Parliament, but actually thinks it would be better if a non-Dom was in Parliament and tried to help them because that person could get more things done (Fieldnotes 5/3/2007/ W).

The Dom's expectation of discrimination also shaped their views on education. The Dom generally believed that no matter what level of education they attained, because of discrimination, they would only be employed in unskilled manual or other low-paid labour. Other reasons given for not attending school or enrolling children included the lack of encouragement and mistreatment by school staff and other children, the cost of education, and lastly the economic contributions of children.

One 9 year old girl explains to me that she was too old to be in school, that she made money begging for her family (Fieldnotes: 20/03/2007: female/ Dom/ youth/ HS).

Visitor A says that the Dom move too much to be in school (Fieldnotes: 21/03/2007: male/ Dom/ 20s/ HS).

When I ask the young boy if he is in school he emphatically says, 'No'. His older brother says that school is a waste and he is too important to send to school (Fieldnotes: 4/3/2007: male/ Dom/ youth and 20s/ HS).

During my research, I did find some informants who valued education for their children. In one instance:

A mother introduces her children and notes with pride that two of her daughters are in school and are very smart. The two girls smile (Fieldnotes: 30/1/2007: female/ Dom/ 30s/ HS).

Other positive examples come from W, where a number of Dom children were enrolled in the local schools. Two parents in particular were very proud of their children and would boast about their performance in school. However, the positive views expressed about education or its value was generally limited to the Dom who lived in W and/or were more economically secure. In W I also found that the closer proximity to non-Dom children who went to school, as well as higher numbers of Dom children in school promoted some change in attitudes of Dom and non-Dom. That said the majority of Dom informants in W still expressed little desire to push their children to attend school.

I found that the Dom expressed a general desire for economic improvement, but few Dom pursued education or training that could contribute to achieving this goal.

While the expectation of discrimination accounts for part of this, DL stated that the Dom's attitudes are to blame for their failure to pursue strategies, like education, that could help the ethnic group.

DL states that the Dom are discriminated against, but many of the Dom do not even try and learn more skills. I ask why. He answers that the Dom are happy with selling newspapers on a corner and making 2-3 JD per day. He continues that they feel like this is survival and that is all they need for today, he states that the Dom do not plan (Dom Interview 3: notes 3: 25/11/2006: male/ Dom/ 40s/ primary leader/ W).

This comment, which was similarly echoed by 7 other Dom interviewees, was similar to the attitudes of the many of the non-Dom (Chapter 5). I would point out that 8/28 Dom interviewees critique of their own group was based on experiences, as opposed to the non-Dom who had limited experiences or inter-actions with the Dom and based their views on hearsay (Chapter 5). The Dom individuals observed their own ethnic group and concluded that the stereo-types held by non-Dom are accurate in many ways, in particular noting the Dom's lack of self-investment and long term strategies, both of which negatively impacted on the Dom's opportunities, resources and strategies of ECA.

The majority of the Dom saw the problems they faced (discrimination, poverty, lack of jobs etc...) as mainly stemming from external/non-Dom sources. Therefore, the Dom were pessimistic and felt they would not be able to break the cycle of poverty, because the non-Dom would not change their attitudes about the Dom. This belief affected strategic choices. I contend that strategic choices are reflective of actors' interpretations of the structures and external environment, recognition of what resources are available and evaluations of potential strategies.

A few Dom, mainly from W, suggested that the Dom should change their behaviours to better fit in with society and perhaps overcome some of the negative stereo-types and the associated discrimination. This strategy has not been taken on by many Dom as the majority see the stereotyping they experience as being unjustified. While it could be useful to some degree that the Dom adopt tactics of change from within to affect change in the external environment, this ignores the Dom's belief in the inevitability of the treatment they will receive. It is important that research recognize the role that the Dom's worldviews when attempting to understand why strategic decisions are made. Another factor in strategic choice must be the acknowledgment of the strength of the stereotypes held about the Dom by non-Dom and that they are not normally based on direct inter-action. I argue that these factors (expectation of discrimination, strength of stereotypes and lack of inter-actions) raise questions about the effectiveness of behavioural change in the Dom's situation.

The Dom's drive to act as a collective to overcome the obstacles they face as a group and to achieve shared goals were hampered by feelings of discrimination, hopelessness, fatalism, pessimism, insecurity and a somewhat devalued self-identity. All of these factors, which most Dom attributed to the way that the non-Dom treated them and the situations they faced because of this, led the Dom to perceive limited opportunities to act and even less chance to succeed either individually or as a group. This limited the range of the strategic choices they would make and guided them towards decisions that sometimes served to reaffirm negative stereotypes and

contributed to the continuing cycle of discrimination, such as begging and scavenging. While these strategies served some goals of individuals and groups, they failed to provide long term solutions for the wider ethnic group.

I found that not all Dom were passive in pursuing the goals of survival. Some had plans for the future and expressed long term strategies for getting out of poverty for themselves and their families. A rare few noted that they hoped to change the situation for all Dom. In all of these cases action was focused on the situation and treatment the Dom faced, the limits they felt restricted them and the potential of successful action. Often these individuals focused on the individual or small group as opposed to ethnic group wide actions to facilitate change.

Living with Low Levels of Inclusion

The discrimination expressed by non-Dom informants and experienced by the Dom drives the process of social exclusion (cf. Willmore 2001). 18/28 Dom interviewees indicated they are socially excluded from networks and relationships with non-Dom. Even when the Dom lived near other groups (often Palestinians) they did not develop close ties that could facilitate greater social inter-actions and the benefits that come from the development of strong bridging ties (cf. Barany 1998, 2000, Seklulic 2004, Putnum 2000, Vermmeersch 2003). During one conversation with a Dom family who lived in an apartment building in a Palestinian area I noted:

The father of the family tells me that they are the only Dom here and they are alone and have no Palestinian friends, because the Palestinians do not like the Dom and look down on them.(Fieldnotes 14/3/2006).

9/28 Dom interviewees noted some social connections with non-Dom, but were referring to simple economic exchanges. In an interview with an academic who researched the Dom:

He points out that he had observed some social relations in his research, but that they were not very deep except for the occasional cross ethnic marriage (External Interview 28: notes 2: 6/11/2006: male/ Jordanian/ professor).

Inter-ethnic marriages were noted as being acceptable by 13/28 Dom interviewees, but these individuals said that they were rare because the Arab-Jordanians would not marry the Dom. 2/28 Dom interviewees said that inter-ethnic marriages occurred regularly. In a conversation with an Arab-Jordanian who was married to a Dom woman:

The man states that it was difficult, more difficult than other marriages, because, he says, they are very different culturally and his family does not treat her well and her family does not like him. (Fieldnotes 22/03/2007).

Friendships were also rare between Dom and non-Dom. No Dom interviewee said that they had close friendships with a non-Dom. While some did note that they worked with non-Dom they did not consider these individuals to be friends. Some of the Dom youth in W told me that they had Arab-Jordanian friends. However, when I attended a karate tournament in which two of these Dom children participated, I observed that they interacted very little with non-Dom children including those who were on their team (Fieldnotes 27/3/2007). Another observation of children failing to

interact with non-Dom was at a Dom and Turkomen encampment on the fringes of Amman.

The encampment is divided into two sides. The children of both groups were running and playing but they never crossed this boundary. Even when I was guided from the Turkoman side to the Dom, the Turkomen stopped at the boundary and sent me into Dom territory. Individuals from both groups told me they do not interact very much. The Turkomen said the Dom were beggars and lazy and they sent their women out to do work, while the Dom pointed out that they thought the Turkomen were arrogant. (Fieldnotes 04/08/2006).

I found that most Dom blamed the non-Dom for the limited inter-actions between them. The Dom noted that the general absence of external ties limited their ability to access resources that are often made available through social networks.

The man, a middle aged visitor to HS, tells me that he feels alone even though he lived in a crowded block of flats. He has to travel to the HS encampment to have social relationships, friendship, advice, and to feel included (Fieldnotes 23/2/2007).

I found that the lack of meaningful inter-action between Dom and non-Dom raised some issues. The first was that without in-depth inter-actions, stereo-types could not be challenged. However, the contact could further entrench these beliefs if the Dom exhibited stereotypical behaviour. The second was that the Dom's sense of isolation impacted on their ability to engage in meaningful ways with external social networks and limited their access to the political networks of Jordan (cf. Kabeer 2006, Willmore 2001). Additionally, the social isolation intensified the Dom's expectations of discrimination.

The Dom also faced spatial isolation and marginalization. During my fieldwork non-Dom told me that the Dom lived in areas no one cared about which prevented the Dom from interfering with their neighbours. Spatial isolation limited the strategic choices available to the Dom (cf. Levinson and Sparkes 2004, Shields 1991, Sigona 2005). The Dom population in W, estimated at 4,000, were surrounded by Palestinian-Jordanians, but:

An older Dom man says that his Palestinian neighbours ignore the Dom and do not treat the Dom like they belong here. He states that the Dom have no friends among the Palestinians and only interact if there is a need or conflict (Fieldnotes 5/3/2007).

In an interview with a Dom shop owner:

Dom T tells me that the Palestinians that live near his shop come in to buy some things, but that they are never that friendly (Dom Interview 12: notes 3: 01/03/2007: male/ Dom/ shop keeper/ 30s/ W).

Other impacts of spatial isolation on the lives of the Dom who resided in less permanent structures on the fringes of society were a lack of access to services such as water, sewage and electricity. Not only did this prove an inconvenience and a health issue, but it also led them to beg for water from their neighbours. On numerous occasions I witnessed women or young children travelling to nearby construction sites to ask for water, and while only rarely did I see them refused, the exchanges were often unfriendly with lots of shouting and raised voices, including calling the Dom 'nawar'.

In addition, as noted in the example of the eviction in HS, the encampments were often on land that was owned by someone else and the Dom lived there

illegally. The non-Dom expressed the view that inhabiting land illegally was evidence that the Dom had no regard for the rules of society. The Dom in these illegal spaces faced the constant threat of being uprooted. This served as a powerful factor in creating a sense of insecurity and impacted on strategic choices. For example, the Dom who squatted often noted that they were unable to improve their living spaces or to make long term plans that involved them staying in one place, such as enrolling in schools.

The Dom's low level of inclusion was a key example of how the external actors' worldviews were enacted in a social and spatial setting. The Doms' responses to this were guided by their own worldviews including their interpretations of the situations and the reasons behind it. In addition, their responses were influenced by other resources and factors (group cohesion, leadership, access to policies and programmes). The low level of inclusion is a clear example of how the relationships and inter-action of factors are what affects ECA not the independent factors themselves.

Summary

As noted in Chapter 2 ECA should be more broadly defined. I found that the Dom in Jordan were much more likely to engage in routine daily forms of collective action involving more immediate kinship groups than the ethnic wide, non-routine political mobilisations proposed by earlier scholars. This chapter outlined my contentions as to why this is the case. In addition, I have noted numerous ways in

which the Dom's ECA is affected by internal factors, such as cohesion, leadership and their worldviews.

As stated, each factor played different roles which not only affected the success or failure of ECA, but also served as the impetus for action, shaped strategic decisions and goal making, and were used as resources. I found that these factors did not operate in a vacuum. They each impacted on ECA, but the extent and role of the impact was shaped by the other external and internal factors present, the internal and external actors involved, the perception and interpretation of these factors, and the particulars of the situation and the context. I have concluded that these factors all interact and it is this complex web of relationships that guides and shapes ECA. It is central to my conclusions to acknowledge the role of worldviews as a hub of the inter-action with the interpretation of factors filtering through actors' worldviews. Among the Dom the key area of worldviews is their expectation of discrimination, which colours much of their behaviour.

Like in the Circassians' ECA, the Dom's efforts are impacted on by external structures and factors as well as their own internal factors and intra-actions. This said, I have concluded that despite the very different positions that each of these groups hold in Jordanian society, ECA, as conceptualized in this thesis, undertaken by the Circassians and the Dom are affected by very similar sets of factors, i.e. external actors worldviews, the government's and VSOs' policies and programmes, and the level of inclusion extended by external actors as well as the internal factors of cohesion, intra-actions, leadership and the case study group's own worldviews.

Again this does not imply that these factors all impact on ECA individually, but are part of a complex process. These conclusions are further detailed in the next and final chapter of this thesis.

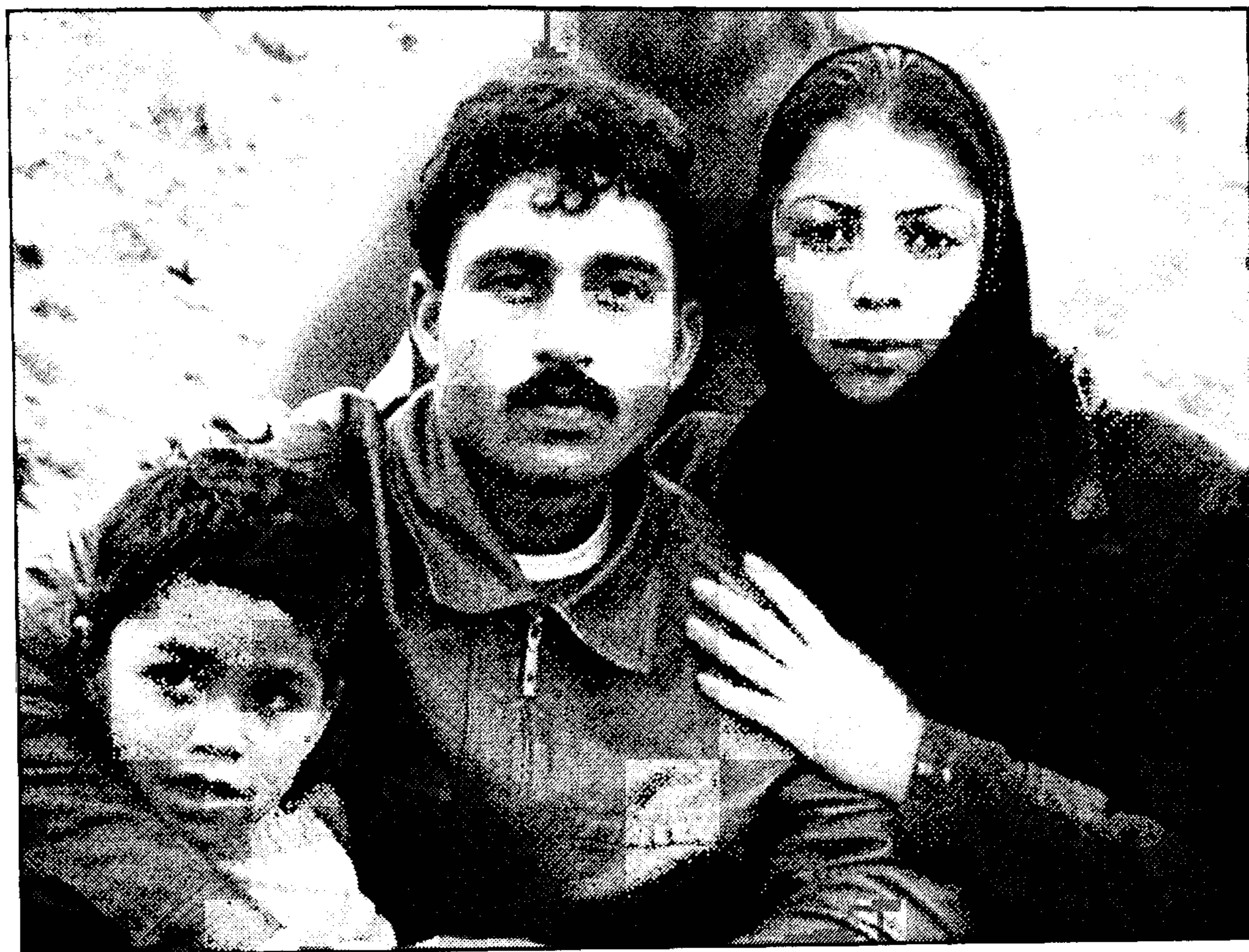


Photo 7.3: Dom family in HS



Photo 8.1: Relaxed City Centre Amman

Chapter 8: Conclusions

In my review of the literature on the topic of ethnic collective action (ECA) I identified five gaps within the scholarship on ECA; a narrow definition of ECA, a failure to investigate ECA as an interactive process, a tendency to focus on external structures, a limited acknowledgement of the importance of internal heterogeneity and intra-actions, and lastly a disregard for the role and importance of actors' worldviews.

These gaps led me to identify three research questions to guide my examination of the factors that impact on the process of ECA. These questions are:

- 1) What is the role of external political and social structures in ECA?
- 2) What is the role of intra-actions and internal structures and resources in shaping ECA?

- 3) How do internal and external actors' worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

These questions delved into the different factors (external, internal and worldviews) previously identified by some other scholars but extended their work. I conclude that the three areas of factors are important and interwoven. My research builds on the work of previous scholars of ECA, by reconceptualising ECA. I contend that acknowledging the interrelated nature of factors contributes to a greater understanding of ECA. In addition the processual approach used in this research uses contributes to the deeper comprehension of the complexities of ECA.

In this chapter I will present the empirical and theoretical contributions of this study. Following this, I will demonstrate how my fieldwork and analysis have provided answers to the research questions which contribute to extending the knowledge and explanations of ECA. Next, I review some of the key limitations that were experienced while carrying out the research and briefly discuss how they impacted on the findings and conclusions. I then address some of the key policy implications that this research can have both in Jordan and elsewhere. Lastly, I review future areas of research that this project has led me to identify.

Original Empirical Contributions

My research has contributed to empirical knowledge in three key areas. Firstly, through my fieldwork I have provided additional knowledge about the two case study groups. The Dom and Circassians have been the subject of very little research. This

general lack of research is compounded by the limited concrete knowledge that was possessed about these two groups by laypeople and policy makers in Jordan. Additionally, according to Jordanian researchers there was little interest in carrying out research on these two case study groups.

Secondly, through my fieldwork I gathered information about the ways in which the Circassians and the Dom are viewed in Jordan and how these views, along with the government's approach to ethnic minority issues in general, have impacted on government and voluntary sector policies and programmes. I argue that there is limited research into these issues in Jordan and the impact they have on policies and programmes. Hence, this research has provided some insights into how Jordan engages with ethnic issues at the government and VSO level. This empirical knowledge can be useful in further research and in the development of future policies and programmes.

Lastly, my research has provided empirical examples of how external and internal factors and worldviews interact and affect ECA. The examples in this thesis provide other researchers with information on the role of worldviews and dynamic inter-action and serve as a model for the application of this approach in future research. This model is connected to the theoretical contributions of this research.

Original Theoretical Contributions

This research has made an effort to address the gaps identified in Chapter 2. The findings of this study contribute to new explanations and understandings of ECA and its complexities, specifically related to the identified gaps around processes, worldviews and intra-action. Firstly, ECA is conceptualized as a dynamic interactive process, which is affected by numerous internal and external factors that contribute to the form the ECA takes. This provides a more in-depth understanding of ECA than previous scholars have undertaken. This new conceptualisation is supported by my research and provides an understanding of ECA as a process of complex relationships and inter-actions. This conceptualisation will enable researchers to provide a more thorough understanding of ECA and avoid the inclination to create one-size fits all models of prediction. This research crafts a picture of ECA that while complex, is more reflective of reality and therefore more applicable for use by governments, VSOs, and ethnic minority actors working on ECA issues. In addition, researchers who seek to more accurately understand the processes of ECA benefit from my approach and conclusions.

My conclusions extend the previous work on ECA, by providing a more in-depth understanding of how processes of ECA are impacted on by the inter-action of internal and external factors and actors' worldviews. My approach proposes that ECA is not something to be studied only as an outcome, but also as a part of an ongoing process. It builds on elements of the theoretical approaches used by scholars such as Boussetta (2002), Brubaker (2002), Wimmer (2008) and others (e.g. Blumer 1969, Dennis and Martin 2005, Holland *et al* 2008). Additionally, it fills the gaps identified in the previous literature that failed to acknowledge the complex

interdependent nature of the factors other scholars had identified. This holistic processual approach conjectures that the relationships between external and internal factors and worldviews are central to understanding ECA.

This research has provided significant support to the claim that worldviews play a core role in ECA. Therefore, I submit that future ECA research should take into consideration the importance of worldviews and how they link with other previously identified factors as well as with the complex dynamic process of ECA. My conclusions also draw attention to the importance of internal group factors and intra-actions to ECA. Through my research internal factors, internal heterogeneity, and intra-actions such as mediation and negotiation are shown to be crucial parts of the process of ECA. I concluded that it is the inter-action and relationship between internal and external factors that need to be part of any investigation of ECA.

In addition, I argue that ethnography provides a methodological framework which allows social scientists to investigate these relationships and gain insights into how the factors interact and impact on ECA.

The Research Questions

Although the research questions have been addressed in Chapters 5,6, and 7, it is useful to review them again here so that the findings can be threaded together to provide a concise overall answer to each of the questions. As I have found that

these factors are all quite interrelated, and each answer will draw heavily on the findings from the other questions.

Question One

What is the role of external political and social structures in ECA?

Earlier researchers have identified that external structures affected collective action as well as ECA. However, as noted in Chapter 2, I questioned the approach of many earlier scholars who viewed these as independent variables and ignored their interactive nature (e.g. Barany 1998, 2002, Olzak and Nagel 1986, Okamoto and Wilkes 2008, Wilkes 2004). Through investigations of external factors in my ethnographic work among the two case study groups in Jordan, I found that external factors did play an important role in affecting ECA for the Circassians and Dom. However, I found that these factors were not independent variables or simple resources as many earlier scholars had implied. Through my analysis I concluded that the external factors' impact on ECA was part of a complex interactive process, in which they were interwoven with internal factors and worldviews and the effects were a result of the constantly evolving relationships between the many factors. That said, among the external factors examined in Jordan, I contend that there were two interrelated factors that had the greatest influence on the processes of ECA amongst both the Circassians and the Dom. These were the level of inclusion extended to both the case study groups and the policies and programmes which the state and VSOs used to engage with society and particularly with the Circassians and Dom. These policies, programmes, and levels of inclusion were influenced by

the social and political structures of Jordan as well as the external actors' worldviews, both of which were found to impact on the ECA process.

I found that the level of social and civic inclusion extended to the ethnic minority in Jordanian society could potentially be an impetus, an obstacle, and a resource for action. Inclusion also influenced the strategic choices available to the case study groups as well as represented a goal of action or a possible threat. These multiple effects were also noted by some earlier scholars, but they relied on description rather than explanation. For example, Baulch *et al* (2002), in their analysis of ethnic minorities in Vietnam, noted that exclusion contributed to some groups' experiences of unequal access to public resources and general economic growth, but did not explain how exclusion came about or the processes that resulted in these effects. Similarly, Wilkes (2004) examined the way that exclusion limited access of First Nation groups in Canada to social, political and economic resources which contributed to protest movements, but she did not explain how the actors went from recognizing exclusion to participating in the ECA of protesting. My research led me to conclude that that the impact of a group's level of inclusion (high or low) on ECA is shaped by the inter-actions and relationships with the other factors; i.e. the ways it is perceived, enacted, reacted to, and fed back upon itself.

As noted in earlier chapters I found that both case study groups were impacted by differing levels of civic and social inclusion extended to them by the state and society of Jordan. These differing impacts affected the groups' pursuits of ECA. Importantly, I found that the external political and social structures involved in the

level of inclusion were not independent variables. I argue that understanding the role and importance of the level of inclusion must include the inter-action and relationships between this and other factors including interpretation, worldviews, resources, group cohesion, political policies and governmental and VSO programmes.

The second key external factor which I found affected the ECA of the two case study groups was governmental and VSO policies and programmes. The earlier literature states external political structures are important and notes the influence of political opportunities and government and VSO actions on ethnicity and ethnic group actions (cf. Dagnino 2005, Fenton 2003, Jenne 2004, Maktabi 2000, Nordberg 2006, Wilkes 2004), but I disagree with the limited way that these political factors have been portrayed. Through my research I found that there were four key areas of external political and VSO activities that affected the two case study groups. These were targeted programmes, recognition, the Jordanian government's (and VSO's) policies on ethnic minority issues, and the pursuit of a national identity by the Jordanian government. Examples of the effects these different areas had were detailed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Through my research I found that external political factors were very important and played a key role in the process of ECA. The policies and programmes carried out by the government and voluntary sector impacted on the Circassians' and Dom's access to public and private goods, levels of civic and social inclusion, rights and recognition as an ethnic group, and the general structure of economic and political

inter-actions. I concluded that the political factors affected and were affected by numerous other factors that interacted with the ways they were conceived, perceived and engaged with by the Circassians and Dom. For example, the Dom, with low levels of inclusion, were not generally the recipients of government or voluntary sector programmes on poverty alleviation or development. Many interviewees stated that the reason for this was that the Dom were not part of Jordan or were poor because they chose to be poor. This demonstrated how the worldviews of the external actors were translated into policy and engagement tactics. The lack of targeted programmes and limited access to universal programmes led the Dom to seek support from their own ethnic group, often through engaging in activities such as begging or scavenging that reaffirmed many of the external actors' stereotypes (Chapter 5). Based on this, and other similar examples from both groups, I argue that the examination of political opportunities, policies and programmes must be undertaken in a way that takes the interdependence and relationships between factors into account if scholars are to gain insights into the process of ECA.

In addressing Question One, external political and social structures were found to play an important and varied role in ECA. Earlier scholars had concluded that these external factors were important, but they had not examined these factors as part of a dynamic interactive process. I contend that external factors do not have a purely deterministic impact on ECA. External factors are vitally important, but are not fully separate from internal factors, intra- and inter-actions, or from the worldviews of external and internal actors. Therefore, my findings address Question One by

concluding that external factors should not be the sole focus of ECA research, but instead be seen as part of a holistic approach.

Question Two

What is the role of intra-actions and internal structures and resources in shaping ECA?

As noted in Chapter 2 there has been limited attention paid to the role of intra-action and internal structures when investigating ECA. Question Two addresses this gap and heeds the call of scholars such as Bousetta (2002) who emphasised the importance of conducting additional research into internal factors, particularly intra-action. My research extends the works of these previous scholars. This study found that internal factors, such as cohesion and leadership result from processes of intra-action. I also argue that internal factors are influenced and affected by external issues such as inter-action and context, as well as by the worldviews of the actors involved.

My research and analysis found that the most influential internal factors were cohesion, leadership, and internal structures of intra-action. Importantly, I found that each of these internal factors, not only the effects they had, were the result of ongoing intra- and inter-actions. These factors represented varied forms of social inter-actions undertaken by members of the case study groups. While they were interrelated they each impacted on ECA in their own way.

Group cohesion involves internal or bonding ties among members and is connected to solidarity. I found that these connections were not static, but that group cohesion was a dynamic intra-action. This finding supported previous scholars who challenged the commonly used static social capital model (cf. Kay 2005, Wong 2005) and pushed for a more fluid view of how cohesion operates. The level of group cohesion within an ethnic group relies on the process of intra-action to build and maintain social ties. In addition, intra-action allows cohesion to actually have an effect, thereby moving beyond an idea to action. This said, the works by Bollen and Hoyle (1990) on perceived cohesion informed the connection of cohesion to worldviews and highlighted that cohesion can exist beyond face to face intra-actions. I argue that cohesion is simultaneously an element of the inter-action between worldviews and social intra-action, and that it is this relationship that guides cohesion's changing nature and potential impacts on ECA.

For example, high cohesion amongst the Circassians both encouraged them to maintain tight bonding ties, thereby closing off relations with the non-Circassians, and was seen as a resource to protect themselves from assimilation, hence allowing them to interact with the mainstream society more safely and effectively. Alternatively, I generally found that low levels of group cohesion amongst the Dom hindered the pursuit of ethnic wide ECA. Additionally, I found among both the Circassians and Dom that cohesion was not only a resource, as proposed by many scholars including Putnam (2000), and Edwards and McCarthy (2004), but it was also seen by actors as a goal of ECA. Ethnic group cohesion does not need to involve the entire ethnic group as ethnic groups are made up of smaller groups and,

as demonstrated by the Dom, the smaller groups' cohesion may outweigh the larger groups' and serve as a resource and goal for a narrower, as opposed to wider, ECA.

I found that leadership was also an important part of understanding ECA. The Dom did not have an effective central organizing force to facilitate group actions. Their central leader occasionally served as a mediator between group members, but this duty seemed to rest primarily with family leaders who had a limited effect on the ethnic group as a whole and thereby lessened the potential for ethnic wide ECA. Based on my research, I argue, as have other scholars (e.g. Barany 1998, Brubaker 2002, Garland *et al* 2006, Putnam 2000), that leadership is important to ethnic groups. I have expanded on their work and argue that leadership, like cohesion, is dynamic rather than static and is enacted via intra- and inter-action, all of which shapes the impact of leadership on ECA

Another important internal factor was the role of intra-action. The importance and role of intra-actions and internal structures was demonstrated in both case studies. The sense of guidance provided through the Circassians' internal structures gave them the ability to cooperate with each other despite internal differences. These internal conflicts did not fracture the ethnic group. Instead, the Circassians were able to effectively channel conflicts into debate and negotiation to pursue actions. I concluded that this was due to their level of commitment to their ethnic group and the structures of leadership which contributed to the style, tone, and processes of debate and intra-action. Such social processes were found to be a key

in the facilitation of cooperation and ECA. Leadership and cohesion were found to be important in guiding intra-action, as were shared worldviews.

I would also note the important influence of the CCA on the ability of the Circassians to undertake action. My research among the Circassians, and the analysis of the power of their ethnic association came to similar conclusions as earlier scholars (i.e. Candappa and Joly 1994, Joly 1987, 1996, 2001, 2004b, Rex 1991, 1994, Rex and Josephides 1987). The CCA was found to serve as a central location of ethnic action for the Circassians. Rex and Josephides (1987) listed four key functions of ethnically based associations. These were 1) addressing social isolation, 2) assisting individuals in addressing personal and material problems, 3) engaging with the majority society in order to deal with conflict and negotiations, and 4) serving to maintain, develop and transfer traditions, language, religion, values, and shared patterns of meaning (Rex and Josephides 1987, cf. Joly 1996, Rex 1991). I found the CCA fulfilled each of these functions with varying success. In addition, I found, as did Gitmez and Wilpert (1987), that associations impact on the processes of ethnic integration while also serving to intensify segregation. In short, I found, as did earlier scholars on ethnic associations, that the CCA played a key role in the Circassians' ethnic traditions and identification and the means and methods of interacting with the mainstream society. In addition, the CCA represented a space in which worldviews, group boundaries, and internal structures were created and recreated and where negotiations over the issues faced by members of the community were held. It can also be said that the Dom, without such a structured association serving to facilitate and organise their collective activities, were at a distinct disadvantage when undertaking ECA. Based on these findings, I argue that

associations, both formal and informal, represent a central element in researching ECA.

The different areas of intra-action were found to be quite important in shaping ECA, which highlights that the gap identified in the previous literature was important and serves to support the call for more research into this area. The empirical evidence is also useful in answering Question Two and to begin to fill the void in ECA research left by years of scholars not giving internal factors and intra-actions sufficient attention. However, my ethnographic research led me to conclude that the impact of internal factors were both affected and effected by internal social intra-actions, as well as inter-actions with other factors, such as worldviews and external factors.

Question Three

How do internal and external actors' worldviews shape the ways that factors impact on the interactive process of ECA?

Within the Literature Review I noted that one key gap in the ECA relevant literature was that little attention had been paid to actors' worldviews and their impact on ECA. Question Three addresses this gap by focusing some attention on this overlooked area. Through my research and analysis I found the worldviews of internal and external actors to be at the centre of understanding how the different factors (e.g. group cohesion, ethnic solidarity, leadership, inclusion, policy and programmes, and assimilation) interact and how these dynamic processes affect

ECA. I conclude that without understanding how worldviews impact on ECA one can only explain a narrow part of ECA. Worldviews were found to be important to categorization and identification, as well as playing a role in guiding behaviours and inter-actions. I contend that worldviews serve as a filter, along with other factors, for the dynamic interactive processes of ECA. Through analysis of the findings on worldviews I addressed the impact of perceptions of self and others as well as the channelling power of worldviews on ECA. Examples of these were discussed in the previous chapters, below I briefly revisit the key points of the analysis.

The views of Circassians and Dom about their ethnic identities served as a resource to build ethnic cohesion, shape shared values, norms, traditions and beliefs, affect the ways in which the groups created boundaries, and, in many ways, guide their own choices of inter- and intra-actions. I also found that the negotiated meanings of ethnic identification and categorisation represented a key way that worldviews interacted and impacted on ECA. I observed the impact of ethnic identity on ECA and other factors on numerous occasions. For example, the Circassians' sense of ethnic self relied on pride and a sense of honour to encourage stronger ethnic identity in order to combat assimilation and maintain their cultural traditions. This pride served as a resource and its increase was often presented by Circassians as a goal of ECA. The Circassians' positive ethnic identity was not some static object, but was dependent on intra-actions, resources, perceptions and interpretations of the external environment, and socio-political inter-action with non-Circassian society. The interwoven nature of these factors extended beyond viewing worldviews as only a set of values or as a resource. In investigating the impact of

worldviews on ECA it was necessary to acknowledge these relationships as affecting ECA.

The Jordanian-Jordanians self-identity also played an important role in the ECA of the two case study groups. The Jordanians-Jordanians relied on a generally comparative means of defining themselves (Nasser 2004). In line with Kelly's work (1993) about identity, I observed that the Jordanian-Jordanians used stereotypes and created strong boundaries that accentuated the differences between themselves and the 'other'. This created a situation where the two case study groups faced difficulties in fully accessing a sense of being Jordanian in any but the civic sense. This self-view of the majority wove into their views of the Circassians and Dom.

The external actors' views directly impacted the ways in which the Circassians and Dom could engage politically, socially and economically with the mainstream society. I found that these views, commonly expressed as realities concerning the two case study groups, were instrumental in guiding actors in the government and VSOs as well as the average Jordanian-Jordanian on the street. In line with the conclusions of Sigona (2005) and Drakakis-Smith (2007) I found that these stereotypes influenced the policies and programmes pursued by Jordanian officials and VSO staff.

Additionally, my analysis revealed that the ways that the ethnic minority groups viewed other Jordanians played a role in ECA. These views affected inter-actions as well as the strategic choices the Circassians and Dom felt were available and desirable. For example, the Dom, despite low levels of inclusion, tended to identify themselves as similar to Jordanian-Jordanians and had a positive or neutral view of their fellow Jordanian citizens. Hence, they were often frustrated by the distance that their fellow citizens put between them. This led the Dom to seek internal assistance as opposed to external solutions.

Another area of worldviews I found to have a major impact on ECA was the ethnic minority groups' expectations and interpretations of events. These framed intra- and inter-actions, impacted on shared norms and values, and guided strategic choices. The central element of the findings was not that the worldviews directly impacted on action, but that they served as a central filter of the interpretative and interactive processes of ECA. The ways the two case study groups believed that they were viewed by external actors, created certain expectations of treatment which impact on ECA. For example the Dom were aware that they were viewed negatively and therefore expected discrimination. This had the key effect of creating a sense of pessimism and fatalism among group members when considering strategic actions. My analysis led me to conclude that the socialized expectations of the Circassians and Dom fed directly into their worldviews and impacted on how they saw and interacted with the world. Their expectations shaped their desire to act, as well as impacted on their perceptions of the cost and potential success of acting.

Each case study groups' members shared norms and values with their co-ethnics which were used as guides of acceptable and desirable actions and was found to be important to understanding the ECA process, particularly strategic choices. This finding matches the arguments of DiMaggio (1997) on 'logic of action' and Holland *et al's* (2008) discussion of 'figured worlds'. The Circassians use of *hbaze* (code of conduct) to guide their behaviour and group intra-actions provide a clear example of this conclusion. Their worldviews, traditions and shared norms guided how they chose to act and behave, not just amongst themselves but with others. In general this meant that Circassians engaged in activities that they viewed as honourable. I found that their sense of what Circassian *hbaze* meant and how it was applied in the dynamic Jordanian setting was shifting via intra- and inter-actions and a dynamic socio-political environment. I argue, as do other scholars (e.g. DiMaggio 1997, Harrington and Fine 2006, Holland *et al* 2008) that worldviews guide and channel action within a framework of opportunity; worldviews do not determine but shape actions. In addition, I conclude that ECA is shaped by the interaction of worldviews with context, group intra-actions, external inter-actions, and social, political and economic structures.

Worldviews were found to play a key role in understanding ECA. The worldviews held by external and internal actors affected the ways that these actors interacted with their environment, co-ethnics and the 'other'. Acknowledging the important role of worldviews is only a first step. My approach also examined the connections between worldviews and other factors, and found that they are interdependent.

Hence, I argue that a holistic approach which includes macro, micro, and meso levels of analysis and acknowledges that the interrelatedness of factors is central to a better understanding of ECA.

Limitations of Research

This research project focused on answering the research questions in order to gain a clearer understanding of ECA, but it was limited in certain ways. First, I must note that this research was not an attempt to provide a predictive model of ECA. Second, despite providing a certain level of empirical knowledge about the case study groups, this was not a comprehensive study of these two groups and was never meant to be one. Third, this project does not purport to use an approach that explains all cases of ECA. Rather, I argue that the holistic processual approach serves as a useful tool when attempting to understand the myriad of complex interwoven factors which shape ECA. In addition to the above limitations, I encountered obstacles during my fieldwork that hindered the research. There were certain aspects of my research project that upon reflection and during analysis limited the research process. Many of these limitations were discussed in Chapter 4.

One issue that I failed to grasp whilst in the field was the importance of kinship ties. I did gather basic data about the ways in which individuals expressed their relationships to each other but I had not realized that this data on familial links would prove insufficient. This was found to be particularly relevant in the case of the Dom. In retrospect, I should have asked for more detailed information about extended

family connections by marriage. As a result of this lack of data, I found that when analysing subgroups I could not say with confidence that group members were not related by marriage. Therefore, I question if they worked together based on ethnic ties or because of marriage ties (Chapter 7).

Another limitation was my level of language skill. My skill level in Arabic was not sufficient to carry out my research without the use of an interpreter. Therefore, I was often reliant on the dual interpretations of the subject and the interpreter as they passed information between themselves. I think that there may have been times when translation was not as clear as it would have been with a professional interpreter who had fluent English language skills. Among the Circassians, whose interviews were conducted in English without a translator, I still encountered difficulties of clarity as they still were translating their thoughts and feelings into a second language. In addition, I relied on scheduling research with an interpreter and not just my informants so I missed some opportunities.

Access was another key limitation. My access was affected by my age, gender, and outsider status. The impact that these issues had on my research was detailed in Chapter 4 and here I only briefly summarize them. Age was not initially considered to be important, but its impact on my access and the research was apparent early on in the fieldwork.

Another limitation in my access was the result of my gender. As a male I faced challenges in gaining opportunities to interview and interact with females. I expected this before I entered the field, but I was surprised that my gender was less hindering than anticipated among the government and voluntary sector as well as the Circassians; 3/9 government, 19/34 VSO and 10/22 Circassian interviewees were female. Amongst the Dom my gender had a greater impact. As a result only 4/28 interviewees were females. However, in 9 informal group interviews, females were present and provided input although they were not the central interviewee. Gender based limitations also extended into other fieldwork activities as I had limited access to the women. Among the Circassians I interacted with females regularly and gained a great deal of information. Because of this limitation in access, the research reflects a mainly male oriented perspective on the study of ECA, particularly in relation to the Dom and general Jordanian public.

My outsider status had both a positive and negative impact on access. In Chapter 4, I discussed how this status impacted my research. As I said before, I found that my outsider status gave me the opportunity to gain more in-depth access on a number of sensitive issues in some instances and limited access on others. One area in which my outsider status benefited me was the openness I felt was extended when discussing issues that informants would not want to share with other Jordanians. For instance, when the Circassians expressed anti-Arab sentiments, I felt safe in assuming that this would not have been as freely shared if I was a Jordanian of Arab descent. On the other hand, the 'standard answer' I received may have been directly related to my foreigner status. 3/43 interviewees in the

government and volunteer sector explained to me that the government would never openly discuss ethnic minority issues with me as I was a foreigner.

I believe that the research was effectively carried out despite the obstacles encountered. While there were some limitations in my data gathering, I think the conclusions were clear and that the research has provided contributions both empirically and theoretically to the field of ethnic collective action.

Policy Implications

It is hoped that this research can affect policy within Jordan as well as in other states where understanding ethnic collective action is of importance to securing greater equality, development, and peaceful coexistence.

The research focused on achieving a better understanding of the complex process of ECA through investigation of the factors that affect ethnic minority groups' efforts to cooperatively achieve shared goals. By identifying the factors and the importance of the relationships between these factors the research can be useful to policy makers and other actors that deal with ethnic minority issues in general, not just ECA. The research leads me to suggest that future government policies reflect the importance of a) the inter-action between policies and programmes and service users' interpretations and reactions; b) the worldviews of policy makers on creating policies; c) ECA to ethnic minority groups as well as wider society.

Government and VSO policies and programmes impact on the lives of the individuals they are meant to serve, but this relationship is not as straightforward as many policy makers assume. Too often the processes of consulting service users is ignored due to resource and logistical constraints, but also because of a failure to grasp the importance of the complex inter-action and far reaching impacts which policies and programmes may have on an ethnic minority group. Therefore, this research, which highlighted the role of policies and programmes on the pursuit of ECA as well as other aspects of the lives of the Circassians and Dom, should serve as a reminder of the importance of researching and understanding how service users may interpret, react to and engage with policy decisions. In addition, this work should encourage policy makers to delve into the myriad of potential unintended consequences of policy decisions.

This research provided some insights into how the worldviews of government and VSO staff can impact on the creation and operation of policies and programmes. Therefore, based on these findings, I argue that these individuals should take the time to further investigate their own personal assumptions and biases. This is particularly applicable in light of the lack of knowledge and research surrounding the two case study groups in Jordan, but it should also be applied elsewhere. The lack of concrete understandings and an over reliance on socialized second hand stereotypes is not a solid foundation for policy decisions. Hence, I hope this research can encourage the abandonment of such practices.

Related to this was the use of the 'standard answer' in Jordan. The limited acknowledgement of ethnically based social, political and economic inequality not only hinders ECA, but serves to limit the ability of the state to effectively address discrepancies in how their citizens are treated. I argue that such an approach creates an environment in which ethnically based problems are unaddressed, where legislation masks such inequalities, where ethnic discrimination goes unpunished, and genuine equalities policies are not actively pursued. I recommend that this research be used as a wake-up call to reverse this situation in Jordan and serves to alert other states to the problems related to ignoring inequalities.

Previous scholars often wrote about ECA as conflicting with mainstream society and characterized it through descriptions of riots and revolutions. I argue that this conceptualisation should be revisited and the potential benefits of ECA to the ethnic minority group as well as the mainstream society and state be discussed. As this research found, the case study groups often turned internally when faced with external threats such as assimilation or poverty. ECA undertaken by these groups did not attempt to radically alter the fabric of society, overthrow the government, or declare the ethnic group's independence. Instead, the efforts of the Circassians and Dom served the needs of their group members. These responses to pressures were one possible way in which ECA can assist the state and the implementation of policies. Since the state should serve its citizens, recognizing the potential impact of ECA as a legitimate means of provision of ethnic minority group goals, provides policy makers with another tool with which to work.

States who focus on top-down mainstream service provision and ignore (or hinder) the potential of ethnically based organisations or targeted and locally administrated programmes fail to see the specific benefits derived from ethnic solidarity, group cohesion, and intra-actions as well as how this approach can facilitate bridging ties that can lead to greater social cohesion and integration. This said, even though I expanded the definition of ECA, I do not deny that it also involves riots, protest and revolutions and may cause disruptions and problems in the larger society. Therefore, pursuing policies that respectfully engage and understand ECA are good practice, but understanding the limits of this approach to wider society must also be part of policy decisions. I agree with DeVenanzi (2005) when he concludes that the state and civil society have an important responsibility to diminish social inequalities and undertake the necessary policies to provide access and resources so as to guarantee a 'true citizenship' to all members of its population.

I would argue that while this research was specific to Jordan and the two case study groups, the policy implications can be expanded to other states and ethnic minority groups. Even though context and the particular worldviews of individuals and groups are important to understanding ECA, the general policy implications are broadly applicable. Additionally many ethnic groups around the world can find similarities with the two case study groups and could use this research as a model to better evaluate and plan their own efforts at ECA.

Further Research

This research was undertaken as a result of the identification of gaps within the previous research on ECA. It was guided by three research questions, the investigation of which led to gathering data concerning the role of different previously identified factors in ECA. The analysis led to the conclusions that have been outlined above, but there were also additional research needs identified.

Foremost, I would call for more empirical research that examines ECA as conceptualized in this work. As already noted, most previous investigations of ECA focused on the non-routine political actions of protests, riots, and revolutions. There has been limited research that describes ECA as more routine activities such as provision of needs, building group cohesion, and maintaining culture and traditions. I believe more research into this area could facilitate a greater understanding of the ways in which ECA works.

I also propose that because of the limited scope of this research, other more in-depth research among the Dom and Circassians in Jordan should be undertaken. The lack of clear empirical data on these two groups was problematic to me in carrying out this research and I think additional investigations of these groups could benefit future researchers and policy makers. As my research was quite focused, I would argue that more work could investigate other aspects of the lives of these groups in Jordan, as well as in the surrounding states.

Too much of the ECA literature focuses on disadvantaged ethnic minority groups. Therefore, I argue that the field could benefit from more study on 'elite' ethnic minority groups. My work made some headway into this area by looking at

the Circassians in Jordan who are, relative to their fellow Jordanians, economically powerful with significant political influence. I do not think that this is sufficient and hence call for more work to be done on these elite groups in order to a) find out the reasons for their status, b) discover how their status can positively and negatively affect their existence, c) examine how status affects worldviews, d) examine how maintenance of status can impact issues of inclusion and vice versus.

Conclusion

To conclude this thesis I reiterate that I undertook this research to explore ECA. I concluded that intra- and inter-action, external context, and worldviews play key roles in affecting the way ECA is carried out, but more importantly the relationships between these factors represents the originality of this research's approach which does not examine a cause and effect static version of ECA, but a process of social inter-action. I stand by these conclusions, but argue that more research is needed in this field using this approach in order to further test these conclusions. This could be either through revisiting older case studies, carrying out new ethnographic research, or through working with ethnically based organisations to gain first hand experiences of how ethnic groups cooperate and act collectively.



Photo 8.2: Group of Dom and Researcher in HS

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS

External Interviews:

Interview Number	Type of Organization	Date of Interview
	VOLUNTARY SECTOR	
1	Jordanian Youth/ Educational Organisation	09/04/2006
2	Jordanian Development Organisation	12/04/2006
3	International Development Organisation	13/04/2006
4	International Development Organisation	13/04/2006
5	International Research Organization	16/04/2006
6	Jordanian Research Organisation	17/04/2006
7	International Education Organisation	18/04/2006
8	Jordanian Research Organisation	4/07/2006
10	Jordanian Family Organisation	13/08/2006
11	Jordanian Family Organisation	13/08/2006
15	International Development Organisation	27/09/2006
16	Jordanian Human Rights Organisation	27/09/2006
17	International Cultural Organisation	28/09/2006
18	Ethnic Community Organisation	1/10/2006
20	International Youth Organisation	4/10/2006
21	International Education Organisation	5/10/2006
22	International Development Organisation	8/10/2006

23	International Development Organisation	10/10/2006
25	International Development Organisation	31/10/2006
26	International Development Organisation	31/10/2006
27	Jordanian Women's Organisation	1/11/2006
29	Jordanian Research Organization	9/11/2006
32	International Research Organisation	21/11/2006
36	Jordanian Development Organisation	11/12/2006
37	Jordanian Youth/Education Organisation	11/12/2006
38	Jordanian Youth/Education Organisation	11/12/2006
39	Jordanian Development Organisation	12/12/2006
40	Jordanian Development Organisation	12/12/2006
41	Jordanian Development Organisation	12/12/2006
42	International Relief Organisation	18/12/2006
43	International Youth Organisation	22/01/2007
45	Jordanian Human Rights Organisation	28/01/2007
46	International Development Organisation	05/02/2007
47	International Development Organisation	05/02/2007
	GOVERNMENT	
13	Ministry	17/08/2006
14	Ministry	24/09/2006
19	Ministry	04/10/2006
24	Ministry	17/10/2006
30	Ministry	19/11/2006

31	Ministry	19/11/2006
33	Ministry	26/11/2006
34	Ministry	26/11/2006
44	Cultural Organisation	23/01/2007
	UNIVERSITY ACADEMICS	
9	University of Jordan	06/08/2006
12	Yarmouk University	16/08/2006
28	Yarmouk University	6/11/2006
35	Jordanian University of Science and Technology	29/11/2006

Circassian Interviews

Interview number	Primary Interviewee	Date of Interview
1	Circassian male/ 40s	13/04/2006
2	Circassian female/ 20s	19/06/2006
3	Circassian male/ 40s	02/11/2006
4	Circassian female/ 50s	04/11/2006
5	Circassian male/ 60s	26/11/2006
6	Circassian male/ 40s	08/12/2006
7	Circassian male/ 40s	12/12/2006
8	Circassian female/ 60s	13/12/2006
9	Circassian female/ teenager	18/12/2006

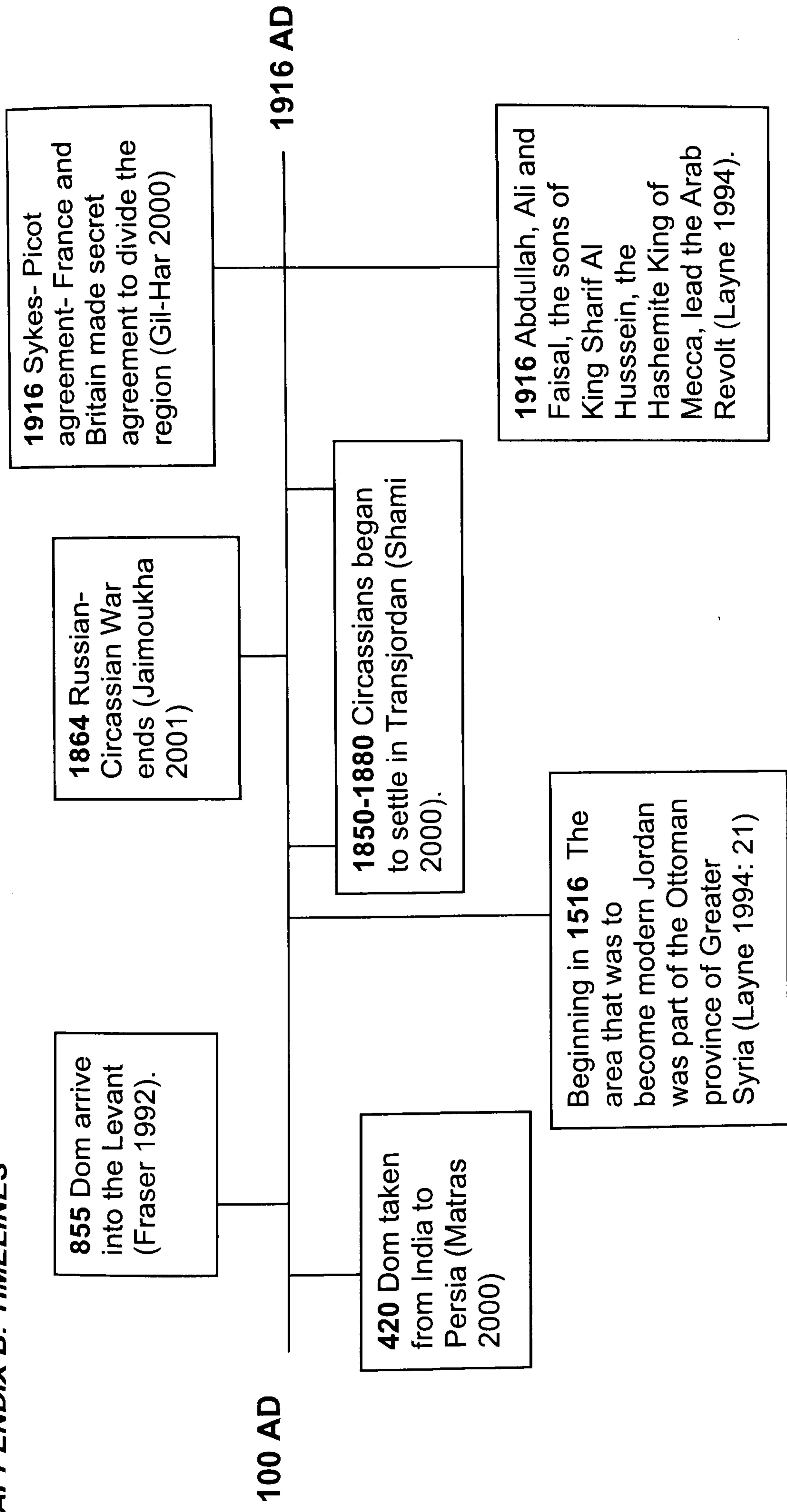
10	Circassian male/ 50s	21/12/2006
11	Circassian: female/ 20s	21/12/2006
12	Circassian male/ 60s	21/12/2006
13	Circassian male/ 40s	22/12/2006
14	Circassian female/ 20s	22/12/2006
15	Circassian female/ 20s	22/12/2006
29	Circassian male/ 30s	03/01/2007
16	Circassian male/ 20s	04/01/2007
17	Circassian male/ 40s	11/01/2007
18	Circassian male/ 30s	18/01/2007
19	Circassian male/ 30s	18/01/2007
20	Circassian male/ 60s	20/01/2007
21	Circassian female/ 30s	23/01/2007
22	Circassian male/ 80s	02/02/2007
23	Circassian male/ 30s	02/02/2007
24	Circassian female/ 50s	13/02/2007
25	Circassian male/ 60s	19/02/2007
26	Circassian male/ 50s	12/03/2007
27	Circassian female/ 60s	22/03/2007
28	Circassian male/ 40s	25/03/2007

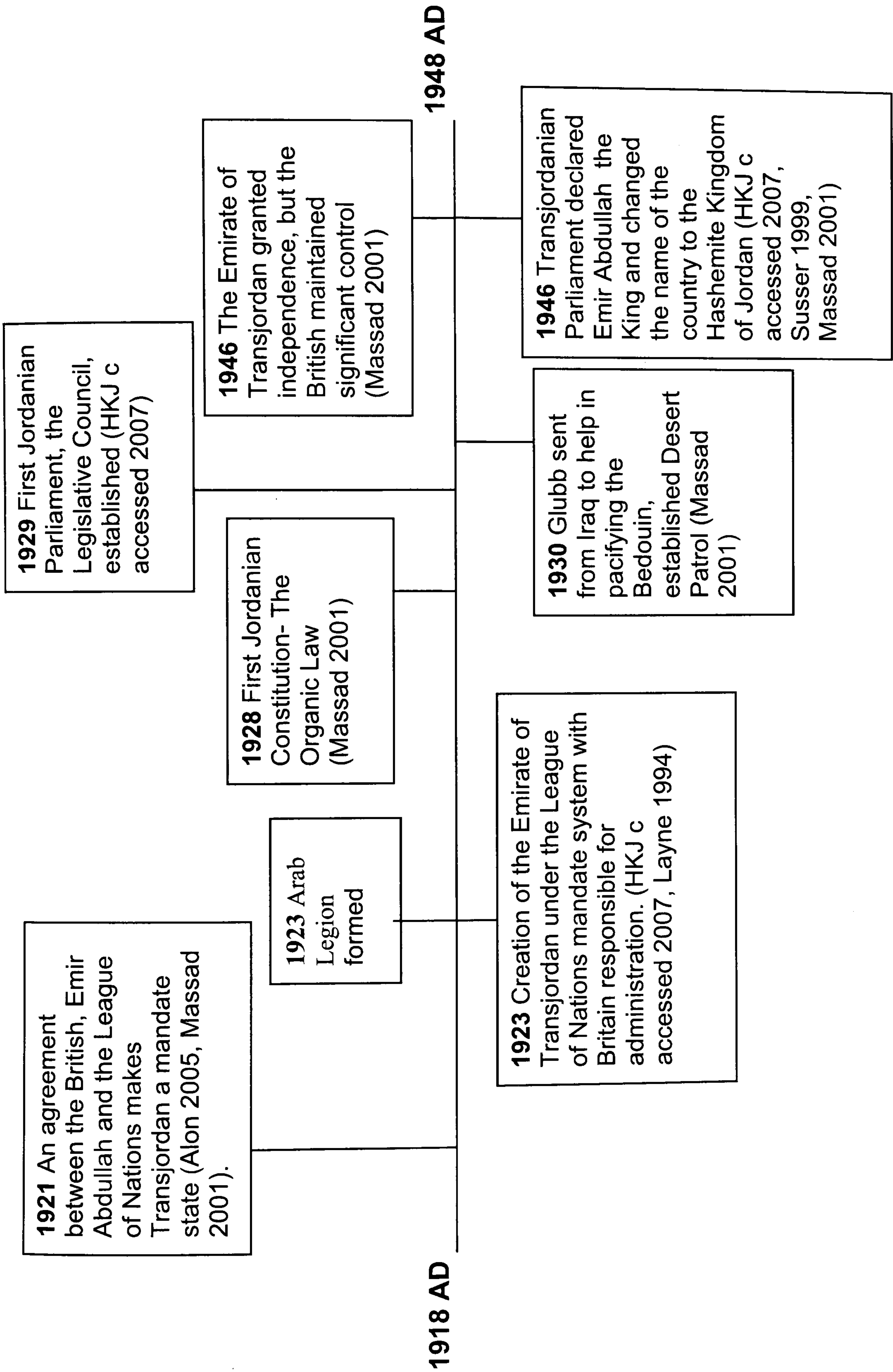
Dom Interviews

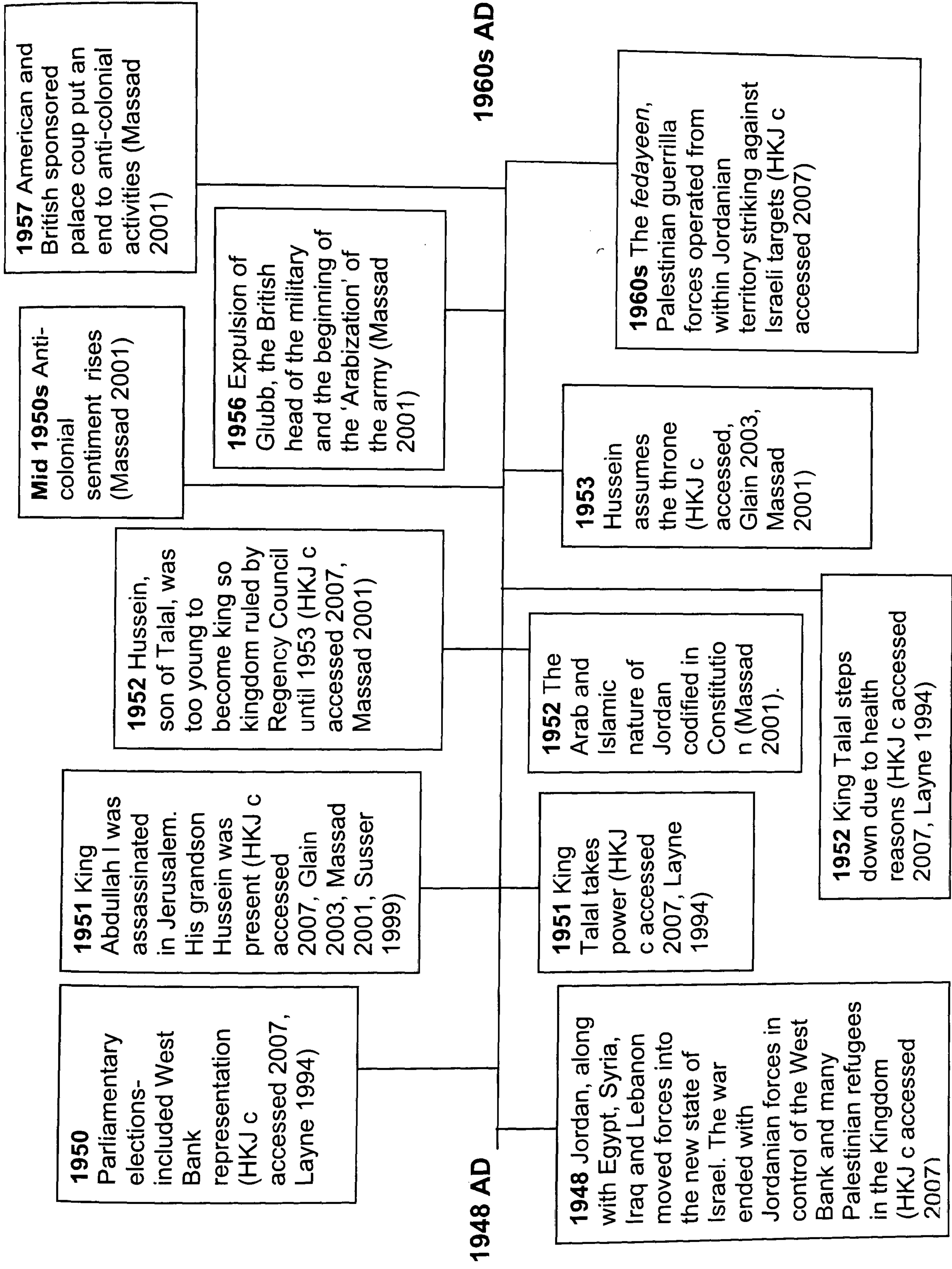
Interview Number	Primary Interviewee	Additional Individuals present	Location	Date of Interview
1	Dom male/ 50s	8	B	04/08/2006
2	Dom male/ 40s (DL)	2	W	26/09/2006
3	Dom male/ 40s (DL)	0	W	25/11/2006
4	Dom male/ older	10	HS	14/12/2006
5	Dom male/ 40s	6	HS	15/01/2007
6	Dom male/ 40s	12	HS	15/01/2007
7	Dom female/ 30s	5	HS	30/01/2007
8	Dom male/20s	0	W	17/02/2007
9	Dom male/ older	4	HS	23/02/2007
10	Dom male/ 30s	1	HS	27/02/2007
11	Dom male/ older (DOM1)	5	HS	27/02/2007
12	Dom male/ 30s (shop owner) (Dom T)	2	W	01/03/2007
13	Dom male/ 20s	1	W	01/03/2007
14	Dom male/ 20s	3	HS	02/03/2007
15	Dom/ male/ 40s	3	HS	04/03/2007
16	Dom female/ 60s	3	W	14/03/2007
17	Dom male/ 30s	2	W	18/03/2007
18	Dom male/ 30s (shop owner) (Dom T)	4	W	18/03/2007
19	Dom male/ 20s	2	W	18/03/2007

20	Dom male/ 30s	2	W	22/03/2007
21	Dom/ male/20s	5	HS	26/03/2007
22	Dom female/ 50s	7	HS	26/03/2007
23	Dom female/ 50s	3	HS	26/03/2007
24	Dom male/ 30s	3	W	28/03/2007
25	Dom male/ 30s (shop owner) Dom T)	5	W	29/03/2007
26	Dom males/ 20	11	W	31/03/2007
27	Dom males/ 20s	11	W	31/03/2007
28	Dom male/ 30s	11	W	31/03/2007
29	Dom male/ 20s	10	W	31/03/2007
30	Dom male 20s	10	W	31/03/2007
31	Dom male/ 40s	8	W	31/03/2007

APPENDIX B: TIMELINES







1967 The war forced 300,000 more Palestinian refugees into Jordan. The West Bank lands lost had accounted for 38% of Jordan's GNP (HKJ c accessed 2007)

1970s Following Black September the Jordanian Government pursued a policy of national unity (Jordan Government 2007), which included a intensified period of Jordanization (Nasser 2004, Massad 2001, Susser 1999).

1974 At the Rabat Summit the PLO was recognized as the single legitimate representative power of the Palestinians, thereby limiting Jordan's role in this regard (HKJ c accessed 2007, Frisch 2002, Nevo 2003a, 2003).

1967 AD

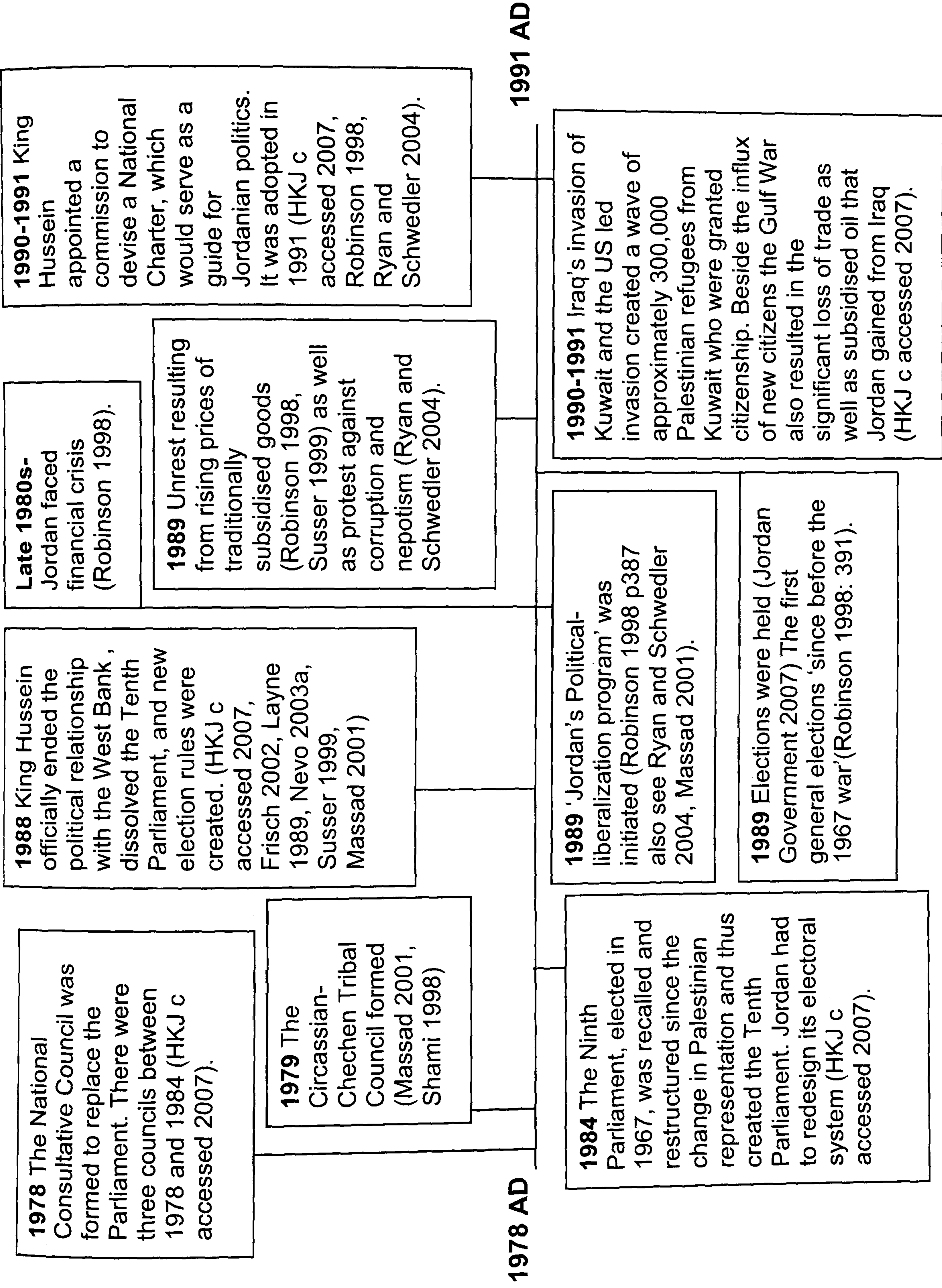
1970s AD

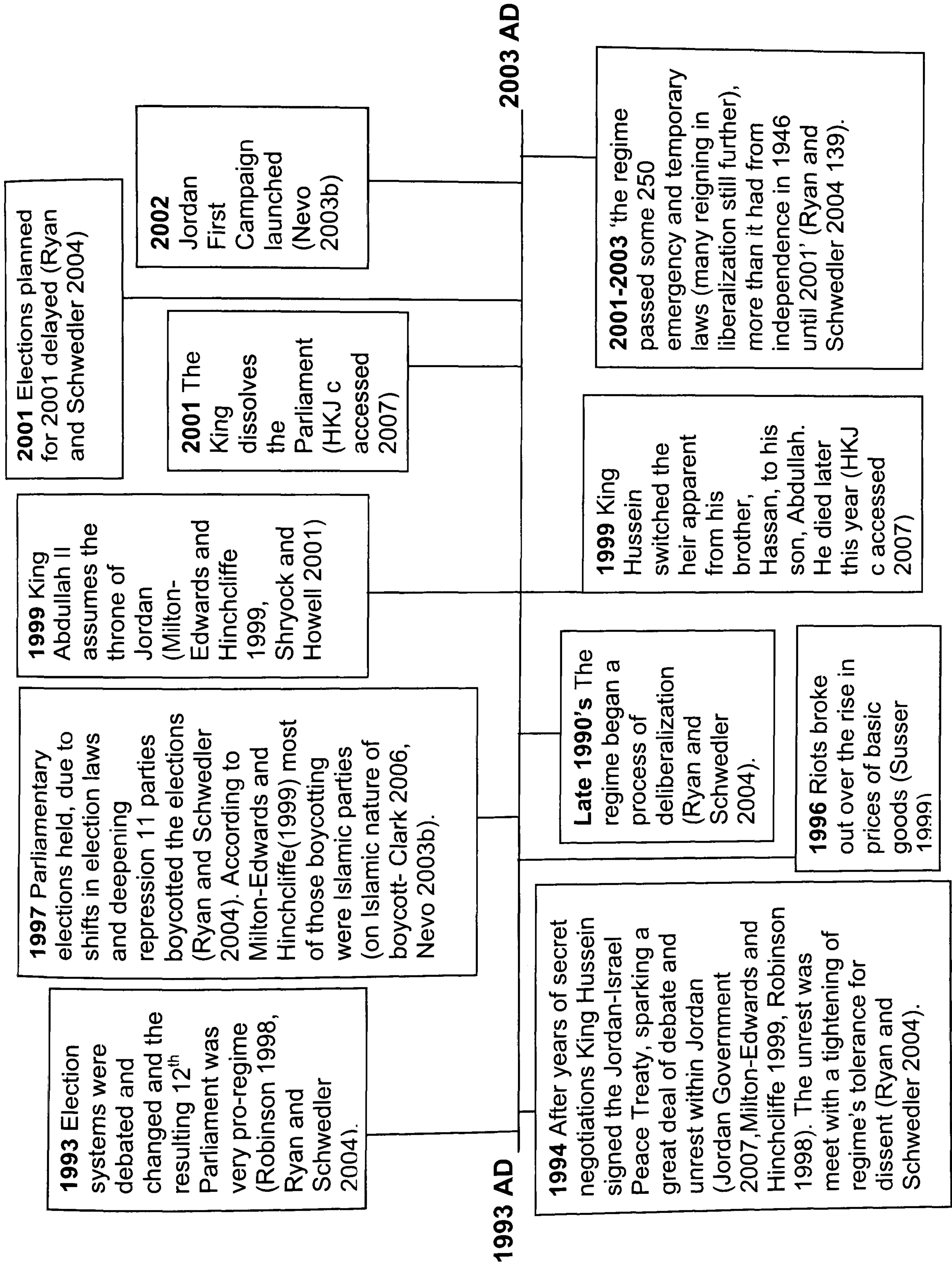
1967 Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon again engaged in a war with Israel. The Arab forces lost significant lives and land. Once a UN cease-fire implemented Israel had occupied the Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem (HKJ c accessed 2007)

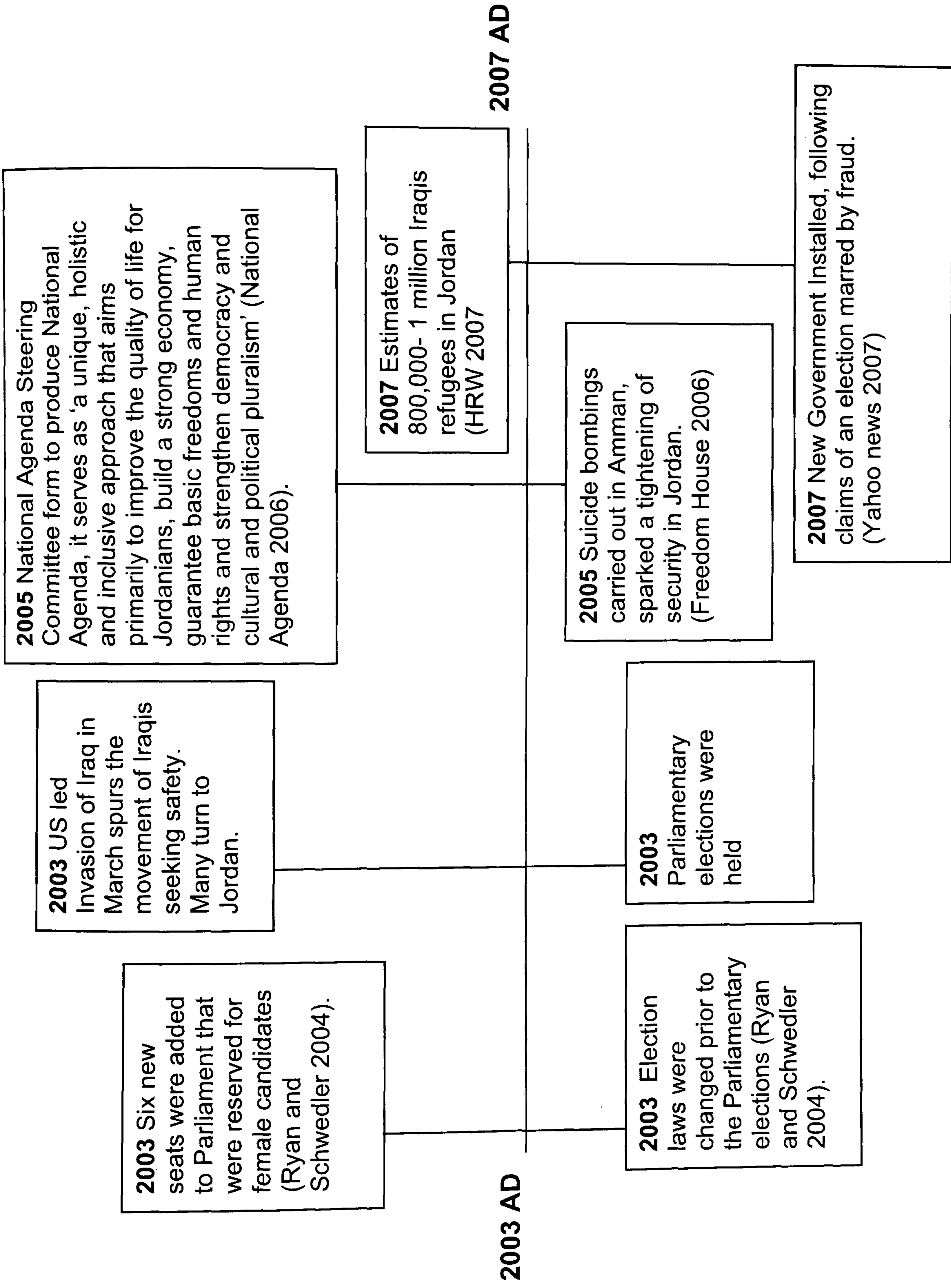
1970-1971 The *fedayeen*, had been allowed to operate from Jordan, but the instability they created forced King Hussein to act. He sent the Jordanian army to expel the Palestinian guerrillas. This campaign ended in 1971 with the removal of the Palestinian leaders and their forces. The Circassians serving in the Jordanian army played a major role in this conflict. This conflict is known as Black September (HKJ c accessed 2007, Nasser 2004)

1970s The Lebanese Civil War caused a shift of financial and banking services from Beirut to Amman (HKJ c accessed 2007), in addition many Lebanese sought refuge in Jordan.

1970s Many Jordanians were working in the Gulf States and money flowed back into Jordan from remittances (HKJ c accessed 2007, Massad 2006)







Appendix C: Interview Guides

Circassian Interview Guide

Personal Questions

- How old are you?
- What is your level of Education?
- What is your current Job?
- Do you feel more Circassian or Jordanian? Why?
- Do Jordanians See you as Jordanian or Circassian? Why do you think?
- Is being Circassian Important to you? Why/why not?
- Have you ever Travelled to Russia/ Homeland? Why/ why not?
- Would you like to? To Do Again?
- Would you ever leave Jordan and move to Russia? Why/why not?
- Where do you live? Is your neighbourhood mostly Circassian?
- How do the Non Circassian and Circassians in your neighbourhood interact?
- What is your family like (Numbers)
- Rate your involvement in Circassian Society? 1-10 (one being not really involved)
- Are most of your friends Circassian?
- Are you expected (or did you, or are your children) to marry another Circassian?
- Do you speak Circassian Language? Why why not?
- Where did you learn Language?
- How well do you speak the language (1-10 1 being poorly)

- In the future will you become remain or increase your involvement in Circassian community?
- In your opinion what is the future of Circassians in Jordan?

On Community in Jordan

- What does it mean to be Circassian?
- What do you feel Jordanians think of Circassians?
- What is the current situation facing Circassians in Jordan?
- Are there issues of Assimilation?
- What are the differences between Circassians and Jordanians?
- What are the similarities between Circassians and Jordanians?
- Are there any negative aspects of being Circassian?
- What problems/ benefits do Circassians in Jordan have?
- How are problems being solved? Why are these solutions used? Who decides?
- How do the Circassians of Jordan influence Society?
- How do the Circassians influence the government?

Circassian Internal

- How do Circassians act as group?
- Is the Circassian Community in Jordan very closely tied?
- What makes Circassians Circassian? Group Markers?
- How is one a Circassian? Boundaries?
- Is there conflict within the Circassian Community?
- How is conflict resolved?

- Who makes decisions for the community? Why?
- Is there a united Circassian community in Jordan? In region? In World?

Associations

- What do the Circassian Associations do in general?
- What do the Circassian Associations do for you?
- What do the Circassian Associations do for Circassians in Jordan?
- How/Why?
- Are you member of the associations? Why/why not?

Socialisation

- How do young people learn to be/ learn about being Circassians?

Dom Interview Guide

Personal Questions

- How old are you?
- What is your education?
- What is your job?
- Are you a Jordanian Citizen?
- Do you feel more Dom or Jordanian? Other? Why?
- Describe your family?
- What does it mean to be Dom? Are you proud of being Dom?
- Do you live in one place year round? How often do you move?
- Are you forced to move or is it by choice? (who decides where to go?)
- How long have you lived in Jordan?
- Do you travel across borders?
- Do you speak Domari? Why? Why not? Where did you learn?
- How well do you speak (rate 1-10, 1 being poorly)
- Are most of your friends Dom? Why?
- Would you rather be highlighted as Dom or not?
- In the future what do you want to do?
- In School/ Work do people know you are Dom? Do you feel this has any effect? Example?

Dom community in Jordan

- What does it mean to be Dom?

- What do you feel the Jordanians think of Dom?
- What label do you use, or would prefer to be used?
- What is the current situation of the Dom in Jordan?
- Are the Dom being assimilated?
- What are the problems facing the Dom as a community?
- How can these be solved? Can they be solved as community or as individuals?
- Who decides on strategies to do this?
- Are the Dom excluded from Jordanian society?
- Are the Dom isolated physically and socially from Jordanian society? Is this preferable?
- How are Dom different than Jordanians? From Turkoman? From Bedouin?
- What ideas do Jordanians have about Dom? How can these be changed? Where do these ideas come from? How do you know this is how they feel?
- What would you like Jordanians to think about Dom?
- Can the Dom as a group make these changes or do they need outside help?
- Is it better to act as an individual as a family or as a larger Group (tribe or as Dom)?
- Do the Dom of Jordan act as group? How? Why Not?
- Do the Dom in your area act as group? How? Why Not?
- What is the future of the Dom in Jordan?
- How do the Dom interact with the Government of Jordan? With Jordanians?

Dom Internal

- Are there Leaders of the community? What do they Do?
- How are these individuals chosen?

- Do the different groups of Dom interact? How? Why not?
- Is there conflict within the Dom community? Example?
- How is this solved?
- Do Dom marry Dom? What is the process of this? Is it changing? Do they marry non-Dom?
- Is there many differences between Settled and Unsettled Dom? Examples?
- How do the Dom work together? Examples?
- Where are the Dom from?
- Can one become Dom? How/ why not?
- Is being Dom important? Why/ Why Not?
- Can one stop Being Dom? How/ Why not?
- Do you ever hide that your are Dom? How/ Why/ Why Not?

Socialization

- How are children taught about what it means to be Dom?

Jordanian Interview Guide

Personal Questions

- How old are you?
- What is your education?
- What is your job/ position?
- Are you a Jordanian Citizen?
- What is your ethnic identity (if Dom or Circassian also do as that)?
- Please provide hierarchy of identity?

Ethnic Conceptions in Jordan

- What are the major differences in Jordanian Society?
- Is Jordan Diverse?
- What is your opinion of minority and diversity issues effect in Jordan?
- What problems may face minority groups?
- Opinions of Dom? Yours/Others?
- Opinions of Circassian? Yours/Others?
- Does Discrimination occur in Jordan? Examples?
- What other ways does different identities effect interaction?
- Should National Identity be more important than others?
- Should government take action in addressing minority problems?
- Should different groups in Jordan receive special or different treatment?

ORGANISATION (If VSO/ GOV)

- Does your organisation/ ministry take any action directed at particular groups? Examples?
- Do you feel your organisation should do more or less in this regard?
- Do you feel that your organisation has enough information to address these problems? Where could more information come from?
- Do you feel that some ethnic groups face greater difficulties than other groups? Do you feel some face fewer difficulties than other groups? Why and Examples?
- Should protection of Minority rights be a priority in Jordan?

Organisation General

- What are the main goals of your organisation/ ministry?
- How well does your organisation accomplish these?
- What are SWOT and PEST for your organisation's activities?
- Who decides which policies and programs are addressed? How?
- What are main sources of funding?