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Homefulness: The Cultural Safety Net in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

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Homefulness: The Cultural Safety Net in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

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Fourth time’s the charm!
Abstract

This exploratory study aims to answer the basic question of why the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan appears to be without homelessness. A developing nation coping with economic, ecological, and geopolitical instability has somehow managed to create a society where homelessness seems to not exist. The study begins with a review of literature on homelessness and theory in order to conceptualize this complex issue, followed by a review of data on homelessness in developing countries, and an overview of the Islamic thought on poverty. The guiding theory of this research is social collectivism and how Jordan fits into this cooperative framework. The researcher hypothesizes: first, that Jordanian culture is collectivist and creates sympathy for the homeless; second, that this collectivism derives from Jordan’s Islamic heritage; and third, that these cultural and religious components generate a network of organizations and government programs that effectively house the homeless. The significance of this study is due to the ubiquity and obduracy of homelessness in both developing and developed countries worldwide, while Jordan appears to be uniquely free of the problem. Interviews were conducted with individuals with respective expertise in culture, religion, NGOs, and government staff to get a thorough understanding of the topic. A survey was also conducted to lend public opinion to the study. In conclusion, the Jordanian government and Islam have little to do with the actual reasons why homelessness doesn’t exist. Rather, the familial/tribal culture motivates Jordanians to make sure none of their family or tribe goes without the basic necessity of housing, and the social theory needed to fully conceptualize this social structure does not yet exist. This research adds dimension to the study of global homelessness by detailing the rare case of its elimination, and by revealing a major paucity of social theory for understanding atypical societies.

Keywords: Public and Social Welfare, Social Psychology, Regional Studies: Middle East
Introduction

After spending several weeks in Jordan and traversing the city of Amman by taxi and on foot, the researcher noticed that there was a visible lack of homeless people living on the streets. There were some who were clearly poor who sat around in crowded areas asking for money, but in the evenings these people would get up and leave. Having grown up around the major United States city of Boston, Massachusetts, the researcher had grown accustomed to seeing homelessness frequently. They would often see as many as half a dozen homeless people on particularly crowded sidewalks, asking for money or just sitting on the ground. At night, they commonly saw people in sleeping bags or wrapped in newspaper in public parks, under store awnings, and on public steps. The researcher had also volunteered to assist a group from a local church in passing out weekly lunches and clothing to the homeless. As many as 30 people usually came to get food.

Having previously seen homelessness as a firmly immutable fact of poverty in the world due to both their experience in the United States and trips to developing countries such as Colombia and the Dominican Republic, the researcher was shocked when they realized that they had not seen, or at least noticed a homeless person since coming to Jordan. Despite the poverty described by lecturers in the Thematic Seminar and in many conversations with average Jordanians, this one specific social ill appeared to be absent. After bringing this topic up in conversations with teachers and acquaintances, the researcher observed that Jordanians collectively understand that though their nation suffers from poverty there is no homelessness. Amazed that such a society could exist, the researcher eagerly chose to study how Jordanian society creates these conditions, and what, if anything, countries that suffer from homelessness could learn from Jordan.
This research would prove useful for sociologists studying Jordan. This country represents an exception to general understandings and observations of poverty. Logically, as one looks at poorer and poorer societies the citizens would have less and less access to basic needs, with the poorest of societies seeing masses of people living without shelter. However, Jordan lacks much access to certain resources and struggles to remain economically stable without leaving large numbers of people without proper shelter. It is necessary to examine this phenomenon and try to explain why Jordan does not adhere to common understandings of poverty. This research seeks to provide a more complex understanding of Jordanian society and the mechanisms of homelessness by teasing out what aspects of society allow Jordan to be absent of this particular symptom of poverty though it hasn’t solved the overall problem.

This research applies to the program theme of modernization and social change in a counterintuitive way because it will attempt to explain how Jordan has handled the problem of homelessness more effectively than developed countries further along the path of modernization, such as the United States and France. There must be some facet of Jordanian society that prevents this problem from becoming too severe, or perhaps something about homelessness that sets it apart from other manifestations of poverty. This research will attempt to illuminate this peculiarity that sets Jordan apart from other countries and doesn’t fit in the standard paradigm of national development.

**Terms and Definitions**

The term homeless is a complex term that can mean many things in different contexts, and the complexity of this definition will be discussed in the literature review. On a basic level however, a homeless person can be understood in the context of this research as someone who is forced to sleep outside, either on the sidewalk, in an alleyway, or other public place with limited
to no protection from the elements. For the purpose of precision, those living in slums, if there are any in Jordan, will not be counted as homeless. There is also the complex situation of Syrian refugees who have come to Jordan in large numbers. Since the basic reality of a refugee is having been forced to leave their previous home, they will not be counted as homeless and will not be part of the focus of this study. Palestinian refugees however, since they have been living in Jordan in large numbers for many decades and make up a significant proportion of the population, will still be part of the study.

The term society will also be used frequently, and will refer comprehensively to the people, traditions, and institutions of Jordan, specifically the three chosen divisions that will be discussed next. Culture will refer to merely the beliefs, values, and traditions of Jordanians that are separate from religion.

Theory and Parameters

Throughout this research process the theoretical perspective of collectivism will be used to analyze Jordanian society as it treats the problem of homelessness. The researcher chose this framework because it is likely that Jordan has fought homelessness so effectively because many different aspects of society work together to make sure that all the less fortunate members of society are cared for as well as can be. In collectivist societies, individuals see an imperative to cooperate with their fellow citizens toward the benefit of society as a whole (Baumgartner, Bauer & Bui, 2012).

The researcher will set about analyzing how Jordanian collectivism responds to homelessness through targeted analysis of the following general aspects of Jordanian society: culture, religion, and social welfare organizations. These were selected as most relevant to dealing with the problem of homelessness. Firstly, it is necessary to understand the cultural
structure of Jordan and the various traditional values specific to this country. How one views others in society, especially those less fortunate than themselves, is inherently important in what one is motivated to do for their benefit. Additionally, any hierarchies of whom Jordanians are willing to help first and to what extent will be examined. Secondly, it is important to differentiate between Jordan as its own society with its own traditions and Jordan as a majority Muslim nation. The researcher will examine to what extent Islam plays a role in the average Jordanian’s life and what social imperatives they fulfill based upon the tenets of their faith.

Thirdly, the complexities of the organized response to the problem of homelessness in Jordan will be explained. To what extent does the government work to solve the problem versus non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and to what extent do these forces combine to fight homelessness?

This study is exploratory in scope, and seeks merely to give a generalized overview of these three components of Jordanian society as they relate to the concept of homelessness based on the observed trends and themes. The researcher hypothesizes that Jordanian culture, being highly collectivist, places little to no blame on the homeless for being homeless. The researcher also hypothesizes that these beliefs stem from the country’s Islamic heritage. The researcher further hypothesizes that these values create a society where there are plenty of organizations and government programs that work to house the homelessness, funded by the steady supply of aid money that Jordan receives for humanitarian purposes. In order to achieve the total alleviation of homelessness, it is likely that all three chosen divisions of Jordanian society build off each other in this way.
Literature Review

Conceptualizing Homelessness

To the general reader, homelessness is familiarly conceptualized in the terms of two main binary theories: the structural and the individual. The structural view of homelessness, as summarized by Main (1996), is that “the primary causes of homelessness are held to be macro-level social trends,” such as a “rise in poverty” or “decline in the number of affordable rental units.” This perspective removes the blame from the individual for their situation and instead focuses on what societal factors may have led them there. As a counterpoint, the individual theory of homelessness, described by Neale (1997), holds that, “individuals are […] responsible for their homelessness” due to “personal failure or inadequacy.” This places the blame squarely on the homeless person, though one can still feasibly say that they became homeless due to some innate issue that they aren’t personally responsible for, such as a disability. Overall, this reflects a frequent public debate about where the underlying problems that cause homelessness come from. They could exist in society itself, in which case all citizens and institutions are responsible for causing or solving the problem. Or, the problem could exist solely within the homeless themselves, in which case it seems a daunting if not impossible task to fix a problem that may be due to someone’s nature.

In academic discourse, however, both of these common theories have received a great deal of criticism. Main (1996) argues that personal disabilities of the homeless have been “deemphasized” by structuralists, such as the “two-thirds to 80%” incidence of substance abuse or mental illness in surveyed homeless people in the United States. He also found that the low-income housing market squeeze, that structuralists used as evidence, was overestimated and that it “very possibly has not tightened enough to justify excluding personal disabilities as primary
causes of homelessness.” While not the only reason for homelessness, personal factors such as disability need to be taken into account.

Neale (1997), meanwhile, points out that the individual theory of homelessness, when used to create legislation, creates “minimal and punitive forms of support” due to the “victim-blaming” nature of the theory and the tendency for it to lead to an attitude that the homeless are undeserving of aid. She points to the United Kingdom, where legislation was being promoted that would force welfare departments “to allocate temporary accommodation only.” And that, in turn, doesn’t get any closer to solving the problem of homelessness. How can effective anti-homelessness programs ever be created when the government operates on a theory of homelessness that sees fit to penalize the homeless if they can’t find housing within a certain timeframe? This theory appears to be simply impractical.

Scholars on homelessness choose to look at the issue with much greater complexity than a simple structure/individual binary, and there is much debate over how to properly define homelessness. Neale (1997), after refuting the previously discussed oversimplified theories, describes how she prefers a definition of homelessness that treats it as a continuum ranging from “unsatisfactory and insecure housing” to “sleeping rough.” The key concern here is determining what makes someone adequately housed rather than just inhabiting a place with a roof. Therefore, Neale asserts, “theories of homelessness and policies to tackle homelessness cannot […] be separated from other aspects of 'housing' and housing need.” Possible solutions must be holistic in approach, able to assist a wide variety of clients at different levels of homelessness with a wide variety of needs.

In terms of theory, Neale argues that it is best “not to devise a single new all-encompassing theory, but rather to highlight aspects of existing theories which might
beneficially inform future policies and provision.” It is best to take a practical outlook that accounts for the complicated nature of the problem in the diverse life situations of different homeless people. The ultimate conclusion Neale reaches is that homelessness is unlikely to have any “solutions which meet the diverse needs” of all the homeless. However, we can still create more effective approaches through studying theoretical perspectives such as post-structuralism, structuration, critical theory, and others, thereby “increasing communication and […] widening debate” to include the “broader social, historical, and cultural context” of the problem.

Somerville (2013), another researcher, analyzes literature on “pathways” in and out of homelessness. Firstly, he also seeks to demonstrate how homelessness is of a “multidimensional character, [though] this is not recognized explicitly enough in some […] literature” (p. 409). Speaking on the effects of being homeless, he describes how the lack of proper housing also leads to a psychosocial lack of privacy, comfort, warmth, love, joy, rootedness, hope, and purpose (p. 384) in homeless individuals. Material and financial crisis is already debilitating, but the toll this takes on the individual can compound the debilitating nature of the problem. In terms of pathways into homelessness, Somerville lists childhood trauma, lack of loving care, substance misuse, “wrong crowd,” and institutionalization as possible causes, among others. However, he is hesitant and asserts, “the relationship between each theme and an episode or episodes of homelessness is typically complex, and can only be understood in the context of people’s life histories” (p. 409). For pathways out of homelessness he mentions “return to parental home, and long-term trajectories through transitional housing into independent living” but says that this aspect of pathway theory is incomplete (p. 398).
Homelessness in Cultural Context

The individualist/collectivist paradigm

Where there is homelessness, academics tend to agree that the problems that cause it and those it causes are highly intricate, however, the general public still tends to view the subject through either the structural or individual frameworks, placing blame on society as a whole or just the homeless person respectively. Baumgartner et al. (2012) describe how “collectivistic cultures [...] tend to make situational attributions for behavior as compared to those from more individualistic cultures, who tend to make dispositional attributions” (p. 27). In other words, collectivism often coincides with general acceptance of the structural theory while individualism coincides with general acceptance of the individual theory. These can, in turn, affect how a particular society handles the problem of homelessness and how effective their methods are.

Homelessness in developing countries

The discussion of collectivist social theory will be returned to shortly, but first it is necessary to describe homelessness in the context of developing nations and Islamic perspectives. Tipple & Speak (2003) state, at the beginning of their analysis of homelessness in the developing world, that it is difficult to get a decent quantitative estimation of homelessness through census because some countries don’t have an official definition of homelessness or don’t count the homeless in the census due to lack of an address (p. ii). However, their study reached the qualitative conclusions that homelessness in developing countries is mostly due to the “failure of the housing supply system to address the needs of the rapidly growing urban population” (p. ii). Though many developing nations have been steadily modernizing, the societal changes that come with this, especially mass urbanization have had chaotic effects. Key findings about the day-to-day living of these homeless were that they are “generally employed in low paid,
unskilled work,” “victims of crime, rather than perpetrators [and] frequently harassed, evicted, abused or imprisoned,” “suffer poor health,” “are predominantly lone males,” and most interestingly “often choose to sleep on the streets” while sending whatever money they earn to their families (p. ii). Homeless women and children often became homeless to escape abusive homes (p. ii). While they suffer from a variety of social and physical ailments, they frequently do have a source of income, but one that is not enough for them to take care of themselves and support a distant family at the same time, and for the especially vulnerable they find that living on the streets is better than the life they used to have.

In order to address this manifestation of homelessness, Tipple & Speak recommend several policies and programs for developing nations to follow in order to better deal with the problem: “good, clean, easily accessible overnight accommodation,” “hygiene and health facilities,” and the opportunity to assist in further development of housing. Rather than immediately engaging in programs to find housing, developing countries should focus their resources on more economically plausible solutions to help cope with the problem of homelessness with a hope that these people would survive until they are gradually all housed.

The United Nations Center for Human Settlements, in a study put forth entitled “Strategies to combat homelessness,” agrees with Tipple & Speak that homelessness in developing countries is largely due to “rapid urbanization” (p. 165). Likewise, they also agree that a shelter system is necessary to provide some sort of stability as long as the homeless are “fitted into the appropriate type of shelter” (p. xviii). In addition to what has already been recommended, the UNCHS proposes that micro-finance would be very effective in both preventing homelessness and assisting those who are homeless, as the majority of them already work and could use the aid to become economically stable (p. xix).
Islamic perspective

The researcher was unable to find academic sources for Islamic perspectives on homelessness in particular, but plenty of literature on Islam and general poverty is available, and it is not difficult to connect the two concepts. Korayem & Mashhour (2014) draw out some important distinctions between secular concepts of poverty and Islamic concepts. While an official quantitative “poverty line measures poverty in most societies” in Islamic thought people are poor if they do not meet a basic level of self-sufficiency (p. 1). This paradigm allows for a case-specific estimation of an individual or group’s level of poverty. They also delineate the four Quranic distinctions of the poor: those known simply as “the poor,” who are unable to meet their needs; the destitute, so far from meeting their needs that they are essentially in crisis; the overburdened, those in serious debt or suffering from a major loss; and the wayfarer, a traveller, in modern times used to describe refugees (p. 4). In this framework, homeless people would likely fall into either the destitute or the overburdened. Being homeless deprives someone of the basic necessity of shelter and leads to the psychological destitution described by Somerville, but they could also be homeless due to a disaster destroying their previous housing, or having to send remittances to their distant family as many homeless in the developing world do.

The Hadiths of the Prophet declare that “poverty is a danger and threat for both individuals and societies” (p. 5), thus Muslims must work to alleviate poverty around them. Korayem & Mashhour describe the many different ways that Muslims are obligated or advised to aid those in need. First and foremost, “work is the main poverty eradication policy in Islam,” but if one is unable or unwilling to work to help the poor, the alternative is to give 2.5% of one’s assets if one is able (p. 8). The optional duties encompass the Sadaqat, charitable donations or gifts; the Awqaf, the giving of goods and services for “educational, social, cultural, health,
infrastructure and general welfare purposes” that benefit all of society; and the Tawzif, similar to
taxes, the “responsibility of the government” to decide when to collect, and it is collected “only
from the wealthiest” (p. 9).

From these tenets and obligations, other scholars of poverty and Islam have been able
construct fully developed theoretical frameworks. Sirageldin (2000) proposes that Islamic ethics
support an approach to poverty based on “the principle of promoting economic growth with
productive equity” (p. 14). Strategies should focus on building capabilities in the poor and
providing them opportunities for social and economic growth. This theory derives from the
“axiomatic approach,” which rests on four principles of Islamic ethics. Tawhid is the concept of
the “individual […] viewed as an integral part of the whole;” Al‘Adl wal Ihsan is the concept of
“equity” among all people; Ikhtiyar is the use of “careful intellection” by Muslims to exercise
free will in their own lives; and Fardh is responsibility exercised with the recognition of the
“social aspect of every asset owned or managed by private or public entities” (p. 2).

There are certain parallels here between the Islamic views of poverty and collectivist
cultural values. As is apparent from the Quranic definitions of homelessness, traditional Islamic
thought does not blame the homeless for their homelessness. Additionally, as the Hadiths point
out, homelessness is to be perceived by Muslims as indicative of problems in society, as a whole,
showing a tendency “to blame the system in general” (Baumgartner et al., 2012 p. 27).
Furthermore, Baumgartner et al. find in their research that “participants who scored higher on
collectivism had more positive attitudes toward homeless people” (p. 31). Clearly, from the
thoroughly described imperatives, recommendations, and ethical systems described above,
positive views on the homeless and other impoverished people are a fundamental part of the
Islamic worldview. Jordan, as a developing nation with a strong Islamic heritage, will likely demonstrate these values.

**Methodology**

The basic structure chosen for this research was a set of five interviews with people in different fields and a survey of the public with 30 participants. The interviews were conducted with: a sociologist at the University of Jordan, the Spokesman and Minister Advisor the Ministry of Social Development, a human rights researcher, an Imam who also was a professor of Quranic Studies at the University of Jordan, and a staff member of a local NGO that works in housing. These people were chosen to cover the cultural, religious, and government/NGO responses to homelessness. Dr. Marwan Al-Zoubi, the advisor for this project, identified Dr. Rania Jaber, the sociologist. Dr. Jaber then identified Dr. Fawaz Al-Ratroot, the Ministry Spokesman. Said Ebbini, the Research Section Head of a local human rights-focused NGO, was identified by a previously contacted human rights organization that recommended him as a better subject. SIT staff identified Dr. Mohammed Al-Majali, the Imam. The researcher identified the NGO working in housing. The researcher contacted all participants except for Dr. Al-Ratroot due to his position in the Jordanian Government.

All participants were given Informed Consent forms (see Appendix B) describing the focuses of the study and their rights to confidentiality. Dr. Al-Ratroot gave clear verbal consent for identifying information to be used in this research; the rest of the subjects filled out and signed the forms and their confidentiality is here respected as specified on the form. A staff member from SIT helped translate when necessary. All interviews were conducted in the subjects’ respective offices with a prewritten set of questions, though time was allowed for the subjects to present their personal viewpoints and analyses on the topic, and for the researcher to
ask spontaneous questions if surprising information was brought to light. The interviews ranged in length from 30 minutes to two hours depending on how talkative the subjects were and how far various lines of questioning went. The researcher typed up notes over the course of the interviews, making sure to include exact quotes when possible and asking for clarification on emphasized points to ensure there were no misunderstandings. The researcher explained the focus of the study to the subjects, and all appeared to be comfortable and willing to participate.

Subjects were also chosen in order to control for any biases one of the them might present, it was important to interview a government representative and a human rights expert so that similar questions could be asked of each of them and points of disagreement on fact or interpretation noted. Likewise, the NGO working in housing was necessary to interview for their direct observations from their work about Jordan, and how this might differ from the perspectives of the government or researchers. Some general questions were the same across all five interviews, and when earlier subjects brought up intriguing facts, a question was included in later interviews for the subjects to confirm or deny, and interpret.

The survey was designed as a supplement to the interviews and covered all three hypotheses of the study, though it focused mostly on Jordanian culture (see Appendix A). It was designed in English and translated into Arabic by SIT staff. The questionnaires are anonymous, the only identifying information being gender and religion to see if there were any trends based on demographics. The researcher intended to distribute 30 questionnaires but distributed 31 by mistake; one participant neglected to fill out one of the demographic questions and so this questionnaire was discarded and the remaining 30 were analyzed. Eighteen surveys were distributed in person to people in various public places around Amman to get a wide sample range. The remaining 12 were distributed at the University of Jordan, and since the median age
in Jordan is about 22 ("The World Factbook — Central Intelligence Agency", 2017), this strategy makes sure the sample median age falls close to it.

The survey was conducted with minimal issues; most Jordanians asked to participate were willing to fill out the survey. There was a language barrier for some participants, but when they began to read the survey they said that they understood. A group of three participants was hesitant about putting down demographic information, and took issue with one of the main questions. These will be detailed further in the discussion of findings. There could also be the chance that some participants misunderstood the survey. In one conversation had with a couple of participants before they filled out the survey, they at first said that there was, in fact, a homelessness problem in Jordan. However, they quickly asked clarification if the term homeless meant people who sleep outside and when the researcher said this was true, they corrected themselves and said that Jordan doesn’t have homelessness like that. What they at first thought homelessness meant is still unclear, but they could possibly have thought it referred to something like homeownership.

**Barriers to Research and Change in Perspective**

The primary barrier encountered in this study is the lack of previous research on homelessness in Jordan. The researcher used Google Scholar and EBSCO Host databases to search for literature on the subject, but was unable to find any. This may be due to the study focusing on an issue that appears to be minor or nonexistent, and thus few researchers have chosen to study it. Or perhaps the other regional issues are so apparent that few have chosen to study something that is not exactly visible. Whatever the reason, it would have helped to read some prior work on homelessness in Jordan just to get a basic understanding of what to look for and how to design a proper study on the topic.
Some interview subjects and survey participants even asked why the researcher wanted to conduct the survey, as they all stated very clearly, “this phenomenon is not in Jordan.” This was not a reluctance to participate in the study though, just a fascination. This fascination turned out to be indicative of something very unique about Jordanian culture, which led to a change in the researcher’s perspective during the study. This will also be described further in the discussion of findings. It should be said that this initially led the researcher to ask to interview a sheikh who was a friend of one of the SIT staff, but the staff member was unavailable when the researcher sought to schedule the interview. Additionally, the survey was designed before the researcher had this change in perspective and so the results were missing some important details, also to be discussed later.

Findings

Perhaps the most significant finding of this study is that the Ministry of Social Development has only recorded 16 cases of homeless people since the year 2000 (Al-Ratroot, personal communication, April 6, 2017). Of these, all were men of varying ages, 15 had mental health issues, and one had a bad relationship with his family, was unemployed, and couldn’t find anywhere else to live. According to Dr. Al-Ratroot, many of them were found and publicized by the media, and then connected with the Ministry for Social Development. For the mentally ill individuals, they were then either sent to the Ministry of Health or put in contact with their families, who hadn’t known where they were, and then came and got them. The Ministry took the other man back to his family, and officials were able “make peace” between them.

All interview subjects asked about these statistics confirmed that homelessness in Jordan basically doesn’t happen except for these rare instances. Even though the government is able to deal with these cases when they occur, Dr. Al-Ratroot stated that they are so rare that there is
actually “no concept in Jordanian law” for homelessness (personal communication, April 6, 2017). When Mr. Ebbini was asked whether his organization could confirm this he responded that they hadn’t heard of any homeless people, although he went on to say, “there are likely a few cases but not enough to keep statistics on” (personal communication, April 17, 2017). The staff at the housing NGO stated that they give financial assistance to help with maintenance, repair, and the building of new homes, but they don’t work with the homeless because this problem just “doesn’t exist here” (personal communication, April 12, 2017).

Certain other clarifications were made by the interview subjects about why certain groups of people aren’t or don’t become homeless. For one, beggars, who can be seen in various crowded places in Amman, are widely considered not homeless, and some are thought to not even be poor (Al-Ratroot, personal communication, April 6, 2017). Though many visible beggars probably are poor, it is much more of an industry than an act of desperation, as most beggars are believed to work for people who use them to get money (Ebbini, personal communication, April 17, 2017). Alcoholics and drug addicts would likely be sheltered by their families, as it is a shame on the family for a member to be an addict (Ebbini, personal communication, April 17, 2017). Orphans and children born out of wedlock, who are often abandoned, will be taken care of by the Ministry of Social Development and placed with a foster family (Al-Ratroot, personal communication, April 6, 2017).

All interview subjects agreed the cause of this lack of homelessness was due to Jordanian cultural structure rather than the government or NGOs solving. Dr. Jaber described how in Jordan the tribal culture is so strong that it is considered a shame if any member of a tribe is without basic needs, especially if they are a woman (personal communication, April 11, 2017). Dr. Majali affirmed this, saying that even though it is taught in Jordan to follow religion more
than tribal traditions, an appreciated positive side of tribalism is that members cooperate to make sure not one of them suffers (personal communication, April 13, 2017). Since tribes can contain “thousands” of members, there is always someone with money. Someone who loses their home or is at risk of becoming homeless would thus have plenty of relatives to turn to.

Mr. Ebbini confirmed, “homelessness generally isn’t a phenomenon due to family structure,” but posited that it was due more to the values of nuclear families rather than the overall structure of the tribe (personal communication, April 17, 2017). This is the case for Palestinians at least. According to Dr. Jaber, the Palestinians who came to Jordan have integrated enough into the private sector of the economy that their families have enough money to support them.

The survey results demonstrated a trend in the way Jordanians felt like helping the homeless. The survey asked participants what they would do if they saw a homeless person on the street if the person was in their neighborhood, if they were in another part of Amman or Jordan, or if the homeless person was not Jordanian. The results are charted below.
Homeless person in another part of Amman or Jordan

- Notify an organization
- Post picture and description to social media to inform the public
- Invite them to your home for the time being
- Hand them money
- Some combination of the above
- Pass them by

Non-Jordanian homeless person

- Notify an organization
- Post picture and description to social media to inform the public
- Invite them to your home for the time being
- Hand them money
- Some combination of the above
- Pass them by
For a homeless person in their neighborhood, they are extremely likely to give money, and somewhat likely to engage in more than one option or simply pass the person by. For a homeless person in a different part of Jordan or Amman, they are much more likely to notify an organization and slightly less likely to pass them by. For a non-Jordanian homeless person they are extremely likely to call an organization or engage in one or more options. According to Dr. Jaber, if the average Jordanian sees a homeless person they would probably call the Ministry of Social Development or the police, who would then take the person to the Ministry of Social Development (personal communication April 11, 2017). This appears to be truer the more foreign the homeless person is to the Jordanian. The survey did not ask about family ties to homeless people.

The beliefs and institutions of Islam, though a core part of Jordanian society and source of ethics, are ultimately not very related to the familial/tribal ties that keep Jordanians out of homelessness. While during the time of the Prophet there were people who would sleep in the mosque and eat food that was left there, today it is just for prayer. Some mosques today are community centers but ultimately it depends on the Imam and the community, and the only people who come to the mosque asking for help are beggars (personal communication, April 13, 2017). Jordan is also unique among most Islamic countries for having a familial/tribal culture so strong that it eliminates homelessness, the only countries listed that could compare to Jordan were Syria, Iraq, and Yemen, however the civil wars in all three of those countries render comparison tragically impossible (Jaber, personal communication, April 11, 2017). The one main connection between Islam and Jordanian culture mentioned in interviews is the lack of
shame attached to being in need. This is central to the Islamic view of poverty and according to Dr. Jaber, also a very important idea in Jordan (personal communication, April 11, 2017).

However, on this point about blaming the poor, the survey shows different results. When asked to what degree they agreed with the statement “the homeless should not be blamed for being homeless,” the average response was almost perfectly in the middle, only slightly leaning toward agreement (quantified at 56%). This displays hesitancy among the public to affirm the general societal value. Only two Christians were surveyed, but even they gave almost opposite answers. Also, when asked whether cultural or religious reasons would motivate them to aid the homeless, one third of participants said they would do it for religious reasons, and approximately 43% said they would do it equally for religious and cultural reasons.

**Discussion**

The researcher originally formulated three hypotheses about homelessness in Jordan. First, that Jordanian culture aligned to a collectivist structure, leading to feelings of sympathy for the homeless. Second, that this collectivism originated in the teachings and institutions of Islam. Third, that because of these facets, Jordanian society had created a network of government programs and aid organizations that effectively help the homeless find housing.

To start simply, the third hypothesis about government and civil society has been largely disproven by this research. While the government does handle the occasional case of homelessness, the number is microscopic. The fact that the Jordanian government does not even have the concept of homelessness written into its laws is a sign of how irrelevant it is in the everyday workings of the state. Likewise, the NGO interviewed did not see any need for aid to the homeless because there essentially are no homeless. The familial ties in Jordanian culture are so strong that homelessness never comes close to being a problem and everyone in danger of
losing their house can get assistance from or move in with their family, possibly before they have to leave their current home.

The government still does some prevention work by taking care of orphans and other children without known parents, but once they are put with foster families they become that family’s responsibility, with the government giving funds to help the child grow until they reach the age of 18 (Al-Ratroot, personal communication, April 29, 2017). But this is only one small subset of the population, and the fact that the Jordanian government is able to take care of these people so thoroughly is a testament to how completely the overall prevention of homelessness is brought about by the country’s culture.

The hypothesis that Islam is the source of the collectivism in Jordan that helps eliminate homelessness has also been disproven. Dr. Majali, the Imam, confirmed that the structure of tribes and the families within them is the main reason people don’t become homeless. And while charity is important, and there is even a government ministry that assists in the distribution of donations and mandatory giving, this is mostly a source of support for the general poor (personal communication, April 13, 2017). Although, hypothetically, this financial aid could be effective as a preventative measure against homelessness. Islamic ethics could play a part in Jordanians’ motivations to help the homeless, as evidenced by the survey results about religious versus cultural motivations, but in hindsight, the researcher feels that this question was poorly designed, as most if not all of the Jordanians surveyed had likely never seen a homeless individual in person before. Likewise, this question was phrased in such a way that it excluded assistance Jordanians might give to their family members, who likely would not yet have lost their homes or would not have been homeless for long. This should have been included on the survey to give accurate results since it is the main way homelessness is solved in this country. This was also
the question that three participants took issue with. They felt that it was too narrow and didn’t take into account basic human decency. As such, they all wrote that they would help a homeless person because they are human rather than for religion or culture. This is a fair criticism and perhaps religion and culture were put together as a false binary in that question.

**Jordanian Culture and Change in Perspective**

Most consequentially, the hypothesis that Jordanian culture is collectivist, and that this leads to feelings of sympathy toward the homeless, is proven, but only do a degree. Having completed the study, the researcher now believes that this hypothesis itself was flawed. It is true that about half of survey respondents agreed with the statement that the homeless should not be blamed for being homeless, and that this part of the result was predicted by the interview process, but another half of survey respondents didn’t agree with the statement. This could very well be a sign that a survey of 30 people is not statistically accurate enough to gage public opinion, but when taken into account with the rest of the findings about the objective lack of homelessness in Jordan, it reveals a key problem with the way this study was originally designed.

Rather than study to what extent the average Jordanian prevented homelessness from becoming a problem in the first place, the researcher assumed that homelessness was a problem that the institutions and organizations of Jordan were simply very effective solving. As the research process went on however, the perspective of the researcher shifted. It became clear through the interviews that the reality in Jordan is not that homelessness is somehow solved, it’s that the fundamental structure of Jordanian culture creates a society where homelessness just can’t exist. All of the 16 homeless individuals recorded by the Ministry of Social Development were eventually housed. One of them, written about in the Jordan Times, was actually housed by residents of a local community after someone posted about him on the Facebook page of the
neighborhood he was in. He was homeless for two years but was housed shortly after he was discovered, probably due to the shame the residents of the neighborhood felt for letting someone among them suffer (Al Elam, 2017). He was also mentally ill, and while the fact that 15 out of the 16 homeless people had mental illness, the number is still too small to be statistically significant. This is similar to how Main (1996) found that two-thirds to 80% of homeless he survey ed suffered from mental illness and other maladies, but clearly, when only 15 of the mentally ill in Jordan become homeless, this is not indicative that the mentally ill are inherently prone to homelessness.

The survey missed important context due to being designed with the faulty hypothesis in mind. It completely left out questions about family structure and what Jordanians would be willing to do for their family members if they were at risk of homelessness or became homeless. As such, the limited results paint Jordanian society in the wrong perspective, and an inaccurately apathetic light. The observation that participants were divided on whether or not they agreed that the homeless shouldn’t be blamed for being homeless could very likely be due to the fact that seeing homelessness in Jordan is just “weird” (Jaber, personal communication, April 11, 2017). Another explanation could be that, despite what is held in Islam about not shaming the poor, Jordanians hold to their cultural familial/tribal ties much more strongly than their loyalty to their fellow citizens. After all, if homelessness is unusual, they may have unusual feelings about it.

The trend observed in the above charts that Jordanians are willing to do more to help a homeless person who is more foreign to them can easily be explained when the familial/tribal culture is taken into account. If a Jordanian saw a homeless person in their neighborhood, they might feel secure in thinking that the person’s family will come and get them soon and therefore this situation isn’t too disturbing. If they saw a homeless person in a different part of Amman or
Jordan they might feel more detached from them and less secure in the feeling that someone will come to get them, and therefore they may feel like they ought to do more. If they saw a foreign homeless person in Jordan they would know that this person likely has no family in the country that can help them, and so then they may feel especially obligated to assist them.

While still proof that Jordanians are motivated to help those in need in their society, these results show that Jordan does not fit in well with the traditional theory of social collectivism. It was postulated that collectivism in a society led to positive feelings for the homeless (Baumgartner et al. 2012), but findings in Jordan are mixed. The experts say that it’s a generally accepted value that the poor are not shamed, but the survey shows conflicting feelings. Additionally, the strongest bonds in Jordan are the bonds between relatives and members of the same tribe while the bonds between community members are still important but not an ethical motivator to lend aid to the same degree. This reveals the unique structure of Jordanian society as being not wholly collectivist. Jordanian society is somewhat collective overall, but the ultra strong collectives are families and tribes. Dr. Jaber and Majali both added that while the familial/tribal culture works well for members of the same tribe, the detriments of this culture are, for example, the dominance of tribal alliances in elections, and the tendency for an entire tribe to be blamed for the wrongdoings or perceived wrongdoings of one of its members, leading to intertribal violence (personal communication, April 13, 2017). Tribalism of this intensity is apparently unique to Jordan and Yemen, though the latter is currently at war and can’t be studied to confirm (personal communication, April 11, 2017).

**Jordan and Theory Reconsidered**

This mixture of intratribal cooperation and intertribal conflict bares similarities to both collectivist and individualist theory. While Baumgartner et al. (2012) described collectivism as
leading to greater cooperation in a society, individualist societies are “more likely to emphasize values of competition” (p. 27). But while mainstream social theory only applies this to individuals, in Jordan it applies to tribes. The tribal culture of Jordan comes together to create a society that is individualistic on the level of tribes, and collectivistic within tribes and families. There simply was no social theory found during this research to conceptualize this society with. There are many other tribal societies in the world, but there are no studies on the positive effects of intratribal collectivism going hand in hand with the individualistic tendencies of intertribal friction. Indeed, the terms individualist and collectivist are inadequate labels for this concept.

Furthermore, Jordan is one of the few tribal societies where such a universal problem as homelessness has been eliminated, even while the country as a whole suffers from 30-40% of the population living in poverty (Ebbini, personal communication, April 17, 2017). Jordan breaks the paradigm used by most of the cited literature on homelessness. It disproves Neale’s (1997) claim that there are no “solutions which meet the diverse needs” of all homeless. Granted, it is embedded in the fabric of Jordanian culture, but it is a solution nonetheless, with only 16 people slipping through the cracks in the past 17 years. Somerville’s (2013) research on pathways in and out of homelessness is also irrelevant here because the pathways are essentially sealed. There will always be a family member capable of helping out someone at risk of homelessness, and if they are engaging in destructive behavior, the family will shelter them, though probably forcefully, and refuse to leave them to their vices.

The two basic mainstream understandings of homelessness cited in this research, the structural and individual views, are clearly demonstrated to be based off a faulty presupposition. These theories attempt to explain why homelessness exists by proposing that it is either the individual or the society around them that leads them to homelessness. However, neither of
these theories applies to Jordan. The individual perspective is irrelevant because though there are some homeless who are mentally ill or unemployed, they are the exceptions rather than the rule and Jordanian society eventually makes sure they find proper housing. The structural perspective is irrelevant because rather than causing homelessness, the social structure of Jordan prevents it.

Finally, perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Jordanian society is that though it is a developing country, suffering from significant economic troubles, limited resources, and all the regional effects of the Arab civil wars, it has, in terms of homelessness specifically, far surpassed other developing and even developed nations. While the rapid urbanization that occurs in the developing world usually creates and exacerbates homelessness, Jordan has followed this path and remained stable. Even the Palestinians, though they first arrived as refugees, have adapted to survival and are just as successful at taking care of their own as the Jordanians of Jordanian origin are, even without the same tribal heritage.

Conclusion

The reality of homelessness in Jordan can be summarized thus: the basic social structure, built off family ties and tribal loyalty, prevents it from occurring. The 16 cases that have been recorded in the entire country since the year 2000 are the exceptions to this rule, and have all been addressed and housed once more. The familial/tribal culture of Jordan is uniquely strong, with no known similar nations stable enough for comparison. There are detrimental aspects to this structure due to the individualistic conflict of the tribes amongst eachother, but the other side of this is the intratribal and familial micro-collectivism within the tribes themselves. The Palestinian refugees have by now adapted to life in Jordan, and are also able to keep themselves from homelessness with family support. If ever someone loses their home or is in danger of
losing it, they have plenty of relatives to turn to who will feel personally obligated to assist them. There are few things more shameful than neglecting the basic needs of one’s own kin.

The inventory of social theory, predominantly Western social theory, needs to be expanded in order to properly conceptualize Jordanian society. The individualist-collectivist paradigm, though useful, is not sufficient for describing the social dynamics of Jordanian tribes or family units, how they work within each other, and how they interact in society. Additionally, the conventional understandings of how homelessness is caused are irrelevant when applied to Jordan. The structural theory can only explain how a society causes homelessness, whereas Jordanian society prevents it. Meanwhile, the individual theory says the homeless themselves are the reason for their homelessness, but in Jordan a homeless person’s family will almost never let them become homeless no matter how destructive their behavior, for fear of the shame it would bring on the family. And of course, it can no longer be an acceptable idea that homelessness is an “intractable problem” or that solutions to it are merely a “utopian” dream (Neale, 1997). A country in an unstable region, with a significant amount of poverty, and still in the process of developing has managed to virtually eliminate it. All further theorizing on homelessness must acknowledge this reality.

In summary of the study, the hypothesis that that the government and various NGOs were the main direct actors in eliminating homelessness is false. The Ministry of Social Development takes care of the few rare cases and there is one instance of a community coming together to get a man housed, but aside from this these is no problem to fix. The hypothesis that Jordan’s Islamic heritage was the prime motivator for eliminating homelessness is also false. Though as an Islamic society there are many who engage in pious and charitable giving, the prime motivator for making sure no one becomes homeless is the familial/tribal culture. The
hypothesis that Jordanian culture is a collectivist society that helps the homeless because they view them in a positive way is somewhat true, but uses the wrong theory to conceptualize Jordan. Jordanians are highly collectivistic within their families and tribes, but usually moderately collectivistic in society as a whole. It is a family bond more than anything else that would motivate Jordanians to support someone facing homelessness.

Limitations

One of the major limiting factors of this study was the cultural background of the researcher. This affects the design of the study, what was focused on, and what was left out. As a young white American male with an upper-middle class upbringing, the researcher brings into this study the presuppositions about poverty and homelessness intrinsic in this identity. As detailed in the study, the researcher had to change their perspective on homelessness and Jordanian society, realizing just how significant differences in culture can be, and this affects the quality of the research.

Another issue this study faces is the lack of prior research on the topic. Some background information would have been useful in planning the study and going into the research process with a proper perspective on the subjects involved. As also stated in the study, the researcher found that popular and academic social theories were insufficient for conceptualizing the society at hand, which made it difficult to present certain analyses of Jordanian social structure. As it stands, this study is essentially exploratory and should be interpreted as a basic overview of the very complex and diverse society of Jordan.

An inherent limitation in this study was the strict time limit of four weeks. An interview that would have been useful in understanding Jordanian tribalism couldn’t be arranged by midway through the third week of the project and had to be left out. In general, more interviews
and a much wider and more systematic survey would have lent greater accuracy and specificity
to the findings. With more time, the study could have evolved as necessary and included a much
more thorough presentation of facts and analysis of Jordanian society and lack of homelessness.

**Recommendations for Future Study**

The main area for future study should Jordanian tribalism and how it acts as the
foundation of society in Jordan. It would help to know the history of tribalism in Jordan and
what makes it unique among Arab, Muslim-majority, developing, and tribal nations. Possible
starting places could be historical accounts of Syrian, Iraqi, and Yemeni culture to give a fuller
picture of whether these were truly comparable to Jordan before their respective wars. It is
unclear where the best place for a comparative study will be, but it may be useful to begin by
comparing Jordan to a radically different culture such as the United States or France along with
as similar a culture as possible such as Oman. Within Jordan, it would also be very useful to
study how the different cultural backgrounds and histories of Palestinians and Jordanians both
ultimately lead to a society without homelessness.

As has been repeatedly stated, new social theories need to be developed to properly
conceptualize Jordanian culture and why it doesn’t have homelessness. For one, newer theories
of collectivism need to take into account the nuances of the Jordanian tribes. Also, in order to
explain why Jordanian society prevents homelessness, a theory must be developed around
positive social structures that prevent social ills rather than create them. Ultimately, further
study of Jordan will greatly build the general academic understanding of homelessness.

Previously, it has been accepted that homelessness just occurs naturally in society as part of the
spectrum from rich to poor and have to have not. Acknowledging the existence of societies
outside of the traditional paradigm will add major depth to future analyses of the issue.
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Appendix A
Survey Questionnaire

**الاستبيان**

الديانة:
 الإسلامي  مسيحي  غيرها: الرجاء التحديد:____________________

السؤال 1. هل تتذكر أنك رأيت أو سمعت عن شخص في حارتك مشرد أو مع مرض لخسارة بيته؟ 
- نعم
- لا

السؤال 2. هل تعترف بأي مؤسسات أو منظمات في عمان قد تقدم المساعدة أو الدعم للمشردين؟
- نعم
- لا

السؤال 3. إذا رأيت شخص مشرد في حارتك فإنك سوف:
- أ. تخبر منظمة أو مسيلة محلية بذلك
- ب. تضع صورة وتاريخ على مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي لتعلم الناس بذلك
- ج. تعزمهم إلى بيتك مرحلياً
- د. تطلب بعض التمويل
- ه. تقوم بأكثر من واحدة مما سبق
- ز. تتجاوزه فقط

السؤال 4. إذا رأيت شخص مشرد في منطقة أخرى في عمان أو في الأردن فإنك سوف:
- أ. تخبر منظمة أو مسيلة محلية بذلك
- ب. تضع صورة وتاريخ على مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي لتعلم الناس بذلك
- ج. تعزمهم إلى بيتك مرحلياً
- د. تطلب بعض التمويل
- ه. تقوم بأكثر من واحدة مما سبق
- ز. تتجاوزه فقط

السؤال 5. إذا رأيت شخص مشرد غير أردني فإنك سوف:
- أ. تخبر منظمة أو مسيلة محلية بذلك
- ب. تضع صورة وتاريخ على مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي لتعلم الناس بذلك
- ج. تعزمهم إلى بيتك مرحلياً
- د. تطلب بعض التمويل
- ه. تقوم بأكثر من واحدة مما سبق
- ز. تتجاوزه فقط
السؤال 6. من أي منطلق ستساعد المشردين؟
أ. بشكل كامل منطلق ديني
ب. على الأغلب من منطلق ديني
ج. من منطلق ديني وثقافي بشكل متساو
د. على الأغلب من منطلق ثقافي
ه. بشكل كامل من منطلق ثقافي

السؤال 7. إلى أي مدى تتفق مع العبارة التالية: إن المشردين يجب أن لا يُلاموا على كونهم مشردين.
أ. لا أتفق إطلاقا
ب. لا أتفق نوعاً ما
ج. أتفق نوعاً ما
د. أتفق بشكل كامل
Appendix B

Informed Consent Form

Title: Homefulness: The Cultural, Religious, and Organizational Safety Net in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Joshua Ahearn/Gordon College

School for International Training—Jordan: Modernization and Social Change

1. The purpose of this study is to investigate the methods and motivations of aid actors in Jordan in eliminating homelessness with a focus on cultural traditions, religious beliefs, and organizational action by government and NGOs.

2. Rights Notice

   If at any time, you feel that you are at risk or exposed to unreasonable harm, you may terminate and stop the interview. Please take some time to carefully read the statements provided below.

   a. Privacy - all information you present in this interview may be recorded and safeguarded. If you do not want the information recorded, you need to let the interviewer know.

   b. Anonymity - all names in this study will be kept anonymous unless the participant chooses otherwise.

   c. Confidentiality - all names will remain completely confidential and fully protected by the interviewer. By signing below, you give the interviewer full responsibility to uphold this contract and its contents. The interviewer will also sign a copy of this contract and give it to the participant.

3. Instructions:

   Please read the following statements carefully and mark your preferences where indicated. Signing below indicates your agreement with all statements and your voluntary participation in the study. Signing below while failing to mark a preference where indicated will be interpreted as an affirmative preference. Please ask the researcher if you have any questions regarding this consent form.

   I am aware that this interview is conducted by an independent undergraduate researcher with the goal of producing a descriptive case study on the cultural attitudes of Jordanians, local interpretation of Islamic teachings, and the frameworks of aid distribution of NGOs and the Jordanian government as well as the relationship between them.

   I am aware that the information I provide is for research purposes only. I understand that my responses will be confidential and that my name will not be associated with any results of this study.

   I am aware that I have the right to full anonymity upon request, and that upon request the researcher will omit all identifying information from both notes and drafts.

   I am aware that I have the right to refuse to answer any question and to terminate my participation at any time, and that the researcher will answer any questions I have about the study.

   I am aware of and take full responsibility for any risk, physical, psychological, legal, or social, associated with participation in this study.

   I am aware that I will not receive monetary compensation for participation in this study, but a copy of the final study will be made available to me upon request.

   I [ do / do not ] give the researcher permission to use my name and position in the final study.

   I [ do / do not ] give the researcher permission to use my organizational affiliation in the final study.

   I [ do / do not ] give the researcher permission to use data collected in this interview in a later study.

Date: ___________________________  Participant’s Signature: ___________________________

Participant’s Printed Name: ___________________________

Researcher’s Signature: JOSHUA AHEARN

Thank you for participating!

Questions, comments, complaints, and requests for the final written study can be directed to:
Dr. Ashraf F. Alqudah, SIT Jordan Academic Director
Telephone (962) 0785422478
Email: ashraf.alqudah@sit.edu
Access, Use, and Publication of ISP/FSP

Student Name: Joshua Ahearn
Email Address: josh.ahearn@gordon.edu
Title of ISP/FSP: Homefulness: The Cultural Safety Net in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Program and Term/Year: Jordan: Modernization and Social Change, Spring 2017

Student research (Independent Study Project, Field Study Project) is a product of field work and as such students have an obligation to assess both the positive and negative consequences of their field study. Ethical field work, as stipulated in the SIT Policy on Ethics, results in products that are shared with local and academic communities; therefore copies of ISP/FSPs are returned to the sponsoring institutions and the host communities, at the discretion of the institution(s) and/or community involved.

By signing this form, I certify my understanding that:

1. I retain ALL ownership rights of my ISP/FSP project and that I retain the right to use all, or part, of my project in future works.
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JOSHUA AHEARN
April 27, 2017
Student Signature Date
Withdrawal of Access, Use, and Publication of ISP/FSP

Given your agreement to abide by the SIT Policy on Ethics, withdrawing permission for publication may constitute an infringement; the Academic Director will review to ensure ethical compliance.

☐ I hereby withdraw permission for World Learning/SIT Study Abroad to include my ISP/FSP in the Program’s office permanent collection.

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Reason: I do not withdraw permission

JOSHUA AHEARN

April 27, 2017

Student Signature
Date

Academic Director has reviewed student reason(s) for withdrawing permission to use and agrees it does not violate the SIT Study Abroad Policy on Ethics.

May 10 2017

Academic Director Signature
Date

Note: This form is to be included with the electronic version of the paper and in the file of any World Learning/SIT Study Abroad archive.
ISP Ethics Review

(Note: Each AD must complete, sign, and submit this form for every student’s ISP.)

The ISP paper by Ahearn, Joshua does conform to the Human Subjects Review approval from the Local Review Board, the ethical standards of the local community, and the ethical and academic standards outlined in the SIT student and faculty handbooks.

Completed by: Ashraf F. Alquudah, Ph. D.

Academic Director: Ashraf F. Alquudah, Ph. D.

Signature: 📜

Program: JOR Spring 2017

Date: May 10th 2017
**LRB/IRB ACTION FORM**

| Name of Student: Joshua Ahearn | Institution: World Learning Inc. |
| ISP Title: Homefulness: The Cultural, Religious, and Organizational Safety Net in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan | IRB organization number: IORG0004408 |
| Date Submitted: 20/3/2017 | IRB registration number: IRB00005219 |
| Program: Jordan: Modernization and Social Change, Spring 2017 | Expires: 9 December 2017 |
| Type of review: | LRB members (print names): |
| Exempt | *Ashraf F. Alqudah, Ph. D. Chair* |
| Expeditied | *Ismael Abu Aamoud, Ph. D.* |
| Full | *Badr AlMadi, Ph. D.* |

**LRB REVIEW BOARD ACTION:**

Approved as submitted

**LRB Chair Signature:**

Date: Mar. 28th 2017

**Form below for IRB Vermont use only:**

Research requiring full IRB review. **ACTION TAKEN:**

---

__ approved as submitted__ approved pending submission or revisions__ disapproved

---

IRB Chairperson’s Signature

Date