Everyday Humanitarians: the act of refugee hosting in protracted urban displacement in Amman, Jordan.

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Abstract

Refugee hosting at the household-level is characterised by the sharing of accommodation and social interaction and interdependence between parties. Its prevalence is gaining recognition as humanitarian and scholarly focus shifts to urban displacement. Despite this, there has been little research into refugee hosting.

In this thesis, I explore what constitutes the act of refugee hosting at the household-level in protracted urban displacement. Refugee hosting relationships are typically portrayed as static kinship-based practices, between non-displaced hosts and displaced guests. Presumed to be short-term measures, the prolongation of hosting in protracted displacement is seen as a burden to hosts. Through an exploration of refugee hosting in Amman, Jordan, I challenge this depiction to argue that refugee hosting is a far-reaching and dynamic response to displacement and an overlooked component of humanitarian response. I contribute to understandings of how refugees respond to displacement, and their experiences of protracted urban displacement.

This research is based on fieldwork in Amman conducted between September 2017 and October 2018, including 38 semi-structured interviews with members of refugee hosting arrangements from Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese, and Syrian backgrounds, and in-depth interviews and observation with 9 young Sudanese men living in 6 shared houses.

In the first part of the thesis, I identify hosting as a humanitarian act, and question why hosting has so far been overlooked. I then develop a new framework for understanding the act of hosting based on the concepts of hospitality, sharing, and caring. Drawing on this framework, and emphasising the prevalence of refugee-refugee hosting arrangements, I propose a typology of hosting arrangements and consider who has access to different forms of hosting. In the second part of the thesis, I turn to a more detailed exploration of the experiences of one particular group: young Sudanese refugee men living in group hosting arrangements. I detail the processes through which their hosting relationships were created, identifying their role as an infrastructure of care that enables urban inhabitation, with wide-reaching impact on refugees' experience of urban displacement. I also provide insight regarding the everyday circulation of care by and for men within hosting arrangements, and the potential of hosting for home in protracted displacement.

In conclusion, refugee hosting relationships have extensive impacts on refugees' lives. Whilst neither desirable nor accessible for all refugees, they are a vital and responsive support during displacement. A greater engagement with refugee hosting at the household-level would improve humanitarian response to urban displacement and increase our understanding of experiences of displacement.

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Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
ARDD	Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development
ASC	Asylum Seeker Certificate
CSC	Community Support Committee
DoS	Department of Statistics
GBP	Great British Pound
GoJ	Government of Jordan
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross
JOD	Jordanian Dinar
JOHUD	The Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development
JRP	Jordan Response Plan
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
MoI	Ministry of the Interior
MoPIC	Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-government Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PoC	Person of concern
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
VAF	Vulnerability Assessment Framework
WFP	World Food Programme

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Chapter One: Introduction

The issue of refugee hosting is not new. In 1986 Robert Chambers identified hosts as a secondary concern within humanitarian practice and taken for granted by humanitarian actors (Chambers, 1986). Today, the existence of household-level hosting is recognised in humanitarian contexts around the world, and they are an established form of shelter for displaced populations (UNHCR, 2007; IFRC, 2012; Argenal and Setchell, 2014; ECHO, 2017).

Occurring across time and place, refugee hosting is of vital importance for refugees (Zetter and Deikun, 2011; Global Shelter Cluster, 2018; Caron, 2019). Hosting relationships provide essential support in moments of crisis – shelter, food, clothing and basic household items (IFRC, 2012; Argenal and Setchell, 2014). They often continue well past the initial crisis, helping displaced people find their feet in their new location, connecting them to jobs, and providing a link to the local community. The level of support hosting provides has even led to it being described as "the silent NGO" (Davies, 2012, p. 11). While this depiction paints a rosy image of hosting, it hides a myriad of questions about how the host relationship functions and the experience of being hosted or of hosting others. Despite its prevalence and the importance of hosting mechanisms for refugees and their hosts there has been little in-depth work on understanding and engaging with refugee hosting practices.

Citizens hosting refugees in their homes has frequently been featured in coverage of the 'home-grown' volunteer response to refugees arriving in Europe, particularly since 2015 (Lyons and Grant, 2015; Cantor, Lyons and Fidler, 2017; Wade, 2018; Refugees at Home, 2019; Room for Refugees, 2019). Many of these reports rightly acknowledge that only a small proportion of the global refugee population comes to Europe, with the majority living in countries neighbouring the conflict. Few recognise that nationals and refugees in these countries are also hosting refugees in their homes, sharing accommodation and resources. In this thesis, I focus on the hosting relationships occurring in protracted urban displacement contexts drawing on qualitative research conducted in Amman, Jordan.

UNHCR defines displaced persons living with host families as "Persons of concern [who] may settle with and amongst local households, on land or in properties that local people own" (UNHCR, 2015). This definition gives little indication as to the relationships between displaced persons and local persons, nor the nature of the hosting arrangement. I define refugee hosting at the household-level as the sharing of accommodation by two or more households. It is characterised by the interdependency of participants in the host relationship, and its position on a continuum from guesthood to tenancy, being neither an economic rental transaction, nor a purely hospitality-based relationship. This definition is elaborated in Chapter Six, in which I

propose a theoretical framework for understanding the act of hosting based on hospitality, sharing, and an ethics of care. This understanding moves away from territorial understandings of hosting based on economic exchange, to one that shows greater consideration of the importance of social relations in the construction of hosting. In particular, the recognition of the importance of sharing based on an ethics of care contributes a sense of the interdependence of hosting relationships, which is central in distinguishing it from tenancy or guest-hood. In recognising hosting as relational, and as a humanitarian act, I challenge existing norms of humanitarianism as performed through the humanitarian system. I contribute to the discussion on how refugees engage with and respond to urban displacement, and add an overlooked dimension to refugees' experiences of protracted displacement.

I argue that refugee hosting is a far-reaching and dynamic response to displacement and an overlooked component of humanitarian response, in both practice and research. Where host families are discussed in the literature four main representations of the relationship emerge. The first depicts host families as saviours on whom the displaced family are largely dependent (Davies, 2012; Argenal and Setchell, 2014). This perception is prevalent in humanitarian representations of hosting, and it is from this viewpoint that two common assumptions originate: that displaced persons are a large drain on host family resources and a burden to support (IFRC, 2012; Brown and Hersh, 2013); and that displaced persons are better off in host families than in camps. Hosting is seen as a positive coping mechanism for displaced persons, but a significant burden for hosting communities.

By contrast, the second common understanding that emerges from the literature portrays the hosting relationship a space in which exploitative relationships can develop (Corsellis and Vitale, 2005; Brown and Hersh, 2013; CCCM, 2017). This exploitation can take various forms, including but not limited to; hard or dangerous work for little or no pay; prostitution; child labour; involvement in criminal activity including the drug trade; and domestic violence.

The third representation assumes that hosting practices primarily occurs between extended family members (Brookings-LSE, 2013; UN-Habitat, 2013; UN-Habitat and UNHCR, 2014). In such cases, it receives little critical or sustained attention, and is instead dismissed as a 'natural' phenomenon. This is despite evidence that many families participating in hosting arrangements would not, in non-conflict or non-displacement settings, be living together.

Finally, it is frequently taken for granted that hosting is an act of the citizen. Texts relating to hosting assume that the practice occurs between displaced guests and non-displaced hosts (IASC, 2010b). To a certain extent, this may be because much of the literature on hosting in humanitarian situations has emerged from the focus on internal displacement that occurred in

the 2000s (Haver, 2008; Davies, 2012; Brookings-LSE, 2013), with the following assumption that both parties were citizens of the country in question. However, the terminology of 'host' also implies a right to be in a place, to exert control over the place, and to welcome others, which are assumed to be the role of the non-displaced (see Chapter Six for further discussion how I conceptualise the act of hosting).

In reality, the hosting relationship is much more nuanced than allowed for by these four representations. The hosting relationship is constantly evolving, and all parties actively make decisions and continue to negotiate and adapt their relationship according to external and internal factors. I propose a more nuanced view of hosting, recognizing the strategies of all parties and the active support provided by displaced populations to other displaced populations. I argue for a shift in our understanding of hosting away from a territorial/citizenship and kinship based act to a more dynamic and relational practice. In doing so, we can open the conversation to a more realistic understanding of who is involved in these relationships, why they engage in these practices, and the experience of living in such an arrangement.

Terminology

Refugee hosting occurs at many levels, from the household to the international. Currently, much of the literature focuses on hosting at the national level or the community level. At the national level, research tends to focus on policies for admittance to the territory and large-scale impacts on the economy and public service provision (Chaulia, 2003; Lenner, 2016). Research on hosting at the community levels mainly focuses on social cohesion between groups, and impacts on local housing, job, and food markets. Some work also looks at the capacity of local or national health and education systems to respond to the needs of newly arrived refugees (Del Carpio and Wagner, 2015; Francis, 2015; Kreibaum, 2016; Lenner and Schmelter, 2016). Instead, I situate my research at the household-level, exploring the interpersonal relationships between people sharing the same accommodation. Throughout the thesis, I use the term "hosting" to refer to refugee hosting at the household-level. Where I discuss refugee hosting at the national or community level the distinction is made explicit.

An initial challenge to understanding hosting practices at the household-level is the difficulty in defining household, particularly in the context of displacement where living arrangements are often reconfigured. Unproblematised conceptions of household run the risk of seeing households as unified actors, obscuring differences between households and conflict within them, and failing to consider the wider social relationships that individual household members may be part of (Bakewell, 2010). Family size and household size are often used interchangeably, yet precursory glance at the living situation of many displaced people (and

others) shows that this fails to capture the number and range of individuals that may make up a household at any one time, and may overlook those who are currently outside of the household's main living space, and those who are within it but who are not viewed as part of the family.

In understanding people's practices and experiences in displacement the privileging of the biological and nuclear family harms accurate understanding of the complex nature of people's coping strategies. Alternative definitions of household place greater emphasis on the sharing of resources. The United Nations (UN) emphasises the shared provision of food and other essentials for living (UN, 2008). This has become an established definition, though it is not without criticism (see, for example, discussion over the use of house and household data in the Vulnerability Assessment Framework in Jordan (Vulnerability Assessment Framework Working Group, 2015)). To this, I would add a consideration of decision-making processes within a household – who is involved and 'governed' by decisions made 'in the name of the household'. Though decision-making practices may involve problematic power relations within the home, particularly in terms of gender and age, they reveal who household members consider to be part of the household and thus under their jurisdiction. In this research, I therefore define a household as a group of individuals – related or not – who share key resources (accommodation, food) and who consider themselves to be jointly impacted by decision-making processes.

As reflected in the use of 'host' the relationship is perceived to be based on a form of hospitality. This is a valuable starting point. Recognising the collision between imaginaries of unconditional hospitality and the conditions attached to everyday practices draws our attention to the underlying tension of hosting practices. However, hospitality cannot fully explain hosting relationships. In many cases, hosting is less a case of extending hospitality, and more a question of sharing the space and resources available.[1] Given this, 'host family', 'host' and 'guest' terminology is problematic, and does not entirely accommodate the meanings assigned to them. Throughout the thesis, I refer to hosting relationships or hosting arrangements in place of 'host families'. Appropriate alternative terminology for 'guest' is harder to identity, with 'hostee' or 'hosted person' suffering similar critiques. This is particularly evident in the later chapters focusing of the practices of Sudanese men in Amman, whose relationships are highly interdependent and where the roles of 'host' and 'guest' frequently change. I have therefore used 'participants', while recognising that this does not fully capture the different positions of different parties in the relationship at any given time.

[1] See Chapter Six for an elaboration of a framework for understanding the act of hosting based on these concepts

Research Questions: What constitutes the act of refugee hosting at the household-level in protracted urban displacement?

The initial idea for this thesis developed from observations during my work as a technical lead on urban displacement and project manager for a humanitarian project for persons displaced into urban areas by conflict in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. In designing the project, it was evident that hosts often experienced comparable vulnerability and material poverty to those they were hosting. As the project progressed, and I spent more time with the participants, it became clear that humanitarian agencies' understandings of the dynamics between hosts and displaced persons were incomplete, and often based on assumptions and anecdotes. The project team did not know enough about how these relationships were working, and therefore could not understand how our actions were impacting on these families, whether positively or negatively. We therefore launched a small research project in order to answer some simple questions: how did hosts and displaced people meet; the demographic profile of those living in the house; the conditions imposed by hosts; and whom they preferred to host. Unsurprisingly, every answer prompted more questions. What was apparent, however, was that hosting relationships are not easily characterised nor are they perceived in the same way by all participants. It was clear that humanitarian assistance does have an impact on how these relationships develop, and the expectations of each party. Finally, it was clear that we had only scratched the surface, and that more time and information was needed to even begin to understand these relationships.

Seeking to answer these questions led to a wider reflection on how we understand social relationships in situations characterised by insecurity and chronic poverty; and how humanitarian actors conceive of and interact with these social relationships. My overall aim in this thesis is to understand existing household-level hosting for refugees in situations of protracted urban displacement. The research question guiding this work is "What constitutes the act of refugee hosting at the household-level in protracted urban displacement?" Drawing on ethnographic approaches, working with 47 participants from Syrian, Sudanese, Somali and Iraqi backgrounds living in central Amman, I sought to answer the following sub-questions:

Research sub-questions

1. What are the different forms of household hosting relationship present among refugee populations in Amman, Jordan and how can they be characterised?

As yet, there has been little work into understanding the different forms of hosting that are present in urban environments. Refugees are not a homogenous group, but rather occupy different social and economic positions, and have individual experiences shaped by gender, race, nationality, age, and family status, among other factors (UNHCR, 2018l). In protracted

displacement, the length of time in displacement and the differing legal status' and regulations governing their presence in the host country will also have a significant impact on their lives (El-Abed, 2006; Crawford *et al.*, 2015). Failing to adequately identify the forms of hosting that exist, in terms of the identity of participants and the 'terms of the arrangement', restricts our understanding of experiences of displacement and of the social support strategies available to different refugees. Beyond this, it also limits our thinking with regards to how people relate to one another and the patterns of exchange and care that exist in uncertain and resource poor contexts (see for example: Hanrahan, 2015; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016).

Recognising the diversity within refugee populations challenges us to consider the different hosting relationships that are available to any given member of a refugee population, and how these relationships may differ based on participants positions and characteristics. Recognising this, I approached my research with the intention to elaborate a typology of hosting. The typology I develop substantially furthers our understanding of refugee hosting arrangements. By unpacking the range of types that exist under the 'host family' label, I challenge us to consider how and why different types emerge, and in seeking to understand who has access to different relationships, to allow for more entangled relations than presumed by the dominant host-guest dichotomy. Doing so has implications not only for humanitarian practice in support of hosting, but also our broader understandings of displacement, and particularly protracted urban displacement. Drawing on this typology, in Chapter Nine I explore the experience of living in one type of hosting arrangement – group hosting – for one group of refugees – Sudanese men.[2]

2. How do Sudanese refugee men create and maintain hosting relationships in the urban environment?

Unlike other refugee populations in Jordan, many Sudanese refugee men in Jordan arrived with limited or no pre-existing social connections, yet hosting relationships are prevalent among this group (Baslan, Kvittingen and Perlmann, 2017). How then, did they establish hosting relationships? Answering this question is important for two principal reasons. Firstly, it challenges us to think again about the bases for hosting relationships, re-evaluating the predominance of pre-existing family and friendship ties in explanations of refugee hosting. Doing so encourages us to think more critically about assumptions regarding displaced persons' social interactions, and how care for others' needs is provided through sociality. Secondly, it requires us to think about how individuals interact within the urban context, and how we can consider the urban for refugees. As mentioned above and elaborated in Chapter Six, hosting relationships are not a passive response to displacement. Rather, the act of hosting is a dynamic

[2] The choice to focus on this form of hosting and this population is discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

negotiation of urban displacement contexts. As such, the acts through which Sudanese men construct and maintain their hosting relationships are of vital importance in understanding how the opportunities and constraints of urban displacement, including those engendered by humanitarian practices, intersect with hosting.

3. How can humanitarian practice expand to acknowledge these everyday acts in ordinary cities?

Refugee hosting practices are formed in interaction with the displacement context. Recognising the interconnections of urban processes, humanitarian actors increasingly need to engage with other actors and existing practice, as well as to understand the ways in which they impact urban systems. Part of my motivation in completing this work stems from my own experiences of humanitarian work with urban host families, and the significant gap in knowledge I encountered in trying to understand the impact of humanitarian programmes on hosting relationships. Identifying how humanitarian actors shape the possibilities and experiences of hosting can help to improve the pertinence of programmes for urban refugees in protracted displacement. In this thesis, I argue that humanitarian actors are already impacting on hosting arrangements, directly and indirectly, beyond the limited number of programmes that have been specifically designed to do so, and call on humanitarian actors to improve their conceptualisation of the social dynamics of displacement contexts.

Hosting is both a result of the implementation of the existing humanitarian system, and a challenge to it. I contend that humanitarian action should expand to acknowledge and engage with everyday humanitarian acts in ordinary cities. To do so requires an alteration of how such everyday acts are understood in relation to the humanitarian system. In this research, I ultimately aim to provoke a reconsideration of traditional assumptions and responses regarding urban displacement and host families. Existing understandings of hosting are too narrow to capture the full range of relationships between refugees and 'hosts', and fail to capture the dynamics of hosting relations as displacement becomes protracted. A broader understanding of hosting allows us to consider the range of social support strategies used by highly mobile refugee populations. This has the potential to move engagement with hosting beyond financial, material, and legal support for housing towards a recognition of the centrality of hosting practices in the experiences of displaced people and their hosts, and the wide-reach of these practices into socio-economic stability, protection, psychosocial well-being, and belonging processes.

Humanitarian action in protracted urban contexts

I situate my research in relation to on-going discussions in forced migration and humanitarian studies regarding protracted displacement and urban displacement. The term 'humanitarian actors' typically refers to UN agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and large international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) (Davey, Borton and Foley, 2013). In this thesis, I refer to these actors as the humanitarian system. This group can be contrasted to the wider group of individuals, groups, and organisations that are motivated by a humanitarian imperative or do the crucial work of providing life-saving assistance but are not enmeshed and interlinked in the same financial and operational system. This second group covers far greater range of organisations and institutions that do not describe themselves primarily as humanitarian organisations, but which engage in humanitarian acts. When speaking of humanitarians, it is often the first group of actors that form the humanitarian system that comes to mind. Despite this there is a growing recognition that it is often affected communities themselves who are the first responders and who provide the vast majority of assistance to people in need (IASC, 2015; Hilhorst, 2018; IFRC, 2018). This has been widely acknowledged in the domain of disaster relief but has been rather slower in gaining ground in the response to conflict displacement and complex emergencies.[3]

Localisation – the transfer of power from international agencies and institutions to national and local organisations (Shifting the Power, 2017) – is now a key pillar of humanitarian response and commitments to refugee-led and community-based response have been reinvigorated (OECD, 2017). Recognising the agency of refugees, humanitarian actors increasingly promote refugee-led initiatives. Despite this, it appears there is still a preference for engaging displaced populations in NGO programming, rather than NGOs understanding and seeking to support existing practices (Forced Migration Review, 2018). Refugee hosting practices are just one example – a particularly widespread example – of the ways in which displaced populations and affected communities help themselves, in negotiation with the assistance provided by host states and international organisations.

Actors in the humanitarian system are increasingly being called upon to respond to situations of protracted displacement and displacement to urban areas (ALNAP, 2018; UNHCR, 2018e). Given this, it is vital to understand hosting practices in such contexts.

[3] A complex emergency refers to a humanitarian crisis in a country, region, or society where there is considerable breakdown of authority resulting from a combination of hazards, often including but not limited to internal and external conflict (UNHCR, 2001; IFRC, 2019)

Protracted displacement

Forced displacement is increasingly long term displacement, with 78 percent of refugees (15.9 million people) living in protracted refugee situations in 2018 (UNHCR, 2018e). UNHCR defines protracted displacement as situations where 25,000 or more refugees of the same nationality have been in exile for five years or longer in a given asylum country (UNHCR, 2014c). The vast majority of all displacement situations persist for much longer periods than the temporariness implicit in this definition suggests. It has been estimated that the average duration of protracted displacement was 9 years in the early 1990s, reached 20 years in 2009, and 26 years in 2017 (Loescher and Milner, 2009; UNHCR, 2017b). Overall, more than 80 percent of refugee crises last ten years or more, and 40 percent last more than 20 years (Loescher and Milner, 2009; Crawford *et al.*, 2015; UNHCR, 2017b).

This definition fails to recognise smaller movements of fewer than 25,000 people from one country, or those who are often invisible and therefore unregistered, such as urban refugees. It also tracks length of displacement for the population group as a whole, rather than households, meaning it cannot capture the full picture of returns, multiple displacement, or new waves of displacement (Loescher and Milner, 2009; UNHCR, 2014c; Crawford *et al.*, 2015). Given that very few refugee situations are solved quickly, and a number of countries have accepted lower boundaries to begin resettlement programmes, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) has argued for reducing the time threshold for declaring a situation of protracted displacement from five years to three (Crawford *et al.*, 2015). I define protracted displacement as a situation in which refugees of the same nationality have been in exile for three years or longer in a given country, and for whom there is little foreseeable opportunity for achievement of a durable solution. This definition includes smaller groups, whose populations number less than 25,000. In the context of Jordan, this applies to the majority of refugee populations in the country, including the Sudanese refugees who are the primary focus of this work, many of whom arrived in 2012/13.

The durable solution framework poses three ‘solutions’ to displacement: resettlement, local integration, and repatriation (Loescher and Milner, 2009). In many cases, permanent return to refugees’ place of origin is the preferred solution by states and humanitarian and development organisations, representing a return to normalcy, but focus on return has led to a standstill and lack of pressure to resolve many situations of protracted displacement (IDMC, 2011). Whilst the durable solutions framework receives much attention as the ‘end-goal’, de facto integration and settlement are the near inevitable consequence of protracted displacement, despite official policy, and legal and political tactics intended to prevent this (Long, 2011; Zetter and Long, 2012).

Protracted displacement is a complex phenomenon. Whilst people's lives may not be at risk, people in protracted displacement cannot access basic rights, and their essential economic, social, and psychological needs remain unmet (UNHCR, 2006). Many host countries do not have a legal and policy framework in place that would permit forced migrants to achieve local integration or to fully enjoy their rights in accordance with international obligations (Crawford *et al.*, 2015). Failure to engage with host countries on the issue of protracted displacement reinforces the perception of refugees as a burden and a security risk, entrenching the lack of local solutions (Loescher and Milner, 2009).

The most recent ALNAP State of the Humanitarian System report (2018) notes that there has been little improvement in humanitarian action to meet needs in protracted crisis, and that while there are more programmes focusing on this area, they have had limited success. Response to populations living in situations of protracted displacement has been critiqued as providing for basic survival and no more, and certainly not full enjoyment of human rights (Hyndman and Giles, 2011). Humanitarian action has been slow to address this reality, and humanitarian understanding of integration and belonging in protracted displacement remains shallow.

Urban displacement

Sixty-one percent of refugees live in urban areas (UNHCR, 2018e) and the proportion of forced migrants living in urban areas increased by 8 percent between 2012 and 2015 (UN, 2015). Hosting is not an exclusively urban phenomenon, and some research into refugee self-settlement outside of camps has been undertaken in rural settings (Chambers, 1986; Hovil, 2007). I have located my research in the urban context as an increasing number of refugees reside in urban areas.

In this thesis, I define 'urban' as built environments with high population density, concentration of administrative, economic, and cultural structures, and diverse economic opportunities and a cash-based economy (Campbell, 2016). Cities also have complex social structures. Importantly, for this thesis, this includes diversity in the population and their potential as spaces of encounter between strangers (Young, 1990; Massey, 2005; Valentine, 2013). Cities however, are also more than the sum of their territorial, political, and social aspects, and can be understood through the interconnections and dynamics between aspects that are assembled in unique ways in each city (McCann, 2011; Campbell, 2016; Boano and Martén, 2017). In this thesis, I look at how humanitarian practice in urban areas intersects with hosting practices through such interconnections.

The recent shift to working in urban contexts is a significant departure from the previous UNHCR policy on urban refugees (UNHCR, 1997). The 1997 policy reflected the conception of urban refugees as a problem, and raised questions as to their bona fide refugee identity, identifying urban refugees as mainly young, single males (UNHCR, 1997). This questioning of the legitimacy of urban refugees has persisted. Similarly, a belief that residence in urban areas is preferably to living in camps in prevalent, despite the well-researched difficulties of living in urban environments (Ramalingam and Knox Clarke, 2012; Haysom, 2013) and the limited (or lack) of options for some refugees to live in camps, as with non-Syrian refugees in Jordan. In 2009, UNHCR launched a new urban policy (UNHCR, 2009). The new policy asserted that urban areas are legitimate places for refugees to reside and paid greater attention to the obstacles to self-reliance faced by many urban refugees, recognising the self-reliance is dependent on the political and social context and on refugees' access to rights within the country (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006). In 2014 this was again updated to reflect a preference for non-camp-based responses (UNHCR, 2014b). In part, this shift was given impetus by the conflict in Syria. Of the 5,589,453 registered Syrian refugees, an estimated 5,129,754 (92 percent) live outside of camps (UNHCR, 2018i). In many countries in the Middle East, encampment is not the preferred policy, yet refugees in most cities have limited recourse to legal protection or humanitarian aid (Fábos, 2015). This has forced the humanitarian system to rapidly respond to this new response paradigm. Many have been slow to do so, and in Jordan there remains a focus on responses in the northern camps of Zaatari and Azraq, rather than in Amman, Irbid, Mafraq and Zarqa where the majority of refugees actually reside.

Urban displacement now receives much attention in policy development and discussions of humanitarian practice, though the dominance of camp-based responses is still evident in practice (UNHCR, 1997, 2009; IASC, 2010a; Ramalingam and Knox Clarke, 2012; IRC, 2014; UN, 2015; Humanitarian Exchange, 2018). Knowledge around urban displacement has matured in the last decade, but challenges remain (Earle, 2016). The dominance of learning that has emerged from the response to Syrian displacement in urban centres in Jordan and Lebanon, along with a handful of other capital cities – Nairobi, Kampala, Cairo, Johannesburg – also raises questions as to the extent of our learning with regards to diverse refugee populations and response in smaller and provincial towns.

Greater engagement in protracted urban contexts has resulted in a shift away from camp-based models of assistance, a rejection of care-and-maintenance, and an increasing realisation of the de facto integration achieved by refugees during extended periods of displacement in urban environments. It has brought an increased need to collaborate and cooperate with other actors in the everyday functioning of city life, including district, municipal, and national government, civil society, and the private sector (Boano and Martén, 2017). As learning regarding urban

displacement continues to evolve, the roles, priorities, and impacts of each of these actors is becoming clearer. I add to this by exploring the interactions between hosting and the displacement context, created in part by humanitarian policy and practice.

Hosting relationships are a response to the complex nature of urban centres. Understanding refugees' everyday actions in relation to the urban environment – bringing the larger scale into the everyday - can reveal how refugees employ various strategies to confront, negotiate and manage uncertainties and urban social, economic and political dynamics within their everyday activities (Darling, 2017). This focus on the local and everyday spaces, rather than national level processes, is not to side-line the importance of national level processes, but rather to bring the same level of critical understanding to the urban experiences of these processes (Darling, 2017). With regards to hosting, this shows how hosting relationships are created and how they are used to care for everyday needs.

Living in protracted urban displacement

Situations of protracted urban displacement often combine multiple waves of displacement; displaced people from a variety of countries; a wide range of needs; disparate social and economic capital; variable support systems; and mixed populations of refugees, IDPs and other migrants, each of whom will experience protracted displacement differently. Multiple and overlapping waves of displacement, sometimes spanning decades, create a situation in which there is both acute crisis and protracted exile. The arrival of new populations can mask the critical condition of existing groups of displaced persons, who are often assumed to be in less need than more recent arrivals (Zetter and Long, 2012; Haysom, 2013; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016a; Barbelet and Wake, 2017).

Recognising the economic opportunities that exist in cities, it is often assumed that the most vulnerable reside in camps, while those who can leave to the cities. Refugees in cities are therefore portrayed both as entrepreneurial workers and, given the on-going preference of many states for refugees to remain in camps, potentially dangerous rule-breakers. While humanitarian agencies are increasingly working on approaches based on providing a facilitative environment for self-reliance, host states are often reluctant to allow for local integration, and balance the potential economic benefits of urban refugees with a securitisation agenda. The result is often management of urban refugees characterised by temporariness (Ward, 2014), plurality of authority, and invisibility (Polzer and Hammond, 2008; Akash, 2015). In many cases, host governments allow for refugees to 'fall' into convenient policy gaps, where they are able to eke out precarious livings, but are largely unable to access their rights and continue to live in prolonged uncertainty.

Uncertainty, understood as imperfect knowledge and unpredictability of the future, is central to studies of displacement (Horst and Grabska, 2015). Whilst conflict-induced uncertainty is often seen as a result of an external event, impacting on a stable social reality, in many cases the protracted nature of displacement results in liminal situations, and in the negotiation of these situations becoming part of everyday life for many displaced people. A body of work looks at the active role of displaced populations in urban environments in relation to the negotiation of their rights and debates the value of legal status in relation to achieving these rights (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen, 2006; Al-Sharmani, 2007; Landau and Duponchel, 2011).

In urban settings, refugees are in daily interaction with national legal frameworks (regulating, for example, their continued presence in the country and accessing to various rights), municipal and local agents (such as police, school teachers, health-care professionals), and the bureaucracies of aid agencies (concerning status regulation and distribution of assistance), as well as less tangible forms of power, such as those based on social norms and expectations. Though not necessarily in conflict, these are rarely completely aligned. Fluctuating relationships between these different sources of authority can lead to significant impacts on the protection space for refugees in urban areas, as argued by Ward in relation to the relationship between the Jordanian government and UNHCR (2014). The potential for frequent changes in regulations and in assistance emphasises the temporariness of refugees' positions and increases the uncertainty that characterises much of their urban experience. This "fragmented domain of multiple and competing sovereignties" (Alsayyad and Roy, 2006, p. 12) results in informality, which highlights the shifting urban relationship between the legal and illegal (Darling, 2017). Informal practices question claims to authority and a definitive sense of what and who is legitimate (Bayat, 1997; Darling, 2017).

In discussing invisibility, we need to recognise the power dynamics involved in creating invisibility. Invisibility may be a deliberate choice of refugees, a tactic used in order to negotiate unfavourable policies and barriers that constrain their actions in urban environments. Others may not be able to remain invisible and may demand help from international agencies. For yet others, it is not a choice but an obscuring of their presence and needs. In response, refugees in urban areas have sometimes resorted to protest in order to claim their refugee identity and associated rights and protections (Harrell-Bond, 2008; Fábos, 2015). The people we describe as invisible are only invisible from a certain perspective (Polzer and Hammond, 2008).While refugees may be invisible to humanitarian and government actors, many will be active and highly visible within their own groups and networks. To those outside of hosting relationships, such arrangements in urban areas may be largely invisible (Bakewell, 2008; Skopec, Valeeva

and Baca, 2010; Davies, 2012; Akash, 2015). For refugees, the people in their hosting arrangements are likely to be one of the most prominent actors in their lives. While invisibility can be linked to the humanitarian system's preference of camp-based solutions, and a misplaced belief that refugees outside of camps are in not as great a need of assistance as those in camps, we should also consider the ways in which this invisibility is deliberately produced in urban environments. As recognised by Polzer and Hammond (2008) invisibility is often a default position that comes about when actors do not consider some things to be important enough to be monitored.

People experiencing protracted displacement are often depicted as being in limbo, static, and waiting for a durable solution before being able to continue their lives (Loescher and Milner, 2009). Such views present an un-nuanced understanding of the lives of displaced populations. These views side-line the active role that displaced populations and those they interact with have in developing coping strategies and creating the situation around them (Loescher and Milner, 2009; Zetter and Long, 2012; Brun, 2015; Brun and Fabos, 2015; Crawford *et al.*, 2015; El-Shaarawi, 2015; Horst and Grabska, 2015). Refugees are far from passive and manage to survive outside of official assistance regimes, often in the face of largely hostile policy environments. Displaced people employ a range of strategies in order to manage their livelihoods and negotiate their environment, including the establishment of hosting arrangements.

Refugee livelihoods

Livelihood strategies refer to "the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living" (Chambers and Conway, 1992, p. 6), and how these are brought together to maintain and sustain life (De Vriese, 2006). A livelihoods approach within humanitarian action is based on acknowledgement that people are already making efforts to stabilize and enhance their situation, and seeks to find ways to understand and support these efforts (De Vriese, 2006). In part, the notion of livelihood emerged and gained traction alongside a renewed interest in protracted refugee situations, self-reliance, and empowerment, and the recognition that the focus of humanitarian assistance on emergency assistance and immediate needs was not adequate for response in prolonged displacement (De Vriese, 2006).

A number of sustainable livelihoods frameworks emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s (for a overview, see Hussein, 2002). Despite the differences between these frameworks, they typically understand livelihoods as multidimensional, incorporating human, social, natural, physical, and financial assets, and seek to understand access to and use of these assets within a wider institutional policy context and social, economic, and political environment. People have

different positions in relation to these assets. An intersectional approaching to livelihoods is therefore required in order to understand how people's different social, legal, and economic positions interact to produce specific vulnerabilities, and to facilitate or curtail access to resources. Currently, within humanitarian programmes, livelihoods programming is often used synonymously with income-generating activities. I prefer a more holistic understanding that encapsulates the various strategies that refugees use maintain and sustain their lives.

As argued by Jacobsen (2006, p. 279), understanding refugee livelihoods requires addressing the "specific vulnerability of refugees, the resources and strategies they employ to reduce this vulnerability, and the impact of these changes on the host society". Assessing the vulnerabilities, resources, and outputs that shape livelihoods, requires consideration of people's actions, in relation to the social, economic, and policy context in which they are formed (Jacobsen, 2006). While refugees, migrants, and other poor residents may all be seeking to meet similar needs - housing, food, clean water, education, and health care – refugee livelihoods may be further complicated by loss of family, assets and community, and physical and mental ill-health resulting from experiencing or witnessing violence. Refugee livelihoods are also shaped legal status and associated policies, which constrains the protection offered to them, both theoretically in terms of what policies and protections are officially in place for them, and in their interpretation and implementation at various levels of government (Jacobsen, 2006; Barbelet and Wake, 2017). Barbelet and Wake (2017) also highlight how livelihoods should be considered in relation to refugees' perception of their risks, opportunities, and access to resources, their long-term aspirations and plans. They challenge the assumption that newly arrived refugees are more vulnerable than longer-term displacement, questioning how short-term, temporary policy responses typically found in humanitarian programming may undermine refugees negotiation of the options available to them (Barbelet and Wake, 2017). Refugees' vulnerabilities and resources may therefore also include the humanitarian assistance available to them (Campbell, 2006; Jacobsen, 2006; Barbelet and Wake, 2017).

For urban refugees, the vulnerabilities, resources and strategies are shaped by city processes that may not be found in camps (Kibreab, 1996; Jacobsen, 2006). Refugees may be drawn to cities for similar reasons to other migrants, such as greater access to economic resources, education opportunities, and social networks to support newcomers. They may also have reasons that are related to their displacement status, such as access to resources that are unavailable in camps, including health services or humanitarian assistance, including resettlement programmes. Cities may also be seen as safer, due to the potential for anonymity. Urban refugees may have more autonomy and independence than camp based refugees, but they also may be more likely to have to fend for themselves, with limited assistance (Al-Shermani, 2004). It is therefore essential that refugee livelihoods are understood within their specific environment and, for

urban refugees, in relation to other urban processes. This requires an acknowledgement of the multiple ways in which urban refugees seek to negotiate these contexts and secure their presence in urban areas. In this thesis, I argue that hosting is one way for urban refugees to survive in urban contexts and should therefore receive greater consideration as a component of urban refugees' livelihoods and the humanitarian response to protracted urban displacement.

Who are the refugees? Gender, race, and nationality in refugee response

> *"A refugee used to be a person driven to seek refuge because of some act committed or some political opinion held….With us the meaning of the term "refugee" has changed. Now "refugees" are those of us who have been so unfortunate as to arrive in a new country without means and have to be helped by Refugee Committees."* (Arendt, 1943)

The UN Convention tells us that a refugee is someone who "has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group" (UN General Assembly, 1951). Beyond this legal definition, the image of a refugee is of someone destitute, a recipient of assistance, and an outsider, as shown in the above quote from Hannah Arendt. Such representations have been challenged, with authors instead foregrounding the active lives of refugees, and how they have agitated to claim rights and to respond to their own needs (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Malkki, 1996). Throughout this thesis, I demonstrate that refugees are not passive, dependent, apolitical bodies. I argue that the limited engagement with refugee hosting as a form of refugee-led response, is in part due to a continued failure to truly alter our conception of refugees from passive and needy victims to active and political actors, operating within a largely constraining environment. Understandings that emphasise refugee agency and how refugees negotiate constraining structures are more important, especially as humanitarians move into urban areas where they have less control over these structures. This requires us to think about power and capacity of people to negotiate systems, and the different ways in which legal status, race, gender, and nationality (among other characteristics) structure experiences of displacement. In aiming to develop a typology that takes into consideration nationality, gender, family status, and ill-health, among other characteristics, I try to present a more nuanced understanding of how these characteristics can influence individuals' experiences of and responses to displacement.

Refugees are positioned in urban sites in relation to their identities. These identities are not static or singular, but rather formed in relation to each other within their context. Intersectional approaches recognise that multiple axes of identity interact with each other in ways that cannot be separated form each other, to produce specific social positions (Crenshaw, 1989). Being

oppressed due to any aspect of identity is always constructed and intermeshed with other social positions (Yuval-Davis, 2006b).

In her work, Yuval-Davis (2006b) notes that social divisions are about macro relations of social power as well as concrete and everyday people. Social divisions therefore exist in organisational, intersubjective, experiential and representational forms, in that they are expressed in institutions and organisations, in the relationships between people, and in how people subjectively experience exclusion and inclusion in their lives. Recognising these different forms of social divisions ensure that an intersectional approach is not confined to only one level of social interaction, but rather recognises the different ways that intersections occur and are experienced across these levels, and the interconnections between them (Yuval-Davis, 2006b; Sinatti, 2014)

In this thesis, I primarily consider the intersection of race and gender, in addition to refugee status and nationality. I chose to focus on these axes as they were prominent in the accounts of displacement provided by the Sudanese men I worked with, who with frequently referred to their black skin, African identities, gendered expectations, and Sudanese nationality in discussing their position within humanitarian response and their experiences of living in Jordan. It does not escape my attention that these identities appear in opposition to my own identity as a white, British, female, post-graduate researcher. While these differences challenged the research at some points, they also opened up other spaces for more sustained reflection on the meaning and impact of these different positions (see Chapter Four).

Benton (2016) argues that humanitarian action is often guided by notions of humanity devoid of markers of race, class, and gender. Yet relationships between humanitarianism and 'recipients' of humanitarian aid are structured by hierarchies based on these characteristics. For the Sudanese men, who are the primary subjects of this research, these hierarchies intersect to produce specific experiences of displacement in Amman. The ways in which gender, race, nationality, refugee status and age are claimed and made relevant by the men, or are rejected and disappear from their narratives informs the analysis presented in this thesis.

Humanitarian work recognises that "Effective, equitable and participatory humanitarian action cannot be achieved without understanding and responding to the specific needs, priorities and capacities of diverse women, girls, men and boys in different age groups" (IASC, 2018, p. 15). While there has been a shift towards increased attention to the importance of including men and considering the role of masculinities in achieving gender equality and 'efficiency' in humanitarian response, women and children are still conceptualised as *most* vulnerable (Olivius, 2016; Turner, 2019). As argued by Malkki, the prominence of women and children as

embodiments of refugee-ness is not only due to the demographic composition of refugee populations, but also because women and children supposedly embody a special kind of powerlessness, fulfilling the expectation of helplessness as a refugee characteristic (Malkki, 1995). In humanitarian literature, they are identified as requiring special attention and as having additional needs, against the 'norm' of men and boys. In such a context, the specific needs of men and boys not seen. Men are seen as less vulnerable, less in need of assistance, and as potential sources of trouble to both women and children, and wider humanitarian systems (Olivius, 2016). At the same time, damaging images of women and girls as especially vulnerable are reinforced.[4]

In displacement, however, men may experience oppression along lines of class, ethnicity/race, and legal status that challenge blanket designations of vulnerability based on gender (Sinatti, 2014; Grosfoguel, Oso and Christou, 2015). The relations of power experienced by refugees not only relate to gender, but to age, race, and status (among other factors) (El-Bushra and Gardner, 2016). In positioning refugee men as primarily men, before their other identities, much humanitarian programming overlooks how these identities intersect to produce specific exclusions and neglects to consider the gendered, racialized and generational effects of displacement and different ways of coping (Grabska, 2014; Grabska and Fanjoy, 2015; Dolan, 2018). As will be discussed, hosting is partly the product of gendered conceptions of vulnerability influencing the forms of assistance available to these men. My point is not to deny the unequal relations of power based on gender that exist in many societies, nor to undermine the valuable work done in identifying and promoting action on gendered experiences of displacement and vulnerability. Rather it is to move away from monolithic declarations of vulnerability, to more critically consider how gender intersects with other aspects of identity, and to begin to explore how this interacts with hosting practices.

Writing about visual representations of Syrian refugees coming to Europe, Burrell and Horschelman (2019) note that men's bodies are seen as especially menacing, particularly young men, who represent the "triple pathology of race, gender and generation" (Hopkins, 2006, p. 338). This can be seen in the Sudanese men's positions in Amman. Race and nationality in the Jordanian response are closely entwined, in part due to the nationality-focused basis of response frameworks (see for example the Jordan Response Plan (MoPIC, 2017) and see Chapter Two for an extended discussion of refugee policy in Jordan). Jordan, which hosts refugees from 57 different countries, allows for the comparison of response to different nationalities by the same actors, and broader reflection on the importance of race and nationality within refugee response. As argued by Davis *et al*. (2016) a hierarchy of assistance for refugees in Jordan is evident.

[4] For an insightful analysis of gender and humanitarian response in the case of Syrian refugee men residing in Zaatari camp see (Turner, 2016).

Race has an extensive influence on the practice of humanitarianism and on the recipients of assistance, which operates even in the most mundane aspects of humanitarian service delivery (Benton, 2016; Turner, 2019). Benton (2016) argues that humanitarian encounters of victim-saviour pay little consideration to social distinctions, including race, and how these distinctions are intensified in the humanitarian encounter. Moreover, she argues that humanitarianism also often fails to explicitly discuss the prominence of race in the categorisation of lives to be saved and lives to be risked (Fassin, 2007), contributing to the non-equivalence of lives in humanitarian practice. In Chapter Five, I further discuss how notions of victims and saviours intersect to preclude everyday actions by refugees from being considered as part of the continuum of humanitarian acts.

In this thesis, I focus on how gender and race identities are lived and experienced by the men I worked with, and why they matter in understanding their acts of hosting. In drawing attention to how different aspects of identities are claimed or rejected, or made salient or disappear within their narratives, I highlight how they move between different positions, identify or dis-identify with other groups, and how "'who we are' emerge[s] in interactions within specific spatial contexts and specific biographical moments" (Valentine, 2007, p. 18). Of particular interest in my work is how these identities emerge in interaction with humanitarian institutions and experiences of urban displacement. Forced migrants arrive to urban spaces populated by power relations (Grosfoguel, Oso and Christou, 2015). At the same time, they remain enmeshed in the power relations of the places they have been before (Sinatti, 2014). To begin this work, in Chapter Three, I present a more detailed analysis of male Sudanese refugees' position in Amman.

Chapter Outline

In Chapter Two, I outline the policy framework for refugee populations in Jordan. Jordan hosts refugees from 57 countries (UNHCR, 2019b), many in protracted displacement, and in an assistance environment that is based on nationality. This chapter sketches some of the key issues for the larger refugee groups under the authority of UNHCR (Syrian, Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese, and Yemeni), in order to provide an understanding of the backdrop against which refugees hosting practices take place.

In Chapter Three, I introduce in greater detail the situation of Sudanese refugees in Jordan. I discuss arrival patterns to Jordan, and the governance of Sudanese refugees in urban Amman. I also consider the different spaces they access in the city and provide a brief introduction to the structures of Sudanese society in Amman.

I discuss my methodological approach in Chapter Four. I detail the qualitative approaches taken to explore this under-researched practice and refugee population and highlight how those affected by displacement deal with their everyday lives. I also offer a reflection on refugee-centred research relationships in contrast to the forms of knowledge prioritised by the humanitarian system.

In Chapter Five, I take a more in-depth look at household-level hosting in relation to the humanitarian system and the concept of the humanitarian act. I draw on alternative concepts of humanitarianism to consider the role played by hosting for refugees in Jordan. I identify refugee hosting as a vital mechanism providing essential assistance to people around the world and argue that it is a humanitarian act. I discuss how the predominant images of refugees as depoliticised and decontextualized "speechless emissaries" (Malkki, 1996) preclude the conceptualisation of refugees as humanitarian actors in their own right and thus limit the extent to which their everyday acts of humanitarianism, including refugee hosting, are recognised as such by humanitarian organisations.

In Chapter Six I propose a framework for understanding the act of hosting based on hospitality, sharing, and an ethics of care. This challenges existing presumptions of refugee hosting as a burdensome territorialised relationship between displaced-guests and citizen-hosts based on notions of hospitality and familial connections, and emphasises that hosting is a situated and relational act of care, rather than a functional calculation of cost-benefit.

In Chapter Seven, I draw on the framework for understanding the act of hosting proposed in Chapter Six to suggest a typology of hosting arrangements based on key features of the conceptual framework proposed: interdependence (or degree of sharing and mutuality) and type of exchange (guesthood to tenancy). I outline eight types of hosting arrangement, developed from close reading of interview narratives to identify similarities and differences in composition and form in the cases presented, before placing them in relation to continuums of interdependence and type of exchange. In the final section of this chapter, I consider how temporal considerations, individual characteristics and the motivation to participate in hosting relationships interact with the types of hosting relationship identified, and consider who has access to different forms of hosting.

In Chapter Eight, I detail how Sudanese men in Amman met each other and developed hosting relationships. This contributes to existing knowledge on the creation and adaptation of urban socialities, looking at the practices of a specific group of men who largely arrived to Jordan without pre-existing social connections. Through exploring the ways in which hosting relationships were established, I argue that acts of hosting are a response to inclusions and

exclusions of life in specific urban contexts, and that they provide an infrastructure of care which allows for refugees' urban inhabitation.

In Chapter Nine, I look at the day-to-day experience of living in a refugee host relationship and the circulation of care within hosting. I identity how hosting responds to specific needs beyond shelter, and how the men's socio-economic positions influence the provision and receipt of care within their relationships. Identifying dwelling as a relation of care, I build on this to consider the extent to which relations of care within hosting hold the potential for home in displacement.

Reflecting on the arguments made in this thesis, in the concluding chapter, I call for increased engagement with refugee hosting from policy-makers, practitioners, and academia. This requires a reconsideration of the existing relationship between the humanitarian system and refugees. Challenging notions of humanitarianism based on "saving strangers", I instead draw upon the example of hosting relationships to argue for space for humanitarianisms based on situated relationships of care. I argue for improving our understanding the intersections of humanitarian practice, displacement contexts, and bottom-up everyday humanitarian acts, in the hope of increasing recognition, value and support for the everyday acts of humanitarianism that are vital to refugees' lives.

Chapter Two: City of lights? Refugee policy and practice in Amman, Jordan

In this chapter I lay the groundwork for understanding refugees' experiences in Jordan. I outline the recent history of refugee populations in Jordan and their presence in Amman. In the second section, I provide an overview of the refugee and humanitarian policy environment. The third section presents a brief summary of the living conditions of the current refugee populations in urban Amman. In the final section, I discuss public attitudes towards protracted urban displacement and refugee hosting.

Refugee populations in Jordan

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (from here referred to as Jordan) shares borders with Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel and the Palestinian Territories. The population is over 9.5 million people, including nearly 2.9 million guests (foreign nationals).[5] Given frequent conflict in neighbouring countries and Jordan's relative stability, Jordan has hosted refugee populations for much of the time since its establishment in 1921, including Palestinians who have resided in Jordan since 1948, Lebanese refugees from the 1975 – 1991 civil war, Iraqis, both from the 1991 Gulf War and following the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, and most recently, Syrians fleeing the on-going conflict (Lenner, 2016).

At the end of 2018, there were 767,807 registered refugees in Jordan, nearly 10 percent of Jordan's population, or 1 in 14 people (UNHCR, 2018e, 2019f). This is considered an underestimate, and the Jordanian government has stated that the country hosts 1.3 million Syrians (MoPIC, 2017). While the current large-scale displacement of Syrians to Jordan rightly attracts significant attention from donors, humanitarian agencies, and governments around the world, Jordan also hosts refugees from fifty-seven other countries (UNHCR, 2018c). The largest refugee groups, aside from Syrians, and Palestinians, are Iraqi, Yemeni, Sudanese, and Somali. Table One, below, shows the number of individuals of each nationality registered with UNHCR from 2012 to May 2019.

[5] 9,702,353 million people according to the World Bank or 10,309,000 people according to the Jordanian Department of Statistics (DoS, 2018; World Bank, 2018)

Country of Origin	Individuals Registered							
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**May 2019**
Syria	239,289	585,304	623,112	628,223	648,836	653,031	676,283	664,226
Iraq	64,621	57,944	44,575	52,733	60,904	65,922	68.010	67,563
Yemen[6]	108	101	308	3,232	5,704	9,445	14,477	14,631
Sudan	815	1,786	3,216	2,967	3,260	4,036	6,270	6,142
Somalia	462	726	795	763	773	808	826	776

Table 1: Five largest refugee populations in Jordan, excluding Palestinian refugees. 2012 – May 2019 (UNHCR, 2019e, 2019b).

These figures do not include Palestinians living in Jordan, who are registered with the United Nations Reliefs and Works Agency (UNRWA). In 2018, there were 2,145,279 Palestinian refugees (including Palestinian refugees from Syria (PRS)) registered with UNRWA in Jordan (UNRWA, 2018). This population size dwarfs other refugee populations in the country. However, response to Palestinian refugees falls under a different legal and humanitarian response system than other refugees in Jordan. The focus of this thesis is therefore on the experiences of newer, yet still protracted, refugee populations in Jordan who fall under the mandate of UNHCR. For some groups of refugees – such as the Syrians - there is a large amount of current data, but information regarding other groups is more limited. My research largely focuses on Sudanese refugees living in Amman, and contributes new knowledge regarding their situation.

There is also an unregistered population in Jordan (ARDD-Legal Aid, 2016a). Not all refugees require humanitarian assistance. Some have assets and have been able to establish themselves in Jordan without external assistance. Many of this group, therefore, do not see the benefit of registering with UNHCR, and are reluctant to do so due to the stigma associated with refugee status. There is also a group of foreign nationals from countries that are now in conflict (for example, Yemen) who arrived before the onset of crisis within these countries and are considered as economic migrants or international students rather than refugees. There is, however, a third group of refugees who are vulnerable, yet who have not registered with UNHCR due to a desire to remain invisible, or fear of contacting authorities, having previously been illegally resident in the country (NRC/IHRC, 2016). In this research I consider as a refugee

[6] In this research I did not work with Yemeni populations. At the time of the research there were very limited connections to and knowledge about the Yemeni refugee population from humanitarian actors, and I was not able to establish a connection.

any foreign national in Jordan who possesses UNHCR registration documentation from UNHCR Jordan, who is in the process of applying for registration, or who is in the process of recovering lost documentation.[7]

Urban refugees in Jordan

Refugee populations in Jordan are overwhelmingly urban. Registration information from UNHCR shows that 83.6 percent of Syrian refugees were living outside of camps as of July 2019 (UNHCR, 2019a), with Syrian refugees making up 7 percent of the population of Amman (Hillesund and Stave, 2015). Following displacement in 1948 and 1967, large camps for Palestinian refugees were established across Jordan, and the majority have now become part of the urban landscape, although not always included in urban development planning (Al Husseini, 2011). Refugees of other nationalities do not have access to camps within Jordan, though some have rented properties within Palestinian camps in urban areas.

Many refugees from the recent Syrian influx reside in the northern Governorates of Irbid, Mafraq and Amman (see map below). UNHCR reporting suggests that there is a low rate of movement between Governorates once refugees have settled, with anecdotal evidence suggesting that losing support networks is a major factor in preventing refugees from moving, despite other pressures to do so (UNHCR, 2014a, p. 24). The map below (Figure One) shows the distribution of people of concern registered with UNHCR as of the 15th July 2020.

[7] In preparing for fieldwork, I decided that individuals who wished to participate in the research who were not covered by this definition would be considered on a case by case basis. In the end, all research participants held UNHCR documentation or were in the process of acquiring it.

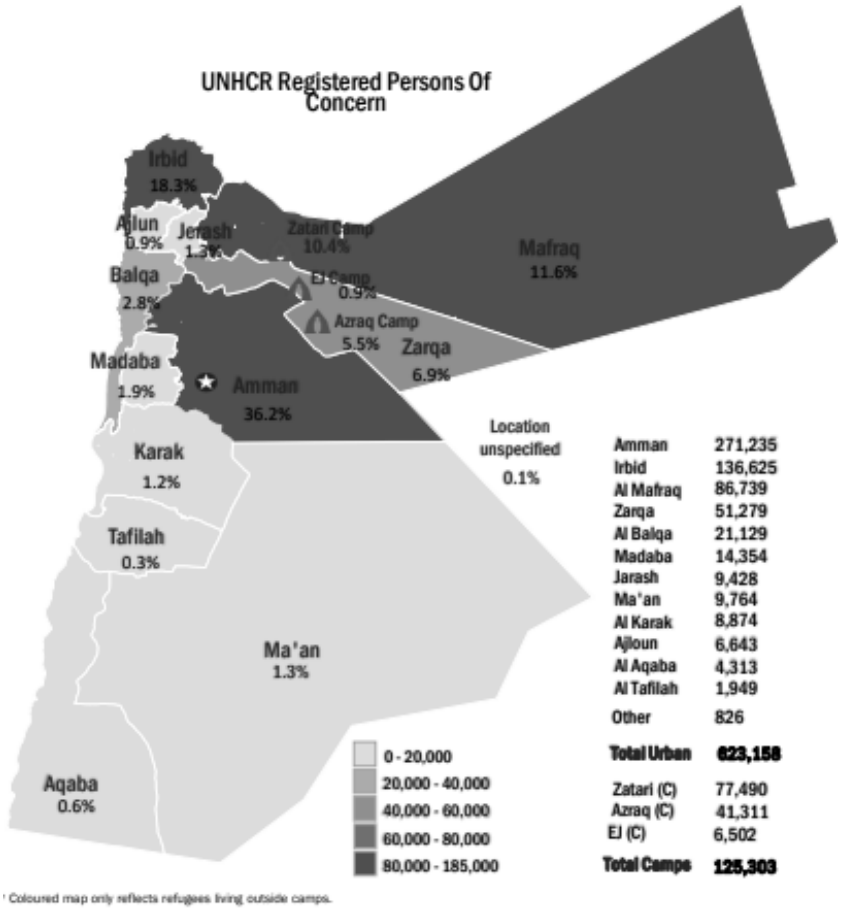

Figure 1: Map showing distribution of people of concern living outside of camps as of 15th July 2020 (UNHCR, 2020a)

Amman hosts both the greatest absolute number of refugees, and a wide variety of different nationalities, including Syrian, Iraqi, Sudanese, Somali, and Yemeni. The different districts of Amman offer a broad range of socio-economic and demographic profiles. Given this, I chose to conduct my research in Amman.

Amman

Amman is a prosperous city, located in the North West of Jordan. The city stretches across seven hills, with inner city districts centred around these peaks. There is a long history of human presence in the hills that make up Amman, with traces of human habitation dating back to the Neolithic era. The city was an important centre during the rule of the Ammonites, and later in the Roman era, though the city's importance declined in the 8th century. The city's social, political, and economic importance has risen and fallen in the intervening years, and it is only since 1921, and the creation of the Emirate of Transjordan, that Amman has gained its pre-eminence in terms of politics and trade (Al-husban and Al-shorman, 2013).

With rapid population growth over the last 100 years, Amman has spread, incorporating pre-existing villages and refugee settlements as it has grown. During this time, the city has accommodated multiple waves of migrants, some of whom have stayed in the city and shaped the communities present today. According to the most recent census (2015), forty-two percent of the population (four million people) live in the Amman governorate (DoS, 2015). Of the 2.9 million non-Jordanians in the country, forty-nine percent live in Amman (Ghazal, 2016), and 36.2 percent of registered refugees and asylum seekers in Jordan reside in the Amman governorate (UNHCR, 2020a). The population of Amman today includes Bedouins, Circassians, Palestinians, Syrians, Iraqis, Egyptians, Bangladeshis, Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Indians, Yemeni, Sudanese, and Somali (ILO, 2015; UNHCR, 2018c). Despite the proliferation of national groups present in Amman, relations in the city are governed by family, tribe, and religious ties (Ababsa and Daher, 2011). Interaction may be frequent, but integration is not.

Much of the literature on urban Amman focuses on the neoliberal transformation of areas of the city or redevelopment of sites such as Rainbow Street. Other work focuses on the transformation of Palestinian camps within the city (Ababsa and Daher, 2011). There is little literature available on the more mundane or everyday spaces of city life in Amman. Many take as their starting point the division between east and west in the city, with west Amman characterised by large houses and office blocks, wide streets, and 'Western-style' shops, restaurants, and other conveniences. In contrast, the camps and poorer districts of east Amman are less free, the high cost of transport reduces movement and high population density increases surveillance (Ababsa and Daher 2011). The majority of the urban poor in Amman live in East Amman. Thirty-six percent of the active population of west Amman is economically active, rising to 62 percent in some districts, whereas only 26 – 36 percent of the population of east Amman is economically active. East Amman also has a large youth population, in 2010 38 percent of residents were under 15 years old, compared to less than one third in west Amman (Ababsa and Daher, 2011). Figure Three below shows the different districts of Amman, with east Amman mainly to the right of the dashed line.

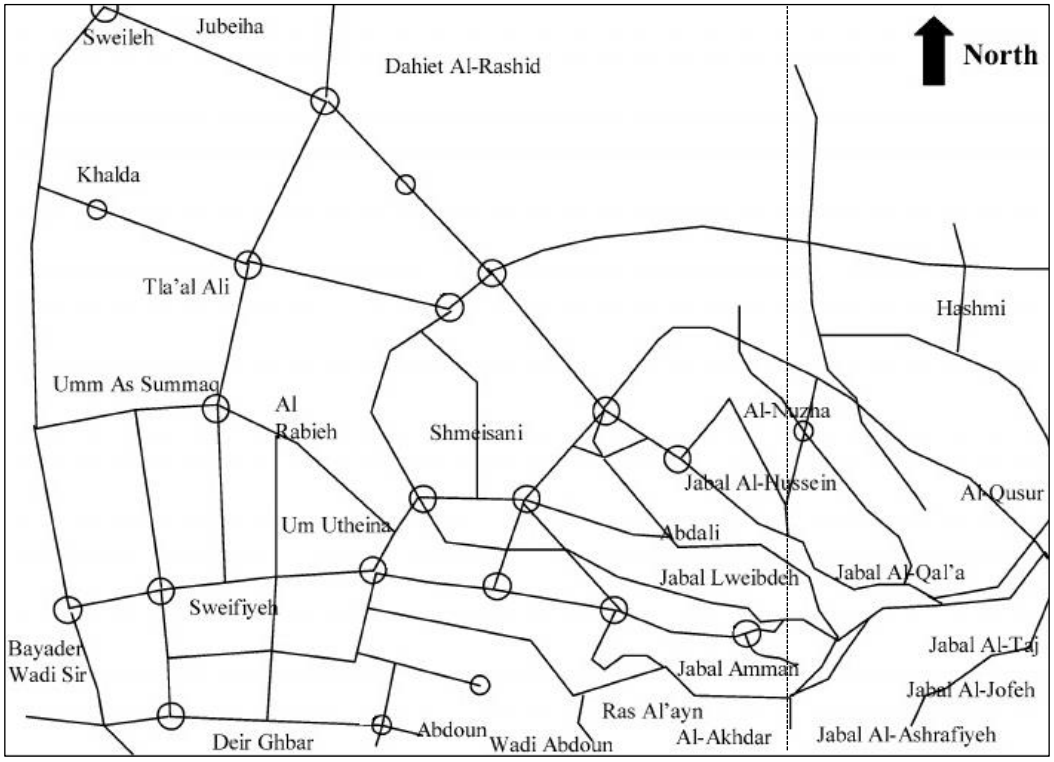

Figure 2: Map showing districts of Amman (The Royal Hashemite Court, 2001) *(edited for clarity)*

Traditions of hosting? Refugee policy in Jordan

Though the country hosts one of the largest refugee populations in the world, the Kingdom of Jordan is not a signatory to the 1951 United Nations convention relating to the status of refugees, nor its 1967 protocol. The treatment of refugees in Jordan is guided by the Jordanian constitution, which prohibits the extradition of political refugees, and a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Jordanian government and UNHCR, signed in 1998.[8] In addition, refugee rights and services are guided by a range of national acts and policies falling within the framework provided by the constitution and the MoU. Much of the 1951 refugee convention is replicated in the MoU, including the principle of *non-refoulment* and the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers according to internationally accepted standards. It does not, however, contain articles covering the right to housing, employment, and public education, freedom of movement, nor public relief and assistance. El-Abed (2014) argues that the lack of an official definition for people fleeing from these countries exempts Jordan from of responsibility for them, and allows it to manipulate population figures to serve its development

[8] The MoU was modified in 2014 to extend the time available for UNHCR to process refugee applications from 30 days to 90 days, and to extend the validity of refugee identity cards from six months to one year.

agenda. While leaving many of those fleeing these countries in a legal, political, and socio-economic limbo, relying on the guesthood discourse is safer – and more flexible – for Jordan.

Jordan has a long experience in hosting refugees, most notably Palestinians for over 70 years. Particularly salient is the struggle between ensuring access to services and social cohesion while in protracted displacement and maintaining the right of return for Palestinians. For many, legal citizenship and integration has not been an option, yet the realities of the length of displacement have resulted in de facto integration. This integration, however, is flexible and unstable, and to a large extent linked to socio-economic status. The reception and management of the Palestinian and Palestinian-origin population over the last 70 years has left its mark on the policies of the Jordanian government, and the attitude of the public in relation to refugees, shaping the treatment of subsequent refugee populations in Jordan (El-Abed, 2014; Francis, 2015; Lenner, 2016).

The histories of Palestinian displacement in Jordan are important for the framing of refugee reception in terms of "host" and "guest". Jordan has hosted a large Palestinian population since the creation of the Provisional Government of Israel in 1948, and the large-scale flight that this provoked. Palestinians camps were established for those who could not afford accommodation and continue to be part of the fabric of urban Amman and other key cities and areas of Jordan (UNRWA, 2018). In 1950, Jordan annexed the West Bank of the Jordan River, and most Palestinian refugees received Jordanian nationality (Davis and Taylor, 2012; El-Abed, 2014). Following the six-day-war, and the loss of this territory, there was large recruitment to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Camps played an important role in this process, with some camps becoming an emblem of the PLO and the liberation struggle. By the time the PLO was expelled from Jordan in 1970, al-Wehdat – then one of the largest Palestinian camps in Jordan – was not only a support base for the PLO but had achieved quasi-autonomy from the Jordanian government (Achilli, 2015). In 1970, long-standing tensions between the Jordanian government and the PLO supported Palestinian Fedayeen (guerrillas) escalated to outright violence, commonly referred to as Black September. The conflict lasted until 1971 and terminated with large-scale destruction of al-Wehdat as well as other sites. The majority of Palestinian-Jordanians participated in the rebellion against the monarchy, as did many East-bank Jordanians. Subsequently there was significant pressure from Jordanian nationalists to distinguish Jordan from Palestine. A new national identity began to be constructed, based on (East Banker) tribalism, loyalty to the Hashemites, and Islamic values as opposed to ''Palestinian'' urbanity, Pan-Arabism, and liberal ideologies (Achilli, 2014).

Since 1971 and the events of Black September, the creation of a collective identity involving elements of both Transjordanian and Palestinian identities has been supplanted by "a discourse of unity within the context of a guest/host relationship" (Achilli, 2014, p. 239). The concept of

'guest' was initially re-interpreted by Jordanian nationalists to indicate the temporary presence of Palestinians in Jordan. Guesthood has since become a mainstream concept, despite the monarchy's continued rhetoric around unity, the integration of many Palestinians into the Jordanian workforce and society, and acceptance by many Jordanians and Palestinians that Palestinian displacement in Jordan will continue (Achilli, 2014). The primacy of this discourse also emphasises Jordan's continued support of the Palestinian right to return to the land and properties they were forced to leave in the 1948 and 1967 conflicts (Al Husseini, 2006). Whilst many Palestinians in Jordan were given Jordanian citizenship, this has not been a continuous position, and there has been a proliferation of statuses for Palestinians arriving at different times and from different places (El-Abed, 2006; Davis *et al.*, 2017). Many of these are governed by regulations, rather than laws, and their interpretation and implementation are highly changeable.

The language of 'guest' and 'host' continues in refugee response in Jordan today. There is a strong current of Arab, Bedouin, and Islamic traditions of hospitality that runs through much of the discourse of refugees and host communities in Jordan (El-Abed, 2014). Hospitality, or generosity, is a traditional value of which many Jordanians are proud, whilst at the same time being aware of its increasing commercialisation and political uses (Shryock, 2004; Chatty, 2017). A number of verses in the Qur'an and many hadith (prophet Mohammed's sayings) relate to hospitality and the treatment of strangers, and hospitality was also an important element of society among Arab Bedouins before Islam (Sobh, Belk and Wilson, 2013). These traditions still resonate in some current conceptions of Jordanian nationality identity, which refer to descent from ''sons of the tribes'' (abna' al-asha'ir) (Achilli, 2014). While these traditions are not static and have been adopted in support of various causes and political agendas at different points, protecting guests, entertaining them, and feeding them properly is still essential in many Arab societies (Sobh, Belk and Wilson, 2013).

The Government of Jordan (GoJ) bases its refugee rhetoric on these principles, referring to refugees as guests or visitors. This is particularly true when it comes to reception and treatment of migrants from other Arab countries, which has been governed by pan-Arab ideals of hospitality (Mason, 2011). Under the principles of Arab Unity, many Arab states had generous provisions for fellow Arabs in terms of visas and residency, yet these freedoms have rarely been fully granted, with different states implementing different immigration controls at various times (Fábos, 2015). These ideals, however, are being challenged by the prolonged nature of displacement in the region. The curtailing of these freedoms correlates with increased refugee flows and economic and security concerns.

Contemporary refugee policy

People fleeing conflict and persecution are not classed as refugees by the GoJ, but as foreign visitors or 'guests' and are therefore often in insecure and precarious legal situations (Chatelard and Dorai, 2009). Though countries around the world interpret and implement the UN convention in different ways, not having signed the UN Convention allows the Government of Jordan to maintain flexibility and agency in how it responds to and manages refugee population. It has frequently been commented that the Government of Jordan is highly skilled at leveraging refugee populations in return for foreign assistance and has a keen understanding of the potential for assuring development funding offered by such situations (El-Abed, 2014; Francis, 2015). In practice management of refugees within Jordan is governed by the MoU between the Government of Jordan and UNHCR. UNHCR has a large and long-term presence in Jordan, and its approach is well established. The language of 'refugee' is frequently used in official documentation, humanitarian policy and documents, and popular discussion.

Entry to Jordan and freedom of movement

In response to current displacement from Syria, Jordan's initial open-door policy has become increasingly strict. Since May 2013, when an unannounced border closure policy became apparent, borders with Syria remained closed except for infrequent openings or one-off transfers of population (Amnesty International, 2013; ACAPS, 2016; CARE International, 2016). This remained the case until late 2018 (Reuters, 2018), even as conflict in the South forced increasing numbers of Syrians towards the Jordanian border.[9] Similar patterns in entry restrictions can be observed in relation to Iraqi and Yemeni movements to Jordan, with initially low restrictions on entry and low rates of registration with UNHCR being followed by a sharp tightening of restrictions as conflict intensified or in response to pressure within Jordan (Mason, 2011; MMP, 2017a).

Sudanese require a visa for entry into Jordan. Many arrive on a medical visa, before registering with UNHCR, though some have also travelled for work and decided to remain. In 2015, tighter restrictions on medical visas were imposed, though these were eased in February 2017 in response to a fall in medical tourism (MMP, 2017a). The number of Sudanese in Jordan remained relatively steady until 2015. In late 2015, however, a large number of Sudanese – estimated to be approximately 600 people – were deported following protests against discrimination in humanitarian assistance and resettlement (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Following this, numbers remained low until a rapid increase in 2018 and 2019. Sudanese

[9] The transfer of the White Helmets through Israel to Jordan is an exception to this (Wintour, 2018)

refugees in Jordan state that restrictions on travel to Jordan have been imposed both by Jordan and Sudan, which is reluctant to issue travel documentation to young Darfurian men.

Alongside greater restrictions on access to the territory, there has been a tightening of restrictions on Syrian refugees within the country. In July 2014 conditions for 'sponsorship' or 'bailout' of Syrians wanting to leave camps were tightened, and those who did not receive official bailout documentation could no longer register with UNHCR in urban areas. In January 2015, the bailout process was temporarily suspended in all camps (CARE International, 2015). In 2015, the MoI and Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate (SRAD), with UNHCR began a verification process, requiring all Syrians living outside the camps to re-register with Jordanian authorities, including paying for and submitting a certificate of good health and a rental agreement (CARE International, 2015). This has caused significant problems for up to 200,000 refugees who had left the camps unofficially, and for whom access to public services and assistance was severely restricted (CARE International, 2016). In early 2018, the Jordanian government launched a new campaign to register and regularise the status of Syrian refugees residing in urban areas (UNHCR, 2018c). Registration with UNHCR among both Iraqis and Yemenis increased as entry conditions were restricted. The number of Yemenis registered with UNHCR is increasing, as those already present in Jordan become increasingly vulnerable (MMP, 2017a). Given the current situation in Yemen, this seems set to continue and increase. As can be seen, there is a common pattern of increasingly restrictive entry to Jordan as the number of arrivals increases.

Asylum and refugee registration and access to services

Within the framework of the MoU, a number of key domestic acts relate to the management of refugee populations in Jordan. The lack of an overarching asylum policy means that much domestic policy is blind to the specific needs and concerns of refugee populations, and does not offer adequate protection (ILO, 2015). Refugees in Jordan are recognised as foreign guests under Law No. 24 (1973) – Residency and Foreigners' Affairs. This law applies to all foreigners (anyone without Jordanian nationality). The law refers to refugees in some articles, but does not define them as a separate category, nor distinguish between refugees and non-refugees. Refugees registered with UNHCR receive an Asylum Seeker Certificate (ASC), which needs to be renewed regularly. In recent years, UNHCR stopped completing Refugee Status Determination (RSD) interviews for all refugees, prioritising those being considered for resettlement. This means that many non-Syrian refugees in Jordan are considered asylum-seekers, rather than refugees (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019).

An ASC is required to be considered for UNHCR cash assistance and in order for Syrians to receive World Food Programme (WFP) food vouchers (other refugees do not receive WFP

vouchers though WFP is reviewing this).[10] Registration is required for refugees to access public services. Refugees and asylum seekers' children may be enrolled in public schools free, per the regulations (announced officially each year).[11] Syrian refugees (but not refugees of other nationalities) were initially guaranteed access to healthcare centres, but free medical services were repealed in November 2014, citing strained healthcare system and budgetary demands. Sudanese refugees report registering with UNHCR to avoid harassment, arrest and possible deportation, but remain concerned that holding a UNHCR card does not prevent *refoulement* and disagree as to whether holding refugee status, having completed an RSD interview, provides more protection than holding an ASC (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019).

Syrian refugees were not previously allowed to work legally, though an estimated 160,000 worked in the informal sector (NRC, 2015). The Supporting Syria and the Region conference in February 2016 resulted in The Jordan Compact, which aims to improve efforts from the government of Jordan in providing livelihood opportunities for Syrian nationals (Barbelet, Hagen-Zanker and Mansour-Ille, 2018). Jordan has since made 200,000 work opportunities available to Syrian nationals in exchange for enhanced international support to Jordan and the Jordanian economy.[12] This work permit scheme is not open to refugees of other nationalities, despite advocacy from the humanitarian community.

It has proved difficult for Iraqis to integrate into the formal work market in Jordan, even though many Iraqi business owners reserve a number of work places for Iraqis (Chatelard and Dorai, 2009). With the influx of Syrian refugees, it has been increasingly difficult for Iraqi refugees to access NGO assistance, as much aid is earmarked for Syrian families or members of the host – understood to mean Jordanian – community. Patterns of assistance also demonstrate the short-term focus of humanitarian aid, with larger and more recent arrivals taking precedence for assistance. Recently, there has been an increase in the availability of assistance to refugees of all nationalities, but the majority of assistance is still targeted towards Syrians.

Humanitarian actors in Jordan

As can be seen, some of the most salient rights are provided on the basis of nationality, rather than refugee status. The multiplicity of laws and regulations have created a situation in which there are competing interpretations, which can change quickly. Many refugees therefore access services on a de facto basis, rather than a formal legal status. At the same time, the government

[10] From October 2017, PoC from countries other than Syrian holding ASC were not eligible for UNHCR's regular cash assistance, but continued to receive one-off and ad hoc payments. At the time, Syrian refugees deemed eligible under the Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF) received monthly cash grants (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019).
[11] Admission to school for non-Syrian children is frequently dependent on the discretion of school directors and is a principal concern for Sudanese parents (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019)
[12] For a review of the success of this policy, see (Lenner and Turner, 2019)

of Jordan is actively engaged in the response to refugees and has developed a strong working relationship with key institutions including UNHCR, including leading the development of the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) and its updates (MoPIC, 2016, 2020).

The huge number of humanitarian organisations operating in Jordan range from shoestring-budget and volunteer operations to multi-million-dollar institutions. The international humanitarian sector in Jordan generally has a close working relationships with the Government of Jordan, as well as strong inter-agency coordination.

Some of the largest national NGOs in Jordan are foundations headed by members of the Jordanian Royal family, notably the Jordan River Foundation, and the Noor Al Hussein Foundation. These royal NGOs (or RNGOs) are highly active in the NGO sector, and are well known for their work. Though some have criticised such organisations, claiming their dominance is a means of controlling and suppressing grass-roots activity, they play a large role in the voluntary sector (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2003). The Jordanian civil society sector has been growing and playing a larger role over the last 20 years. Despite this it is still viewed as weak or underdeveloped. The oversized presence of organisations with royal or international donor patronage means that it is largely controlled by the government and Western donors, mirroring donor preoccupations in order to gain funds, even if identified activities have little interest to local populations. (ARDD-Legal Aid, 2016b). Others argue that activities are too closely linked to government interests, particularly the emphasis on short-term and temporary activities so as not to create a "stay" factor, which has not always aligned with the interests of the refugee community or local actors (ARDD-Legal Aid, 2016c). In recent years, and particularly since the Arab spring protests, grassroots civil society organisations in the form of not-for-profit organisations funded by social enterprise rather than donor funds have emerged. Activities are limited and, as before, activists claim that the Jordanian government has imposed regulatory hurdles, while the government claims that the organisations are inefficient and poorly managed (ARDD-Legal Aid, 2016b). There is therefore little space for independent initiatives or those engaging or promoting alternatives to the government-led response.

Refugee living conditions in Amman

Refugees in Jordan have, by and large, been afforded a generous and hospitable welcome. Despite constituting more than 10 percent of the population of Jordan, and being perceived as exacerbating existing employment, service provision, and environmental concerns, there have not been large-scale anti-refugee movements (CARE International, 2015; Hillesund and Stave, 2015; Seeley, 2015). However, there are concerns that social tensions are increasing (Danish Refugee Council, 2017; Lockhart and Barker, 2018).

Due in part to the large size of the Syrian population, humanitarian assistance and needs assessments have largely focused on them. There is a scarcity of information regarding the

living conditions of other nationalities present in Amman. The December 2015 Sudanese deportation catalysed a response, and a number of reports relating to the Sudanese population were published in 2017 (See for example: ARDD-Legal Aid 2015; MMP 2017a; Baslan et al. 2017; MMP 2017b; CARE Jordan 2017). There is little dedicated information available on the situation of Yemeni, Somali, or other smaller groups of refugees (Exceptions include ARDD-Legal Aid 2016c, Johnston et al 2019, MMP 2017b, a). Non-Syrian, non-Iraqi refugees are often grouped together as 'Other' in UNHCR reporting. Drawing on my research, I contribute further knowledge on the living conditions of Sudanese refugees and their specific experiences of displacement and assistance in Jordan in the following chapter.

While refugees of all nationalities may face some similar challenges, each group also confronts its own specific issues. It is important to acknowledge at the outset of this section the lack of assistance available for non-Syrian refugees, the heightened discrimination faced by refugees from Sudan and Somalia, and the impact of this on their living conditions and experiences of displacement in Amman.

Davis *et al*. (2016) argue that a hierarchy of refugees has been created within Jordan, with African-origin refugees such as Sudanese and Somali below others. They draw attention to four main factors that have resulted in the hierarchy of aid that they identify: size, race, time and awareness. As noted above, larger populations and those with a longer presence have attracted the majority of attention and assistance, obscuring awareness of the presence and needs of the smaller groups. Davis et al (2016) argue that racial assumptions reflect the legacy of an Arab nationalism that deemed Semitic Arab-ness superior to other types, and histories of interaction with African slaves or soldiers who were seen as 'other' due to the colour of their skin. Fábos (2015) has noted the ways in which hostility towards forced migrants from Africa is fomented by government policies around asylum in the Arab Middle East, resulting in them rarely being granted protection. Despite Sudan's membership in the Arab League, Darfurian refugees are not seen as Arab by residents of Jordan, by humanitarian workers, nor, often, do they define themselves as part of this group.

Housing and accommodation

Eighty-five percent of Syrian refugees living outside of camps are living below the poverty line (UNHCR, 2018c). Many refugees living outside of camps are struggling to pay rent, with many citing it as their main difficulty, and a large number are in debt (Amnesty International, 2013; NRC, 2015; MMP, 2017b; Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019). Difficulties relating to shelter are common across all refugee nationalities. Competition for affordable housing is one of the two issues most frequently cited as causing tensions between refugees and host communities, the other being competition for jobs (MoPIC, 2016; CARE International, 2017). Average rents increased by 17 percent between 2012 and 2016, a change associated with the

refugee influx (MoPIC, 2016). NGOs shared with me incidents of young, single men sleeping alone on rooftops and other locations when they have not been able to secure accommodation - essentially, they are homeless and sleeping rough. They also noted that in 2017, cases of homelessness had been increasing in Amman, including Syrians and women, which they interpreted as a sign of the severity of poverty and insecurity in the city.

One of the main causes of movement of refugees within the city is an inability to pay rent, and this is a commonly cited issue among refugees (NRC, 2015; MMP, 2017b). Fear of eviction is considerably higher than actual eviction rates, but refugees have little information available to challenge landlords and are in a weaker position in terms of access to resources and support. In many cases, refugees will avoid landlords or move out, rather than confront these issues.

Employment

The second most common concern raised is access to employment and competition for jobs (ILO, 2015). Unemployment rates among Syrians in Amman were estimated at 30.5 percent in 2018 (29.9 percent for men, 47.7 percent for women), compared to an average of 18.7 percent for Jordanians in Amman (MoPIC, 2020). Between 2016 and 2019 nearly 177,000 work permits were issued to Syrian refugees, but up to 95 percent of Syrian refugee workers are working informally (MoPIC, 2020). Syrian refugees are generally paid less, work more, and have poorer conditions compared to Jordanians in the same sector (MoPIC, 2016). Unlike adults, Syrian children who work illegally are not detained. This creates a situation in which children are often the only people in the family able to earn a living (Mercy Corps, 2014). Jordanian and Syrian youth unemployment is also running high, at nearly 36 percent for 15 – 19 year olds, and over 30 percent for 20 – 24 year olds (MoPIC, 2016).

In 2016, the agreement of the London Compact[13] meant that 200,000 work permits were made available for Syrians. These permits cover employment in certain industries, mainly agricultural, and textile work in factories. Within the first six month, only 29,411 work permits had been issued, of which only 1 percent were issued to women (JIF, 2016). Despite the ability to employ Syrians formally, some employers have been reluctant to do so, as it requires them to pay the minimum wage and cover social security costs for the new employees. In addition, refugees would be required to complete a medical assessment and register for social security at a total cost of approximately 60 JOD. Syrian refugees also noted that desirable jobs reflecting their skills and work history were not open to them (CARE International, 2016; Lenner and Turner, 2019). Despite the limits of the Syrian work permit scheme, it does at least provide a legal avenue to work. Other refugee groups face much more precarious working situations and

[13] Key documents from the February 2016 Supporting Syria and the Region Conference (the London Conference) can be found at: https://www.supportingsyria2016.com/news/key-documents-from-supporting-syria-and-the-region-conference-now-available/

are frequently detained for working without permits. While Syrian refugees may be returned to Zaatari or Azraq camps, other refugee groups reported facing the potential to be deported to their country of origin.

An estimated 72 percent of Syrian refugees in Jordan are either food insecure or vulnerable to food insecurity (3RP, 2017). Given the extremely limited access to assistance and extreme isolation of many non-Syrian households, the situation is not expected to be better among other groups. The shortfall is also evident in the levels of debt, which is primarily accrued to cover food needs. Findings from research with Syrian refugees suggests that the longer the displacement, the higher the amount of accumulated debt (CARE International, 2014). In 2017, the average debt of Syrians was 694 JOD, compared to 1,329 JOD for Iraqis and others. However, approximately 10 percent more Syrians hold debt as compared to Iraqis and others (MCC, 2017).

Protection concerns

Primary concerns include child labour; sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), particularly for women and girls; violence against children; and tensions with host communities (MoPIC, 2016). There are also concerns regarding the marriage of young Syrian refugee women and girls in camps to Jordanian husbands, as a way to secure sponsorship to leave the camp (Save the Children, 2014, p. 5).

The two main issues for Syrian refugees are civil documentation, meaning they are unable to access key services, and security of tenure (MoPIC, 2016). In 2017, thirty percent of non-Syrian refugee families reported being under threat of immediate eviction (CARE International, 2017). This lack of security often results in frequent movement, impacting refugee families' ability to stay registered and access basic services. Frequent movement also risks losing important community ties and potentially becoming distant from family, friends, and other important sources of support.

Of particular concern for Sudanese refugees is the deportation of over 500 Sudanese asylum seekers in December 2015 (Human Rights Watch, 2015). This included people registered with UNHCR and judged to be in need of international protection. UNHCR was not granted access to the Sudanese during their detention prior to being deported (UNHCR, 2017a). Anecdotal reports suggest many have not remained in Sudan and have instead sought refuge surrounding countries such as Egypt or have attempted to cross the Mediterranean to Europe. A significant number have not been heard from since the deportation. Racial harassment, discrimination, and violence with Jordan is also a frequent concern for Sudanese refugees (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019).

Education

Access to education has remained a priority for government and humanitarian actors throughout the Syrian conflict. Despite this, in 2016 nearly 100,000 children were not enrolled in formal primary education and Mercy Corps estimates that only five percent of adolescent Syrian refugees are registered in formal secondary education (Mercy Corps, 2016). Uneven access to education has been highlighted as a cause of tension between Syrians and Jordan, and there are concerns that violence and bullying are undermining the quality of education. This is of particular concern for Sudanese and Somali students, who have reported being severely threatened and injured travelling to and from school.

Many young adults report frustration at being unable to continue their studies at university, and the limited professions open to them. Again, non-Syrian refugees highlight the limited number of diploma and university scholarships that are open to refugees of all nationalities, with the majority being earmarked for Syrians.

Jordan as a host community

The hospitality of the Jordanian people and the strong influence of Arabic and Islamic traditions of hospitality are frequently heard when discussing refugee hosting in Jordan and is reflected in the state language regarding refugees, who are often classed as guests. This classification, however, also serves to re-emphasise the fact that refugees in Jordan are hosted on a temporary basis, and that their status and access to many services is uncertain.

In September 2013, the Jordanian government launched the Host Community Support Platform (HCSP) to address impacts of Syrian refugee arrivals on host communities, replacing it with the Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis (JRPSC) in 2014. The JRP, developed with this platform, prioritises host community resilience (ACAPS, 2016). Jordanian policy mandates that 30 percent of aid funding is directed towards the host community, to contribute to long-term resilience and development goals, and to offset the increased poverty of Jordanian citizens due to hosting large numbers of refugees (Roth, Nimeh and Hagen-Zanker, 2017). The poorest families amongst vulnerable Jordanians are assisted by the National Aid Fund (NAF). In 2013, NAF estimated that the indirect and direct impact of the Syria crisis has resulted in an extra 20,000 Jordanian families using their cash assistance programmes (MoPIC, 2016).

Beyond state policy and discourse, the Jordanian population has largely been welcoming of refugees. Many Jordanians and Syrians, especially those living in border towns, share familial ties which have created a foundation for assistance (Mercy Corps, 2014; Stevens, 2016). As the conflict has continued, there are now many more unfamiliar people coming from further away in Syria. A Mercy Corps study (2014) argued that without close links to the new Syrian arrivals, Jordanians were more likely to judge and mistrust them, demonstrating the vital role of tribal

and familial links in mitigating tension. Many Syrians and Jordanians also share common cultural practices and traditions, as well as language, which has facilitated integration in host communities.

Tensions between refugees and host communities remains an under-researched topic, though it is increasingly on the radar of humanitarian actors and growing tensions between Syrians and Jordanians have been flagged as a key protection challenge (Francis, 2015; ACAPS, 2016; MoPIC, 2016; Lockhart and Barker, 2018). An ILO survey showed that 85 percent of Jordanian workers believed Syrians should not be allowed to enter Jordan freely, and 65 percent believed Syrians should be restricted to living in refugee camps (ACAPS, 2016). These opinions on the Syrian refugee population as a whole are counteracted by many reports of positive interactions at the personal level. 75 percent of participants in the CARE study "Lives Unseen" (2014) stated that they personally had not had any negative experiences with members of the other community, dropping to two-thirds in 2016 (CARE International, 2016). When problems did arise, conflict was related to the sharing of electricity and water costs, children fighting, or adults being loud at night. Some Jordanian participants in the study clearly distinguished between their personal relations with Syrians, and their perceptions of the wider impact of the arrival of Syrian refugees on their expenses and livelihoods. They also recognised that some members of their own community, such as landlords and shopkeepers, were profiting from the arrival of Syrians and contributing to increasing prices for basic commodities and rent (CARE International, 2014).

In addition to tensions between refugees and Jordanians, there are increasing tensions between different groups of refugees. The main source of tension between different groups of refugees is the perception that Syrians are being prioritised and that assistance is not available to other groups. There are also tensions relating to changing assistance levels, and access to assistance for new arrivals that is not available to those who have been in the country for a longer period (Mercy Corps, 2014). There are also stereotypical images of certain refugee groups, such as the perception that Iraqi refugees arrived with a large amount of resources, despite differences within the Iraqi population and the depletion of resources after years in displacement.

In contrast to the generally welcoming attitude of many Jordanians towards Syrians and Iraqis, refugees from Sudan and Somalia often face severe discrimination and harassment (ARDD-Legal Aid, 2015). Sudanese and Somalis report frequent cases of racially motivated harassment, in the street, on public transport, from institutions including schools and the police, and from front-line humanitarian workers (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019) .

Assistance and relations with host families

There is little in-depth research into the nature of relations between hosts and refugees, and a low recognition of the potential for hosts to also be non-Jordanian (But see: Calhoun, 20*10;* Skopec *et al*, 2010; Davies, 2012; Francis, 2015; CARE International, 2016). Despite evidence that suggests a greater proportion of Syrian refugees in Jordan are living with host families or sharing accommodation than are residing in the refugee camps[14] the vast majority of assistance and coverage of the response in Jordan continues to focus on the large camps in the north. There is little attention to improving ways of working with host families and those sharing accommodation.

Sharing accommodation with other families is prevalent across all nationalities. In 2014, CARE International found that 25 percent of Jordanians and 33 percent of Syrian households were sharing their accommodation with at least one other family. By 2017 this had dropped to a still significant 23.7 percent of Syrian families sharing with at least one other family. One-fifth of non-Syrian refugee families were sharing with another family as of 2017 (information not available disaggregated by nationality) (CARE International, 2014, 2017). Iraqi Christian refugees have also been housed in churches in Jordan (World Vision International, 2015). Sudanese refugees face additional difficulties in securing accommodation due to low levels of institutional support and widespread discrimination (Baslan, Kvittingen and Perlmann, 2017). Accommodation sharing is highly prevalent among young, single, Sudanese men (Baslan, Kvittingen and Perlmann, 2017). I have observed similar patterns among Somali refugees, but there is little published information available on the Somalian population (Davis and Taylor, 2012; ARDD-Legal Aid, 201*5;* Davis et al, 2016).

Where direct support from the host community is mentioned by humanitarian agencies, this tends to be understood as being between extended family members (CARE International, 2014) or in the form of providing material goods such as household items and furniture. In 2014, a CARE report showed that one in four Syrian families had received assistance from family or neighbours in the previous month – often food or non-food items, and exchange visits (CARE International, 2014). By 2016, this had dropped to 33.2 percent (CARE International, 2014, 2016) The research also showed that female-headed Syrian households were more likely to receive support than male-headed households (29 percent compared to 23 percent). This was explained as due to their increased vulnerability as a result of difficulties in finding suitable employment (CARE International, 2014). Stevens (2016), however, notes the tendency for many Syrian refugees to actively isolate themselves socially in order to cope with a lack of

[14] According to a CARE International report in 2017 23.5 percent of the 83.2 percent of Syrians living outside of camps are sharing accommodation (CARE International, 2017). This is equivalent to 19.5 percent of all Syrian refugees in Jordan, while the proportion residing in camps was 16.8 percent (at the time the report was published).

resources. This is particularly relevant in a society which places a strong emphasis on displays of hospitality, and the importance of social ties in many elements of life. These contradicting reports – between sharing space and deliberate social isolation – merit further investigation.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the environment in which urban refugees in Jordan reside, and the different policy frameworks that govern their lives. As this chapter has shown, refugees in Jordan occupy a complex position. With multiple tribal, national, and regional identities; subject to shifting migration policy; limited humanitarian funding and transient attention; and with long-term and on-going displacement from several countries, there is no single narrative that can encompass the broad range of experiences of displacement within Jordan. While progress has been made in some areas – for example education – there are still significant needs among the refugee population, and deepening vulnerability for many groups. Coupled with this is the vulnerability of many Jordanian families, and their perception that services are being stretched to breaking point by the presence of refugees.

The following chapter builds on the information presented in this chapter to provide a more detailed description of Sudanese displacement in Amman, drawing on published literature and my own research.

Chapter Three: Sudanese refugees in Amman

I'm from Sudan, I have been here in Jordan for 4 years and half…so it's a long time. You know, in Jordan it is so hard for me, as I am a refugee. Bad. This isn't anything in my hand I'm doing, or have chance to do. I'm just waiting for UNHCR, to send me to another other country… I don't have chance to work, and also if I work and the police find me, that is something illegal… you are working, and also you are feeling afraid, not feeling free …The life, it's so hard. Also, the community look at you, it is something like you're not person. You know, sometimes, not all the people, but some people.

Adam – April 2018

Adam is a Sudanese man in his early thirties. His opening words summarise experiences that many of the Sudanese men involved in my research shared. Nearly all had arrived in 2012/2013, and had been in Jordan for at least five years. Like Adam, they hoped for resettlement, but chances are slim, especially for young, unmarried men. Sudanese refugees do not have the right to work in Jordan, yet they have limited other means to survive. UNHCR is the main provider of assistance but does not have the capacity to support all individuals. A few small organisations provide emergency assistance, but this is limited, and often directed towards women and families with children. Many of the single men instead rely on informal work, risking exploitation, detention, and even deportation.

Experiences of racially motivated harassment cut across many of the stories, experiences, and opinions that were shared with me during this research and are a fundamental to understanding the experience of being Sudanese in Amman. This ranged from looks and muttered insults in the street, being refused access to transport, and rubbish being thrown at houses to children being unable to attend school, and armed physical attacks. Though Sudanese refugees recognised that such treatment was not universal, their experiences had made them cautious in their interactions with others.

The following section describes the situation of Sudanese refugees in Jordan, briefly touching on the conflict in Darfur and arrival patterns of Sudanese to Jordan. I then discuss the governance of Sudanese refugees in urban Amman, looking at the application of legislation and regulations in Amman and access to NGO and community assistance. Finally, I discuss in greater detail the experience of being a Darfurian refugee in Amman, considering the different spaces they access in the city, and providing an introduction to the structures of Sudanese society in Amman. Throughout this, I try to draw attention to the specific situation of young, single Sudanese men, and the ways in which the men explain their experiences through the intersection of these identities, while situating their experiences within the larger context of Sudanese displacement in Amman.

Numbers and demographics

The Sudanese refugee population in Jordan is a visible yet neglected minority. Over the last 5 years, the population has increased substantially, despite the deportation of more than 500 individuals in late 2015. Thirty percent of the population registered with UNHCR arrived before 2011. Many Sudanese refugees arrived in Jordan in 2012 and 2013 following the separation with South Sudan, economic collapse, escalation of conflict and government crackdowns on political opposition (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019). After this, arrival numbers remained low until late 2017/early 2018. Between February 2018 and August 2018, 840 new individuals registered with UNHCR, bringing the total number of registered Sudanese up to 4,898, an increase of 21 percent in 6 months (UNHCR, 2018j).[15] As of May 2019, 6,142 Sudanese refugees were registered with UNHCR (UNHCR, 2018b, 2018a, 2019b), with 85 percent living in Amman (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019). While the majority of Sudanese refugees in Jordan are from Darfur, participants suggested that arrivals in 2018 included people coming from areas around Khartoum. In addition to the refugee population, there is a sizeable population of migrant workers, plus Sudanese embassy staff and government representatives.

All Sudanese participants in my research come from Darfur and are registered with UNHCR. Many, however, have not undergone refugee status determination (RSD), and thus are officially still classed as asylum-seekers. I use the term refugee to refer to all Sudanese people in Jordan registered with UNHCR either as asylum seekers or refugees (referred to by UNHCR as people of concern), as this is how the people involved in my research refer to themselves, regardless of whether they yet hold refugee status.

Unlike Syrian and Iraqi refugee populations in Jordan, the majority of Sudanese refugees – 70.8 percent - are men (UNHCR email communication, September 2018; Johnston et al 2019).This has contributed to their marginalisation within humanitarian response, as the men are perceived to be capable of finding employment, despite the legal barriers to doing so, and the discrimination experienced as black African refugees. As Adam recounted to me,

> "*If you go to UNHCR and you talk about how you don't have work and your rent is so high they say to you 'you're a guy, you have energy, you can go to work'. But there is no work, you don't have the chance to work because of the government. The employee of UNHCR just tells you something like 'yatik al afia*[16]*, you have energy"*"

[15] By comparison, in the same period, the Syrian population increased by 2 percent (12,084), Iraqi by 1 percent (849), Yemeni by 25 percent (2478) and all other groups by 13 percent (196). The Somalian population decreased by 1 person.

[16] A common greeting literally meaning 'may Allah give you health'

Currently, humanitarian assessments rarely capture household sharing relationships nor the interdependencies that come with them (UNHCR, 2017c). In the scope of this work it has not been possible to arrive at a quantitative evaluation of the number of Sudanese households who are currently sharing, or who have ever shared, their accommodation with another household. Previous reports have highlighted the prevalence of such arrangements within the Sudanese population, particularly drawing attention to the situation of young, single men (Baslan, Kvittingen and Perlmann, 2017). Every household I visited was aware of people sharing accommodation, and the vast majority had participated in such an arrangement. Given the focus of my work, however, my observations of the prevalence of such practices are biased towards confirming my expectations.

Conflict in Darfur

The majority of Sudanese refugees in Jordan are fleeing conflict in Darfur and persecution by the government and related actors due to their Darfurian or perceived tribal identity. The conflict in Darfur is a separate, though not entirely unconnected, conflict from the 22-year long North-South conflict in Sudan which resulted in the establishment of South Sudan in 2011 (Jok, 2015). The conflict in Darfur is commonly pinpointed as starting in 2003 though there had been increased armed violence before this (de Waal and Flint, 2008; Mamdani, 2009). Though many causes have been identified, analysts identify the history of British colonialism and divide-and-rule tactics based on reinstatement of tribal authority; environmental change and increased competition for resources, particularly land; long-standing neglect and economic and political marginalisation of the Darfur region by the centralised government, and processes of Arabisation and Islamisation as key features (Jok, 2015; de Waal and Flint, 2008; Mamdani, 2009). Ostensibly a conflict between local rebels and government-backed militias (*Janjaweed*), loyalties and alliances between different groups have shifted over time, and there are multiple levels of actors and interests involved in the conflict from the local to the international.

I do not have space in this thesis to do justice to the origins of the conflict, nor the experiences of the thousands of people who were killed and the millions displaced as a result of the conflict. During my research I did not ask participants about their experiences of conflict in Sudan, nor their opinions on the conflict. Nonetheless, many participants chose to share this information in ways which lead me to believe that events in Darfur have an impact on people's experiences and perceptions of identity in Jordan.

Firstly, the conflict in Darfur has been horrifically violent. Over 400,000 people were reported to have been killed by 2015, though these figures are highly contested (de Waal and Flint, 2008; Mamdani, 2009). As of the end of 2018, 2,072,000 people were internally displaced within Sudan (IDMC, 2018), and in 2018 there were an estimated 792,127 refugees from Sudan (UNHCR, 2018j). Though not universally agreed upon, the conflict in Darfur has been

described as a genocide, including by the US Secretary of State Colin Powell (de Waal and Flint, 2008; Mamdani, 2009; Hamilton, 2011). Violence has been widespread and often indiscriminate between armed groups and civilians, including the destruction of entire villages. The conflict has also been marked by the use of rape as a weapon of war. Many of the Sudanese men I work with have completed training in psychosocial case management through NGOs in Jordan and are comfortable using medicalised terms in English to talk about their experiences in Darfur and Amman. From these conversations, it is evident that experiences of violence and displacement in Amman further compound the trauma of experiences in Darfur.

Secondly, the conflict is often described in terms of the politicisation and mobilisation of Arab and African identities (Sharkey, 2008). Though the Darfur conflict should not be read in purely religious, racial or ethnic terms (de Waal, 2005; de Waal and Flint, 2008; Sharkey, 2008; Mamdani, 2009; Jok, 2015), it is an important aspect when considering Sudanese experiences and the widespread racism they face in Jordan as a result of their black skin and African identities. Notably, Sudanese men involved in my research proudly identified themselves as African, with some claiming to reject or disdain characteristics they saw as coming from Arabs, including the Arabic language.

Thirdly, in the early 2000s, Darfur was one of, or perhaps the most prominent humanitarian crisis in public awareness (See for example the Save Darfur Coalition) (Mamdani, 2009). Despite continued clashes in the region and the ongoing displacement of millions of people, the conflict no longer receives the same attention from the media or humanitarian actors. Participants I worked with expressed a sense of abandonment by the international community both in Darfur and in their current sites of displacement, and the subsuming of refugees' interests to other political and economic interests. In Jordan, this is continued by the limited assistance available to Sudanese refugees, and limited international advocacy on their behalf. The Sudanese men I spoke to believe that the Sudanese government restricts departures from Sudan, in order to limit the size of Sudanese diaspora populations around the world, reducing their visibility and voice. They argue that this is in the government's interests as it attempts to present the situation in Sudan as post-conflict. Such interests are also important in considering the economic and political ties between Jordan and Sudan, and the allegation from Sudanese people in Jordan that Sudanese embassy officials were present at the 2015 deportation. [17] The men also maintain that UNHCR did not act to prevent the deportation. Similarly, there is a wider and politicised interest in the conflict in Sudan and in presenting Sudan as post-conflict and moving forward with investment and international partnerships. These days, it is rare that

[17] There is little English-language research available on the economic and political ties between Jordan and Sudan. Newspaper reports detail some of the agreements between the two countries (The Jordan Times, 2014, 2017).

Darfur reaches the headlines, despite continued conflict and displacement.[18] Headlines instead focus on the establishment of asylum processing centres and the transit of migrants heading to Europe through Sudan (Plaut, 2017; Ross, 2017; Jaspars and Buchanan-smith, 2018). This sidelines the ongoing violence and suffering in Darfur, and the plight of Sudanese refugee populations and diaspora groups around the world.

Fourthly, the Darfur region is extremely poor, as is much of the rest of Sudan. In July 2019, the World Food Programme reported 5.7 million people in need of humanitarian assistance (WFP, 2019). While there are some indications that the men I worked with came from middle class families, such as being able to afford the costs of visa fixers and plane tickets, and having pursued some education before leaving Sudan, we did not discuss their family's class background. Work was important in order to support themselves but also to support their families who have remained in Sudan or in camps, often in Chad. The Sudanese refugee population in Jordan is therefore an economically active population. Despite this, few people reported actually being able to remit money to their family outside of Jordan. This challenges conceptualisations of men as breadwinners, and masculinity as the ability to provide for your family (Sinatti, 2014). Though rarely spoken about directly in my research, on occasion the men's aspirations for marriage, children, and the meeting of their family's needs were described as out-of-reach, as seen in other displacement contexts (Grabska and Fanjoy, 2015). In addition, many people in Jordan believe that Sudanese migrants to Jordan are migrant workers, not refugees. This has influenced how many Jordanians see them, the ways they interact, and the potential for Sudanese refugees to access the forms of community support that appear to be extended to Syrian and Iraqi refugees.

Finally, there are specific gendered dynamics of the conflict, with specific threats to men and women. Rape and sexual violence has been widely used as a weapon during the conflict, primarily against women (Medicins Sans Frontieres, 2005). Women face specific issues linked to the conflict, including limited medical and maternity care, few options for earning income, and self-imposed restrictions on movement for safety (UNFPA and UNICEF, 2005). The men in my research, on the other hand, reported that they were more liable to being presumed to be an active part of the conflict, or to be pressured into joining an armed group. They attribute the fluctuating arrival rates in Jordan to restrictions on departures from Sudan, particularly for men under 50, who are perceived to be rebels against the government if they try to leave Sudan. This has influenced the displacement trajectories of those fleeing the conflict, and options for return or resettlement.

[18] My research was conducted before sit-ins and protests which resulted in the removal of former Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir from power and which did attract international attention.

The men's experience of conflict and initial flight can therefore be understood through different aspects of their identity: tribal or regional identities, ethnicity and perceptions of race, religion, gender, and age. As argued by the men, the confluence of gender, age, and being Darfurian exposed them to distinct risks of violence, conscription, or targeting by armed groups, and limited their options for flight. Though less highlighted by the men, these identities also presented opportunities for movement that may not have been available to others.

Arrival patterns

For many of the participants in my research, Jordan was not their first choice of country of refuge. The majority of participants in my research had considered three other alternatives before travelling to Jordan: Egypt, Chad, and Libya.

There is a much larger Sudanese population in Egypt (38,133 refugees as of August 2018 (UNHCR, 2018d)). Participants in my research, however, had been unable to go to Egypt, or had only been able to be there for a short time. In some cases, they had been turned away at the border. In others, they had been detained attempting to board boats to Europe and returned to Sudan. In these cases, they were again detained on arrival in Sudan and subjected to questioning, the assumption being that those who try to leave Sudan are anti-government or potential rebels. Some of the men had also been advised that it was quicker to get resettled from Jordan than from Egypt. They expressed frustration at the stories of friends who have already been resettled from Egypt, despite having gone to Egypt after my participants had come to Jordan. Though they mentioned Chad as an option, it did not appear to me that Chad was seriously considered due to insecurity and militia presence, including Janjaweed, in the refugee camps of Chad, and the limited options for onward travel or resettlement. Many of the men I worked with had considered going to Libya as a transit route to Europe. While most of them had ruled it out as too dangerous, some men had attempted it, and returned due to the extreme violence and instability they experienced. The routes taken to arrive in Jordan have specific outcomes on the men's experiences and expectations of displacement in Jordan.

Firstly, they see Jordan as a transit country. None of the men I met have the intention to stay in Jordan, and they are all aiming for resettlement. Many of them would like to go to the UK or the US, others have expressed a preference for Australia, enticed by the better weather (among other more substantial considerations). This affects their primary interests while in Jordan, for example the priority given to language skills and continuing education. It also affects their interaction patterns with Jordanians. Some limited contact due to the harassment they experienced. Others recounted how they were frequently asked "stupid questions" such as "Can you read?", and had chosen to say no, rather than responding to questions they found ignorant or degrading, given that they did not intend to stay here long and did not see the point. Only one

of the participants told me that he frequently challenged harassment when he encountered it, by yelling back or fighting.

Secondly, Sudanese men have had specific experiences of displacement prior to arrival in Jordan that distinguish them from other refugee populations in Jordan. These may merit greater awareness and consideration by humanitarian agencies in responding to their specific vulnerabilities. Notably, those who had attempted to cross to Europe through Libya, have endured extreme violence and exploitation and have often been left with physical injuries and mental health concerns. Currently, the response to Sudanese refugees in Jordan does not fully take these histories into account and has limited capacity to respond.

Thirdly, very few of the men I spoke to had connections in Jordan before arriving. There is some suggestion that this is changing, and some siblings and extended family members joined participants during my time in Amman. Some Darfurian refugees in Jordan also told me that movement from areas around Khartoum was facilitated by a 'fixer' with contacts in both Jordan and Sudan, who is supporting members of his tribe[19], though I was not able to confirm this. The men involved in my research however did not have contacts in Jordan before arriving, altering their potential coping strategies.

Finally they had limited knowledge about Jordan before arriving, despite several using the internet to learn about Jordanian culture before arriving. Limited previous knowledge meant that people did not know how or where to access assistance and were reliant on information shared by their new connections once arrived in Amman. Though a small number told me they did not know about the opportunities for resettlement, many came to Jordan specifically because they thought it would increase their chances. The reality of displacement in Jordan, and particularly the limitations on their activities while in displacement have come as an unwelcome and frustrating discovery.

Governance of Sudanese urban refugees

Sudanese refugees in Jordan came searching safety, and for the most part say they are grateful to the Jordanian government for allowing them to remain in Jordan. As reported by Ibrahim, *"In Jordan, they told us that you are like a guest. In fact, here I'm going to say I am thankful to the Jordan government that they allowed us to be here"*. While many of the men I spoke to shared Ibrahim's gratitude at being able to stay in Jordan and recognised that it provided a safer environment than Darfur, the limited protection space granted by the state and threats to their safety were evident in much of their discussion. In delving further into this statement, it becomes clear that their sense of safety in Jordan relates merely to the absence of outright conflict, rather than any sense of stability.

[19] I have used 'tribe' here as this was the English word used by the men with whom I spoke.

Most obviously, the 2015 deportation had devastating effects on the Sudanese refugee community in Jordan. Beyond the separation of families and the substantial fear that was generated and continues to reverberate, the deportation both physically removed members of some hosting arrangements, and disrupted the social networks that had enabled access to hosting. The actions of the Jordanian government thus had a substantial impact on Sudanese hosting arrangements through this key event. There was very little visible response from UNHCR or other bodies in relation to the deportation, which has been perceived by Sudanese refugees as active disengagement. The deportation caused immense harm to both the Sudanese population that was deported and those who remained, the ramifications of which continue today.

Surprisingly, given that the men express a fear of being detained and potentially deported, they also professed to have relatively good reputations with police officers, who 'trusted' Sudanese men to not cause trouble. While this seems a contradiction, the highly precarious position of Sudanese men in Jordan has perhaps resulted in them largely staying within the confines of 'acceptable' behaviour, despite often having to operate outside the law. Their precarious legal status and high visibility means that they do not have the space in which to 'create trouble', for risk of attracting greater attention resulting in a crack-down on the ways in which they make their livings in Jordan.

Sudanese refugees have limited recourse to state officials. Responses to crime and reported harassment are slow or non-existent, healthcare services refuse to treat Sudanese people without the support of NGOs (though in some concerning cases participants reported than even facilities supported to be open for people of all nationalities turned away Sudanese refugees), and schools enrol Sudanese children largely at the discretion of school directors. Particularly with regards to school enrolment, Sudanese refugees have been active in engaging with schools where possible in attempts to support the integration of their children (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019)

The governance of Sudanese refugees in Jordan can perhaps be best characterised as a wilful neglect. Multiple different actors are aware of their presence and situation, but until recently very little concerted effort had been made to respond to their needs or support their own responses. The following section briefly outlines the legislation and regulations governing Sudanese refugee lives in Jordan, imposed by both the Jordanian government and the humanitarian regime. In doing so I highlight not so much the restrictive policies governing their lives, but rather the gaps in the protection system in which so many Sudanese refugees in Jordan feel trapped.

Legislation and regulations

Jordan and Sudan do not have reciprocal travel agreements, and Sudanese require a visa to enter the country. For Sudanese refugees this is typically a medical visa, though these are not always accepted at immigration control at Queen Alia Airport in Amman, where nearly all Sudanese enter the country.[20] Jordan has variously relaxed and tightened access to these visas. Once in Jordan, some refugees do head to a hospital, and proceed from there. Others use public transport – buses or taxis – to reach the centre of Amman.

Within the first few days of arriving, Sudanese people intending to claim asylum present themselves at UNHCR. At this point they are given asylum seeker status and papers. Many Sudanese then wait months, or even years, for a refugee status determination (RSD) interview. Recognition rates for Iraqi, Yemeni, Sudanese and Somalis are high, at over 90 percent in 2016 (MCC, 2017). The RSD interview determines their eligibility for monthly cash assistance and resettlement. It is not uncommon for RSD interviews to be repeatedly postponed at short-notice, with little explanation given. In recognition of the backlog, a large number of Sudanese and Somali cases were processed in 2015. Despite this, men I worked with who have arrived since 2015 have again been waiting for more than a year.

The most consistent and pressing issue raised by Sudanese is the lack of access to work. Sudanese refugees do not have the right to work, and risk detention and deportation if caught. It is possible for Sudanese to be sponsored to obtain a work permit, however this is very unusual (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019). The men I spoke to were reluctant to ask for work permits, as they believe this will reduce the likelihood of them being selected for resettlement by UNHCR and some have been told that in order to obtain a permit they need to withdraw their case from UNHCR. Despite not having work permits, all the men I spoke to have worked while in Jordan. The work is often short-term and unpredictable, often in construction, or behind the scenes in malls and restaurants. In many cases, Sudanese workers are offered lower rates of pay than their co-workers of other nationalities. Despite this, not being paid, or not being paid the full amount expected is common, and several of the men in my research described the strategies and rules they have established for themselves in order to avoid such exploitative systems.[21] Many work in dangerous and difficult conditions, including with heavy machinery and extreme

[20] Entry through the airport, with visas, suggests that Sudanese refugees arriving to Jordan are those with access to the resources necessary to arrange and purchase fixing services and tickets. This indicates that Sudanese refugees are coming from a largely middle-class background in Sudan. This is supported to a certain extent by the work and education histories shared with me. However, we did not discuss class sufficiently to allow me to comment on the intersections of class and other aspects of their identities, and the impact of this on the men's experiences of displacement and hosting.

[21] For example, if expecting to be paid at the end of each week, they will only wait for a certain amount of time – between a week and two weeks – after the first missed payment. This means they lose the entire wage for this period, but avoids the risk that they will continue to work and still not be paid.

temperatures. Some have been injured as a result of working practices in Jordan, and workers have been killed on construction sites and in other workplaces. In such cases, they told me that coverage of the medical costs was dependent on the employers' means and willingness to pay.

Access to assistance

Non-discrimination is a fundamental principle of humanitarian aid. Despite this, Sudanese and other non-Syrian refugee populations in Amman do not receive similar levels of assistance to the Syrian population, despite comparable, or often higher, need. Refugee response in Jordan is framed around response to Syrian displacement. Though perhaps not surprising given the large numbers of Syrian refugees who have entered Jordan since 2011, this reveals an underlying flaw in the humanitarian logic of refugee response in Jordan.

UN agencies

UNHCR provides cash assistance to vulnerable cases from all refugee groups, but non-Syrians are not eligible for food vouchers distributed by the World Food Programme (WFP) to Syrian refugees.[22] In many cases, this results in non-Syrian families receiving less overall assistance than Syrian families experiencing similar levels of vulnerability (MCC, 2017). UNHCR is also constrained by earmarking of donor funds for the Syrian response, excluding other refugee populations. As a result, only 33 percent of UNHCR's target beneficiary goal for non-Syrians was met in 2015 and 2016, compared to 90 percent of its goal for Syrian beneficiaries (MCC, 2017). Despite this lack of attention, and the disparity in cash assistance figures compared to need, UNHCR is the primary provider of cash assistance to Sudanese refugees in Amman. For households who receive them, monthly cash payments are an essential contribution to household costs, but few Sudanese men are deemed eligible. Many more receive the annual winterization payment, which is often used to settle 'debts' to other housemates and friends.

UNHCR also has a vital role to play in terms of providing protection and is responsible for refugee status determination. The frustration and uncertainty many feel about their status in Jordan and their plans for the future stem in part from the ways this is managed by UNHCR, though it is not entirely within their control. The failure of UNHCR to respond in an adequate and timely way to the 2015 protests and their failure to halt the deportation of so many Sudanese people, including those holding refugee status, seriously damaged their relationship with the Sudanese refugee community in Amman, and many still have low levels of trust in the

[22] This was correct during my fieldwork. At the time of submission, WFP had conducted an assessment of non-Syrian PoCs in Jordan, but I was unable to access information relating to the assessment.

institution. This is not helped by the attitudes of frontline staff, which are often perceived as hostile or disbelieving by Sudanese refugees. Yakub shared his frustrations, saying

> "*They're about business. Some of them they help, but in general the UN, they see Sudanese as trouble. Sometimes we do, because we found discrimination. When you come there [UNHCR], with the employees they say 'you are blah blah blah', they don't help you, they don't respect you*."

High-profile cases within the community which they perceive to have been mismanaged by UNHCR have further damaged this relationship. Taken together, this can result in a situation where little information is available or sought, despite important issues being at stake.

INGOs

In 2017 the Ministry of Social Development only approved one project that targeted PoCs from countries other than Syria and Iraq. Despite this, more than 10 NGOs were identified as working with non-Syrian and non-Iraqi people in 2017. None of these organisations had significant external funding for their projects targeting non-Syrian and non-Iraqi people, and only three provided cash assistance to these groups. For those organisations, the total number of cases assisted was below 100 (Private communication). Given the lack of official approval for many of these projects, I have not listed the names of these organisations here. Drawing on interviews with humanitarian agencies in Amman, it is often smaller community-based groups that are working with Sudanese refugees, rather than large international organisations. In my research, I noted a shift in the attitude of NGO representatives and the interest in launching initiatives working with non-Syrian refugees during my time in Jordan, covering a span of 18 months (March 2017 – October 2018). At the beginning, NGOs were aware of non-Syrian and non-Iraqi refugees, but few had any information available or offered programming. By the time of my final visit the cause of non-Syrian refugees had been taken up by a number of NGOs, there was an increasing demand for information, and advocacy positions and recommendations were being coordinated by inter-agency fora. This shift was attributed by representatives of humanitarian agencies to different causes – the efforts of one organisation to gather and share available information, the tireless efforts of key individuals in advocating for non-Syrian refugees, and the prominence of the One Refugee approach emerging from the discussions around the Global Compact on Refugees (Baslan and Leghtas, 2018; UNHCR, 2019g)[23]. Increased attention and greater calls for action represent a positive step. Though the proposals and requests being put forward are cautious and modest, there is now a sustained momentum behind the initiative that

[23] The One Refugee Approach advocates for all refugees to have equitable protection, assistance, and services, regardless of nationality (UNHCR, 2018f)

does not appear to be going away. Crucially, key donors have begun to request information on all refugee populations in their grant applications.

Large international non-governmental organisations play a similar role to UNHCR, particularly when it comes to the scale of their cash transfer programming and their advocacy role. Smaller NGOs, on the other hand, can play a variety of roles. Some have the capacity to provide continuous, or at least mid- to long- term assistance. For some smaller NGOs, it can be challenging to provide predictable assistance. Instead, some limit themselves to emergency payments, vouchers, or in-kind materials.

Aside from cash and in-kind assistance there is a proliferation of educational and social programming provided in Amman, from English lessons and IT classes to football matches, yoga sessions, art exhibitions, and dance groups. All of the men I spoke to participated in at least one NGO-managed community activity, most commonly football or English classes. Though some struggled to attend due to long work hours, many expressed their desire to do so. Married men that I spoke to in the first phase of the research reported lower participation, largely due to cost and time constraints, reflecting the different positions and expectation of men within the Sudanese refugee population.

Local NGOs, community organisations, diaspora support and faith-based groups

Support for the Sudanese population from local groups remains lacking. In Summer 2018, UNHCR and JOHUD opened an all-nationality community support committee (CSC) community centre in Nuzha which has been widely lauded (UNHCR, 2019c). The Sudanese I worked with did not report going to this centre, though it was not clear if this was because they did not know about it, the distance and transport costs, or a lack of interest. While in Amman, I was invited to a new community meeting, initiated by Sudanese people, to discuss how they wanted to respond to their own needs. While participants had many ideas, mainly relating to the establishment of a community centre, the pathways to do this – financial and administrative – seem unclear. None of the people I spoke to reported receiving assistance or support from a mosque or associated group, though one man had met his first housemate while attending prayer on the day of his arrival in Amman. Participants did not mention receiving support from Sudanese diaspora groups or in the form of financial remittances from friends and family. On the contrary, many of them desired to send money to their family in Sudan, fulfilling their role as a good husband, son, or brother, but were rarely able to do so given the limited opportunities for work in Amman and the high costs of living.

Calhoun (2010) found that Sudanese refugees have fewer options for bridging ties to the Jordanian community than Iraqi refugees. Writing before the large-scale arrival of Syrian

refugees, and prior to the 2012/2013 peak in new arrivals from Sudan, Calhoun attributed the limited options to cultural, linguistic, and ethnic differences. Aside from Calhoun, there has been little published work on the social networks of Sudanese refugees in Amman, though many of the NGO reports referenced above detail the isolation and frequent racial harassment Sudanese refugees face. As previously discussed, the racist harassment and violence experienced by many of the men in Jordan was frequently identified as a reason to live together, with hosting serving a protective function.

Supporting Calhoun's (2010) findings, the men reported little interaction with people of other nationalities, particularly non-Africans. Syrian and Iraqi people in my research were much more likely to report having friendships with Jordanians and receiving assistance from neighbours and other community members. Though all groups reported the majority of their friends being of the same nationality, this was more pronounced among Sudanese refugees. Sudanese people were also less likely to report participating in community activities or events, saying that they didn't have time or money to participate, and were nervous about potential harassment if meeting as a group in a public location. Despite reporting frequent interaction with other groups – especially Jordanians and Egyptians at work – few Sudanese report having close relationships with people of other nationalities, and they appear to form a highly isolated group. The isolation of the Sudanese is reinforced from both directions – hostility from other national groups, and self-limiting interaction from the Sudanese, largely as a protective response. As Ibrahim explained:

> *"Here in Jordan, we don't interact or contact with others or Syrians, because – maybe not from us but from them – seventy-five, eighty percent, no one is accepting you…Because maybe they are thinking something, maybe because we're from Africa, it might be our skin colour, maybe something is confused in their mind…the Jordanians too, we know them a lot, especially at work and how they talk with you, in fact most of them don't accept us. So it is difficult…So we didn't interact with other nationalities like Iraqi and Syrian, because it makes it worse. Eighty percent of people are like that, twenty percent maybe aren't. Twenty percent maybe, I'm not sure - maybe they're gonna be good, maybe not. So for me, of course, I not try to go to them, because I don't know what is in his mind, or her mind, or their mind. Yes, so I try to just leave them."*

This isolation is reinforced by a public perception of Sudanese as migrant workers, rather than refugees fleeing conflict. In combination, this serves to curtail Sudanese interaction with other groups, preventing the formation of cross-nationality support networks. This is not to say that

other groups do not also experience discrimination – many Syrians are intensely aware of the negative perception of them from Jordanians – but that Sudanese and Somali do not have comparable levels of interaction and social support from neighbours, colleagues, and extended networks of family, friendship and acquaintances. For those who did have non-Sudanese friends, these friendships were often more distant. Adam explained, "*I have friends from different nationalities. I have Arab friends, but not close close to me. I don't deal with them because they hurt me sometimes by talking behind my back and making jokes about black people.*"

Sudanese refugees report that the two cultures are dissimilar, and Sudanese are not perceived as Arab in the same way as Palestinians, Iraqis, and Syrians are. Sudan is a member of both the African Union (AU) and the Arab League. Despite membership in the Arab League since 1959, Sudan is often not perceived of as Arab in the same way as other members (Collins, 2006). This conflict between African and Arab identity is not limited to external perceptions, but is also part of the conflict in Sudan (Deng, 2006; Jok, 2015). In Jordan, the men brought to the fore their black African identity in recounting of their experiences. Sudanese men report that they are frequently verbally harassed using racially motivated names, including "Abu Samra"[24] or "Chocolate" and that they face stereotypes about Africans that include stupidity, laziness, and hyper-sexualisation (for both men and women).

Amman is a city built on immigration and the incorporation of groups of forced migrants from Circassia, Palestine, Iraq, and now Syria. Newly arrived Iraqi Christian refugees reported non-Iraqi neighbours helping them who recollected their own experiences of displacement years previous, and sought to help others they saw experiencing something similar. Though this is perhaps idealistic – there are plenty of cases of a "we were here first" mentality among longer-term refugees, and descendants of refugees - there does seem to be a recognition of shared experience and potential reciprocity. In the words of a religious leader based in East Amman "when Jordan was in trouble, Iraq was our only friend, we should do more to help them now". Similarly, Jordan is invested in the conflict in Syria (Bode, Masi and Osseiran, 2017). This recognition does not extend to Sudanese refugees, despite the potential for some common identities. This is perhaps explained by Jordanians' lack of awareness of the Sudanese population in Amman. However, the high levels of harassment and discrimination suggest that the 'othered' identities of Sudanese refugees are elevated over shared experiences and identities with Jordanians and other displaced groups from the Levant. The Sudanese experience in Amman challenges the hospitable characterisation of Jordan, and shows that hospitality is extended only to those with whom the host perceives a shared identity (Leer and Komter, 2012).

[24] A derogatory term literally meaning "father of tan" (Clifton, 2016)

Sudanese refugees – who do not have pre-existing social connections, do not share the same traditions or – crucially – skin colour, - are excluded from the hospitality extended to others.

Resettlement

As previously discussed, the vast majority of Sudanese refugees in Jordan want to be resettled, primarily to English speaking countries. With this in mind, many have pursued English language studies and continued their education while in Jordan. Resettlement opportunities, however, are limited.

	2011	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**May 2019**
Syria	5	6	184	1539	4776	17,956	4,473	4,404	2,028
Sudan	29	120	115	79	81	90	62	152	108
Somalia	24	69	38	52	30	38	6	15	3

Table 2: Chart showing resettlement numbers from Jordan by nationality, 2011 – 31st May 2019 (UNHCR, 2019d)

The US travel ban imposed by the Trump administration in 2017 hit refugees in Jordan hard.[25] In 2017 – 2018, resettlement was completely halted for some time, and only slowly resumed. In 2017, Sudan was removed from the countries listed under the controversial travel ban to the United States (Elamin, 2017). The announcement in September 2018 that U.S resettlement places would be limited to 30,000 further limited possibilities for resettlement (Cepla, 2019). When I visited Amman in September 2018, a small number of Sudanese families had recently left for Canada, the UK, and Sweden. While waiting for resettlement, many Sudanese refugees feel that their situation is out of their hands, and that they do not have any chances while they remain in Jordan.

Priority for resettlement is given to cases judged to be acutely vulnerable, or those with severe medical needs. For the Sudanese population, which is over 70 percent male, resettlement is unlikely. The population does not fit resettlement criteria. The men I know are acutely aware that they are at the bottom of the list for resettlement, again due to the confluence of gender, age, and nationality. They do not resent the prioritisation of families or those who are severely

[25] For a timeline of the implementation and challenges to Executive Order 13769, commonly known as the Muslim Travel Ban, please see ACLU (2018), Timeline of the Muslim Ban. Available at: https://www.aclu-wa.org/pages/timeline-muslim-ban

ill but question the options for their own lives and the potential challenges of living in a society largely dominated by the single men who have been left behind.

Sudanese society in Amman and wider Jordan

Eighty-five percent of the Sudanese refugee population in Jordan lives in Amman (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019). Chapter Eight addresses how the urban environment, particularly with regards to housing, work, and socialising, interacts with the men's experiences of displacement.

As mentioned in the opening of this chapter, there is a non-refugee Sudanese population in Jordan. Within the entire Sudanese population, however, there are limited interactions between people with different statuses. Adam explained the relationships between the different groups:

> *Adam: Many of the Sudanese came here for work, they're not a problem. If they see you in the street, they say hi. But if you find someone that is related to the Embassy, that is a big problem. They will not talk to you and you don't have a relationship.*
>
> *Zoë: So if they're with the Embassy there is a big problem. If they're here for work, you're not good friends but it's ok to say hi?*
>
> *Adam: Yeah. Somehow it is, but it's not like you have a relationship with them like with the refugees*
>
> *Zoë: Would you live with them?*
>
> *Adam: No, no, no*
>
> *Zoë: Would they ever help you?*
>
> *Adam: No.*

This was supported by other examples, where new arrivals had first met a Sudanese non-refugee, who had not taken them into their home, but had been able to introduce them to other Darfurian refugees who did open their homes to them.

There is also a low-level tension between different tribes from within Darfur. This tension was not mentioned to me without prompting, and discussions suggest identity dynamics are shifting in displacement, with other aspects of identity becoming more prominent. Darfurians in Jordan are mainly either Fur or Zaghawa. Many of the men I worked with recounted to me that while these differences may have played a greater role in Sudan, once in Jordan national identity

became much more important than tribal or group identity. Despite this, the large 'association' houses that used to exist were reported to have been organised around tribe, and there is a continuing preference to live with people of the same tribe. This is likely reinforced by how housing arrangements have been made, through connections made in those association houses. One man, who refused to divulge information that would identify his tribe, also recounted that there have been cases of violence between different groups. In his experience, living with people from a different tribe can cause problems in terms of the language used at home and expectations of each other. Tensions and divisions between the different groups should not be overblown but should be perhaps seen as an ever-present consideration in people's negotiation of housing and relationships.

Conclusion

This section has given an overview of the situation of Sudanese refugees in Amman and some of the key features influencing their daily experiences and decision making.

Sudanese refugees in Amman occupy a different legal and social space than other refugee groups. Like other non-Syrian refugees in the city, they are not covered by legal dispensations relating to their status in the country, healthcare, or employment. Though recognition rates are near universal, they have frequently faced delays in acquiring documentation from UNHCR, and many have had RSD interviews postponed for years. Though UNHCR provides humanitarian assistance to Sudanese households, coverage rates are far below the identified need. Many are reliant on winterization payments and informal work, especially single men, or those who are not accompanied by their families. A small number of NGOs provide assistance, but their operations are limited by government approval procedures and low levels of donor funding for work with non-Syrian refugee populations in Jordan. There is little broader awareness of the presence of Sudanese refugees in Jordan, and the presence of Sudanese migrant workers as well as the prevalence of employment among Sudanese refugees has led to many considering all Sudanese people in the country as workers, rather than refugees. Combined with the widespread hostility and racism, this results in severely limited support from other urban residents. As can be seen, the men's experiences in Amman are shaped by the intersection of race, nationality, gender, and legal status. One of the primary responses to the hardship these factors produce has been the establishment of hosting relationships.

Chapter Four: Methodology

My research design takes a qualitative approach to understanding the differences in how people see, experience and make sense of the world as its starting point. This emphasis on the existence of multiple perspectives is in stark contrast to interpretations of the world which seek to establish an objective, observable truth, or an understanding of phenomena existing independently of the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007b). I am interested not only in what is done, or how it is done, but in the meanings people assign to these actions and how they perform and experience them.

Each individual sees different things, assigns them different levels of salience and importance and, vitally, interprets them differently. This is determined by our previous experiences, our location in particular places and spaces, our own identity, and our perspective on the world. Our conscious and unconscious biases may cause us to be able to observe and register some things but not others. Something which strikes one person as remarkable or worthy of explanation may seem commonplace or self-evident to another. The social world is therefore constructed by our interpretations of it, and our actions based on those interpretations (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007b).

I have adopted qualitative approaches that allow me to explore the multiple perspectives of those involved in my research. These approaches provide rich descriptive data, and are useful in studying a practice about which we currently know very little, revealing how forced migrants live and the shaping of their coping strategies, identities and attitudes (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). Beyond this, such approaches also have the advantage of allowing for the priorities and concerns of participants' to come to the fore, producing unexpected and counter-intuitive findings (George and Stratford, 2016). Qualitative research is highly suited for understanding the meanings and subjective experiences of vulnerable groups and those who are largely silenced (Laimputtong, 2007). This is vital in research with forced migrants who are typically marginalised and subjected to forms of governance that diminish and obscure their own understandings and negotiations of their contexts. Doing so, however, has resulted in a shift in my approach to knowledge production, moving from the distanced and increasingly bureaucratic forms of knowledge required by the humanitarian system (Collinson, 2016; Dubois, 2018) to situated knowledges (Haraway, 1988) produced through relationships of care and solidarity.

In prioritising these forms of knowledge, I have sought to create refugee-centred research relationships, which focus on the agency and interpretations of those affected by displacement in their interactions the humanitarian system. One of the main objectives of my research is to understand how those affected by displacement deal with their everyday lives. Active involvement of affected parties and key stakeholders in the knowledge production process is

therefore essential, not only to become aware of and confront my own biases, but also to incorporate their lived experiences into the research. The research design and implementation lends itself to this approach, encouraging the sharing of personal experiences and meanings through ethnographic techniques. By using different approaches, moving from the broad knowledge provided by semi-structured interviews with a wide-range of participants to the in-depth, dense information produced with a small group of people I was able to produce rich and nuanced information.

Given the dearth of information regarding hosting practices, I split the research into two phases. The first, conducted between September 2017 and March 2018, provided an exploratory mapping of the different forms of hosting present in the city among different population groups. I used semi-structured interviews with refugee households from Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese, and Syrian backgrounds to develop a typology of hosting relationships and begin to explore the realities of living in a hosting arrangement. The second phase, conducted in March – May 2018 and September – October 2018, explored specific experiences of hosting in order to understand how host relationships are created and experienced in protracted urban displacement. I used multiple in-depth interviews and observation to build a detailed understanding of shared group hosting arrangements among Sudanese men living in Amman. In this chapter I first explain my research strategy, and detail the research techniques used. I then discuss the analysis and representation of this data, before moving to a discussion of positionality and power in ethnographic research with refugees. In the final section I reflect on the scope of the research, identifying its limitations and future directions to build on the work presented in this thesis.

Research strategy

In March 2017, I visited Jordan for the first time to familiarise myself with the country, assess the feasibility of conducting research in urban Amman, and develop my research design. During this initial scoping visit, I held informal meetings with representatives of international and national NGOs, municipal officials, and other researchers to assess the current state of humanitarian engagement with urban refugees and hosting, and identify the key gaps in existing knowledge and practice. This preliminary work helped me to define my research approach and begin to elaborate tools for field research.[26]

Throughout my research I strove to establish and maintain connections with NGOs operating in Jordan, in order to access the latent knowledge held by individuals and organisations, and to discuss developing themes as they emerged. In total I spoke to 16 representatives of NGOs and UN bodies and three municipal representatives, as well as other researchers working in Amman.

[26] For sample interview guides please see Appendix Two

I also participated in two inter-organisation working group meetings.[27] While organisations were happy to talk about hosting relationships, only a small number had previously reflected on them and had substantive contributions to make. The draw for many of the organisations was my work with the Sudanese community, who are attracting increasing attention from organisations, with several reporting a widening space to include Sudanese refugees or provide tailored programming.

Phase One: Typology of hosting relationships

In the first phase of my research, I aimed to develop a typology of household-level hosting relationship. Understanding of refugee populations and hosting practices as diverse, I sought to identify different types of hosting relationship and how individual characteristics influence hosting. In order to do this, I worked with two research assistants living in Amman (Dina Baslan and Israa Sadder) to conduct semi-structured interviews with 38 refugee participants of Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese, and Syrian nationalities. I worked with Dina for interviews with Sudanese and Somali participants, and Israa for interviews with Syrian participants. Both have strong knowledge of forced migration and of the situation of refugees in Jordan, and are experienced researchers. Dina is well-known in the Sudanese community due to her position as the co-founder of Sawiyan, a group which advocates for and responds to the needs of African-origin refugees, established during the Sudanese protests and deportation, and formalised as a non-governmental organisation in April 2018. She is also an experienced professional researcher and journalist. Israa is a university graduate who, at the time I met her, was working for an NGO running cross-border education programming in southern Syria and had previously worked as a research assistant for doctoral students. Iraqi participants were interviewed with the assistance of the Father of a local church with high Iraqi attendance or a male Jordanian friend who had little knowledge of forced migration in Jordan. One of the challenges of conducting research in urban environments is locating hidden or invisible populations (Jacobsen, 2006). Meeting people required gaining access to their networks and the different sites they used across the city. Dina and Israa were invaluable in introducing me to such networks and supporting my entry into them. Throughout the research, their participation was a valuable source of additional knowledge, and their interpretations provided useful insight. Both became my good friends, and offered personal support during my time in Jordan.

[27] Working with non-Syrian populations is contentious. These representatives were contacted for background information, to gather existing reports and documentation, and to discuss research themes. Their organisations are not named in the research.

Semi-structured interviews

I used semi-structured interviews to elicit narratives related to displacement and accommodation sharing in while in Amman. Official accounts and responses to large-scale events are often recorded, but we often miss the quiet, everyday reactions to these events. This is particularly true where the people concerned are disadvantaged or minority groups (George and Stratford, 2016). Refugees are often marginalised due to their status (or lack thereof) in the host country. The hidden nature of many refugee experiences has frequently been described, and the value of paying attention to refugee's responses to displacement is rarely debated (Polzer and Hammond, 2008). The experiences of hosts, however, is also often hidden. In this research, all of the hosts were also refugees, a situation that is rarely acknowledged (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016b). Host and refugees were often living in conditions of equal poverty and social, political and legal exclusion. Understood within wider socio-political contexts, narratives shared by forced migrants can reveal how they make sense of and negotiate displacement (Eastmond, 2007).

Interviews focused on information relating to their household, their experiences in Jordan, and their living conditions and interactions with the host community and others. Questions about hosting were not directly asked in the first part of the research. 'Hosting' as a term is rarely used consistently within the humanitarian sector and was not used by research participants. Instead, we asked about sharing accommodation, sources of assistance, and the help they provided to others. I used information elicited during these interviews to map individuals and organisations with whom refugees interacted as well as to note the changes in their relationships and practices. I thus began to understand how hosting relationships connect individuals to each other, and to organisations in the wider community. As can be seen in the interview guide (Appendix Two), during the semi-structured interviews we first posed open questions and only asked supplementary closed questions if responses had not already been provided during the answers narrated by participants.

Interview participants

Interview participants were selected based on their refugee status, nationality, and experience of living in a hosting arrangement. Rather than focusing on conducting interviews with a set number of people from each nationality, I aimed to include people with a wide variety of personal characteristics, such as gender; age; marital status; employment status; people with and without physical disabilities; those with children and those without; and a variety of experiences of displacement, including length of displacement. Drawing on the limited existing literature on household-level hosting (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016b; Caron, 2019), I believed that these characteristics could alter the access and experience of living in hosting arrangements and that it would be important to include these different perspectives in my work. By incorporating a broad

cross-section of these individuals in the first phase of the research, I hoped to capture an understanding of the full range of hosting arrangements that exist in the given area. For Sudanese, Somali, and Syrian refugees, interviews were conducted until no new forms of hosting were identified during the interviews (forms of hosting are reported in Chapter Seven). This does not mean that all types of hosting indicated during hosting were covered during data collection. For example, interviewees mentioned houses of single women living together, but I was unable to secure interviews with such a household. I aimed to achieve the same saturation in interviews with Iraqi participants, however this was not possible due to logistical constraints and my limited connections to the Iraqi refugee population in Amman.

Dina and Israa relied on existing knowledge of and connections with refugee populations in Amman to identify individuals with these different characteristics and that met the relevant criteria, and suggested them to me. They then secured the time and place of the meeting, and we conducted the interviews together. The table below summarises the characteristics of those included in Phase One of the study. A full list of participants is included in Appendix One.

Nationality	**Number of Participants**
Iraqi	5
Male	2
Female	2
Interviewed as couple/family	1
Single/widowed	0
Living with partner	5
Living without partner	0
Living with children	5
Disability	0
Age (29 and below)	0
Age (30 and above)	5
> 3 years in Jordan	0
< 3 years in Jordan	5
Somali	10
Male	3
Female	6
Interviewed as couple/family	1
Single/widowed	4
Living with partner	3
Living without partner	3

Living with children	6
Disability	1
Age (29 and below)	5
Age (30 and above)	5
> 3 years in Jordan	10
< 3 years in Jordan	0
Sudanese	15
Male	8
Female	3
Interviewed as couple/family	4
Single/widowed	2
Living with partner	8
Living without partner	5
Living with children	12
Disability	2
Age (29 and below)	2
Age (30 and above)	13
> 3 years in Jordan	14
< 3 years in Jordan	1
Syrian	8
Male	2
Female	3
Interviewed as couple/family	3
Single/widowed	4
Living with partner	4
Living without partner	0
Living with children	3
Disability	1
Age (29 and below)	5
Age (30 and above)	3
> 3 years in Jordan	8
<3 years in Jordan	0
Total	38

Table 3: Table showing the number of participants in Phase One of the research, by nationality

Most interviews in Phase One needed to be interpreted, adding an extra layer of translation, both of the technicalities of the language, but also of the meanings of the information shared by the research participants (Temple and Edwards, 2006). Before beginning interviews, I worked with

Dina and Israa to become familiar with the themes and questions that might be posed, and to establish our mutual understanding of the terms being used. This activity provided two key benefits to the research. Firstly, it enabled us to be clear about the terms we are using and what we understood those terms to mean, avoiding miscommunication. Secondly, the process of arriving at these mutual understandings allowed us to explore the different experiences and associations with the concepts, in itself providing valuable information about how people conceive and make sense of these processes. This worked well for interviews conducted in Arabic, but was not always possible. For example, in some of the interviews conducted with Somali households, the participant spoke enough Arabic to respond, but was more comfortable and fluent speaking in Somali. In these cases, we typically continued the interview, as participants wanted to be involved in the research, relying on impromptu translation from another member of the Somali community, normally the friend who had introduced us, or a housemate. These situations were unplanned and did not allow time for us to familiarise the interpreter with the research which raised questions about confidentiality and comfort in responding to some questions.

Developing a typology

Typologies are useful for thinking about distinctions within a category or phenomenon (Ayres and Knafl, 2008). As argued in Chapter One, existing definitions of hosting are very broad and, as yet, little research has addressed the practice. Developing a typology of household-level hosting arrangements is a helpful way to begin to unpack hosting, and was used to understand the diversity within hosting, and the different dimensions of what constitutes household-level hosting. Typology is therefore both a tool used to guide my methodological approach, and a way of organising the analysis I present (Chapter Seven).

In Chapter Six, I develop a theoretical understanding of hosting based on interdependence and transactional exchange, as continuums through which to categorise the different types of arrangement included in my research. Types of hosting arrangement were developed from close reading of interview narratives to identify similarities and differences in composition and form in the cases presented, identifying different types of hosting. This was further nuanced by considerations of temporality, individual characteristics, and motivations to participate in hosting relationships in relation to the types developed and to their characterisation in terms of interdependence and transactional nature. While the different individual characteristics that I thought might impact on hosting arrangements were identified through a review of the literature and previous personal research prior to fieldwork, the theoretical understanding of hosting in terms of inter-dependency and guesthood and the framing of the typology in these terms developed from an analysis of empirical work in relation to previous explanations of hosting.

A prominent critique of typologies is inability of many typologies to propose categories that clearly distinguish one type from another and present these categories in ways that are easily and reliably recognisable. The reliance on ideal types in typology means that many real-life cases may be less easily categorised, and a risk of category proliferation and loss of conceptual clarity (Smith, 2002; Collier, LaPorte and Seawright, 2012). The typology I propose is vulnerable to these critiques. Hosting is a little understood and multifaceted practice, with practices dependent on individual situations and the wider context. The inclusion of cases from different backgrounds is an attempt to consider the ways in which different positions may affect the practice and challenge the categorisations proposed. A greater number of interviews at would have enabled me to establish greater saturation and to conduct robustness tests on the proposed typology. The typology I propose is not intended to be representative nor the final word in categorising hosting relationships, but rather reflects patterns observed in qualitative data in one location and one time which indicate pertinent lines of enquiry for further research in a currently under-researched field. Despite these limitations, the typology I propose is a valuable contribution, adding new depth to understandings of household-level hosting relationships.

I expected a range of different hosting types to be reported by participants in the first phase of the research, and my methodological approach in this stage was centred on the development of a typology. However, I did not expect them to be as clearly delineated by nationality, gender, and family status. I was also surprised to not find any cases of refugees living with Jordanians. Of the hosting relationships described to me during the interviews conducted in Phase One, only a small minority resembled the understanding of hosting as portrayed by humanitarian literature. Reflecting on my work during this phase, three key points stood out to me as key to challenging existing depictions. Firstly, the high prevalence of hosting relationships among people who were not related. Secondly, that hosting practices were not short-term emergency measures but rather long-term practices. Finally, that different hosting practices appeared to be available to different groups based on their gender, nationality, and race. As previously noted, the humanitarian community in Jordan had reported having little information about Sudanese refugees but had recognised the prevalence of group hosting arrangements among Sudanese men. During stakeholder interviews there was a strong demand for information regarding this group. Combining this recognised gap in knowledge with the reflections above, I decided to focus on this group in the second phase of the research as a thought-provoking counterpoint to the dominant existing depiction of hosting.

Phase Two: Understanding hosting relationships

The second phase of my research focused on understanding one form of hosting – single Sudanese men living in shared housing - in greater detail. The diversity, density and complexity

of identities and social interactions taking place in urban environments present a challenge to research. With such high intensity of interactions, it is not possible to capture every action, or to explore the meaning behind each behaviour. The everyday opportunities for exchange and interaction among and between diverse communities are themselves a characteristic of urban life, require techniques that can adequately capture the meanings of interactions taking place in the research participants lives. With this in mind, I chose to focus on producing in-depth understanding of a small group in the second phase of my fieldwork, providing a detailed exploration of Sudanese men's experience of living in shared group hosting arrangements.

I chose to focus on this group as Sudanese men in Jordan are excluded on multiple fronts (Chapter Three) and are an under-researched group (Omata, 2019). In the first interviews, I often asked the men why they were interested in participating in the research. Nearly all of them replied that they needed to get information out about their situation, which they believe attracts little awareness or understanding. Some added that they hoped to improve the situation for those who would come after them. Several also noted our shared identity as students, and saw participating as a way to help a fellow student with their work, to practice their English, and interact with someone from a different background.

Ethnographic research approaches

This stage of the research deployed a range of ethnographic techniques, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and conversation, to elicit a deep and nuanced understanding of the creation and maintenance of a small number of hosting relationships, and the interplay between these relationships and other social actors and features of displacement in Jordan. Meeting and interviewing the same men over four months (March – May and September – October 2018), in addition to time spent with some of these participants and other Sudanese refugees over the previous six months (September 2017 – March 2018) provided a unique opportunity to gain an in-depth insight into the experiences and motivations of their hosting arrangements.

Ethnography englobes a large array of different approaches and techniques. A common thread, however, is that ethnographers see knowledge and reality as being constructed through interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within a social context (Lambert, Glacken and McCarron, 2011). Hammersley and Atkinson identify the key features of ethnography as the studying of people's actions and accounts in everyday contexts - the 'field' - using data that is gathered from a range of sources. Ethnography typically focuses on a small number of people, allowing for in-depth study. In analysis, the focus is on meanings, functions, and consequences of peoples' behaviours within given contexts resulting

in description, explanation and theory-building (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007a). Researchers using ethnographic approaches aim to gain first-hand experience of the ways of a group, to learn not only what the experience is, but how those in the group make sense of – or construct their knowledge of - their experience (Hammersley, 2006). The validity of ethnographic techniques such as in-depth interviews and participant observation has been recognised as one of the principal strengths of such approaches within forced migration research (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003).

Ethnographic research is typically long-term and relies on personal relationships and rapport between participants and researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007a; Leavy, 2011). This allows for repeat visits, informal interactions, and the time for trust-building, exploration and repetition which enhances communication between researcher and participant, encouraging participants' to express and explain their perceptions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007a). This is particularly valuable in sensitive contexts, or when discussing personal topics (Laimputtong, 2007). A conversation with Amina, weeks after we'd met confirmed the importance of repeated interactions and time to get to know one another. She confided that when we'd first met, she hadn't been sure about me – I'd been too serious. But now she said that she knew more who I was, and that both she understood my character but also that I was acting more warmly, and like one of 'them'. This both highlighted my outsider status, and felt rewarding to have gained acceptance.

I worked with nine men in six households between March and October 2018. I did not set a target for the number of participants in this research. Instead I aimed to ensure that multiple households were included, and where possible, multiple members of each household in order to understand different experiences of living together. I interviewed multiple household members in three of the six houses involved in my research. The themes addressed in this thesis are those where I approached saturation in my interviews, with multiple men reporting similar experiences and interpretations. Where individual men recounted atypical accounts or experiences that were not shared with any other men, these are indicated as a contradiction or exception to the emerging picture.

Dina had already introduced me to some single Sudanese men during our work together in the first phase of the research and I had met others attending activities organised by Sawiyan and through mutual friends. To expand beyond this entry point, I asked Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) if they could recommend a Sudanese man who could act as a research assistant. Elfatih (the research assistant suggested by JRS) introduced me to others and accompanied me to the first interviews. We quickly realised that the majority of participants spoke good English, and were keen to do so, and he did not accompany me to interviews after this. Many of the men I

met through Elfaith also participated in Sawiyan's events, though I had not previously met them. In addition, one of the participants had heard of my research from friends and asked to participate when we met at an event in the neighbourhood where he lived. Given the relatively small number of Sudanese refugees in Jordan, and the limited options for socialising, the cross-over between these groups is not surprising. We met frequently (typically several times a week) until the beginning of May 2018. At the initiation of participants, we remained in touch via social media over the summer, and I returned to Jordan in September 2018 for a further 6 weeks of research. Since returning to the UK I have remained in contact with many of the men. The men who participated in my research were those that were 'more-willing-to-reveal' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007a). Most of the men were keen to talk and to continue meeting, though two of them did not reply to messages after our initial interviews. I took this as a sign that they no longer wanted to participate.

I found my return to Jordan in September 2018 to be particularly valuable with regards to building relationships with research participants. Though I conducted fewer formal interviews than I had anticipated, I spent much more time with the men than previously and our conversations were more personal and expansive, indirectly contributing to my understanding of how they felt about their displacement and about their relationship to Sudan and to each other, topics that were often difficult to ask about directly. We were able to discuss more sensitive topics, such as what happens when hosting relationships break up and the impact of ethnicity or tribe on hosting relationships. My return to Jordan enhanced the level of trust between us, as I was not just another researcher that had taken information and disappeared (Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway, 2007). Returning to Jordan was also useful in validating the preliminary analysis that I had conducted over the summer. I was able to ask clarifying questions relating to information from the interviews I had already conducted, and could discuss about changes in the intervening months.

The individuals, interactions, and places that make up Amman do not cease to exist because I am not looking at them. The people with whom I talked, shared tea, and spent time with during my time in Amman continue their lives after my departure. Thanks to mobile communication technology and social media, it has been possible to remain connected to places and people, staying in touch between interviews, visits to Jordan, and long-after my initial presence in the country. The use of these technologies throws into relief a long-standing issue regarding the nature of the research relationship, and the boundaries between research and friendship. These new forms of communication can serve to reduce the divide between the field and not the field, and the separation between the lives of the researcher and those they research, strengthening rapport between the researcher and the research participants. They have proved – to me at least – an important tool in remaining connected.

In-depth interviews and social mapping

Interviews conducted in Phase Two of the research were, where possible, iterative, with each interview being based on the topics and themes that had been raised in the previous ones. Interview guides were developed prior to each interview, but were not strictly followed, depending on the topics raised by participants. This was important in order to allow for individuals' own priorities and concerns to come to the fore and to allow space for different explanations to emerge. This not only enriched my understanding of complex behaviour and motivations, but showed respect for those participating in the research by recognising and emphasising what they think is important and how they interpret actions Acknowledging the importance of participants' own interpretations also facilitates the development of rapport and mutual respect between the researcher and people participating in the research (Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway, 2007; Hugman, Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2011). Though the research is still a formal data gathering process, which ultimately remains in the control of the researcher, it provides space for participants to influence the direction of research.

Interviews were conducted separately with different members of the individuals involved in the hosting relationship. This allowed me to collect a range of different meanings and experiences, and to understand the relationship from different perspectives within it (Valentine, 2011). These interviews were conducted as formal research encounters, taking place at arranged times and places (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007a).

Gathering information across a period of time in participants' lives, oral history interviews are a form of conversation and questioning that encourages the elicitations of narratives – stories – from participants, allowing researchers to explore an individual's unique experiences within a larger contextual framework (Leavy, 2011). In what they share, and how they choose to tell their story, participants highlight what they consider to be the most important aspects of their stories, and how they see them in relation to other people, places, and events (George and Stratford, 2016). Following my theoretical framework for understanding the act of hosting, which emphasises the relational nature of these practices, I was particularly interested in exploring how the men's relationships had been initiated and built. This was especially important considering that many of the men arrived without the previous connections that are often assumed to be the basis of hosting arrangements. I was also interested in understanding how external actors influenced the men's hosting practices. With this in mind, in one of the multiple interviews I conducted with participants, I used oral history interviews to create social network maps together, tracing where connections had been made. This idea was based

methodologies detailed in papers consulted regarding social networks during the literature review (for example Pittaway et al., 2016; Smith, 2013; Murray, 2015).

Asking interview participants to recall detailed information, particularly across long-term periods is challenging (Beckett *et al.*, 2001). Particularly with regards to mapping of social interactions, it can be difficult to recall the huge number of people that indirectly or minutely influence experiences. My aim during this work was not to ask people to recall all those who they had met, but to centre our conversations around recounting what happened during the first weeks following their arrival in Amman, their relationships with those they had lived with across the years, and to discuss the relationships (whether with friends, housemates, colleagues or others) that they identified as the most significant during their time in displacement. As can be seen in the interview guides contained in Appendix Two, this activity started by asking the participants to recount their story of arrival in Amman, from the moment they arrived at Queen Alia Airport. These maps provided valuable information regarding social networks, but were even more valuable for the detailed stories and rich information elicited during their completion. What developed from these were rich narratives of arrival, of movement between housing and employment, and of key transitions and events during their time in displacement. Recounting their experiences in this way allowed for patterns to emerge, such as the connection between employment and housing and the role of certain sites in developing relationships (Chapter Eight). I developed these further using information shared during other interviews and comparing them with information from other participants.

Observation and hanging out

Observation helped me to contextualise the research environment and actions within it, and to learn about the people participating in the research in the course of their everyday activities (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007a). My understanding of hosting practices created through interviews was significantly improved and deepened by contact outside the structure of a formal research encounter. Complementing the use of interviews, I participated in public events and socialised with the men, as well as with their housemates and friends who lived in similar arrangements but were not participating in the research, and men and women living with their families. At the same time as conducting my research, I volunteered as a Grants Writer with Collateral Repair Project (CRP). I also attended many events organised by Sawiyan. Volunteering provided me with a space in which to observe interactions between refugees, and between refugees, non-refugees, and assistance providers; and to engage in casual conversations with research participants. This added observational data to my research findings, and provided a way to engage with participants outside of formal research encounters. Overall, I believe that my involvement in these different organisations helped my research. Attending community

events was a way for me to become familiar, and volunteering demonstrated that I was not there only to ask questions but was also committed to transforming my research into practical outcomes with real impacts on the lives of those involved in ways which they find valuable (Sluka and Robben, 2007). I believe that this won me the support and trust of the people I worked with.

Rodgers has emphasised the importance of informal and everyday participation – hanging out – for generating information with forced migrants and particularly for understanding how displaced individuals attempt to make sense out of the chaos and disorientation that characterises many displacement contexts (Rodgers, 2004). Rather than over-emphasising local life, Rodgers argues that hanging out may reveal how everyday negotiations and struggles are linked to globally significant relationships of race, gender, and religion (among others). He also argues that such an approach overcomes the problematic distance between 'us' and 'them' that can be maintained in other research approaches (Rodgers, 2004).

Observation is nearly always participatory - researcher presence influences the actions that take place and the behaviour of others, even if they do not directly engage in interactions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007a). My identity, particularly my gender, cultural background and my limited knowledge of Arabic, clearly placed me as an outsider in these interactions, and this was reflected in the ways in which I was invited to observe and participate. For example, the men frequently extended generous invitations to public or larger events, but I was rarely invited to 'hang out' one-on-one outside of research encounters, and especially not within their homes. As our relationships developed, we spent more time in smaller groups sharing a dinner or a drink, normally outside of the home.

I found these periods of 'hanging out' outside of interviews incredibly valuable. Firstly, at these times our roles changed. We were no longer only researcher and participant. We also adopted other roles: host, guest, friend, activist, student, and volunteer. Such occasions 'rounded out' our images of each other. I felt that these occasions provided more space for the men to represent themselves in the way they wanted to be seen, from encouraging my participation in new (to me) wedding celebrations and sharing videos of feats of athletic bravado leaping and somersaulting into water, to inviting me to showcases demonstrating their music, dance, and comedic skills and showing photos and Google Images of the diverse terrain and vegetation of Darfur. These portrayals highlighted their identities beyond their refugee status. In doing so, they demonstrated how the limitations imposed by their legal, social and economic status in Jordan have impacted on and altered the expression of their identities and the ways in which they negotiate these limitations.

Secondly, I was able to observe the interactions between the men, especially the simple, short, everyday interactions which may not be identified by participants as something to recount or analyse in more formal research encounters. For example, during our interviews, which were often conducted in a common space within their homes, I could observe how the men greeted each other, the nicknames they used, and how they provided us with privacy to conduct interviews. Observation also allowed me to compare the information reported by the men during our interviews with what I saw happen at other times. Often this corroborated or reinforced what the men were saying. For example, walking back to the main street one afternoon with Yakub, I was struck by the racist abuse shouted after us, having (naively) assumed that my white skin and European-style dress would have prevented it. Other times demonstrated exceptions to the patterns they reported. For example, all the men told me they had limited interactions with non-Sudanese people, and especially non-African people, outside of work. Yet I attended events hosted by Sudanese people where non-Sudanese people were present. My presence at such events opened an avenue to a more nuanced discussion of the relationships between different groups of people and sites in which they interacted.

Representation

Creating data

In total, I spoke to 47 different individuals in the course of my fieldwork, plus representatives of NGOs, community groups, and other institutions.[28] The majority of the interviews I conducted were audio-recorded. This was explained to participants beforehand, and the option given to refuse recording or to halt the recording at any time. While I kept detailed fieldnotes and completed some transcription while in the field, the bulk of formalising and organising this information, and the subsequent decisions of what to include and which stories to tell was left until after my return.

I produced full transcripts of all the interviews where participants had consented to be recorded. For interviews conducted in English, I completed the transcripts myself. In these cases, I listened to the interviews twice, first completing a rough transcription, and then returning to verify and add missed details. For those conduced in Arabic, or in a combination of Arabic and Somali, I worked with Arabic and Somali speakers based in the UK who had experience studying, working, or conducting research with displaced populations.[29] These were not the

[28] A full list of interview participants including name or pseudonym, gender, and nationality is included in Appendix One. Organisational representatives spoke under condition of anonymity and are not identified in this thesis.

[29] I was unable to find a translator to transcribe the Sudanese interviews conducted in Phase One, as all were more familiar with the Levantine Arabic dialect. Working with translators from a Yemeni

same people as the research assistants who translated during the interviews. This allowed me to see the full content of the answers given by respondents, and to compare these to the brief summaries provided during the interviews, as well as to add detail to the notes I had been able to take during the interviews. In cases of ambiguity or the potential for words and expressions to be translated and understood in different ways, I worked with the transcribers to consider the different options, and the most likely meaning based on the context. All research assistants and translators were asked to sign confidentiality agreements.

During data analysis, I initially maintained the same division between Phase One and Phase Two as during data collection, with Phase One being used to generate and test a conceptual framework and typology, and Phase Two being used to further explore one particular form within this typology. As I moved further into writing the analytical chapters these distinctions became less prominent. I first completed a summary of the basic demographic, migration, and living condition information that all participants had provided in interviews, providing a snapshot image of those who participated. Using the transcripts, I completed a descriptive exercise, noting the composition of the family and any key features of their hosting relationship or experience in Amman. I then moved to a more analytical reading of the transcripts, noting themes emerging from the text, before adding themes identified from the literature. The actual process of doing this was by no means as clear cut as the above description suggests.

Transforming the accounts shared with me into narratives and deciding when and how to quote participants' in my work required me to think carefully about how their stories should – and could – be represented. Often, accounts of work with marginalised or disenfranchised groups risks romanticising or appropriating their visions, while claiming to see from their position (Haraway, 1988). Rajaram (2002) offers a similar reflection in the case of well-intentioned research projects with forced migrants which, while aiming to give prominence to the voices of refugees, instead represent their stories in ways that fit within pre-existing boundaries of what refugees are expected to be. He argues that the author's position is left unproblematised and invisible, creating a "veneer of objectivity and dislocation" (Rajaram, 2002, p. 248). Three main and related concerns guided my decision making with regards to representation of participants in my research.

The first relates to the disjunctions and contradictions between the language registers of researchers and participants (Skeggs 1995). Skeggs (1995) explores how to describe participants and conceptualise their actions in correspondence with the ways they would represent

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background, while not a deliberate decision, was fortuitous as many of the Somali interviewees who spoke Arabic had spent long periods of time in Yemen before their secondary displacement to Jordan, and used Yemeni expressions and phrases, as well as Jordanian colloquialisms.

themselves, avoiding labels that they try to escape (such as refugee or class). One of my considerations was therefore to craft representations – both conceptual and descriptive - in which research participants would recognise themselves. This included addressing concerns expressed by participants that information about Sudanese refugees was not readily available.[30] It was therefore important to me that my recounting of their experiences presented 'new' information to external actors, and that I am able to represent participants' priorities in my research and in communication about my work.

Secondly, I wanted to avoid portraying participants in ways that de-contextualised their stories or removed the sense of their agency from their accounts. Refugee-hood is a status, not in-and-of-itself an identity (Malkki, 1995). Many representations of refugees fail to show the diversity of people and experiences of refugee-hood, resulting in portrayals of ahistorical, apolitical faceless masses (Malkki, 1996). Chapter Seven details the ways in which different characteristics impact hosting practices, and it was important to me that the different characteristics, profiles, and interests of the participants were able to emerge from the text, avoiding presenting refugees as a monolithic group.

Finally, I was cautious that the information communicated through the quotes and histories presented should not allow for the identification of the individuals. This was particularly relevant for the Sudanese men who I quote most often, as Sudanese refugee society in Jordan is close-knit and intimate. Largely relying on snowballing and personal introductions to identify participants means that research participants are well known to each other and are likely able to identify individuals and stories within my work, potentially revealing damaging information (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003).[31] Where my research relates to people's on-going relationships, and particularly to the problems and conflicts they may face and home, I have been especially careful to remove identifying information in an attempt to reduce the risk of inadvertently antagonising any issues.

Language and translation

The words and phrases we have available shape how we can think, experience, and communicate our meanings and experiences of events (Temple and Edwards, 2006). Any conversation between two people is necessarily a process of arriving at a mutual understanding

[30] It was only with the Sudanese men that I spoke about why they had agreed to participate in the research, what they hoped it would achieve, and what the key messages they wanted to communicate were. In doing so, I was careful to explain the limitations and time-frames of academic research, and I have provided them with updates when speaking at conferences or publishing work.

[31] Though they know each other, they may not necessarily know who participated in the research. However, the prominence of my identity as a researcher and requests to participate from people I had not approached suggests that some participants had disclosed their participation to others.

of each other's language, and this is amplified in interactions between people using different languages (Temple and Edwards, 2006). In my research, I spoke English, and most of the research participants spoke Arabic. Not only did we need to arrive at a mutual understanding of the terms we are using, but there was not necessarily equivalent terms and concepts in the two languages. Crucially, hosting as used in this research lacked a clear definition, and was not translatable into Arabic but neither was there an alternative phrase in either language that adequately captured the concept. As discussed above, we avoided directly asked about hosting relationships, and instead spoke about accommodation patterns, resource sharing, and help.

The research I conducted with the single Sudanese men was mainly conducted in English.[32] Before beginning the second phase of the research, I had considered using English-language skills as a selection criteria but had dismissed it as unfeasible. In the end, the criteria largely imposed itself, through the men's own choices, and their decisions in who to refer me to. There was one non-English speaking man involved in this phase of the research. The majority of quotes that appear in this thesis were communicated in English. They have been edited for clarity (removal of repeated words and pauses and clarification of grammar). Quotes that are a translation from Arabic or Somali are indicated by an asterisk (*). The list of interviews in Appendix One details the language in which the interview was conducted.

The different forms of interview conducted with the participants in my research, and particularly with the Sudanese men, produced rich and far-ranging information. In writing my thesis, I have tried to juxtapose this empirical material with the literature relevant to the chosen theme of each chapter. In particular, Chapters Eight and Nine have been constructed in a way to which encourages dialogue between conceptual literature and the empirical material.

Position and power in ethnographic research

The knowledge produced through the context-specific personal relationships underlying my research is partial and subjective. Collection, interpretation and representation of data is dependent on my position, as well as the information that people choose to share with me, the details that they emphasise, the ways they choose to describe events and processes, and what they choose not to say. This is not a weakness. Rather, the strength of this research is in the joint production of knowledge. The approaches used in my research rely on shared processes between researchers and participants to generate knowledge (Leavy, 2011).

[32] The men placed high value on learning English, and their English-language abilities opened access to work, education, and social activities that were less available to those who did not speak English

My interpretation of research participants' experiences and meanings, though guided by their own interpretations, are influenced by my own situated knowledge, and my personal reactions are part of the process (Mullings, 1999; Sluka and Robben, 2007). Though perhaps impossible to achieve full awareness, critical reflection on my position, the allowance space for uncertainty, and acknowledgement of my implicit biases is necessary in order to understand the processes of knowledge creation, as well as the ways in which larger power dynamics have shaped and been challenged by my work (Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1997).

The ways in which I am perceived by others and my involvement in the social relations which I studied impact each other and my research (Mullings, 1999). Decisions I made about how to represent myself and how I was presented by research assistants, along with my background and personal characteristics, facilitated my relationships with some individuals and my access to some places, while they simultaneously closed off others. Similarly, being a relative outsider encouraged some people to share things with me that would not be shared with others with greater involvement in their lives, but sometimes discouraged people from sharing that which they perceived to be personal or private. Here again, Dina and Israa played an important role, representing me and my research to new participants, interpreting my questions and respondents' answers, and helping to build trust within the research encounter. Particularly with Dina's introductions to Sudanese refugees in Jordan, which laid the groundwork for my subsequent in-depth work, how she introduced me and the spaces she opened to me – including invitations to community group activities and spaces – shaped the expectations and format of subsequent interactions.

All research has an impact on the lives of those involved, both participants and researcher. It is important for me to acknowledge that I was changed by my work with the men and our on-going relationships. I came to this research as a humanitarian practitioner working with international NGOs in humanitarian programming funded by donor countries in the global North. This identity has remained throughout my research and oriented my analysis in trying to identify routes to improve practice, contribute to humanitarian knowledge, and reflect on the position of hosting in relation to the humanitarian system. At the same time, this identity has been substantially altered through my engagement with alternative, community-based and grassroots forms of humanitarian organisation, and through a sustained academic reflection on the problems and challenges of current humanitarian response. This reflection, spurred by continued long-term personal relationships with refugees and recognition that the experiences and practices I was researching, formed in relation to the humanitarian system, were something that I had perpetrated in other contexts has challenged my understanding of the relationship between humanitarian actors and displaced populations. It has shifted my engagement with refugees from that of the detached humanitarian professional, towards a more holistic, long-term

and situated engagement that acknowledges the emotions and interconnection inherent in such work.

Doing so has not always been easy. The situated knowledges argued for by Haraway require "loving care…to learn to see faithfully from another's point of view" (1988, p. 583). As described by Skeggs (1995) ethnography is characterised by the intensity of the experience. It has required me to become intimately familiar with stories of harm, frustration, and discrimination experienced by those I care about, and resulted in long periods of reflection about the ways in which humanitarian assistance is provided and my position (former and current) within this system. As our friendships deepened, the men shared stories of hardship, violence, and torture. Many of the Sudanese refugees spoke about a climate of fear that controlled their actions in the grey informal space in which many of them operated every day, and which persists. While I was able to pause the interview recording, to step away from the field, to access counselling, the men recounting these stories could rarely enact such protective measures. Indeed, one of the few ways in which they managed these feelings was through talking to housemates.

A research ethics founded on care, reciprocity, and honesty can leave the researcher feeling overwhelmed by powerlessness, searching for the chance to do anything about the situation (Skeggs, 1995). This drive to achieve change is a common feature of research with forced migrants, with many researchers following Turton's assertion that research into others' suffering can only be justified if alleviating that suffering is an explicit objective (Turton, 1996; Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). Within my research, this desire was expressed through a focus on the agency of participants and a recognition of the ways in which they negotiated power, as well as through my actions in volunteering, donating, and sharing the knowledge produced through my research with NGOs, academic and public audiences.

Concerns regarding the power dynamics of ethnographic research, in particular the continued focus on looking at the 'other', the presence of global power dynamics within research relationships, representations of participants, and the ultimate use of knowledge produced are elevated in research concerning refugees and other marginalised groups due to the extreme disparity in power levels of those engaging in the research (Skeggs, 1995; Mullings, 1999; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007b; Laimputtong, 2007; Caretta and Riano, 2016; Sukarieh and Tannock, 2019). In such situations, it can be difficult to reduce power disparities. Indeed, ill-thought out attempts to do so may be perceived as patronising or facetious. There is, however, an imperative to acknowledge power disparities, to maintain the dignity of research participants, and to appreciate and value the unique knowledge that they bring to the research project. These power differences cannot be overcome by individuals but careful and reflective use of

ethnographic approaches can build relationships of care and solidarity and bring attention to the ways in which research contributes to or challenges power inequalities.

I was aware of my privileged with regard to legal status, skin colour, economic situation, and educational status. I had carefully considered the decision, as a single woman, to conduct work with single men, and the strategies I could use to ensure my own personal safety. As might be expected, these strategies drew on the more privileged facets of my identity, such as possessing the economic resources to ensure I had a working phone, with internet and calling credit, and the ability to take a private taxi as and when needed, as well as the more insidious awareness that my British nationality and white skin gave me greater access to some institutional and social resources. These dynamics, however, are multifaceted and I was not always in a more powerful position. My age, my gender, my unfamiliarity with the language and the situation put me at a disadvantage in some situations and circumscribed the extent to which I could safely 'hang out'. The intersections of these identities, and how they were responded to – by myself and research participants – shaped my research.

When making the decision to work with young, single men who I did not already know, I was acutely aware of my gender, age, and marital status. Like other female researchers (Clark and Grant, 2015; Gatter, 2020), I considered ground rules that I could put in place in my own actions, particularly for those interviews conducted at the men's homes, such as ensuring that interviews were conducted in a public room in the house, rather than a private room (which would have had to have been a bedroom). I also often turned on my phone location when I went to an initial meeting, and told a friend where I was going and what I was doing. As it turns out, the men I worked with took extreme care to make sure I was safe – questioning me to make sure I was living in a safe area of town with 'good' people, that I had local friends who knew how things were done, walking me to communal taxi stops, encouraging me to save money and use pooled transport, and insisting that I take transport that they arranged on the occasions that we met after dark.

Our gender differences impacted on the topics that could be discussed (England, 1994; Pante, 2014; Tarrant, 2014). For example, the men rarely discussed their relationships with women, though I know several had girlfriends. It also meant certain locations, while not off-limits, were less accessible to me (Pante, 2014; Gatter, 2020). While it was fine for me to visit their houses for interviews and group events, and we socialised in cafes and other public spaces, it was unusual for me to visit their homes to 'hang out' without a deliberate purpose. This means that I was less able to observe the daily rhythms and routines of their domestic lives. Similar experiences have been reported by other female researchers working with men, who highlight the perception of women as non-threatening, the information and sites that are inaccessible for

women, preparing for interviews and considerations of safety, and approaches to managing relationships (Pini, 2005; Bucerius, 2013; Pante, 2014; Soyer, 2014; Clark and Grant, 2015; Congdon, 2015; Johansson, 2015; Harries, 2016; Vogels, 2019).

It is important to recognise the long history of white women exerting power over others through the provision of compassionate humanitarian care (Martín-Moruno, Edgar and Leyder, 2020), in juxtaposition with gendered and racialized structures of refugee response, in which men moving to find protection are depicted as dangerous and not 'real' refugees (Hopkins, 2006; Hyndman and Giles, 2011; Rettberg and Gajjala, 2016; Burrell and Horschelmann, 2019) and the continuing racial inequalities of the humanitarian system (Benton, 2016). These associations continue to permeate and structure social life, and the men were acutely aware of them. As noted above my gender and whiteness offer me both vulnerabilities and protections that were not available to the men. In discussing their experiences of refugee-hood in Amman, the men prioritised explanations centred on gender and race, highlighting that as white non-refugee woman, my experience of Amman was substantially different than theirs. Their gender, status, and racial identities structured how the men understood and experienced displacement. I question if these were emphasised in their interviews due to the differences in our positions, and the need to ensure I had fully understood how those identities – which I could not share – impacted on their experiences. In articulating their experiences as gendered and racialized, and in contrasting some of their everyday experiences to my life in these terms, the men constructed specific meaning for these relations in our specific context (Best, 2003; Faria and Mollett, 2016).

Along with my gender and skin colour, my overall 'foreignness' - culturally and linguistically - placed me as an outsider in my research. Baser and Toivanen (2018) critique approaches to insider/outsider positions that centre ethnicity, without considering the role of multiple intersecting positions and the potential for points of similarity. During my research, we identified small points of commonality – for example a shared status as students. I tried to create relationships across our differences by expressing openness and interest in learning from one another – an attempt which I perceive the men to have reciprocated. This happened in small ways, for example some of the men asked if I had ever visited Africa, and were positively surprised when I replied that I had. In other cases, they sought to teach me about Darfur, inviting me to celebrations and ceremonies, sharing food and drink, inviting me to participate in events where I could learn, with the men explaining to me what was happening, translating, and encouraging me to take part. Our relationships changed over time, for example I become more familiar with 'how things were done' and the events being referred to, as well as changing my own position in relation to managing my 'humanitarian practitioner' and 'researcher' identities.

To begin with, I was very uncomfortable with this outsider status, and wanted to demonstrate that I had taken the time to learn about the men, to demonstrate knowledge about Darfur, or show that I had learned a few words of Arabic – to claim some form of shared identity. However, I later became more comfortable with the possibilities outsider status allows for asking the 'obvious' questions, and requesting longer and fuller explanations (Bucerius, 2013). The men I worked with did not become my 'field work family' (Gatter, 2020), nonetheless we did become friends, and their daily acts of care provided the framework for my research work and my everyday life while conducting research (Wagner, 2018). I have already described the care the men took for my safety, their efforts to include me in their lives and to explain cultural events and differences, and their role in introducing me to others. Attending such group events, receiving invitations to showcases and dinners, and going to the weekly skateboarding session organised at *7hills* skatepark provided time outside of the formal research encounter, meeting new people, fun, and, vitally, stress relief.

A further reflection of these power differences, common in conducting research in humanitarian settings, is participants' expectations that through taking part they may benefit from the researcher's presumed access to resources and capital (Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway, 2007). Although during my research in Jordan I was not an aid worker, I often explained my interest in hosting based on my previous work, and volunteered with an NGO based in Amman. Participants occasionally saw me as someone who could provide or facilitate access to humanitarian assistance, or who could have expert insight on resettlement procedures. This was not helped by the similarities between the introductory questions I often asked in interviews and the needs assessments conducted by many humanitarian agencies. Working with Dina and Israa was helpful, as they were often known and trusted by the participants and could explain the research process. They also had a good understanding of the humanitarian landscape and could signpost people to appropriate services.

Expectations of access to assistance through participating in my research were less of a concern in the second phase of my research, in part because participants and I had more time to discuss and question my objectives and the desired outcomes of the research. However, as my relationships developed with the Sudanese men participating in my research, people also looked to me as a potential connection to work. For those Sudanese refugees who had worked with me as translators, I told them I would be willing to write them a short reference outlining the work we had done together. For others, who requested to include my name on their application, I told them I was happy for them to do so, and to speak to their character, but that I had no role in hiring processes. This was not a perfect solution – those I worked with already represented a somewhat fortunate group, who were learning English, and in several cases studying diplomas online with the support of an NGO. Supporting them in their application, when I could not do

the same for those who I had not involved in my research – non-English speakers, and women – felt unfair, but at the same time, I knew the men I was working with had valuable skills that could benefit other refugees.

Similar to Johansson (2015), being able to respond to these immediate and concrete requests came as a relief, a small way to redress the imbalance in our relationships, and counter the feeling that I was taking information, without yet being fully sure of how I could affect change. In the longer term, the people I worked with correctly identified me as a potential and willing advocate, taking advantage of my position to communicate information which wasn't heard when expressed by the men. I hope – and it appears so – that I became a trusted outsider (Bucerius, 2013). To a certain extent, this was probably also helped by my position as an outsider in Jordanian society, non-Arab, and not part of UNHCR – frank opinions could be expressed without concern for causing offence.[33] My role as an advocate did not stop with the fieldwork, but continues as I consider how to communicate the contributions of my research. As noted by England (1994, p. 86) "Reflexivity can make us more aware of asymmetrical or exploitative relationships, but it cannot remove them." In my research, I did not overcome the power differentials that I have discussed above, but their reduction continues to serve as my guide in my ongoing relationships with participants, how I use the information they shared, and my engagement in future research relationships.

Building on the research: Limitations and future directions

Qualitative research is typically evaluated in relation to its transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016). The dependability and transferability of this research are challenged by conducting research on forced migration – itself a highly contextual situation, in a rapidly changing urban environment. In this thesis, I have attempted to address this by highlighting the ways in which the specifics of displacement in Amman have affected my findings. The theoretical work I propose in this thesis, particularly the conceptual framework and the typology of hosting develop the empirical research conducted in a specific location and time into a more widely applicable framework. Though such investigation is beyond the scope of this work, I hope this work can be tested and refined through application in other contexts, and the learning produced transferred to other situations.

The small sample size and ethnographic nature of the research, while highly appropriate for exploring the under-researched practice of hosting, does not allow for the testing of hypotheses.

[33] I was often acutely aware of the history of British colonial rule in both Sudan and Jordan, and the role of British authorities in exploiting and entrenching racial hierarchies which continue to impact on the men's lives (Sharkey, 2008; Jok, 2015). Though I raised this during some of the interviews, the men didn't pursue it as an avenue of conversation, whether due to politeness or a focus on the more immediate and day-to-day injustices they faced.

Rather, they produce internally reliable results and generate theory regarding hosting practices, which may be able to be confirmed by further study. By providing clear discussion of the methods used; documenting each stage of the research and reflecting on my involvement in these processes I hope that the processes through which this research was conducted are clear.

The approaches I used enabled me to develop rich data regarding hosting experiences in Amman. Nonetheless, there are a wide variety of complementary techniques which could have elicited additional data. In particular, given the limitations I faced in accompanying the men in the daily activities and observation their everyday domestic practices, an approach such as photo-elicitation could have been useful. I would also have liked to conduct focus group discussions with the men during the process of analysis. While some of the Sudanese men provided feedback on the emerging themes (for example commenting on blog posts or speaking with me about conference papers under development) this was ad hoc and was not incorporated into the research design.

The first phase of the research had revealed a broad range of hosting practices, and suggested ways in which nationality, race, gender, age, socio-economic status, the presence of children, and ill-health, old age or disability may impact on hosting relationships. It would not have been possible for me to develop the same level of understanding for all of these different groups and different hosting scenarios as I have achieved in my work with the Sudanese men living in group hosting arrangements, but these are important avenues for future research. There is also scope for greater intersectional analysis of the formation of household-hosting relationships and experiences of urban displacement. Guided by the explanations given prominence by the men I interviewed, in this thesis, I have primarily focused on the intersections of race and gender, with some attention to age, nationality, and legal status. There is more work to be done in extending and deepening this analysis.

In this work I focused on participants currently living in hosting relationships. During the process of my research, some participants commented on previous hosting relationships, or reflected on experiences in different forms of hosting relationship (for example moving from group hosting arrangements into a combined household with another family after marriage). It would be interesting to speak to those who are no longer living in hosting relationships, or who have never lived in hosting relationships, in order to discuss their decision making processes. I did not speak with Jordanians regarding their perspectives on hosting relationships. Though I had originally intended to do so, none of the participants I spoke to reported having shared accommodation with Jordanians. I therefore decided it was more interesting, for the purposes of this thesis, to focus on the development and function of refugee-refugee hosting relationships.

Though I spoke to humanitarian practitioners regarding hosting relationships, so few have established programmes that it was not a particularly fruitful avenue of investigation. Further exploration with practitioners as to why hosting relationships have received little attention, the challenges of working with hosting relationships, and the potential programmatic approaches to doing so would be a valuable addition to the work presented in this thesis.

Chapter Five: Are hosts humanitarians?

The number of refugees globally reached 25.9 million people in 2018. In addition, there are 41.3 million internally displaced people, 3.9 million stateless people[34], and 3.5 million asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2018e). Though the international conventions relating to refugees apply to nation states, and states take the responsibility for hosting refugee populations on their territory, providing basic protection and access to social and economic rights, it is the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that takes the primary role in coordinating and providing assistance and advocating with state's to uphold their international responsibilities. As evidenced by the high numbers of refugees globally, increasingly out-of-reach durable solutions, and the hardening of borders and attitudes around the world, this work is not without its challenges.

There are loud calls for a reform of the international approach to managing refugees. Various proposals have been made, though some are sceptical of the capacity for the current system to be 'tweaked' to provide appropriate solutions, and instead argue for an overhaul of the entire system. Newly created compacts for global migration and refugees are being promoted as the solution to the current impasse (UNHCR, 2018g). Key principles focus on increased equitability of responsibility-sharing across states and an increased focus on self-reliance, local integration and inclusion (Hansen, 2018; UNHCR, 2018g). Some of these principles reflect a change in practice beginning before the drafting of the Global Compact. Of particular interest for a study concerning refugees in Jordan is the implementation of the Jordan Compact, an agreement between Jordan and the European Union offering increased access to European markets in return for increased access of Syrian refugees to the Jordanian job market (Government of Jordan, 2016)**.** The success of the Jordan Compact has been limited and there are many lessons to be learned.[35] In addition to the specific outcomes in the Jordanian context, the shift to acceptance of refugees based on their economic contribution rather than compassion and humanitarian imperatives reflects a wider hardening of attitudes and protective practices (Tsourapas, 2019). Arguably, the response to refugees has rarely been governed by the idealistic humanitarian imperative declared through international covenants and missives of the humanitarian system and has instead responded to political and economic motives of host states. Recent shifts further promote and normalise such approaches.

[34] This is considered an underestimate by UNHCR. For more information see UNHCR (2018e) Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018.

[35] Issues include limited consultation with non-State actors (e.g. employers, existing workforces), a failure to integrate the specifics of Jordan's political economy and labour market in the planning, a focus on achieving target numbers rather than meeting transformative goals around working conditions and rights, low uptake of work permits particularly by women, and limitations imposed on the project which meant that work permits were only available to Syrians, not refugees of the 56 other nationalities hosted in Jordan (Barbelet, Hagen-Zanker and Mansour-Ille, 2018; Lenner and Turner, 2018)

Within these debates over refugee response, key tensions in the humanitarian system are revealed. The expansion of humanitarian mandates, geographically, thematically, and temporally; attempts to bridge the divide between short-term and long-term response; and the position of 'recipients' of aid within the humanitarian system are all key concerns. Though the actions of displaced populations in responding to refugees are gaining increasing recognition from the international humanitarian system, household-level hosting has thus far been largely overlooked.

In this chapter I situate hosting in the humanitarian studies literature. I first consider how the act of humanitarianism is conceptualised within the humanitarian system. I then consider the role of hosting in refugees' livelihoods in protracted urban displacement, arguing that hosting is a source of vital support. Given its importance to the lives of displaced people, I question why hosting has thus far received limited attention in the humanitarian response to urban displacement. In the final section, I draw on literature on alternative humanitarianisms and the role of displaced people in responding to refugees to argue that hosting can be considered a humanitarian act and should have a more prominent place in humanitarian response.

Humanitarianism and the humanitarian system

Ticktin (2014, p. 274) defines humanitarianism as "an ethos, a cluster of sentiments, a set of laws, a moral imperative to intervene, and a form of government." In its broadest sense, humanitarianism can be considered as an ethos that places equal value on human beings and compels action in response to human suffering (Fassin, 2012). It thus reaffirms that there is a humanity, a collective of human beings that is indivisible. At the same time, it manifests individuals' gestures of humanity to fellow humans who are suffering, providing a concrete sense of belonging to this collective (Fassin, 2007). It is these actions, governed by the humanitarian imperative – the idea that human suffering requires a response – that is the underlying feature of humanitarianism.

Within this, however, humanitarianism is more commonly defined in relation to the humanitarian system. The humanitarian system is understood as the UN agencies, NGOs and ICRC that share a commitment to humanitarian principles, secure much of their funding from the same mechanisms, and follow guidelines, recommendations, and coordination structures stemming from the UN and the ICRC, as defined in Chapter One (Davey, Borton and Foley, 2013). Humanitarian action in this sense encapsulates all activities aimed at the provision of life-saving assistance, usually post-disaster or during and immediately after a conflict (European Commission, 2018; OECD, 2018). In addition to its foundation on the principles of neutrality, impartiality, humanity, and independence (Barnett and Weiss, 2008), the humanitarian system

can also be defined in relation to its shared origin, its focus on distant strangers as recipients of assistance, and its emergency oriented timeframe.

Humanitarian principles

Humanitarian actors define humanitarianism as the neutral, impartial, and independent provision of life-saving assistance to victims of conflict and natural disasters, as well as with regards to a relation between deliver and recipient of aid based on a spirit of solidarity, equality, and respect (Barnett, 2014). Putting to one side the question of the relation between providers and recipients of aid, which will be returned to below, the principle of neutrality, impartiality, and independence are frequently found in definitions of humanitarianism (OCHA, 2012; ICRC, 2015; European Commission, 2019).[36] Neutrality refers to the requirement for humanitarian actors to ensure that their actions do not unequally benefit or disadvantage any one side in a conflict. Impartiality requires that relief is given to those that need it, regardless of their nationality, religion, ethnicity or other characteristics. Independence asks that assistance providers not be connected with any of the parties involved in the conflict, or who have a stake in the outcome (Barnett, 2014)

These principles form the backbone of current perceptions of what humanitarian action should be. Humanitarian action in line with these principles, however, is challenged by doctrines of humanitarian intervention and the responsibility to protect, strategic alignment of humanitarian objectives and political priorities, and funding allocations and receipts based on political interest and media attention, rather than an evaluation of need (Hendrickson, 1998; Curtis, 2001). Beyond this, there is healthy debate as to the continued relevance or appropriateness of these different principles in humanitarian action. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), the organisation that perhaps epitomises modern humanitarianism (Ticktin, 2014), was created with *temoinage* (bearing witness) as a core principle in break from ICRC's support of neutrality. This is a key debate in the interpretation of the principles, and has gone on to be viewed as a defining moment in the experience of modern humanitarianism (Davey, Borton and Foley, 2013).

Shared origins: History of modern humanitarianism

While the provision of assistance to those in need is a centuries old, global practice rooted in traditions of assistance and sanctuary, modern humanitarianism takes a distinct form and is rooted in Western – particularly European experiences - of war and disaster and a common

[36] There are various lists of principles that characterise humanitarianism. Neutrality, impartiality and independence are the most commonly cited. Humanity is also frequently cited in these lists, as the principle underpinning all humanitarian action (OCHA, 2012; ICRC, 2015; European Commission, 2019)

origin in the actions of Henry Dunant and the founding of the Red Cross movement in 1863 (Davey, Borton and Foley, 2013). The following interwar years (1918 – 1939) saw the creation and reassertion of international government – it was during this time that the League of Nations was established, and subsequently replaced by the UN, and many of the forerunners of today's UN institutions. The end of World War Two (1945) saw a proliferation of NGOs. In the Cold War period, humanitarian actors engaged more frequently outside of Europe, and development paradigm emerged as a dominant feature of the international aid landscape.

Davey et al. (2013) argue that the Post-Cold War period has seen another shift in humanitarian action, with growth in the number of actors, increasing military intervention, greater institutionalisation of knowledge sharing, and increased professionalism of the sector. Major crises in Rwanda and the Balkans are viewed as pivotal in the history of modern humanitarianism, and particularly the emergence of the principle of intervention (Davey, Borton and Foley, 2013). Fassin (2009) referred to this growing mission of humanitarian organisations to manage misfortune and precarity locally and globally and use of the language of moral sentiment as the 'compassionate moment', standing in marked contrast to the increasing prominence of security concerns in the 2000s and beyond. It is in the 1990s that the humanitarian principles of neutrality, humanity, independence, and impartiality were formally endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly in Resolution 46/182 (UN General Assembly, 1991).

This system is descended from Western and Christian traditions, and is often juxtaposed against non-Western and, particularly in the post-9/11 context, against Islamic humanitarianism. Despite the Western dominance of the international humanitarian system, there is a strong commitment to humanitarian action from non-Western actors. While there has previously been limited cooperation between Western and non-Western donors, despite frequently operating in the same spaces, and with often close alignment between their stated goals, this is beginning to change (Ababsa, 2017). As non-Western donors increasingly participate in UN-led initiatives and Western-origin NGOs increasingly look to non-Western donors as new sources of finance, the two systems appear to be merging, or at least becoming more familiar with each other. This is not to say that differences in priorities and approach do not remain, and contentious discussion over differing guiding principles continues (Mohamed and Ofteringer, 2015; Salek, 2015), however there is increasing convergence. In preparing for fieldwork, I expected to see differences between Western humanitarian organisations and those founded on Islamic principles, and in particular local organisations affiliated with mosques. In fact, in my research,

these groups were not present, and were not mentioned by research participants as sources of assistance.[37]

Saving distant strangers

Humanitarianism has been described as saving strangers (Wheeler, 2000). Barnett (2011) defined humanitarianism as the attempt to provide relief to distant strangers, and Richey (2018) has similarly characterised humanitarianism as the attempt to ease distant suffering, whether the distance is geographical or social. For some critical scholars, this distance has its origins in the colonial forerunners of humanitarianism, when humanitarianism emerged as a technique to manage disasters and to secure order in unfamiliar places, as well as enacting policies of containment, all the while preserving the coloniser's self-esteem and honour (Pallister-Wilkins, 2018). Pallister-Wilkins (2018) has argued that this distance is not only geographical or social, but is also related to the distance between self and other, with the universal ideals underpinning humanitarianism requiring that the humanitarian subject remains other, a victim with needs rather than a political being. She argues that this distance has become a central feature of the professionalization and efficiency of humanitarianism.

For Fassin (2013), the 'right' to intervene and save lives relies on a division between those who take lives (the military), those whose lives are endangered (the victims), and those who save lives (the humanitarians). The distinction between the military and humanitarians is challenged by co-option of humanitarian language, and operational and financial alignment between the two sets of actors. Yet it appears that the distinction between victims and humanitarians is maintained and reinforced within the humanitarian system. The division between donor and recipient, victim and saviour, humanitarian and refugee reoccurs in discussions of humanitarianism, and is a central component of modern humanitarianism.

Emergency response

A fourth component of modern humanitarianism is its emergency focused time frames and mind-set (Calhoun, 2004; Ticktin, 2011). Humanitarianism focuses on action to save lives and reduce suffering. Action is taken in the name of the imperative to prevent bodily suffering, and takes place when those bodies are under immediate threat (Ticktin, 2011). Engaging in the long-term and political work of understanding and mitigating the specifically-located production of

[37] This in part also likely reflects my own previous affiliations with international humanitarian agencies based in Europe, and the connections and access to other Western-based organisations this position provided me.

such suffering is not the work of humanitarianism. It focuses on the immediate, urgent, and temporary care in the name of political neutrality, it's business is care, not cure (Ticktin, 2011).

Humanitarianism portrays such suffering as emergency and exception. Calhoun (2004) argues that the depiction of emergencies as exception results in them being seen as overwhelming, yet simultaneously distinct and distance from our own rational and secure lives. In seeing emergencies as exceptions, they continue to be perceived through the lens of humanitarian thinking, focusing on rescue and management, with the concomitant distinctions between those who save lives and those whose lives are saved as discussed in the previous section. Yet emergencies are normal, not exceptions to the rule. Holzer (2014) argues that humanitarian crisis is often assumed to be short-lived, un-relenting violence through which refugees act without norms. Noting the harmful impacts of such assumptions, she instead argues for attention to the persistence of everyday life amid crisis and in harsh circumstances.

A short-term focus has been used to distinguish humanitarianism from human rights (law and justice) and development (improving economic well-being through long-term investments in the future). Yet as the humanitarian industry grows, these boundaries are being broken down (Ticktin, 2014). In many cases emergencies extend into protracted and overlapping crises. Current forced displacement is overwhelmingly protracted displacement. In such situations, which may persist for decades, short-term and emergency thinking prevents the provision and establishment of assistance that would enable people to create safe and predictable lives and livelihoods, instead resulting in heightened uncertainty and liminality. While humanitarian assistance must respond to acute need, the response to protracted displacement also needs to take into account the social, economic, and political implications for refugees and their hosts, addressing housing, employment, access to services, inclusion, and governance (Harild, 2016).

The humanitarian sector is aware of the challenges this presents. There is intense discussion as to how humanitarianism can respond in protracted emergencies, as well as whether humanitarian intervention prolongs and exacerbates conflict (Hendrickson, 1998). One expression of this is the long-running discussion of coordination and transition between humanitarian and development work and the expansion of humanitarian work beyond immediate securing of life (see for example FMR 52, 2016). This is seen in the expansion of UNHCR's mission statement, which now includes pledges to build better futures (UNHCR, 2018k). There is also a recognition of the non-linear nature of response and recovery, and the value of emergency assistance in coordination with development and peace-building programs (Cordova, 2016). Despite consensus on the unsuitability and impracticality of long-term humanitarian assistance a humanitarian-development divide continues. Several reasons for this have been identified including: differing mandates, institutional arrangements, funding

instruments and programming, all of which offer different aims and guiding principles (Cordova, 2016). Cordova (2016) suggests that for many practitioners the notion of 'handing over' from humanitarian to development approaches is still dominant, and that such models present a barrier to bridging the humanitarian-development divide. Importantly, while humanitarian assistance is provided on the basis of needs and, in theory, in line with the humanitarian principles of neutrality, independence, impartiality, and humanity, development actions are guided by government priorities. Many actors have struggled to overcome this fundamental difference in approach.

Exploring the dynamics of long-term humanitarianism in the case of Palestinian refugees who have now been living under humanitarianism for 70 years, Feldman examines what it means when humanitarianism shifts "from crisis response to a condition of life" (Feldman, 2012, p. 155). In doing so, she engages not only with the politics of life (Fassin, 2007), but also with a politics of living, of surviving, claiming, and acting within humanitarian contexts. This humanitarian condition is what characterises perhaps the majority of displacement situations. Such situations are not characterised by the absence of acute or urgent need, but rather the repetition and endurance of these conditions, and lives shaped by long-term humanitarianism. How claims for rights are articulated and presented, and which rights are claimed, is not only about strategy or identity, but also about the institutional and material opportunities and constraints. I argue that refugee hosting is one manifestation of these claims in response to the conditions produced by displacement and the humanitarian system (see Chapter Eight). Similarly, Holzer (2014) has written about the persistence of everyday life in crisis, and the role of material practices defining how 'good' people act in poor circumstances. Recounting water-sharing practices, she claims that sharing "was—quite simply—what people did" (Holzer, 2014, p. 865). In doing so, participants created a moral distinction between those who did and those who didn't, an 'us' and a 'them'. As will be argued in the following chapter, the act of hosting is similarly both informed by and creates a distinct framework for the 'right' way to behave.

Refugee vulnerability

There is a large body of literature discussing and critiquing humanitarianism, particularly the dominant humanitarian system associated with Western intervention (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Belloni, 2007; Barnett and Weiss, 2008; Ticktin, 2011; Fassin, 2012; Davey, Borton and Foley, 2013). The above discussion of the defining characteristics of the humanitarian system has indicated some of the most pressing critiques in relation to this thesis, namely the short-term and emergency focus of assistance despite protracted emergency and displacement, the focus on distant strangers as recipients of assistance, and the prominence of biological medicalised

suffering. Here, I will address one more over-arching concern, the conceptualisation of refugee vulnerability

My critique builds on that of others who question the ways in which refugees are conceptualised within the humanitarian system, and what this means for who are seen as the 'saviours' and the 'victims' (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Malkki, 1996). Fassin notes that humanitarian intervention is aimed at those "incapable of maintaining their own existence" (Fassin, 2007, p. 511), thus justifying the need for external intervention. In such situations, they are those who seen as unable to reciprocate, who can only receive. It thus follows that while they are passively exposed to violence, those who intervene are making active and political decisions to 'gift' their assistance and, potentially, lives. Humanitarianism therefore becomes dependent on the distinction between lives to be saved – physical, biological lives - and lives to be risked (Fassin, 2007). The distinction between biological lives and political lives is reminiscent of Agamben's discussion of bare life (Agamben, 1998). Agamben argues refugees, who are without the protections of citizenship and excluded from the political order of the national state, are 'bare life', merely living human beings without political life (*bios*). Critiques of this view note the forms of political life that continue among refugee populations, and challenge the ethics of such a view, which appears to reinforce the exclusion of refugees by denying the possibility of a political life to those who are subjected to one in practice (Fassin, 2007; Sanyal, 2014; Turner, 2015).

The representation of refugee lives as non-political, 'merely' living bodies to be sustained has found outlets in humanitarian relief models based on 'care and maintenance' and characterisations of refugees as passive and dependent recipients of aid (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Malkki, 1996; Hyndman and Giles, 2011). The consequences of these images is that refugees are seen as incapable or unmotivated, and that humanitarian agencies are therefore best place to decide what displaced people need and to provide this assistance (Rajaram, 2002). The inequalities of power and capacity between the giver and the receiver and patterns of compassion and domination, or care and control, in the humanitarian system have been frequently remarked (Hyndman, 2000; Agier, 2011; Barnett, 2014). Barnett (2014) argues that such paternal relations may more legitimate where the superordinate party has obligations to the other subordinate party, has a thick web of connections, and can be trusted to act in the best interests of the other party. As he points out, efforts to achieve this in humanitarian action through the promotion of partnership, participation and accountability have yet to close the gap between intentions and achievement.

A standpoint in favour of the "side of the victims" is entrenched in the humanitarian politics of life, with a distinction between refugee 'victims' and humanitarian 'saviours' (Fassin, 2007).

Malkki (1996) criticises the conceptualisation of refugees as "speechless emissaries". Drawing on her work with Hutu Burundian refugees living in Tanzania, she identifies the ways in which bureaucratised humanitarian intervention leeches the histories and politics of specific refugees' circumstances, so that refugees stop being seen as specific persons and instead become pure victims. 'Real' refugee status then becomes dependent on the extent to which refugees look and act like refugees. These victims were understood to be unreliable informants, the wounds of their physical bodies more reliable than their stories (Malkki, 1996). Their 'bare life' was thus seen as ascertainable fact, whereas political and moral histories of displacement were seen as too messy and subjective.

My point here is not to dispute that aid workers are motivated by genuine altruism, nor is it is to claim that recipients do not benefit from this relationship. Rather, my point is to consider how these representations of refugees precludes conceptualisation of refugees as humanitarian actors in their own right. As argued by Olliff (2018, p. 1), "the idea of refugees as humanitarian actors brings with it a dissonance that speaks to the underlying assumptions and meanings given to both 'refugee' and 'humanitarian'". This limits conceptualisation of the act of humanitarianism, and the range of responses to refugees that are considered to be humanitarian. Though humanitarian reason is typically understood to happen 'over there', in disaster areas and refugee camps, Fassin notes that it also works in misery close to home (Fassin, 2007). What is important to recognise is that for the supposed victims of conflict and disaster, over there and close to home become the same thing, and the categories of victims (those whose lives are in danger) and humanitarians (those who save lives) can overlap.

Household-level hosting, urban livelihoods, and the humanitarian system

Informal sharing of accommodation is recognised as a component of refugees' livelihoods strategies in various urban centres (Al-Shermani, 2004; De Vriese, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Pascucci, 2017). Sharing accommodation on an informal basis has also been recognised as important in understanding migrants' transnational social protection strategies (Serra Mingot and Mazzucato, 2019), and as part of the process of arrival, survival, and integration of migrants and asylum-seekers in Western countries (Chelpi-den Hamer and Mazzucato, 2010; Parutis, 2011; Belloni, 2016; Waite and Lewis, 2017). Others have recognised how changing accommodation patterns, including co-habiting of adults (Budlender and Lund, 2012) and group housing of migrant worker men (Filgueira, Gutiérrez and Papadópulos, 2012), have influenced the provision of care in middle-income countries with high inequality. De Vriese (2006) also recognised the development of inter-household solidarity networks, which provide a safety net for those with limited income-generating activities, as part of refugees' livelihood strategies.

Networks and support from family and friends are critically important in the livelihoods of refugees (De Vriese, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen, 2006; Buscher, 2011; Landau and Duponchel, 2011; Palmgren, 2014; Barbelet and Wake, 2017; Pascucci, 2017), Landau and Duponchel (2011) argue that informal networks can be more important to refugee livelihoods and protection than humanitarian aid or policy frameworks, and Pascucci (2017) theorises community and refugee social relations, which she explores through community-provided accommodation in Cairo, as an informal infrastructure.

Refugees' social networks are often primarily composed of other refugees, and refugees support each other in a wide variety of ways, including cash or in-kind assistance, access to information, employment, and accommodation (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016b, 2016a; Barbelet and Wake, 2017). Barbelet and Wake (2017) recognise the host community as a critical institution for refugees' livelihoods, argue that economic and social integration cannot be considered separately, and deplore the lack of consideration of host relations with livelihood support programming. Nonetheless, despite drawing on Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's work on the dynamics of overlapping refugee movements (2016a) and refugees hosting refugees (2016b), their depiction of host communities is of a largely static group of nationals, rather than a more nuanced consideration of refugee hosting and the role of refugees as hosts.

Understanding refugee livelihoods is based on the assumption that "refugee households will manage their resources and exercise their options in an optimal manner." (De Vriese, 2006, p. 11). However, to a large extent, 'optimal manner' has been interpreted to mean economically rational (Hanrahan, 2015). Hanrahan (2015) questions our understanding of livelihoods approaches, highlighting the need to re-orient our approaches, so that "the social is not seen as a merely peripheral concern, but where complex socio-economic practices lie at the very heart of livelihoods strategies." (Hanrahan, 2015, p. 382). In doing so, she argues for an approach to livelihoods that not only recognises the importance of social relations, but analyses livelihoods from the perspective of ethics of care, fore fronting the situated interdependencies inherent to many livelihood strategies. She recognises that interpersonal relationships may exist in order to help people to meet their own needs, or to meet the needs of others. Such relationships may not always seem rational or logical unless understood through an ethics of care. With this in mind, she argues that we should reorient our understanding of livelihoods to "explore how individuals are embedded into the lives of others, and how these relationships influence livelihood strategies." (Hanrahan, 2015, p. 385), maintaining awareness that interpersonal relationships are not static, but are rather assembled in their specific context. Seen through this lens, the "ad hoc" (Barbelet and Wake, 2017, p. 13) support provided by refugees to other refugees, such as hosting, is opened up to more nuanced consideration of what such acts consist of, who

participates in such relationships, and how hosting relationships are created in urban environments.

In the complex reality of protracted urban displacement, hosting relationships play an essential role. Hosting provides assistance in the liminal space of protracted displacement and prolonged crisis, developing in place as displaced people run down savings and other resources or reconsider their options in their places of displacement. Hosting is also a flexible response. Arrangements can last from a few days to years, and adapt to changing conditions including shifts in social, economic, and legal policies and attitudes towards displacement (See Chapters 7 and 8). Finally, though hosting is typically portrayed as an emergency response, hosting relationships are often present throughout the 'phases' of response, from first response to de facto long term solution (Chapters 7, 8, and 9).[38] Given the wide array of essential services that are accessed through hosting, as well as vital social support, household-level hosting relationships play an essential role in well-being in displacement. Why then, has attention to hosting in the humanitarian sphere so far been largely limited feel-good fundraising campaigns?

Why has hosting been overlooked?

Limited engagement and understanding of refugee hosting practices is not due to a lack of awareness of their existence. A cursory glance at humanitarian reporting, advocacy and fundraising materials from countries around the world reveals that hosting is a recognised phenomenon in displacement contexts. IFRC's "Assisting Host Families and Communities after Crises and Natural Disaster: A Step-by-Step Guide" quotes a senior USAID/OFDA official, saying "Hosting is, in fact, an effort to help, be it for social, family or even altruistic or nationalistic reasons, so how could it not be considered humanitarian in nature?" (IFRC, 2012, p. 5). Yet humanitarian programmes does not work with hosting, rarely taking it into account in their programming decisions, let alone involving hosts as active participants. I argue that this is based on understandings of refugee hosting practices as home-based, taking place outside of the public sphere; small-scale; a burden to the non-displaced hosts; and enduring limitations to the extent to which refugees are seen as responders to displacement.

Firstly, refugee hosting is seen as a private and home-based practice. This means that it can be invisible to humanitarian actors, though often hiding in plain sight. Beyond its invisibility there

[38] During the UNHCR's Annual Consultations with NGOs, there was discussion of a comment made by Volker Turk (Assistant High Commissioner for Protection, UNHCR) at the Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement, in which he noted five solutions (instead of the normal 3), and a shift in focus from only durable solutions to sustainable solutions. This included local solutions, which were defined as "organic processes meant to create options for meaningful and productive life." (ICVA, 2019)

may also be a hesitancy from humanitarian actors to engage in activity in the private sphere of the home rather than the public domain of much of their work. In response to this, I would first challenge the extent to which international humanitarianism in its current form is respectful of this divide, with humanitarian needs assessments and monitoring practices frequently asking intimate questions and programmes targeting a wide-range of home-based practices. Even where humanitarian programming takes a step back, as in the shift to cash-based responses, a recognition of how aid provision influences domestic arrangements is required. Indeed, a fuller engagement with domestic arrangements could, if sensitively enacted, prevent some of the negative externalities of humanitarian intervention. Fixing hosting in the private realm misses the ways in which norms around hosting are developed in place over time. Though hosting takes place between individuals, it is not ad-hoc, but rather commonplace and dependable, in specific ways in specific locations. The image of refugee hosting as a home-based practice connects with the assumption that hosting relationships are primarily formed between family members or that there is a least a shared familial connection between parties. Though patterns of arrival, pre-existing relationships and the ways in which relationships are reconstituted in displacement are all important parts of understanding the hosting relationship, the primacy of kinship and family connections results in little sustained or critical attention being directed towards hosting practices. They are instead dismissed as part of a normalised dependence on kinship which is often remarked upon and elevated in essentialised depictions of non-Western cultures, even in contexts where family members would not normally live together in non-displacement or non-conflict situations.

Secondly, because hosting takes place between individuals and households it appears to be small-scale. The large number of people living in a form of hosting arrangement around the world belies this image. As people in hosting relationships are dispersed into different households and potentially different areas and districts, they do not present a mass of people gathered in one site. As is common in urban displacement settings, it is possible to fade into the urban fabric, particularly when the eye refuses to see (Kibreab, 1996; Kihato, 2016). The image of hosting as disconnected acts of individual charity and heroism results in a failure to see hosting as an informal institutional response, rooted in societal norms and expectations.

Finally, hosting does not fit within our image of the refugee. The first part of this relates to the ways in which refugee hosting relationships are seen as displaced-guest and non-displaced host relationships. As hosting is seen as a burden, it therefore is assumed that hosts must have some resources with which to host. There is some concern reflected in the literature about what happens once these resources run dry, but little effort to move beyond an understanding of hosting based on territorial identities and hospitality and guesthood. Such an understanding does not allow for hosting relationships where refugees are hosting other refugees.

Beyond the legal refugee status and definition, normative expectations of refugee-hood have emerged, an "institutional, international expectation of a certain kind of helplessness as a refugee characteristic" (Malkki, 1996, p. 388) and a necessity that refugees be "healed only by professionals" (Malkki, 1996, p. 384). Malkki's research has two important ramifications for this study. Firstly, her research found that refugees living in the urban town of Kigoma were perceived as less 'real' refugees, a common depiction of urban displacement. Secondly, and more broadly, Malkki argues that, once reduced to apolitical and de-historicised bodies, refugees are helped because they are helpless, and they must display this need (Malkki, 1996). As argued by Kibreab "refugees are treated as if they were tabula rasa with no history, past experience, culture, anticipation, skills, coping mechanisms to interpret new situations" (1993, p. 336). The role of refugees in helping one another, as with hosting, therefore becomes insignificant.

The reduction of refugee lives to apolitical bare life and the subsequent emphasis on meeting basic physical and material needs has led to a pervasive connection between refugee status, vulnerability, and the need for humanitarian response. Shifts in humanitarian discourse to focus on refugee 'successes' are a welcome development, yet overwhelmingly fail to account for structural impediments and differences within refugee populations, hiding vulnerabilities (Tammas, 2019). Refugees, despite having a wide and varied range of socio-economic backgrounds and personal life trajectories, once displaced are reduced to the huddled masses challenged in Malkki's work, with little consideration of the ways in which these vulnerabilities are produced and capabilities restricted by their host states and the wider international regime, rather than being an innate quality of 'refugee-ness' (Malkki, 1996; Turner, 2019).

Such conceptions allow little space for refugee-refugee actions of care and support. A focus on the humanitarian system ignores the diverse practices of helping that exist globally (Barnett, 2011). Rather than humanitarianism, we should instead be thinking of humanitarianisms, in the plural. As noted by Olliff (2018), the dominant humanitarian system has itself called for increased engagement with alternative humanitarianisms, recognising the need for new actors and ideas to confront the challenges it is facing.

Beyond the humanitarian system: everyday humanitarianisms

The separation between victims and humanitarians being challenged by the increasing prominence of grassroots and refugee-led response around the world. In the context of the 'European refugee crisis', the role of volunteers and non-professional humanitarian groups has gained increasing prominence, with a focus on volunteer-citizenship and solidarity (Rozakou, 2017). The presence of grassroots groups in humanitarian settings is not new and is prevalent around the world, but the sometimes-uneasy relationship provoked by the simultaneous

presence of UNHCR and professional groups alongside solidarity groups with Europe rather than 'out there' has refocused attention on how aid is provided and the relationship between recipients and providers of aid. In particular, there is a shift from material benefactor-recipient relationships to one's built on horizontal social relationships. As attention is drawn to the positives of working with local actors – mosques, churches and other faith-based groups, community-based groups, and volunteer organisations – there is a push within the humanitarian sector to transfer power from the international humanitarian system to local actors.

The localisation agenda refers to efforts to support government and civil society in crisis-affected states to play a lead role in humanitarian response (ALNAP, 2018). Through the Grand Bargain, participants at the World Humanitarian Summit 2016 committed to ensuring 25 percent of international funding goes to local and national responders by 2020 (Agenda for Humanity, 2017); reducing barriers to partnership between national and international actors, including national organisations in international coordination mechanisms; and investing in capacity building and support for national and local actors (ICVA, 2017). Estimates place the amount of international funding going to national and local actors at only 2.9 percent, with the majority of this funding going to governments and only 0.4 percent to national and local NGOs (ALNAP, 2018). Such commitments are a positive step in increasing and improving equal partnership between international, national and local organisations, yet implementation has been slow and has not achieved the radical transformation that many hoped for (ALNAP, 2018). It has largely been shown that local actors are as effective, or more so, than international agencies, but questions of power within the humanitarian system are much more complex. The discussion around localisation touches on historical and current inequalities within the system, as well as broader assumptions, including the presumed incapacity of national and local NGOs to manage funding and respond to crises.

While the range of local actors included under the umbrella term localisation is broad, ranging from regional authorities to volunteer groups much of the work around localisation and community-based responses remains focused on formal groups. There has been little discussion of the different roles, dynamics and needs of different groups (Wall and Hedlund, 2016). There is limited space for refugee-led initiatives, and in some countries refugees are largely precluded from founding charitable organisations. I argue, therefore, that the localisation agenda has not yet gone far enough in supporting the actions of displaced populations and other responders.

Humanitarian aid programming now increasingly reflects understandings of refugees as capable and skilled individuals. Programming abounds with buzzwords of 'participation', 'refugee-led', and 'ownership'. Positive-news stories of refugees who have 'made it', promotion of entrepreneurship and independence have proliferated. However, while a step in the right direction in terms of recognising the capacities of refugees, such programming is often still top-

down, fails to challenge the contextual circumstances which constrain opportunities for refugees, or to account for difference and intersectional social positions within refugee populations. The politics of refugee populations at the individual and community level is still not well understood, particularly in relation to their own support mechanisms in response to displacement. We therefore need to look beyond formal mechanisms, to understanding and working with informal approaches and the ways in which people are supporting themselves and each other in the everyday.

Everyday humanitarianism refers to humanitarian acts taken outside of the traditional boundaries of humanitarian activity, whether taken by humanitarian actors in their quotidian lives, or by citizens and consumers outside of humanitarian organisations (Richey, 2018). Here, I focus on this second understanding of everyday humanitarianism. Despite Richey's framing of these actions as taken by citizens and consumers, I include actions taken by refugee populations in support of themselves and others in marginalised positions. Feldman's (2012) interest in how everyday and small-scale forms of political life work to make a change in the conditions of one's existence is relevant here, as is Isin's (2017) work on how claims are articulated and new sites of contestation and belonging created.

This acknowledges that displaced populations and other migrants are often the primary source of assistance for refugees, rather than governments or citizens of host countries or international humanitarian actors. There is growing recognition of the acts that Fechter and Schwittay (2019) conceptualise as 'citizen aid'[39], highlighting the "agency of ordinary people making ethical decisions about providing assistance to others" (Fechter and Schwittay, 2019, p. 1770). Fechter and Schwittay (2019) argue that grassroots activities of migrants and the communities which host them should be considered as part of the continuum of humanitarian activity, stressing how such informal practices form part of the system of aid. This is a burgeoning literature, and others have highlighted the various roles that refugees, locally and internationally, play in providing assistance to other refugees (Horst, 2008; Olliff, 2018), and non-formal forms of assistance (Brković, 2016; Rozakou, 2017). Similarly, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2016a, 2016b) identifies that many displaced people share spaces with both nationals and other displaced persons. This overlapping leads to a blurring of the 'host' and 'displaced person' categories, and challenges the assumption that displaced persons are passive victims in need of external care. As will be demonstrated in this thesis, hosting relationships are a form of everyday humanitarianism, enacted by and for refugees, through which displaced populations care for their own needs while in displacement.

[39] Where citizenship does not denote a formal category of belonging, but is rather understood as a global citizenship, whereby citizens of different nations act for citizens of other nations (Fechter and Schwittay, 2019).

Conclusion

I argue that refugee hosting is a humanitarian act. Not only does it save lives and alleviate suffering, it responds to the identification of compassion and solidarity as core values and acts of humanitarianism (Fassin, 2013). However, it offers a stark contrast to the distant and impartial humanitarianism of the humanitarian system. Despite an emerging discourse around the 'successful' refugee based on economic independence and commodification (in itself problematic), the dominant image of refugees continues to of the passive and helpless victim. In neither depiction are refugees considered as individuals with particular intersectional identities, negotiating legal, political, economic, and social structures around them. Despite near constant calls for the contextualisation of humanitarian approaches and the buzz around the localisation agenda, the humanitarian system continues to be challenged by its distance from the local context. In such a context, we need to move beyond lip-service to inclusion of affected communities and support of refugee-led initiatives towards approaches that facilitate existing responses and work with the preferences and strategies of affected communities. As argued by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2016b, p. 27) the challenge remains to "actively explore the potential to support the development, and maintenance, of welcoming communities, whether these communities are composed of citizens, new refugees or established refugees". This chapter has shown that we need to make space within understandings of displacement and humanitarianism to engage with the everyday and small-scale forms of political life that persist or appear during crisis, such as hosting. In the chapters that follow, I begin this work.

There has been a fundamental shift in how humanitarian assistance and displaced populations are managed, moving from camp-based responses to urban environments. Shifts in the humanitarian landscape have resulted in a widening of the humanitarian mandate, beyond the immediate securing of life. As the humanitarian mandate has expanded, so has the domains in which this form of intervention is present, so that the humanitarian system is no longer merely intervening to save lives, but also to ensure behaviour change and alter societal norms. Traditional humanitarian actors no longer have de facto control over the response and have been required to work with national and municipal government, local institutions and organisations, and community groups. A greater number of actors than ever before are delivering assistance to people in need. This proliferation in the range of actors engaging in humanitarian action – not all of whom have humanitarian principles or the provision of life-saving assistance as their primary focus – is causing consternation regarding who humanitarian actors are, what do they do, and how do they do it. As can be seen in the above discussion, the humanitarian system is not without its critics. Despite the genuine altruistic humanitarian motive of many working

within the system, it is clear that tensions between the humanitarian system and the humanitarian act exists.

For all its faults, the humanitarian system is a laudable response to human suffering, and an important feature of an increasingly hostile environment, calling for compassion and solidarity with other human beings. At the same time, the humanitarian system has come to exert a monopoly on humanitarian acts, with large international agencies dominating the arena, to the detriment of local organisations, grassroots and volunteer initiatives and humanitarian acts such as refugee hosting that occur outside of formal frameworks. Limiting the conceptualisation of humanitarianism to exceptional and emergency care for the distant vulnerable hampers recognition of the full value of everyday acts of care enacted by refugees for refugees. We therefore need to re-orient focus from the humanitarian system as the main provider of care and assistance to the importance of everyday acts of humanitarianism and how these develop in specific contexts and in relation to the humanitarian system.

There has been little focus on what constitutes acts of household-level refugee hosting in protected urban displacement, nor how these acts are produced in specific contexts. There is also little consideration of the dynamics of such arrangements, beyond the perception of hosting as an increasing burden on the hosts. Continuing to understand these relationships as acts of hospitality between territorialised hosts and displaced guests mistakenly portrays them as exceptional and short term measures, rather than everyday acts of maintenance and care. Following Hanrahan's (2015) call to understand livelihoods by exploring how the interdependence and embeddedness of individuals in the lives of others, and the influence of these relationships on livelihood strategies, in the following chapter I develop a framework for understanding household-level hosting that draws on relational concepts of hospitality, sharing, and care.

Building on this framework, and understanding that interpersonal relationships are assembled in their specific context, in the subsequent chapters I consider how hosting emerges and is experienced in the specific context of urban Amman. Humanitarian action (or lack of action) in response to urban displacement intersects with refugees' own responses and experiences of displacement. Given the prevalence of refugee hosting relationships in urban environments, understanding experiences of urban displacement necessitates a greater understanding of the act of hosting and how humanitarianism intersects with urban refugees' livelihood strategies, including the provision of care for themselves and for others. I consider types of hosting and who has access to it (Chapter Seven), how hosting is created as a response to the specific urban context of displacement in Amman (Chapter Eight), and how hosting cares for needs in displacement (Chapter Nine). In the conclusion (Chapter Ten), I reflect on these different

contributions to argue that everyday acts of humanitarianism such as hosting should be recognised as such by the humanitarian system

Chapter Six: Conceptualising the act of hosting

The hosting relationship is often described as a burden, exploitative, and is assumed to take place between family/kin, and between citizen-hosts and displaced-guests (Corsellis and Vitale, 2005; Davies, 2012; IFRC, 2012; Brown and Hersh, 2013; Argenal and Setchell, 2014; CCCM, 2017). Based on my research, viewing hosting as an economic transaction serving to secure access to resources misunderstands how these relationships are constructed. It thus obscures understanding of external influences on hosting practices, fails to enquire as to the 'terms of agreement' of being hosted, avoids engaging in the complex societal and personal relations and norms around hosting; and fails to recognise the full role hosting plays in the lives of displaced persons and hosts. In reality, the hosting relationship is much more nuanced than allowed for by the characterizations commonly found in existing literature. The hosting relationship is a constantly evolving relationship, and both parties actively negotiate and adapt their relationship and roles within the relationship according to external and internal factors. This is not to deny the unequal power dynamics of many hosting relationships, but to question the inevitability of these arrangements implied in much of the current discussion of hosting.

In this chapter I propose a framework to understand the act of hosting that better conceptualises the act of hosting and differentiates it from other forms of accommodation sharing. I draw on existing theorisations of how we relate to one another – hospitality, sharing, and care – to propose a more complete and nuanced understanding of the act of hosting. These concepts have often been used in discussion of migration and humanitarianism (See for example in the Middle East and in relation to Syrian displacement: Ramadan, 2008; Mason, 2011; Rozakou, 2012; Thorleifsson, 2016), but not in conjunction with one another nor in relation to hosting relationships at the household-level. Though hospitality is very frequently used when discussing and analysing responses to refugee movements (see for example: Mcnevin & Missbach 2018; Yarbakhsh 2015; Leer & Komter 2012), hospitality practices among displaced populations themselves are rarely considered (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016b). The body of work on sharing practices and moral economies in non-Western societies mainly considers non-migrant populations (Matsumura, 2006; Peterson, 2013). There is a second body of work on moral economies of migration, but much of this is related to labour migration in the European and American context or the morality of migration and integration policies (Näre, 2011; Willen, 2015; Casati, 2018). The body of work considering how the experience of forced displacement may alter moral economies from the perspective of the displaced, or how practices are reproduced in places of displacement, is much smaller. Finally, there is an emerging body of work on emotions and migration (see for example the Emotion, Space, and Society, Volume 16, Special Issue on 'Moving Feelings: Emotions and the Process of Migration', 2015). This thesis considers the role of interpersonal relationships in developing norms of refugee response and

guiding refugee hosting practices for the individuals participating. In doing so, I contribute to the emerging literature on ethics of care in displacement and forced migration (Darling, 2011; Brun, 2016b; Boano and Astolfo, 2020).

Hosting as an act

Long (2001) defines social actors as those inhabiting, experiencing and transforming the contours and details of the social landscape. Taking a social constructionist view, he focuses on the self-transforming actions and perceptions of a diverse and interconnected world of actors. While these processes are complex and contingent on the changing conditions of different social arenas, they are not reducible to these external forces. All external intervention necessarily enters the existing life-worlds and everyday experiences of individuals and social groups affected by such interventions, and in doing so, they are mediated and transformed by these actors. Long therefore defines social actors as those who exercise agency to "process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life, even under the most extreme forms of coercion" (Long, 2001, p. 16). This takes place not through merely reworking existing practices, but through improvising and reacting creatively to their environments and the circumstances they encounter. This is vital for understanding hosting as an act, a dynamic response that both shapes and is shaped by the individual participants and the world around them.

Considering hosting as an act allows for more nuanced consideration of the emergence of different types of hosting and the interplay between individual hosting relationships, social norms, and displacement contexts. It takes into consideration the specific contexts in which hosting relationships develop, and the widely different structural constraints resulting from the intersectional identities and positions of different parties in hosting arrangements. It also avoids the trap of seeing social practices as rigid, instead changing form as need and context change. The framework that follows is specifically conceived with this household-level in mind, and how these relationships intersect with wider processes – group norms and behaviours, institutional practices, and large-scale trends. The key elements of the framework – hospitality, sharing, and ethics of care – all relate to how individual choices take place within an existing frame of relatedness and obligation, and also constantly reproduce and shift these frames.

An actor-focused perspective, therefore, focuses on the agency, or potential to act, of individuals in relation to their environment. Agency is not only about action, but also about exerting a degree of control over the relations in which one is enmeshed, and thereby making a difference, to a certain extent, to those relations (Long, 2001). While recognising the knowledge and capacity of individuals to engage in and transform their social relations, individual acts by themselves do not form the basis of actor-oriented theory. Rather, it is the actions of

interconnected decision makers, enmeshed in networks of meaning and resources at different scales, through which individuals and their environments are mutually constituted (Long, 2001). The inclusion of meaning within this list is particularly important, and actor-oriented approaches aim to find space to incorporate the multiplicity of rationalities, capacities and practices behind given acts, the relative importance of which can only be assessed within particular contexts (Long, 2001).

A related discussion is therefore who we consider to possess this agency. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, refugees have frequently been depicted as passive recipients, rather than social actors in their own right. The interaction between agency and structure is a central debate within migration studies. Recognising the agency of migrants, including forced migrants, has been a step forward for the field but the challenge remains how to recognise the importance of social structures while leaving space for individual agency and social change (Bakewell, 2010). Giddens (1984) argues that structures have a dual nature as both the medium and the outcome of the social practices they organise. In this understanding, structure not only shapes social practice but is also reproduced and possibly transformed by this practice. I see hosting as an individual response to structures which itself has the potential to become a social structure, as norms develop and hosting becomes institutional. This is suggested by the persistent and widespread nature of hosting. Yet, at the same time, particular acts of hosting are highly specific to those involved and to the time, place, and environment in which they are located.[40] In some circumstances, people in hosting arrangements have limited power over the form of the arrangements, as is clear in the accounts of those who participated in my research. While placing refugee agency at the centre of research with refugees can run the risk of overstating their room for manoeuvre and choice (Bakewell, 2010), it is helpful in shifting perspective to see them not only as reactive to their environments and the actions of others, but as pro-active agents within constrained circumstances. As argued by Long, "we need to document the ways in which people steer or muddle their ways through difficult scenarios, turning 'bad' into 'less bad' circumstances" (2001, p. 14).

The presence of refugees, particularly in urban areas for prolonged periods, has received much attention in relation to who is thought to belong in urban areas, on what basis, and what these positions entail. Territorially-rooted ideas of belonging are challenged by mobile populations, with many migrants holding transnational identities or creating belongings based on affinities other than citizenship. A number of scholars have argued that alternative scales of belonging than the state should be considered (Staeheli, 2003; Sanyal, 2012; Darling, 2017; Isin, 2017). Sites of belonging are not pre-existing categories, but dynamic entities formed through contest,

[40] It would be interesting to pursue this line of enquiry further, looking at how hosting practices develop in contexts of repeated displacement, identifying how and when norms and structures of hosting emerge.

struggle, and the articulation of claims to belonging (Isin, 2017). In refugee hosting participants are making claims to inhabitation, participation and representation, ethical claims to each other, and social claims of affiliation and solidarity with one another. This activist citizenship "acts in a way that disrupts already defined orders, practices and statuses" (Isin, 2017, p. 384) creating new forms of belonging and ways to be.

Isin states that activist citizenships "create a scene" (2017, p. 379). Though such a phrase connotes highly visible disruption, I argue that refugee hosting, taking place within daily life and in hidden spaces (Staeheli *et al.*, 2012), offers a quiet disruption to existing norms of belonging. Such an approach is reminiscent of Bayat's description of the "silent encroachment" (1997, p. 54) of informal city dwellers. As he notes, disenfranchised urban populations are not only concerned with survival (though it is a preoccupying concern), but also strive to improve their lives. Such struggles are not only resistance to powerful groups nor individualistic, but also offensive, involving a collective campaign. The collective force of such populations is established from a way of life which engendered common interests and the need to defend them. Mundane and everyday practices, from the unlawful construction of shelters to the establishment of informal street-side businesses are a logical way for the disenfranchised to confront hardship. Largely silent, free-form, and labelled as illegal, Bayat (1997, p. 56) argues that "ordinary and often quiet practices by the ordinary and often silent people engender significant social change". Paying attention to everyday acts, and connection and participation in a real and everyday web of relations and human interaction (Staeheli *et al.*, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2013) moves us to a more actively constructed belonging or inhabitation, which depends not only on papers but on action and presence. This understanding allows us to recognise the ways in which relationships developed in place can enhance feelings of mutuality and care and can be the basis for a community. Acts of hosting, enacted by individuals in response to a given situation develop, over time, into social practices with defined norms. For the men in my research, such acts are a vital response to marginalisation and obscurity within the city.

A framework for understanding the act of hosting

How does the act of hosting differ from other forms of accommodation sharing and cohabitation? Hosting is neither a simple economic rental transaction nor is it a relationship based purely on hospitality. Hosting is distinguished from other forms of accommodation sharing by interdependency of participants (conceptualised using notions of sharing and ethics of care), and its position on a continuum of guest-hood to tenancy. These continuums are returned to in Chapter Seven, which identifies different types of hosting and discusses them in relation to these two axes.

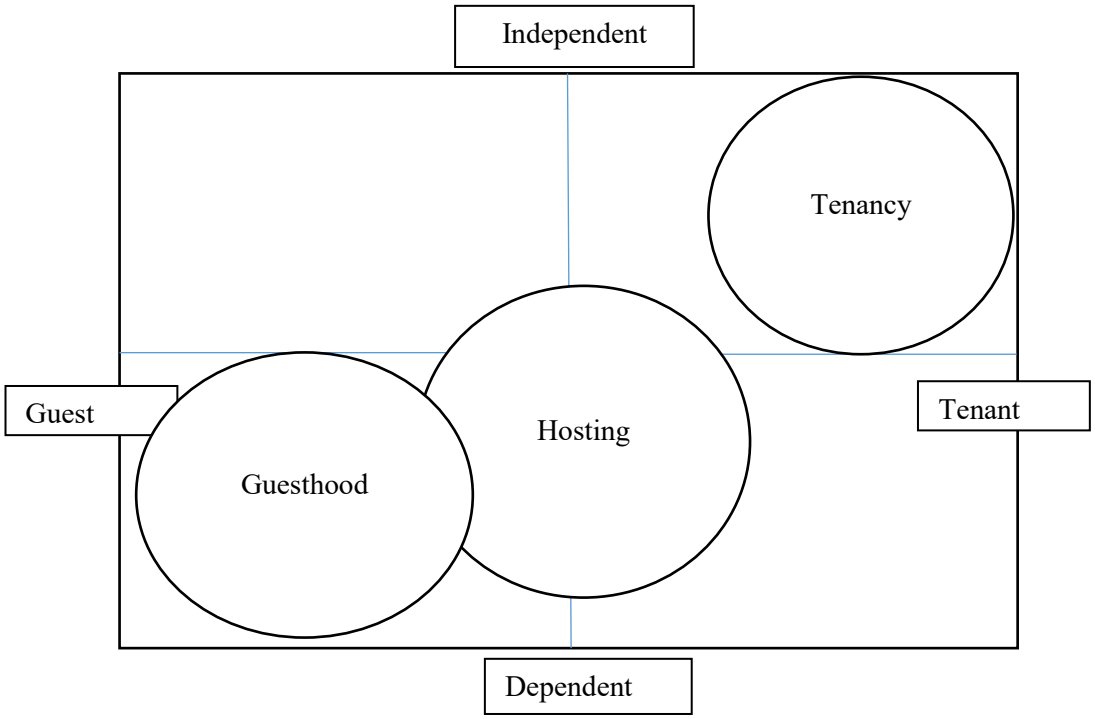

Figure 3: Figure showing relation of hosting to other forms of accommodation sharing

Hospitality

The refugee-host relationship is often framed as hospitality. Especially in Jordan, where refugee response is framed around the notion of guesthood and pan-Arab solidarity, there is a strong emphasis on the importance of hospitality. Though hospitality is commonly understood as a positive action, with connotation of refuge, generosity, and friendship, such relationships also mask complex power relations and divisions between those who belong and those who do not.

On the surface, hospitality can be considered as the creation, celebration, and reinforcement of relationships between people. It is an act of openness, that helps bring the guest or stranger temporarily into the family or group, breaking down barriers between people (Dikec, 2002). This is the Derridean ideal of hospitality, unconditional, open to the not-yet-known and the yet-to-come (Derrida, 2000; Aparna and Schapendonk, 2018). While this imagery underpins many expressions of hospitality, this implies the host giving up control over their home and is unrealistic in application. Opening your door to another suggests ownership of the home and control of the space and necessary resources with which to be hospitable (Brun, 2010). The rituals and etiquette involved in hospitality cross the boundaries between group and stranger, friend and foe. Yet, they simultaneously create and strengthen boundaries between people and groups, identifying us and them, requiring an implicit drawing of boundaries between oneself and those within ones' group, and those who are excluded (Ramadan, 2008, 2011; Sobh, Belk and Wilson, 2013). Once this contradiction between honouring the guest and keeping them at a distance is recognised, the tensions within hospitality practices become apparent. Hospitality, as

proposed by Derrida contains within it a hostility towards the guest, and maintenance of control by the host (Derrida, 2000). Though unconditional hospitality may ask us to accept any stranger, at any time, without any limits, in practice hospitality is always conditional. By its very function, of negating the danger presented by a stranger, it recognizes this danger and places conditions to mitigate it. The contradictions between 'the law' of hospitality, and 'the laws' of hospitality, or between the imaginaries of unconditional hospitality, and realities of control of spatial imaginaries and conditional welcome are therefore at the heart of everyday hospitality practices (Mcnevin and Missbach, 2018).

Under conditional hospitality, no matter how well treated or how warmly welcomed, the guest is an outsider and does not fully belong. Everyday demonstrations of hospitality within the home, such as expressing welcome, rituals and ceremonies, and the demarcation of public and private space (Candea and da Col, 2012) demonstrate the unequal power relations contained within hospitality practices (Wagner, 2016). Similarly, temporal limits on the duration for which one can be expected to extend hospitality abound (Marfleet, 2011; Kirillova, Gilmetdinova and Lehto, 2014; Stephenson, 2014; Yarbakhsh, 2015). In extending hospitality to a stranger, the stranger cannot claim the right of residence, but only of a visit (Dikec, 2002). In comparison to residence, the visit connotes short time periods, a transitory passing through. In the context of Jordan these considerations are amplified. There are limited routes to residence and integration for refugees in Jordan, who are unable to claim asylum in the country. Many refugees see their time in Jordan as transitory, on route to a different country or while waiting to return to their country of origin. At the same time, the protracted nature of displacement for refugees of many nationalities in Jordan call into question this temporariness, with the continuing presence of displaced Palestinians the emblematic case.

In the wider context of refugees being identified as guests, Darling has argued that "shifting attention from the ethical value of hospitality to the social fact of presence might be more productive for non-citizens and migrants who would otherwise be positioned as "guests" within a hospitable home" (2014b, p. 162). This contention recognises the contradictions and exclusivity of hospitality and shifts the position of migrants from 'guests' to 'community members'. This is important for understanding refugee-refugee hosting relationships, occurring between (more or less) equal participants. This understanding of hospitality, however, focuses on national level hospitality discourses, rather than household practices. Darling states that "the problematic nature of hospitality lies not in its expression in communal forms of welcome to migrants at an everyday level, but rather in how a language of hospitality may become a political tool to suggest values of cosmopolitanism while simultaneously enforcing the right to exclude those seen as unworthy of welcome" (Darling, 2014b, p. 163). I would argue that in fact the everyday actions of hospitality at the household-level do serve to reinforce these unequal

relationships, especially in contexts where different forms of hospitality are shown to members of some groups in preference to others. In such cases, the forms of hospitality accessible to different groups serves to differentiate a hierarchy of guesthood. Yet, a politics of presence is not incompatible with the everyday urban practices of hospitality enacted in hosting relationships, and indeed, the fact of refugees' presence at the local level, made possible through informal practices of hosting may engender a politics of presence.

Hospitality is more commonly understood in lay terms to deal with the act of welcoming another, of making a space and resources available to them. Gill spells out the differences between hospitality and welcome, highlighting the important emotional aspects of welcome, that I think more appropriately speak to people's everyday interpretations of the notion of hospitality (Gill, 2018). It is the emotional connotations of welcome that have promoted hospitality to such common usage within refugee and humanitarian response, calling us to empathize and connect with others. In this way, the state discourse of hospitality can be juxtaposed against individual acts of welcome.

Conviviality can also be used to explain the motivations behind some hosting practices. In refugee literature, conviviality is often used to discuss heterogeneous belongings and a sense of being together-in-difference, or sharing feelings or values in common across actors, social positions, and places (Yuval-Davis, 2013; Askins, 2016; Ho, 2017). This is applicable in those hosting relationships that cross an identified boundary, whether nationality, status, ethnicity, religious or another. The 'together-in-difference' emphasised by conviviality, however, is not always present in hosting relationships. In some cases, hosting serves to reinforce group identities and memberships, reaffirming boundaries rather than crossing them. In these cases, placing "oneself in a collective and feeling a life lived in common" (Khalili, 2016, p. 592) can be a powerful reason for engaging in hosting relationships, but stems from a shared familiarity and identity rather than traversing boundaries.

The gift of hospitality?

Hospitality can be understood as a gift that involves temporarily sharing space and sometimes goods with a stranger (Derrida, 2000). Leer and Komter (2012) make the link between hospitality and hosting explicit by extending everyday notions of hospitality, such as having dinner with friends or staying with family, to include hosting refugee populations in private homes, albeit in the European context. Echoing Marcel Mauss's (1954) work identifying the giving, receiving, and reciprocating of gifts as essential in the building of human relationships, they argue that hospitality is a form of gift-giving, and is thus subject to similar patterns of reciprocity, motivation, and selectivity (Komter, 2007; Leer and Komter, 2012). For Komter (2007) gift giving is neither wholly economically rational, nor purely altruistic, and the gift-

giving relationship should instead be viewed as both altruistic and self-interested, and frequently both at the same time. Similarly, the hosting relationship can be understood to accrue personal benefit, to either or both parties, but it also closely linked to social ideals and emotional motivations. In the following section, I discuss the concept of sharing in relation to the act of hosting, particularly the importance of responding to requests as a form of recognition of those making demands, and for conceptions of the self. Gifts can be used in a comparable way, securing relationships and demonstrating standing. This is the case for both formal gift exchanges but also, perhaps more importantly in the context of my work, in non-formal exchanges, demonstrated a continued investment in the relationship and valuing of that relationship. It is important to recognise that gifts do not have to be material. Providing services or information is also valuable and performs a similar function.

While hospitality may be seen as a gift, I don't consider the act of hosting itself as a gift. The giving of a gift suggests a transferral of ownership, which does not happen in the hosting relationship. Even if hosted families are given exclusive use over certain areas, it is clear that the ownership will eventually revert to the original occupants. Particularly as hosting becomes more protracted, many 'hosts' expect contributions from their 'guests', and those who are hosted insist on contributing. These transactions are often not set amounts or defined contributions but are rather a sharing of the resources available to the different parties at different times. Instead of characterising the transfer of resources in the hosting relationship as a gift, I would characterise the transfer of resources in hosting relationships as sharing.

Hospitality is a valuable starting point in conceptualizing the act of hosting. In recognizing the collision between imaginaries of unconditional hospitality and the conditions attached to everyday practices, it draws our attention to the underlying tension of hosting practices. Similarly, it allows for the recognition that no matter how well treated or how warmly welcomed the guest is an outsider and does not fully belong. However, hospitality cannot fully explain hosting relationships. Particularly challenging is the territorially-bounded nature of hospitality, and the notion that the settled host invites the displaced guest in. Many refugees in host relationships sit on the boundary of this exclusion. Frequently, though not always, related to their hosts, recognised by them and others as an extension of their household, familiar through prolonged residence during protracted displacement, hosted refugees cannot be identified as strangers. Yet, given the uncertainty of their situation, the indeterminate length of their stay, precarity of their status, and their different identity, refugees are not fully part of their hosts. Similarly, the application of a time-bound concept, in the temporally-uncertain context of displacement, is challenging. Hosting relationships are not exclusively between established groups and new arrivals. In many cases, hosting practices take place between individuals and households who have little to no formal claim over the space they inhabit. In these cases,

hosting is less a case of extending hospitality, and more a question of sharing the space and resources available.

Sharing

Sharing is the act or process of having a portion of something with another, distributing a portion of something to another, receiving or taking something from others, or the joint use of something with others (Belk, 2007). Belk further refined this definition, noting the non-reciprocal, non-ceremonial nature of sharing (Belk, 2010). He argues that sharing is a third form of distribution, distinct from commodity-transactions and gift-giving. Sharing is instead characterised by the creation and maintenance of nonreciprocal social links to others and networked inclusion, shared ownership or usage rights, the irrelevance of money, dependent relationships, social reproduction, and motivations of love and caring.

Within this, different and sometimes overlapping categorizations of sharing behaviours can be identified that are relevant for understanding hosting. The first categorisation distinguishes how we perceive the boundaries between ourselves and those we share with. It is divided between sharing out and sharing in. Sharing out occurs when sharing with those outside of the boundary of self. It is a tactic of survival, and is closer to gift giving or commodity exchange. In contrast, sharing in is an expression of community, and refers to situations in which ownership is regarded as common, within the extended self-boundaries of family and close friends (Belk, 2010). This distinction is important in understanding different types of hosting relationship. In hosting arrangements, both (or all) households involved can merge and act as one, or decision-making authority may be maintained by each household independently or, as is often the case, some decisions may be negotiated together, whilst others are imposed or decided independently. How decisions are made has implications for how the relationship is considered and understood by the various parties, with potential ramifications on its durability and the impact of external actors. Among individuals or households who see their relationship as less interdependent and less durable, sharing practices may be characterised as sharing out, whereas households who seem themselves as interdependent may be characterised as sharing in. Examples these distinctions within hosting practices observed in Jordan are shown in Chapter Seven.

The second categorisation divides between commercial and non-commercial sharing (Jehlička and Daněk, 2017). Commercial sharing relates to for-profit sharing and the collective economy (e.g. co-production and open sourcing). More pertinently for understanding the role of sharing in hosting, non-commercial sharing refers to informal and non-monetary sharing, and can be subdivided into two categories: Peer-to-peer sharing facilitated by non-profit intermediaries

(perhaps more relevant in the context of NGO facilitated hosting in Europe), and informal (non-monetised) sharing within family, friends and neighbours.

The third categorisation relates to the nature of reciprocal relations within sharing relationships. Belk proposed that reciprocal relations, exchange, and thank yous suggest that the relationship is based on something other than sharing. He argues that commodity transactions and sharing are at opposite ends of a continuum, with gift-giving somewhere in the middle (Belk, 2007). Taking income pooling and resource sharing within the family as a prototype, he draws attention to the ways in which young children do not work for their food, clothing, or shelter; do not ask permission to enter the home or use common spaces; and do not receive these resources with the rituals associated with gift-giving. He fails, however, to consider the temporality of reciprocity, and expectations that, for example, children will care for parents as they become elderly. He also omits that in many households, children are expected to take on household tasks and contribute in line with their abilities and capacities. While these tasks are not direct exchanges, there is a strong normative expectation that each person will contribute for the collective well-being, and a failure to do so can lead to tensions, fighting, and even rupture of the household. Others have suggested that there are different forms of reciprocity. Graeber (2001) argues that "open" reciprocity, with its vague and unspecific form implies a relationship of mutual commitment, whereas "closed" reciprocity with defined expectations is more like market exchange. This echoes Sahlin's notion of generalised reciprocity, in which parties do not attempt to keep track of what each has given or received, but instead give without thought to any such balance (Sahlins, 1972; Belk, 2007). My critique then is to question the rejection of reciprocity as an element of sharing, while maintaining the identification of sharing as a third form of distribution. Sharing can be a reciprocal relationship, and remain distinct from gift-giving, in that it does not share the same rituals, nor does it transfer ownership to the recipient.

From this, we then draw three axes for understanding sharing within hosting relationships. Firstly, the distinction between sharing with those with whom consider to have common ownership and interest, and those that are perceived as outside of this group. Secondly, the distinction between commercial and non-commercial sharing, and within this, between mediated peer-to-peer arrangements and informal exchanges. Finally, between open and closed forms of reciprocal sharing exchanges. The hosting relationships of the participants in this study were typically characterised by sharing in, informal exchange and open reciprocity, resulting in high levels of interdependence.

Sharing in precarious and resource-poor contexts

Sharing is frequently discussed in three related strands of literature. First, anthropological studies of culture, focusing on the importance of systems of gift exchange and reciprocity in maintaining social relations (Malinowski, 1922; Mauss, 1954; Sahlins, 1972). Secondly, in studies of the informal sector, often focusing on societies in the Global South (Peterson, 1993, 2013; Roberts, 1994; Omata, 2013*a;* Tufuor *et al*, 2015) as well as the Western countries (Frenken and Schor, 2017; Waite and Lewis, 2017). A third strand of literature has gained attention in recent years, focusing on commercial sharing platforms such as AirBnB (Jehlička and Daněk, 2017; Ganapati and Reddick, 2018).

These commercial sharing platforms are often referred to as the sharing economy. Sharing economies, however, also exist in precarious and resource-poor contexts and do not require formal facilitation to flourish. An interesting cross-over between these domains can be seen in the extension of some commercial platforms into charitable domains, for example AirBnB also runs AirBnB OpenHomes under the tagline "Share your space for good. Join a community of generous hosts. Offer your extra space for free to people in need of temporary housing" (AirBnB, 2019). This taps in to a growing movement in the UK and other western European countries facilitating refugee hosting. As in other resource-sharing initiatives highlighted in current discussions of sharing economies, the emphasis is on the short-term sharing of excess or under-utilised resources (Waite and Lewis, 2017), and typically occur in households with a degree of disposable income.

In contrast, Waite and Lewis (2017) have written convincingly on the importance of sharing in situations of precarity. Discussing the sharing practices of migrants refused asylum in the United Kingdom (UK), they see an increase in sharing as a coping mechanism in affluent neoliberal countries in response to reduction in welfare, damaging changes in working practices, and increasing inequality and exploitation associated with corporate capitalism. Under such conditions "social relations and ethical interdependencies [that] are brought to bear on economic practices to enable people to make a living; for example, trust, caring, sharing, reciprocity, cooperation, coercion, guilt, self-exploitation, and solidarity" (Waite and Lewis, 2017, p. 966). In precarious positions, people are not sharing excess, but are engaging in what Waite and Lewis term marginal sharing.

In marginal situations norms and structures of sharing may become intertwined with relations of dependency and coercion, serving to reproduce power relations and potentially exploitative relationships (Waite and Lewis, 2017). Unlike Belk, who identifies the lack of reciprocal relations as a key feature of sharing, they argue that sharing in precarious contexts takes on an

asymmetrical ‘strings-attached’ format that contain within it the expectation of some kind of reciprocal return over time. Unlike in commercial transactions, expectations of reciprocity in sharing relationships may not have a particular form, quantity, or time-scale, but more of a vague and generalised obligation. Returning again to the idea of the gift, the imbalance and expectation of reciprocity is what maintains the relationship. This is unlike a commercial transaction, where (theoretically), an exchange is completed and the relationship closed (though in reality, marketing for commercial transactions now often attempts to form relationships that last beyond singular transactions). Their discussion of marginal sharing is a useful contribution to conceptualising the act of hosting in displacement contexts because it challenges the uncritical celebration of sharing. Instead, it recognises that that sharing is contingent; neither fully benevolent hospitality, nor servility, and that it potentially engenders relations of dependency and coercive sharing. Waite and Lewis’s (2017) article also expands the conversation around domestic labour, shining light on the role of the houseguest and his/her transactional labour. This is important in the context of hosting, where hosted refugees can occupy an intermediary position between family member and ‘true’ guest, taking on certain conditions and expectations.

Alternative forms of sharing economy exist in resource-poor contexts (Peterson, 1993, 2013). Peterson (1993) identifies demand driven sharing as a response to requests, which does not incur a debt despite the asymmetrical relationship. Peterson associates demand sharing with indigenous domestic moral economies. He argues that demand sharing is in an outcome of living in societies with universal systems of kin classification and obligation, where a flow of goods and services is required to create and reproduce social relationships, and the value of relatedness and obligations to others outweighs the resources to respond to them. Under such conditions, sharing depends on circumstances and resources, is strategic and pragmatic, and may be undertaken in order to establish or maintain a relationship, coercing a response or demanding recognition of the demander (Peterson, 2013). This insight is important in recognising that social relations have to be continuously reproduced by social interaction, and that it is in the everyday interactions that fundamental norms and values are created, revealed, and enforced. In situations of uncertainty around social relations, especially in highly performative kinship contexts, the recognition accorded to the demander in the response to their request is vital in establishing their sense of self and position.

I think we can expand the applicability of the concept of demand sharing, recognising the reconfiguration of family relationships and the importance of social relations beyond kinship that take on increased significance in displacement. In displacement settings, broader networks of co-ethnic or co-language groups may take on kin identities. Though these relationships do not replace understandings of biological family or kin through marriage, relationships between unrelated people can develop a greater intimacy than in non-displacement settings. This may

stem from everyday cohabiting, as in hosting relationships, where familiarity with everyday practices – particularly where such practices typically take place in the private sphere - result in intimate emotional ties (Heger Boyle and Ali, 2010). These ties also develop through the establishment and participation in vital support networks that would, in other circumstances, be associated with the family. In relation to professional caring arrangements, Karner notes that "those who provide care like family and what family does are given the label of kin with its attendant affection, rights and obligations" (1998, p. 70). Such relationships can maintain a cultural idea of caring norms, place a kin-level expectation on others in the support system, and provide a positive identity for participants. Such relationships do not replicate kinship structures, but can provide a familiar framework and language for participants to conceptualise their obligations and dependencies on one another. In such a relationship, making demands of each other can ensure recognition within the support network and emphasise inclusion within the group.

Demand sharing is not the same as simple neediness. The crucial element in demand sharing is the recognition that response to the request engenders. Sharing plays an in reproducing social relations and solidifying cultural practices, and the recognition gained by being part of the sharing group is important for identity. As signifiers of identity are shifted or reconceptualised in displacement, sharing practices can play an important role in maintaining or creating new identities.

Despite the disparate contexts informing the work of Peterson (1993) and Waite and Lewis (2017), I find the ideas of marginal sharing and demand sharing complementary and important in our understanding of how sharing economies emerge in precarious and resource-poor contexts. The authors highlight the relational aspects - positive and negative - of sharing, and the role it plays in maintaining relations. As with hospitality, sharing is often uncritically celebrated, without consideration of relations of power. Such acts are embedded in social and moral contexts, and guided by moral economies.

Moral economies of sharing

Moral economy has become a popular and ubiquitous phrase in the social sciences, particularly in anthropology and economics (Carrier, 2018). As is often the case when a term achieves widespread use, it has been criticised as becoming over-used, it's meaning diluted and vague, and it's analytical capacity dimmed (Fassin, 2009; Carrier, 2018).

Many discussions of moral economy take as their starting point E. P Thompson's 1971 elaboration of the concept in the socio-historical context of food riots in the 18th century England (Thompson, 1971; Götz, 2015). Thompson (1971) identified that the riots were not

merely a utilitarian response to hunger, but were also legitimised by a normative understanding of how the economy should function, and traditional views of social norms and obligations of various parties. James Scott (1976) continued these concepts into an understanding of a subsistence ethic, the belief among rural peasants that local arrangements should be structured in such a way as to respect the subsistence needs of the rural poor. Though Scott wrote about poor rural households, the concept is applicable for some groups in modern urban settings and recent writings have elaborated on its relevance to actions of the welfare state and humanitarianism (Götz, 2015). Scott (1976) recognised that people are not economically rational agents, but incorporate more complex shared social norms and values into their decisions about behaviour. Moral economies are therefore to do with the normative right to access a commodity on the basis of something other than being about to pay for it. Scott's analysis also adds value by analysing not only the 'flashpoints' of resistance, but everyday approaches to securing basic needs and the strategies of people in precarious situations.

Fassin (2009) analyses Thompson's work through the actions of asylum seekers in France, arguing that resistance emerges when the "ability [of the poor] to produce norms, rights, and obligations" is challenged, resulting in social frustration and the emergence of class consciousness. He expands the consideration of such shifts beyond the particular historical moment highlighted by Thompson (though maintaining the importance of analysing moral economies in a specific situated historical moment) and in relation to the behaviours of different segments or groups of society, not only the subjugated. Fassin (2009) identifies two components of moral economies, the system of exchange of goods and services; and the system of norms and values. He emphasises the importance of moral considerations in moral economies, defining moral economy as "the production, distribution, circulation, and use of moral sentiments, emotions and values, and norms and obligations in social space" (Fassin, 2009, p. 12).

Both considerations are relevant to discussion of the act of hosting. In relation to the 'economic' side of moral economies, moral economies are typically discussed in relation to the availability of food and the prices of subsistence commodities, as well as the operation of charity. Hosting, which provides shelter and facilitates access to food and other basic needs, is a mechanism to ensure access to these basic needs beyond the structures of market economies (Götz, 2015). In relation to the system of norms and values, refugee hosting is related to norms and values specific to the societies and contexts in which hosting relationships occur. In contrast to perceptions of refugees as lacking political life, Turner (2015) has recognised the hyper-politicisation that can occur when existing structures and norms are challenged in displacement settings. Pre-displacement traditions are not forgotten, however, but reconfigured in relation to the realities of displacement.

The value of the concept of moral economies is their attempt to represent the complex cultural and symbolic forms of exchange that occur in certain spaces and how social relationships and moral norms of society are intimately bound up with systems of economic transactions. Economic activities are not divorced from ethical reasoning (Götz, 2015). Moral economy is not just about the value-based framing of economic transactions (though this is frequently how it is used) but is also about the motivations behind those choices and the aims of those values - the belief in something better and a sense of justice. We can think of moral economies as multi-scalar, with the general moral economy of value-embedded transactions and expectations intersecting with individual and household-level creation of unique and specific moral economies, produced by the parties participating.

Moral economies have been identified as particularly applicable to the sphere of domestic labour, where exchanges are not contractual rationalities, but based on cultural and moral values (Waite and Lewis, 2017). This is pertinent for understanding the act of hosting. Within the household, it may be that what, under other circumstances, might be an employment relationship, is transformed and workers complete tasks out of gratitude, familial duty, care and affection, rather than economic benefit (Näre, 2011). Waite and Lewis (2017) draw on these ideas, noting the imperative many of the people in their research felt to perform household tasks and to be useful to the household, even though this was not explicitly included as part of the exchange.

Despite the positive connotations of sharing and moral economies, such relations often reproduce existing social patterns, power dynamics, and potential for exclusion and exploitation. They are not a comprehensive solution to responding to displacement, but add to our understanding of refugee livelihood practices. Frenken and Schor (2017) when discussing the contemporary sharing economy familiar in Western countries, note that while unused capacity was previously often available to family and friends for free, the emergence of for-profit sharing has caused concern about the viability of non-monetized sharing within networks, as people prefer earning money. This has been a frequent concern in the humanitarian literature regarding engagement with host families, where humanitarian agencies are concerned about monetizing a response that had previously been freely offered. Given the discussion above, however, we can question to what extent the response had been truly free, and consider the prevalence of implicit, non-monetary exchanges within the relationship.

The concept of sharing adds three key considerations to the framework for understanding the act of hosting. Firstly, sharing in and sharing out and Peterson's concept of demand sharing requires a consideration of who is participating in the relationship, how they are perceived, and the recognition afforded to participants through their involvement in such relationships.

Secondly, it expands our understanding of the types of exchange that occur within hosting, moving from benefactor-and-dependent relationships of hospitality to a continuum of gift-sharing-transaction. Finally, it focuses on the motivations behind exchange practices, recognising the importance of social relations and moral judgements behind the act of hosting.

Ethics of care

The discussion of sharing, and the motivations bound up in different moral economies have highlighted the importance of concerns beyond profit-maximisation and personal gain, and the importance of emotion and social connection in our decision making. Considering an ethics of care adds an important perspective to our thinking on resource sharing, particularly in conditions of precarity or scarcity. Social relations and interdependence are central for distinguishing hosting practices from other forms of accommodation sharing. An ethics of care takes as its starting point human dependence on one another, rather than the image of independent, autonomous, rational individuals. In contrast to perspectives that see humans as individuals first, who choose to associate and form relationships in order to achieve end goals or to establish rational universal laws, an ethics of care recognizes that we start out interdependent and continue to be so. It also requires us to recognise and acknowledge the needs of particular others (Raghuram, 2009).

Care can be understood to include "everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair our "world" [including] our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web" (Fisher and Tronto, 1990, p. 40), understood through people's everyday practices (Hanrahan, 2015). Held (2006) identifies five key characteristics of an ethics of care. Firstly, the compelling moral importance of recognising and attending to the needs of the particular others for whom we take responsibility. Secondly, care values emotions and emotions play an important role in ascertaining the actions morality recommends us to take in certain, contextually-nuanced, situations. This is not to say that emotions are never harmful, and Held is explicit in her call for expressions of care to be subjected to moral scrutiny and evaluation, not just observed and described. Thirdly, an ethics of care does not aim for abstract impartiality. Rather, it is carefully attuned to the context of decision making, and understands that moral claims of a particular other may be valid, even if the moral judgment involved is not one that we would wish to generalize. Fourthly, an ethic of care reconceptualises private and public, recognising how political, economic, and cultural power are already present in the private sphere, despite being proclaimed off-limits to politics and government. Her fifth characteristic relates to a fundamental re-conceptualization of how we think about the nature of people, viewing persons as relational, rather than self-sufficient individuals.

Care emphasises the interdependence of carer and cared for (Held, 2006). She notes that the extremes of "selfish individual" and "humanity" have been recognized and discussed, but what lies in between has often been overlooked. She argues that care does not equate to compassion or altruism, as both parties share an interest in their mutual well-being. This is a helpful entry point into understanding the hosting relationship, moving away from perspectives which seek to portray the hosting relationship as primarily a matter of financial and material gain, or as an altruistic and benevolent act. Instead it recognises the interconnectedness of the different parties involved and their mutual support for each other. This is particularly useful in those contexts where hosts are not established residents of the territory in question, and displaced are not newly arrived strangers.

Care ethics is personal and specific between the particular individuals concerned but constructed within a wider framework of caring obligations established and expected based on social position. In Held's words "Many of our responsibilities are not freely entered into but presented to us by the accidents of our embeddedness in familial and social and historical contexts" (2006, p. 14). This is not to say that we do not have the agency to reconfigure these relationships, but that we do not freely enter into them. To a large extent, work on care has focused on gendered and racialized relationships of care, highlighting the unequal 'burden' of care (Duffy, 2005; Hankivsky, 2014; Robinson, 2018). Hankivsky (2014) has argued that care ethics is inherently bound together with power dynamics that relate to our embeddedness within these contexts and our positions understood in terms of the intersections of gender, race, class, and other identities. Interdependence does not mean equality.

There is a growing body of work that concentrates on ethics of care in relation to migration and forced displacement, and its intersections with accommodation practices (Serra Mingot and Mazzucato, 2019; Yassine, Al-Harithy and Boano, 2019; Boano and Astolfo, 2020). As yet, however, it has not been used to conceptualise household-level hosting relationships. The important contribution of an ethics of care to an understanding of hosting is its basis on interdependence and sensitivity to multiple relevant considerations and relationships within particular contexts. As with demand sharing, an ethics of care requires recognition of the other as part of our world and ourselves. In identifying a responsibility for them, care allows for emotion and for the recognition that through our relationships with others we mutually constitute ourselves (Raghuram, 2009).

Conclusion: Recognising others, building hosting relationships

The act of hosting is not a uniform act. Contextualisation is key, and the different elements proposed here will come to the fore in different hosting arrangements. This depends on environment, supporting organisations and institutions, and societal norms. It is also important to consider the intersectional identities of participants in these acts, in particular gendered expectations of care, and the relationship between gender norms, economic status, and provision of resources (Hankivsky, 2014; Sinatti, 2014). However, taking an intersectional approach to understanding hosting relationships can also help to understand how identities are mobilised in the formation of relationships of care (explored in Chapter Eight), and relate to the giving and receiving of care (Chapter Nine), expanding our understandings of relationships of care in low-resource and marginalised contexts.

Hospitality, sharing and ethics of care share a prioritisation of the importance of social relations. Within them, four key themes can be drawn out that merit further consideration in relation to hosting.

Firstly, they require an openness to the other and a recognition of their needs. Hosting relates to the sharing of space and resources. However, this is not an aimless or random sharing, but is a response to an identified need from both or either party. The need doesn't necessarily have to be expressed nor assistance formally requested. This is not to say, however, that hosting relationships are not at times hostile, nor that all needs can be met by hosting.

Secondly, hosting requires a familiarity and sense of commonality between participants. Forms of sharing that rely on a perception of being part of a group or being contained within the same value system are most appropriate for understanding hosting. Similarly, an ethics of care requires contextualised and situated relationships between people and an emotional investment.

Thirdly, all of these concepts require a consideration of power within relationships, and the ways in which power dynamics are formed, experienced, and re-created through everyday practices and in interaction with the wider context. The power relations of hospitality are perhaps the most widely discussed, the power of the host over their space and resources, but also the power of the guest to disrupt and commandeer these resources. The power dynamics within sharing and caring are subtler. Sharing does not necessarily entail equal or symmetrical sharing, and when sharing is used as a means of re-creating relationship patterns, it can reinforce inequalities (Waite and Lewis, 2017). An ethics of care calls for us to care for those who are dependent and vulnerable. Though it intrinsically emphasises the well-being of both parties and recognises our interdependence, the identification of dependency and vulnerability necessarily call into question power relations. In this thesis, I concentrate on two main aspect of

power in relation to hosting. Firstly, the conceptions of power associated with gender, race, and refugee status within humanitarianism are a running theme throughout this thesis. This relates to the ways in which displacement contexts are produced and experienced for given groups in specific locations, and acts of hosting in interaction with such environments. Such dynamics influence hosting options and experiences as discussed in Chapter Seven. While gendered and racialized social positions were identified by Sudanese men as important in forming hosting relationships, within the men's hosting relationships, power relations were linked to the men's economic and social standing within and outside of the hosting relationship. Secondly, therefore, in Chapter Nine I consider power dynamics within the hosting relationship, and particularly processes of decision making and household roles in relation to individuals' economic and social status. Primary concerns are the dependencies created through economic inequalities and the privileging of certain relationships (e.g. siblings) over other relationships of care.

Finally, the concept of reciprocity has been returned to several times within this chapter. This is an important discussion in the context of refugee hosting. For example, Stevens (2016) has written about the withdrawal of Syrian refugees in Jordan from social networks due to the pressures of maintaining reciprocal hospitality practices under constrained circumstances. Waite and Lewis, drawing on Bourdieu, suggest that caring acts "set up in conditions of lasting asymmetry [which] exclude the possibility of equivalent return or reciprocity [are] likely to create lasting relations of dependence." Refugee hosting is commonly assumed to be between displaced populations and non-displaced hosts. Under such circumstances, perhaps the asymmetry of the relations does preclude an equivalent return, and engender dependent relations, and subsequent political manipulation of such relationships. An ethics of care, however, emphasises interdependence (Lawson, 2007; Hankivsky, 2014). In refugee-refugee hosting, reciprocity has a more open or diffused character, and can be enacted without demanding a strict reciprocity or establishing a formal debt. Where no return is expected in an immediate or future time period, such relations then become need-oriented, rather than profit-oriented (Waite and Lewis, 2017). The long-duration and vagueness of reciprocal claims can be the basis for the formation and continuation of social relations, creating the space for relationships to develop and be continued. I am interested in how this plays out at the household-level between refugees who are hosting each other, or between populations who believe there is a strong possibility that they will become displaced in the future and will be in need of support. The uncertainty of displacement raises questions as to how expectations of reciprocity may shift in displacement, it's relation to formal and informal systems of social protection, and how individual obligations become extended to the wider group, and across space to transnational relations (Serra Mingot, 2019). Serra Mingot (2019) has emphasised the prevalence of diffused notions of reciprocity in the transnational social protection practices of

Sudanese migrants, drawing attention to the reciprocal and multi-dimensional circulation of care as crucial. Perhaps what is important is not the actual enactment of reciprocity or repayment, but the expectation that it would be forthcoming if required.

In this chapter I have proposed a new framework for understanding refugee hosting. Recognising hosting as an act, a dynamic response to conditions of displacement that in part constitutes both participants and the world around them, the framework I propose foregrounds the creation of interpersonal relationships central for hosting. The recognition of hosting as a form of sharing founded on an ethics of care contributes a sense of the interdependence of hosting participants which is central in distinguishing it from the independence of tenancy-rental and the dependence of guesthood. Embracing these considerations moves the discussion of hosting away from one dominated by economic transactions and meeting of material needs, to a more holistic consideration of refugee well-being and social presence. This has the potential to move humanitarian engagement with hosting beyond financial, material, and legal support for housing towards a recognition of the centrality of hosting practices in the experiences of displaced people and their hosts, and the wide-reach of these practices into socio-economic stability, protection, psychosocial well-being, and integration processes. Beyond this, it requires critical look at the dynamics of hosting, and in particularly who has access to and participates in which types of hosting, and under which conditions. Chapter Seven begins to address these questions.

Chapter Seven: Forms of hosting: A typology of household-level host relationships

*Omar: It's not really fixed, each month I live with someone different, now I'm living with a boy, a regular boy…I've been here a month, 20 days…The problem was the rent, I couldn't pay it. Sometimes I left work and I wouldn't be able to pay anything. The boy I live with now doesn't ask me for much, but the others were different. * […]*

*Translator (friend): Is there anyone else that helps you?**

*Omar: No…Honestly, no. The boy I live with helps me out because he let me stay here, so in terms of housing. That's just for this month though, he'll definitely want rent for next month.**

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*Nasr: Approximately 7 or 6 houses. When I got here, I was relaxed living with them…**

Zoe: So, 6 or 7 before this one?

*Dina: Yes, since 2012. But it is more than once a year right. Is it more than once a year, right?**

*Nasr - Yes because sometimes I do not pay rent, they send me a letter, and forget it, it is all about the rent. But the youth here are the ones I am relaxed around. If you cannot pay, it is okay. They feel like family.**

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*Sara: You know what, for a small family it is fine when those that leave the camp come and stay with you for a month or two, before they find a house and they leave. We were five people, this was before my uncle came, even though the house was small, it was good. But the problem was it wasn't just five people, sometimes it was 15 people. 20 people, in that house, it wasn't good.**

Omar, Nasr and Sara are all living in hosting arrangements, yet the details of their specific arrangements reveal a wide range of different practices, household compositions, and expectations and experiences of hosting. In this chapter I begin to address a gap in knowledge regarding the diversity of different practices currently classed under the 'host family' label by proposing a typology of hosting arrangements.

Paying attention to this diversity of hosting relationships is already a step forward from the existing humanitarian literature. The experiences of Omar, a young homeless man who couch-surfs with friends and acquaintances for two to three weeks at a time are very different from those of Sara's sister-in-law and her husband, a married couple with two young children who shared accommodation with their brother's family, cousins, and father-in-law for several months. In this chapter I develop a typology of refugee hosting arrangements. In the first section, I identify types of hosting relationships based on the composition of the arrangement. In the second section, following the framework proposed in Chapter Six, I consider these types in relation to two continuums: dependent to interdependent, and the degree to which each relationship can be characterised as guesthood or tenancy. In the third section, I consider the types in relation to three key questions: how do considerations of time intersect with hosting relationships, how do individual characteristics influence access to hosting relationships, and what are the motivations expressed for participating in hosting relationships.

The typology proposed is not a definitive way of classifying all refugee hosting relationships. Rather, I open avenues to expanding our understanding of the types of refugee hosting arrangements which exist and to highlight important nuances in decisions and conditions around hosting. The typology I propose deepens our understanding of hosting relationships in three key ways: by looking at who is participating in which types of hosting, the intersection of temporalities of displacement and hosting, and why people participate in hosting arrangements.

Types of hosting: Developing profiles of hosting arrangements

From the first phase of my research I identified eight forms of hosting relationship. The following sections provides a brief description of the key characteristics of each form of the relationship and a short illustration from participants in my research.

1. Association houses

Variously called association houses, welcome houses, and youth houses by interview participants, these are houses or apartments where up to 30 men reside. In my research, I was only told about these arrangements by Sudanese refugees. The apartments are typically rented and managed by a Sudanese man who has been in Jordan for many years, and who has obtained a work permit, residency, or who had long-term stable employment. Though residents of the house contribute to the rent with daily earnings, if they are unable to cover it the 'owner' covers the remaining rent. Men living in the house eat communally but spend most of the day outside of the house searching for work. Those living in the household had little to no say regarding who joined the household, though some were able to express opinions with house 'owners'. These houses became much less common as new arrivals from Sudan slowed, particularly following the 2015 deportations. The deportations disrupted living arrangements, created fear

and a wish to remain low-key among Sudanese refugees, and in some instances raised hostility from local residents. During my fieldwork, it appeared that such houses have largely ceased to function.

Ali, in our first interview together, described the house he lived in when he first arrived in Jordan. He said:

> *It's very well known, and it's called the Sudanese Embassy. It's not actually the Sudanese Embassy, but that's what all the Jordanian people in Jofa and the Sudanese call it because everyone comes and has nowhere to go, so they just go there…they find their way. We were about 30 people, in all. It's 2 rooms and a big hall. We were sharing that all together. In the daytime, the guys would go out, searching for work in order to pay the rent. It's a very little amount but we didn't have that, and at night it's just a matter of sleep, you just sleep anywhere*

Key characteristics include an established community member who could guarantee the rent, the large number of men sharing accommodation, and the openness of the arrangement to newcomers without previous social connections. The houses are often organised by tribe or by area of origin, though not universally.

2. *Group hosting*

Group hosting arrangements accommodate smaller groups of people - normally between 3 and 10 – who share household expenses including rent, utilities, and food. These groups are primarily men, though Somali participants reported the existence of mixed-gender and female-only houses. Unlike the association houses, group hosting relies on the contribution of all members to household expenses. However, one of the key features of the shared house is the safety net provided by housemates in case of unemployment. Mohammed said "*Here with the guys it's good, because sometimes I don't work, but I don't worry. They will pay, and when I work, I will pay…I don't get worried*." I questioned Adam about how long this support would be provided to household members without employment, and he explained "*It is difficult. But if he doesn't just stay at home, we will help him. If he goes out looking but he doesn't find work, if it's 2, 3, 4, 5 weeks, we help him*."

A second feature of group hosting is interaction between participants, taking responsibility for household tasks, and participating in group decision making processes. In the cases I spoke to, the men had found a place together, rather than one individual finding a place and then welcoming others in. However, in many cases, original members of the group had moved to other accommodation and new members had joined the arrangement. In-depth discussion of

experiences of young Sudanese men living in these types of arrangement is the focus of the following chapters.

3. *Couch-surfing*

In couch-surfing, a more established individual or group supports a homeless person for a few days or weeks. It is understood by everyone involved that this is a short-term arrangement that will not be maintained if the homeless man cannot contribute to rent. In my research, I only witnessed this among young Somali men. There is little research with Somali refugees, but research with Sudanese and Yemeni refugees indicates that sharing with friends is a key response to homelessness (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019). Interviews with the Jesuit Refugee Service indicated that couch-surfing is a primary response to homelessness, and that homelessness had, at the time of the research, been increasing among all groups, including Syrian refugees and women. As described in the opening of this chapter, Omar has lived in this way for most of his four-and-a-half years in Jordan. In total, he's lived in 20 houses, changing house every two-and-a-half months, on average. The main reason for his frequent movement is that he cannot afford to pay rent from his infrequent work. While conducting a different interview, a few days later, Omar stopped by to say hello. Our interlocutor told us that Omar has no stability because he has not found his people, and that with him, "*everyone has to take their turn*"*. Key characteristics of this type are its short-term nature, high dependency, and frequent movement.

4. *Child 'fostering' & highly vulnerable cases*

Child fostering is the form of hosting that has received perhaps the most engagement from humanitarian actors in Jordan, with specific – if small – programmes dedicated to identifying and supporting households with acute and high-risk vulnerabilities (UNHCR staff interview, 2018).[41] In my research, I did not work with any people participating in such an arrangement.

Separate from such schemes, there are some cases of 'informal' fostering between refugee families. Visiting a household that was taking care of a distant relation's young child, the husband told me "*if I can feed the adults, I can feed her*". Though her father brought powdered formula milk with him, which he had been saving in his room in Amman for such a visit, it did not appear that her hosts requested compensation for caring for his daughter.

[41] Programme details include the size of programme and nationalities participating were requested from UNHCR but have not been shared.

I was also reliably informed during interviews with Syrian refugees about unaccompanied Syrian children who had been lodged by others while seeking to reunite with their families, though I did not speak to anyone who had experienced this. After some hesitation, I have included this situation under the child fostering classification, though the level of investment and longer-term commitment to the children involved is – from what I understand – much lower and more transient in the case of children on the move, and the risks of exploitation are higher.

5. *Combining households*

In some cases, independent households merge to act as one stable, though not indivisible, unit. The majority of cases I observed involved a woman with an established family (whose husband was elsewhere – divorced, working, deceased, or unknown) taking in a single woman, often younger, who became part of the family and occasionally performed the role of oldest daughter. This is perhaps the traditional humanitarian understanding of hosting, in terms of the merging of household interests, behaviours, and decision-making practices.

Farah used to live in group houses with other single women. When we met her, she had been living with Amira for 3 months. This was a deliberate choice. She told us "*I lived with girls, but they betrayed me, so I was searching for families I could live with and Amira said I could live with her*".* Though Farah did not always eat with Amira's family, she made a modest contribution to the household. She said:

> *Even though I give her money, I don't give her much, I just pay for the rent. I get 78 JD and I pay 50 JD for the rent, and 30 remaining I put towards essential items and groceries…with regards to groceries, I only contribute sometimes, like when I go out and work, I will buy some stuff and cook. Amira likes me, so she doesn't seem to mind much, she treats me like her daughter.**

In other cases, distant family members acted as a household and referred to each other using close family names (e.g. Sister). In non-displacement contexts, these relations would be unlikely to live together in such arrangements, but while in displacement, they have reconfigured their distant relations into close family relations. One participant suggested that such arrangements between men and women were considered improper, yet revealed a family friend to be living in such an arrangement. While different enough to be worthy of remark, it was not a cause for the people living in the arrangement to be excluded from events and socialising. As with group sharing between single men and women, these are new practices created in the displacement context meeting resistance from pre-existing norms. These situations largely appear to be stable, with infrequent movement and change in the people participating.

6. *Extended families*

Extended families act in a similar way to combined households, but the intended temporary nature of the relationship is prominent, and the families do not attempt to merge their households in a permanent manner. Among my participants, this was most common among Syrians, who were more likely to have extended family members present in the country, as compared to Somali or Sudanese refugees. Sara was living with her husband and three children, and pregnant with her fourth child, when her in-laws came from Zaatari camp to live with them. After her in-laws, her sisters with their husbands and their children arrived, and then her father-in-law. In total, 15 people were added to their house of five. After a month and a half, she found her sister a place that could accommodate six people, and they left to ease the situation. A month later her sister-in-law found her own place. Now it's just her father-in-law that lives with them. In an indication of the distance maintained between the families while living together, Sara did not remove her hijab while in front of her male relatives. Though some of her relations stayed for two years, living together in the same apartment was never considered as a permanent solution, though finding an apartment nearby was desirable.

7. *Shelter for work*

Some families or individuals lodge in accommodation owned by and often attached to an employers' building. Accommodation is offered for free or at a reduced rate in return for work. I only spoke to one family who was living in a shelter-for-work arrangement, though reports suggest that this may be more prevalent. In some cases, shelter for work is a simple economic transaction, in others the value of the property may be higher than the equivalent salary that could have been earnt, or extended family members may be given preferential access to such arrangements, replacing the people who had previously held the position.

8. *Temporary sharing*

Sometimes family members, often an older son, are sent to live with other single friends. This appears to happen in two situations: while their family hosts guests; or if their family begins sharing with another family and it is perceived that having young unrelated men in the house would be inappropriate (e.g. if sharing with a family with young or teenage girls). Fatima, a mother of four children including a teenage boy, told us that one of the reasons for moving on from their previous arrangement where they shared with another family was that her son had been unable to live with them, because he was a young man unrelated to the young women of the family they lived with. During this time, he had shared a house with other men. In some cases, when two families move in together, the departure of the older male children or husband may only be temporary. In other cases, he might move into a shared household with other men.

I also observed and was told about cases where single women had married, partly in order to gain secure living conditions and security. Though pertinent in terms of sharing accommodation, I have not included these examples in the classification above as in getting married people are formally joining an existing family or forming their own. They can therefore no longer be seen as living with people they are not related to, and therefore fall outside the scope of this work.

The aim of identifying these different types of hosting relationships present in Jordan is to show that there is a wide diversity of forms of arrangement that exist under the 'host family' label that are not currently recognised. Unpacking the wide range of participants and different relationships subsumed under this label requires us to consider more entangled power relations than presumed by the dominant host-guest dichotomy. Using the label of 'host family' to describe these relationships limits our conceptualisation of hosting. The term 'host family' conjures up the image of a settled non-refugee family that agrees to share their accommodation with refugees on the basis of hospitality. This image is problematic, as it is in fact often refugees that are hosting refugees, it mistakenly suggests that one party owns the property and allows the other one in, so it does not allow for situations where different people group together to collectively rent somewhere; and not all refugees are living in families and many are single. As can be seen from the descriptions above, hosting often does not fit into the supposed pattern of dependent guests, but is more often an interdependent relationship. In maintaining a narrow focus on hosting relationships between family and kin, and citizen-hosts and displaced-guests, we misunderstand much of the relations between people in displacement. We are missing important ways in which they negotiate the policies and (in)action of humanitarian, government and other actors and create their own systems of shelter and support.

Hosts and landlords, guests and tenants? Categorising hosting practices

What has been revealed through this work is the disconnect between the commonly paired guest-host and landlord-tenant dichotomies. For example, young single men frequently live in highly interdependent group houses. Each house resident is expected to contribute to the rent and to help with cooking and cleaning. Often one or more of the men will be unable to pay rent that month, and the other housemates will distribute his share among them, or one of his housemates will cover him. Despite not paying rent, this man is not considered a guest, and is still a full member of the household. At the same time, in such situations, there is rarely a lead tenant or head of household. No one is singularly responsible for making sure that rent is paid, and there is not a set agreement between the different parties.

Such conundrums return us to the framework proposed for understanding the act of hosting, based on hospitality, sharing, and an ethics of care. In Chapter Six, I presented a figure showing hosting arrangements in relation to other forms of accommodation sharing. The figure below (Figure Four) zooms in to consider the position of different types of hosting in relation to these same axes.

Following Belk's (2010) continuum from transaction to gift to sharing, I propose a continuum for understanding hosting, mapping different hosting forms and durability on to axes showing the extent to which different arrangements are based on transaction (or tenancy), and the level of interdependence in the relationship. Placement along the x-axis (guesthood to tenancy) is based on the level of explicit exchange in the relationship, including contribution to household costs. The y-axis (independence – dependence) is based on the level of dependence on one another in order to secure access to shelter.

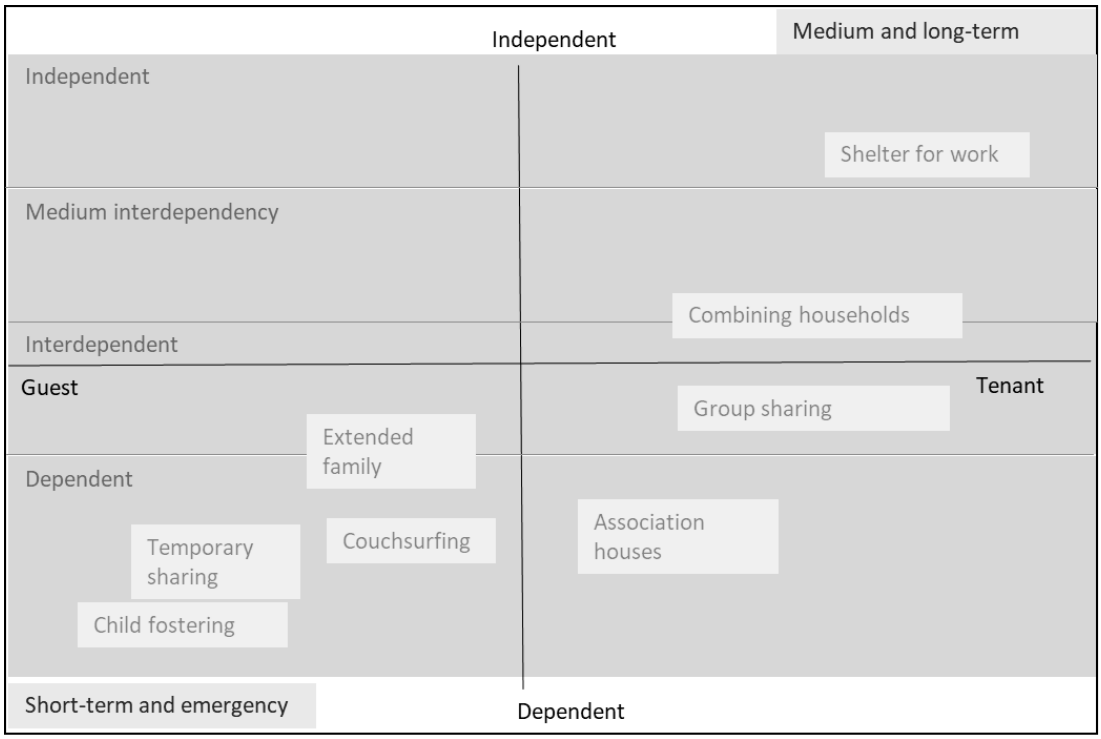

Figure 4: Graphic showing categorisation of hosting types by dependency between participants and guest-tenant characterisation of the relationship

Interdependence in rental arrangements

From this attempt to identify types of hosting arrangements seen in Amman, a key distinction emerged in terms of how the different households shared (or did not share) rent. Many of the hosting practices I observed included some degree of rent-sharing, though not necessarily consistently. Within these practices, rent-sharing can be classed into four levels of interdependence.

High interdependence

In such conditions, those sharing rent were sharing a room, and typically shared other resources including food, and household responsibilities. Though many examples of this are of young men sharing housing, single women also share housing with each other. Nasr's arrangement, included in the opening to this chapter, is an example of this type of relationship. This form of rent-sharing is perhaps one of the most relevant for humanitarian response, in that it deals with the coping mechanisms and strategies used by resource-poor households and individuals.

Medium interdependence

This is comparable to housemate relationships familiar from the European and Western context, but perhaps less common in Amman, where children tend to stay with their families until marriage. Those sharing accommodation all contributed a set amount to the rent each month. Relationships were friendly, and participants would typically but not always share food and household tasks, as well as socialising. This arrangement seemed rare, but I met with three households where Syrian refugees were sub-letting rooms in their rented apartments to non-refugees, mainly European/Americans.

Largely independent

In these circumstances, separate households shared the same house or apartment and contributed to the rent but had limited interaction. The only refugee-refugee hosting situation I observed between refugees of different nationalities falls into this category. In this case, Fatima, a Somali woman, and her three children rented an apartment, of which one room was sub-let by two Yemeni women. Fatima told us that they needed the Yemeni women to meet rent payments, but they did not spend time together. She knew little personal information about them and though they shared a kitchen, they did not eat together.

Dependent

In these cases, one party is nearly entirely dependent on the other. Omar, for example, quoted in the opening to this chapter, cannot pay rent (because he cannot find work) and describes himself as nearly entirely dependent on his roommate. As he is not paying rent, he does not eat with his housemates. He also does not help with the cleaning, cooking or other household tasks. Though each of his many hosting arrangements are short-term, frequent movement is a long-term strategy for Omar to secure shelter. Though I did not speak to another person in the same situation, reporting suggests that temporary sharing is common among homeless people (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019), a particularly marginalised and hard to reach group. As Omar tells it, those that currently host him do not expect that he will later be able to

reciprocate. This is an interesting contrast to Waseem who was also unable to contribute to rent (due to disability), but who contributed winterization assistance when he received it, and undertook to do the majority of cooking and cleaning in his house. The difference between the two is less to do with economic contribution, but rather the attitudes and obligations felt by their housemates to support them. As with highly interdependent households, this form of rent-sharing should be of interest to humanitarian actors, in considering the ways in which the most vulnerable may find and use hosting arrangements.

These distinctions show that hosting arrangements are more than cost-sharing relationships, calling into question how people relate to each other and non-economic benefits of sharing a home.

Defining the terms of the agreement: Guests and tenants

As I have already argued, characterising refugees as guests within hosting relationships does not fully capture the range of ways in which participants in hosting relationships relate to each other. In considering where to place hosting types on the continuum of guest to tenant, I have considered two main features: contribution to household costs and expenses, and participation in decision making.

Connected to the extent to which each relationship can be characterised as tenancy or guesthood is the extent to which the terms of the hosting arrangement are explicitly defined or whether they are more flexible and unspoken. For arrangements that fall in the middle of these continuums, the lack of explicit contractual agreements between household members means that roles are often not well defined or based on assumptions and daily practice rather than explicitly agreed. The arrangements that are primarily independent and based on transaction are most similar to landlord-tenant arrangements, characterised by monetary transaction and high independence of the parties involved. In the schematic proposed, the 'shelter for work' form of hosting is furthest towards this image. The exchange involved, though informal, is generally clear to both parties. Though in some cases such an agreement may result in shelter being made available for less than the market rate, shelter is often also substandard.

I have placed 'child fostering' at the opposite corner to 'shelter for work', characterised by high dependency and guest-hood. In doing so, I am referring to the informal child fostering practices I saw, and not those supported by formal programmes which may include payment. In child-fostering, there is a clear host family who welcomes in the child and takes care of their needs. In such relationships, one party (the child) is nearly entirely dependent on their foster family and, in the cases I witnessed, there was not an expectation of payment from the child's parents, beyond what might be brought as gifts during visits. At the same time, the child is fully included

in the household and as they grow older, they will have household responsibilities and obligations, and will not be treated as a guest. Such reflections show that is important to consider how hosting arrangements and the relationships between participants shift over time. [42]

Interestingly, such a categorisation of hosting relationships along these continuums reveals the hosting arrangements most identifiable in humanitarian literature – extended family arrangements and combined households – to fall in the middle of both, challenging the depictions of host arrangements as relations of economic dependence based on family affiliation. Rather, this shows that all parties in such arrangements contribute to the household and become interdependent, albeit with potential inequalities in contribution and authority within the home. This recognition means we can move beyond understandings of the motivations to participate based on economic gain or familial obligation to think about alternative explanations of why people participate in hosting arrangements.

Who, when, and why?

The types of hosting presented above moves us away from static understandings of hosting based on essentialised categories of relationship towards more dynamic processes of relationship construction, maintenance and change. Understanding hosting arrangements as relationships requires a consideration of temporality, thinking about both durability and the impact of time-related expectations. If hosting relationships are not based on pre-existing relationships, the question of who is included also contains within it a question of why are they included. The final section of this chapter addresses these question.

Accessing hosting relationships: Individuals' positions

Not every individual is able to access each form of hosting described above. Family, nationality, place of origin, gender, age, race and socio-economic position affect access and expectations within hosting arrangements, as does the presence of children, and long-term ill-health or physical[43] disabilities. Each of these characteristics must necessarily be understood in interaction with other characteristics and statuses. Though participants in the first stage of the research were chosen with the aim to include people with various different characteristics, the

[42] Fortunately, during my research I did not work with people living in highly exploitative hosting relationships. Questions of exploitation would necessarily shift assessment.
[43] Diagnosis of mental health issues or intellectual or cognitive disabilities is very rare among the refugee population in Jordan. This is by no means to say that prevalence rates are not high. See for example Medicin Sans Frontiers call for increased support for mental health in urban areas: https://www.msf.org/mental-health-needs-refugees-urban-jordan. Among participants in this research, there were no household members with intellectual or cognitive disabilities. Many participants spoke about stress, unhappiness and psychosocial wellbeing during interviews, noting the positive role of sharing households in supporting this.

number of participants doesn't allow for a full consideration of how the intersection of these characteristics impacts on hosting practices. The following section identifies some of the ways in which each individual characteristic influences hosting arrangements, and the following chapters attempt to demonstrate how Sudanese men's different identities were made more or less salient at different moments in their hosting arrangements and experiences of urban displacement.

Children

I did not meet anyone who explicitly said that the presence of children would alter their propensity to host others. Rather, people expressed concern about the number of people in a space, the impacts on children's health of sharing small, poorly ventilated, or damp spaces with large numbers of other people, and the potential risk to children, particularly young girls. The additional costs of sharing with young children (as non-productive) members of the household were considered negligible. Mothers who had moved in with others, however, did refer to the costs of raising children, especially the costs of diapers and formula milk, as a large proportion of their limited income and part of the reason that the assistance or earnings they received was not enough to live independently. For example, Samira expressed frustration that she was no longer free to take care of herself but had to spend all her time "*running after NGOs*"* in order to meet her children's needs. There was also only limited exchange of childcare as part of the hosting arrangement, which surprised me. Farah, a young single woman living with a separated woman with eight children did not know if any of the children were under the age of five, nor did her or Amira, her host, mention her caring for them. In this situation, it did not seem to be a source of any tension, though in other cases it was a problem. For example, Samira, who lives with her mother-in-law, commented that her mother-in-law did not share her assistance payments and spent them on cigarettes.

Old Age

In the five cases where I met with an elderly refugee they were hosted by family members. This includes Sudanese refugees, who are much less likely than Syrians or Iraqis to have extended family networks in Jordan. In all cases, supporting an elderly relative was challenging, particularly due to the medical costs of treating what were often long-term illnesses and the strain of caring for a family member in pain and ill-health. In some cases, elderly people were bed-bound. It is unclear to me what other options there would be for elderly refugees without a family support network. It would be difficult for those who are elderly to make frequent changes between accommodations, especially in consideration of health concerns and limited mobility. A church leader I spoke to in east Amman was seeking funding to open a clinic and

care space for elderly of all nationalities, but this would have limited capacity and is not the norm in Jordanian society.

Illness and physical disability

Unlike with elderly refugees, I met with three younger people with severe injuries or physical disabilities who were living with non-family members. Due to the nature of my participant sample, all of these examples are young (20 – 40-year old) Sudanese men, injured during conflict, flight, or while working in Jordan. For those who were injured in Jordan, some had already been able to form the relationships needed for hosting and were able to share accommodation while waiting for assistance payments or while recovering before returning to work. Not all received regular UNHCR or other assistance. When I met Waseem he had limited mobility. He told us that he had only recently begun receiving monthly UNHCR cash assistance and had not received help with his medical needs. He was expecting to receive annual Winterization assistance from UNHCR, which he would contribute to the household, and occasionally received assistance from elsewhere. He told us that while some of the men he lived with were close friends willing to support him, he felt under pressure to contribute more from others. Partly in response to this, he had taken on responsibility for cooking and cleaning in the home. Receiving regular assistance from UNHCR had considerably eased his position in his home.

Not everybody I spoke to would be content to take this decision, nor to accept support from others. One man, who was injured while at work in Jordan, told me that he was not willing accept assistance from others while recovering from injury. He did not want people to talk about him, to say that he owed them, or that he had accepted something from them. It is therefore not only a question of others being able and willing to help, but also individuals feeling able to accept the assistance.

To a lesser extent, this attitude was visible in all the houses where young single men were living together. People were willing to accept help from their housemates and described it as help, not debt, which was discussed separately. At the same time they emphasised that they could accept help today, because later they would be the helpers. This is an important reflection given the body of research on how refugees feel about accepting humanitarian assistance (Harrell-Bond, 2002) and growing attention from assistance providers regarding participation in programming (Forced Migration Review, 2018). The identification of the key role of refugees not only as recipients but also, and often simultaneously, as hosts encourages further reflection regarding who is really providing the majority of assistance, who is in the best position to do so, and whether the existing humanitarian system has the capacity to support such everyday acts of

humanitarianism.

Gender

Men and women have different options for hosting available to them. The first difference relates to economic status. Men often have more economic opportunities open to them, as much of the informal work available requires heavy physical labour (e.g. construction, portering) that women are seen as unable to perform. There are also societal norms which prioritise men's employment over women's economic activities. Men and women also spoke about protection concerns for women going to work, particularly the risk of sexual abuse or exploitation. Finally, many single women are single-parents and have children to look after. Though older children may be able to spend some time alone, or under the supervision of a neighbour, this is not an option for the parent of a young child. This equates to less income from paid employment for women, and a constricted ability to pay rent and other costs.

The second difference relates to access to assistance. Women in my study more frequently reported receiving assistance from international organisations, local groups, and their own communities. Though rarely of significant monetary value and often short-term, two women reported occasional support from mosques in the form of shampoo and diapers after giving birth, or food packages during Ramadan. People often identified women as more vulnerable than men and would make special efforts to assist them. For example, when we met Muna, she was living alone with her young daughter. Her husband had been detained a month earlier after being caught working in the market. On learning that her husband had been detained, his colleagues at the market had clubbed together, and given her 35 JOD – enough to cover half her rent that month. Female single-parent households with children also reported occasional support from landlords, who allowed late or reduced rent payments or sometimes provided food to the household. Both Halima and Ala'a, whose husbands had been deported, spoke about their landlords reducing their rent. One lady whose husband was detained for nine months told us that their landlord at the time, an elderly Jordanian man, had not been able to cope with overdue payments, but had helped them find a new landlord who could permit greater flexibility of payment dates. However, these positive stories of assistance to single women should be moderated by reports of sexual violence towards women by landlords and other authority figures, including humanitarian assistance providers.

Differing protection concerns is the third difference. As has been discussed, Sudanese and Somali refugees face large amounts of racist discrimination and harassment. This intersects with gender to impact on housing decisions. Many single men told me they live with other single men as a protection mechanism, making sure that someone else knows where you are and can

protect you. More than one of my participants shared stories of violent attacks on their homes, including shootings. I did not speak to a shared house of single women, so I cannot say if they have experienced similar events, but other Sudanese and Somali women I spoke to suggested women living together would be at risk of violence. The men I spoke to recounted attacks on women at home even when they lived with partners, while the partners were at work or otherwise outside of the home. The main difference here is that men experience aggressive physical attacks, whereas women are targeted for sexual violence. With these risks in mind, they spoke about married families living close together, partly so that women would not be at home alone during the day.

Within the home, men and women reported concerns about the potential for sexual abuse. This is particularly true for young teenage girls, and several families recounted sending older sons to live elsewhere while they shared with another family with teenage daughters. By preference single women would live with another family, a single-parent household, or other single women. Families sometimes expressed concern about a single woman residing with them, due to the potential for infidelity or 'inappropriate' relationships between young people in the household. More commonly, families of all nationalities expressed concern about single men living with families, and the young men I spoke to were aware of this. Adam also explained to me that while boys in their late teens might live with a family if they arrived in Jordan not knowing anyone, both parties preferred that the men moved out and lived with other men once they reached 18 or older. For the men, he said, living with other men provided more opportunities for freedom than living with a family. Single men, therefore, are more likely to live with other single men than women living with other single women.

I have only heard of a small number of cases of single women living with single men. Farah, a young Somali woman, told us that she had previously lived with another single woman and two men, and that she had found the arrangement comfortable. In her words, the arrangement ended because *"it was unacceptable to the [Somali] community*". Sudanese community members also reported that this happened in their community, but that it was not endorsed, and that single women living in this way would try to hide how they lived and who they lived with. Syrian refugees in a higher socio-economic position hosting non-refugee foreigners also lived in mixed-gender housing, though in the cases I witnessed this was only where the Syrian members of the household were brother and sister, and the foreigners were all females. There was less stigma around sharing accommodation with men and women, but single women did note that it was unusual for girls to live outside of the family home even with only other women, and that doing so was breaking the norm.

A fourth consideration is simply the numbers of men and women in displacement. Among Syrian, Iraqi and Somali refugee populations, there is an approximate equal split in men and women. Among the Sudanese however, nearly 70 percent are men (Johnston, Baslan and Kvittingen, 2019). It therefore makes sense that groups of single men sharing housing is more common among the Sudanese population, as there are quite simply more single men. Single women, however, are relatively rare. Among those I was able to speak to, who were mainly Somali, they came to Jordan accompanying employers who recommended they remain here given the conflict in their previous country. After arrival, Somali women live in small group hosting arrangements, like Sudanese and Somali men, or in some cases move in with an older single woman. Fellow researchers have shared that they are working on research concerning single women – particularly Syrian women – who are provided with accommodation by rich donors or Islamic charities (for example Dr Marie Sato, working on the role of Islamic NGOs in Jordan) but I have not personally come across this.

One final aspect is that single men reported that landlords did not want to rent to groups of men, and that it was hard to find accommodation. Men may be charged higher rents, and have more people sharing accommodation in order to pay those rents.

Socio-economic position

Frequent movement between apartments has been noted as an indicator of vulnerability in urban contexts (Buscher, 2011). This was seen in my work, where the least well off did not have access to stable hosting arrangements. While many hosting relationships are precarious, the very poorest can better be described as homeless and couch-surfing. The lack of money is not necessarily the primary concern here, but rather the lack of sustainable social ties, as seen in the story of Omar, who had not "*found his people*". In contrast, Adam, Ali and Ibrahim all explained to me that it did not matter if you could not pay rent, so long as you were making an active effort to find work. Despite repeated questioning of the Sudanese men regarding how long someone could remain in a house without paying rent, no one gave a definite answer, instead referring to the need for active searching.[44] This was also linked to the potential for reciprocity, and the role of helping someone else in securing one's status in the community. There is therefore a complex and subtle interplay between economic status, social standing, and social connections that comes into play in considering the different hosting or sharing options available to someone.

[44] It is only Sudanese men with whom I conducted repeated interviews, and built up the relationship to probe such topics

Legal Status

Though none of the hosting relationships reported to me were between citizens of Jordan and non-Jordanians, the stability provided by residency and work permits does influence individuals' roles in hosting relationships. As has already been discussed, association houses were often guaranteed by men with residency. Similarly, in the case of child fostering I witnessed, the family hosting the child had residency and were established in their place of employment.

Race and nationality

During my work I spoke to people of four different nationalities – Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese, and Syrian. The key difference between national groups with regards to hosting practices was the prevalence of extended family networks. Second most important were the opportunities for economic self-sufficiency, including access to informal work and assistance. Third was the greater range of socio-economic statuses within the large Syrian population, and the expanded opportunities for interaction with non-refugee foreigners, which changed hosting and sharing decisions for some from a necessity to a lifestyle choice.

Hosting of extended family/distant relations appears to primarily be a response to arrival in Jordan of Syrian and Iraqi households, though this arrangement can and does become protracted. Given long-established economic, social, and family ties between these countries, and the movements of previous groups of refugees between the countries, this is not surprising. In Jordan, it also appears that association houses play a similar role for single Sudanese men who do not have the family networks or pre-existing social and economic ties to Jordan that other national groups may have. Though the Sudanese association houses are quite a specific response, I believe this is more related to social relationships emerging from the lack of existing connections and the difficult circumstances for Sudanese refugees in Jordan than a specific cultural practice of Sudanese people. This does not seem to exist for Somalis – perhaps because they are a much smaller group, and the majority live in one very close-knit location.

Cross-national hosting arrangements were very rare, especially those arrangements that involved only refugees, rather than refugees and European students. In the 47 households I spoke to, only four involved people of different nationalities: three between Syrians and Europeans and one between Somalis and Yemenis. Many of the Somali households I spoke to had spent years in Yemen before coming to Jordan, and they felt some degree of familiarity with Yemenis. Despite this, when I asked Samira if she would consider sharing with a Yemeni person, she explained "*We only offer to Somalis. It is impossible to offer to others but Somalis,*

*we know each other… We came from Yemen, but Yemenis are different. We do not have the same habits."**

Questions of nationality are also shaped by ideas of race. Sudanese households reported landlords refusing to rent to them, or inflating rent costs. In both cases, this was perceived as a response to the potential tenants' skin colour. They also reported being evicted under the excuse of neighbours not liking the smell of Sudanese incense. I have already described how living together is seen by the Sudanese as protective against racially motivated attacks, or at the minimum is seen as a way of ensuring that someone else knows what has happened to you if an attack does happen.

Temporality in the hosting arrangement

A further distinction between relationships relates to the temporality of the relationships, including the durability of each relationship and expected lengths of displacement. Expectations of displacement affect the expectations of the parties involved and, in some situations, the levels of interdependence. These range from short term 'emergency' fixes, to long-term stable arrangements.

Emergency

Emergency arrangements are those where the people in question would otherwise be homeless. One example of this is the couch-surfing situations described above. In the household that I visited, there was little engagement between the man couch-surfing and the rest of the household, suggesting limited expectations from all parties in the relationship.

Short term

In short-term arrangements, parties in the relationship seem to understand that it is a temporary solution until situations stabilise and independence can be established, even if this takes more time than anticipated. In such situations there often was a clear host and guest relationship, and this relationship pattern was most common among Syrian households who were hosting family members who had recently left the camps in the north of Jordan while they established themselves and found affordable accommodation in the city. In these situations, there was a divide between the two families. They often shared household tasks and eat together and continue to have a strong relationship after departure, but the intention to leave and the temporary nature of the arrangement was always present.

Medium/contingent

Medium-term relationships were often contingent on external factors. I most often saw them among the single men who were living and working together, and who might change accommodation to be closer to a (relatively) stable source of employment. In these arrangements, people tended to share costs and household chores, and develop close friendly relations. It was often the case that two or more people within the household had a longer history of living together, which they expected to continue even if required to change house, and that these smaller groups came together when convenient. Participants were often uncertain how long relationships would last – from months to years. For many of the men participating in such relationships moving to a new house would be unlikely to change the type of arrangement they lived under, as they would likely be moving into another house shared with single men. Given the frequent changes and fluidity of hosting arrangements for these men, in some cases, they might even end up moving in with a subset of people that they had lived with in previous houses.

Long term

In longer-term arrangements, households typically became blended and highly interdependent. Participants state that they would be unwilling to separate, and often used family language such as brother or daughter to refer to each other. In some situations, it also appears that distant relations who had lived together in the short-term come back to living together when one family member has become (relatively) well established, for example has found permanent work. This may also be more prevalent among distant relations whose families have been separated. In this case, single adults with a pre-existing family connection may come together as a reconstituted household.

For those hosting relationships that are based on kinship, it appears that elderly relatives are more likely to be considered as a permanent, or at least long-term, addition to the household. In Jordan, this reflects the norms of family life and the limited availability of care for the elderly. Elderly relatives do, however, move between the houses of their sons and daughters at various times, and can therefore still be classed as hosting in some cases.

Repetition

Repetition is about how likely it is that participants will engage in the type relationship more than once – the reliability of the form rather than the durability of any one example of the form. In my work, this was most important in couch-surfing arrangements or temporary guest

relationships. Though on the face of it, these two forms of the relationship looked rather similar, I believe there is a difference due to the stability associated with the guest who has a stable home elsewhere which they have temporarily vacated to make room for someone else, as compared to the couch-surfing arrangement, which is a necessity. Couch-surfing was also seen to be a greater burden on the host, again reflecting the limited economic contribution of the guest. In contrast, guests were often close friends of their hosts, with a stronger personal relationship and the potential for reciprocity.

The different arrangements that emerge within different time frames of hosting show that hosting practices are not stationary, but shift in relation to parties' expectations of displacement. One of the things that struck me as interesting is that though nearly every person I spoke to has been in Jordan for at least five years, none of them have remained in the same hosting arrangement for that time. The longest hosting arrangement I saw was two years. For some this was due to changes in employment, accessing assistance, household members being resettled, getting married, or having children. In other cases, there was an unwritten agreement that the hosting arrangement would be temporary, and should be considered either as an emergency measure, or as a gesture of support to help people while they established their own home.

Particularly for the young single men, few had ever lived alone. Rather, across years they had moved between different forms of hosting, typically from association houses to highly interdependent group houses. They had also frequently changed house, but still lived under the same hosting terms. Though these group houses were described as non-hierarchical, familiarity with one another and the trust developed through existing relationships was raised as important in considering who to welcome into a group house. Time spent together is then important. In group houses and association houses, frequent changes in the members was common. In other forms of hosting this was less common. For those arrangements with frequent change, it is not clear that being a longer-term participant changes one's position in the home, beyond the social standing accrued through stable relationships. Positions in shared group housing are discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine.

The motivation for hosting, or the way each particular act of hosting can be characterised is also connected to the expected duration of hosting. For example, relationships that can be classed as closer to hospitality – temporary sharing, extended families – were quite often short-term. Those that can be classed as sharing, with high and medium interdependence in rent sharing practices were often stable yet changeable and fluid, often lasting months or years, but not perceived as a permanent solution. Relationships that could be primarily classed as caring fell at both ends of the scale. Child-fostering and taking in elderly relations seemed to be a fairly permanent arrangement. Couchsurfing, however, was very short-term.

Acts of hosting: Relating motivations for hosting with hosting types

Various motivations for hosting were expressed, including obligation, familiarity, compassion, pity, solidarity, and economic or transactional interests. In the following section I discuss how these ideas relate to the types of hosting outlined above, before finishing with a short section discussing why people might refuse to host. In many of the relationships I encountered, motivations were mixed, and suggestions made here should be seen as a primary, or most prominent, feature, rather than the only explanation. It is also important to note that it is only with Sudanese men in group houses that I developed long term relationships that allowed for more nuanced discussions of the household arrangement. The ideas presented here pertain to all the different types of hosting identified and are glimpses from the hour-long discussions with all participants, which would merit further exploration and elaboration.

Economic/Transactional

Economic motivations feature in nearly every account I heard, and it is clear that the high costs of rent and low incomes are a primary motivator for engaging in hosting relationships. Economic motivations, however, were not prioritised in people's accounts of why they share their housing, where they preferred to highlight the social aspects and interdependence governing these economic agreements. Rather than sugar-coating the arrangement, the prioritisation of these non-economic motivations is important in understanding the values attached to hosting. In some cases, there was no economic gain for one of the parties, and they may even have suffered financially, and perhaps psychologically dealing with the stress of overcrowding, lack of privacy, and providing for others. This demonstrates the strength of social expectations and responsibility for one another in such situations.

Obligation

Family obligation was evident in hosting relationships among Syrian and Iraqi refugees. Obligation to host extends beyond the family however, and a wider obligation based on nationality was also apparent among the Sudanese. Obligation seemed to be a common thread in many of the more interdependent and dependent relationships – association houses, combined households, extended families, couch-surfing, group houses, and child fostering.

Familiarity

Apart from obligation within family or other social networks, there is also a sense of familiarity with behaviours and expectations that motivate people to live with certain others. This was dependent on nationality and (in the case of Sudanese) tribe, but also previous experience living with each other. Familiarity explains who people choose to live with, as well as why they choose to live with each other. It is connected to motivations of compassion, pity, and solidarity, and a recognition of the needs of others through a shared experience and knowledge of their lives. Familiarity was a common theme between all the types of hosting I have described, and particularly among the extended family, child fostering, and combined household forms. The exception is the rent sharing relationships between Syrians and European/Americans, where the opportunities to get to know someone new and unfamiliar was an attraction.

Compassion and Pity

Compassion was a frequent motivator, particularly in situations where a single person or single parent moved in with a more established household. In such circumstances, people frequently recognised that "this could happen to us" or "they would help me". Particularly in shared group housing this compassion came with a sense of diffused reciprocity – while one could not make rent this month, the next month it might be me. There was also a reputational element to being involved, in that if you were seen as helping out, when you needed help the community would know you were actively involved and would help you, even if it was not a directly reciprocal return. Surprisingly, few described their compassion, pity, or obligation that motivated their engagement in the relationship as stemming from a religious belief, though many of the participants were devout Muslims.

Pity was referenced infrequently as a motivator but might be the most appropriate way to describe those relationships where people did not know each other before and one party was found in a bad situation – wandering with bags for example, or otherwise at high risk of rough sleeping in the immediate future, which then developed into a more long-term arrangement as the relationship developed. As the relationship developed, pity often seemed to transform into compassion and solidarity. A distinction can be made between motivations of pity that are based on an assumption of suffering of an 'other', and motivations of compassion that reflect a shared understanding or experience and involve identification with the 'suffering' party. Pity can perhaps be seen as a motivation in emergency hosting situations.

Solidarity

For many who described their relationship as being based on the need of another, this was often anchored in a shared experience of refugee-hood in Jordan and the specific details that entailed, often classed by race, nationality, gender, and positioning in the refugee hierarchy apparent in many organisations' practices (Davis *et al.*, 2016). Many of the Sudanese men spoke about their common difficulties related to their refugee status and their shared experience of discrimination in Jordan as a reason to live together. This was communicated both as a recognition of the poor situation, but also as a more political statement about the vulnerabilities and treatment that came with their socio-legal status.

Lifestyle

Lifestyle is the final motivation I saw in the relationships presented during my research. For some, it was desirable to live with others due to an interest in meeting people of different cultures and nationalities, to engage in language exchange, or to social and potentially professional networks. Participants saw living with people of other nationalities as part of their identity as someone interested in the world around them, tolerant and open minded. For one participant, hosting Europeans was both a way of achieving her desired lifestyle, it being unusual in her family for an unmarried woman to live outside of the home, and a political point regarding the varied socio-economic background of (in this case Syrian) refugees. Others found living in hosting arrangements could support their common ambitions, such as continuing studies.

Refusing to participate in host arrangements

There was little discussion of the negative ramifications of not entering into a hosting arrangement, perhaps because those in my study had all agreed to enter into a hosting arrangement, so had not experienced them. Sara told us that she would not host her family again, attributing her decision to overcrowding and poor housing conditions, a lack of privacy, and concern for her children. I discussed the option to refuse a hosting arrangement with some of the Sudanese men involved in the second phase of my research. Adam said that it was unlikely that a group would refuse to accept a new individual if they had space in the house, though each existing resident was invited to give his opinion on the matter and would not be judged for their opinion, so long as they offered a rationale for their decision. Adam had previously spoken about the importance of an existing connection, for example coming from the same place. He also spoke about the importance of having a good reputation with those you had previously lived with, or if you had chosen to leave them, an explanation why, such as needing

a quiet home for study and rest. From my conversations with the Sudanese men, making the decision to leave an arrangement or to reject a potential new housemate was not taken lightly. Other men expressed a preference to live on their own, but could not afford it. One man had, at times, chosen to live independently due to a desire not to be seen as needing assistance.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I significantly further our understanding of refugee hosting arrangements, and demonstrate that hosting relationships are much more diverse than is often recognised. Firstly, I develop different types of hosting arrangement, diversifying our understanding of this practice. Doing so questions the value of the "host family" label and terminology and raises questions as to which forms of hosting arise under different circumstances. Related to this, I interrogate how individual characteristics influence access to hosting arrangements, recognising that in many cases access is not based on kinship but through relationships developed in place and in relation to alternative shared identities and perceived strengths and vulnerabilities. The examples shown here demonstrate how different hosting practices emerge among different groups, who are subject to different policy regimes and with different connections to the host country.

Secondly, I consider the proposed types in relation to two key features of hosting arrangements, interdependence and guesthood. This reveals that the hosting relationships that most preoccupy humanitarians are not relationships of purely dependent guesthood, but rather arrangements in which both (or all) parties have contributions to make. The question is not how the guest party is supported by the overburdened host, but rather how contributions and interdependencies are negotiated.

Thirdly, I develop the understanding of hosting arrangements as dynamic relationships that shift in relation to both the passing of time and the temporal expectations of all participants. These relationships change both as networks and interpersonal relationships develop in particular places, and in relation to changing expectations of displacement. This can aid us in our understanding of hosting in specific displacement contexts, and particularly in how it changes as displacement becomes protracted.

Finally, I consider the different motivations expressed for participating in hosting relationships, beyond economic need, re-orientating understanding of hosting relationships to allow for greater consideration of the interdependence between people. Combined with the observations about how individuals' social positions influence their access to hosting relationships, and recognising how such positions are produced in specific locations, this opens up for consideration how hosting relationships are created and maintained in specific times and places.

A key feature of urban environments is the multiplicity of communities and complex socialities. Household-level refugee hosting is one form of sociality. Understanding the development, maintenance and on-going transformation of these forms of relating to one another provides an important perspective on refugees' experiences of the urban. Paying attention to how these everyday acts are produced and given meaning through the daily interactions of forced migrants with city structures and processes, and how such acts affect their social and material well-being, adds to existing knowledge on how refugees inhabit the city. The following chapter explores this in greater detail in relation to shared group hosting among single and unaccompanied, male, Sudanese refugees.

Chapter Eight: Navigating the city, building hosting relationships

The majority of the Sudanese men in my work arrived without pre-existing connections to a city of strangers. Yet, as argued in Chapter Six, a situated recognition of and interdependence with the other, who is no longer a stranger. In this chapter, I discuss hosting as a form of urban sociality (Simone, 2004; Pascucci, 2017) and question how such acts were created in the specific context of Sudanese displacement in urban Amman. In doing so, I think about how the position and relationships of Sudanese refugees to the city of Amman can be characterised and what the Sudanese experience of urban Amman can contribute to our understandings of urban environments for refugees (Robinson, 2013; Hall, 2015; Landau, 2018).

This chapter contributes to Fiddian-Qasmieyeh's (2016b) call, echoed in Chapter Five, to explore the development of communities that welcome refugees, and to consider the everyday and ordinary forms of urban life that sustain refugees. Tracing the emergence of the new forms of sociality is an important avenue to understanding interaction between social, political, and economic urban structures and inhabitation of the city. I have previously argued that hosting is not a static response to economic hardship, but rather a dynamic relation, situated in interaction with the specific social, economic, and political realities of displacement contexts (Chapter Six). Hosting is one response to the uncertainty displacement and urban life. Refugees in cities have a different experience of displacement than those in rural areas or camps (Jacobsen, 2006; Fabos and Kibreab, 2007; Sanyal, 2014). They face different exclusions, navigate different governance and bureaucratic regimes, and are simultaneously more exposed and more invisible (Kibreab, 1996; Polzer and Hammond, 2008). Relationships of care are socially embedded practices that are the result of specific constellations of caring relationships and institutions (Tronto, 1995). Understanding where and how networks of care that underpin hosting develop can help to examine the interactions of the city and refuge, in order to understand the possibilities and limitations of refuge in the city (Young, 2011).

A city is an assemblage of geographic siting, spatial configuration, economic dynamics, institutional networks, and social interaction (McFarlane, 2011; Kamalipour and Peimani, 2015). Thinking in terms of assemblages emphasises the interconnections across these elements and the processes through which the 'urban' emerges (Kamalipour and Peimani, 2015; Boano and Martén, 2017). I understand assemblage as the purposive gathering of different resources and elements to create alternative futures, and the on-going negotiation of the coming together and apart of these relations (McCann, 2011). Though cities-as-assemblage cannot be reduced to the properties of any one element, in this chapter I focus on the social relation of hosting, analysing its production in relation to other city features. Social relations play an essential role in conceptualizing the urban (Young, 1990; Massey, 2004; Simone, 2004). How people use,

experience, and imagine the city is vital. Paying attention to how everyday relational acts, such as hosting, are developed and maintained within existing (though non-static) institutional and structural frameworks, allows for consideration of relationships of care as an element of urban infrastructure, and the examination of how urban refugees are related to their urban contexts (Simone, 2004; Trikalinou, 2015; Boano and Astolfo, 2020; Wiesel, Steele and Houston, 2020).

Robinson (2011, 2013) argues for the development of urban theory through the analysis of everyday practices occurring within and across cities, rather than taking cities themselves as the unit of comparison. In this chapter, consider how we can understand the urban through refugee hosting practices. There are few studies on household-level hosting in urban contexts, however scholars have written on everyday relations of care in spaces characterised by uncertainty and marginalisation in urban environments (Kathiravelu, 2012; Landau, 2014, 2018; Yassine, Al-Harithy and Boano, 2019; Alam and Houston, 2020; Wiesel, Steele and Houston, 2020; Williams, 2020). After briefly presenting Amman, I draw on these authors discuss refugee relationships and socialities in marginalised urban contexts. Returning to my empirical material, I then detail how the Sudanese refugee men I worked with met each other, and how they formed and consolidated hosting relationships. In doing so, I necessarily position these acts in the social, political, and economic context of Amman, and in relation to the men's identities as black, African, male refugees.

I position household-level hosting relationships as an everyday infrastructure of care that enables inhabitation of the city (Simone, 2013). In participating in hosting relationships, people gradually assemble access to the different elements of the city – social, material, economic, spatial, and political. Exploring the how everyday household-level hosting relationships develop and gather together elements of the city allow us to understand more about how refugees inhabit the city, both in how they create the infrastructures of care that allow for their persistence and how their presence influences the city.

Learning from Amman

Robinson (2008, 2011) calls for us to pay greater attention to 'ordinary cities' as sites of urban learning, resisting the urge to focus solely on cities identified as having a global reach through selected transurban networks. She argues that "viewing all cities as `ordinary' - as constituted through multiple and overlapping networks of varying spatial reach, and as composed of a diversity of economic, social, and political relations - can help to bring the city back in to view" (Robinson, 2008, p. 75). In doing so, each city has a contribution to make to our understanding of the urban.

Amman is a global centre for learning on urban displacement, and humanitarianism more broadly,[45] yet it is often overlooked as an urban centre in its own right. In this chapter, I bring these two images of Amman into conversation with each other, exploring how experiences of urban displacement can be understood through hosting as an act of refugee inhabitation, and what refugees' urban experiences can contribute to broader understandings of the urban.

Amman is a city built on migration (Al-husban and Al-shorman, 2013). Yet migration is not only a historical facet of Amman's identity, but continues to shape the city. Though data is limited, hundreds of thousands of people who were not born in the city have come to study, work, to join family, and to find sanctuary from conflict.[46] Amman's population is diverse, dynamic, and growing (Al-husban and Al-shorman, 2013).

The planning and administration of Amman is managed by the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) and the national government, though there is a growing presence of joint private enterprise–state boards (Daher, 2013). Despite state presence, residential areas in the east of the city, and particularly new developments in the more peripheral locations of Greater Amman Municipality such as Sahab and Marka suffer from limited access to services (Daher, 2013). Informal tented settlements have also appeared around the peripheries of the city, mainly sheltering Syrian refugees (UNICEF/REACH, 2014).

As explained in Chapter Two, Amman is divided between the more affluent west, and the poorer, more crowded east (Ababsa, 2011).[47] Over the last 20 years, Amman has been subject to a neo-liberal transformation. As in other cities across the Middle East – Beirut, Cairo, Dubai, and Aqaba, among others – a proliferation of flagship projects such as malls, office blocks, and luxury accommodation along with the privatisation of many services and public space has changed the realities of public urban life (Daher, 2013). Writing on urban Amman has often focused on the spatial transformation of areas accommodating these projects, and social marginalisation of groups displaced by developments to poorer areas in the eastern outskirts of the city (Potter *et al.*, 2009; Daher, 2013; Al-Tal and Ahmad Ghanem, 2019). As recognised by Daher (2013) the neoliberal transformation of the city has created significant socio-spatial change and new pockets of poverty in the inner city. He anticipates that the turn away from the

[45] See for example the Mayor of Amman's participation in the Mayor's Migration Council (https://www.mayorsmigrationcouncil.org/) and Saliba and Silver's (Sabila and Silver, 2020) call for refugee response to improve learning from non-European cities who have been hosting refugees long term, which highlights Amman.

[46] As of May 2020, 193,781 Syrians registered with UNHCR reside in the Amman governorate (UNHCR, 2020b). Estimates of numbers of labour migrants vary, but may be up to 1,200,000 (Razzaz, 2017).

[47] Please see the map included on page 174. According to Ababsa "West Amman extends from Jabal Amman to Khalda and is bordered in the north by Wadi Hadadeh and in the South by Wadi Deir Ghbar. East Amman covers Amman's historical centre, and more than half of the city with its North and South expansions" (2011, p. 229)

original downtown, only 1.5km from the Abdali development site, will lead to inequality, exclusion, and social and spatial displacement (Daher, 2014). At the same time, there is an on-going regeneration project focusing on attracting tourism to Amman's downtown area (Ababsa, 2011).

At the time of my research, the Sudanese men I worked with lived in downtown Amman and Jabal Al-Hussein, though most had previously lived in east Amman neighbourhoods such as Jabal Al-Akhdar, Hashemi Shamali, and peripheral industrial areas such as Sahab. While downtown and Jabal Al-Hussein are classed as part of east Amman, they are proximate to sites of new developments – such as Abdali - and can be seen as more economically-mixed. It is not uncommon for Western expatriates and students reside in some areas of Jabal Al-Hussein, and there are a number of shops, cafes, and other commercial ventures, particularly in the Downtown area. While the new developments may have caused socio-spatial displacement, the proliferation of malls and other commercial ventures servicing the consumption of the wealthy is intricately linked with the livelihoods of marginalised groups, for example, the men in my research travelled to jobs in the new malls in the west of the city (see map on page 174).

Amman is a centre of humanitarian response in Jordan and the Middle East, and arguably, given the export of policy and programming initiatives developed in Jordan, globally.[48] However, these initiatives have largely been developed in relation to one specific group – Syrian refugees – supplemented with learning from earlier responses to Iraqi and Palestinian displacement (Lenner, 2016). Limited engagement with understanding of urban environments in developing refugee policy and humanitarian response is not unique to Amman (Campbell, 2016). I argue that the marginalisation of non-Syrian refugees and a lack of engagement with hosting and other every day and refugee-led acts of humanitarianism are symptoms of this problem. In this chapter, I explore how hosting is produced and enacted in the specific context of marginalisation in urban Amman, and highlight what this can contribute to understandings of urban displacement.

Sudanese in Amman

Sudanese refugees are excluded on multiple fronts in Amman – politically, economically, and socially – and by the state, international humanitarian bureaucracy, and the wider urban community. Racial discrimination is rife and, alongside economic barriers, serves to exclude Sudanese from many public spaces. Even within the marginalised informal and temporary male worker population of the construction industry, the men reported being at the bottom of the

[48] For example, consider the transfer of policies modelled the Jordan Compact elsewhere (e.g. Ethiopia, Turkey, Lebanon) (Barbelet, Hagen-Zanker and Mansour-Ille, 2018; Lenner and Turner, 2019)

hierarchy, and particularly as being below other Arab migrant populations.[49] The men I worked with mainly compared their social positions to that of Jordanians and Palestinians (they rarely distinguished between the two), Syrians, and Iraqis, all of whom they perceived as better off and receiving better treatment by the state and the international system. They occasionally referred to Somalis as 'like us', in that they are of African-origin and face similar exclusions. Arguably, Sudanese fluency in Arabic – albeit a dialect that is unfamiliar to many Jordanian and other Arabic speakers – offers opportunities that Somali refugees, many of whom speak little Arabic, do not have access to.

Broadly, the Sudanese refugee experience in Amman is simultaneous bureaucratic invisibility (Kibreab, 1996) and imposed visibility due to social attitudes towards their skin colour, which does not allow them to 'blend in'. Unlike many urban refugee populations, for whom the potential to be invisible is often cited as a major attraction of urban environments, this is only possible to a limited extent for Sudanese refugees in Amman. This imposed visibility serves them little benefit, and is more often used to exclude. Calhoun (2010) notes that while Sudanese refugees in Amman have created strong links with people in their own community (bonding capital), they have the lowest levels connections with people outside of the Sudanese community.[50] The high levels of bonding capital found by Calhoun are perhaps unsurprising in such a hostile context. However, they are remarkable when considering that few Sudanese refugees arrived in Amman with pre-existing social connections.

The men I worked with reside in the centre of Amman, maintain an economic presence, and have formed tight-knit social relations. I argue that this is facilitated and supported by acts of hosting, an innately social relation underpinned by an ethic of care. Much writing about urban refugees is challenged by the tension of depicting urban refugees as dislocated guests, searching for belonging, and stuck in 'permanent temporariness'. This results on a focus on future-orientated explanations of behaviours, instead of refugees everyday practices of inhabitation. In this chapter, I focus on hosting as a manifestation of refugees' inhabitation of the city in the here and now.

Developing hosting relationships: From encounter to ethics of care

Cities are characterised as dynamic spaces of multiple and overlapping connections and social encounters between strangers (Young, 1990; Amin and Graham, 1999; Massey, 2005). These

[49] The construction industry is male dominated, and Sudanese men's position in employment and economic hierarchies in Jordan has not been compared to Sudanese women's positions

[50] Calhoun's work was conducted in 2010, before an increase in arrivals in 2012/13, and before the 2015 deportation which severely disrupted social networks.

aspects have been celebrated as creating energised, diverse populations, catalysing the rapid exchange of ideas, but have also been criticised as the cause of a loss of community in urban environments (Fincher and Jacobs, 1998). At the same time, a burgeoning literature shows us the exclusionary nature of many aspects of city life, inequality, limits to mobility, and discriminatory social practices (Staeheli, 2003; Denis, 2006; Ababsa and Daher, 2011; Makinde, 2012; Sanyal, 2012). Like many cities, Amman demonstrates a balance between these tensions (Ababsa and Daher, 2011). The opportunities, and unavoidability of interaction through everyday activities supports the conceptualisation of cities as meeting places of difference, and yet these differences can just as easily lead to hostility as mutual recognition (Young, 1990; Valentine, 2008). Though cities are spaces of encounter, these encounters are conditioned by economic and social inequalities. The emphasis on cities as spaces of difference is an important recognition in the study of migration in the urban context (Landau, 2014; Darling, 2017). Such an approach recognises the multiplicity of social identities present in the city, and opens space for us to explore the processes of their creation and negotiation within the urban setting. It asks us to question urban residents' sense of belonging – to what, with who, and what does this entail? It also asks us to consider the development of relationships in place and the forms of these socialities.

Marginalised groups' presence in the city is often discussed in terms of their socio-spatial segregation, through various processes of the formation of slums, enclaves, ghettos, and informal settlements (Roy, 2011; Knudsen, 2017). However, exclusion and marginalisation are also social processes (Bayat, 1997; Yiftachel, 2009; Roy, 2011; Landau, 2014). The content and performance of gender, race, class, and other identities and social positions are not pre-ordained, but in part developed through social interaction in given places (McDowell, 2004). In this chapter, I consider how different elements of participant's identities became more or less salient in their narratives of the city.

Kathiravelu (2012) writing about informal solidarities with migrants in Dubai argues that relationships of care are built from a respect for and recognition of the other; shared structural affinities, which serve as a basis for assumed trust and solidarity; and friendships and affiliations across ethnic or class lines. She argues that in the city-state of Dubai, there are social spaces that remain beyond the neoliberal logic that governs much of the city, created in spaces of spontaneous and everyday interaction. She continues that in these spaces migrants develop and employ strategies that reflect an ethic of care for the other that challenges their control by governing structures.

Writing about friendship in the 'estuaries' of urban Africa, and recognising both the importance of affective relationships in overcoming economic and physical precarity, and the capacity of

such relationships to become burdensome or restrictive, Landau (2018) identifies the importance of environmentally and historically conditioned rationalities for emergent socialities. He identifies a sense of common purpose, derived through collective participation in religious, cultural, or economic ventures, as important in creating the basis for meaningful relationships, yet also notes the challenges of developing such thick (Granovetter, 1973) connections in spaces of precarity, fluidity and diversity. A significant contribution of Landau's work is the tension between the pressure to be transient and invisible, while simultaneously building social connections that provide meaning, order, and assistance.

Despite the identification of cities as spaces of encounter, literature on urban refugee socialities has largely focused on the existence, use, and transformation of pre-existing social ties, particularly those based on kinship and family relations or those formed through previous movement for work (Jacobsen, 2006; Landau and Duponchel, 2011; Kathiravelu, 2012; Stevens, 2016; Pascucci, 2017; Landau, 2018; Caron, 2019). Here, I instead focus on how those without pre-existing ties – the new and few (Jacobsen, 2006) - form connections. Drawing from the above discussion, the development of relationships of care depends on the recognition and acknowledgement of the needs of the other. This is often based on assumed common experience and identification with another, based on shared structural affinities and environmental contexts. Recognition of shared experience may result in a sense of common purpose and collective endeavour, reinforcing identification with the other and the interdependence which underpins an ethics of care. The environmental context in which such relationships develop may impact the terms through which such affinities are expressed (i.e. which social statuses and identities come to the fore) and the aim, boundaries, and norms of such relationships.

In the following section I draw on in-depth interviews and social mapping conducted with Sudanese refugee men in Jordan, detailing how their hosting relationships emerged. I first focus on the limited pre-existing social relations the men held prior to arriving in Amman. I then move on to discuss places of encounter and how those without connections first met. I discuss the transition from encounter to hosting relationships, and between forms of hosting. Finally, I offer further detail on the spaces and interactions through which the men consolidated these relationships.

Arrival, meeting, and building relationships: Sudanese men's experiences in Amman

Pre-existing relations between Sudan and Jordan

There is a tradition of migration between Sudan and Jordan for work, education, and medical treatment. This is not only movement towards Jordan, but also from Jordan to Sudan,

particularly for further education in Khartoum. This is rarely acknowledged in Jordanian society. There is also a large Sudanese migrant labour population in Jordan. Despite this, few of the men reported any connection to Jordan before they arrived.

Family and friends from Sudan

I rarely heard of people who had arrived in Jordan and been able to contact a former friend or acquaintance in order to help with establishing themselves, though people occasionally later discovered each other's presence in Amman by chance and re-established those connections.

Though all but two of the men I worked with who arrived in 2012/13 did not have family members already in Jordan, subsequent arrivals more frequently had existing family ties. In two of the households I worked with, two or more brothers were living with other unrelated men. Others had previously lived with siblings, who had been caught in the deportation or passed away while in Jordan. Between April and October 2018, some of the men I knew were joined by family members – close relations, fiancées, and extended family - travelling from Sudan.

There is a small longer-term Sudanese refugee population in Jordan, with some people arriving in the 1990s. This older generation of refugees seems to have been able to establish themselves to a certain extent. Some had been hired by wealthy Jordanian landowners to manage farms, and some held work permits, giving them a degree of stability. Some of the large association houses that many men arriving in 2012/13 initially resided in had the rent guaranteed by members of this older generation of refugees. However, only one of the households I interviewed had a relationship between the older generation and the newer arrivals prior to their arrival in Jordan.[51] Rather, these connections were established through sharing accommodation in Jordan.

Tribe and area of origin

Association houses mentioned as the first place of residence in Amman for many of the men were an emergency measure that became prolonged for some. They were largely established among tribal lines, with the Fur house being in one area of the city, and the Zaghawa in another. I was told that it is not impossible for a Fur man to live in the Zaghawa house, but that it was unlikely, and he would likely try to hide this identity. If 'discovered' men could be evicted with little or no notice. This was also the case for refugees coming from tribes other than the Zaghawa or Fur, who may not have enough members to form similar households, but need to share accommodation in order to find shelter. These houses are important sites for establishing

[51] A relation of his wife, though it is not clear if they were in contact before arrival in Jordan

relationships, and have a long-lasting influence over hosting practices, given their role as places for men to meet and form relationships.

I believe tribe plays an important role in making and maintaining connections for Sudanese men in Jordan. Even if it is not the primary factor connecting people, it is this identity that to some extent solidifies the connection. Somewhat similarly, both Sudanese and Somali men spoke about living together with people who came from the same area. In Sudan, the identification of tribal identity with a geographic area is complex (de Waal, 2005; de Waal and Flint, 2008; Solevad Nielsen, 2008; Mamdani, 2009). Nonetheless, sharing a place of origin is seen as important by Sudanese men in Jordan, and is linked to a sense of relatedness, and predictable and accepted norms of behaviour.

First meetings

Sudanese refugees in Jordan, particularly the young men, often arrive individually and do not have existing connections to draw on. How they create relationships with others is therefore of vital importance. In this section, I recount the men's stories of arrival, and how initial connections to the Sudanese community in Jordan were brokered.

Experiences of arrival

All the men to whom I spoke arrived in Jordan via aeroplane, through Queen Alia International Airport, approximately 25km from central Amman. Though the 2015 census indicates that some Sudanese people in Jordan arrived by land (DoS, 2015), I did not meet anyone who had taken this route, nor did I hear of it as a possibility. The men I spoke to entered with visas obtained in Khartoum, normally for medical treatment. During our discussions, I did not dwell on details about how the men had gained access to these visas, though many spoke about using fixers in Khartoum who arranged visas and tickets, and in some cases, influenced their choice of destination country.

After leaving the airport, some of the men went to a hospital. Once at the hospital, some obtained treatment. Others did not enter the building but found transport to downtown Amman. This was normally via taxi, as the men were not yet familiar with the transport networks nor the layout of Amman. In some cases, they tried to find people to share taxis with, in order to reduce the cost. Others took taxis directly from the airport. On rare occasions, new arrivals would coincidentally meet Sudanese people living in Amman at the airport who offered them guidance in reaching the city, for example purchasing bus tickets, which are much cheaper than taxis, or advice on which areas of the city to head for.

Those who arrived later recount different stories of arrival at the airport. For example, Mohammed travelled to Amman with a previously unknown companion, who was travelling to join her family. On arrival in Amman, the woman's husband took Mohammed to the area he lived, and provided him with directions to an association house. The two kept in touch, and the husband helped Mohammed to find work. By the time I sat down to speak with Mohammed however, in September 2018, the two had fallen out of contact. Despite receiving assistance from the couple, the relationship had not 'stuck'. This was not a deliberate rupture in the relationship, the result of an argument or insurmountable differences. Rather it was a fading out of contact, accelerated by the loss of a mobile phone. Despite living in a dense urban environment, and being part of the highly-interconnected Sudanese refugee society in Amman, Mohammed had not rebuilt the relationship. Relationships do not always endure. This is an important realisation in such an environment, emphasising that people are making choices as to which relationships persist and develop.

There is now a much larger Sudanese population in Jordan than in 2012/13 that can, to a certain extent, facilitate arrival. The more recent arrivals from Darfur have had different arrival experiences than those of earlier arrivals. Even those who travelled without pre-existing connections appear to have established them quicker and were able to access advice and connections to job markets and short-term housing. At the same time, the transience of Mohammed's relationship with his travelling partner and her husband suggests that there is a certain degree of stratification in building and maintaining relationships.

The continuing arrival of Sudanese refugees and in particular the arrival of family members has engendered changes in hosting and housing practices, for example moving out of shared accommodation, securing new family properties, and being temporarily hosted by friends. While these changes in practices suggest that the Sudanese refugee community in Amman is becoming more established, their status in the country remains highly unstable. Memories of the 2015 deportation, which caused a seismic shift in hosting practices, work patterns, and perceptions of UNHCR and displacement in Amman, are still highly prominent. As mentioned, an increasing number of NGOs have engaged with the Sudanese and other non-Syrian refugee populations in Jordan since I began my fieldwork in 2017, however the context – and their capacity to work with these populations - is frequently in flux.

Finding other Sudanese people

Men who arrived unaccompanied and without existing contacts found transport to the city centre. Arriving to a city with which they were totally unfamiliar, many simply asked drivers to

take them to the Sudanese. They were often brought to al-Balad, downtown Amman. Occasionally they were also taken to Second Circle, or the districts of Ashrafiyeh or Jofa. They then walked the streets until they found someone who looked Sudanese and struck up a conversation with them. Very often these conversations would lead to them being taken to an association house. Alternatively, some men were taken to the homes of the first person they met, often for a very short period while they helped connect them to work and accommodation.

Association houses rapidly became crowded. Ali explained how one night he counted the people in the house where he was staying and found was sharing with 30 others. Early the next morning he woke and found the number had increased to 32. After that, he went to visit the Sudanese man who had guaranteed the building's rent to ask where these additional people had come from. Though the 'owner' had not previously met the new arrivals they had acquired his number and called him from the airport, and he had gone to collect them and bring them to the house. This hints at a broader circulation of information for new arrivals, though one to which only some appear to have had access. Ali told me,

> *In the evening, we chatted for a long time, we talked to the people. I told them "Yesterday we were 30, and then in the morning we are 32." We started to distribute people to go and find homes. It was quite organised, kind of organised. Sometimes he [the house owner] talked to the people. He said those who came and who stayed for a long time, they have to find a place because the others don't yet know the place and the country. Then me and my friend talked to him and he said "no, you have to remain because we need to organise and you're helping. You know the places, you can help the guys to find places."*

The story Ali recounts appears highly organised. In other examples, the men discuss meeting and spending time with a small group of others, who together decided to move into a separate place together independently of any pressure to leave the association house. They spoke about the preference to not live with such a large number of other men and to be able to use the space and live with others with more similar attitudes to them. They also spoke about the breakdown of association houses after the deportation, as Sudanese refugees tried to take on a lower profile, and landlords tried to increase the rents. The deportation had a similar effect on those who had established shared households, with nearly all men I worked with reporting that housemates had been deported and they were therefore no longer able to afford rent.

Social media, internet connectivity and mobile phones are increasingly present worldwide, and Jordan is no exception. While I had previously considered the role of social media in thinking about my relationship with participants, I had overlooked their role in meeting people and

creating connections while in displacement. When Yakub told me *"I look at Facebook. If there's a Sudanese that lives in Jordan and you see his picture, you're going to send him a request...we'll contact each other…and then I become friends with him or with them"* I realised how much of an oversight this had been. Rather than social media being a tool to remain in contact with people, it was also a way for people to initiate contact. Though the men told me that they had used the internet to learn more about Jordan before travelling, they did not mention trying to connect with anyone living in Jordan via social media prior to arriving. These men arrived in 2012/13, and I do not know if subsequent arrivals have used, or attempted to use, social media prior to arrival in this way.

Building relationships: Living, working and socialising together

Once the men had met, how did they build these moments of encounter into sustained relationships that could be translated into group hosting arrangements? As shown in Ali's story, some association houses 'organised' members into small groups. In others, close friendships developed, and the men made their own decisions to leave for relatively more comfortable houses. In other cases, particularly following the deportation, it was necessary to reconfigure living arrangements, and for men to live in smaller, lower profile groups.

The three most important places that people met were association houses, Sudanese cafes downtown, and at work. Accommodation, work places, and social spaces provide different opportunities for encountering others and forming relationships. Sudanese refugees, despite frequenting the same spaces as people of other nationalities, exhibit low bridging capital and few strong connections with non-Sudanese people (Putnam, 2000; Calhoun, 2010). Holland et al. (2007) highlight how, despite sharing physical space, there may be little contact or mixing between groups. Instead, groups may self-segregate. Though not universal, some of my research participants reported this occurring both at work and in NGO-run community centres. On the other hand, bonding capital within the Sudanese refugee community was found to be high (Calhoun, 2010).In the following section I briefly outline participant's experiences within these different spaces, before illustrating the interconnections between sites with an example of Yakub's hosting and employment movements in Amman.

Housing

Many Sudanese in Amman live and work in Jabal Akhdar, Jabal Jofa, Jabal Amman, and Downtown. There are, however, Sudanese households across the city, including in the more affluent neighbourhoods in the west of the city. I was surprised to find this, as houses in these areas are more expensive. Families living in these areas explained that the higher rents and

smaller living space available to them on their budget was worth it as they did not confront the same levels of harassment as in other areas. Seeking to confirm this assessment with another participant, he told me that he was also considering this option and described it as "buying your mind". Though movement towards these areas is small, the 2 families I spoke to living in two districts of West Amman confirmed that there were 6 – 7 other Sudanese households nearby. Some Sudanese households also live in the less-central district of Hashemi Shamali, though the numbers living there have declined as it is far from any sources of assistance, and the travel costs to reach services are prohibitive. Sudanese opinions of living in Akhdar and Jofa are mixed. Some have experienced extreme violence in these areas, including home invasions, robbery, and violent assault. Others, however, appreciate the relatively higher numbers of Sudanese in close proximity, and the sense of community this produces. They cite, for example, the possibility for their children to socialise with other black children. One man also suggested that the mosque in his previous neighbourhood was more tolerant of Sudanese attendees, saying that if they were not, they would lose half of their attendees, given the high numbers of Sudanese in the neighbourhood. I did not speak to non-Sudanese residents in order to hear their views about how the presence of Sudanese refugees had changed their local area and their perspectives of relationships with them.

Work

Despite the lack of access to work permits, Sudanese refugees do engage in paid work. These spaces are often hidden – construction sites, mall stockrooms, cleaning, market portering - and in locations that are less conducive to surveillance, or at least where warning can be given allowing workers to hide or escape. Sudanese experiences of employment are overwhelmingly negative. Informal workplaces for Sudanese refugees in Amman tend to be dangerous, with harsh conditions and long hours. For the men I spoke to, their accounts portray workplaces dominated by exclusion – legally, socially, and economically. Yet, alongside these exclusionary practices, there are opportunities for inclusion to occur and they are essential sites for forming connections with other Sudanese.

Workplaces are among the key sites for Sudanese men to meet, and particularly to form friendships and trusting relationships with other Sudanese men. This in part can be attributed to a sense of isolation and of fear at work of the police, employers and colleagues. As Ali told me, "*It's important to work with a friend who you know has your back, to go together*". Working and hosting practices are closely related; it is not uncommon for those who work together to live together particularly those who are working in locations outside of central Amman that require travelling further distances, nor is it uncommon for those already living together to introduce a housemate to an employer as a brother or cousin and to assist them in finding work. Working

may also affect standing and role in the Sudanese community, as those who secure a stable position may have a heightened capacity to lend and support others.

Work places are also one of the few sites for interaction between Sudanese and other nationalities. This is not always positive, and the Sudanese have developed stereotypes of other nationalities from these experiences. They are one of the sites for Sudanese to develop relationships with Jordanians (the other primary relationship with Jordanians being as landlords). Again, though these relationships are often negative, some have formed supportive relationships. Participants mentioned meeting people of other nationalities and borrowing money from employers as examples of positive relationships with non-Sudanese others within their workplaces. Some also formed friendships with previous employers, with whom they continue to have contact.

These reflections on the connections made at work do not negate the predominantly exclusionary nature of informal workplaces. They do, however, present a more nuanced image of the dynamics of informal work, highlighting how social connections are established and reinforced in displacement, and emphasising that the value of work is not just the economic benefit of a salary.

NGO spaces and Community centres

Many humanitarian organisations in Amman run community centres, providing space for educational classes, sports, and cultural events, and opportunities for people – refugees and non-refugees – of different nationalities to meet. While the most prominent of these are perhaps the CSC centres jointly run by UNHCR and JOHUD (UNHCR, 2019c), in my research the men referred more frequently to centres run by NGOs. However, despite the large number of NGOs based in Amman, in the interviews I conducted with the men, only four organisations were noted as being consistently open to Sudanese.

In contrast to informal workplaces, community centres are described by humanitarian NGOs as spaces of welcome and safety, essential for promoting social cohesion and creating new connections between groups. The men presented a similar image when they talked about the community centres. They place enormous value on participating in community centre activities, and identify participation as a route to inclusion within the Sudanese refugee community and with people of other nationalities. They also see it as important for potential future mobility in terms of resettlement, education, communication, and employment. Many of the men I met with lived with people they had met at community centres, or with people that had shifted from acquaintance to friend through increased and prolonged interaction thanks to activities

organised through community centres. Four key activities organised through community centres emerged as central in narratives of meeting others and making friends: sport, education, cultural activities and volunteering.

One of the households I worked with was supported to live together by a community centre that facilitated the rent of their accommodation while they were engaged in study. I believe this is the only house involved in my study in which men of different tribes knowingly shared accommodation. It was the only one where this information was provided by my interlocutor without prompting. Despite this, on my return in September one of the household members told me that they were seeking to split the large household into two groups, largely due to differences in preferences regarding entertaining guests and noise. The position of NGOs and other services, with many clustered in central Amman, appears to have affected living preferences. For example, men told me that they had moved from the cheaper and more distant neighbourhood of Hashemi Shamali to areas closer to Downtown. Proximity to services was one consideration among many, and it did not override other concerns related to cost, safety, or access to work. The UNHCR office is located in Khalda, approximately 30 minutes from Downtown Amman (at least 3 JOD each way in a private taxi, 1.5 - 2 JOD in a bus or *service* (shared taxi)). These costs are prohibitive to many, and though Sudanese feel they must frequently attend to follow up their cases, which would otherwise be forgotten, they do not feel a positive connection to UNHCR.

Within the accounts of community centres there are strands which show how exclusionary processes are present. For example, community spaces are more accessible to some groups than others. Only some community centres are open to Sudanese, and while some others are – in principal – available to them, they are often inaccessible, due to transport costs and a sense of being out of place when they do attend. There's a spatial limit to this inclusion, which can be reinforced by different social practices. Cross-national friendships that are made tend to be limited to the community centre, and not in other places, for example, there is limited visiting of friends of other nationalities in their houses, despite it being common between houses of the same nationality.

Within community centres, there can be physical and social separation of different nationalities, as well as along different axes of identity. This highlights the importance of paying attention to the spaces of encounter, heterogeneity within refugee and migrant populations, and the wider social and political contexts in understanding the outcomes of encounters between different groups (Holland *et al.*, 2007; Valentine, 2008; Askins and Pain, 2011). NGOs do try to plan to overcome these separations, but it was still present in refugees' accounts of their experiences. There was also a very limited presence of host nationals, particularly host nationals who were

participating in programmes and not in staff roles. While community centres are a positive environment for forging ties, the ties can be shallow. It's inclusion with limits, and it's often still inclusion among refugees, rather than refugees and host nationals.

While the social cohesion achieved through community centre activities may not fully live up to the aspirations of programme managers and funders, such activities have a positive effect on the development of social ties within self-determined (in this case national) groups, and contribute to on-going processes of familiarisation and relationship building that are simultaneously occurring through other social opportunities, working patterns, and living arrangements. The knowledge of others gained through these activities is an important factor in decision making around hosting. It ensures that participants are known within the wider network of acquaintances, as well as to each other, and aids discovery and development of shared interests and foundations for friendship.

Sudanese spaces across the city

Spaces for socialising are limited and there are few spaces in the city that are seen as Sudanese spaces. In general Amman has few freely accessible public spaces, and much socialising takes place in private homes, cafes, or restaurants. One of the main barriers to accessing these spaces is cost. Many Sudanese are earning inconsistently and unpredictably, and the costs of participating are too expensive to do more than a few times a month. A second issue is the daily racism they experience, which is compounded by presumptions of legal, national, and economic status associated with refugee-hood. While some participants spoke about avoiding parks and public gatherings for fear of attracting negative attention, others said that as you would attract attention wherever you are, you may as well be in the park. For some men, their favourite spaces in the city were the malls and pedestrianised spaces of Abdali Boulevard, Cultural Street (Shmeisani) and Rainbow Street, where they could walk relatively undisturbed and observe different groups. A third issue is simply time. Contrary to the image of refugees in displacement sitting and waiting, the men I know are busy, working, studying, and volunteering. They might go to a café once or twice a month, but do not have time to attend more.

In Dowtown Amman there are two cafes commonly referred to as "Sudanese cafes". These spaces are predominantly male. I have not heard Sudanese women speak about frequenting them, nor have I seen women there when walking past or on the rare occasions that I visited the cafes. Many of the single men I spoke to mentioned frequenting these cafes, using them as a source of information and as a meeting point. In some arrival stories, men were directed to these locations after having arrived Downtown, and from there were able to connect with people to live with. In other cases, it happened in reverse – people were accommodated for a few days and

then introduced to the cafes where they picked up information and developed connections that helped them access slightly more stable shelter. Many of the young, single men I spoke to described them in this way, as a source of information and connections. However, others were dismissive, describing them as “places for homeless”, or as “bad places where gambling happens”. The owner of one of these cafes is not Sudanese and comes from a neighbouring African country but has, according to the men, “become Sudanese, he knows everything”. The cafes can then also be a place for cross-national relationships to develop or particularly to exchange information and experiences with other African-origin migrants. Beyond these public spaces, Sudanese households visit each other and attend important family events. However, some women whose husbands had been detained or deported reported to us that they rarely socialised or received visits and felt very isolated. There is then an important gendered aspect to social practices, in addition to the economic barriers to accessing spaces in Amman, and the fear of harassment.

Yakub is a young Sudanese man who was living in a shared group house when I met him in March 2018. Among the men I spoke with living in shared group housing at the time I met them, Yakub had moved the greatest number of times. In total, he recounted moving between thirteen houses and eleven different jobs during the four years he had lived in Jordan. He lived in one house alone, one association house, and two houses with only one other person. In one case, his accommodation was linked to his employment and he lived above his place of employment. In all other cases, he lived in shared group housing with other Sudanese men. The following map shows the locations of Yakub’s housing, workplaces, and the additional places where he met new people, and his gradual incorporation into and use of social relationships.

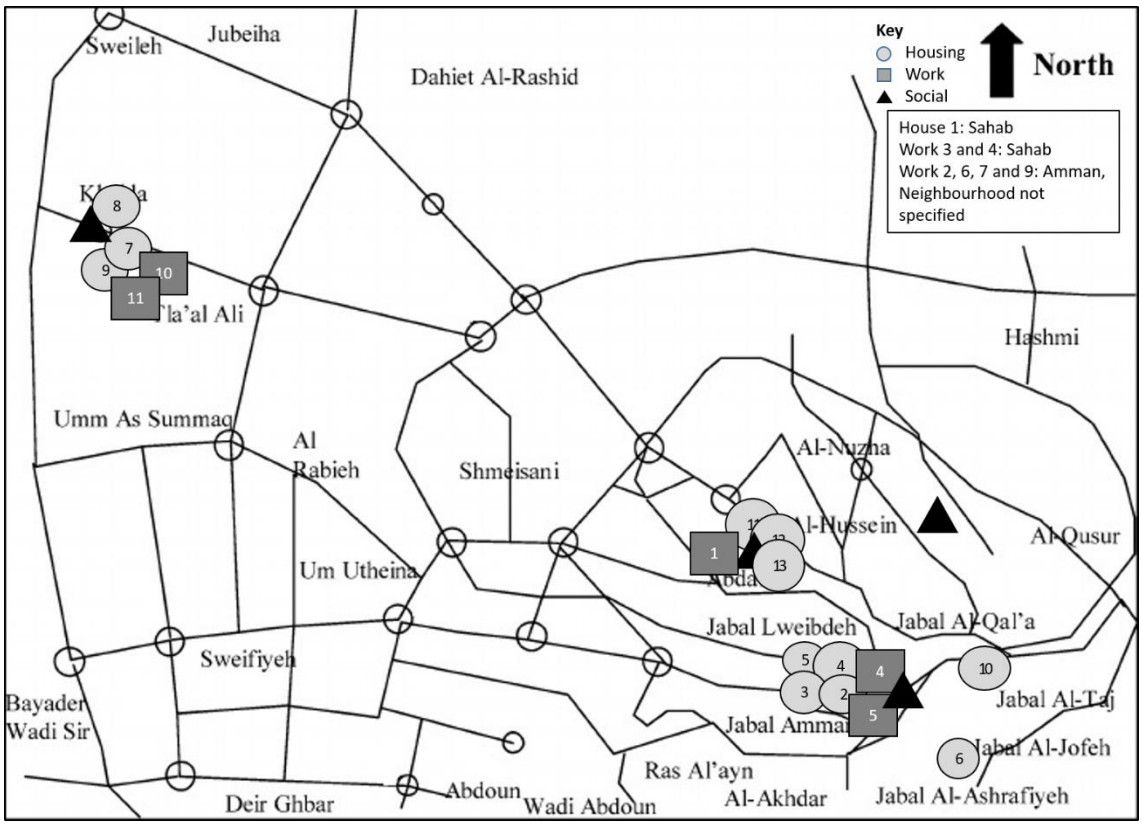

Figure 5: Map showing the housing, workplaces and other meeting locations of Yakub (April 2018). Map adapted from The Royal Hashemite Court (2001)

Yakub was invited to live in the first house by the house's owner, a man he met in a Downtown café following the advice of a Sudanese man met by chance on arrival at Amman airport. Others in the house then connected him to employment. Though he moved out of the house, he later returned for a short time. Shortly after the 2015 protests, he was called by a friend (who had also participated in the protests) and invited to join their house and place of employment in Khalda (jobs 10 – 11), far from the Downtown centre of the city where he had previously been living. Yakub described his living situation in the period prior to the deportation as deliberately independent. Although he says it would have been easier to live with others and acknowledges help and care he received from others without asking, he said "*If I move to the guys…I feel like I'm weak if I go there. They feed me, but they are chatting behind me, I don't like this*." After the deportation, he lived in shared group housing, frequently with several participants from within a group that lived and worked together in the months following the deportation. Several of these men now attend NGO provided activities together.

Yakub's recounting of his arrival in Amman, and the movement between houses and work in the four years between his arrival and our interviews shows how he was able to access the limited Sudanese network that existed at the time of his arrival, the social and spatial connections between places of work and living arrangements, the role of hosting in bringing together economic and social aspects of the city, and his gradual enmeshing within interpersonal relationships in the city.

Refugees and the city

The men's narratives highlight shared experiences which form the basis of their hosting relationships, such as racist harassment and violence, the deportation, isolation, exploitation, and lack of stability in work, and limited assistance from NGOs. These experiences emphasise some aspects of their identities, particularly those related to skin colour, gender, and economic status over others. Particularly noticeable is the ambivalent relationship to systems of humanitarian care, with the limited protections provided by refugee status seen alongside the positive opportunities provided by NGO activities. These experiences are produced through the interaction of the economic, social, political, and legal features of Amman. The urban environment therefore makes possible acts of hosting, through the spaces and relationships it produces. Hosting is a response to the men's position in these interstices and a way for them to navigate the uncertainty of displacement in Amman. In this way, it serves as an urban infrastructure, bringing together different elements of the city and providing a way for the men to inhabit the city.

Sudanese refugees in Amman

While literature on marginalisation and exclusion in the cities has often focused on the concept of divided or segregated cities (Colombijn and Erdentug, 2002), the Sudanese refugee experience in Amman is difficult to characterise in such terms. Instead, I argue that Sudanese refugees in Amman inhabit a grey space (Yiftachel, 2009) produced by the intersection of humanitarian and government bureaucracies. Grey spaces are characterised by their changeable position between legality, approval, and safety, and eviction, destruction and death on the other. Such spaces are tolerated, while at the same time being spoken about as places of criminality and danger to public order. Grey spaces can be created by powerful actors but are also a useful way to think about the spatial and social presence of landless and homeless people living, working, and being in urban spaces. This is useful concept to think about Sudanese refugees' precarious position in Amman, as well as how the city has been changed by their presence.

Though Sudanese refugees have secured a base level of security and approval, the histories of displacement in Amman revealed by the men show this status to be in constant flux. The highly visible 2015 protests were an effort to claim recognition of Sudanese refugees' status as refugees and their legitimate presence in Amman, seeking greater safety and security for their presence in the city. While Sudanese refugees gained more approval from the humanitarian system through the protest, this is starkly juxtaposed against the connected experience of deportation and its outcomes. Beyond the devastating personal outcomes, in the aftermath of the deportation the image of Sudanese as irregular migrants and trouble-makers appears to have

impacted on their access to housing, with the men reporting landlords being unwilling to rent to groups or men and an increase in the prices demanded. Similarly, the widespread climate of fear and lack of trust in authorities meant that there was little recourse in order to address exploitation at work, including the non-payment of wages, with knock-on effects on the ability to pay rent. In the years since the deportation the men report that fluctuating enforcement of working regulations affects how visible they are willing to be in the city and their practices of moving around the city – as described by Ali above, noting that the men go to work in pairs.

Sudanese refugees have not established enclaves or spatially-distinct areas of residence to the same degree as other groups (for example Somali refugees (ARDD-Legal Aid, 2015) or Filipina domestic workers (Caillol, 2018)), nonetheless they have impacted on the city, whether physically through their labour in construction sites, economically, through renting housing and purchasing goods and through their employment in some sectors, in social relations through the limited yet increasing social diversity in some neighbourhoods or specific sites, or politically through their claims to refugee status and protections. This is important in considering inhabitation to relate not only to presence in the city, but the ability to shape one's everyday life (Young, 2011).

The men's hosting relationships are a response to the interaction of their legal, social, and economic positions in Amman. In the everyday, they provide a way to navigate these structures. However, the men's hosting relationships are not a panacea to the challenges they face in displacement. Despite the increasingly well-established networks and norms of hosting among Sudanese refugees in Amman, there has been little structural change in their situation. Instead, these relationships are a limited means to care for others. Under the radar gestures may offer some protection and enable a continued presence, but may not change the underlying and fundamental insecurity of migrants' positions (Kathiravelu, 2012; Ehrkamp and Nagel, 2014; Palmgren, 2014). At the same time, the importance of enabling the men's continued residence in Amman should not be underestimated as an important fact in making political claims of presence (Bayat, 1997; Darling, 2014a; Hall, 2015).

Developing relationships of care

Cities are places of both dense physical proximity, and also stretched social relations, made available through the high availability of transport and communication technology. City social interactions are therefore characterised by thick interaction, with intense face-to-face interactions within the city co-existing with communication across and beyond the city (Amin and Graham, 1999). These different sites of encounter - place-based encounters in the immediate vicinity of their residences, and the more distant opportunities provided through

work and community centres, as well as those mediated through internet-based communication technologies - are ways to create and access valuable social support networks (Jacobsen, 2006). The overlapping and repeated interactions and encounters between people cumulatively contribute to the development of weak social ties into strong ties (Granovetter, 1973), providing space for practices of maintenance and care (Boano and Astolfo, 2020).

As previously argued, the development of ethics of care depends on recognition of the needs of the other and acknowledgement of interdependence with the other. This can be seen through identification with the other, assumed common experiences, and an identified common purpose or collective endeavour. These features are recounted in the men's stories of arrival, meeting, and developing hosting relationships. In terms of identification with the other, the overarching and most frequently mentioned and prioritised terms of identification with each other were based on being Darfurian and black Africans in Jordan. While the men typically did not have family ties, they also mentioned shared tribal ties and areas of origin as bases for relationship development. Beyond this, individual personalities and the existence of shared attitudes and interests were important. Though it was not raised by the men, their securing of visas and travel by plane suggests that they come from a similar middle-class background prior to their displacement. Their identities as young men is also crucial in understanding these relationships, and is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. These shared attributes created the basis for assumptions of common experiences, most crucially of racism in displacement, the deportation, isolation, exploitation, and lack of stability in work, and limited assistance from NGOs. In sharing in these experiences, persisting and surviving in the city becomes a common purpose.

Hosting is then a collective endeavour to "maintain, continue and repair our 'world'… in a complex, life-sustaining web" (Fisher and Tronto, 1990, p. 40) that further reinforces the sense of interdependence with one another, and of inhabitation through the shaping of one's environment. While association houses and group sharing may have been an emergency measure, they have now become a prolonged and established response to Sudanese displacement in Amman. As expressed by Yakub, discussing his relationship with others in his current shared group house "*I lived for a long time with him. And I know him, I know his mind, I know how he thinks…If I fall down, he will pick me up. I know him well.*" As with refugees in Ouzaii (Lebanon), inhabitation and hosting is a way to "support one another to sustain a meaningful life" (Yassine, Al-Harithy and Boano, 2019), in spite of social and political challenges and in response to inadequate or lacking refugee policies. Similarly, Kathiravelu (2012) has shown how in the case of Dubai, enforced intimacy due to the need to live together has developed into relationships of care and continued – and broadened – the assistance provided. The importance of an ethics of care in understanding and defining hosting

relationships thus becomes more evident, with hosting going beyond the sharing of accommodation to an arrangement that intersects with other aspects of urban life and participation, bringing together and making use of different elements of the city to care for others.

What is the urban for refugees?

Urban areas can offer safety and opportunity, yet refugees may also be at risk of exploitation, marginalisation, and limited protection (Sommers, 2001; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Landau, 2006; Fabos and Kibreab, 2007; Darling, 2017). In this section I consider how the Sudanese experience in Amman adds to this literature, and what this can tell us about how refugees inhabit and negotiate the city, and what is the urban for refugees.

Invisible and hidden refugees

The ability to be invisible and hidden in urban areas is frequently highlighted as a characteristic of urban environments, and often discussed as a positive for refugee populations. (Kibreab, 1996; Polzer and Hammond, 2008; Vigneswaran and Quirk, 2012). Yet, as shown in the case of the Sudanese men, not all refugee populations can be invisible. Though they are 'un-seen' by certain manifestations of bureaucracy (Polzer and Hammond, 2008), they are also unable to 'blend in' with other urban populations. Though a small population, Sudanese refugees in Amman are only invisible to the extent that "the eye does not wish to see" (Kibreab, 1996). To confront this, Sudanese refugees produced a highly visible claim to protection (in the form of the protest). While this achieved some of the stated goals, it also exposed them to other insecurities. A distinction can be made between hidden refugee populations (those who wish to be unseen) and invisible refugee populations (those who are unseen). For the Sudanese refugees in Jordan, this has been a crucial feature of their experience of the urban, and has shaped their interactions with the city. Many of the men's interactions in the city – such as working practices, socialising, and hosting – are now deliberately hidden as a protective strategy, in response to the failures of their claim to visibility.

Urban encounters and presence

The experience of Sudanese men in arriving and building their relationships in Amman nuances the depiction of cities as spaces of encounter. Though exposed to a broader range of encounters than within camps in terms of the identity of people they interact with (particularly the camps of Jordan, which are limited to one nationality), and a broader range of institutional and bureaucratic encounters, the uncertainty of refugee status and the marginalised status of

Sudanese refugees in Jordan leaves many unable to circulate freely, to work, to own property, or to live in safety. This limits the encounters in which Sudanese refugees can participate, emphasises the dangers of encounter, and raises the question of self-limiting of encounters with others, as Ibrahim expressed:

> *"Here in Jordan we are not interacting or contacting others, because no one – 75 or 80 percent they won't accept you…Jordanian too, we know them from work and how they talk to you. Most of them don't accept us, so it is difficult…20 percent of people maybe, I'm not sure, maybe they going to, maybe not. So for me, of course, I try not to go to them because I don't know what is in their mind."*

Under such circumstances, the potential for cities to be spaces of difference and encounter is re-cast (for some) as a risk. For example, one Sudanese woman with children shared that she sometimes wished she could live in a camp for Sudanese refugees, in order to avoid harassment and to know who was living around her. This tendency to gravitate towards people perceived as similar is not unique to the Sudanese population in Amman, however it's framing in terms of nationality and race highlights the salience of these identities in experiences of displacement in Amman.

The men's hosting relationships rely on perceived similarities with one another, constructed through their exclusionary experiences of displacement. Returning again to my critique of perceiving hosting relationships as simply forms of hospitality, hosting relationships were formed along lines of exclusion/inclusion (nationality, race, nationality) that were reinforced through participation in urban life. Hosting relationships are not a convivial enjoyment of difference, but rather may have inadvertently reinforced differences and boundaries in the urban space (despite the personal attitudes towards difference expressed by the men I worked with) (Valentine, 2008).

I have previously argued that the men's hosting relationships were a specific response to their urban displacement, not only urban life. While others have shown similar relationships of care developing in migrant, but non-refugee populations (Kathiravelu, 2012; Landau, 2018), in the case of the men I worked with the foundations for the development of these relationships were linked to their economic and social positions, and the insecurity of their legal status. These produced a specific form of uncertainty, similar to that experienced by undocumented migrants, yet for the Sudanese refugees, juxtaposed against the international and state protections they sought to claim due to their status as refugees. The relationship with infrastructures of care, such as the international humanitarian system, is a further important feature of urban displacement, which has impacted on the men's hosting arrangements. Though there may be frequent similarities in the day-to-day experiences of urban refugees and other urban migrant populations

(Sanyal 2012), the subjective experience is different.

Hosting in transit cities

Landau (2018) argues that few migrants are aiming for settled belonging, and secondly that migrants seek to avoid 'capture' by local social and political obligations. In using presence in the city as a means to prepare for movement to elsewhere, migrants may use languages of belonging to make claims to the city, while simultaneously positioning themselves to avoid entanglement in urban social life. Somewhat similarly, Abdou-Maliq Simone (2020), speaks of temporary inhabiting of the city, enabling an openness to as-yet-unknown eventualities. The men's presence in Amman is largely viewed as temporary, by themselves and others. The literature often depicts urban refugees, particularly those in protracted displacement, as immobile and excluded populations, searching for an unobtainable belonging or seeking to move on to other countries. These characterisations have validity, and are important in understanding experiences of urban displacement and the ambitions of those who are displaced. While all the men I worked with were hoping to be resettled, only Yakub raised and discussed the low prioritisation of young, generally healthy, unmarried men for resettlement, and his concerns about the social implications of this group being 'left behind'. The image of refugees as 'stuck' and unable to 'achieve' belonging, or constantly seeking to move on, maintains the perception of urban refugees as guests, and the binary distinction between host and guest (Landau, 2018). Such an understanding does not allow for consideration of the full range of social relations in which refugees participate in urban environments. As previously argued, in many hosting relationships, refugees are both host and guest, and the distinction between these categories fails to capture the reality of these relations. Altering the perception of refugees to potential hosts changes the image of their relation to the city and to other city residents, inherently implying some degree of ownership and control of resources. While recognising that for refugees this is very often a limited, marginal, and uncertain control, it nonetheless repositions them as claimants to urban belonging through presence (Darling, 2017).

Landau (2018) argues that there is sense of transience in estuarial urban social relationships that avoids individuals being 'captured' by a consolidated community or friends. In contrast, Kathiravelu (2012) emphasises how, despite the risk of favours not being returned, those in a similar position are expected to help if requested, especially if they are of the same nationality, religion, or language group, and that a generalised vague expectations of reciprocity underpins the networks developed. For the majority of the men I worked with, this second depiction of the 'capture' by friends rings true. Repeated and prolonged interactions in various locations, developed into a predictable and reliable informal institution, with established parameters for acceptable and expected behaviour. Shared values and norms of trust, expectations and

reciprocity are used as resources by refugees to achieve their goals – to reconstruct and use networks in exile as a means of support, and establish a meaningful social life and identity.

Conclusion: Understanding the urban for refugees

In this chapter, I argue that refugee hosting is a distinct form of urban sociality, separate from friendship, yet underpinned by similar ethics of care. Though a growing field, there is as yet little detailed discussion of the forms of urban sociality that form the invisible 'urban infrastructure' that maintains many urban residents (Simone, 2004, 2013). In this chapter, I put forward hosting and the ethics of care that underpin such acts as one such form of people as infrastructure (Simone, 2013). Seen through this lens, acts of hosting are everyday acts that work to produce urban life for refugees, through the gradual assembly of different elements of the urban. This chapter contributes to the growing literature on informal acts of care in urban settings and, more broadly, to the ways in which refugees inhabit the city.

The men whose lives form the basis for the research arrived to Amman with few to no existing connections. Making use of the social, spatial and economic spaces provided by the city the men built hosting relationships. Drawing on shared identities as black, Sudanese refugees, as well as tribe in many cases, access to these spaces and hosting practices were also dependent on gender, with men and women having access to different hosting practices (as discussed in Chapter Seven). These perceived similarities and distinctions draw attention to the conditions of displacement and urban life in Amman that prompted the formation of the men's hosting relationships. As these arrangements persist, the basis for the men's relationships of care shifts, from perceived similarity based on identity categories, to more in-depth and situated knowledge of one-another, made real through shared experiences produced from these identities in the context of Amman and identified areas of common ground.

As illustrated through the case of Yakub, hosting provides infrastructure connecting accommodation to work, building on social relations. Connections to employment allow for the men's continued presence in Amman through their ability to contribute to rent and food costs and ensures the circulation of care, ensuring that as men gain and lose employment, there are sufficient members of the household employed to facilitate the provision of care. The importance of income and economic status with regards to relationships within the household will be discussed more in the following chapter.

This chapter has shown how the Sudanese men in my research created and developed networks in a specific place and time. Hosting is an inherently social act and, as has been shown above, develops from repeated and prolonged encounter and interactions in various locations,

developing into a predictable and reliable informal institution. The norms of this institution are not static, but alter in response the realities of urban displacement, conditioned by both social norms, the changing urban context of urban, and the men's positions in relation to these features, as can be seen in the discussion of the shift from large association houses to group shared housing, and in the reconfiguration of men's hosting arrangements after the deportation.

In participating in hosting relationships, people gradually assemble access to the different elements of the city – social, material, economic, spatial, and political. Exploring how household-level hosting relationships develop and gather together elements of the city allows us to understand more about how refugees inhabit the city, in how they create the infrastructures of care that allow for their inhabitation, the production and experience of the urban for refugees, and how their presence and practices influence the city, albeit in limited ways. In the following chapter, I detail the men's experiences of living in group hosting relationships, considering the circulation of care within the household, and the extent to which the care provided in hosting allows for experiences of home.

Chapter Nine: Care in household-level hosting

In this chapter, I look at the day-to-day experience of living in a refugee host relationship. Building on my argument that hosting is a relation of care, I focus on how care was provided and received within Sudanese men's group hosting arrangements, and how these acts of care provided for the possibility of home. Understanding everyday events and exchanges in hosting adds an overlooked dimension to refugees' experiences of protracted displacement, and in focusing on men's experiences of care though hosting, I respond to calls for greater consideration of men's practices of giving and receiving care in displacement (Locke, 2017; Serra Mingot, 2019).

Care is defined as the work we do to maintain and continue our world (Fisher and Tronto, 1990). Young (2005, p. 125) defines dwelling through the work of preservation and highlights how relations of care are fundamental to dwelling and the creation and maintenance of home, arguing that "preservation makes and remakes home as a support for personal identity without accumulation, certainty, or fixity." Following the understanding of dwelling and home as relational and cultivated through care, in this chapter I pay attention to how care was provided and received within the men's hosting relationships and how the everyday acts of care inherent in hosting created connections and interaction between people and their environment, allowing for their dwelling in displacement. As argued in Chapter Six, hosting creates new claims to belonging for refugees in protracted urban displacement. While recognising the limitations of belonging in displacement and the uncertain and difficult realities of many refugees' lives, I argue that the acts of care enacted through hosting can hold some potential for home.

I first focus on the work of care with the men's household-level hosting relationships, describing how hosting responded to key needs and the different forms of care received and provided in hosting. I then discuss how social and economic positions influenced the men's experience of the provision and receipt of care within hosting. I then move to an analysis of how these relations of care allowed the men to dwell in displacement, and the extent to which the relation of care inherent in hosting enabled the creation of home, both in the more everyday sense of feeling at home, and in a more political sense of belonging.

Hosting as Caring: Locating care within hosting relationships

In Chapter Six, I argued that care is personal and specific between the individuals involved, but constructed within a wider framework of expectations based on social position, and that the power dynamics of these different positions influences caring practices. This is reflected in the literature, which notes the majority of care work as being undertaken by women, people of

colour, and migrants (Tronto, 1998; Williams, 2010), though there is a growing body of work on care of and by men (Locke, 2017). Literature also tends to centre around two key providers of care: unpaid family members, and paid non-family carers (Thelen, 2015), and two primary recipient groups: young (grand)children and elderly (grand)parents (Serra Mingot and Mazzucato, 2019). The family remains the principle site of 'real' care (Thelen, 2015). Migration studies (among others) has extended this beyond the nuclear family, recognising the essential role played by extended families in transnational or translocal social protection and care (Fresnoza-Flot, 2014; Kilkey and Merla, 2014; Serra Mingot, 2019; Serra Mingot and Mazzucato, 2019), yet as argued by Serra Mingot (2019) most literature on transnational care still focuses on the nuclear family and the parent-child relationship.

Others have called for caution in associating care with the family to the exclusion of non-heteronormative and non-familial relations of care, arguing that concentrating on the family misses the centrality of care for other forms of belonging (Williams, 2001; Razavi, 2012; Thelen, 2015). Thelen (2015) highlights the importance of care for the reproduction of social ties in situations of change and uncertainty. Calling attention to how similar care practices are differently named according to where they are observed (for example, being identified as kinship in African contexts, whereas similar practices are referred to as friendship in European contexts), she argues instead for attention to how care practices (re)produce stability and shape change (Thelen, 2015). Doing so requires a consideration of the different positions of those engaging in care relationships. Building on this work, in this chapter I further contribute to our understandings of the dynamics of care, drawing attention to hosting relationships as unpaid non-familial relationships of care, by men, for men.

Women, ethnic minorities, and immigrants carry out a disproportionate amount of care work (Lawson, 2007), and care as a gendered concept has received considerable attention (Milligan and Wiles, 2010; Locke, 2017). While some have identified in this an unspoken acceptance that men do not care or are less able to care (Kershaw, Pulkingham and Fuller, 2008), others have focused on male caring practices (Arber and Gilbert, 1989; Fisher, 1994; McKay, 2007; Sinatti, 2014; Locke, 2017; Serra Mingot, 2019). Drawing attention to the gendered provision of care in migration situations, Fresnoza-Flot (2014) identifies the different aspects of care – financial, moral, emotional, and practical support - provided by 'left-behind' family members. She highlights the networks men draw on, such as (often female) extended kin or family friends, to provide care, demonstrating that men do care and that care practices are not uni-directional, but rather care-givers can become care-receivers and vice versa. Without overlooking that women do the majority of domestic work, Locke (2017) critiques the association of domestic work with women's work as obscuring how men provide and perform care, and as failing to engage with how masculinity is associated with culturally specific – and I would include temporally and

contextually specific - ways of giving and receiving care. As she argues, men do care, and in order to further our understanding of care and migration, we need to pay greater attention to how men talk about care, and how they give and receive care (Locke, 2017).

Care relationships develop based on how legitimate need and deserving recipients are understood. Such ideas are highly context specific, may vary according to gender, age, ethnicity, and social status, and are negotiated on both an individual and societal level (Thelen, 2015). Such value judgments are dynamic and may be reworked in response to uncertainty, change, and shifting notions of responsibility (Thelen, 2015). Social, economic, and political disruption and uncertainty are some of the primary features of displacement. While care has been addressed in research into humanitarianism (see for example Ticktin, 2011), this has tended to focus on the relationship between the humanitarian system and recipients of care, rather than on humanitarian subjects as recipients and providers of their own care. As argued in Chapter Five, this limits conceptualisation of refugee acts of humanitarianism. The focus on either giving or receiving care needs to be altered, to view all parties in the construction of need and responsibility and to consider the landscape within which care relationships are developed and enacted (Milligan and Wiles, 2010; Thelen, 2015), including the institutional and policy environment and the intersection of formal and informal practices (Kilkey and Merla, 2014; Serra Mingot and Mazzucato, 2019). We must also consider the active negotiation of the receipt of care (Serra Mingot, 2019), and the dynamics of changing roles as recipients and providers of care (Milligan and Wiles, 2010), paying attention to not only who cares, but who is cared for.

Recognising the agency of recipients of care as well as providers of care is not new. Care relations are shaped by and produce power relations of gender, age, and socio-economic status (Serra Mingot, 2019) and well as race and disability (Williams, 2001). Care "invokes different experiences, different meanings, different contexts and multiple relations of power" which need to be taken into consideration (Williams, 2001, p. 468). This allows for the recognition that relationships of care may also be relationships of power or control (Tronto, 1995, 1998). This may result in different perceptions of legitimate need, and the 'correct' way of responding to this need. Rather than being an unmitigated 'good' thing, receiving care may instead feel oppressive or controlling, or place demands for gratitude on the recipient (Thelen, 2015; Serra Mingot, 2019). In response, recipients may seek to avoid or navigate relationships of care (Serra Mingot, 2019). Different people's different positions may also enable them to access forms of care that are unavailable to others. Such an approach centres our attention on the different sites, contexts, and strategies of care, and connections and interdependencies between people, rather than only on either the carer or the recipient (Williams, 2001; Milligan and Wiles, 2010; Atkinson, Lawson and Wiles, 2011; Thelen, 2015). I therefore pay attention to household-level

hosting enables access to some forms of care and gradually enmeshes participants in growing interdependencies, beyond sharing shelter.

As argued by Milligan and Wiles (2010, p. 736) "care and care relationships are located in, shaped by, and shape particular spaces and places that stretch from the local to the global". Lawson (2007) argues for the importance of care ethics in bringing our focus to the specific sites, relationships, and contexts that produce the need for care. With home identified as an essential site of care, paying attention to how day-to-day experiences of care constitute experiences of home and displacement contributes to our understandings of refugees' belongings and relationships to places of protracted displacement.

Hosting as Home: Dwelling and relations of care

There is a body of literature on the role of housing in creating possibilities for care, and the role of providing and receiving care in producing experiences of home (Dyck, 1995; Wiles, 2003; Milligan and Wiles, 2010; Atkinson, Lawson and Wiles, 2011; Power and Mee, 2020). Though home can be reduced to house or shelter, it is better understood through the relations with our environment and others that take place within a given space (Boccagni, 2017; Grabska, 2014). This section presents dwelling and home as relational, and explores the connections between relations of dwelling and home and the relations of care enacted in hosting.

Dwelling refers to both the place to dwell and a way to be with things (Heidegger, 1971). Dwelling is an involvement with a physical locality (Meier and Frank, 2016), moving beyond the functional need to shelter to an interaction with the environment that brings the world into being (Ingold, 2011). As such, it contains two elements, building and preserving (Heidegger, 1971; Young, 2005). While building relates to the physical construction, preservation relates to the "making and remaking of home as a support for personal identity without accumulation, certainty, or fixity" (Young, 2005, pp. 124–125).

The concept of dwelling has gained traction in mobility studies, in part because while dwelling implies a particular place it gives no indication of time, nor that the place in question is static, "one can dwell both temporarily and permanently, and one can dwell while in motion" (Long, 2013, p. 332). Mobile people dwell, are immersed in a local environment, and are inseparable from the world around them (Meier and Frank, 2016). Displaced people "have a present life where they need to survive, make a livelihood, and thus through their social action construct the place where they are physically present" (Brun, 2001, p. 19) . Latimer and Munro (2009) further emphasise dwelling as the keeping of relations.

Young (2005) questions the prioritisation of building within Heidegger's work on dwelling. Instead, she focuses on the valuable and irreplaceable ways in which the work of preservation gives meaning to individual lives. In doing so, she highlights the ways in which relations of care are fundamental to our dwelling in the world and the creation and maintenance of home. Returning to Tronto and Fisher's (1990, p. 40) definition of care as the effort to "maintain, continue, and repair our 'world'" further highlights the connections between care, dwelling, and home. Home and care also share parallels in their association with women and the family, as well as being assumed sites of safety and security. Much as the literature on home has increasingly challenged the depiction of home as a place of safety and security (Blunt and Dowling, 2006), the literature on care is beginning to consider more broadly participation in caring relationships and the power dynamics between those who provide and receive care.

Formed in interaction with the environment, dwelling is highly influenced by the outside and is in constant interaction with it. Brun (2016a) argues that people engage in their surroundings, become involved in society and build social relations through their dwellings. She identifies two fundamental dimensions of dwelling, firstly the urge to find or establish a place in society, a way to be in the world, and secondly how dwelling is meaningful for how displaced persons relate to and are considered by society. Meier and Frank (2016) similarly draw attention to the relevance of social position, and who is able to be in specific places and under which circumstances. They argue that the sense of attachment to home (or place-belongingness) is developed through routines, rituals and embodiments which evolve through practices of dwelling. It is through personal experiences and the organisation and interaction with physical objects that dwellings becomes significant to people. As argued by Young (2005), acts of preservation – of homemaking – knit together our ever changing subjects into our identities. Home can then be conceptualised as "dwelling with senses of belonging" (Meier and Frank, 2016, p. 368).

As with dwelling, home is much more than a house (Mallett, 2004). Home can be understood as a symbolic space of comfort, security, and emotional attachment, it is the location of our memories and future plans, as well as many of our most private moments (Antonsich, 2010). Home is a familiar space where particular activities and relationships take place, and is created through the values and meanings of things that people do, and through the everyday practices of living in them (Mallett, 2004; Young, 2005; Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p. 3). Similarly, Grabska (2014) argues that home is created through sharing in the daily practice of social relations. Yet feminist critiques of home have shown that the concept of home as a haven is incomplete, neglecting the experiences of those for whom home is not a private place of refuge, but rather a negative, alienating, and hazardous environment and presenting home as insulated from wider political and societal positions (Manzo, 2003; Young, 2005). Uncritical conceptions of home

fail to account for it as a place in which wider power relations – gender, class, ethnicity, and generation – can be played out (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Holton, 2016). The identity of our homes are constantly being negotiated and recreated by the social interactions and effects that arise in specific locations (Mallett, 2004).

The idea of home and explorations of homemaking increase in complexity in the context of forced migration, which implies a rupture from home (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Long 2013; Grabska, 2014). In such contexts, people been forced to leave their former home and move to a new area, thus creating a complicated relationship between their current home, memories of their former home and expectations about the future. Their time in displacement is also often uncertain, affecting the ways in which they create and relate to their current home and plan for the future. In addition to these challenges, forced migrants often face practical constraints to establishing a home in their place of displacement, including inability to pay rent, insecure tenure and legal and societal restrictions on how they can establish themselves.

There has been limited focus on home-making in protracted displacement in transit countries, as compared to discussions of home in countries of asylum (Kissoon, 2006; Ager and Strang, 2008; Larsen, 2011) or in relation to return and reintegration (Grabska, 2014; Black and Koser, 1999; Zetter, 1999; Tete, 2012; Byrne, 2013; Hammond, 2014). The focus on return and integration has influenced the identification of the durable solutions and the image of refugees as 'out of place' (Black, 2002; Tete, 2012; Taylor, 2013).[52] Despite the emphasis on an end to displacement as a precursor to re-establishing home, many forced migrants do develop substantial claims and feelings of belonging to their place of displacement. More recent work has moved away from the dominance of territorial and state-centric ideas of home to consider the concept of home in displacement, demonstrating the multiple relationships and social, symbolic and material ties that refugees hold to different locations (Malkki, 1992; Brun, 2001; Omata, 2013b; Verdasco, 2019; Grabska, 2014), refugees' shifting understandings and expectations of home as displacement becomes more protracted, and the practices undertaken by refugees in rendering the 'unhomely' spaces of refuge as home (Brun and Fabos, 2015; Doná, 2015).

For many displaced persons, displacement is being both physically present and involved in one location, while having the feeling of belonging elsewhere (Brun, 2001). Brun and Fábos (2015) encapsulate these multiple dimensions of home in their constellation of HOME-Home-home. HOME relates to the political and historical context of home and to the notion of homeland as

[52] This preference is also due to the dominance of place-based notions of home, the barriers to integration in refugee hosting countries, and the restrictive immigration and refugee politics that have accompanied globalisation (Kibreab, 1999).

defined by national borders. Home refers to forced migrants' imagined homes, their memories of and longing for idealised homes. home describes the day-to-day practices and meanings ascribed to the places where forced migrants live, their interaction with their dwelling places. Seen through this constellation the potential for multiple, overlapping, and 'incomplete' homes emerges, as well as the importance of political and legal frameworks and everyday acts in relation to concepts of home. People may be intricately part of their localities, yet may not feel that they belong in those places.

Home is one of the most important sites of belonging, so much so that the two concepts are often used together, with 'feeling at home' being one of the ultimate signifiers of belonging (Antonsich, 2010). This is rapidly deconstructed in trying to define how people claim and perform belonging, especially in the context of forced migration. Belonging deals with the attachments people feel to the material and social worlds they inhabit and experience, and, importantly, the yearning we feel to belong (Bell, 1999; Wood and Waite, 2011). A simplistic understanding of belonging belies the complicated processes and emotions involved in belonging, individuals' different experiences of belonging, and explorations of belonging as self-identification and as identification by others (Yuval-Davis, 2006a; Valentine, Sporton and Nielsen, 2009; Anthias, 2013).

Antonsich's (2010) distinction between 'place-belongingness' and the 'politics of belonging' is useful in understanding the simultaneously deeply personal and intimate senses of belonging, and the production, reaffirmation or refusal of such belongings through societal interactions. He identifies 'place-belongingness' as the personal and intimate feelings of being at home, a "symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment", dependent on auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal factors (Antonsich, 2010, p. 6). Belonging, however, is not just personal, it is social. 'Politics of belonging' relates to the construction of collectives, and the more public-oriented structures of membership, otherwise expressed as belonging to a group of people (Antonsich, 2010). Belonging in this sense requires that people are able to express identity, to be recognised as integral part of community, and are valued and listened to. Though discussions of group belonging can result in an equation of belonging with sameness with dominant power, others have identified alternative, more inclusive forms of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006a). Importantly, these alternatives go beyond belonging as a territorialised construct, recognising that people belong to a situation, through everyday life encounters (interpersonal, material and virtual), rather than only to a territory or cultural or ethnic group (Amin, 2010; Verdasco, 2019; Grabska, 2014). Such work has challenged the idea of belonging as a fixed and stable category, instead highlighting and making more transparent processes of boundary making. Work on transnationalism and diaspora has also demonstrated an increasing recognition of the potential for plural and multiple belongings,

and that belonging is not a zero-sum game (Jackson, 2014). These alternatives emphasise that belonging is a process, not a status, and is not a primordial feature some people have, but rather is socially constructed and therefore performed and enacted through individual and collective practices.

In the context of protracted urban displacement, understandings of both being 'at home' (place belongingness) and group membership (politics of belonging) are challenged, and require us to consider how hosts and refugees construct and experience belonging (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti, 2011; Grabska, 2014). Place belongingness and politics of belonging are both relations, and hence it is valuable to consider the role of care in those relations, and the role of hosting in providing this care. I argue that the dwellings through which refugee hosting takes place are a key site to explore both dimensions of belonging. In the discussion that follows, I address hosting relationships with these two dimensions of belonging in mind, and argue that hosting holds the potential for home. In the empirical material that follows, I first outline the expectations and materiality of hosting, paying attention to the needs addressed through hosting. I then consider relations and positions within the household. In the third section, I consider place-belongingness or feeling at home in the household, before turning to a discussion of the politics of belonging, and the interaction between hosting and the men's position in society. Throughout the discussion, I emphasise the role of care in the dynamics of how people are brought together and how they respond to each other's needs.

In my work, I only had limited access to observe the men's daily domestic practices, in part due to my gender. In this chapter I draw on our discussions of their experiences of participating in hosting relationships, rather than extensive observation. My restricted access to these domestic spaces and routines is a limitation of the work, and the men's domestic practices would merit further research in order to understand how hosting arrangements are managed under different conditions, how hosting norms develop, and the ways in which the men 'learn' to host, and to further consider the extent to which they sought to, or were able to, create home while in displacement.

Beyond shelter: Caring for needs in the hosting relationship

Hosting provides much more than access to housing, providing for other basic needs, connecting people to employment, education, and other supports, and providing more intangible benefits such as a sense of solidarity. All the men spoke of the safety-net that was provided by hosting, and the expectation that others would support you if you became unemployed, or were injured or unwell. It was not unusual for each household to be supporting at least one non-contributing member each month, as the men found and lost work.

The men who participated in my research do not consider themselves to be among the most vulnerable. Though they frequently have unmet needs and rarely earn enough to remit money to relatives in Sudan, they recognise that their independence and low responsibility for others – particularly a wife or children - gives them a certain level of freedom. This section discusses the men's expectations of hosting and the main needs taken care of through their hosting relationships.

Shelter

For many men, the most immediate and obvious benefit of sharing housing was access to shelter. Without sharing, it would be impossible for many to afford even the most basic of accommodation, and shared accommodation is particularly common among Sudanese and Somali refugees (MMP, 2017b).

The shared group hosting type, as presented in Chapter Seven, typically involves a house of two or three bedrooms, with two or three men sharing each room. Houses normally only had one bathroom and one kitchen. In the houses I visited, there was a small separate living area for socialising and receiving guests. One of the larger houses had a garden, which was a popular place to sit and chat for household members and friends, especially during the hot summers. Though not dangerously overcrowded, these numbers were often swollen by temporary guests and visitors.

The homes I visited were basic but comfortable. Many had problems with damp and were dilapidated, but they were rarely dangerous. The exception to this is the house I visited with a resident with physical disabilities, who lived on the second floor of a building without a lift as it was less expensive than a ground floor apartment. Accessing and leaving his home is challenging, and requires the assistance of his housemates.

Group hosting arrangements are highly interdependent. Contribution to rent varies by month, depending on how much housemates can contribute. Reported rents ranged from 90 to 250 JOD (£100 - £280 GBP), split between 3 to 9 men. Electricity and water were typically additional costs, charged through meters or by the building owner, of 10 JOD – 15 JOD (£11 - £17 GBP) for electricity and approximately 5 JOD (£6 GBP) for water, though electricity bills are often significantly higher in the winter.[53] Men in shared apartment blocks also reported being charged

[53] Due to the small sample size, these figures should not be taken as generalisable. However, they are in line with figures stated in other reports detailing the living conditions of Sudanese refugees in Amman (Baslan, Kvittingen and Perlmann, 2017; CARE International, 2017; MMP, 2017b; Kvittingen *et al.*, 2019).

for a higher proportion of the total bill than their usage would indicate, a common concern among many refugee groups in Amman.

The hosting arrangements for the men I worked with also included sharing food. For the men I spoke to, cooking for everyone on an assigned night was a responsibility that came with sharing a house, ensuring that everyone ate at least one meal each day.

Employment

The men I spoke to earned approximately 17 JOD (£19 GBP) per day working in construction (they state that Jordanians, Palestinians and Egyptians are paid more – 20 to 25 JOD (£22 - £28 GBP)). It is rare that they will have work for the entire month or that they will receive all their pay for the work completed. Those in a steady job, such as cleaning or office assistance, reported earning approximately 200 JOD (£224 GBP) a month.

Though it was a common experience, the men did not explicitly expect their housemates to connect them to employment. Rather, they often lived with people they already worked with or who they already knew as friends. Living together often reinforced and strengthened these friendships, which in part was connected to people telling their housemates of job opportunities before others.

Protection and safety

The men spoke of increased safety as a key benefit of living in a hosting arrangement. This surprised me, as I had not considered the risks of young men living alone. Representatives of humanitarian organisations that I spoke to were also surprised by the prominence given to safety concerns by the men in their explanations of living together. This fear was linked to the armed physical attacks that many of the men had experienced in their homes in Amman, and the slow, inadequate, or non-existent response of the police. They also frequently mentioned the recent deaths of two Sudanese men in Jordan that, at the time, were unexplained. These safety concerns were amplified in a wider environment of racism and in the wake of the 2015 deportations.

The extent to which the deportation continues to reverberate in Sudanese society in Jordan should not be underestimated. In late 2017 Sudanese refugees reported a higher number of people than usual being detained for working without permits. They attributed this to a crack-down on working practices of Sudanese people, with enforcement practices targeted specifically

towards the Sudanese as visibly different members of the workforce.[54] The people I spoke to very quickly connected the sense of fear around working and the potential for detention at that time to the high levels of fear during and following the 2015 deportation, and the detention of many people immediately prior to the deportation. Living together was explicitly mentioned as a strategy to cope with this uncertainty and to be able to communicate information and warnings about high police presence at certain times. Ali described his friendship group, saying "*We have to manage, we have to be stuck together so if anything happens we tell each other. We tell each other 'there are police' so people have to remain in their homes and don't go out, because they will get them."*

Social Relationships

The men often put careful consideration into the type of person they wanted to live with. They referred to preferring to live with people with whom they felt comfortable, had a shared interest, and held a shared perspective on the world, as in other forms of collective housing (Mahieu and Van Caudenberg, 2020). Several men spoke about wanting to live with people who would support them in their studies, not financially, but by having similar aims and ambitions.

Their concern that housemates have similar preferences regarding noise, privacy, partying and household chores shows that they did expect their shelter to act as a comfortable and (at least) semi-private space. To a certain extent, the expectations and the processes of finding an equilibrium in the home are similar to those described by research on other unrelated people sharing accommodation, such as students (Holton, 2016). The men also repeatedly live with the same men, even after periods in different houses, because they are familiar with their personalities, habits, and preferences, for better or worse (better the devil you know).

I don't know if people considered the strengthening of their relationships before moving in. With the exception of one, all the men I interviewed had lived in more than one hosting arrangement and had become accustomed to how things were arranged. As people spent longer in hosting arrangements or experienced a greater number they both came to appreciate the value of sharing beyond the economic benefits and safety net provided, and yet at the same time accepted that they were unlikely to find the 'perfect' living situation in a hosting arrangement. Most men seemed to form close attachments to one or two household members, but to expect that the others would be less to their taste, and would come and go. The exception was Mo, who

[54] It is not clear whether there was stronger enforcement of labour laws generally at this time, whether enforcement practices were targeted towards the Sudanese, or whether a larger number of Sudanese men were in the workforce at this time, and detention rates remained proportionally the same.

repeatedly told me that he felt like he was living with brothers, wished they could be resettled together, and moved houses with the same group of men.

As can be seen, the men's hosting relationships involve multiple acts of care from the financial, such as supporting others during unemployment, to personal care, such as providing meals and helping with the physical movement of members with disabilities; the sharing of information about jobs and security; and emotional acts of care, through strategies to deal with uncertainty, provide advice, or collegiality in studying and other goals. Hosting relationships also encompass all four phases of care as identified by Joan Tronto (1998): perceiving the needs of others (caring about), assuming a responsibility to meet others' needs (caring for), action to meet the needs of others (caregiving), and receiving and responding to the receipt of care (care receving).

Positions at home and participating in relations of care

For Sudanese refugees in Amman, the navigation and negotiation of different intersecting power structures has become a daily habit. This section focuses on power dynamics and positions in the home, considering how the power of money, family and social connections, and social status and reputation interact with dynamics of hosting

Few of the men I spoke to could, or wanted to, identify a household head within their hosting arrangement. The exception to this was when there was someone who was considerably older. Instead, power relations within the home seemed complex and shifting, reflecting the frequent changes in composition of the home. In most cases, the men reported that household decisions were made through discussions and consensus. Adam described the process of accepting a new member into his household.

> *We are there and we have the space to stay. We sit with all the guys in the house and talk about it. Someone will propose "Guys, how about this guy? He wants to come live with us because we have the physical space. What's your opinion?" You can say he's welcome or you decide he's not. If you say welcome, you say why. And if you say no, you say why.*

Despite the collaborative and consensus-based nature of this approach, it became clear that the men did occupy different positions in the household which they had gained or been assigned through a mixture of economic security, social connections, and their own personalities.

Work and household positions

In previous chapters I have discussed how the connections made through work can translate into hosting arrangements and vice-versa. Here I briefly explore the relationship between employment and relations within the home.

Firstly, those with secure or stable incomes can assume a more powerful position within the home. Though the men were typically hesitant to identify a head of household, in resource constrained contexts those reliably supplying income may hold greater leverage over decision making, and some men noted that stable income could increase the weight of one person's opinion.

Secondly, employment patterns affect the roles taken on by men within the home. For example, in all six homes the men co-created a rota of when each individual had responsibility to cook for all the others and clean the house. Though these 'shifts' could be switched with a housemate, it was unacceptable not to make any arrangements for your assigned tasks if you were unavailable. In contrast, Waseem, who could not work, took on all the cleaning and cooking in his house as his contribution to the group. Many of the men who do work, work long hours, often overnight, and frequently describe their lives as "sleep, work, eat, sleep, work", with no time for other activities. Though not explicitly stated, I wonder if there is an underlying assumption that those who have been at home longer on any given day due to a lack of work should have completed more household tasks.

Thirdly, being unemployed (whether permanently or temporarily) may change the extent to which the men feel at home in their hosting relationship. Men participating in my research would occasionally mention an unwillingness to participate in hosting arrangements while they were in the less powerful position, for example while unable to work or in need of more intimate support following injury or ill-health. They were not concerned about the need to repay those who provided care, but rather did not wish to be seen as dependent, and didn't want to be spoken about as someone who took from others. However, this was a minority of participants. The majority of men I spoke to did not represent this point of view, and maintained that positions in the relationship were based on a willing and active engagement in searching for work, not the economic contribution to the household made possible through work. They were more likely to describe the relationship as reciprocal, explaining that they had previously or would later help others. As argued by Serra Mingot (2019), the importance of generalised reciprocity in supporting individuals at specific points for the nurturing family and social networks is well recognised in Sudan. In considering their hosting relations in this way, the men avoided describing their acts of care for others as burdensome. Giving care has instead become

part of what it means to be a ‘good’ young man in Jordan. Arguably, this is not far removed from their previous expectations of masculinity, which expected that men would take care of their family members’ needs, thus ensuring their social and economic standing. However, for the men participating in my research, who was encompassed within these caring relations and how care was performed has altered.

Social positions in the household

Social positions and pre-existing relationships can impact on dynamics within the home. Reflecting back these processes, the act of hosting can also translate into shifted social positions in wider society, so the relationship between social positions and hosting is complex and two-way.

The ‘simple’ act of being liked or having a wide friendship group can facilitate access to hosting arrangements. Most men live with people they already know and have established a relationship with. For established hosting arrangements considering taking in an additional person, if they do not already know them, the men often seek to find friends in common or to obtain a ‘character reference’ of sorts. For those with limited social connections, this could prove difficult. Given the relatively high frequency of household changes and the dependence on social standing to find subsequent hosting arrangements social connections are key.

In cases where the majority of participants in the hosting arrangements were related, the weight of these familial ties sometimes affected what the unrelated members felt they could express and how any concerns or suggestions might be received. In such cases, if complaints were unresolved, it was clear to the unrelated member of the household that they would be the one to leave, regardless of the ‘rights and wrongs’ of the issue.

The men also showed deference to people they considered to be wise or experienced. Advice and counsel from these men was likely to be respected and be able to influence the opinion of others. Ali described one of his friends in this way, saying

> *“We are not in contact a lot but he’s a logic guy, so I'm interested to hear from him. I trust his advice. The rest are friends. But to find someone real to go to when you need, that’s him. He’s quiet, he doesn’t talk a lot, and he likes to give advice, he likes to share information logically. I have other people talking, you feel like they're just telling you this for right now, they don't have the background. My friend is older, he's around 40.”*

Social standing could also be accrued through hosting. For the men I spoke to, hosting reinforced bonds and helped develop a reputation as a trustworthy and 'respectable' housemate, someone who took his turn and supported others. Those who were living with newer arrivals also spoke about being able to share their experience and guide people who had recently arrived. For example, Ibrahim said *"If someone just came, I'd ask them 'do you need some help, where you are going, who are you are going?' Maybe I know these guys who you need, and I can bring you with him."* I asked Adam about what would happen if you refused to host someone even though you had the space available. He told me that so long as you could explain why you made the decision, it was ok. In practice though, I think such situations were rare. As Adam said shortly after, *"Here in Jordan, the cost is so high. We know that about the situation. We look at many things, and we try to share."*

Group hosting arrangements were presented to me as largely based on collaboration and consensus. Though there is potential for those with greater stability – either due to their economic position or the strength of their social ties – to exert greater leverage over the process, the frequent shifts in the men's economic position means that each was aware of their potentially instability, and the possibility for them to become dependent on those they previously helped. Hosting relationships also had an important influence on the men's positions within wider Sudanese society in Jordan. Ties developed through hosting were typically strong, particularly within the smaller 'core' groups within the houses, as identified by the men. In many cases, the connections solidified through hosting translated into access to job opportunities and improved economic status (even if temporary). Appropriate participation in hosting arrangements and being known as a 'good guy' was also a signifier of acceptance into Sudanese society and of doing one's part in supporting others in the face of hostile circumstances. Participation is thus both dependent on social status, and a contributor to it.

Conflict at home

Expectations were rarely full and clearly articulated before men joined a shared house. Rather, people's expectations were developed through their existing knowledge of the newcomer or the house they wanted to join, and a belief that the friendship between them would lead to similar expectations from the relationship. Though this did not always work out as planned, there seemed to be little animosity between people, with household changes attributed to circumstance and character differences, rather than character attacks. The conflicts reported to me tended to relate to everyday frustrations such as cleanliness, taking turns cooking, taking too long in the bathroom, being too noisy, or having different sleep habits than others. Though the men did not speak about it happening in their own homes, they also reported more serious incidents of theft (of money and personal items).

I was told several times that people would not 'correct' a housemate for 'wrong' behaviour until it had been repeated several times. Even after this, he would be given a gentle warning and several more chances. All the men I spoke to were clear that conflict and disputes were either avoided or resolved by collective discussion, rather than outright conflict. On the surface, the men I spoke to did not seem to harbour bad feelings towards each other following disputes at home. In many cases, they simply tried to avoid conflict all together, expressing the view that life is difficult here, we need to support each other and deal with it. Towards the end of my fieldwork, however, the importance of reputation as a good or troublesome housemate became more prominent.

Despite an emphasis on conflict avoidance and a collaborative approach to dispute resolution, in some cases men would leave a hosting arrangement. In some cases, this would be because they had been asked to leave by a majority of the others. The men I worked with did not describe this happening within their homes and it was suggested this is at the extreme end of responses. On the other hand, some men 'chose' to leave because conditions at home had become unbearable for them. This was often following discussion and attempts at resolution and was not a decision the men took lightly. Given their situation in Amman, the difficulty of finding alternative accommodation, and the close interweaving of hosting relationships with work and socialising, there was substantial pressure to avoid conflict. In many cases, the men reported that living with others and being able to talk with them was a key way to manage the stress and depression that they associated with their refugee status in Jordan. At the same time, pressures could be compounded by sharing accommodation with a high number of others, resulting in a highly stressful environment.

The provision and receipt of acts of care within hosting are to a certain extent determined by the men's social and economic position within the household, though this is tempered by a recognition that economic standing is volatile and uncertain. Those who lived in shared group hosting arrangements were typically single (or unaccompanied by their wives), young, and did not have any children. These positions limited other demands for care that may otherwise have been placed on them. At the same time, when relations arrived in Jordan, the men were often obliged to support them and to incorporate them into their hosting arrangements. In some cases, the arrival of 'real' brothers supplanted caring arrangements with 'fictive' brothers. The men's acts of care within their household-level hosting arrangements are therefore highly intertwined with their social and economic positions within and beyond the household. These positions are intimately related to their sense of belonging at various levels which returns us to my contention that hosting holds the potential for home.

Place-belongingness: Feeling at home through hosting

Antonsich (2010) identifies five components to 'place-belongingness', the intimate feeling of belonging somewhere: auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal. Refugee hosting relationships strongly contribute to relational and economic components of home, through being key sites for the development and maintenance of significant and caring social ties, and a primary mechanism for assuring (some degree) of economic stability while in displacement and mitigating some of the consequences of the men's economic instability.

Hosting arrangements also contribute, to a degree, to cultural indicators of home. This is particularly true in hosting relationships between those who identify as part of the same group, and for whom hosting can reinforce these identities. However, hosting rarely lives up to cultural ideals of home. Two of the men directly addressed the inadequacies of their current living situation with regards to their sense of home. Ali, for example, told me how home for him was (in addition to his family) his cattle, showing me a picture of them grazing in green farmland. He said "*That's my farm. That's it, that's the life that we're supposed to live. Passing some knowledge or information, helping students, small things, my wife also, she's still in Sudan*." The sprawling concrete city of Amman, surrounded by dry and dusty plains, does not physically resemble his idealised farming home and does not allow him to recreate the activities which he had previously associated with home and his future. Similarly, Isaac spoke about being unable to perform hospitality, because he was not able to have a separate 'living room' to welcome guests. Though he went on to describe hosting Sudanese people visiting from Aqaba, who stayed in his living room in Amman, it didn't resemble the concept of a living room that he was familiar with from Sudan, and he did not view it in the same way, despite it fulfilling a similar function. From his point of view, he didn't have a proper home from which to be hospitable.

Some hosting relationships may contribute to the auto-biographical component of place-belongingness, relating to personal experiences and memories. During my work, this was only discussed by small number of the men, for whom hosting arrangements had become their preferred living arrangements. It is important to note here though that this was only discussed as desirable in displacement and after resettlement. None of the men spoke about return as an option, nor how their experiences of hosting impacted on what they thought home might look like if and when they returned to Darfur.

Hosting relationships could not impact on the legal aspect of the men's belonging, though they are an important aspect of managing their legal precarity and the discomfort produced by their legal position.

Speaking to the Sudanese men I worked with, there was both a constant working towards and expectation of resettlement combined with frustration and uncertainty about when RSD interviews might take place. This uncertainty about time in displacement necessarily influences how the men perceive their hosting arrangements, particularly with regards to the length of time they think they will be living in such arrangements. For these men, both their housemates and the physical property they live in frequently change, largely due to external pressures such as employment, rent, and relationships with landlords. The five plus years of their displacement have been a time of adjusting to a radically different environment than expected, including significant shifts in their movement horizons. Many men in this situation are now aware that they will likely be in Jordan for many years, and yet at the same time maintain a constant hope that they will find an opportunity to be resettled and are prepared for this movement at any time. The tension between rational expectation and hopeful aspirations is a key part of their attitudes towards their homes.

Politics of belonging: Hosting and shared identities

An ethics of care depends on recognised interdependence with others. In the case of the men I worked with, recognising these independencies stemmed in part from a sense of shared identity and experience as young, black, Sudanese, refugee men living in Amman.

Our associations are often a principal manner of describing our identities, and the groups and entities to which we claim to belong or those who claim us situate us in the world: 'Who am I?' is related to 'Where do I belong?' (Manzo, 2003; Antonsich, 2010). Shared group hosting primarily occurred between those who shared a sense of familiarity, shared belonging, and a common cause or experience. People hosted others due to a desire to help friends and family; an understanding of what the displaced persons have been through; meeting an identifiable need; a sense of obligation, and encouragement from others such as peers and community leaders; or a perceived benefit from hosting such as labour or other contributions to the household and the local community, all of which will have a unique set of advantages and disadvantages (Rohwerder, 2013). In doing so, they not only embodied what it means to be part of a particular group, but in caring for others, also reaffirmed their belonging (Williams, 2001; Milligan and Wiles, 2010). Hosting is therefore both a result of group belonging, and a claim to it. In the hosting relationships discussed here, where the men are simultaneously hosts and hosted, these processes are often concurrent and two-way.

A key feature of urban environments is the multiplicity of communities and complex social networks, and the multiple and simultaneous potential inclusions and exclusions. In talking about their sense of belonging and connection the men at various times raised multiple forms of

belonging, from a house, a friendship group, an employment site, a community centre, to their tribal group, to the Sudanese community in Jordan, to the refugee community of Jordan, to Amman, to their home town, to Darfur, to Sudan, to Africa, or to humankind. As this list shows, their belongings ranged from the highly intimate and local to more global conceptions of belonging. What is interesting to me is the way that these belongings were enacted, not in abstract conception or idealised notions, but through everyday actions, and in particular through attitudes towards and explanations of hosting and the ways in which these were put into practice.

The connection between hosting and personal identity was particularly strong in cases where the men had made a more active choice to live with friends who had something in common with them. This was important in defining aspects of their individual personalities. For example, some houses were known to be more studious, home to men who were able to continue their studies and support each other to do so. Others shared a passion for football or attending many social or cultural activities together. Certainly, these friendship bonds exist between men who do not share houses, but the frequency with which harmony at home was linked to living with people who 'think and act like you' suggests that for some groups of men living together reinforces those aspects of their identity and forms a group house identity around those traits or interests.

Others represented living with others in terms of their sense of community obligation and assistance, basing relations on a common knowledge of what it is like to be a male Darfurian refugee in Jordan. In these cases, hosting was talked about as a connection to a refugee identity, a male identity, and a Sudanese identity. In more in-depth talks, it often became apparent that there was a preference for people with the same tribal background or place of origin, based on the idea that people with a shared background would have a shared understanding of how to act in ways that were acceptable to each other.

"Being one of the guys" was provided as an explanation for why Sudanese men lived together, rather than with families. In an interesting discussion, Adam told me that earlier some young (as young as 10) men arrived and were taken in by families. Yet once they reached their late teens, they would move out to live with the guys.

> *Adam: UNHCR told them there's a Sudanese family and they managed with them, and stayed with the family for a long time. But when they were older and knew more, they tried to live with the guys, not to live with the family.*
>
> *Zoe: Why?*

Adam: Because, it's not a problem to live with the family, but you don't feel free like you do when you live with the guys…If you live with guys, you can talk with guys and you can share any problem you have, something like that. But if you live with a family, you can't do that.

Unlike earlier explanations I'd heard, about discomfort with young men sharing homes with unrelated women, Adam felt that this wasn't the case in many households. The men would have been ok to stay, but it would have been unusual. At the same time, he thought that many of the young men would have felt constrained by continuing to live with a family. To him, moving in with other young men represented a freedom, consolidating membership in the group of young men, and taking charge of your own behaviour.

Hosting can reinforce a self-identified group identity, as when the Sudanese men told me they host because "*this is what we do, we are Sudanese*". At the same time, it can also re-create or reconstitute familiar cultural identifiers and practices from before displacement while under very different circumstances, as with Issac's description of his re-formulation of hospitality practices in his living room, as described earlier in this chapter.

In a context where the men report feeling invisible, ignored, and undesirable, it is evident that the belongings developed and reinforced through hosting play an important role in finding and fulfilling an identity, whether that be related to shared interest, nationality, age, or gender. However, this is still a belonging that is largely framed by a common experience of marginalisation and an inability to belong to the larger political community. Yakub summed up many of the men's feelings:

"Some Sudanese, I give them suggestions, I imagine. I ask them "If they gave you a Jordanian passport, and they gave you house, and a good job. Would you stay here?". "No, I wouldn't!" They don't like it, because of the [negative Jordanian] community."

As argued by Rowe (2005) not every form of belonging is possible, and people are not free to choose their belongings outside the bounds of power.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I aimed to show how relations of care in household-level hosting contribute to relations of dwelling and belonging. Drawing on Young's (2005) argument that preservation can make home without certainty or fixity, I have explored hosting as a site for belonging through the household-level relations of the dwelling in which it takes place.

In the first section I identified the needs met through hosting. I identified financial, intimate, informational, and emotional acts of care exchanged within hosting relationships in response to identified needs, and discuss how Sudanese men experience and manage the actual provision and receipt of care within their household-level hosting arrangements. Building on literature on men's caring practices, it further confirms that men do care, offering insight into the exchange of care within a group and relationship often overlooked in the literature. It also reinforces the importance of hosting relationships as a component of refugees' livelihoods, highlighting the multiple domains assembled through hosting.

In the second section I considered the men's positions within the household. In thinking about the provision and exchange of care, I highlight how individuals hold different socio-economic positions, and how these positions influence their roles and decision-making processes within their hosting relationships. While some men expressed receiving care as oppressive, the majority viewed it as part of a reciprocal arrangement that worked to meet their different needs within the uncertain context of their displacement. Their positions in the household are formed in interaction with wider society, both being the product of external social, economic, and legal factors, and being influenced by the development of social standing and connections to employment accrued through hosting. This further develops the understanding of hosting as an act formed in relation between individuals and their environment, and indicates some avenues for potential intervention to support hosting arrangements.

In the third section, I drew attention to how the acts and relations of care of hosting influenced the men's sense of feeling at home. Through the relations of care experienced in hosting, the men were able to dwell in Amman, developing and drawing together relations to people and place. To some extent, hosting mitigates the economic instability caused due to precarious legal status and restrictions, and augments auto-biographical, relational and cultural components of home. The reduction of hosting relations to economic calculations of cost-benefit misses these vital components. A lack of home (as place-belongingness) does not necessarily result in exclusion, but rather a sense of loneliness and alienation (Antonsich, 2010). Hosting both mitigates this, to some degree, and finds its foundations in a shared understanding and solidarity with others experience the feeling of not being at home.

In the fourth section, I showed how hosting contributes to the politics of belonging and participants' positions in wider society. As argued in the opening to this chapter, relations are care are central for understanding belonging, and for the reproduction of social ties in times and contexts of uncertainty. Recognition of each other's' situations and need is crucial in understanding how hosting relationships are formed and experienced. As shown in this chapter

and the previous chapter, identities and belongings are shaped by the uncertainty of displacement, used to claim access to hosting, and reinforced and re-shaped through participation in hosting. This emphasises the dynamic nature of care and identities, and the broader importance of paying attention to changing social and political relations in displacement.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

In this thesis I have explored household-level refugee hosting in protracted urban contexts. I argue that acts of refugee hosting are a response to conditions of displacement, characterised by a recognition of interdependence and an ethics of care between participants. Viewing them as such moves the discussion of hosting away from one dominated by economic transactions and meeting of material needs to focus instead on the relations between people in displacement and their interactions with displacement contexts. In doing so, I provoke a reconsideration of traditional humanitarian assumptions and responses regarding refugee hosting in protracted urban displacement.

What constitutes the act of refugee hosting at the household-level in protracted urban displacement?

In this thesis, I have sought to understand what constitutes the act of refugee hosting at the household-level in protracted urban displacement.

The act of refugee hosting must be understood through a framework of hospitality, sharing, and an ethics of care. Such an understanding moves away from dominant depictions based on economic calculation and family obligation found in existing literature to instead identify hosting as an act that depends on recognition of the other and a response to identified need. I argue that sharing space without an accompanying sense of interpersonal relationship is not hosting. While hosting occurs between individuals, it is also deeply interconnected with larger social practices. It is not only a series of individual actions, but often an institutional practice which develops in situated locations. In turn, these institutions shape the norms of hosting within that society. Hosting is therefore both a practice and a value.

The theoretical framework developed for understanding the act of hosting advances current understandings of hosting in four key ways. Firstly, it provides a framework to understand hosting arrangements between unrelated participants. Secondly, adding the concepts of sharing and caring reconceptualises our understanding of hosting as a burden, and allows us to see the ways in which hosting practices can be mutually beneficial. This opens space for emphasising the prevalence of refugee-refugee hosting relationships and the primary role of refugees in responding to displacement. Thirdly, and related to this, such an understanding challenges the territorialised notion of hosting as taking place between citizen-hosts and displaced-guests. Fourthly, the recognition of hosting as an act emphasises that it is conditioned by both social norms and the political, social, legal, and economic context of displacement. Hosting is not an inevitable response to displacement, a realisation that asks us to recognise hosting not as a static

or pre-defined practice, but a dynamic act. Understanding household-level hosting as an interdependent relation, often taking place between refugees, clashes with the everyday connotations of the term 'hosting'. The unproblematised dominance of the phrase 'host family' to refer to such acts obscures the dynamics of hosting, how the circulation of such care is negotiated, performed, and received, and how this relates to the different positions and experiences of refugees in protracted urban displacement.

In answering my overall research question, I posed three sub-questions that sought to elucidate these dynamics. The following summarises the key findings in response to each sub-question. I then synthesise learning from this research regarding what constitutes the act of hosting, and reflect on the implications for humanitarianism.

1. What are the different forms of household hosting relationship present among refugee populations in Amman, Jordan and how can they be characterised?

In order to identify the broad range of types of hosting relationship existing among the displaced population in Amman, I developed a typology of hosting arrangements. I worked with Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese, and Syrian refugees living in Amman to understand their different practices of hosting. In doing so, I also took into consideration gender, marital status and the presence of children, age, disability and long-term ill-health, and length of time in displacement in Amman. This makes a significant contribution to our understanding of refugee hosting, unpacking the term 'host family'.

First, I identified eight different types of hosting arrangement, identifying different types of hosting currently subsumed under the 'host family' label. I then considered these types in relation to two key features of the proposed framework: interdependence and type of exchange (guesthood to tenancy). This showed that the relationships that most preoccupy humanitarians are highly interdependent and based not on dependent guesthood nor economic rental agreements, but rather on sharing. They are arrangements in which all participants have contributions to make. In the third section of the chapter, I turned to an explanation of how individual characteristics and temporality affect the type of hosting available to different people. In the final section, I considered the different motivations expressed for participating in hosting relationships. Starting with economic need, additional motivations emphasise the social relationships between participants. This section returns us to the contention that acts of hosting are based on recognition of the other, and identifies the importance of interpersonal relationships for accessing different types of hosting relationships.

The typology substantially contributes to our understanding of household-level hosting, revealing the diversity of arrangements subsumed within the 'host family' label. This questions the value and connotations of this label, which implicitly – and perhaps accidentally - excludes types of hosting from humanitarian consideration. In identifying different types of hosting and beginning to consider how access to hosting is conditioned by people's different social positions, I demonstrate how hosting is not premised only on kinship connections, but rather is the result of relations developed in a given location, in relation to specific identities and perceived strengths and vulnerabilities associated with these.

In combination with the framework, the typology serves to frame the final chapters of the thesis through an in-depth exploration of experiences and acts of hosting for Sudanese refugee men living in group hosting arrangements. In Chapter Seven, I identified group hosting arrangements as an archetype of highly interdependent and sharing-based hosting. In subsequent chapters, I explored how and where these interdependencies developed and the men's experiences of care in hosting. Despite NGO awareness of the occurrence of group hosting arrangements, it has been the focus of little in-depth research. Generally, knowledge about the Sudanese refugee population in Jordan is low. My focus in this research is therefore a timely contribution to existing knowledge on an under-researched group and practice.

2. How do Sudanese refugee men create and maintain hosting relationships in the urban environment?

The thesis has further contributed to the assertion that there is a hierarchy of assistance for refugees in Jordan in which, currently, non-Syrian refugees receive little assistance. I argue that hosting relationships are a deliberate act in the hostile context of Sudanese displacement in Amman and are a central component of urban livelihoods, providing an infrastructure of care through which refugees respond to each other's needs and, in providing for continued presence, inhabit the city.

To understand the acts through which Sudanese men created and maintained their relationships, I considered hosting as a form of sociality, and analysed how and where it developed in displacement. Sudanese men typically arrived to Amman with no pre-existing social connections, and yet quickly developed relationships and networks for hosting. I explored how their encounters and interactions in particular spaces and activities resulted in the emergence of hosting as both individual acts and as an informal institution. The norms of hosting are thus developed in response to the specific context, opportunities and constraints of urban Amman for Sudanese refugee men, and based on an embedded and situated understanding of others formed through repeated and prolonged interaction.

I argue that household-level hosting is part of the urban infrastructure that maintains urban life. Through hosting, refugees inhabit the city, assembling the different components of urban life which allow for their presence and persistence, and exerting their own influence on the city. Doing so contributes to our understanding of urban displacement and the experience of the urban for refugees, highlighting how hosting relationships are produced in relation to specific social, economic, and legal positions in the city, and how urban encounter can develop into relations of care.

In Chapter Nine, I continue this discussion, analysing how the circulation of care within the men's shared group hosting arrangements. While acknowledging the limitations of care for achieving structural change, I argue that hosting holds the potential for home. As yet, there has been little work paying attention to the day-to-day experience of living in such a hosting arrangement. This chapter therefore adds new information to our understanding of the realities of hosting. Considering the men's everyday acts of care contributes to the growing literature on men's caring practices in displacement and highlights the importance of acts of care in understanding home and belonging in displacement.

3. How can humanitarian practice expand to acknowledge these everyday acts in ordinary cities?

Humanitarian actors have a significant influence on refugee hosting. The starting point of this thesis was my own interest in improving humanitarian practice, based on the observation that humanitarian actors are aware of the prevalence and importance of hosting relationships yet have little knowledge about them and limited experience in working to support them. This assessment was reflected in the practices of UNHCR and NGOs in Amman. This does not mean that humanitarian actors do not influence hosting. On the contrary, the humanitarian landscape and it's interactions with the urban environment has a strong influence over the emergence of hosting as can be seen in the case of Sudanese refugees. The failure to adequately support and protect Sudanese refugee men in Amman was key to their experiences of displacement and their hosting arrangements. In particular, the men reported feeling trapped by a system in which they can neither secure their own well-being nor receive assistance. Hosting relationships are a response to this economic instability and a source of support for managing the daily stress of living and negotiating such regimes.

Humanitarian actors do provide some financial support which enables recipients to pay rent or contribute to household costs. Humanitarian programmes that have targeted refugee hosting have tended to focus on the economic aspects of the arrangement (Caron, 2019). However,

financial assistance is highly limited and insufficient for individuals to afford rent in Amman. This is not to challenge the importance of this type of assistance, which is essential in contexts in which work is prohibited and living costs are high, but to re-orient attention to the additional aspects of hosting. The social programming provided by many organisations is particularly interesting in the context of hosting, and such programmes appear to be highly valued by those participating in them. These programmes provide additional sites for the men to develop social relationships with which to engage in hosting relationships.

The understanding of hosting I present in this thesis requires humanitarian practitioners to reconsider existing knowledge of household-level hosting practices. The essential learning reinforces the need for humanitarian actors to acknowledge the agency of refugees in displacement contexts, recognising the extent of the dynamic and everyday acts through which they support themselves and each other. The humanitarian system should facilitate and support this potential. Firstly, they need to recognise that the impacts of hosting are far more extensive than a short-lived shelter solution. Secondly, although commonly seen as an emergency response, hosting relationships often endure for years through protracted displacement. In this time, their composition and type may shift, requiring alterations in the ways in which humanitarian agencies provide support. Thirdly, they should recognise that existing programming is already impacting on hosting relationships – both for cash programming and social and community-based programming. In many cases this is a positive outcome, and should be reinforced. However, deliberate consideration and awareness of these impacts would also allow for improvements to be made. Finally, in order to support the full range of hosting types identified in this thesis, humanitarian programming needs to open up to the prevalence and importance of non-nuclear households and the essential support these provide. Adjustments to needs assessment frameworks should be made – starting with the simple addition of establishing who lives in each household and the key areas in which they support each other.

Hosting as relational

In this thesis, I have argued that hosting is a relational act. Household-level refugee hosting is dependent on relations with other people, through the recognition and response to others and their needs and the building of interdependencies; and with places of displacement, through its formation in response to individuals' positions within a specific urban context. As has been argued throughout the thesis, hosting is not a static response nor is it one built only on existing relations. Rather, it is a relation that is actively constructed and negotiated by those involved in relation to their everyday lives. Proposing this relational understanding of acts of hosting requires a consideration of how, where, and why such relationships are formed. In doing so, it

has broader implications for understanding how refugees relate to one another and their places of displacement.

Refugee relations with other refugees in hosting are deeply enmeshed in relations of solidarity. This solidarity is rarely a cosmopolitan gesture of conviviality, but rather an extension of support to familiar strangers, founded on perceived common experiences, identities, and understandings of displacement produced through the experience of living in a particular displacement context.

This identification with others changes the motivations behind helping and marginal sharing. Though participants in my research described being motivated by a moral sense of common humanity and altruism, this was in addition to a sense of 'this could be me'. The scale of obligation and duty also changed, to be not only towards a largely abstract universal ideal, but also towards very real and situated constructions of expected behaviour. These norms, constructed in a dense network of interpersonal relations result not only in a sense of obligation and duty, but also, crucially, in an ethics of care.

This calls into question who is recognised as in need of care, who is recognised as responsible for caring. For the men in my study, the requirement for them to care for others through hosting was created though the perceived inadequacies of the humanitarian system. The explicit focus on men in my research builds on previous work on the gendered effects of displacement and the different ways men cope with displacement (Grabska, 2014; Turner, 2016; Dolan, 2018). Considering the formation of Sudanese men's hosting relationships in response to the urban context shows how men's social and economic positions within urban environments are shaped by gendered norms and expectations, including those of the humanitarian system, which often overlooks the specific needs of men. Failing to fully engage with the specific vulnerabilities of displaced men results in a failure to question how men meet their needs, and only a partial understanding of lives in urban displacement. In this thesis, I identify the extensive relations of care that exist for men beyond their family relations and draw attention to the interdependencies that sustain those living in long-term displacement with limited humanitarian assistance.

The recognition of interdependence as central in acts of hosting causes us to think about how these interdependencies are produced shift in relation to the passing of time and the temporal expectations of displacement. Beyond biological basic needs, household-level hosting engages with refugees' biography through both shared experiences of displacement and an opening to imaginaries of the future through support for work, education, and identity building. This is not to say that hosting always provided avenues to achieve these futures, indeed, many relationships

were highly time-bound and unstable, in part due to the humanitarian and policy environment in which they were constructed.

The relational nature of hosting also has implications for understanding how refugees relate to their places of displacement, and the urban dimension of hosting. In terms of how refugees relate to their place of displacement, I argue that hosting relationships have the potential to create a sense of home, both in terms of a sense of belonging to place and people, and a political sense of belonging through recognition of each other's situations and need. This contributes to the growing literature on home and integration for refugees who are unable to obtain a durable solution, and causes us to think more about how refugees construct, maintain, and develop their lives while in protracted displacement.

As I have argued, hosting is formed in interaction with the urban environment. This interaction is two-way: as well as the men's hosting practices being shaped by their urban context, their hosting impacts on the urban environment. I argue that household-level hosting is part of the urban infrastructure that maintains urban life. Through hosting, refugees inhabit the city, assembling the different components of urban life which allow for their presence and persistence, and exerting their own influence on the city. Doing so contributes to our understanding of urban displacement and the experience of the urban for refugees, highlighting how hosting relationships are produced in relation to specific social, economic, and legal positions in the city, and how urban encounter can develop into relations of care. Demonstrating how hosting emerges from the intersection of different components of the urban and in response to the men's positions in relation to the humanitarian system highlights the need for a more in-depth and nuanced consideration of how the humanitarian system (along with other actors) is interconnected with urban environments.

I argue that through collective commitments to one another which allow for prolonged inhabitation in the city, hosting is a site for the 'silent encroachment' of claims to belonging (Bayat, 1997; Isin, 2017). The act of hosting is therefore a political claim, to each other, the spaces of dwelling, and the city. Failing to hear the historical and political interpretations attached to the act of hosting fail to understand how it emerges and is performed in different contexts and motivations people have to partake in hosting relationships. As argued by Young (2005), drawing on bell hooks, the ability to resist and to imagine and enact more humane social relations relies on access to spaces beyond the full reach of structures of domination. Though unable to achieve full belonging, hosting relationships offer a space for such relations of care through the preservation of everyday life. In doing so, it offers an alternate vision of how to care for people in times of crisis and disaster (Robinson, 2018).

Implications for humanitarian practice

I identify refugee hosting as a humanitarian act, in that it saves lives and alleviates suffering, and embraces compassion and solidarity as core values. At the same time, my understanding of the act of hosting emphasises the interdependencies and situated understandings of participants who engage in hosting relationships. Bringing these two contentions into conversation with each other questions our existing understanding of humanitarianism, and queries whether the humanitarian system could benefit from greater engagement with alternative forms of humanitarianism, including the everyday and small-scale forms of political life that persist or appear during crisis, such as hosting.

Unlike the humanitarian system, humanitarian acts of hosting concern those with whom participants identify, rather than distant strangers. In identifying with others and forming relationships based on common identity and experience, I argue that acts of hosting are premised on the circulation of care. Incorporating an ethic of care into our understanding of the act of hosting questions existing practices of care within the humanitarian system.

An ethics of care differs from the regimes of care associated with the humanitarian system in several key ways. Firstly, humanitarianism focuses on strangers as the objects of care, rather than specific others. Ticktin (2011) highlights the prioritisation of biology within the current humanitarian system, with its focus on suffering bodies and 'objective' vulnerability (Malkki, 1996). In contrast, and as argued by Brun (2016b), an ethics of care requires both biology and biography, moving away from the notion of the stranger. In making this shift, the basis of care moves from a universal and objective determination of 'morally legitimate' recipients of care to an ethics of care based on emotional and partial relationships and awareness of the context. This is in contrast to the humanitarian system, which is increasingly distant and bureaucratic, despite attempts at reform. Secondly, an ethics of care recognises the continuous and everyday presence of interdependencies. Unlike humanitarian care, which relies on exceptionalism and rescue, an ethics of care requires everyday acts of care and the acknowledgement that we will all require care during our lives. As such, hosting contains within it the recognition of interdependence and the potential for diffused reciprocity as well as accountability to one another, rather than the unequal 'gift' paradigm of care in the humanitarian system. Thirdly, it concerns a fundamental shift in approach, from caring for others to caring about others (Raghuram, 2009). This is essential in conceptualising hosting relationships between refugees, who are thereby recognised as both providers and recipients of care. The idea of refugees as humanitarian actors brings with it a dissonance that speaks to the tensions underlying meanings given to 'refugee' and 'humanitarian'.

In proposing this understanding of the act of hosting, I am therefore questioning whether there is space for an understanding of humanitarianism that allows for engagement with the suffering of those that are close and known to us within the existing system. As argued by Benthall and Bellion-Jourdan (2003) neither Western nor Islamic traditions of humanitarianism have an easy relationship with the everyday acts of care that are performed by individuals on a daily basis to support the most vulnerable in their networks, and there is ongoing debate as to how international organisations and local movements can best collaborate. Given the vocal appeals for greater contextualisation, participation and localisation of humanitarian assistance such a shift is already underway, but the slow progress shows the complexity and challenge of engaging in such a way for the humanitarian system.

Recognising acts of hosting as humanitarian would challenge the normative expectations and definitions of refugees, and improve understanding of the active role of displaced populations while in displacement. Working with refugees as hosts would highlight refugees' dignity and help meet needs beyond basic survival. It would better meet needs of urban residents and could provide avenues to alternative durable solutions. Rather than a universal moral obligation to suffering strangers, incorporating everyday humanitarianisms premised on care into humanitarianism provides space for situated and political engagement as part of humanitarian action.

The Syrian conflict may come to – or may already – represent a turning point in humanitarian action. There have already been shifts in ways of doing humanitarian action – an increased focus on urban environments and cash-based assistance, and a greater prominence of non-Western donors both within and outside of the UN system. Humanitarian actors are also learning from their development counterparts with regards as to how to support provision of key services and play a facilitator role, rather than providing direct assistance. Increasingly, humanitarian action is looking beyond basic survival, focusing on implementing approaches that highlight dignity and resilience of affected populations, representing a substantial change in the humanitarian paradigm with widespread impacts. Questions are now being asked about humanitarian action for refugees in new contexts.

As humanitarians engage in protracted and urban contexts, they are increasingly required to understanding the interconnections between the humanitarian system, urban environments, and displaced populations. Analysis of such interconnections reveals humanitarianism action as innately political. Working to better understand the intersections of top-down humanitarian policy and bottom-up everyday humanitarian acts has the potential to transform our response to protracted urban displacement. In doing so, we can recognise and support the everyday acts of humanitarianism that sustain and care for displaced populations around the world.

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Appendix One: List of Interviewees

Interview Dates	Description	Nationality	Name given in text (Pseudonym)	Interview Language
17/10/2017	Family with children	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic
17/10/2017	Single man	Sudanese	Waseem	Arabic and English
18/10/2017	Family with children, husband deported	Sudanese	Ala'a	Arabic
18/10/2017	Family with children, wife deported	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic
18/10/2017	Family with children, husband detained	Sudanese	Muna	Arabic
19/10/2017	Family with children	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic
19/10/2017	Family with children	Sudanse	N/A	Arabic
20/10/2017	Single man	Sudanese	Abdul	Arabic and English
20/10/2017	Family with children. Husband and other children deported.	Sudanse	Halima	Arabic
20/10/2017	Family with children.	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic
21/10/2017	Married couple	Sudanse	N/A	English
26/10/2017	Separated woman with children. 2 lodgers.	Somali	Fatima	Arabic and Somali (Somali - Arabic translation by son)
26/10/2017	Family with children	Somali	N/A	Arabic
26/10/2017	Family. Wife deported	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic

27/10/2017	Single woman (hosted by Amira)	Somali	Farah	Arabic
27/10/2017	Single woman with children (hosting Farah)	Somali	Amira	Arabic and Somali (Somali – Arabic translation by Farah)
28/10/2017	Single man	Somali	Omar	Somali (Somali – Arabic translation by Omar's acquaintance)
31/10/2017	Family (hosting another family's daughter)	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic and English
12/11/2017	Family with children and mother-in-law	Somali	Samira	Arabic
12/11/2017	Single men (house of 6, 3 participated in interview)	Somali	Nasr	Arabic
13/11/2017	Single men (house of 5, 3 participated in interview)	Somali	N/A	Arabic
13/11/2017	Single woman living with her family	Somali	N/A	English
5/12/2017	Family with children (some resettled)	Iraqi	N/A	Arabic
5/12/2017	Family with children	Iraqi	N/A	Arabic
12/12/2017	Family with children	Iraqi	N/A	Arabic
12/12/2017	Family with children	Iraqi	N/A	Arabic
12/12/2017	Family with children	Iraqi	N/A	Arabic
7/2/2018	Siblings living with their family	Syrian	N/A	Arabic
8/2/2018	Single man living with his mother	Syrian	N/A	Arabic

11/2/2018	Brother and sister	Syrian	N/A	Arabic and English
14/2/2018	Single man	Syrian	N/A	Arabic and English
24/2/2018	Family living with father-in-law	Syrian	N/A	Arabic
24/2/2018	Family with children	Syrian	N/A	Arabic
2/3/2018	Family with children	Syrian	Sara	Arabic
19/3/2018	Single woman	Syrian	N/A	English
27/3/2018	Multi-generational family	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic
28/3/2018	Multi-generational family	Somali/Yemeni	N/A	Arabic
	Family with children	Sudanese	Amina and Issac	English
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	Ibrahim	English
Multiple	Single man with disability	Sudanese	N/A	Arabic
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	Ali	English
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	Yakub	English
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	N/A	English
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	N/A	English
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	Mohammed	English
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	Mo	English
Multiple	Single man	Sudanese	Adam	English

Appendix Two: Sample Interview Guides

Semi-structured interview guides (Phase One)

Each section of the interview guide is split into Section One: Discussion Prompts, and Section Two: Key Questions. Questions were first posed following the structure of the discussion prompts, allowing for more expansive answers. The Key Questions section was intended to make sure that key information points had been covered during the discussion. If responses to the questions had already been identified through the discussion, the question was not posed a second time.

A. INFORMED CONSENT
1. Has the interviewer read the interview sheet to you? Yes [ ] No [ ] 2. Please confirm that you understand that information you share will be anonymized Yes [ ] No [ ] 3. Please confirm that you understand that overall findings of this research will be shared with humanitarian agencies and municipal authorities – you will not be identifiable Yes [ ] No [ ] 4. Please confirm that you understand that you may refuse to answer any question, or to stop this conversation at any time Yes [ ] No [ ] 5. Do you consent to take part in this research interview? Yes [ ] No [ ] 6. Neighbourhood where the respondent lives: Write in: _____

B1. DEMOGRAPHICS AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION – Discussion prompts	
B1.1 Tell us about your family	
B1.2 Who do you live with?	
B1.3 Does all of your family live in this house? If not, where are the other members?	
B1.4 What roles do different people in this household perform?	
B1.5 Are all the people in this household related? How?	*(Can sketch relationship tree if easier)*
B1.6 If you're not all related, how did you meet?	
B1.7 How long have you been living with	

these people in this house?	
B1.8 Where did you live before? Who did you live with?	

B2. DEMOGRAPHICS AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION - *Key Questions* *By household we mean individuals who share food and (some) income*		
1. Respondent	i. Are you the head of this household? ii. If not HoH, relationship to head of household?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Spouse [ ] Child [ ] Parent [ ] Other [ ]
2. Age of respondent + HoH	i. How old are you? ii. If not HoH, how old is HoH?	#: Respondent age in years: _____ #: HoH age in years: _____
3. Marital status	i. Are you married? ii. →If yes, is your spouse living with you? iii. If not HoH, is he/she married?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ]
4. Gender of respondent/HoH	i. Respondent gender: ii. →If not respondent, HoH gender:	Male [ ] Female [ ] Male [ ] Female [ ]
5. HoH	If the head of household is not present, where is he/she?	
6. Languages	i. What is the first language spoken in this household? ii. Is Arabic spoken by at least one **adult** member of this household?	Write in: _____ Yes [ ] No [ ]
7. Nationality	i. What is your nationality? ii. If not HoH, what is the HoH's nationality?	Write-in: _____ Write-in: _____
8. Household composition	i. Including yourself, how many people live in your household?	#: Number of HH members: _____

9. Household composition	i. How many people in the household are elderly (above 65), sick, or disabled?	#: Number: _____ (write 0 if none)
	ii. How many children are in the household?	#: Number: _____ (write 0 if none)
	iii. How many children under age 5 are in the household?	#: Number: _____ (write 0 if none)

C1. MIGRATION HISTORY – Discussion Prompts	
C1.1 When did you arrive in Jordan?	
C1.2 Have you moved since you arrived in Jordan? Where and why?	
C1.3 Can you tell us about your time in Amman?	
C1.4 Has Amman changed since you have arrived? How?	
C1.5 Has your life changed since you arrived in Amman? How?	

C2. MIGRATION HISTORY – *Key Questions*		
1. Place of birth	What country were you/HoH born in?	Country:_____
2. Place of departure	i. What country were you living in right before coming to this city?	Country: _____
3. Reasons came	i. Why did you/(HoH) come to this city and rather than another place? (multiple answers)	Felt safe here / city is anonymous [ ] Believed I/he/she could earn money here [ ] To join my/his/her family or get married [ ] Wanted to seek education [ ] Other, write-in: _____

4. Status	i. Have you applied for refugee status in Amman? ii. Does anyone in this household have refugee status?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ]
5. Movement	i. Have you moved location within Jordan? ii. If yes, how many times have you moved? From where? iii. Why did you move house?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Write-in_____ Write in_____

D1. LIVING CONDITIONS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT – Discussion Prompts	
D1.1 Can you describe your living conditions to us?	
D1.2 Can you describe your everyday life in Amman?	
D1.3 What do you enjoy and what do you find difficult?	
D1.4 Who are your friends in Amman? Do they live near you? Where do you meet? How do you know them?	
D1.5 Who do you share your problems with?	
D1.6 Does anyone help you?	
D1.7 Do you currently receive any assistance from an organisation? Did you before?	
D1.8 Do you participate in community activities?	
D1.9 Are you a member of any groups (e.g. sports teams)?	

D1.10 How have you met people in Amman? Where did you meet them?	
D1.11 Does anyone support you now? Has that changed since you arrived? Who supports you, and how do you know them?	
D1.12 Do you support anyone now? Did you before? Who do you help, and how do you know them?	
D1.13 If you receive assistance, has it changed your relationship with others in your household or your neighbourhood?	

D2. LIVING CONDITIONS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT – Key questions		
1. Shared household	i. Do you share your dwelling with others who are not members of your household?	No, only our household lives here [ ] Yes, we host only one other person [ ] Yes, we share with other households that we know [ ] Yes, we share with other households that we do not know [ ]
	ii. →If yes, number of other households?	# other households: _____
	iii. → If yes, what relation are these other people to you?	Write in: _____
	iv. → If yes, do you share food on a daily basis with these people?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ]

	v. -→ If yes, do you have your own private space?	
2. Rent paid	i. **Including electricity/water if applicable,** how much does your household pay in rent monthly?	Write-in: _____
3. Security of housing tenancy	i. Do you own your land?	Yes [ ] No [ ]
	ii. Do you own your dwelling?	Yes [ ] No [ ]
	iii. →If yes, do you have a title to show your ownership?	Yes, land title [ ] Yes, title to house [ ] Title to both land and house [ ] No [ ] NA – do not own house or land
	iv. Have you ever been evicted **OR** do you fear being evicted from your home?	No, never been evicted/do not fear [ ] Never been evicted but **do fear being evicted [ ]** Yes, have been evicted [ ] Write in: _____
	v. →If yes, reason?	No, never been relocated/do not fear [ ]
	vi. Have you ever been **forcibly relocated OR** do you fear being forcibly relocated from your home by an authority, such as the government?	Never been evicted but **do fear being forcibly relocated [ ]** Yes, have been forcibly relocated [ ] Write in: _____
	→vii. If yes, reason?	
4. Income earners	i. How many people in this household **including you**	# Write in number: _____

	earned income **from a job** in the past six months?	
	ii. Does anyone in your household earn income from an external source, such as a friend/family member sending **money on a regular basis?**	Yes [ ] No [ ] Write in monthly amount: _____
5. External income – remittances/family help	i. **In the past year**, have you received help (in-kind or cash) from family or friends *living here in this city, other parts of Jordan, or abroad?*	Yes, at least once per month [ ] Four times per year or more [ ] Not for past year [ ]
	ii. →If yes, where does the person who sends most live?	Write in other country: _____ In this country [ ]
	iii. → If yes, what relation is this person to you?	Write in:_____
	iv. →If yes, approximate amount per year? *(Calculate if receive monthly).*	# Amount in JOD: _____
	v. **In the past year**, have you sent help (in-kind or cash) to family or friends *living here in this city, other parts of this country, or abroad?*	Yes, at least once per month [ ] Four times per year or more [ ] Not for past year [ ]
	vi. →If yes, where does the person who you send to most live?	Write in other country: _____ In this country [ ]

	vii. → If yes, what relation is this person to you? viii.. →If yes, approximate amount per year? *(Calculate if receive monthly).*	Write-in: _____ Write-in: _____
6. External income – aid or government assistance	i. **In the past three months**, have you received help (monetary or in-kind) from an organization or agency? ii. **In the past three months**, have you received trainings, legal assistance, etc. from an organization or agency? iii.→ If yes, what agency?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Write-in: _____
7. Debt – friends/family	i. **In the past three months,** have you borrowed money from friends or family here in Amman? ii. In the past three months, have you lent money to friends of family here in Amman?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ]
8. Debt – other sources	i. Do you owe any money right now **that you will need to pay back** (for example: rent, school fees, or a microcredit loan)? ii. →If yes, where do you owe money?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Write in: _____
9. Community involvement	i. Is anyone in your household involved in any community groups here? *Enumerator may prompt: savings, youth, women's groups, CBO/NGO,*	Yes [ ] No [ ] If yes, write in: _____

	church/mosque/faith community ii. →If yes, does he/she/you participate at least once per week in group activities? iii. →If yes, does your group have any participants who are NOT Jordanian (other nationalities)? iv. → If yes, which nationalities are these participants?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Write in: _____ Write in: _____
10. Safety within home	i. Have you ever felt unsafe/threatened for yourself or a family member around the other individuals who reside in your dwelling, in your immediate compound, or in your block of flats?	Yes [ ] No [ ] If yes, explain: _____ _____
11. Safety within community (others in your neighbourhood, specify not law enforcement)	In the past year, here in Amman, have you or anyone in your household experienced violence, harassment or mistreatment? vii. Do you feel physically safe in the neighbourhood where you live?	Yes [ ] No [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ]

E. CLOSING		
Thank you for taking the time to speak with me today, your participation in this research is greatly appreciated.		
1. Additional questions for the interviewer	Do you have any questions for me?	Yes [ ] No [ ] If yes, write-in:_____
In the next stage of the research, we will be speaking to refugees and their hosts/ the people who support them in more detail about their experiences, and asking them to share their stories of living together in Amman. This may be done separately, and we can meet anywhere you feel comfortable.		
2. Future research	i. Would you be willing to participate in the	Yes [ ] No [ ]

		next stage of the research?	
3. Contact details	i.	Are you willing to share your contact details?	Yes [ ] No [ ]
	ii.	→ If yes, how would you prefer to be contacted?	Phone [ ] Email [ ]
	iii.	→ If phone:	Other – write in: _____
	iv.	→ If email:	
	v.	→ Other:	

Interview guides (Phase Two)

The following interview guides indicate the topics and type of questions posed during interviews and conversation with Sudanese men. Not all questions were posed to each man. Interviews did not always follow the question order as shown here, especially in the later interviews when discussion was more free-flowing.

Interview One: Getting to know each other

1. What do you think about this research? Do you already have ideas of what it is important for me to understand?
2. Why did you agree to participate in the research? What do you hope the outcomes will be?
3. Can you tell me about yourself?
4. Can you tell me about your current living situation?
5. Who do you live with? How long have you known each person, where did you meet them, and how would you describe your relationship?
6. Have you always lived with the same people in Amman? If yes, why do you live with them? If no, when and why did you change who you live with?
7. Does who you live with change anything in your life?

Interview Two: Building and using social networks

1. Can you tell me what happened to you when you arrived in Jordan, from the first moment you arrived?
2. Which different houses did you live in? Who did you live with? How did you know them? Why did you leave?
3. Who are your current housemates? Where did you meet them?
4. Are you still in contact with your old housemates?
5. Did you receive assistance at any time? What kind of assistance? Who from? When did you start receiving this assistance? Did you interact with any NGOs who didn't help you?
6. Were you here during the deportation? What changed afterwards?
7. Who are your closest friends? How did you meet? What do you do together?
8. Are there key points where you think there was a big change in your social network? E.g. when you made a lot of new friends?
    a. What was the change that happened?
    b. Why do you think this happened at this time? Did something cause this change?

c. Did the change in your social network change anything else in your life? E.g. did you learn something new? Did they introduce you to someone who became very important? Did they tell you about a service? Did they support you somehow?

Interview Three: Social groups and preferences and explanations of life in Amman

1. Are there different social groups among the Sudanese?
    a. What're the differences between the groups?
    b. How do you end up/decide to be in one not another?
    c. Do you interact with people in other social groups? In which situations?

2. Embassy houses don't really exist to the same extent anymore - what happens when someone new arrives? How do they get established?
3. Does living with someone change your relationship with them, and your expectations of each other? Are your relationships with the people you live with different that with others? How?
4. Where are the most important places for you in Amman - both for good and bad reasons?
    a. How do you find work?
    b. Where do you meet friends?
    c. Is there a public place you like to spend time in?
    d. Do you go to a centre for activities?
    e. Do you have a favourite place in the city? Why this place?
    f. Are there places you feel more/less safe and 'at home' than other places?
    g. What happens when you go to UNHCR?

5. In the last meetings we've talked a lot about experiences. Today is more about what things mean to you and how you think about them. For example, if we start with being Sudanese. We've spoke about the negative stereotypes people have of Sudanese. How do Sudanese people see themselves? What is important in your community? What happens when people don't follow these norms/behaviours? What about Sudanese traditions?
    a. Friendship – what does it mean to you to be a friend to someone? What do you expect from your friends?
    b. Can you tell me the difference between people you call brother, friend, and neighbour?
    c. To you, what does it mean to be a refugee?

    d. We have spoken a lot about Jordanian attitudes to Sudanese people. Can you tell me what being Arab, African and Sudanese means to you?

6. How do you feel about your experiences in Amman in relation to these different ideas? Has it changed your understanding of them, or what they mean to you?
7. What did you imagine your reception in Amman would be like?
8. Has how you think of being a Sudanese refugee in Amman changed over time?
    a. What did you think/expect before you arrived? On your first day? At the end of the first week? After 3 months? After the first year?
9. Think about when you arrived and now - what have you learnt? What has your experience in Jordan taught you? (Good or bad)
10. Does speaking English change your experiences in Amman? How? What is different, or might be different for someone who doesn't speak English?
11. I've met people who arrived in 2012/2013 and then people who have arrived in the last year. Is there something particular that happened at these two times?

Additional interviews (September – October 2018)

Updates and changes in situation

1. Of the guys already involved in your house - has anything changed in their living situation? Change of house/housemates? Why?
2. Has anyone new arrived? What happened to them on arrival and where are they now/what're they doing/who are they with and how did they get to that position?

Shifting practices from Darfur to Jordan

1. Why did arrivals to Jordan go up in 2012/2013?
2. Do people live together (who aren't related) a) in Darfur b) when not displaced c) While displaced? Is it different in Amman? How? Why do you think that is?
3. Do you share any traits/characteristics with people here (of any nationality)? Who do you feel closest to? Who do you feel furthest from? (Religion, ethnicity, language, behaviours, areas of work, etc)
4. Is your role in the house different here than in Darfur? How so?
5. Are there places in the city you feel are yours? You feel are more Sudanese? Why?
6. Do single men live alone? Would they want to if they had money?
7. Have you been displaced before - as an IDP or refugee, and is your experience now different?
8. Are there single women here without their families? Where do they live?

Understanding the everyday experience of hosting

1. Do you like living with the guys?
2. Are there any problems in the house? Are there problems that come from living with other people? Is there something NGOs could do to help?
3. What kind of person finds it easy/difficult to find guys to live with?
4. What makes someone a good person to share a house with? What characteristics does he have?
5. Do you feel at home in this house? What does feeling at home mean to you?
6. What do you do/what changes when someone new moves in/someone moves out?
7. Would you share a house with someone of a different nationality? Why/why not?

Decision making around hosting

1. Who do you help first? What form of help do you give first? Do you feel you have a choice whether you help others or not?
2. Are there risks to you of sharing with people you don't know? Are there ways that you ensure your safety?
3. Does it benefit you to share a home?
4. Does it cost you/is there a negative to share a home
5. Why do you share your home? Would you do this at home/in Sudan? How do you decide whether to share or not?
6. Are there ever problems between people sharing homes? What kind of problems? What happens?