

The Impact of NGO Actions on Intergroup Relations between Refugee Groups and their Jordanian Host Community

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Abstract

While the 2016 Edelman Trust barometer shows that the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) is the most trusted institution globally, even a very trusted institution can have room for improvement. How do the actions of NGOs impact the tensions between refugee and host groups in the context of present-day Jordanians and Syrian refugees? The research determined that short-term success for the refugee group occurs at the expense of long-term consequences for intergroup dynamics due to the polarizing practices of NGO groups, which target either refugees or hosts. Intergroup relationships are vital to the eventual viability of evolving communities as integrated economies given that most modern refugees are unlikely to repatriate in the near future. Drawing on a single case study in Jordan, the methods include a dual discourse analysis as well as supplemental interviews with NGO professionals. The discourse analysis follows Roxanne Doty's "discursive practices" approach by examining the most popular Jordanian newspaper, Jordan Times, for predication, presupposition, and subject positioning in the newspaper's references to refugees from June 30, 2015, through June 30, 2016, to determine shifting attitudes toward refugees. Additionally, the semi-structured interviews and NGO reports are employed for data collection from NGO workers, both in refugee and Jordanian host member- serving organizations, adding to and supporting the conclusions of the discourse analysis. Ultimately, the analysis shows that the most common NGO actions have a negative impact on intergroup relationships although the intended impact on the targeted group may be positive. However, some NGOs have taken specific actions, such as providing open childcare to working parents, that have a positive impact on intergroup relationships, and these are highlighted as showing a way forward that all NGOs should consider.

Keywords: NGO, Refugees, Middle East

1. Introduction

Is it true that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are exclusively purveyors of good outcomes, particularly in the situation where refugee NGOs and host community NGOs are operating within a single locale? Current public opinion overwhelmingly supports the idea that NGOs are one of the greatest forces of good, operating as a third sector to private business and government to create an appeal for the good of the people.¹ Whether one believes that NGOs are neo-liberal missionaries, humanitarian aid machines, or a growing mechanism for partnership with other sectors of the establishment, the general belief among the informed public is one of confidence: trust in world institutions, especially NGOs, is at the highest level seen since the Great Recession.² This assumption is questioned via analysis of the role of NGO actions on stressed intergroup relations in the context of present day Jordan and Syrian refugees. NGO funding, while complicated, often rests directly on the assumption that good is being done in the communities that they serve. If the findings of this research undermine that trust, this may lead donors to influence NGO decision

making toward actions that encourage conflict reduction between these two groups, and thereby ultimately increase the good that NGOs are able to accomplish.³

After conducting a series of discourse analyses to understand the extent of the intergroup conflict plus two additional series to analyze NGO role, priorities, and impact, the research project fails to negate the hypothesis that there are, indeed, negative impacts on the dynamics of the groups' relationship resulting from NGO actions. Note that these same NGO actions have positive direct impacts, such as poverty alleviation and employment opportunities, for the target community. Furthermore, the negative impacts do not necessarily result from any wrong doing of the NGO, but more to a lack of consideration of indirect consequences to their actions. NGOs whose target population is native Jordanians and NGOs whose target populations are the incoming refugees simply have different priorities due to the temporary nature of the label of refugee, the different needs of the groups, and the extremity of those needs. Although these differences are simple, they are exacerbated by other complex factors surrounding the lives of the two groups and how they interact. The role NGOs play in this conflict brings necessary aid, and even self-sufficiency, for the individuals. However, these actions lead to divisiveness that prevents a community from forming in the long term. This reaction is particularly problematic because at least a portion of the refugees will remain in the host community post-conflict, and integration will be necessary.

Understanding the indirect consequences of NGO actions on the intersectional community of targeted populations allows NGOs to choose those actions that have the best long-term outcomes. This is vital for the NGO's viability as a solution provider struggling to allocate increasingly scarce resources in the face of growing need for those resources. NGOs currently target services specifically to Iraqi, Philistine, Sudanese, Syrian, or Jordanian communities within the larger population in Jordan. This split approach of targeting services inflames emotions even beyond normal ethnic prejudices by further emphasizing the differences rather than similarities between groups of people and creating divisiveness. By understanding the unintended consequences of their actions, NGOs may recognize the impacts of specific actions on intergroup relations, and then become communities of support that unify the various target populations for the good of the whole. Highlighting these issues reveals new insights to the refugee and NGO scholarly communities by shedding light on areas for improvement. Further, scholarly communities may use these findings as a reminder to remain cognizant of the sociological context that research exists in, in this case the host community, rather than solely focusing on micro-scale issues that affect individuals. The main objective of this research is to connect the role of NGOs in their target communities to the success of its outcomes, particularly those related to intergroup dynamics.

2. Literature Review

2.1 NGOs: What Are They And What Is Their Role In The Community?

In considering how the role of an NGO impacts the relationship between a group of refugees and its host community, it is vital to define what an NGO is, both in terms of self-perception and externally, and what it does in a community. At its core, a Non-Governmental Organization is any assemblage without direct association to governmental functions that promotes humanitarian values. The World Bank defines NGOs as "private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development".⁴ However, there are multiple perspectives on what an NGO is as well as what it should be.^{5,6,7}

2.1.1 NGOs As Policy Pushers

One prominent representation of NGOs is that of powerhouses of empowerment and liberty: renowned scholar Jungin Kim says that NGOs seem "to be essential to improving the U.S. and international refugee policies." This is an image NGOs propagate and one which aligns with the self-perception of the organizations. In fact, researcher Youngwan Kim further elaborates that this role encompasses several specific duties, including acting as "information providers, lobbying groups, agenda setters, and norm generators".⁸ The effect of this is perceived as positive or negative depending on whether you agree with the NGO's intended message. For instance, the United Arab Emirates became upset about U.S. efforts to advance democracy in the Middle East via the National Democratic Institute and pushed that NGO out of its borders.⁹ On the other hand, some countries welcome the unique ability of NGOs to bring international research to bear on local policies affecting such issues as climate change.¹⁰

2.1.2 NGOs As Do Gooders

The dominant view of NGOs by the international community is as purveyors of humanitarian relief, and most people believe they are doing a great job at this. The Edelman Trust Barometer revealed that “Trust in NGOs went up in 81 percent of the countries surveyed with the most dramatic jumps occurring in China (17 points) and Mexico (11 points)”.¹¹ Even here, however, there is dissent, usually questioning why NGOs are not doing even more. For instance, Global International’s 2014 keynote speaker, Dinyar Godrej, cited Oxfam’s study indicating that NGOs provided anti-retroviral medications for 1.4 million people and educated 40 million people to question “how a poor, educated person on anti-retrovirals manages to magic themselves out of poverty in a system that is only interested in extracting their labour at the cheapest possible price”.¹²

2.1.3 NGOs As Fundraisers

While theories explain NGO fundraising efforts are complementary rather than standalone, they also explain issues related to NGOs being beholden to supporters. Countries such as Hungary and Russia either prohibit or target harassment toward NGOs that receive foreign money, even from private philanthropists, due to concern over the effect of this influence. Russia justifies its targeting by pointing to Ukraine’s Orange Revolution, in which NGOs played a crucial role.¹³ The main controversy surrounds large donors, especially when those donors come in the form of a government or quasi-governmental agency. This calls the impartiality of the NGO into question, more so if an NGO is predominantly a policy pusher. Even NGOs that are explicit on this issue can find themselves under scrutiny. Amnesty International sells the idea that “we neither seek nor accept funds for human rights research from governments or political parties...”.¹⁴ This seems clear enough, except that Amnesty International left itself a loophole to accept governmental funds for human rights education”.¹⁵

2.1.4 NGOs As Loose Cannons

There is a small, yet vocal minority that questions the impact of NGOs, including ways that they may undermine U.S. foreign policy. In Egypt, NGO action has been criticized during the period following Mubarak’s downfall for intentionally mobilizing social action, but then wavering as government crackdowns occurred and society turned against them.¹⁶ These NGOs blamed their inconsistency on a lack of fundraising and government propaganda. Others argue that NGOs are yet another symptom of an elitist, Western-centric world where the voices of the working class become lost; this directly contrasts with the idea that NGOs exist solely in order to help that same group of people.¹⁷ Another theme is the need for NGOs to create a stronger focus on networking together, rather than trying to be all-encompassing. Overall, the critiques do not criticize the original intentions of NGOs, but do question whether the intended impact is equal to the actual impact. The critiques indicate that the impact of an NGO’s work and its role in the community is not occurring at a 100% rate of effectiveness, but do not address why the impact fluctuates.

2.2 Research Gap

While existing research offers a starting point, present theories do not offer a clear guide on whether NGO methods produce overall positive or negative results regarding intergroup dynamics between refugee/ host communities. Due to the nature of human subjects, there is no way to control the interactions among variables. This is furthered by the chosen methodology. This research project posits existing theories against one another, concluding that the impact NGOs have on the pressure between refugees and host communities is not always positive even though the actions may be positive for one group or the other.

3. Methodology

This research project investigates the question “How does the role of NGOs impact the tension between groups of refugees and host communities” through a case study examining the relationship between Syrian refugees living in Jordan and native Jordanians. The project is divided into three parts. The first two emulate Roxanne Doty’s style of

the Discursive Practices Approach.¹⁸ By using the Discursive Practices Approach, the project focuses on reality as represented by linguistic construction. Although words cannot show true reality or people's real feelings, the diction of individuals may have underlying tones that reveal perspective which may or may not contrast with the overall message of the piece. Discourse both reflects and influences; it reflects popular opinion by sharing views and influences them because people use media viewpoints to create their own. This creates meaning, which makes discourse analysis extremely telling. By applying Doty's ideas about foreign policy to NGO reports, this research posits that NGOs are in a position of authority to their clients and share a position of influence about reality.

Doty's Discursive Practices Approach creates a clear pattern for analysis by splitting discourse into three parts: presupposition, predication, and subject positioning. Presupposition is the idea that language makes assumptions about the truth of things. This creates background knowledge or assumed behaviors or truths. Additionally, presuppositions reveal the viewpoint of the speaker by the assumptions they make. Next, predication is the use of words and connotation to link specific characteristics or ideas with specific groups of people. Predication is especially important when developing an identity for a group of people; use of predication to develop a specific kind of identity can be telling as to an individual's viewpoint. The third type of analysis is that of subject positioning. This is the simple idea of using discourse to put two groups in relation to one another, often as opposites. By establishing relationships between ideas, groups, etc., subject positioning allows for a creation of reality from a specific viewpoint and to identify that viewpoint.

Presupposition, predication, and subject-positioning will be presented in tables where discourse of all three kinds will be categorized. Next to each word or phrase there will be a number in parentheses demonstrating the frequency of times that word or concept was repeated. The more frequent a word or concept is repeated, the more prevalent it is over the course of the data set and therefore, the more important that idea is to the dominant viewpoint. This method will be used on articles from the Jordan Times for the first part of the analysis in order to understand the extent of the tension between the group of refugees and the host community. Doty's method will then be repeated for a series of NGO reports for the bulk of the data. Each NGO report will be a case, and will be aggregated to form a larger table to be analyzed as a representative whole. This analysis will then be supplemented by additional semi-structured interviews with NGO professionals in Jordan.

Lastly, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow's concept of researcher sense-making is used to build method trustworthiness through reflexivity, data generation and analysis, "member checking", and explanatory coherence.¹⁹ This qualitative methodology seeks to describe the relationship instead of using a more linear, neopositivist perspective. This perspective focuses on the constructed version of reality through words to understand a larger viewpoint of how people think, feel, and write about a topic. The interviews supplement this understanding to ensure that bias is detected where present. The two function together to ensure that a true picture of NGO impacts is seen. Qualitative approaches yield specific information that may form a foundation for future quantitative efforts.

4. Data Analysis

Since the beginning of the Syrian Civil War, refugees have fled in mass exodus from the country, starting at nearly 18,000 people in January 2012 and reaching over 4 million by June 2016.²⁰ In January 2012, NGO presence was limited to trying to understand the violence; whereas, by January 2015, there were at least 24 major NGOs with high levels of activity specifically dealing with Syrian refugees (most recent data).²¹ One consequence of the huge influx of refugees is increased ill will between refugee populations and their host communities.^{22, 23, 24} This is particularly true for countries such as Jordan and Lebanon, where the proportions of refugees are much higher in comparison to the total national population.

To examine the exact nature of host feelings towards the refugees as influenced by NGO actions, a discourse analysis was performed on a series of newspaper articles about the refugee crisis from the most popular Jordanian newspaper, Jordan Times.^{25, 26} Newspapers are highly indicative of public opinion- both reflecting and influencing it- which forms a solid foundation for qualitative research. These newspaper articles date June 30, 2015, through June 30, 2016. This timeframe is chosen because the settlements had already been established by 2015, but the numbers of Syrians flowing out of Syria significantly increased between then and 2016. Also, as noted previously, refugee-focused NGO presence in Jordan increased significantly just previous to this timeframe, so the effects of their actions were felt throughout the timeframe. Texts are analyzed under the textual mechanisms in Doty's method of predication, presupposition, and subject positioning in her Discursive Practices Approach.²⁷

Although Jordanians were originally documented as having strong positive feelings towards the incoming refugees, this sentiment shifted as the Syrian Civil War lacked resolution years later and the numbers of incoming refugees continued to grow. Negative feelings are most prevalent among ordinary, lower class citizens, with one poll showing

that 65% of Jordanians opposed the presence of any additional refugees.²⁸ The research analysis begins by documenting what this hostility look like and what amount of realized antipathy is actually present. Intergroup tension shows itself in ways such as children experiencing violence en route to school, newspapers propagating misconceptions about life in refugee camps, and Jordanian parents refusing to let their kids play with refugee children.^{29, 30, 31} One American newspaper article cites incidents such as “a scuffle between refugees and locals in the border town of Ramtha, a disturbance at a United Nations help desk in nearby Irbid, and riots in the tent camp near Mafraq that have left numerous Jordanian security personnel injured”.³²

Table 1. Jordan Times Newspaper Analysis

Predication	Presupposition	Subject Positioning
burden of hosting the refugees (6)	humanitarian effort (8)	host communities vs outsiders (Division of communities) (6)
Have Syrian refugees become Jordan’s latest national security threat? (8)	economic development goals (5)	Syrian people (5)
unfortunate incidents (about refugee injuries/deaths) (2)	huge burden on the Jordanian economy (8)	Syrian refugee crisis (9)
Gruesome killings (about Jordanian injuries/deaths) (5)	resolving the Syrian refugee crisis cannot come at the expense of Jordanians or Jordanian jobs (5)	Integration of communities (3)
baseless fear mongering (3)	Politics has no place in a humanitarian relief operation	“insult” to Jordan’s hospitality
wrongly held view that poor conditions and lack of services (5)	tightened their admission policies	Outside funding needed- some given, but not enough (8)
Resolute to defend against terrorism (3)		safe haven in Jordan (3)

As Table 1 shows, the viewpoints represented indicate fundamental dichotomies as well as similarities. The most important effect of this diction is the creation of a division between the Syrian refugees and the native Jordanians. By concentrating on the burdens created by the influx, the refugees are viewed as creating problems and this both reflects and influences growing hostilities between the two communities. Furthermore, this demonstrates a perception of refugees as being fundamentally different than natives and furthers the process of “othering”.³³ This “othering” divides Syrian refugees from Jordanian natives despite their historically similar religious, cultural, and regional backgrounds. For instance, the phrase “host community” puts the refugees at odds with those whom they live next to everyday, and the simple repetition of talking about Syrians vs. Jordanians emphasizes those differences instead of historical similarities.

The articles are rampant with the idea that refugee camps are a highly hospitable haven of economic prosperity. Camps such as Zaartari, Jordan’s largest refugee camp, are depicted as safe harbors that refugees return to when living in the cities of Jordan becomes too economically challenging. In stark contrast, an interview with a woman from a Zarqaa women’s association revealed that refugees are sent back to the camps as punishment for violating Jordan’s work permit laws. It is punishment is because the living conditions are horrendous.

One news article implied refugees were lying about their conditions and that riots over living conditions were cover ups for revolutionary activity- a viewpoint that may gain hold with the recent closing of Jordanian borders after the bombing of a military outpost serving refugees.³⁴ The author makes his political viewpoints and underlying bias against the Syrian refugees the forefront of this article, despite his claim that the politics in Zaartari are the ultimate problem. The author uses divisive language- refugees are “guests” or “suspects” and Jordanians are “hosts” or “hostages”- while remarking on the negative behavior displayed by the refugees and praising what he identifies as the good behavior of the Jordanians, such as authorities standing up to rioters.³⁵ He acclaims the Jordanian authorities’ show of force as “speak[ing] volumes to the approach and its successful track record”. This is only one example of news articles reflecting the current status of feelings towards refugees.

Inflammatory language and the beliefs behind them indicate a strong negative approach towards the refugee situation. Ordinary Jordanians and the Jordanian elite alike indicated a preference for native Jordanian dominance in decision-making. Queen Rania explicitly stated that resolving the Syrian crisis could not come at the expense of

Jordanians or Jordanian jobs, and others reiterated similar sentiments. Jordan’s decision makers want to help refugees, but not at the expense of the Jordanian economy or the continued strained resources it is experiencing.³⁶

Strong pro-refugee diction was only shown by some elite members of Jordanian society. Prince Fiesal, for example, is the chairman of a peace-building program aimed at integrating communities and teaching Syrian and Jordanian children to learn and play together.³⁷ The only other strong pro-refugee diction was paired with pleas for more funding from the international community which could either be the real viewpoints expressed by the community specifically trying to aid refugees or a strategy underpinned with the ulterior motive of obtaining more funds. These sentiments come mostly from either the Jordanian government or international NGOs.^{38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43}

In conclusion, the language analyzed within these 12 articles shows the huge divisions between the two parties, both by elites and in the common viewpoint. They do not often look like actual violent clashes (although those are present), but as underlying tension and feelings of “otherness”. This format creates analysis from a perspective where the reader can clearly understand how the latent message is different from the manifest one and how language is impacted by viewpoint- revealing the exact nature of the strained relationship between the refugees and Jordanians.

Now that the nonverbal enmity between the two groups have been established, Doty’s method will be repeated with NGO reports. Although this stress is by no means caused only by NGO actions, this research argues that they have a significant role that has been overlooked. Furthermore, as discourse analysis, this research seeks to explain and describe the relationship between the NGOs and the tension between refugee groups and host communities.

Table 2. Variable 1, Refugee-focused NGOs

Predication- characteristics	Presupposition - assumptions	Subject-Positioning
Arab Spring has been withering people’s lives and stealing their idealistic dreams of freedom and democracy	Drastic changes and transitions in the Arab World	___ NGO will create a better Jordan and better world (2)
Fighting in the name of Allah to rule the world (3)	-country presidents forced out of office -ghastly sights of multitudes being killed -sporadic, irrepressible revolutions in the name of freedom (7)	Working for refugees and indigenous Jordanian communities (4)
[refugees] run for their lives with nothing but the clothes on their backs (10)	Medical relief missions -women need awareness of health issues -psychological services needed -education (14)	Aid not reaching huge portion of refugees (4)
Needy Syrian refugees outside the camps (11)	Necessary increase in funding (12) -can’t assist both camp and urban refugees	Refugees don’t want to return to Syria
Family ties particularly important to Syrian culture (2)	Burden on service providers as refugee #s increase (4)	Refugees want to return to Syria (4)
Similar cultures in Jordan and Syria (2)	Relations between two groups growing in tensions (5)	Host country has strained resources (4)
Trained professionals (2)	Refugees struggling to meet rent and food costs (5)	Women particularly vulnerable to violence, economic downfall, and health concerns (8)
Host communities and camps at limit for refugee capacity (2)	Poor conditions in the camps (3)	No organization to refugee response, fails to meet international standards (7)
Risk of exploitation of refugees due to lack of financial means (3)	Lack of legal documentation (5)	Camps prevent self sufficiency
	Food distributions (3)	Refugees can’t legally work (5)
		Harder for refugees than Jordanians

This discourse analysis reveals priorities and viewpoints for IV1-refugee-focused NGOs as detailed in Table 2.⁴⁴ Almost every report began with an emotional appeal about the hardships endured by the refugee population, followed by an inevitable plea for additional funds. The extremity of need is shown by how intensely the pleas were pushed. This positioning is furthered by other frequently mentioned topics like the limitation of NGOs and government resources, the increasing impact on the service providers themselves as refugees keep arriving, and the lack of a network and organization between NGOs. Other oft mentioned topics are the presence of NGOs outside of the typical

stereotype of refugees in INGO mandated camps including those in urban areas or the “no-man’s land” between Jordan and Syria, the necessity of medical attention for both physical and psychological wounds, and the hardships women refugees face. These NGOs tend to share a perspective that focuses on an individual’s short terms needs and fulfilling those as best they can while spreading awareness of the extreme poverty their focus group lives in. Because refugees live in downtrodden conditions and are willing to accept any sort of aid possible, the NGOs have not been able to keep up with demand or organize together into a network that can better suit individual needs.

Table 3. Variable 2, Jordanian Focused NGOs

Predication	Presupposition	Subject-Positioning
Women’s movements in MENA restricted because of cultural tradition (2)	Economic growth relies on women (3)	Women have more difficulty accessing services like finances and childcare (4)
Projects reflect priorities of communities; benefit both refugees and Jordanians (3)	Education is harder for women to access (2)	Jordan already lacks resources (4)
Jordanian economic development top priority (4)	Stress on host community of Jordan by huge amounts of refugees, overburdening of what resources are present (6)	Economic pressures on Jordanians (4)
Long term solutions (4)	Must address needs of those already living in the communities, both old and new needs (2)	
Vocational training (6)	Distribution of clothing and food to Jordanian poor (3)	

Jordanian focused NGOs, as shown in Table 3, tend to be focused almost completely on the economic needs of their clients.⁴⁵ These NGOs talk about specific ways economic growth could be achieved, most often through women and micro development, and where the need for higher economic development is derived from. A majority specifically recognized the stress put on host communities by the influx of Syrian refugees through an even deeper scarcity of resources and the general problems that accompany any dramatic population increase. The tone of the diction in these sections of the NGO reports was accusatory, blaming the ever-widening problems of the Jordanian poor, especially those in rural areas, on the refugee families. Jordanian focused NGOs also prioritized long term solutions, particularly in the form of vocational training, to create individual self-sufficiency among those served.

Now that a basic analysis of each viewpoint has been conducted, we can compare how the viewpoints work together. Many NGO reports record short-term aid by refugee-focused NGOs such as food and non-food distributions to refugees, including school and hygiene kits from Caritas Jordan, monthly food distributions by OxFam, and 2 weeks’ worth of food boxes by Arab Women Today.^{46, 47} This increased short term support may incite jealousy, as explained by one interviewee, because locals see refugees with food distributions and, rather than understanding the hardships faced by refugees, only see the food that the Jordanian poor are not getting.⁴⁸ This may be furthered by anti-immigration sentiment such as fear of losing jobs, especially since native Jordanian unemployment is already high. On the other hand, Jordanian focused NGO reports included a program about food distributions did not reference the discord between the refugees and the Jordanians. This shows decreased hostility between refugees and Jordanians when aid is matched (both short-term aid). However, in the more common scenario of Jordanian aid consisting of longer term trainings while refugee aid is short-term food distributions or cash transfers, animus increases. Long term economic development is prioritized in the Jordanian aid community because that it is where there is the most identified need. The Jordanian government has recognized the tension, though, as relayed by one NGO professional, and has begun to require that all refugee work include at least 30% services to poor Jordanians.⁴⁹

Other ways to combat economic grievances of native Jordanians, influencing their negative opinions of refugees, is to work towards programs that benefit both the refugee and host populations. Examples of such programs are infrastructure related or childcare where children from both groups can play together. In fact, one NGO report from Refugee International declared, “Providing adequate assistance to Lebanon and Jordan that benefits both their own citizens and the refugees will improve conditions for refugee populations in the short term, while ensuring there is no backlash from host communities in the long term”.⁵⁰ Implementing these ideas would meet several of the needs cited by NGOs.

Both groups keyed on females. Refugee focused NGOs saw women as vulnerable, while Jordanian focused NGOs desired economic growth and independence for women as an essential part of development for Jordan as a whole, but particularly in rural areas.⁵¹ The refugee-centric point of view revolves around the intersection of womanhood with refugee status, concerns the lack of resources, the necessity of self-employment due to legality, and the overall lack of men in the social structure due to death in the Syrian Civil War prior to fleeing. Many services specifically provided for women include psycho-social services and more short term aid to help families, especially female headed ones, get back on their feet. This directly contrasts with Jordanian services because those women are entering new economic spheres. One interviewee shared a story about a program that trains native Jordanian women to become plumbers- the first training was completely empty due to the conservative values of the community, but eventually husbands supported their wives' new employment after understanding the benefits of the job preparation being offered. However, both occupy similar spaces in that both entail women from conservative cultures entering non-traditional positions such as breadwinner or head of household due to the acts of the NGOs. This may induce strife from the most conservative factions of the "other" group.

NGOs, particularly those focused on refugees, are in desperate need of attention and funds. This was the most common thread throughout the discourse. This leads to publication of success stories, repeated attention in media, etc., which thrusts the lives of specific refugees into the public sphere, despite name changes. The journey and hardships of refugees touch hearts and encourage donations, but leaves the stereotyped life of a refugee susceptible to criticism, especially from those living alongside them. These pleas work in both positive and negative ways.

Overall, this discourse analysis makes it clear that NGOs do have both negative and positive impacts on the growing rivalry between the Syrian refugees and the native Jordanian communities. Many actions that NGOs take have more effects than the desired outcome, both for the good and bad. However, as the situation in Syria lengthens and grows long term, many refugee-focused NGOs have begun to change tactics and think more long term, as evidenced by several NGO professionals in their diction in reports. In the future, it will be intriguing to see what impacts these changes in NGO processes have on the internal conflict in the lower socioeconomic areas of Jordan.

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, the discourse analysis of both the refugee focused and Jordanian focused NGOs showed unintended negative impacts on the friction between Syrian refugee groups and the Jordanian host communities. Factors that contribute to intergroup tensions include basic economic conditions, lack of permanence, government propaganda and media releases, etc., but the role of NGOs has not previously been recognized. The actions of NGOs not only play a role in this hostile relationship, but have a significant influence as shown by the shifting agitation in both directions based on NGO action.

First, the actual hostility between the two target populations were analyzed. Based on the ideas of Roxanne Doty's Discursive Practices Approach that discourse both influences and represents popular opinion, analysis concluded that most of the friction is not violent, but is shown in feelings of divisiveness and "othering" diction. Pro-refugee and pro-Jordanian diction could be shared by one viewpoint, but one group's needs were inevitably prioritized. Within a viewpoint, only the elite propagated a strong pro-refugee sentiment while more majority opinions, especially within lower socioeconomic strata, felt the most disgruntlement with the refugees, notably due to competition for the same resources. This conclusion led to a focus on the impact of NGOs, an arena that serves both target populations.

NGO influence is derived from different sectors of NGO action, particularly disparities in services for both groups. This is seen in short term focused refugee aid versus long term focused Jordanian aid, as well as economic grievances that are common throughout the world by host communities. Jordanians blame refugees for the increased scarcity of their aid as well as increased food and rent costs. This can be exacerbated by NGO-driven pleas for more funds while those in the poorer communities of Jordan may already feel forgotten. Coupled with the perception that refugee camps are in relatively good conditions, an overall illusion among poor native Jordanians exists that is contrary to the real experiences of refugees.

NGO's public actions that have propelled refugees into media spotlight, disorganization between the NGOs over who is providing what, and the targeting of women for economic growth in a traditionally conservative culture have all contributed to popular perceptions of refugees in Jordan that are damaging to refugee-Jordanian host community relations. These actions have positive impacts for the extreme needs refugees have, but they also contribute to the feelings of divisiveness between the two groups.

6. Implications of Conclusions

These conclusions create space for further consideration. Although there have been efforts to propose solutions to dissolve the discord within the NGO community and government, there has not been anything solid. Additional research into what has worked in other communities with huge influxes of refugees would be a starting point. Furthermore, the overall impact of refugees on a nation's economic development may produce unpredictable results. From governmental and societal perspectives within a host community like Jordan, it may seem as if an influx of refugees only brings additional economic pressure and hardship. Therefore, the possible positive results of an influx would make for impactful insights that could influence countries weighing whether or how many refugees to accept.

This project has implications for both scholarly fields focusing on NGO management and refugee issues. NGO management can use this research to have a better understanding of unknown implications of their actions, while refugee scholars may become more informed about the intersection of refugee issues with the lives that refugees impact. Policy wise, this analysis creates a space where NGOs and the government recognize the tensions inherent in the NGO role. By having recognition and an awareness of the role NGOs play in refugee/host enmity, those in positions of authority may start to make changes to benefit both parties. A handful of NGOs have already done this by creating spaces for children of both groups to play together and see the human in each other rather than stereotypes as well as by working to create programs that benefit both groups to some extent.

It is time to broaden the conversation about refugees to include those outside of camps, those who refugees interact with outside of a camp, and possible solutions to the aforementioned strained dynamics in the refugee-host community relationship. By using discourse analysis, latent meanings and the real impact of perspective is shown. It is easy to accept reality as it is presented; however, the world we live in is more complex than that and gives us the opportunity to question those assumptions and understand the more intricate relationships such as the one between Syrian refugees and the poor Jordanians they live alongside.

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