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# University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

Archaeology

**Community Archaeology and Heritage Education in Times of Conflict: Fostering Community,  
Heritage, and Resilience in the Context of Forced Migration in Northern Jordan**

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By

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Southampton

## **Abstract**

Faculty of Humanities

Archaeology

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

### **Community Archaeology and Heritage Education in Times of Conflict: Fostering Community, Heritage, and Resilience in the Context of Forced Migration in Northern Jordan**

Lauren Nicole Coughlin

This research uses interviews, photo elicitations, and journals from Syrian CYP in Zaatari refugee camp as well as Syrian and Jordanian CYP in the town of Umm al-Jimal to determine what value heritage provides to CYP in the context of forced migration and host communities. Community archaeology has long aimed to produce outcomes that benefit local stakeholders and surrounding communities as well as address local social justice issues. Under circumstances of war and poverty, how can bottom-up archaeological practices and approaches assist in creating strong host communities for and support resilience in incoming refugees? Using the Umm al-Jimal Archaeological Project (UJAP) in Northern Jordan as a case study, this dissertation evaluates how long-standing archaeological projects inspire value for traditions and heritage conservation despite the negative impacts of globalization. The outcomes show that the UJAP has encouraged the preservation of tangible and intangible heritage in the town of Umm al-Jimal, resulting in a heightened value for local heritage among residents and a desire to pass traditional Bedouin practices onto youth. This desire culminated in the creation of the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP) a locally-run heritage education project that teaches Jordanian and Syrian children and young people (CYP) about their shared heritage, but also supports sources of resilience (identity, rights, and safety) and social cohesion. While the HCHP originated in the town of Umm al-Jimal, it has since relocated exclusively to the Zaatari refugee camp, leaving the CYP of Umm al-Jimal without a valuable cultural resource. Therefore, this research also aims to assist in the expansion of the HCHP to once again operate in the town of Umm al-Jimal.



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## Author's Declaration

Print name: Lauren Nicole Coughlin

Title of thesis: Community Archaeology and Heritage Education in Times of Conflict: Fostering Community, Heritage, and Resilience in the Context of Forced Migration in Northern Jordan

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission;

Signature: Lauren Nicole Coughlin

Date: April 20, 2021



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## Definitions and Abbreviations

### Definitions

**Bedouin** is a term used to describe both Arab nomadic herders and their decedents in the MENA region.

**Bottom-up** refers to practices where organizations or projects are managed from the bottom level.

**Community Archaeology** is an archaeological practice that includes local residents and stakeholders in the excavation, interpretation, and preservation of archaeological sites and artifacts.

**Hauran** is a region that spans from Northern Jordan through the volcanic plateau in Southern Syria.

**Refugee** is a person who has been forced to flee their country of origin due to war, natural disaster, or persecution.

**Resilience** is “the human capacity to face, overcome, and be strengthened by or even transformed by the adversities of life” (E Grotberg, 1995).

### Abbreviations

**CRM** Community Resource Management

**CYP** Children and Young People

**DOA** Department of Antiquities

**GHSF** Gerda Henkel Stiftung Foundation

**HCHP** Hauran Cultural Heritage Project

**MENA** Middle East and Northern Africa

**MOE** Ministry of Education

**MOU** Memorandum of Understanding

**NGO** Non-Governmental Organization

**RSI** Rights, Security, Identity

**UJ** Umm al-Jimal

**UJAP** Umm al-Jimal Archaeological Project

**UNHCR** United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

**UNESCO** United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

**USAID** United States Agency for International Development



## Chapter 1: Introduction

The Umm al-Jimal Archaeological Project (UJAP) is a community archaeology project in Northern Jordan that developed through the interest of community members to engage with their heritage and share their knowledge and expertise about their past. Community archaeology creates the space for developing a “culturally informed” archaeology while supporting sustainable development and capacity-building by working alongside communities. A bottom-up approach to archaeology produces the appropriate methodologies for working within a particular cultural or societal context. In the town of Umm al-Jimal in Northern Jordan, a forty-year archaeology project led to a heightened appreciation for archaeology and value for heritage among local residents, resulting in a demand for community-focused interventions.

The community archaeology project facilitates community-led efforts to improve the lives of the people living there, including the development of a visitor’s interpretive centre with accompanying infrastructure, the creation of jobs through archaeological and construction work, a water conservation project to collect and distribute rainwater using the ancient reservoirs, the support and facilitation of heritage initiatives with local women, the collection of local intangible cultural heritage, and a heritage education programme for local and refugee children.<sup>1</sup> My thesis focuses on the latter, a project called the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP).<sup>2</sup> This research project arose out of a need to understand and evaluate the impact a heritage education programme has had on the residents of Umm al-Jimal. This research aims to determine the following using quantitative and qualitative data, and current academic literature and theory;

- How community archaeology and bottom-up archaeological practice influenced the value for heritage, the building of strong and safe communities, and the support of identity in a rural town that is host to refugees
- How the long-standing presence of an archaeology project and cultural resources strengthened overall value for heritage and traditions
- How heritage education interventions bolstered sources of resilience in children and young people (CYP) by using teaching methodologies that encourage personal agency and collaborative narrative-building discussions

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.ummeljimal.org/> for more information.

<sup>2</sup> Also known as the Mare Nostrum Project through the Gerda Henkel Stiftung foundation (Gerda Henkel Stiftung Foundation, 2016). For the purposes of this project I refer to it as the HCHP as that is the name it was given by the project founders and instructors Muaffaq Hazza and Ahmed Bayer.

- How both community archaeology and heritage education interventions can support social cohesion between host and refugee communities who participate in them.

### 1.1 Site and Community Context

Umm al-Jimal is located in the modern Mafrqa governorate in Northern Jordan. The basalt remains of the ancient site share a rich history of occupation going back to Nabataean and Roman times (c. mid-/late 1<sup>st</sup> century CE) although there is evidence of human activity in the area from at least ten thousand years ago (Open Hand Studios, 2019). The modern town is home to previously nomadic Bedouin families who have settled around the ancient ruins. Since the Syrian conflict began in 2014, Jordan has received over 700,000 refugees from Syria and Iraq (UNHCR, 2019). The Zaatari refugee camp, located three kilometers from Umm al-Jimal, houses approximately 76,143 refugees (UNHCR, 2020: 1). Outside the camp, in the area of Mafrqa, there are over 85,000 refugees living and working with Jordanians. The influx of refugees has placed an economic and social strain on an already resource-poor region. It is unknown how many refugees live in the town of Umm al-Jimal; however, as of a 2016 survey, there were 6,500<sup>3</sup> people living in Umm al-Jimal with 45% of the population living below the poverty line (USAID, 2016).

Bert de Vries has led the archaeology project in Umm al-Jimal since 1972. The UJAP, a community archaeology project, was initiated in 2009. In an effort to promote social cohesion and heritage preservation, a local archaeologist named Muaffaq Hazza from the UJAP partnered with Syrian educators to develop a heritage education programme for both Jordanian and Syrian children in the area. In 2016 the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP), in association with the UJAP and supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation, began providing heritage education to children from the refugee camp and the town of Umm al-Jimal, in order to enhance their understanding of a shared Hauran heritage and to promote social cohesion between local Jordanians and the refugee community living there. In 2017, the HCHP project was removed from the town of Umm al-Jimal in order to operate exclusively in the Zaatari refugee camp. There are ongoing efforts by the UJAP to once again unite Syrian and local children through the programme. My research project adds support to and justification for these important efforts by collecting and analyzing data to determine the impact and outcomes of the HCHP on young community members and their families. While the UJAP supports the HCHP, the projects are separate and my research project focuses on the HCHP.

### 1.2 Core Aim and Research Question

As the sole researcher studying this vital educational programme, my focus is to determine how the HCHP operated and in what ways it built community, heritage, and resilience

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<sup>3</sup> This number does not include undocumented residents.

among both Jordanian and Syrian residents living in Zaatari refugee camp and Umm al-Jimal. There are three groups of youth involved in this project: Jordanians living in Umm al-Jimal, Syrian refugees living in Umm al-Jimal, and Syrian refugees living in Zaatari Refugee Camp. My research aims to answer the following questions:

- How have community archaeology and bottom-up methods of engagement promoted value for local heritage, safe and strong communities, identity-building, and sources of resilience among local residents?
- How has the long-standing presence of cultural resources and an archaeological project influenced levels of value for heritage and traditions among community members?
- How has heritage discourse using collaborate narrative-building techniques within a classroom setting supported personal agency, safety, identity, and ultimately resilience in children and young people (CYP)?
- What effects has moving the HCHP from the town of Umm al-Jimal to the Zaatari refugee camp had on the residents of Umm al-Jimal?

My research focuses on how the locally driven HCHP bottom-up methodological approach promotes meaning-making and knowledge creation through heritage discourse with youth. Specifically, I will look at how participation-based classroom techniques support identity (I am), rights (I can), and safety (I have), which are the sources of resilience identified by Peter Gatrell and Edith Grotberg (Gatrell, 2013; Grotberg, 1995). Finally, I analyse the outcomes of the HCHP in the Zaatari refugee camp and discuss the potential benefits of expanding the project to once again work with both local and Syrian CYP living in the town of Umm al-Jimal as well as outline how the same methodology could be beneficial beyond Umm al-Jimal.

### 1.3 Layout and Structure

This dissertation begins with important background information and cultural context, followed by a literature review on refugee studies and archaeological practice, methodology, data chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter 2 is an introduction to the geographical, cultural, and political context of Umm al-Jimal. Analyzing the relationship between local stakeholders, the ancient archaeological site, and the surrounding landscape illustrates the challenges local residents face. Chapter 3 focuses on the UJAP and the HCHP, paying particular attention to their inception, structure, aims, and context within the greater Umm al-Jimal community, as well as Zaatari refugee camp.

Chapter 4 analyses literature on refugee studies and sources of resilience and includes case studies about Palestinian refugees in both host communities and refugee camps to frame the common struggles felt by both groups. Here I formulate the basis for my arguments regarding

resilience and I reflect on how forced migration affects youth. Finally, I identify common sources of resilience presented in the literature that have amalgamized through multiple texts about refugee youth resilience. These sources of resilience provide a foundation to analyse how the HCHP functions as a means of support and resilience for both Jordanian and Syrian youth living in Umm al-Jimal and Zaatari refugee camp.

Chapter 5 confronts and analyses the ethical considerations and responsibilities archaeologists are beholden to when collaborating with communities. I discuss a social justice framework that emphasizes the importance of a bottom-up practice and supports the identity and personal agency of community members. I also discuss the gaps in the literature regarding the voices of youth in archaeology and the importance of their inclusion in narrative-building. I analyse the role cultural resources and heritage play in building strong communities and resilience among community members. Finally, I discuss the lack of sufficient heritage education in the formal classroom and the need for supplemental interventions, especially in the case of refugees.

Chapter 6 outlines my methodology and critically examines the qualitative and quantitative techniques and strategies used in my project as well as the unanticipated hills and plateaus I encountered during the research process. I used participant and systematic observation with three groups of youth: Jordanian CYP in Umm al-Jimal, Syrian CYP in Umm al-Jimal, and Syrian CYP in Zaatari refugee camp. The research process extended over a two-year period where I visited Umm al-Jimal four times and collected three sets of data.

Data chapters 7, 8, and 9 cover the themes of building community, building heritage, and building resilience through community archaeology and heritage education. Each chapter breaks down the collected data and demonstrates how community archaeology and the development of a heritage education project has contributed to building community and heritage, in the town of Umm al-Jimal and the Zaatari refugee camp and how in so doing, provided sources of resilience to local and refugee youth. I also discuss how the HCHP has transitioned to the Zaatari refugee camp and compare the two project locations.

The final chapter builds an argument for community archaeology as a conduit for building community, heritage, and identity in host communities and how it can support resilience in young refugees living in those host communities, compared to those in refugee camps. Furthermore, I show that community archaeology projects and long-standing archaeological presence inspire community interest in heritage and cooperative heritage and archaeological projects.

Throughout this research I argue that the presence of cultural resources, long-standing archaeological projects, and bottom-up community archaeological practice inspire value for

heritage, strong and safe communities, and identity-building. These in turn create a beneficial environment for refugees to resettle and develop resilience. Furthermore, I argue that heritage education, which employed a methodology of collaboration and narrative-building, facilitates identity-building, personal autonomy, social cohesion, and safety for youth.

While this research took place within a multi-cultural context, the outcomes reveal how community archaeology contributes to resilience in refugee community members and, therefore, may apply to future projects in multiple cultural landscapes.





## Chapter Two: Umm al-Jimal

Umm al-Jimal is a small rural town located in the Mafraq governorate of Northern Jordan (Figure 1) on the southern edge of the Hauran plain that stretches north into Syria. It is approximately seventy kilometers northeast of Jordan's capital, Amman, and just south of the Syrian border. The name *Umm al-Jimal* means “mother of camels” or “mother of beauty”,<sup>4</sup> depending on who you ask, though a walk through the black basalt ruins may sway you to believe the latter. Although the ancient name of the town is unknown, Howard C. Butler, an archaeologist who surveyed the site in 1905, incorrectly identified the site as Thantia, which it was then called for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Butler, 1913: 150; de Vries, 1994: 215). Regardless, Umm al-Jimal has an abundance of both beauty and camels.



Figure 1 Modern Map of Jordan. Created by Lauren Coughlin.

Umm al-Jimal and the surrounding area have a long history of human occupation. In this chapter I will discuss the history of Umm al-Jimal up until modern times, the multiple

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<sup>4</sup> The Arabic word “Jamal” means camel and is similar to the word “Jameel” which means beautiful.

archaeological projects associated with Umm al-Jimal, the nomadic agriculturalists and herders who eventually made Umm al-Jimal their home, and how those nomadic people became a sedentary community in and around the ancient ruins of Umm al-Jimal.

### 2.1 Umm al-Jimal

For millennia the Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA) region has been viewed as a frontier and dominated for resources. Western powers, including Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman, have conquered the region and held parts of it for centuries at a time. It is therefore understandable that historical records about cities and trade routes throughout the Middle East have been largely created and collected by those foreign powers and not from local or colonized populations.<sup>5</sup> This 'colonialist' practice has been largely resisted in the modern archaeological and historical record. Modern scholars and archaeologists aim to create more inclusive interpretations about the past with the help of local input. It is with this postcolonial standpoint that archaeologists attempt to assemble a picture of the past.

There is evidence for Paleolithic hunter-gatherer activity in the area of Umm al-Jimal before 10,000 BP (Open Hand Studios, 2019). Local nomadic Arabs established the first village at Umm al-Jimal during Nabataean times in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (Osinga, 2017: 4, 16-17). Many of the buildings from the earliest centuries of occupation were destroyed during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century; however, water reservoirs, many Greek and Nabataean inscriptions, remnants of chamber tombs, and Nabataean/Roman building blocks and decorative elements have survived (Ibid).

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<sup>5</sup> As will be explored further, early archaeologists such as Howard Butler and Gertrude Bell excavated ancient sites and collected data without the input of local inhabitants or authorities (Butler, 1913: 150; de Vries, 2013: 132). Furthermore, colonial practices and interpretations of ancient sites have also dominated other aspects of heritage including tourism and the construction of national identities (Jacobs, 2010: 317).



*Figure 2 The Barracks. Photo by Lauren Coughlin.*

The first Roman fort was constructed in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century (the Early Castellum), and a second smaller one (the Barracks) in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 2)(Osinga, 2017: 5). The Eastern Roman Empire transitioned to the Byzantine Empire, and during the 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, sixteen churches and many houses were constructed (Figure 3)(Osinga, 2017: 5-6; 75-76). Umm al-Jimal became a rural farming town and the population grew during this time, resulting in a spike in prosperity (Ibid). The 7<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise of Islam and the Muslim conquest of the region, which fell under the rule of the Umayyad and later 'Abbasid caliphs; however, the transition brought about no immediate changes in or disruptions of the archaeological record, nor forced conversion to Islam (Osinga, 2017: 26-27; 78-79).



*Figure 3 The West Church. Photo by Lauren Coughlin.*

In the later 8<sup>th</sup> century, Umm al-Jimal and other towns in the region decreased in population and were eventually abandoned as settlements. Many factors may have contributed to the decline, including environmental changes, a devastating earthquake in 749 CE, and the establishment of a new ‘Abbasid capital at Kufa, replacing the nearby Umayyad capital at Damascus (Osinga, 2017: 7; 101-103). The site was abandoned, with the exception of sporadic transient use, until the Middle Islamic period, during which time there is the first datable archaeological evidence of construction and re-use in House XVIII (Osinga, 2017: 138-139). Over time, however, the site fell into disuse and disrepair, only frequented by nomadic herders who used the buildings as livestock shelters and the reservoirs to collect rainwater (Brown, 2009: 378). It was not until the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Umm al-Jimal became a home once more.

Long before the current Syrian refugee crisis, Syrian and Lebanese Druze families sought refuge in the ancient ruins of Northern Transjordan, including those of Umm al-Jimal, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Brown, 2009: 378). During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, increasing tensions in Lebanon and Syria due to the decline of the Ottoman Empire forced Druze immigrants to relocate to Jabal Hauran, known today as Jabal al-Arab or al-Druze,<sup>6</sup> an area just out of the reach of Ottoman jurisdiction and therefore an ideal area for Druze clans to safely settle (Ibid). During this time, local Bedouin tribes lived in the Jabal Hauran and this resulted in competition for resources and

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<sup>6</sup> Jabal means hill or mountain in Arabic and Jabal Hauran refers to a dormant volcanic area in Southern Syria and Northern Jordan. The area is known for having an abundance of the volcanic stone basalt and being well suited for cultivation (Brown, 2009).



eventually blossomed into a lasting symbiotic relationship between the Druze and the Ahl al-Jabal Bedouin tribes including the al-Masa'eid who still live in the town of Umm al-Jimal (Brown, 2009: 379-380). The Masa'eid in particular frequently grazed their herds in and around the ruins at Umm al-Jimal while the Druze cultivated wheat and barley (Brown, 2009: 380).<sup>7</sup> The immediate incentive for the Druze to populate Umm al-Jimal, according to Alison Brown, was the need to shelter Druze refugees (Brown, 2009: 382). The Druze sporadically occupied Umm al-Jimal from 1910 to 1932 (Brown, 2009: 383). During this time they used and modified the site to fit their purposes, rebuilding structures and adding roofs thereby contributing to the narrative of the site (Figure 4)(Ibid).



*Figure 4 Example of the difference between Umayyad construction (Left) and Druze reconstruction (Right). Photo by Lauren Coughlin.*

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<sup>7</sup> For a more in-depth description of the migration and settlement of Druze immigrants to the Hauran see Alison Brown's 2009 publication on the subject.

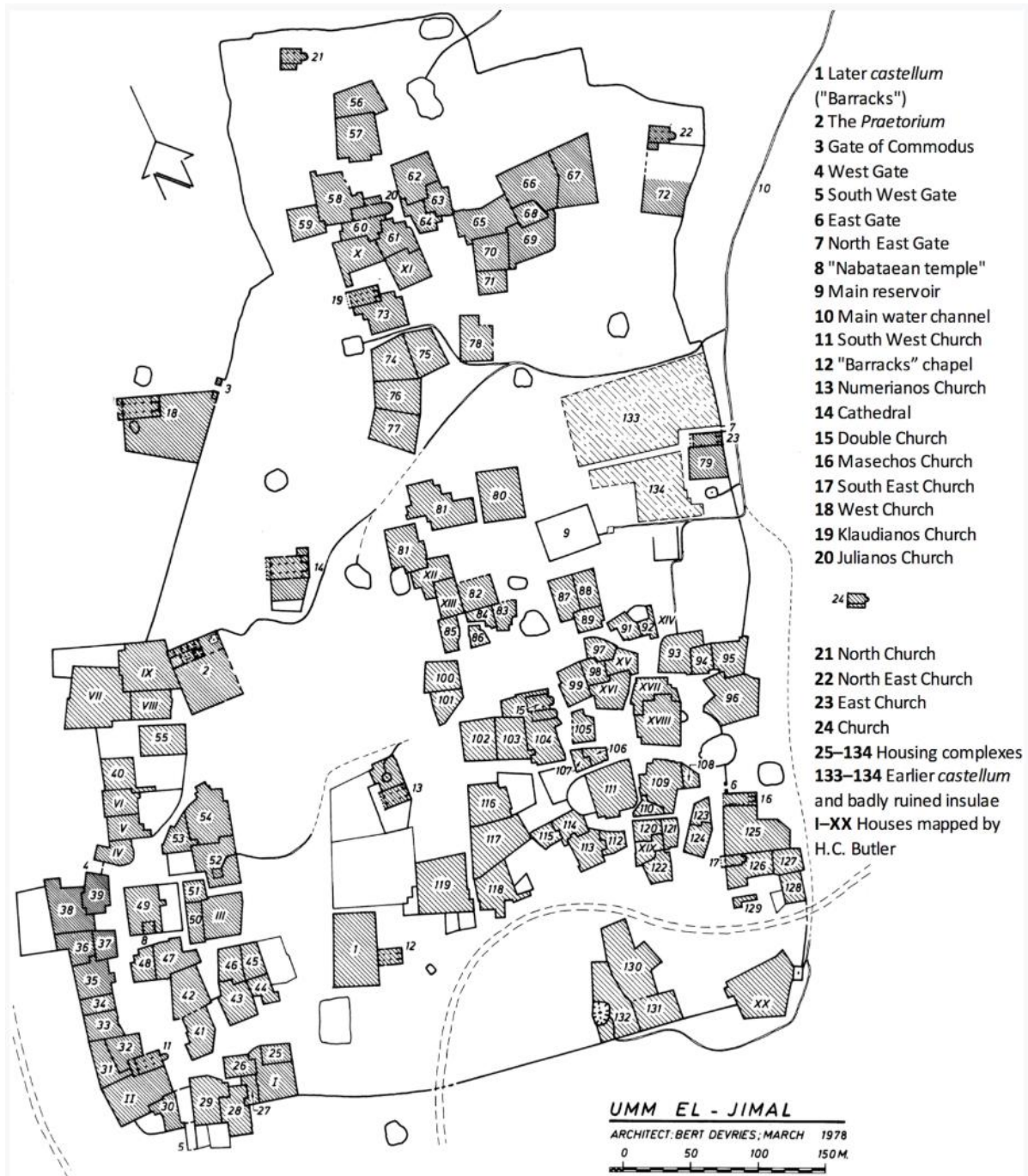
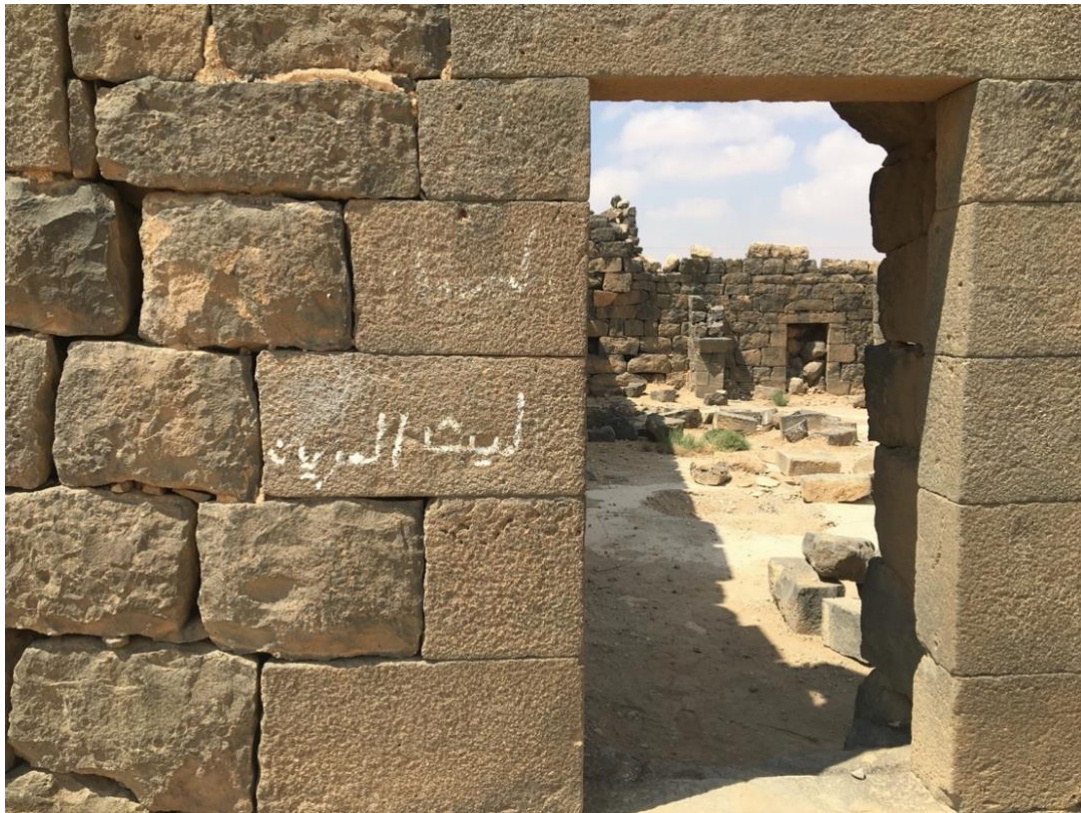


Figure 5 Map of the ancient site of Umm al-Jimal (Osinga, 2017: 6).

Today, if you walk through the archaeological site of Umm al-Jimal (Figure 5), you will see Arabic names written above the doors of buildings throughout the site (Figure 6). When the Druze and Masa'eid occupied the site they assigned buildings to different families and painted those family names over the doors (Brown, 2009: 383). Although the homes do not appear to have been continuously inhabited, familial claim to them seems to have continued until the Druze abandoned the site following the end of the French mandate and the resulting revolt (Brown,



2009: 384-385). When the Druze returned to Syria, the Masa'eid Bedouin settled in Umm al-Jimal and the surrounding areas (Brown, 2009: 386).



*Figure 6 Doorway with Masa'eid family name. Photo by Lauren Coughlin.*

## 2.2 Who are the Masa'eid?

The Masa'eid Bedouin are a previously nomadic tribe that made much of Southern Hauran their home. When the Druze occupied Umm al-Jimal, the Masa'eid assisted them in grazing their herds. The relationship between the Druze and the Masa'eid was amicable prior to the Druze leaving Umm al-Jimal, making the transition to use the ruins for settlement a natural choice (Brown, 2009: 386).

The Masa'eid settled in and around the ruins, pitching their tents inside and outside of the ancient site. In the summers, they would graze their herds in the surrounding desert and in the winters they brought their herds into the ruins to escape the cold (Open Hand Studios, 2019). They used the re-constructed Druze structures and set up schools in some of the Byzantine buildings (Ibid). Over time the Masa'eid built and settled in structures in the area surrounding the ancient site. In 1972 the Jordanian Department of Antiquities (DOA) fenced off the ancient ruins, forcing the remaining Masa'eid families living in the ruins to move (Ibid). Figure 7 shows an aerial view of Umm al-Jimal with the archaeological park and ancient remains highlighted in purple. The purple area is where Masa'eid families lived prior to 1972 whereas the sprawling town outside of this area is where they have built homes and settled since. According to a 2018 government

survey, there are 942 families living in Umm al-Jimal with a total population of 4,886. A USAID survey in 2018 reported a population of 6,500 people. It is therefore unclear how many people actually live in the town and what percentage of them are Syrian asylum seekers.<sup>8</sup>

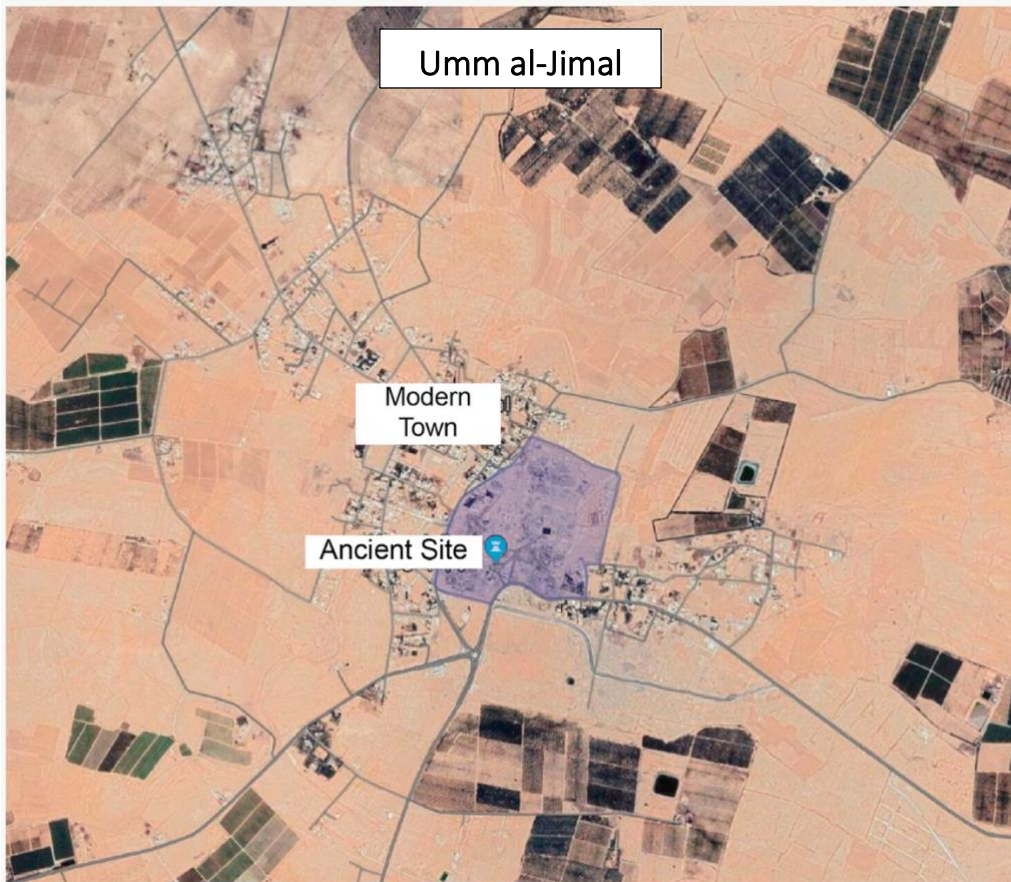


Figure 7 Map of the town of Umm al-Jimal. The ancient site is highlighted in purple (After Google Maps, 2019).

In order to gain insight about the lives of the Masa'eid, the UJAP is continuously working to collect local experiences and stories from people who lived in the site prior to 1972. Other than the historical and cultural testimonies that have been collected by the UJAP, there is little written about the Masa'eid Bedouin. The modern town of Umm al-Jimal continues to grow around the ancient site. The people who live in the modern town are largely descended from nomadic Bedouin of the Masa'eid tribe, although there are still a couple of Druze families living in the town.

#### 2.2.1 The Identity of Nomadic Tribes in the Hauran

Bedouin is an ambiguous term espoused by a variety of nomadic and sedentary peoples throughout the Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA). The word 'Bedouin' comes from the Arabic *badawi* which refers to people living in the desert, or *badiya* (Prager, 2014: 11). While today many people identify as Bedouin despite living a sedentary life in towns and cities, the

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<sup>8</sup> This number does not include any unregistered Syrian families living in the area.



traditional lifestyle of Bedouin tribes was fully nomadic and revolved around herding animals on whichever land was better suited to their needs at any given time. This usually meant seasonal movements between locations. Because the descendants of traditional Bedouin for the most part no longer live nomadic lives, those who live in towns and cities view being Bedouin as an identity and a part of their cultural heritage rather than a descriptor of their way of life (Ibid). In fact, modern romanticized ideas of Bedouin life have increased the interest in Bedouin heritage both among Bedouin communities and tourists (Al-Oun and Al-Homoud, 2008: 36; Chatty, 2014: 16; Cole, 2003: 236; Jacobs, 2010: 319). Indeed, while the adoption of a Bedouin identity has increased over the years (Ibid), Yossi Rapoport posits that this was common practice in Medieval Egypt among farmer and nomadic groups, suggesting a fluid and not fixed identity (2018). Therefore, it is not for archaeologists or heritage professionals to decide who is and is not entitled to Bedouin heritage.

The traditional nomadic lifestyle of the Bedouin began to experience pressures to modernize and settle throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 13). Where previously, Bedouin tribes were largely ungovernable, the installment of the new Emirate of Transjordan and rise of the Hashemite royal family in 1921 resulted in a need to subdue the tribal leadership in its territories (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 14). This change culminated in a modern need for the documentation and preservation of traditional Bedouin lifestyles, which had been previously largely unrecorded, lest they be lost to history.

When trying to understand Bedouin historically, it quickly becomes apparent that the majority of writing came from outsider perspectives. Like Butler, Bell, and Lawrence, many scholars, archaeologists, and travelers wrote about their encounters with nomadic Arabs; however, first-hand autobiographical accounts of Bedouin life have been largely absent in the literature until recently (Prager, 2014: 12).

Although Bedouin were perceived as a homogenous group observed by travelers in the past, they are self-differentiated by their particular tribal identities that differ in location, history, traditions, and dialects (Prager, 2014: 12). Location is a key element to individual tribal identities due to a previously transient and presently sedentary lifestyle. Grazing lands and territories fought over in the past even now dictate the hierarchy of living tribal clans and their leaders (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 18). Finally, there is a consciousness within tribes of the victories over and rivalries with other tribes their ancestors had in the past (Ibid). Bin Muhammad mentions that since the 1970s, historical records written by individuals from different tribes portray fictitious accounts of the past that over-glorify some tribes over others, which has consequently continued tribal rivalry among clans (1999: 19).

Despite the individualism that tribes express, there is a sense of shared Bedouin identity that supersedes individual tribal identities and “implies a less static and more dynamic and fluid conceptualization of Bedouin identities, highlighting the rise of a ‘Bedouin’ controlled discourse and agency that is unfolding in local, national and transnational spaces” (Cole, 2003: 237; Prager, 2014: 12). This identity-focused ‘Bedouin-ness’ is something that has evolved in modern times as a result of sedentary lifestyle.

The Hauran is an inactive volcanic plain that spans the southwest of modern Syria as well as a small sliver of Northern Jordan which includes the town of Umm al-Jimal. Culturally, it is an area where several nomadic peoples have lived and grazed their herds for thousands of years. The Bedouin from the Hauran are largely from the Ahl al-Jabal tribe and consist of four main clans: the Masa’eid, the Shurafat, the ‘Athamat, and the Zbaid (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 10). What traditionally makes a person ‘belong’ to a tribe is not merely successive degrees of genetic relationships—which, after all, every family in the world has—but rather that a person and his/her tribe think the same way; believe in the same principles; assimilate the same values and ethos; act according to the same unique rules and laws; respect the same hereditary *Shaykh* (tribal lord); live together; migrate together; defend each other; fight together; and die together (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 13). In short, it is the consciousness of belonging to that tribe and behaving accordingly. Belonging, as is presented in this thesis, is a key factor for building identity and resilience; modernity is seen by older generations as destroying the Bedouin identity, and with it the community and sense of belonging that was once a central aspect of the Bedouin belief system.

While official tribal and nomadic law was abolished in 1974, Bedouin law is still used for more complicated issues, such as murder, rape, and ‘violation of protection, which are heard and judged by tribal judges, as well for tribal voting, local police, and selecting and installing tribal advisors to the King (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 16). Despite the slow movement of clans to settlements throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the lure of modernity, with innovations such as running water, electricity, and television, along with the installment of compulsory public education, the majority of once-nomadic families and clans are now settled (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 14).

There are still families and clans who choose to live fully nomadic lives in the open desert of Jordan, pitching tents and herding animals; they prefer the freedom of a nomadic lifestyle over modern conveniences (Bin Muhammad, 1999: 17). There are even families who pitch their tents in the centre of cities and towns; driving through Amman today you can see tents on vacant lots with shepherds herding their goats and sheep.

Where Bedouin tribes fought amongst themselves in the past for grazing territory, today there is a nostalgic clinging to tribal identities, which results in a camaraderie and sense of belonging between some individual tribal identities that manifests as one Bedouin identity.

### 2.3 Early Archaeology

Archaeologists in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were pioneers in the field, creating methods and best practices that have evolved and shaped modern archaeology. In the Middle East, Western explorers and early archaeologists such as Gertrude Bell and Howard C. Butler spoke of local residents as ‘oriental’, ‘noble native’, and ‘exotic other’ (de Vries, 2013: 135). Bert de Vries, the late director of the UJAP in Northern Jordan, worked at the ancient site for fifty years. He described early archaeology in Jordan as an exclusive practice that focused on the interests of Western explorers and scholars and one that rarely included local interpretations or input (Ibid). As interest in the “Near East” grew during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, following work done by Napoleon and his savants during his 1798 Egypt campaign, European explorers and scholars began to visit and survey much of what we know of today as the MENA region (Porter, 2010: 51).

Research at the ancient site of Umm al-Jimal began with Princeton University’s expedition in Southern Syria led by Howard C. Butler in 1905 and focused largely on architectural recording and inscriptions (Open Hand Studios, 2019). At that time, Butler observed Bedouin grazing their herds and pitching their camel hair tents around the ancient site during the spring (Butler, 1913: 150). Butler identifies his expedition as the first Europeans to camp at the site (Ibid). In fact, Butler’s publications of work done at Umm al-Jimal refers to other Western visitors to the site yet barely mentions local residents (Butler, 1913: 151). He mentions ‘Bedawin’ and ‘Arabs’ a total of seven times, usually when discussing the name of a place. De Vries comments on the attitudes of Western explorers and archaeologists at the time:

Such “documentation” of the childlike exotics had been popularized in Europe by nineteenth-century travelers like David Roberts who disseminated colorful pictures of spectacular ancient ruins in which they portrayed “colorfully dressed native Arabs lounging languidly”. In the popular European mind a sense of kinship with the achievements of the makers of the ancient cultures was punctuated by these portrayals of the exotically foreign “natives” who, by their aimless idling, had forfeited their rights to the heritage of their long-dead ancestors (de Vries, 2013: 135).

The colonial presence of Western explorers often alienated local inhabitants especially since the foreigners claimed rights to collected artifacts and data (de Vries, 2013: 135; Hull, 2013: 2). In addition, biases impacted data collection; Islamic levels of excavation were often excavated quickly and without thorough recording in order to reveal the more “civilized” Roman and Byzantine layers (Hull, 2013: 2). It is important to note that early archaeology was not always exclusionary; archaeology in the United Kingdom and other Western countries was often conducted by local amateurs who then went on to shape archaeological practice (Ibid). In fact, much has been written on colonial archaeological practice and the endeavor by archaeologists to de-colonize the field: for example, Benjamin Porter discusses early Archaeology by European travelers and scholars in the Middle East and the colonial legacy they left behind (2010: 55). He specifically highlights how in Jordan and Syria, Western and colonial archaeological research was used to legitimize new national borders which “countered appeals to Arab national unity” and created separate local and national identities uninformed by those meant to adopt them (Porter, 2010: 55-56). Furthermore, Porter notes that individuals and groups who had no hand in the building of their own national identities were unsurprisingly unattached to them, resulting in looting and the illegal sale of antiquities, as observed during the looting of the Baghdad Museum in 2003 (Ibid). In this way, locally formed narratives about the past can inspire ownership over that past.

In 1970 the Jordanian Department of Antiquities (DOA) evicted the remaining Masa’eid Bedouin from the ancient remains in order to officially begin excavation at the site of Umm al-Jimal. The removal of local residents from archaeological sites occurred all over Jordan at this time, including at Petra and Umm Qais<sup>9</sup> (de Vries, 2013: 135). The UJAP was founded in 1972 and since that time excavations and surveys have been ongoing. Efforts to move toward an inclusive archaeology began in 2007 and in 2009 the project officially became a community archaeology project. Excavations since the beginning had hired local residents to participate in excavation, but now the project began training local excavators, both men and women, to perform archaeological research using scientific methods approved by both Jordanian and international institutions. The DOA has since hired members of the local Umm al-Jimal team to work for them, including Muaffaq Hazza, an Umm al-Jimal resident and professional archaeologist. As I will explore later in this research, Hazza spent his childhood in the ruins of Umm al-Jimal and has worked with de Vries for over thirty years. He is also a founder of the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP).

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<sup>9</sup> This was common practice in much of the region during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries when tourism and travel became more accessible (Jacobs, 2010: 318). Indeed, nation-states’ interest in antiquities and archaeological sites subsequently increased in order to reap the benefits tourism would bring.

## 2.4 The Umm al-Jimal Archaeological Project: Modern Findings and Work with the Community

When the UJAP became a community archaeology project in 2009 it used its already existing relationships with the community to build and facilitate community-driven work. There are ongoing projects within the UJAP that are focused on improving the quality of life of local inhabitants, collecting intangible and tangible cultural heritage, and continuing the archaeological excavation of the ancient site. The projects include an open access website with all of the archaeological finds, a water project, the collection of oral histories, the construction of a community-run visitor centre, the Hand by Hand cooperative (see below), and a heritage education project for young people (HCHP).

Since 2009, Open Hand Studios, an affiliated organization that works to preserve the intangible history of communities around the world through digital resources, has collected video interviews of local residents of Umm al-Jimal showcasing different cultural characteristics of the Masa'eid Bedouin. These interviews are available on the Umm al-Jimal website that is also managed by Open Hand Studios.<sup>10</sup> The interviews focus on cultural traditions that are disappearing due to the modernization of the town including bread making, coffee and tea preparation, hospitality, musical traditions, tribal tattooing, and herding and agricultural practices. There are also interviews that detail how life was before the 1970 evictions from the site. These interviews are particularly important because the generation that once lived in the ancient site are aging and therefore will not always be available to interview in the future.

The Water Project is a continuation and expansion of work that was done in the 1960s to repair the ancient reservoirs in order to provide rainwater to the local residents of Umm al-Jimal. Since 2010 work has been underway to survey and restore reservoirs and water channels that run throughout the ancient site to allow rainwater to collect annually during the rainy winter months. Water shortages in the region make work like this especially vital to the living population.

Hand By Hand is a local cooperative created by residents of Umm al-Jimal that offers touristic products and services to visitors, foreign and Jordanian. This initiative relies on the building of new infrastructure. The UJAP and Hand by Hand has worked closely with the Mayor of Umm al-Jimal to design and build new roads and signs leading to the ancient site and throughout the community. There are also ongoing plans to develop community gardens on parts of the ancient site. Another important aspect of this cooperative is the cultivation of jobs for tourism:

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.ummeljimal.org/en/oral/html>

Hand by Hand hires local women to prepare traditional meals for and host tourists and visitors who wish to have an authentic Jordanian experience.

In 2019 the UJAP's goal of creating a museum and visitor centre was finally realised. The interpretive centre was designed and built using one of the ancient basalt houses on the southern edge of the archaeological park. Today it is the first stop for tourists visiting the site, and offers more chances for local employment.

In 2016 the HCHP was created to bring heritage education to both local Jordanian CYP and Syrian refugee CYP living in the area. The HCHP is the focus of this dissertation and will be further discussed in later chapters.

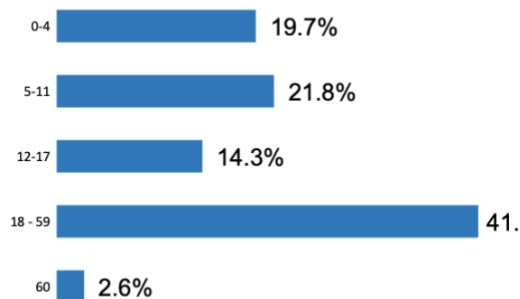
## 2.5 Zaatari Refugee Camp

The Zaatari refugee camp, established in 2012, lies about three kilometres from Umm al-Jimal (UNHCR, 2020: 1). The camp is run and governed jointly by the Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate and the UNHCR and in collaboration with UN agencies, donors, international and national NGOs, community organizations, Jordanian host communities, and refugees themselves (Ibid). For security purposes, permission to enter and exit the camp is highly regulated. This is particularly true for youth. When approaching Umm al-Jimal from the south, Zaatari is visible as a sea of white tents and caravans on the horizon. The entrance is constantly buzzing with people travelling to or from the camp looking for work or other opportunities in order to feed their families. After eight years of growth, the refugee camp resembles a city.

As of 2020, Zaatari is home to 76,143 residents (UNHCR, 2020: 1). 80% of the residents in Zaatari are from Dar'a, a southern city in the Hauran region of Syria on the Jordan border (Ibid)(Figure 8). This means that a majority of Zaatari residents share Haurani heritage with the residents of Northern Jordan including those who reside in Umm al-Jimal.

### POPULATION OF CONCERN

#### Age Range



#### Place of Origin

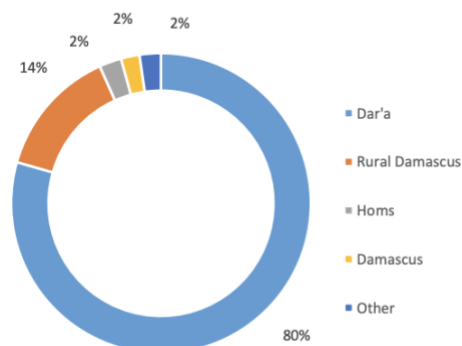


Figure 8 Age and origin of refugees in Zaatari refugee camp (UNHCR, 2020: 1).

As shown in Figure 8, over 50% of the population of Zaatari are children and young people (CYP) under the age of seventeen (UNHCR, 2020: 1). This means approximately 43,000 CYP live in Zaatari refugee camp, 27,411 of which are school-age. UNHCR reports that 82% of eligible youth are enrolled in formal education and 523 youth attend catch-up or drop-out programmes run by the Ministry of Education (MoE) (UNHCR, 2020: 3). There are also 58 community centres in Zaatari that host activities for youth and their families. While the UNHCR and their partners have worked to provide basic necessities and resources, there remains a deficit of cultural and heritage resources in Zaatari.

### 2.6 Conclusion

Archaeology has come a long way since the time of Howard Butler. The UJAP has taken a position of social responsibility toward the local community by engaging in projects that economically and socially support the wellbeing of local residents. The UJAP team, foreign and local, have become an integral part of the community environ and participate in supporting local causes and initiatives where possible.

Umm al-Jimal residents deeply value their Bedouin origins. The local community members of Umm al-Jimal have been exposed to archaeology and heritage at a higher rate than other towns with or without cultural capital due to the long-standing archaeology presence. These relationships have led to the interest and incentive to create and participate in community heritage projects.

Refugees living in Umm al-Jimal receive the benefits of a strong community focused on heritage and tradition. Refugees living in Zaatari refugee camp, however, are isolated from the outside world and have limited cultural resources inside the camp. Furthermore, the CYP in the camp have limited mobility, personal autonomy, and access to essential resilience-building resources in the form of cultural capital. Where Umm al-Jimal has cultural resources that have the potential to provide sources of resilience to refugees living there, Zaatari does not. Because Umm al-Jimal and Zaatari refugee camp are so close to each other, community and heritage collaboration seems like a viable option to bring heritage to the youth of Zaatari. The next chapter will detail one project in particular that was developed to support social cohesion between Jordanian and Syrian populations and inspire value for heritage and identity during time of conflict and uncertainty: the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project.





## Chapter 3: The Hauran Cultural Heritage Project

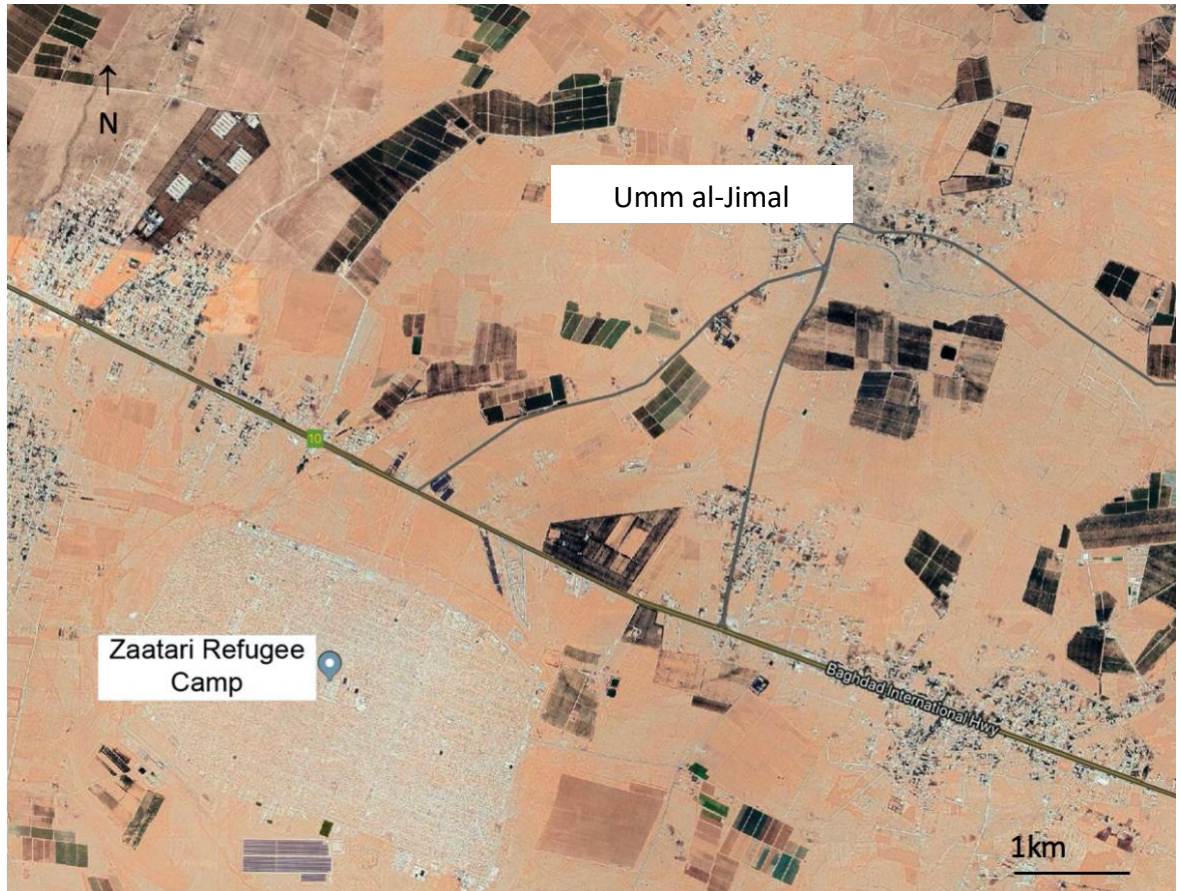


Figure 9 Map showing the close proximity of Umm al-Jimal to Zaatari refugee camp (after Google Maps, 2019).

### 3.1 Introduction

In 2016 with the support of the Umm al-Jimal Archaeological Project (UJAP) Muaffaq Hazza, a Masa'eid Bedouin and local archaeologist with the UJAP, and Ahmed Bayer, a heritage specialist, teacher, and refugee from the Hauran region of Syria, began the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP). They focused on teaching local Jordanian children and young people (CYP) and Syrian refugee CYP about their shared heritage (Hazza, 2017: 1). The original project targeted CYP from Umm al-Jimal and Princess Basma's Rawda, another town east of Maffraq (Ibid). The project was designed and run by local Jordanian and Syrian residents, thus ensuring that the project was created out of local need and delivered through the appropriate cultural lens. The curriculum was created using academic data and materials collected by the UJAP and funding was provided by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung Foundation. After two years of conducting the project in the town of Umm al-Jimal, in 2018 the HCHP moved exclusively to the Zaatari refugee camp (c. 3km away), leaving many CYP in Umm al-Jimal without a vital heritage resource.

My research is centred on the HCHP. While this research project has been supported by the UJAP and the HCHP, it is an independent research project that has been designed and

implemented by me; therefore, while I discuss the HCHP, the UJAP, and their respective impacts on youth and community members in both Zaatari and Umm al-Jimal, both projects are separate from this research. Furthermore, this research focuses on the history and methodology of the HCHP and the three groups of students they have impacted: Jordanian youth in Umm al-Jimal, Syrian youth in Umm al-Jimal, and Syrian youth in Zaatari refugee camp.

### 3.2 HCHP Project Goals

Early in the planning process, the initial HCHP concept was to create a physical heritage centre that served multiple purposes: to hold heritage courses for CYP and adults, to collect local interpretations and accounts of the past and heritage, and to be a space for people to share and compare their heritage with each other (Bayer, 2019). Although this goal has not been actualized, it is still an ambition for the HCHP team.

The goals of the HCHP, as indicated by Muaffaq Hazza, include “enhancing the cultural [identity] of the kids, which we get from our very deep rooted history and heritage of this area which is the cradle of civilization, to make them proud of their origin, the thing which will help them to improve and strengthen their personality” (2017: 1). Ahmed Bayer, the primary heritage instructor in the course, discussed his main goals and motivations of the course as having to do with giving the CYP a feeling about their heritage that he experienced in his childhood growing up in Bosra in the Hauran (Ibid):

My childhood was very rich and I love it very much. I love it in every detail. The good, the bad before the good. Because I got lots of experience for this. And when we are talking about Hauran in general...you are talking about a countryside kind of life, which is a very nice kind of life. When I think about these kids, that they don't have this chance to live this kind of life, I want to give them something, to remind them about how the life should be, or what kind of life their parents used to live. I think that can fix or motivate their personalities (Bayer, 2019).

Bayer went on to say that even if the CYP did not participate in class or enjoy the class, they would remember it from their childhood as something positive and significant in regard to their understanding of themselves and their heritage “in maybe a very indirect way” (Bayer, 2019).



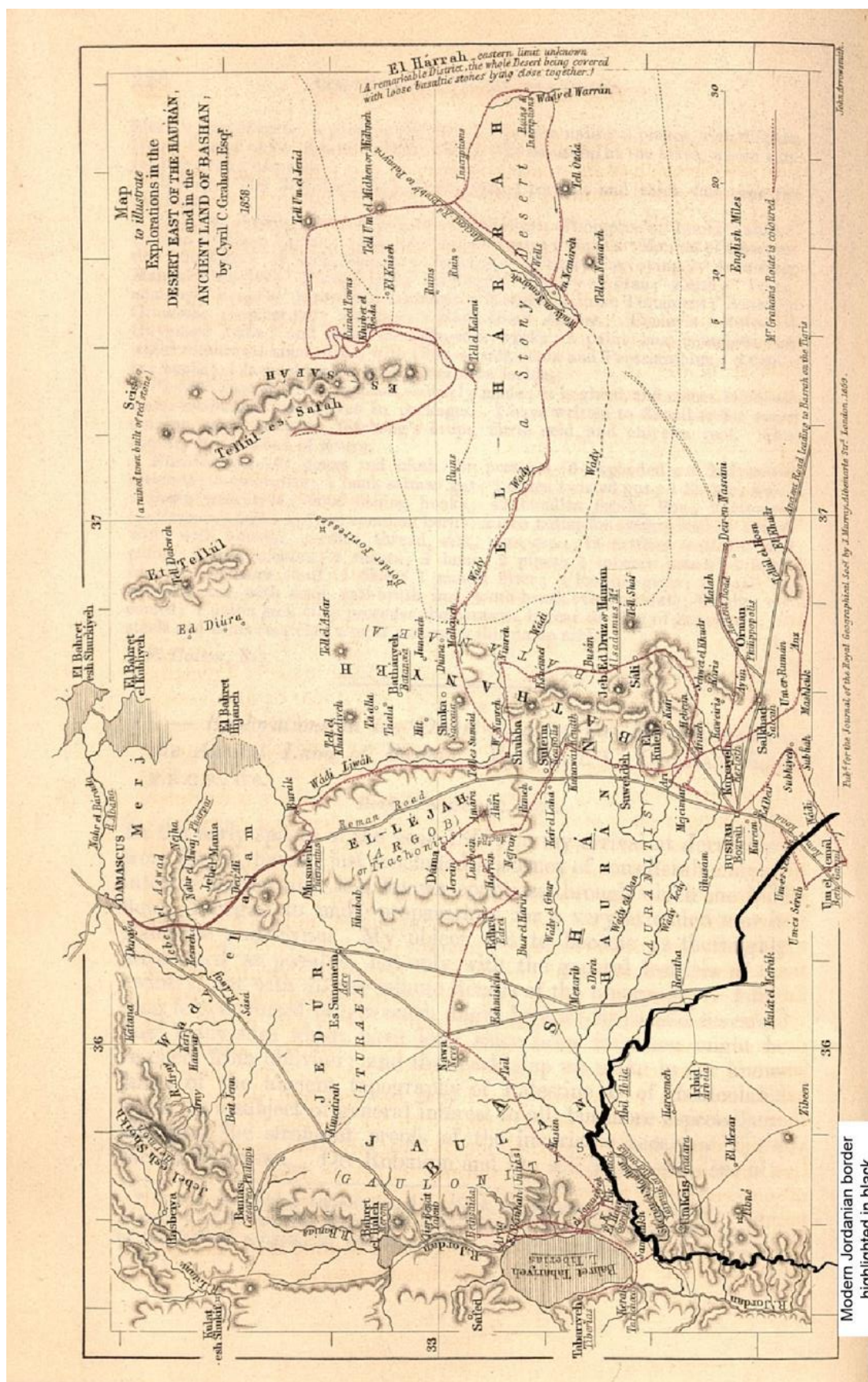


Figure 10 1858 map of the Hauran. The modern Jordanian border is highlighted in black ((after Graham Esq, 1858) 2020).

### 3.3 HCHP Inception

Since the start of the Syrian conflict, tens of thousands of refugees have poured into Jordan through its northern border. Some of these Syrian refugees ended up in refugee camps like Zaatari, but the majority of them went to host communities like Umm al-Jimal. Although Jordan is no stranger to welcoming refugees, refugees put strain on resources in an already resource-poor country. The people of Umm al-Jimal welcomed their new Syrian neighbours; however, there has been unintentional tension between the two groups due to jobs and resources being sparse in the region. This tension inspired the UJAP to bring these two groups together through a shared Haurani heritage (Figure 10).

The UJAP's idea to start a heritage class for local children and young people (CYP) was born out of a need and desire for heritage education to be taught to local CYP as well as refugee CYP living in host communities. The concept was supported by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung Foundation, whose funding allowed local community leaders to design a programme that was tailored to local needs. Heritage is not taught explicitly in the national curriculum and, therefore, this project would supplement heritage learning. The course covered topics such as Hauran daily life, ancient civilizations, agriculture, archaeological technique and theory, marriage traditions, local dress, folk dance and music, traditional food and customs, and different types of local art (Hazza, 2017: 4).

When the project began in 2016 it was held just outside of the town of Umm al-Jimal. Students were bussed to class twice a week, on Monday and Thursday. The classes ran for three months each, with four programmes a year. Up to thirty CYP, between the ages of ten and sixteen, were selected from the community to participate on a first-come first-serve basis. The classes had boys and girls in the same classroom. This is unique to the area because the schools in Jordan are largely gender segregated. This is particularly true in a small conservative Muslim town like Umm al-Jimal. The course ran for two years in Umm al-Jimal. Figure 11 shows the demographics of the course during those two years.

	Syrians		Jordanians		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
<b>First Phase</b>	4	12	4	5	25
<b>Second Phase</b>	13	4	8	3	28
<b>Third Phase</b>	5	7	6	7	25
<b>Fourth Phase</b>	5	5	5	12	27
<b>Fifth Phase</b>	6	7	13	2	28

<b>Sixth Phase</b>	6	8	9	5	28
<b>Seventh Phase</b>	5	5	13	5	28
<b>Eighth Phase</b>	4	5	15	4	28
<b>Total</b>	48	53	73	43	217

Figure 11 HCHP demographic information for the first two years (Hazza, 2017).

In 2018 the HCHP moved exclusively to the Zaatari refugee camp and discontinued operating the classes in Umm al-Jimal. As of 2020, 80% of the population of Zaatari were from the Da'ra governorate of Syria, meaning the majority of Syrians in Zaatari are also from the Hauran area of Syria. Therefore, the installment of the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project in Zaatari matches the project objectives to impart a shared heritage with CYP who are unfamiliar with each other while also being culturally relevant to the lives of the CYP participating. Unfortunately, Syrian CYP in Zaatari are unable to leave the camp and therefore have limited experience with Jordanian youth, whereas the HCHP in Umm al-Jimal included both Syrian and Jordanian youth together in one classroom. As of March 2019 the course has taught 360 CYP in total (Bayer, 2019). The reasoning for this move is unclear; the decision came from the Gerda Henkel Stiftung Foundation and not the teachers themselves. There were no surveys or other data collection that identified a need for the programme within the camp. While there are no other heritage projects for CYP in Zaatari the HCHP does fulfill a dire need for cultural education. Consequently, there are also no other youth-focused heritage projects running in the town of Umm al-Jimal, where the HCHP was created to address a need for heritage education and social cohesion.

When the class moved to Zaatari, students were chosen differently. There were over 27,000 CYP in Zaatari refugee camp in 2017 (Fricker, 2017). With such a large demand for the course, the HCHP decided to offer the course to only one child per family (Bayer, 2019). This was done to ensure that the HCHP reached as many families as possible and relied on the belief that students would bring their knowledge home to share with their siblings and parents (Ibid). Regardless of this effort, siblings of students often show up to the class in the hopes that they might be able to stay and participate.

<b>Class</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Instructor</b>
<b>1</b>	Introduction to Heritage	Muaffaq and Ahmed
<b>2</b>	Hauran daily life	Ahmed
<b>3</b>	Art training	Manal

4	Civilizations that passed over the region, Umm al-Jimal as an example	Muaffaq
5	Trip to Umm al-Jimal	All
6	Agriculture	All
7	Film 'Theeb'	All
8	Excavation training	Muaffaq
9	Excavation outside the camp (Umm al-Jimal)	Muaffaq
10	Traditional marriage and songs	Ahmed
11	Art training	Manal
12	Civilizations that passed over the region, Umm Qais as an example	Muaffaq
13	Trip outside the camp (Umm Qais)	All
14	Earthquake and volcano training	All
15	Film Pompeii the last day	All
16	Traditional games	Ahmed
17	Excavation outside the camp (Umm al-Jimal)	Muaffaq
18	Civilizations that passed over the region, Busra al-Sham as an example	Muaffaq
19	Art training	Manal
20	Traditional dishes and customs	Ahmed
21	Trip outside the camp (Iraq al Amir)	All
22	The importance of heritage and the destruction of archaeological sites	All
23	Review	All
24	Graduation	All

Figure 12 Example of the HCHP course programme (Hazza, 2017).

### 3.4: HCHP Course Overview

The Hauran Cultural Heritage Project has three teachers: Muaffaq Hazza, Ahmed Bayer, and Manal Abu al-Kas. Muaffaq teaches archaeology and historical periods, Ahmed teaches intangible heritage and shared traditions, and Manal teaches traditional and ancient art and art production. Every week, students have one day of art and one day of heritage or archaeology instruction. In Zaatari there are two lessons on each day, one for the boys and one for the girls; this differs from the course in Umm al-Jimal where classes had both boys and girls in the same learning environment. Figure 12 outlines a potential syllabus for the HCHP course, where lessons are flexible; the nature of the course is fluid and customizable in the event that obstacles occur such as bad weather or an ill instructor.

Each course also includes three trips outside of the camp, which requires permission for each child from parents as well as the UNHCR (Hazza, 2017: 2). Permission for students to leave the camp is daunting and includes collecting permission from the government, the UNHCR, and parents, and is time consuming for the instructors. The trips include an excursion to Umm al-Jimal, Umm Qais, and Iraq al Amir, three archaeological sites with different architectural features and purposes. Field trips occur on different days for the boys and girls. The field trips are an essential interactive component of the course; they allow students to experience Jordan outside the camp. The students are particularly enthusiastic about the field trips because they may be the only opportunity CYP get to leave the refugee camp. In a survey about what students wanted more of in the class, most students asked for longer class time and more field trips (Chapter Eight).

Classroom lessons are an hour in duration with additional time for lunch. The HCHP provides lunch for all participating students. Because formal education is held every day of the workweek, which is from Sunday to Thursday in Jordan, HCHP classes are held either before or after formal education. Due to the high volume of CYP in Zaatari camp, there are two sets of formal classes each day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. During the Spring session in 2019 the boys HCHP class was in the morning and they went to formal education after lunch whereas the girls class was in the afternoon after receiving formal education in the morning.

The course in Zaatari operates out of an 8 metre by 6 metre caravan on an 11 metre by 8 metre lot encased in a wire fence. The caravan is a one-room space just big enough to fit thirty student desks and one teacher's desk. Because of the limited space available, the desks are all facing forward whereas the instructors have expressed their desire to have a less formal circular floor plan for the classroom (Bayer, Pers. Comm). There have been attempts to acquire a larger space for the HCHP: however, the UNHCR has denied these requests due to lack of space and resources (Bayer, Pers. Comm).





*Figure 13 View of the HCHP Zaatari caravan from the outside after students began a mural inspired by the ruins of Umm al-Jimal. Photo by Lauren Coughlin.*

A typical heritage lesson begins with a short slide show and explanation from the instructor. This is followed by students responding to the slide show images by sharing their experiences with the content. The lessons primarily rely on student participation to facilitate the discussion. This teaching method is uniquely designed to draw from the personal experiences of students in order to build a collective narrative about a shared past. Although the instructors begin with discussions about Hauran heritage, students from other parts of Syria are encouraged to share the similarities and differences between Hauran heritage and their own heritage. This strategy ensures that all students in the class are listened to and that their personal experiences with their heritage are appreciated and recognized. Furthermore, the lessons take on an interactive rather than a one-way instructional nature, allowing the students to take ownership of the content being presented. In fact, nearly all students participate during the hour-long class.

Although the class has no formal evaluation process, the instructors ask for feedback from the students at the end of the course. Since the HCHP began, the instructors have honed their curriculum based on the reactions of students and their feedback at the end of the course (Bayer, 2019). The instructors notice changes in the students as the course goes on.



For the first few classes you can find them more conservative to participate. They will come in and sit very politely. I'd love them to be polite but not sleeping in the class. That is why some of the teachers in the middle of the season they will find there is lots of noise in the class. No this is not noise, these are kids who are trying to participate... This is the change. At the beginning of the course no one wants to participate, they are shy. Nobody wants to raise their hand[...]because they are scared from each other or from the teacher. But with time going we start to be in a better relation with students and that encourages them to participate...(Bayer, 2019).

Another telling statement about the popularity of the course is in the attendance record; nearly all students show up to class regularly. Ahmed believes this is also due to the class being only twice a week; students do not want to miss a class because they see it as a privilege that they only get to experience a couple of times a week (Bayer, 2019). Finally, Ahmed cites participation and students smiles as an indicator to him that the course is enjoyable and valuable to the students (Ibid).

While there has been discussion about expanding the HCHP, the instructors have indicated that they intend to keep the course at two lessons a week to avoid being compared to formal education (Bayer, 2019). Furthermore, as of March 2019 a comprehensive lesson curriculum for training new instructors has not been assembled and no plans have been made to expand the HCHP. Finally, instructors face increasing restrictions from the UNHCR and the government regarding entering and exiting the camp, making it more difficult to take students on field trips and even enter the camp for classes.

### 3.5 Conclusion

The HCHP is a locally designed and bottom-up project, developed by stakeholders from both Jordan and Syria. It was created to fill a need for heritage education and social cohesion between Jordanian and Syrian youth in the town of Umm al-Jimal. After two years of operating the HCHP in Umm al-Jimal it was moved to the Zaatari refugee camp three kilometers away. When the HCHP moved, it no longer operated in Umm al-Jimal, leaving the town with one less resource for CYP. The HCHP was a valuable resource in the town of Umm al-Jimal and, although it was not created exclusively for the CYP in Zaatari refugee camp, has provided valued heritage discourse to CYP and families in Zaatari. The course relies on an environment where students share their experiences with each other and create mutual understanding surrounding their shared heritage regardless of where they come from.

The desire to expand the HCHP coupled with student interest and enthusiasm demonstrates how a successful project can be hindered by a lack of resources. The space allocated to the HCHP is not conducive to expansion and would require the support of the UNHCR. Furthermore, expansion outside the camp is possible; there is still a need to re-establish the project with CYP in the town of Umm al-Jimal.

In the next two chapters, I discuss the relevant literature on community archaeology, social justice, heritage education, refugee studies, and resilience in order to build the context for analyzing the impact of the HCHP on CYP in Umm al-Jimal and Zaatari.

## Chapter 4: Social Justice Approaches to Community Archaeology and Heritage Education

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the discussion of community archaeology and heritage education, and how the two are well suited for community-building and identity work with young people, and particularly refugees. I discuss community archaeology and heritage education as a way to approach social issues within the communities they impact. I argue that cultural resources and institutions have the capacity to build strong communities and that those strong communities then become the ideal environment for welcoming displaced peoples. Community archaeology can create the capacity for building strong communities and identity, especially in a cultural climate that includes refugees. Strong communities can be forged through shared heritage that supports identity and social cohesion, lessening the tension between host and hosted. Furthermore, the personal agency afforded by community-led cultural heritage projects produces resilient communities, making communities with cultural resources stable locales for refugee resettlement. Refugee families, especially children and young people (CYP), require structure and stability in order to build resilience after the trauma of conflict and being uprooted. Furthermore, the foundations of identity are created during childhood from internal and external factors often out of a CYP's control.

Peter Gatrell locates identity in the space between “me” and “we” (2013: 15). Identity is the way in which we locate ourselves in and relate to the world; it is developed at home, but must be supported through the community and its institutions. CYP spend a large part of their time in a learning environment, developing the skills needed to interact and communicate with the world around them. Thus, education becomes one of the vital instruments that support and facilitate the development of identity. Identity work is particularly important for refugee youth who are uprooted from their homes, disconnected from their communities, and possibly separated from family members.

The topic of heritage is broad and encompasses many interpretations and definitions. For the purposes of this work it is understood as being created through interpretations of the past, the resulting material artifacts, and the environments within which they exist, producing social and community narratives in the present (Harrison et al., 2008: 3). Furthermore, the relationship between memory and material culture such as objects and landscapes can “evoke particular kinds of memories, which cannot be invoked in their absence” (Harrison et al., 2008: 7) making heritage work with refugees crucial to retaining connection to and identity with their past. Heritage

education builds a foundation of understanding of the self, reconnects displaced individuals and communities with their heritage, and builds relationships within new community dynamics and settings.

#### 4.2 Why Community Archaeology?

Before discussing this topic, the term ‘community’ must be addressed as it is often used and seldom defined in the field of community archaeology. Humans are social beings that develop and live in groups which we call communities (Govier, 1997: 51). In the past, social scientists considered community to be based on social interactions between people in the same place; however, in the present it can be built on sharing a common identity (Delanty, 2003: 3). This change is due to the rise of technology and globalization, which have changed the way humans interact with each other. The internet and mass migrations due to conflict and other political factors are among the changes that have “produced a worldwide search for roots, identity and aspirations for belonging” (Delanty, 2003: 1). In the wake of social shifts, small communities like Umm al-Jimal are fighting to maintain strong community ties and cultural identity as they adapt to the modern world.

The concept of community is complex; one person can belong to multiple communities or interest groups and furthermore, those interest groups may compete or conflict with one another (Pyburn, 2011: 2). Anne Pyburn and Gonzalez-Ruibal et al. argue that community archaeology projects invent communities that fit their needs (González-Ruibal et al.: 508, 2018; Pyburn, 2011: 2). They further suggest that archaeologists interact with and enlist communities that may not share their interests or goals. I agree that community archaeology should make an effort to engage with a broader audience that includes those less likely to freely interact with any given project. Finally, marginalized groups exist within marginalized groups and therefore may be less likely to have or show interest. In this way, and for the purposes of this thesis, community must encompass multiple interest groups and demographics if it is to live up to the social justice standard outlined in this dissertation. In the case of Umm al-Jimal, community consists of families that live together in the same town and share a common language, culture, and heritage, including those who have been displaced.

Archaeology produces the contexts of material heritage that are then translated into cultural heritage. It would then be reasonable to place the means of producing heritage in the hands of those who are part of that living heritage. Community archaeology does this; it not only involves consultation with local stakeholders, it involves them in the interpretation, investigation, and decision-making process (Moser et al., 2002: 220). Community archaeology has become more popular over the years; however, the majority of archaeological sites and projects with a local

population are still not well connected with those communities (Antczak et al., 2013). Community outreach has become increasingly important to projects that have local and indigenous populations, not only for the benefit of the project, but also ethically for the benefit of the community. Public access to knowledge and its production is a key principal in community archaeology; yet, without engaging in a collaborative meaning-making process with local stakeholders, a project falls short of being community-centred.

Neil Faulkner identifies two ways to engage the public democratically: one from 'above', and one from 'below' (2000). 'Archaeology from above' promotes the "public appreciation and enjoyment of archaeology" by allowing non-professionals to engage with archaeology in a controlled environment (Faulkner, 2000: 29). Though he does not define these terms outright, in assessing both of his democratic types of archaeology, 'archaeology from above' represents a public approach whereas 'archaeology from below' represents a community-based approach to archaeological practice. Here, Faulkner describes non-professionals as "consumers of fully processed and pre-packaged 'heritage'" being fed by "expert guardians of 'ancient monuments'" (Ibid). This parallels Brighton's definition of public archaeology which names the archaeologist an 'expert authority' (2011: 345). This top-down perspective keeps the archaeologist in a position of power over knowledge and discourse about the past, disallowing critical engagement with the past by 'non-experts'. Alternatively, 'archaeology from below' is a bottom-up approach, which affords participants the power to produce their own knowledge about the past through hands-on excavation and engagement (Faulkner, 2000: 29). Faulkner admits that in practice "the extent of democratic participation in formal decision-making procedures in such states is pretty minimal", suggesting that the real power of knowledge creation is rarely gifted to non-professionals (Ibid). Nonetheless, he argues that a community-based approach that involves the public in every aspect of the archaeological process is an example of true democratic archaeology and can be administered with non-professionals while maintaining scientific integrity (Faulkner, 2000: 31). This bottom-up democratic methodology of archaeology is practiced at Umm al-Jimal through the UJAP. It also strongly influenced the teaching methodology of the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP).

Similar to Faulkner, Patrice Jeppson compares 'public archaeology' to 'people's archaeology': the former "popularizes knowledge about the past", while the latter advocates for the transfer of power to the public so that they can construct knowledge about the past (Ibid). This distinction arose out of South African archaeology where there was a need to develop a history "free of the legacies of colonialism" (Jeppson, 2010: 68). Indeed, as already noted regarding Umm al-Jimal, colonial narratives worldwide have created the necessity to

collaboratively reconstruct narratives about marginalized groups. The greatest challenge faced by experts is how to fully engage in democratized projects where community members, even children, can participate in the debate, discussion, and interpretation of archaeological findings (Paz, 2010: 36). Archaeological education initiatives must be developed for local interests and not solely for the benefit, financially or otherwise, of the project itself.

Community archaeology is not the solution for every archaeological site and must be desired by a local community in order to work. Richardson and Sanchez decry the pitfalls of projects that incorrectly label themselves community archaeology projects. They state that “simply allowing non-professional parties to be involved in something labelled a ‘community archaeology’ project does not mean that its practice is truly participatory and inclusive” (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez, 2015: 202). Furthermore, they found that the rising popularity of community archaeology by funding bodies encouraged some projects to “undertake work under the banner of community archaeology” without any other justification (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez, 2015: 201). Such projects undermine the work of community archaeology by failing to fully commit to collaboration and the sharing of power with local groups. That is why local interest in a project is the number one requirement for the development of a community archaeology project. At the site of Quseir, Egypt, for example, the community archaeology project was prompted by community interest and desire to participate (Moser et al., 2002: 222). The project resulted in employing local residents including women, interviews, the plan to build a visitor centre and museum, a publicly accessible artifact database, a photographic and video archive, a locally-controlled tourism development plan, and the production of children’s books (Moser et al., 2002: 229-242). All of these accomplishments were a result of the interest and hard work of local residents, without whom none of it would have been possible.

Finally, community archaeology is not a one-size fits all methodology. There are some basic elements that define community archaeology: communication and collaboration, employment and training, public presentation, interviews and oral histories, educational activities and resources, and publicly accessible archives (Moser et al., 2002: 229-242); however, these elements are customizable and require working closely with invested communities in order to be successful.

The importance of community archaeology is undeniable: it provides a solution to the ethical considerations of working at an archaeological site that has a living population either at the site or in the general region. Furthermore, as I will argue below, it supports a strong host environment for refugees resettling with their families. While public engagement and outreach are beneficial for small initiatives, community archaeology provides long-term engagement that

can result in benefits to the community in the form of tourism and economic stimulation, social cohesion, education initiatives, a local sense of control over identity and narrative, and even more importantly, community-building. By inviting local voices to participate in the narrative-building process that occurs through archaeology, varied ideas about the past are included that would otherwise be left out or forgotten. In this way, community archaeology develops a symbiotic relationship with local stakeholders to find mutually beneficial outcomes that serve local and global interests.

#### 4.3 Critical Viewpoints of Social Archaeologies

Community archaeology and engagement are often, as has been shown in this work, idealised and praised. However, both can be problematic. Some scholars, such as Alfredo Gonzalez-Ruibal, Pablo Alonso Gonzales, and Felipe Criado-Boado believe that community work by archaeologists has pandered to populism, leaving archaeologists and cultural anthropologists “disempowered” (González-Ruibal et al., 2018: 507). Other scholars argue that the uptick in heritage engagement has commodified heritage and require a degree of “ethnic posturing” by local groups in order to prove authenticity (Pyburn, 2011: 6). Scholars question the parameters archaeologists and anthropologists are using to define the communities with whom they work with little regard for the social hierarchies therein (González-Ruibal et al., 2018: 508-509; Pyburn, 2011: 2). These are important considerations that I will discuss in this section.

Gonzalez-Ruibal et al. argue that critical heritage studies, or an effort to challenge power relations in the creation and preservation of heritage, has overtaken archaeological research (2018: 507-508). They go on to question who the ‘People’ or ‘Communities’ are that we archaeologists are meant to work with and posit that archaeologists “invented the People that they need” who are interested in heritage engagement (González-Ruibal et al., 2018: 508). They challenge the idealistic view of community engagement and heritage by accusing archaeologists and heritage practitioners of “often transfer[ing] the qualities of the critical, enlightened subaltern...onto every community with which they work...” and overlook the complexity of communities (González-Ruibal et al., 2018: 508-509). I do not dispute that this is an issue. The dissection of the term ‘community’ is an important one. With whom are we trying to work? Do they want to work with us? Are there other groups we are leaving out? In this way, research and communication are key before considering community engagement as it is dangerous to try and apply community archaeological principals to projects that are ill-suited for it. Doing so could result in further marginalization of some groups. In the case of the UJAP project and the town of Umm al-Jimal, the longevity of the project inspired interest among residents which culminated into a project that included them. The ‘people’ and ‘community’, in this instance, were already

working on the UJAP, but without the training or to interpret. Children grew up watching their parents and grandparents work on the ancient site alongside Bert. Those children sometimes ended up working on the site as well. The history of the site as well as local heritage became a mutual interest among local residents as well as the foreign archaeologists. It was, therefore, a natural progression, in the mind of Bert de Vries, to move toward a community-centred model of archaeology.

Gonzalez-Ruibal et al. further posit that archaeologists and heritage professionals should not engage in what they call ‘epistemic populism’, or the tendency to give credence to “the People...because it is they who say it”, because it does not consider the complexity of communities and may alienate those who do not conform to or believe in our principles and values (González-Ruibal et al., 2018: 509). Here, however, they assume that research and due diligence has not been done before the consideration of community engagement and collaborative archaeological and heritage projects. Larry Zimmerman, in a review, adds that “developing such projects takes time and requires a level of political engagement that many archaeologists fear” (Zimmerman, 2018: 524). Furthermore, communities are complex, diverse, often at odds, and can be made up of smaller communities. In the context of Umm al-Jimal, not everyone is interested in the archaeology or the affiliated projects. For example, the site signs that were painstakingly designed, built, and erected by local residents and the UJ team have been repeatedly destroyed, presumably by other local residents. We cannot and do not expect all members of a town to participate in a community archaeology project. We can do better, however, to encourage participation by non-participating individuals and groups.

Gonzales-Ruibal et al. suggest a movement from affirmation to provocation of heritage and from the collaborative production of heritage narratives to education, which almost seems like a step back. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, no method is one-size fits all and as Reinhard Bernbeck and Susan Pollock suggest, their proposal is not fully developed (Bernbeck and Pollock, 2018: 517). Gonzalez Ruibal et al. seem to favour an expert-dominated archaeology that, as Bernbeck and Pollock point out “comes dangerously close to reversing what gains have been made through attention to archaeology’s colonial legacy” (Ibid) – gains Middle Eastern archaeology sorely needs.

There is a measure of idealism in community archaeology if you have not worked on a community archaeology project. Anyone who has worked on such a project will tell you there is a great deal of improvisation and the best-laid plans often change a dozen times before they are implemented. Community archaeology does advocate for more collaboration and decolonisation of the discipline that, as Yannis Hamilakis points out, “emerged at the intersection of colonial,



racial, and national modernity” (Hamilakis, 2018: 518). However, how that collaboration and decolonisation is enacted is determined by those willing to do the work. Finally, power is not taken from archaeologists, but shared with local stakeholders. In this way, archaeologists are a community working toward common goals with other communities.

#### 4.4 Archaeology for Social Justice

Community archaeology has become archaeology’s solution to addressing social justice issues within the communities in which projects are run. Community archaeology has raised the bar for archaeological projects engaging with local communities; projects with local stakeholders must consider their cultural footprint or how they impact the cultural climate of a place. Moreover, projects must also consider how they can improve the local quality of life through cultural or heritage resources and engagement. In this section I will discuss archaeology as a form of social justice and action research and how it can be used to amplify the voices of marginalized groups. I will also discuss how community archaeology can facilitate resilience through cultural capital and community-building practices.

Melissa Baird examines the potential risks of engaging in social justice and human rights activities in the context of heritage. She advocates for human rights work that “provide[s] a voice for all communities of connection” or groups in the margins of a society to “mediate how their heritage is represented” (Baird, 2014: 141). She further argues that distinction between human rights and social justice is necessary, especially when discussing claims to identity and “interventions that recognize and make visible people on the margins” (Ibid). Baird differentiates social justice from human rights, emphasizing that human rights focuses on power structures whereas social justice focuses on the individual needs of people (Baird, 2014: 146). Social justice work is essential in the field of education and heritage (Ibid), making it a central theme for heritage work with refugees. Heritage work must consult local frameworks and recommendations apart from Western expertise (Ibid).

Baird further adds that international organizations such as UNESCO takes “direction from the global community and may not account for local or specific concerns,” which can lead to discriminatory practices (Baird, 2014: 143). Human rights and aid organizations that choose high profile projects to improve reputation or increase their media coverage often overlook needs and interests of local populations over broader agendas which can result in under-researched programmes and conflicting interests. These types of projects engage in a top-down approach which, as Faulkner previously suggested, perpetuate discriminatory practices and alienate marginalized groups from critical engagement with their heritage. Baird cites an example she observed at a UNESCO conference about “The Cultural Landscape of the Altai Mountains.” She

emphasized that Mongolian nomadic herders were overlooked by international agencies concerned about the threat climate change has had on archaeological sites preserved in permafrost (Baird, 2014:144), placing artifacts and sites before living populations. While international experts discussed how World Heritage status would assist in protecting and conserving the material cultural heritage, “few had explicitly outlined how nomadic herders or other communities would be impacted by a world heritage designation” (Ibid). Human rights frameworks focuses on structures of power rather than individual cultural claims (Baird, 2014: 146), and while it can support the rights of marginalized groups, without engaging in dialogue with stakeholders, human rights efforts risk missing the mark. As Baird notes, “[a] human rights approach obliges states to protect rights, but these rights may not be fully understood or recognized” (2014: 147) which can result in further marginalizing a group or groups.

Baird suggests a social justice approach for marginalized communities in order to move away from rights discourse and provide marginalized communities with more agency and advocacy over their heritage: “A social justice framework could be developed to allow for communities to define their needs within the language and contexts they deem important, as well as engender visibility and empowerment” (Baird, 2014: 147-148). In this way, social justice is how bottom-up heritage works, by “tak[ing] seriously the voices from the margins: minorities, indigenous groups, refugees, Fourth World nations, and so on” (Baird, 2014: 149). In this way, a social justice approach coincides with community archaeology praxis. Baird finally offers suggestions for social justice work in heritage contexts: through “ethnographies of global institutions” that aim to deconstruct policies and decision-making practices; critical analysis of institutional discourse and expertise; community engagement and collaboration; and accessible scholarly work and publications (Baird, 2014: 149). She urges heritage practitioners to trust local stakeholders “that they have the knowledge, intuition, and skills” to make decisions about their heritage that impact their communities (Baird, 2014: 151). In the context of Jordan and aid work with refugees, the Syrian conflict has exacerbated a refugee crisis that continues to displace millions of people around the world. Aid work for and with refugees is a hot topic that generates revenue and status to participating organizations. It is, therefore, increasingly important that any heritage work conducted with refugees be bottom-up and follow social justice principles.

With a social justice framework in mind, community archaeology returns power over knowledge of the past to local stakeholders. The success of community archaeology relies on a strong foundation of cooperation with and inclusion of a local community. Community archaeology encourages social cohesion and stewardship through positive community interactions with archaeology, while also providing educational and economic stimulation by

creating school programmes, jobs, and sometimes tourism initiatives in local communities (Atalay, 2012: 7; Tully, 2007: 158). As previously suggested by Baird, community archaeology and heritage programmes informed and motivated by local interests avoid further marginalization of local communities and rights violations. Therefore, through a social justice framework, community archaeology can assist in creating mutually beneficial and sustainable solutions for struggling communities.

Sonya Atalay et al. discusses community archaeology and its role in confronting oppression within communities (2016: 16) which is pertinent regarding refugees who are often discussed as a whole and not as individuals with unique or personal identities. They describe the transition of archaeology into a form of activism in order to re-define whom archaeology is for and how archaeologists can use their power for the betterment of communities rather than solely for archaeology or academic success (Atalay et al., 2016: 8). Top-down approaches to archaeology are often driven by government and researcher-mandated practice which can separate people from their heritage (Atalay et al., 2016: 9). They champion a bottom-up approach that acknowledges how the construction of knowledge about the past has been unbalanced in favor of academics and people in power, mainly men, and strives to collaborate with communities who have, in some cases, been marginalized and oppressed (Atalay et al., 2016: 13). Atalay et al. further chastise the ongoing trend of archaeologists to “act in paternalistic ways to claim authority and dominion over all or part of other people’s heritage” (2016: 9). Atalay et al. give the example of archaeologists and anthropologists working with indigenous Americans and their historical remains, stating that the research methods themselves “exploit Native Americans and other indigenous peoples, because these peoples are viewed only as research subjects” (ibid). The act of studying a people in the field of anthropology is not rigorous if those communities are disconnected from the researcher’s interpretations.

Visibility and vocality is an ongoing obstacle for marginalized groups. It has been a revisited topic in feminist archaeology and activist archaeology since the disciplines were created.<sup>11</sup> The discussion about who is a credible knower and who dictates the distribution of information has, therefore, been ongoing and rife with controversy. In particular, there has been a great deal of writing on knowledge creation and who has the power to create knowledge. Neil Faulkner discusses the politics of power in the field of archaeology, stating that “[t]he politics of

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<sup>11</sup> This is not a complete list, but a few examples. Dana Bardolph discusses gendered practices in publishing, showing that women are less likely to get published than men (Bardolph, 2014: 522-536). Rae Lesser Blumberg and William R. Kenan explore gender bias in representation in textbooks and education inequality (Blumberg, 2015: 1-24). Margaret Conkey discusses feminist archaeology and the work that has been done to reveal disparities in how women are viewed in the past (Conkey, 2003: 867-880).

archaeology are about who has power over material remains from the past. The state<sup>12</sup> does not allow local communities and interest groups real power over heritage” (2000: 29). I argue that archaeologists have also historically monopolized the creation of knowledge through this control. Similarly, Randall McGuire challenges archaeologists to assess how their work and the resulting created knowledge affects local and global communities. Randall McGuire discusses multivocality as an important practice in archaeological knowledge creation (2008: 60). Although providing a platform for multiple voices to be heard is important, McGuire argues that multiple voices and opinions can become difficult to translate by the average knowledge consumer (2008: 61-62). He suggests a “Dialectical knowledge” approach that “seeks to weigh equally the subjectivities of knowing and the realities of the world but does not reduce knowledge to either”; in other words, the past is a stationary truth, however, what we can know about that past is not and is derived from its creation in the present (2008: 229). Therefore, any reality created from a critique of multiple interpretations along with material evidence and hard data will not be a “true knowledge” of the past (Ibid), but possibly the closest we can get to one in the present. I call this multivocal interpretation the triangulation of meaning making (Figure 14). It represents the cooperation between archaeologist and local stakeholders that is a central aspect of community archaeology praxis.

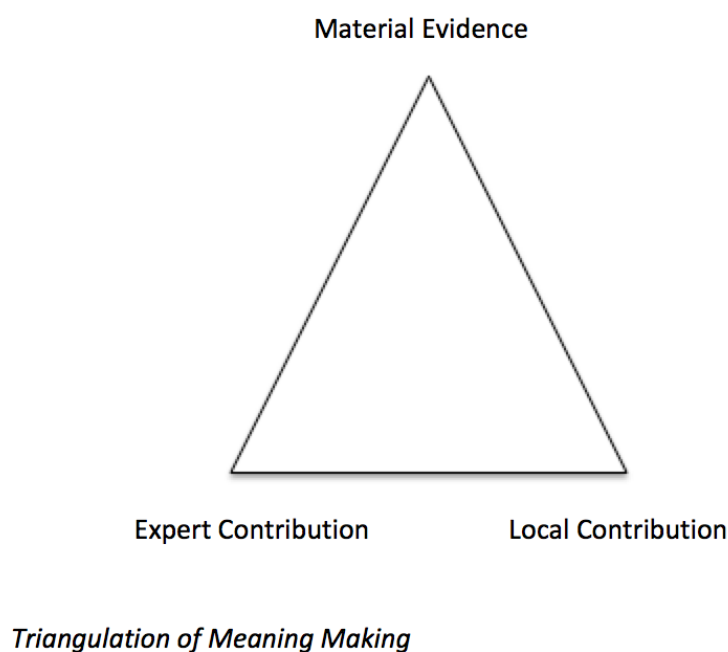


Figure 14 The triangulation of meaning making.

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<sup>12</sup> Referring to a governing power.

Community archaeology through a social justice perspective thereby aims to de-colonize projects focusing on sites that have living communities and restore agency to marginalized groups through enhancing vocality and cooperative knowledge creation. Children in particular are often not considered full citizens and, as described by Grete Lillehammer, are “peripheral” participants in a “marginal position” (2000: 17). Children are generally not given authority over anything except perhaps younger children. Therefore, children have the most to gain from community engagement and archaeology.

This section argued that community archaeology be employed for social justice and with a bottom-up approach. Local and marginalized communities must have power over the cultural and heritage narrative that they themselves value. Furthermore, while rights organizations can benefit indigenous and local populations, they often support broader agendas that may contradict local interests. The literature regarding the role community archaeology plays in heritage discourse and social justice unanimously supports an inclusive, bottom-up approach that returns power to local and marginalized stakeholders. Through collaboration and meaning-making processes between organizations and local stakeholders, identity-building and the re-establishment of agency becomes an inherent aspect of archaeology and heritage production.

#### 4.5 Building identity and value for heritage through archaeology and heritage education

Christopher Matthews defines heritage as “the way in which the past provides a sense of belonging in the present” (2006: 76). He presents this definition in the context of archaeological sites transforming the broader landscape and dynamic of a modern community. Archaeological knowledge shapes what is known about the past and, therefore, social and national identity and heritage. Knowledge can support inequality and social hierarchy in ways that gives credibility to some over others.

Stephen Brighten asserts that “knowledge produced archaeologically has the real potential to shape present-day relations of power” (2011: 346). Power over knowledge about heritage and the past can translate to power over identity nationally and internationally. It can also create and support ideologies about the past that translate into modern identities (McGuire, 2008; 16). Knowledge about the past is disseminated to the population in the form of education and national curricula. Nations and NGO’s prioritize education because it assists in developing productive citizens with a higher quality of life. As Melissa Baird warned, the national and international agendas of organizations and entities risk overlooking the rights and interests of populations they assert to protect and stand for (2014: 147). As education is the national method of disseminating information and identity, other methods may be necessary in local contexts.

Veysel Apaydin looks to formal education as a method for improving value of heritage on a broad and national scale (2017: 28). He views archaeology and heritage as essential curricula in order to protect heritage and archaeological sites from vandalism and illicit sale. While I agree that this is a necessary step to ensuring heightened value of archaeology and heritage within communities, I would go further to suggest that locally curated curricula for heritage is essential to building value. Formal education provides a standardization of universal knowledge that allows people to navigate their lives within the social context of their environment; however, it is formed and developed nationally, which does not take into account local cultural identities. Community identities build community values, making an individual's personal values reliant on their identity. Therefore, the bottom-up approach necessary for developing strong community identities and cultural value is vacant in formal education.

Allowing local communities to develop distinct cultural identity on their own terms “plays an essential role in the building of resilience in such rural locations whereby it acts as an enabler for wider community development” (Beel et al., 2015: 467). Even within community populations, people can differ greatly in their background, heritage, language, and traditions as well as less obvious differences: for example, emotional or learning disorders, or personal trauma can affect how people adapt and learn. Sian Jones critically approached the social value of heritage and how state-sponsored heritage clashes with local heritage identity because “expert-driven modes of significance assessment [of heritage] tend to focus on historic and scientific values, and consequently often fail to capture the dynamic, iterative and embodied nature of people's relationships with the historic environment in the present” (2017: 22). Jones defined social value as “a collective attachment to a place that embodies meanings and values that are important to a community or communities” and stated that it “encompasses the ways in which the historic environment provides a basis for identity, distinctiveness, belonging and social interaction” (Ibid). Jones argues that community-driven heritage work is more effective in building local interest and value in heritage as opposed to “expert” driven heritage work that tends to neglect the interests of local populations (Ibid). The presence of historical remains, like the archaeological ruins at Umm al-Jimal, provides a daily reminder to residents of their history and their heritage, making heritage and archaeology central to the lives of community members. Furthermore, the UJAP facilitated oral story interviews in the 1990s before the project was transformed into a community archaeology project; this implementation of community engagement before a community archaeology project further supports the summation that the existence of cultural resources and projects encourages engagement with and value for heritage.

Jones adduced that “the ways in which communities understand and value historic places is often rooted in oral narratives, folktales, genealogies and spiritual associations that generate specific, often localized, kinds of meanings” (2017: 24). In a case study on collaborative co-production of heritage between local residents and heritage professionals called the ACCORD Project,<sup>13</sup> Jones observed that the selection of valuable locations of interest by local participants in collaboration with heritage professionals resulted in a range of locales, from listed buildings and to sites “on the margins of authorized notions of heritage” but highly valued by community members (2017: 42). This is an important point: if local stakeholders are given the ability to choose places, objects, or topics of interest or value in reproducing or conserving heritage, their vested interest in that heritage will rise. Through witnessing what they value being represented and preserved at a professional level, community interest and value for heritage will undoubtedly increase. Jones concluded that while cooperative practice in heritage work remains relatively marginal, “[c]ollaborative methods involving heritage professionals and communities in a network of on-going relationships with heritage places are arguably the most productive means to accommodate the inherently fluid processes of valuing the historic environment” (2017: 33).

Because of modernization, the community of Umm al-Jimal, as well as other communities in Jordan, struggled to maintain and preserve local narratives that may not seem relevant to CYP in the modern world. For refugees living in Umm al-Jimal, connection to place and genealogical association with the community are not inherent. With the lack of a localized heritage education curricula in formal school, value for heritage is based solely on what they can learn at home with parents and family members who are struggling to survive and settle after the traumatic journey south. In Zaatari refugee camp the connection to community is even further diminished creating obstacles to building value of heritage in youth who are prisoners in the camp. This is why, as suggested by Jones, local initiatives using locally developed curricula is fundamental to instilling the social value of heritage.

Community archaeology offers an alternative to formal education in the form of youth projects. There have been some archaeological projects that included youth, such as the Labo Project in Norway, the Tel Bareqet Project in Israel, and the Los Roques Archipelago Project in Venezuela, that resulted in an increased value for heritage and archaeology (Antczak et al., 2013; Paz, 2010; Traaholt and Fønsteilen, 2017). This project educated local youth, educators, and

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<sup>13</sup> A project from 2013-2015 that brought local stakeholders and heritage and conservation specialists together to choose sites for 3D modelling and laser scanning. The project addressed the gap between expert value and priorities and community-based social value “through co-design and co-production of 3D heritage models that encompass social value and engage communities with transformative digital technologies” (Jones, 2017: 29-30).

community members about their cultural resources, resulting in an increased interest in and a sense of responsibility for their material cultural heritage. The presence of archaeology within a community can result in vandalism or looting if the community is not educated about the benefits of such cultural resources. In fact, community members who had previously looted from the archaeological site ended up volunteering with the project to protect the site (Antczak et al., 2013: 222). In this way, involving local stakeholders in excavation as well as education projects builds connections to and value for the physical remains of a place in order to protect them.

### 4.5.1 Jordanian School System

As stated previously, public education, in an effort to be inclusive, falls short in including adequate cultural and heritage curricula, and that which it does include has largely been developed by and designed for a particular demographic (Jeppson, 2012: 5). In Jordan the demand for education and educational resources increased dramatically due to the large influx of refugees. This resulted in the nationwide practice of implementing two school shifts a day to accommodate more students, as well as separate schools for Jordanians and Syrians (Van Esveld, 2016).

The objectives of the Jordanian Ministry of Education (MOE) are to shape citizens as believers in God who follow national and homeland expectations, and to imbue them with virtue and mental, physical, spiritual, and social maturity (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Ministry of Education, 2019). The MOE, as part of its mission, aspires to provide equal learning opportunities for its citizens to prepare them as productive contributors to their communities (Ibid). This emphasis on community is a common theme in Jordanian and Arabic societal values.

Unfortunately, the primary and secondary school curricula for cultural heritage in Jordan, as of 2010, lacks differentiated heritage studies that focus on local and national cultural heritage. History and cultural studies do not specify heritage education for the large populations present in Jordan including Bedouin tribes, Palestinians, Jordanians, and now Syrians. Fakhriem Majed Qasim Darabseh evaluated the Jordanian school curricula, stating that “heritage education at schools tends to focus on spreading knowledge among pupils about main archaeological and tourist sites in Jordan such as; Petra, Jerash, Aqaba, and Umm el Jimal” (2010: 65). He further noted that a cultural heritage curriculum was being developed for both primary and secondary schools for the purpose of cultural heritage management and conservation (Ibid); however, as of 2020, this remains unrealised. Therefore, it is an unfortunate reality that local cultural heritage in towns such as Umm al-Jimal are slowly being lost and forgotten by residents and their CYP.



#### 4.6 Community Archaeology and Heritage Education as a Conduit for Community-building, Identity-building and Resilience

Community archaeology has several important aims: to balance the building of historic context with local perceptions and knowledge; to stimulate local economy; to assess the needs of the local community and work toward meeting those needs; and to provide a platform for cooperative learning and participation in the creation of knowledge about the past. In this section, I will explore the nature of community, the present difficulties it faces, and why it is important to resilience. Scholarly work about resilience through cultural heritage is lacking; however, scholars have addressed how heritage and cultural capital build strong, resilient communities and support identity. I will discuss several case studies that show how cultural resources can strengthen community and foster social cohesion.

##### 4.6.1 Community Strength, Support, and Resources

Communities are often places —concrete or web-based— where trust exists between strangers and there is a general understanding and belief that those in the community share roles, norms, and decisions (Govier, 1997). Trust is built over time and therefore established communities will have built relationships and trust whereas new communities, like refugee camps, lack the benefit of time and therefore trust.

Randall McGuire carefully discusses communities as not being homogenous groups, but individuals who share a common living space and are shaped by differing identities such as gender, age, and social class (2008: 87). Community members share common experiences and interests but may also be divided by multiple social factors that may also divide certain interests. These social factors are often the result of power relations within a community that can result in inequalities and oppression. This gives a powerful responsibility to archaeologists as outsiders to offer opportunities to all community members, particularly those who are marginalized. This is a particularly important point for host communities where although trust may exist among residents, the influx of new residents may result in division.

In the United States, the issue of deteriorating communities resulted in a nationwide study about the importance of strong communities for the welfare of children (McDonnell et al., 2015: 80). This 2002 study implemented multiple initiatives that brought people living in the same communities together to participate in a variety of activities. While the aim was to inform community members about the ways they could protect their children, the act of participating in community engagement in itself created bonds and relationships that built trust and collective memory, both of which support strong communities. The study indicated that strong communities have a higher degree of neighbour trust and reliance (McDonnell et al., 2015: 93). Additionally, residents were familiar with one another and had positive and reciprocal

relationships with their neighbours (Ibid). Finally, the study concluded that strong communities provide the perception of safety to residents, including children (McDonnell et al., 2015: 95).

Communities also provide emotional and financial support to their members. Examples include childcare, religious institutions, and other support systems that work through the community. McLeigh et al. emphasize “that support for families should be natural and thus should occur in the social settings where families are” in order to build and maintain strong relationships (2015: 98). Support is invariably linked with the number and types of resources that a community possesses; however, a paucity of resources is not necessarily a barrier to community-building. In a study where two communities with differing resources were engaged in the same activities, the results showed that although the larger community had more resources, the smaller community with fewer resources had a higher turnout of participants and volunteers (McLeigh et al., 2015: 109). This outcome is possibly due to a greater need in the smaller community for resources and the interest in growing such resources. Thus, a lack of resources and support can be increased by encouraging activity and thereby strengthening community. In these cases, although development of support within the communities was triggered by outside initiatives, it was carried through by community efforts.

#### 4.6.2 Case studies

In the context of Jordan, small rural communities such as Umm al-Jimal are experiencing rapid changes that cause disruptions in cultural traditions which provide support, facilitate the creation of identity, and promote trust. Once-strong communities are weakening, in large part because of the disappearance of traditions that once invoked strong, close-knit community development. If strong communities require trust, safety, and support, how does the cultural sector, including heritage and archaeology, feed into these requirements? These case studies will explore how the cultural sector, including heritage and archaeology, can foster community-building.

Kathleen de la Peña McCook and Maria Jones argue that “culture influences quality of life” (de la Peña McCook and Jones, 2002: 326). They explore the concept of a cultural commons and examine how cultural institutions enliven communities. While their argument focuses on public libraries, the same principles can be applied to any cultural or heritage resource that offers community activities. They explain that “social capital, common values, and important community bonds are reinforced by participating in cultural activities” (de la Peña McCook and Jones, 2002: 326). Additionally, cultural institutions provide the social spaces for community activities and participation, which in turn support social cohesion and community-building. These institutions

are community agencies that provide important resources for communities (de la Peña McCook and Jones, 2002: 327).

In 2015, researchers addressed a previous gap in the literature about the value of heritage in building resilient communities and placed resilience in the context of agency, as this research also aims to do (Beel et al., 2015: 459). Beel et al. include the case study of the cultural activities of the rural Scottish town of Portsoy that demonstrated “resilient behavior...through cultural activity” (2015: 460). The authors argue that community heritage activities and locally-led volunteer labour can build resilient rural communities (Beel et al., 2015: 459).

Portsoy is a small fishing town that has a yearly community-organized Scottish Traditional Boat Festival. The success of this festival inspired the local community to invest their time in the restoration of an old ice house, now called the Salmon Bothy, to act as a community office space for the implementation and organization of the sailing festival. Both the boat festival and the Salmon Bothy are completely operated by local volunteers (Ibid). The development of the community space and the festival has fostered other cultural activities in town such as traditional boat building, folk music, and craft making (Beel et al., 2015: 464). Additionally, the interest in collecting and preserving community heritage led to the formation of a committee that has since opened a small museum space (Ibid).

The cultural activities in Portsoy highlight the importance of community agency and interest for heritage projects to succeed. The activities rely entirely on volunteers and have resulted in the creation of other cultural groups or activities. In fact, one resident pointed out that the projects are community sustained by the “community spirit” which in turn “accelerated the community spirit and involvement” (Beel et al., 2015: 464). Beel et al. finally argue that “[t]he acquiring of buildings, the development of amenities, the employment of staff, and the on-going search for further funding and opportunities, represents how cultural activity is a catalyst to community resilience and development in rural locations” (Ibid).

While the context of these projects differs from the refugee context at Umm al-Jimal, the use of cultural heritage as a resilience-building tool for rural communities applies to both. Beel et al. link personal agency to resilience, much like Gatrell and Grotberg have, but in the context of cultural activity (Beel et al., 2015: 460). They argue that the agency of local communities to independently engage with historical content and mobilise volunteers encourages the building of narratives and connections, allowing them to “present and articulate their historical sense of place for their own purposes” (Beel et al., 2015: 462). The authors identify community resilience as the ability of communities to deal with or “bounce back” from external shocks (Ibid). In the context of rural areas, communities were described as “continuing entities within a locality who

have their own agency to develop”, but are ever changing due to local and external factors (Beel et al., 2015: 461). Communities who engage in cultural activities inadvertently create support networks that strengthen them and bolster resilience. The authors further argue that the human or personal agency present in a community or among community members allows them to adjust to changes in and around their community (Ibid). Furthermore, cultural activity “can act as a catalyst within rural communities” and “act as a medium to providing an engagement point for the community, by building dialogue...and allow[s] community heritage groups to produce their narratives of people and place through different mediums” (Ibid).

Beel et al. describe bottom-up projects that employ volunteer labour to accomplish community goals. They argue that power and agency needs to “lie with the community to present and articulate their historical sense of place for their own purposes, only engaging with institutions and the (local) state as necessary” (Beel et al., 2015: 462). This argument not only mirrors previous arguments for community-led heritage work, but also verifies how heritage work supports the personal agency of community members. Long-standing community-led heritage projects inspired other community activities aimed at preserving and maintaining “a historical sense of place” while also developing relationships between community members in the present (Beel et al., 2015: 464). The projects that followed encouraged more locals to get involved in heritage development and work, thus resulting in more cultural resources for the community (Beel et al., 2015: 467).

Archaeological research in particular has been and continues to be used for nationalistic purposes, often resulting in top-down approaches that alienate local stakeholders and ignore local needs and interests in favor of national interests. Local control over historical narrative allows marginalized communities to represent their own interests, making a bottom-up or community-led approach to heritage work an essential strategy for any project with living stakeholders (Ibid). Beel et al. argued that communities with strong local identities show resilience by maintaining those cultural identities despite modernization (Ibid). They pointed out that local cultural heritage groups have difficulty recruiting and connecting with younger members, causing a generational disconnect from heritage (Beel et al., 2015: 465). This is exacerbated if there is an influx of outsiders moving to a community (Ibid). Beel et al. offered digital recording and documentation of heritage as one solution one already employed by the UJAP as discussed above. They also mention the digital presence of heritage as providing a way for local communities to connect with diaspora communities (Beel et al., 2015: 466). For Syrians, this would mean creating digital communities online where heritage is shared and preserved globally. However it is accomplished, connecting people to each other through heritage builds

community resilience while also preserving locally curated heritage. Accessibility to the project and the project outcomes (such as heritage archives, activities, or publications) by community members is crucial to the sustainability of heritage and community resilience.

Particularly relevant to the case of Umm al-Jimal is the argument that locally-led cultural heritage institutions have the capacity to preserve cultural heritage and history for future generations and that “through sustained attention to the making of meaning, cultural heritage institutions contribute to building community” (de la Peña McCook and Jones, 2002: 328). This is accomplished through the growing effort to include communities in the process of meaning making, knowledge creation, and the building of collective memory. These points are especially poignant for growing communities that include more than one cultural identity.

In another case study, Akira Ichikawa analyses how community archaeology strengthens social relationships within communities through the study of a project in El Salvador (2018: 222). She argues a similar point to de la Peña McCook and Jones that “when we have profound respect for open communication between archaeologists and communities in archaeological practice, sites serve as gathering places where collective experiences and memories can be constructed that strengthen participants’ social relationships” (Ichikawa, 2018: 223).

In 2007, a community archaeology project was founded in Nueva Esperanza, El Salvador. The town population is descended from refugees from the 1980 Salvadoran Civil War (Ichikawa, 2018: 224). In El Salvador, the profession of archaeology is still young and until the 21<sup>st</sup> century most archaeologists were foreign (Ibid). The project has three operations: the first deals with the excavation and data management of the archaeological project itself; the second concerns integrating the data and findings about the site into educational resources for the public; and the third is a UNESCO-funded project that brought in specialists to “enrich local people’s knowledge and motivate the utilization of cultural and natural resources” through intensive workshops with CYP (Ibid). The last workshop also aimed to collect memories and testimonials from local community members (Ibid).

Unlike Umm al-Jimal, Nueva Esperanza had no previous archaeological project before the community one. Community members made some of the first discoveries of historical remains by accident and reported them to the local authorities. Furthermore, community representatives insisted on community involvement from the beginning, and requested that the archaeological materials be returned and placed in a local museum, to which the archaeologists and the state-run Department of Archaeology agreed (Ichikawa, 2018: 229).

Ichikawa reported the impact on the community as substantial. She recalls one resident pointing out the thinning of social relationships within the community (Ichikawa, 2018: 229-230).

In response to this, Ichikawa increased the amount of dialogue and decision-making done by volunteer community members in the field (Ibid). In this way she and her team adjusted the way they worked with the community based on community interests and needs which is a fundamental aspect of working positively with local communities. She argues that the result of this effort was the development of new collective memory among community members (Ichikawa, 2018: 232-233).

Collective memory refers to “the process whereby groups solidify individual memories into a shared narrative...the content of such stories...or the material culture associated with such narratives, such as monuments or memorials” (Walker, 2019). Ichikawa uses the phrase to mean “memory shared by people or a community through practices conducted in a certain place” (Ichikawa, 2018: 232). The Walker definition thus refers to the process while the Ichikawa definition encapsulates the result. Both suggest a common activity or practice that brings people together to create memory in order to construct a shared understanding and narrative about the past and the present. Ichikawa argues that archaeological sites serve as prime locations for local community members to gather and build collective memory: “this kind of memory creates a solid identity and serves to strengthen social relations among different people” (Ichikawa, 2018: 233).

The study further argues that archaeological practices and collective efforts help non-descendant or non-indigenous groups, including refugees, form identity in a new community (Ichikawa, 2018: 233). Community members who work on archaeological excavations work next to and with each other toward a meaningful result. Their interactions create trust and mutual respect that have the potential to form lasting relationships between residents.

### 4.7 Summary

In this chapter I explored the characteristics of strong communities and how community archaeology and other cultural resources contribute to their building, which subsequently support individual, cultural, and community resilience. A bottom-up, democratic approach to archaeological research and cultural community archaeology has changed how archaeologists work with local communities and stakeholders, looking critically at archaeological practice and how it impacts local populations. Top-down approaches to heritage projects alienate communities and ignore valued community heritage. Community-led heritage projects provide agency to community members that allows them to preserve and build knowledge about heritage on their own terms, resulting in an increased value of heritage and community resilience. Public access to knowledge and its creation is a human right, especially regarding local heritage preservation. Therefore, a democratic or bottom-up approach is necessary to ensure local needs and interests are being considered. Furthermore, a cultural common produced by cultural

institutions and archaeological projects can facilitate relationships between community members, thereby strengthening communities through collective memory.

While some scholars have criticised community archaeology and democratic archaeological practices as being ‘populist’ and damaging to the scientific integrity of the practice –and this can certainly be true in cases where community archaeology is used inappropriately and for the wrong reasons– There are projects, such as the UJAP, where community engagement and democratic practice was a natural progression to the work already being done on site.

Institutions support social justice frameworks of interaction between ‘experts’ and local interests. A social justice framework is favored over a human rights framework because the latter often pursues broader solutions to social issues to the detriment of the needs of marginalized groups, whereas social justice interventions work from the ground level with marginalized groups to develop solutions. In order to mitigate further marginalization of local stakeholders, community archaeology aims to restore agency to vested communities. The intended result of community work is stronger, more resilient communities.

Strong communities are characterized by perceived safety, trust among residents, and a sense of community support. Cultural organizations provide spaces for a cultural common that facilitates social activities and the creation of collective memory, thereby strengthening community. Collective memory supports mutual trust between residents, which again supports strong communities. Strong community networks in turn support safety within communities. Community archaeological projects, like the one at Nueva Esperanza, foster and strengthen cultural commons, build local identity and agency, inspire other cultural projects, and add value to heritage. These projects engage locals in heritage and archaeological activities that help to forge collective memory, to build trust, and to create support networks between residents who may not otherwise have engaged with each other. Furthermore, the existence of cultural resources and projects can result in community spaces that facilitate social cohesion and build relationships between marginalized groups. Strong community relationships develop trust and a sense of belonging that is fundamental to building resilience.

In conclusion, community archaeology can build strong communities through bottom-up approaches to heritage and knowledge creation. The presence of cultural resources and community-led heritage projects strengthens personal agency, identity, and value for heritage which subsequently facilitates community and cultural resilience. Existing community and cultural resilience within a host community benefits incoming refugees through strong existing structures. Therefore, through bottom-up practice of cultural and heritage work, communities with existing cultural resources and projects are advantageous locations to host refugees. In the next chapter I

## Chapter 4: Social Justice Approaches to Community Archaeology and Heritage Education

will explore developments in research about refugees and the methods used to create and build resilience.



## Chapter 5: Developments in Refugee Studies and Resilience

In this chapter I will discuss the field of refugee studies, historical discourse about refugees, the current refugee crisis, and how cultural heritage can support identity and social cohesion between refugee and host communities as well as within refugee camps. I will also examine the main cultural and identity issues facing refugees by discussing case studies about the forced migration of Palestinians to show how heritage projects like the HCHP are essential resources for building resilience. I argue that heritage, culture, and an understanding of the past are critical to the development of identity and constructing social mutuality and relationships. Affording CYP in Zaatari access to their heritage and information about their past provides them with an avenue for remembering their experiences with their heritage in a safe and comfortable space. Additionally, sharing a space with similar young people provides them with a sense of normalcy during less than normal circumstances.

### 5.1 Introduction to Refugee Studies

Refugees have existed for the duration of known human history. Our ancestors, during different periods of time, experienced forced migration from their homelands to new and unfamiliar places with new and unfamiliar people. Forced migration can strengthen or deplete cultural identity. How a host community welcomes a fleeing population can have a huge impact on how those refugees will fare and adjust, and how their cultural identities will change and shape their lives in their new environment. Intangible cultural heritage, such as stories, craft production methods, traditions, and other non-material aspects of the human experience, is particularly vulnerable during forced migration because it is often undocumented and tied to a particular place or time. Once peoples are removed from a landscape, their intangible cultural heritage, which includes rituals or routines that revolve around that lost landscape, is disrupted and often left behind.

Studies have shown, however, that cultural identity and community belonging can help to alleviate trauma and displacement that war and forced migration can cause (Alwan, 2016: 25-44; Bartolini et al., 2016: 377-381; Beel et al., 2015: 459-467; Chatelard, 2017: 14-22). More importantly, cultural and community identity supports social cohesion by encouraging collective meaning making about a common past between different groups of people. When discussing the heritage of displacement, Flaminia Bartolini et al. discuss the level at which museums and heritage sites and spaces must engage in heritage discourse and work with migrant and refugee populations (2016: 377). They posit that “[i]ncreasing multivocality in heritage spaces, as well as democratizing them through reconsidering the roles of tangible and intangible heritage, can

actively widen definitions of heritage and expertise” (Bartolini et al., 2016: 378-379). This is an ethical issue for heritage institutions and professionals. For refugees and victims of forced migration there are both material and emotional losses to consider and heritage institutions can provide comfort and relief in these areas through the repatriation of heritage. Although the physical landscape attached to heritage cannot be replicated in a new environment, supporting cultural heritage discourse about the past can assist rebuilding cultural identity as well as support resilience.

Identity is an essential principle in refugee studies and is particularly relevant when discussing the visibility of a marginalized group of people. In order to respectfully discuss a marginalized group of people like refugees, we must listen to and magnify their voices. Current discourse about refugees commonly mention the ‘voices’ of refugees within the context of ‘amplifying’ their visibility (Salem, 2018; Save the Children Sweden, 2015; Shawaf and El Asmar, 2017; Shterjoski, 2016). This trend comes from the oversaturation of refugees in politics and the media and the tendency to see them as a homogenous and indistinguishable mass without individual or cultural needs (Alwan, 2016: 29; Hart, 2006: 9; Malkki, 1996: 378). Malkki states that “humanitarian practices tend to silence refugees” (1996: 378), while Jason Hart posits that many research approaches studying refugees assume “trauma, vulnerability, and victimhood [are] defining and universal characteristics of children who have lived through war” without adequate child-focused research (2006: 9). In this way, the need for identity-building structures for refugees is essential to rebuilding a life and the self after extraordinary loss, thereby mitigating the silencing of refugee voices through the loss of said identity.

Humans have common basic needs, as described in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, a theory that expresses needs on a scale of importance. The most fundamental are physiological needs such as air, water, food, and shelter, followed by safety, social belonging, self-esteem, and finally self actualization (Martin and Joomis, 2007: 72-75). Refugees’ immediate needs fall within the physiological and safety categories. Those needs are often met by aid agencies that provide food, shelter, security, and medical resources. It is the social, esteem, and self-actualization needs that are most challenging to provide in a crisis situation. With so many people suffering simultaneously within a confined spaces, like refugee camps, how, as a refugee, can one acquire a sense of self, importance, and belonging? How can one’s voice be heard over a sea of desperate voices?

### 5.2 The Voices of Youth

The CYP in Zaatari refugee camp have come from different parts of Syria, with or without their families (Figure 8). As young people they are in a crucial period of development—physically, mentally, and emotionally—that will impact their adult lives. Like other young refugees around

the world, they are living through these important years far from home and among strangers in a refugee camp.

Hiba Salem and Jason Hart, within the context CYP, discuss the importance of research being done *with* youth and not only *on* youth (Hart, 2006: 4; Salem, 2018: 9). They underscore that research *with* youth is premised by the understanding that “children are agents of their own lives, whose voices, experiences, and opinions are valuable to any research or discourse relating to matters which affect them” and that this discourse allows adult researchers “to understand notions which may otherwise not be visible to adults” (Ibid). The ability to participate is a function of personal agency that, as will be discussed later, is a fundamental proponent of resilience.

Young refugees spend their crucial development years identifying as a refugee outside of their cultural environment (Alwan, 2016: 12). A Save the Children survey found that youth, in particular, reported “feeling a loss of identity and hopelessness about the future” (Robinson, 2015: 20). Similarly, Noor Alwan notes that youth who grow up in refugee camps tend to have a deep sense of instability, lack of control, and isolation (2016: 13). Finally, it is common for refugees to form a collective identity within the camp through shared experiences (Alwan, 2016: 25). While this identity building is encouraged within the context of a refugee camp, and even a host community, a connection to the past and a familiarity with one’s own cultural identity and heritage cannot be substituted. Eisenbruch states that “it is essential to regard the entire refugee community as a single social group experiencing collective grief for the loss of its identity” (1988: 282). It is important, however, to acknowledge that the identities and cultures within a displaced people may not be the same and to treat them as such is to make invisible their individual cultural experiences and identities. This caveat is supported by Alwan and Hart, who observe that international humanitarian agencies neglect the individual “experiences, culture, values, and aspirations of refugees” and treat them as a collective party of victimized peoples (Alwan, 2016: 26; Hart, 2006). These issues can be exacerbated for youth who are often seen as lacking fully developed identities and the personal agency to participate in everyday community life. It is therefore crucial that CYP are given the space and opportunity to participate in the development and assessment processes of their own aid work. Alwan suggests providing CYP with a forum or space to “voice their opinion and be in control” as a paramount way to empower them (2016: 89). In a refugee camp, this is equally important and difficult because CYP are confined to a smaller and denser space than they would be in a host community. This isolation can stunt the growth of any identity, not just that of a refugee. Furthermore, it restricts communication with other people and cultures, limiting their worldview and the place they hold within it.

### 5.3 Heritage, Identity, and Cultural Bereavement in the Context of Refugees

In this section I will discuss cultural bereavement in terms of the loss of identity and connection to heritage in the context of forced migration and refugees from Palestine and Syria. As discussed above, identity is an important term in refugee studies. It is described as ambiguous (Gatrell, 2013: 14) and as “a cognitive construct of the self—fundamentally relational and self-referential—that answers the question who am I” (Korte, 2007: 168). Identity is the umbrella under which we navigate our lives. It is built from every moving and stationary aspect of our microcosm. Identity is nourished and fed by our culture, family, community, and the physical environment in which we develop. It creates stability and comfort as well as self-esteem and pride. Upon interruption, disturbance of culture and a movement away from the physical environment that has shaped the identity of an individual or a community leads to cultural bereavement. Maurice Eisenbruch defined cultural bereavement as “the experience of the uprooted person or group resulting from loss of social structures, cultural values, and self-identity” (1991: 3).

One key study of cultural bereavement in CYP is by Eisenbruch (1988) who studied forced migration of Cambodians to the United States. He stated that no CYP-specific literature on the topic of cultural bereavement had been produced previously and he would therefore have to “extrapolate from the work on adults” (Eisenbruch, 1988: 283). He argued that refugees forced to migrate from their homeland experience a collective loss of identity from a disrupted cultural continuity (Eisenbruch, 1988: 285). He further stated that although refugees experienced an initial period of prosperity, as time went on they experienced isolation and alienated themselves from host communities (Eisenbruch, 1991: 1). Eisenbruch suggested that refugees be treated on their own terms using their own stated needs and through their own cultural lens rather than the lenses of outside or dominating cultures to avoid misunderstanding and further separation from cultural norms and ideas (Ibid). This reinforces the importance of a bottom-up approach that is essential to developing adequate care for displaced individuals and communities in order to alleviate the strains and stresses of those suffering from cultural bereavement.

The term ‘refugee’ can conjure images of dependence and poverty. Identifying as a refugee can, therefore, produce feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, further adding to the plight of those individuals experiencing forced migration. Despite the image of the refugee, individuals or familial groups are from diverse communities and different religious and cultural backgrounds. Refugees in Jordan hail from many places including Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. Regardless of this fact, it is common to identify refugees as a single group, a tendency that Malkki terms “dehistoricization”, which occurs when “refugees stop being specific persons and become pure

victims in general” (1996: 378). To combat this issue, some Palestinians have used their Palestinian culture as a way to improve their personal feelings about their identity and to distance themselves from the label ‘refugee’ (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 65). Thus, a strong identity supports mental health and ultimately resilience among refugee populations.

The identity of ‘refugee’, unintentionally encouraged by relief efforts that assume the homogeneity of a group of refugees, is particularly destructive to CYP who are only beginning to develop identities of their own. Hart develops this concept in his work promoting youth-focused research, suggesting “statements are made about the young when we should be producing knowledge with them” (2006: 9). He further supports a youth-focused approach that “does not assume uniformity in the psychological, material or social situation of children” and that includes youth in the development and assessment phases of any project or effort that aims to provide aid to young refugees (Ibid). Therefore, engaging in dialogue with youth about identity supports their autonomy and agency, further strengthening their sense of self. There are even more dire consequences when heritage education is lacking: the loss of narrative and identity can be passed down successively through generations (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 99).

### 5.4 Case Study: Palestinian Youth

Although the cause of the forced migration of Palestinians differed from that of the Syrians, there were many parallels to the experiences and conditions of both groups of refugees, which is why Palestinian CYP case studies are an excellent source of comparable data. Palestinian and Syrian refugees were from highly community-based societies that share a language along with similar refugee conditions, both positive and negative: insufficient educational and community services resulting in anger and violence within a camp setting, and a lack of independence (Alwan, 2016: 13; Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 39), corporal punishment and safety concerns in the classroom (Baassiri, 2011: 6; Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 45; Serrato, 2014: 4), insufficient recreational spaces (Alwan, 2016 12; Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 45), high school dropout rates (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 53; UNHCR et al., 2014: 3), gender segregating non-familial young people (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 67; Save the Children Sweden, 2015: 20), strong community and familial support (Abdul-Rahim and Abuateya, 2005: 75), violent and anti-social behavior exhibited by boys (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 40; Save the Children Sweden, 2015: 21), child labour (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 39; Culbertson and Constant, 2015: 59), child marriage (Culbertson and Constant, 2015: 19; Farah, 2005: 105-106), segregation from the host community resulting in a lack of social cohesion (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 44; Culbertson and Constant, 2015: 49), and loss of intangible cultural heritage and narrative (Chatelard, 2017: 64; Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 6). The conditions most relevant to this project are insufficient educational and community services and space, lack of

independence, gender and nationality segregation in schools, separation from host communities, and loss of intangible cultural heritage and narrative.

The Israeli occupation of Palestine and the subsequent forced migration of Palestinians provides many case studies about refugee CYP,<sup>14</sup> For example, Dawn Chatty and Gillian Hundt compared the differences between the Palestinian refugee camps in Syria, Lebanon, and most importantly for this research, Jordan (2005: 6). Of particular interest was their aim to move past a Western model of social norms and structures and, instead, look at the local norms of the people being studied and compare those to their needs and interests as refugees (Ibid). Western culture relies on assumptions about child development that are not universally accepted in other more community-based societies.

Chatty and Hundt also considered differing standards of psychosocial and educational techniques other than those derived from “Western concepts of personhood and trauma” (2005: 3). The study considered CYP within the context of a family group, which is a larger part of the community structure of the Middle East, rather than individualistic nuclear-family social structures found in the West (Ibid). In this way, trauma is experienced as a familial and social group (Ibid). Instead of determining the “pathology that develops in situations of conflict”, they looked at the coping strategies and resilience of CYP who experienced forced migration, as well as those of their caregivers (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 7). A final difference relevant to this study was the definition of childhood. The Western concept of childhood and adolescence is defined by stages of development that correlate with changes in the body and psyche. In contrast, the perception of childhood in Palestinian and Syrian communities is defined in terms of “when I became aware of the world”, or when a child began assisting with household and familial chores or tasks (Farah, 2005: 98). In this way adolescence is almost non-existent and a child is given adult responsibility and expectations as part of a family unit early in life, as is the case with child marriage and labourers. The pressures of adulthood become more concentrated in the case of forced migration because of safety concerns and financial strain on the family, causing many CYP to adopt more adult responsibilities at a young age.

#### 5.4.1 Insufficient Education, Community Services, Independence, and Space

Over time, many CYP have fallen behind in their education. If CYP are not trained or educated and do not possess the skills needed to go back into the work force, they face an increased likelihood of hardship and poverty. Education, as was detailed in Chapter 4, provides

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<sup>14</sup> Key examples include: *Children of the Siege* by Pauline Cutting (1989) and *A Generation of Liberation* by Bassem Sirhan (1970), which focus on Palestinian children in Lebanon; *Children of Catastrophe* by Jamal Kanj (2010), involving Palestinians relocating to America; and *Stolen Youth*, which details the lives of Palestinian children in detention camps in Israel (Cook et al., 2004).

structure and stability for youth which are keystones for strong community and resilience. Out-of-school youth lack access to similar social opportunities that assist in the development of identity and belonging within their age group. According to a 2014 survey, only 16% of Syrian refugee CYP in Jordan completed secondary education, compared to 46% of Jordanians (Salem, 2018: 4). Even though refugee CYP are offered an education by the Jordanian government, health and other obstacles can hinder a child's learning experience. For example, CYP often require more food than adults; however, according to another 2014 study of refugees in Jordan, malnutrition was more predominant in pregnant women and toddlers, and this deficiency can cause growth and cognition issues later in life (UNHCR et al., 2014: 14-15).

There are many reasons cited for low school attendance in both refugee camps as well as host communities. In Zaatari refugee camp, UNHCR claims that 82%, or 19,243, of eligible school-age youth are enrolled in-school (UNHCR, 2020: 1); roughly half of school-age youth in the camp. They do not define what 'eligible' means, however; according to their own numbers, 70% of school-age youth are enrolled in-school with a total population of over 76,000, and approximately 27,400 CYP (UNHCR, 2020: 1). The 2020 UNHCR survey does not discuss drop-out numbers, though a 2014 UNHCR survey showed that 13% of youth enrolled in-school do not attend (UNHCR et al. 2014: 22). The UNHCR does state that they have drop-out and catch-up programmes for those who cannot attend formal school (UNHCR, 2020: 3). These programmes provide CYP whose education has been interrupted with the opportunity to continue their education (Ibid). Students drop out for many reasons, such as safety, discrimination, financial factors, harassment, and dissatisfaction with Jordanian education practices (UNHCR et al. 2014: 22; Salem 2018: 4).

Boys and girls may have different reasons for non-attendance. Girls are often kept in the household for their own safety and therefore report higher levels of loneliness and isolation (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 104; Robinson, 2015: 16). Due to financial stress, girls in particular face the reality of being a main caretaker in a family, being responsible for household duties, looking after siblings and elderly family members, or even being married off at a young age to older men (Chatty and Hundt, 2005: 106; Robinson, 2015: 22). Boys, on the other hand, are more likely to be exposed to violence on the streets due to their higher social interaction rates (Ibid). Boys are also at higher risk of being employed underage or recruited into armed combat (Robinson, 2015: 23). Zaatari is cited as having a particularly high dropout rate (Ibid). Because many CYP have missed a significant amount of school because of the Syrian conflict, formal education is not always the best first step for integrating back into an education routine. Informal review and 'catch up' classes may be necessary to re-acquaint CYP with school (UNHCR et al., 2014: 23). This process

can also boost a child's confidence in their own knowledge before they are placed back in a classroom of peers.

Informal and non-formal education is offered to CYP in the Zaatari refugee camp. Non-formal education (NFE) is organized through the Ministry of Education (MoE) and can lead to a 10<sup>th</sup> grade certification; however, it is predominantly for students who have missed many years of school (UNHCR et al., 2014: 23). Alternatively, informal education (INE) is not regulated by the MoE and does not result in a certification; however, it is open to anyone and has a broader scope of educational interests that can be tailored to the needs of the students (Ibid). Vocational and skills training is in high demand by refugees in both camps and host communities, with 96% of adults and 93% of youths expressing interest (Ibid). As of 2020, 6,941 youth have access to or participate in skills training in Zaatari (UNHCR, 2020: 3).

The overabundance of refugee students also has negative effects for Jordanian students. As resources for education are being funneled to Syrian students, those same resources are stretched thin, resulting in fewer resources per child. In host communities the Jordanian MoE has implemented double school shifts to accommodate more students. Consequently, this means shorter school days for Jordanian, Palestinian, and Syrian students (Salem, 2018: 4). It also means that some Syrian and Jordanian students have no exposure to one another, resulting in unintentional segregation between the two groups. The strain on resources creates higher tensions between Jordanians and Syrians, disrupting social cohesion efforts (Ibid).

Robinson cites non-formal education as a main source of comfort and safety for youth in refugee camps, emphasizing the need for safe spaces for young people, especially when home is not particularly safe for them due to stress or violence (2015: 26). Furthermore, non-formal education can be a more welcoming and friendly environment than formal education within refugee camps (Robinson, 2015: 28). Young people and their parents have expressed concern over how teachers in the formal schools treat them, employing discrimination and even corporal punishment (Robinson, 2015: 28; Serrato, 2014: 4). In this way, non-formal education that is gender segregated would be a beneficial development that would appease all parties concerned.

There is a need for dedicated spaces for CYP in both refugee camps and host communities, though there is arguably a greater need in the former. This is particularly true for girls, who are largely restricted to the home and therefore much more socially isolated than boys (Farah, 2005: 105). There are fewer sports or cultural clubs just for girls, meaning that they are less likely to leave the home due to safety and honour concerns (Farah, 2005: 106). While Zaatari claims to have 58 community centres offering activities, they are not youth specific and serve the entire population of the camp (UNHCR, 2020: 1). The less space offered to youth, the less



interaction or exposure they have to other youth, especially those not enrolled in-school. Furthermore, less space and fewer activities available to CYP undermines social cohesion, restricts identity and community-building efforts, and lessens overall perceptions of safety. Since community, identity, and safety are central structures to promoting resilience, as discussed in chapter 4, adequate space for youth must be provided.

Palestinian refugees in Jordan reported a contrast between their lives before the start of the Syrian civil war and their lives now. Their accounts referred to a deep connection to the land and the importance of having their own home, unbridled by political and social dependence (Farah, 2005: 95). One woman described how before the war they were independent, subsisting off their own land and livestock; however, since their displacement they have relied fully on the government to supply their needs (Farah, 2005: 97). The lack of autonomy, in addition to the distance from their ancestral homes, resulted in a deep dissatisfaction with life (Ibid). This alienation from the roots of their heritage and homeland exacerbated the feeling of 'otherness', making it all the more difficult to create new roots and new traditions in an otherwise unwelcoming and unfamiliar place.

As discussed in the literature, independence, personal agency, autonomy, and 'rights' were identified as fundamental aspects of developing identity and resilience (Gatrell, 2013: 8). Children and youth are already controlled, and their personal agency limited. It is therefore necessary to provide spaces and activities that promote personal agency, safety, and identity for CYP.

### 5.4.2 Separation from Host Community

Palestinian refugees faced difficulties in finding camaraderie within a new state, even if it shared a similar language and culture. Reports of discrimination toward refugees were a common complaint among refugees of all ages (Alwan, 2016: 27). For example, a Palestinian refugee described discrimination in Amman: if police asked for ID and found that any of them were refugees, regardless of what they were doing, they took them to the police station to see if they had a criminal record (Farah, 2005: 96). These difficulties endured despite multiple calls for unity by Arabs as well as by humanitarian and aid organizations. According to personal accounts by Palestinians, refugees were often perceived as a threat to the livelihood of the host country citizens (Farah, 2005: 94). Social cohesion and common ground are therefore foundational to the future sustainability of the quality of life for displaced individuals as well as the host community.

For refugee camp residents, there are challenges to building community and integrating into a new country. Despite challenges, there was a deep feeling of belonging amongst people from the same village inside of camps (Farah, 2005: 98). This sense of camaraderie was also present among Syrian refugees in Jordan. A Syrian teacher in the Zaatari camp mentioned that despite the

distance between people, when there is a gathering, such as a wedding or birthday, people have travelled across Jordan to attend just to be with people from the same town or village in Syria (Bayer, 2018: Pers. Comm.). This can be seen as a desire to connect with their past lives, and an inability to connect with their present communities.

Indeed, for those living in Zaatari refugee camp, it can be very challenging to build the kind of communities they left in Syria. People living in Zaatari refugee camp are almost completely isolated from the rest of Jordan. Access to and from the camp is restricted, for youth especially. They are essentially prisoners in a foreign land. This has several implications including limited access to pre-existing strong communities, Jordanians and their shared heritage, and the independence and personal agency to move freely. As previously mentioned, a lack of strong community coupled with stifles personal agency can limit resilience-building. Finally, with respect to the HCHP, the refugee camp limited access to Jordan's rich cultural heritage. Despite the challenges, Syrians are working to rebuild their lives and a sense of community inside and outside refugee camps.

### 5.4.3 Loss of Identity and Narrative

The Palestinian refugee crisis and how Palestinians culturally adapted to their lives in Jordan illustrates how large populations of displaced peoples cope with the loss of narrative and identity due to forced migration. Palestinians were "dispossessed of land and a way of life they had lived for generations" (Farah, 2005: 95). The forced migration of the Palestinian people resulted in a rebuilding of their society and culture within the context of a different land and a different country, whether they reside in Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, or Syria. Although many resisted a 'refugee' identity, their Palestinian identity changed in context of the political climate to those displaced by war (Ibid). Furthermore, with each new generation that was born and raised as a refugee, the identity of 'Palestinian' as it was known before, faded and has been replaced with a Palestinian identity fraught with political and social connotations within the context of war and forced migration (Ibid). Despite this, Palestinians possess a cultural pride that is derived from difficulty.

The deterioration of identity increases as generations of displaced families continue to live in exile. The first generation of displaced peoples will often continue to see their country of origin as their primary source of identity (Gatrell, 2013: 16). The second generation may experience a conflict of identity between the host country and the familial country of origin (Ibid). This generation is particularly confused and often questions which parts of their homeland identity to keep and which to discard (Ibid). Refugee youth in both Zaatari refugee camp and Umm al-Jimal represented both of these groups; some youth remembered Syria, representing the first

generation of displaced people, and some were too young to remember Syria or were born displaced, representing the second generation. Youth from both generations were present in the HCHP course.

As more generations of exiled families continue to live in a host country, identity confusion worsens, resulting in the disappearance of the origin country identity for host country identity or even refugee identity (Gatrell, 2013: 16). While possibly a trivial anecdote, while drawing with some Syrian CYP living next to the dig house, many of the children drew their homes with the Jordanian flag attached to them. While this shows a certain comfort and familiarity with their surroundings, it also may indicate a distancing from their Syrian past. Furthermore, as time passes the likelihood of return for exiled individuals or groups decreases. Distancing from heritage identity can diminish community bonds and result in a feeling of belonging nowhere.

The rebuilding of a Palestinian identity manifested through political culture and “nationalist discourse in the absence of a Palestinian state” (Gatrell, 2013: 16). Palestinians sometimes refer to themselves as *fellaheen*, or peasants, regardless of their lack of present work within the agricultural sector (Farah, 2005: 96). This affiliation illustrates a need to connect with their past heritage and the land they left behind. Furthermore, the development of a ‘refugee culture’ can result in a loss of attachment toward their host country (Alwan, 2016: 27). This is particularly evident when looking at social difficulties, such as discrimination and marginalization by a host community, which results in a strengthening of this ‘refugee culture’ by providing a new commonality.

When individuals and communities experience cultural bereavement and are forced to remain in a foreign environment, placemaking is one-way refugees can cope with their semi-permanent situation. For those living in refugee camps where space is already limited, a welcoming and comfortable home-space is important for overall wellbeing. Some Palestinian refugees born and raised inside refugee camps have pointed out that the camps are home and they have no intention of leaving (Farah, 2005: 45). Although this point cannot be relied on as a predictor for Syrians, it is possible that the generations of Syrians who were born and grew up in both host communities and refugee camps may choose to stay in the homes and communities they are familiar with. While refugee camps are meant to be impermanent structures for temporary relief, some become permanent towns and districts such as the Palestinian camps in Amman. In fact, the Al-Hussein, Al-Baq’a, and Al-Wehdat camps in Amman “have become surrounded by low-income neighbourhoods and today there is no major visible differences between [them] and the informal settlements around them” (Pavanello and Haysom, 2012: 4).

Unlike Zaatari, these camps are un-restricted, unwallled,<sup>15</sup> and integrated within the city of Amman (Ibid).

The concept of “home” is an especially important concept because the tradition of receiving and hosting guests is part of the cultural fabric of Arabic life. Community and familial relations are especially strong characteristics of identity. Furthermore, the ability to receive and entertain guests in the home is an indication of status and a point of pride for Syrians (Paszkievicz and Hart, 2018: 12). Therefore, it is not surprising that research identifies the creation of an “attractive area” to receive guests as an important improvement aspect of refugees’ ‘homemaking’ process (Paszkievicz and Hart, 2018: 11). Additionally, CYP have identified receiving and hosting guests as an aspect of their heritage that they are learning at home (discussed further in Chapter 10). This further supports the need for resources to allow refugees the space and support to create a home-identity. While house modifications are a sign of permanence, the security of having a permanent home and personal space within which to grow shared memories is another central source of resilience vital for supporting families.

### 5.5 Coping and Resilience

Cultural resilience is a key term in current cultural heritage and resilience literature (Beel et al., 2015; Flynn et al., 2006; Holtorf, 2018). This term can refer to the resilience of physical cultural heritage, such as monuments and archaeological sites, as well as that of intangible cultural heritage, such as people and the culture they carry with them, during natural disaster or armed conflict. It also refers to a state of mind and one’s ability to “bounce back” from adversity. Resilience is fundamental to combatting cultural bereavement and other losses from forced migration.

Young refugees require every consideration regarding trauma. Although not all CYP have witnessed direct acts of violence, trauma may also be caused by migration or separation from family. Furthermore, young refugees may suffer from mental illnesses and their symptoms, such as PTSD, personal or cultural bereavement (Eisenbruch, 1988), grief, anxiety, and depression (Graham et al., 2016). Therefore, efforts to relieve trauma and support resilience for youth should be a top priority by host communities and aid organizations.

A 2016 study on learning issues within refugee populations in the United States noted that although 86% of refugees reside in developing countries, it is refugees in developed countries that are more frequently subject to academic study (Graham et al., 2016: 11). This limits the amount

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<sup>15</sup> It is unclear if camps in Amman originally restricted access as does in Zaatari. Despite being unwallled, girls are often restricted to the home or school, with limited space in both locations (Farah, 2005: 104). Residents generally remain in the camp. Youth are restricted from going to children-centred spaces in Amman, which are reserved for more affluent Jordanian children (Ibid).

of literature available about the vast majority of refugees. Regardless, the results show that although outcomes vary in how CYP cope with and respond to trauma; the data suggests that the type of trauma inflicted can have a wide variety of reactions from individuals (Graham et al., 2016: 10). According to three studies, “abandonment trauma” related to being separated from parents had the greatest impact on the cognitive functions of CYP (Ibid). Additionally, migration was associated with trauma as a predictor of academic failure, whereas pre-migration trauma did not correlate with academic or behavioral difficulties (Ibid). Therefore, CYP who experience forced migration are more likely to exhibit difficulties in the classroom, especially if they have been separated from family. These results concord with the understanding that Syrian youth come from a community-based culture, and therefore being separated from a community or family environment would increase the trauma associated with refugee displacement.

While resilience is often a topic assigned to refugees, the literature on resilience and refugees suggests it is not a permanent way to cope with trauma (Wadsworth, 2010: 551-550). Furthermore, resilience is not inherent and can be learnt, but requires readily available resources for individuals (Robinson, 2015: 33). Individuals cannot be left to cope with their traumas alone; families, communities, and governments are responsible for providing the tools that support resilience (Ibid). Additionally, resilience is not stationary or guaranteed. Those who have been resilient in the past may not necessarily continue to be. Chatty and Hundt (2005: 9) discuss resilience in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and forced migration: it is not a coping mechanism or for survival alone, but is supplemented by a sense of “community recognition” that the realities of the political climate and their situation is something they must, as a community, make the best of.

Grotberg identifies three sources of resilience for CYP—I have, I am, and I can—which refer to support from others, self-support or identity, and personal autonomy (Grotberg, 1995: 11). Support from others includes government and state supports, such as safety, sustenance, and shelter, but can also take the form of family and community support. Self-support refers to an internal support system created by a sense of self and personal identity. The final source relates to personal agency, a sense of capability and control, and an ability to change aspects about their life and surroundings.

Similarly, Peter Gatrell identifies rights, safety, and identity (RSI) as “the center of discourse on refugee movements”; in other words, movements by refugees depend on the availability of these three concepts (Gatrell, 2013: 8). RSI parallels Grotberg’s sources of resilience; support from others, or “I have”, equates to safety, which requires a secure environment and trust among community members; rights coincides with “I can”; identity parallels with “I am”. Gatrell argues

that the “feeling of safety creates the foundation necessary for trust and that in turn creates the base for identity” (Gatrell, 2013: 9). Additionally, safety can take the form of community and familial support. Bassam Serhan and Samia Tabari point out that the security derived from families and friends and “the cohesiveness of their community and being around people they identify with” was highly valued among surveyed refugees (2005: 46). Therefore, safety is a pre-requisite for the development of identity. For children, security in the form of family and community is even more valuable because they are in the beginning stages of developing identity (Gatrell, 2013: 9). The rights of an individual or a group shapes both the ‘I have’ and ‘I can’ aspect of coping strategies. Human rights include autonomy as well as security. However, security can often diminish autonomy in the context of refugee camps, where freedoms are often discarded for the sake of safety concerns (Gatrell, 2013: 8). Consequently, when autonomy diminishes, so does the development of identity (Ibid). Therefore, refugees living in refugee camps will have more difficulty developing identity compared to those living in host communities, where trust and safety have been built over time.

Under the Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified in 1989 by the United Nations, host countries to refugees are required to provide both unaccompanied and accompanied children with resources and protections (Nakeyar et al., 2018: 187). Although the majority of refugees are children, resources and services are typically designed for adults (Ibid). This is an important point because the psychosocial needs of children are quite different from adults and the lack of studies on the needs of refugee children, due in part to access and the ethical difficulties in conducting said research, would make designing specific services and resources for children challenging. Nakeyar defines the psychosocial needs of youth as social, cultural, security, and educational needs (Ibid), which also align with RSI. Finally, there are three social support needs that promote wellbeing in refugee status children: community, family, and friends. These supports include cultural heritage, belonging, social cohesion, and identity within a community (Nakeyar et al., 2018), which fall under the auspices of security, or external support.

In summary, in order to facilitate an environment of resilience where refugee youth can sustainably ‘bounce back’ from trauma, these three basic conditions must be met: safety in the form of a secure living environment and a supportive community; rights in the form of autonomy and a standard of living; and identity in the form of self-worth and purpose. CYP require different considerations for fostering identity than adults, including educational and cultural support. Autonomy and freedoms for CYP differ depending on the gender of the child as well as their familial environment. If identity depends on autonomy and freedoms as well as the safety and

security of a living environment and community relations, then the balance of these factors is key to fostering identity-building.

### 5.6 Conclusions

The study of refugee children and young people and their needs has gained increasing attention due to the ongoing refugee crisis in multiple countries including Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. The recent conflict in Syria has resulted in millions of Syrian refugees looking for asylum throughout the world. In 2020 there were approximately 76,143 refugees in the Zaatari camp alone (UNHCR, 2020: 1). Syrian refugees in Jordan have different struggles than those in Western countries. In order to support youth in refugee camps, researchers must gain insight from the youth themselves in order to create programmes and projects that meet their needs as developing individuals. Therefore, youth-focused research is necessary to enhance the effectiveness of programmes designed for youth.

Cultural heritage and identity curricula available to youth inside the refugee camps and by public schools are not tailored to the different cultural backgrounds of refugee youth within Jordan. Programmes that facilitate the dispensing of cultural and heritage curricula are necessary to the overall continuation and development of the individual narratives present in the camps. Furthermore, the ideal environment described above would include safe community spaces that allow youth to explore decision-making activities and exercise autonomy in a controlled environment, especially for girls, who are afforded less independence than boys.

Farah states that curricula and school activities specifically about Palestinian identity is necessary in order to assist in reproducing Palestinian cultural identity for later generations of CYP (2005: 64). This principal can be applied earlier for Syrian refugee youth in order to strengthen community ties and carry over heritage and cultural identity into their new reality.

This thesis is the first step in providing much-needed qualitative and quantitative data from projects with CYP refugees. In the next chapter, I outline the methodology for this research project about the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP) including the limitations, ethical considerations, research techniques, and field season overviews.





## Chapter 6: Methodology

### 6.1 Introduction

This research examines how community archaeology builds community and heritage, and how both promote a safe environment wherein refugee populations build resilience. The connection between heritage education and resilience has not been widely addressed, despite arts and humanities organizations citing similar projects as supporting resilience (Leannem, 2019). Therefore, this data is of particular importance to heritage and refugee studies.

This research further aims to determine how heritage discourse with children and young people (CYP) promotes the sources of resilience identified by Peter Gatrell (identity, safety, and rights)(2013) and Edith Grotberg (I have, I am, and I can)(1995). Specifically, it evaluates participation-based lessons that promoted collaborative narrative-building and knowledge creation, and assesses how this type of education facilitates autonomy, supports identity-building, and fosters a sense of safety and belonging in the classroom. My primary data collection strategies were participant and systematic observation. Data was collected from participating Syrian CYP who lived in the Zaatari refugee camp three kilometers from Umm al-Jimal as well as participating Syrian and Jordanian CYP from the town of Umm al-Jimal.

Initially I set out to determine how this local effort generally benefited CYP and if there were differences in how the CYP interacted with the programme before and after it was moved to Zaatari. However, research on refugee CYP revealed commonalities between different groups of refugees, identifying sources of resilience as a focal point. Furthermore, the resulting investigation into the HCHP revealed that the teaching methodology and model for this programme supports sources of resilience through collaborative narrative-building in the classroom. Even further investigation revealed a definitive relationship between the presence of a long-standing archaeological project and the strong sense of community and heritage appreciation at Umm al-Jimal. Therefore, a methodology for analyzing the building of community, heritage, and resilience became a focal point for this research. In this chapter I detail my research process, data collection, and analysis.

### 6.2 Ethics

When conducting research with CYP, it is particularly important to consider the emotional ramifications any study could elicit. CYP who have experienced forced migration and trauma are particularly vulnerable to further trauma from questioning. The ethical considerations for this research are outlined below.

My research was guided by the principle that the voices and stories of CYP are important, valuable, and worth researching, and therefore the inclusion of their input in academic discourse improves our understanding of the human experience. This understanding is fundamental to the future of the field of heritage and archaeology as it provides important insights about a point in time by a group of individuals who are rarely heard from in historic accounts. Priscilla Alderson and Virginia Morrow discuss CYP and research ethics, focusing heavily on the need to exercise a culture of respect for CYP's "standpoints and competencies" (Alderson and Morrow, 2011: 13). They point out that the majority of ethical methodology for research practices with CYP stress the importance of "non-interference and avoiding deliberate harm" while neglecting the harm that is created when CYP are excluded from studies and research, due to the fear of causing harm (Alderson and Morrow, 2011: 22). By excluding CYP from research, the voice of an entire demographic is silenced.

I obtained permission from the ethics committees of both the University of Southampton (ERGO #30719) and Calvin College, the host institution for the UJAP. Zaatari refugee camp is highly controlled and permission to enter can take months to acquire. The local authorities and those of Zaatari granted me permission to enter the Zaatari refugee camp for a limited time from March 15<sup>th</sup> to February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019. Furthermore, after explaining the purpose of this project and dissertation, permission to interview and use quotes were obtained by both CYP and their parents or guardians. Nonetheless, the identities of participating CYP have been anonymized.

Before beginning data collection in the classroom and on the field trips, I presented my project in Arabic to the participating CYP in the HCHP classroom, and individually to CYP and their guardians in their homes. I explained that they were not obligated to participate and that they were allowed to revoke their permission to participate at any time. Furthermore, I also assured them that there would be no repercussions if they chose not to participate in this study and that it would not affect their participation in the class. Additionally, when conducting the interviews, we spoke directly to the CYP and their parents, often times within their homes, and explained the project as well as their rights. Permission forms created for this project, translated by an inhabitant of Umm al-Jimal, were required from both the CYP and a guardian before the CYP could be included in the study.

The risks associated with participating in this project include data leakage and possible emotional distress. In order to minimize the risk of data leaks all of the data affiliated with this project have been stored on my university computer and are not accessible to anyone other than Umm al-Jimal team members and members of my supervisory team. Hard copies are kept in a locked container and will be retained only for academic purposes until the conclusion of this

project, whereafter they will be destroyed. Finally, at the close of this project, drafts of this dissertation and the subsequent results will be made available to the UJAP team and all identified participants for review before it is submitted and made public.

Emotional distress is always a risk when dealing with traumatized individuals. In order to minimize the risk of emotional distress, I limited my interview questions to open ended questions and consult with the parents and translator about questions that might trigger a negative response. If a CYP did experience a negative response to a question, that line of questioning would be discontinued.

### 6.3 Bias

With all data collection, there is inevitable risk of researcher and respondent bias. In order to minimize bias, I have identified the types of bias likely to occur during this research project: acquiescence bias, social desirability bias, sponsor bias, and habituation bias. Acquiescence bias occurs when a respondent agrees with whatever the researcher says. This type of bias becomes more probable when respondent fatigue occurs (Sarniak, 2015). This issue can be avoided by asking questions that do not appear to have a 'right' answer (Ibid). Social desirability bias happens when the responder answers questions in a socially acceptable way (Ibid), but can be avoided by using indirect questions. Sponsor bias manifests when the respondents know the sponsor of the research and their feelings about certain topics or issues and answer questions based on the sponsors' beliefs or brand. This can be avoided if the moderators take a neutral stance (Ibid). Finally, habituation bias occurs when the respondent provides the same answers for similar but different questions (Ibid). This can also be caused by respondent fatigue. To minimize the risk of habituation bias researchers must diversity questions and make sure questions are not redundant or repetitive. In order to limit the bias present, I have reviewed other surveys done through humanitarian aid projects in Zaatari and created open-ended questions that refer to the heritage project. The risk of social desirability bias and acquiescence bias are particularly high in this case because the CYP are participating or have participated in a very popular and limited heritage programme within the Zaatari camp and Umm al-Jimal and therefore their answers may attribute importance to heritage in preference to other topics or factors. Finally, the CYP in Umm al-Jimal wanted the project to return to the town and therefore may answer questions positively in the hopes that it may be reestablished.

When the researcher designs and implements research, researcher bias is common. Confirmation bias occurs when the researcher has a hypothesis and uses some information to confirm that hypothesis while ignoring other information that does not support it (Sarniak, 2015).

This type of bias is perhaps the most common of researcher bias because the researcher may, without realization, favor some types of information over others. This is possible because the way that people filter and understand information can “lead to focusing on one hypothesis at a time” and therefore ignore other possibilities (Ibid). In order to avoid this, researchers must reevaluate their hypothesis often and challenge their own “preexisting assumptions and hypotheses” (Ibid). The questions created for this project have, therefore, taken a fluid nature and can change based on the tendencies of the respondents. Furthermore, the research questions were developed through the discourse conducted with respondents.

Culture bias, which is a particular concern for this project, happens when the researcher’s culture differs from the respondents’ culture. Everyone has a ‘cultural lens’ through which they view the world, and this lens can influence interpretations and motivations, resulting in assumptions being made (Sarniak, 2015). In order to minimize the effect of cultural bias, the researcher must be aware of their personal cultural assumptions and move toward ‘cultural relativism’, or “the principle that an individual’s beliefs and activities should be understood by others in terms of that individual’s own culture” (Ibid). Furthermore, because of the predominant cultural inclination toward hospitality in Jordan, respondents often acquiesce to requests for interviews despite their own interests. In the same vein, it is likely that interviewees will respond to questions in a way they think will appeal to the interviewer, resulting in a lack of critical appraisals of the HCHP and UJAP. For this reason it is important to consider that the results may represent a more positive depiction of the HCHP and the UJAP than the actual feelings of respondents.

In the context of Jordan and the Syrian refugees in Zaatari, there are cultural differences between my own American culture, the rural culture of Umm al-Jimal, and the developing culture in the Zaatari camp. In fact, the literature discusses this problem in detail regarding the cultural definitions of childhood in Palestinian and Syrian societies versus the definitions of childhood and adolescence in Western countries. Classroom culture also varies between social cultures. For the purposes of this project I did not assess the classroom structure or the teaching methods used by the heritage project. I will document what they do and how the project works without comparing it to Western methods. Furthermore, I will adopt this approach for much of this study. This approach is crucial because in order to pinpoint how and why this project operates, I must as far as possible understand the social context in Zaatari and Umm al-Jimal to mitigate the effect of my cultural lens.

Leading questions are questions that expect a certain answer based on the words used in the question or when elaborating on the answers of the respondent. This is an extension of

confirmation bias and occurs when the researcher aims to confirm their hypothesis (Sarniak, 2015). Using the respondent's words and language to clarify answers is the recommended way to avoid leading questions (Ibid). Similarly, question order can have an effect on how respondents answer questions. In order to avoid bias, the researcher should ask general questions first before asking specific questions (Ibid). During interviews I had to be particularly careful not to lead CYP in my questions; when I found myself doing so, I was able to recognize and adjust that behavior.

Bias is an inevitable consequence of working with people. As a foreign researcher I have to be careful how I interpret cultural differences that come up as I work within the context of a conservative Muslim community. This is important in order to avoid approaching this work from a neocolonial perspective. Furthermore, I cannot eliminate researcher bias, but I can be aware of it and identify it when it comes up in the research process.

### 6.4 Fieldwork Methodology

Strategies for conducting fieldwork included participant observation and systematic observation methods that were planned before and then honed during fieldwork. In this section I go through each field season and show how these strategies evolved while working in the field.

#### 6.4.1 Year One: Field Season One-September 2018 Visit

In August of 2018 I visited Umm al-Jimal to plan my future field seasons and to collect some preliminary data. Additionally, I needed to obtain permission to enter Zaatari camp during this time in order to access the heritage class and the CYP during my second visit (discussed below).

The main objectives for the first field season were to obtain permission slips from students, collect preliminary research data, obtain permission to enter the Zaatari refugee camp, and conduct two to four interviews. The majority of these objectives relied on my ability to enter Zaatari refugee camp. I initially set out to understand how the HCHP was benefiting the CYP who participated in the class and if the HCHP was providing something different to what was being provided by formal education. I also wanted to determine what differences there were between the heritage being taught in the HCHP classes and what was being taught in the CYP's homes. The following methods were created to answer these questions.

##### 6.4.1.1 *Planning & Strategies*

Before entering the field in September to collect data I assembled folders that included information sheets, permission forms, and a student journal that I designed and created. Additionally, I collected donated art supplies to include in their packets. I initially found it difficult to decide how to divide the materials because some of it was gendered, particularly the stickers. Although gender plays a role in my research, I decided to make gender-normative decisions regarding the colour and content choices of the folders. I made this choice because the CYP are

already separated by gender and are growing up in a gender-binary culture. The intentions for this research are not to change the social perceptions of the culture, but instead to observe and analyse what is already there.

Although I had not obtained permission to access Zaatari camp prior to my visit, I designed my project to include both qualitative and quantitative strategies to carry out in the classroom in the event that I obtained permission once in Jordan. I laid out the systematic observation techniques available to me, including time sampling, latency recording, frequency observation, and duration recording (defined below; Hintze and Volpe, 2001: 997). Once I entered the classroom and conducted my initial recordings I found that only time sampling and frequency observation would work in this classroom environment due to the classroom structure and dynamic between students and instructor.<sup>16</sup>

The classroom structure of the HCHP is simple: there is a PowerPoint presentation that revolves around a particular topic, which is then discussed at length between the instructor and the class. The course lasts approximately an hour, during which the instructor asks questions and the CYP typically shout out their answers over one other. Because of this fast-paced, dynamic environment, I chose to focus on participation rates in the classroom.

Frequency observation focuses on how many times a behavior is repeated during a set period of time. Rather than focus on a particular behavior, I chose to focus on the frequency of questions and answers in increments of 5 minutes (Hintze and Volpe, 2001: 997). This method works for determining how many times the CYP answer questions compared to the quantity of questions asked. In this way I am measured engagement and interaction between the class and the instructor.

Finally, time sampling selects a period of time in which to record whether and when a particular behavior arises. In order to determine how much of the class was active in the discussion I used time sampling to measure how many students participated over a set period of time. This measured how many students participated in total as well as how many times each student interacted with the class. This determined the quantity of students who were engaged in the discussion and allowed consideration of whether there is a need to diversify techniques for students who are less eager to participate.

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<sup>16</sup> Duration recording focuses on how long a particular behaviour lasts. Because I am not looking for any specific behaviour by the CYP individually, this strategy is not useful. Similarly, latency recording focuses on the amount of time it takes for a student to begin an activity once instructed to do so. Although this would be useful for group activities or individual activities, it is again focusing on individual students and not the class as a whole (Hintze and Volpe, 2001: 997-999).

The purpose of these methods is to observe behaviors as objectively as possible (Hintze and Volpe, 2001: 993). Systematic observation specifically aims to observe natural behaviors rather than behaviors that might be unintentionally elicited by researcher bias (Ibid). Because the classes are segregated by gender, there is already a control for determining differences between the girls' and the boys' class.

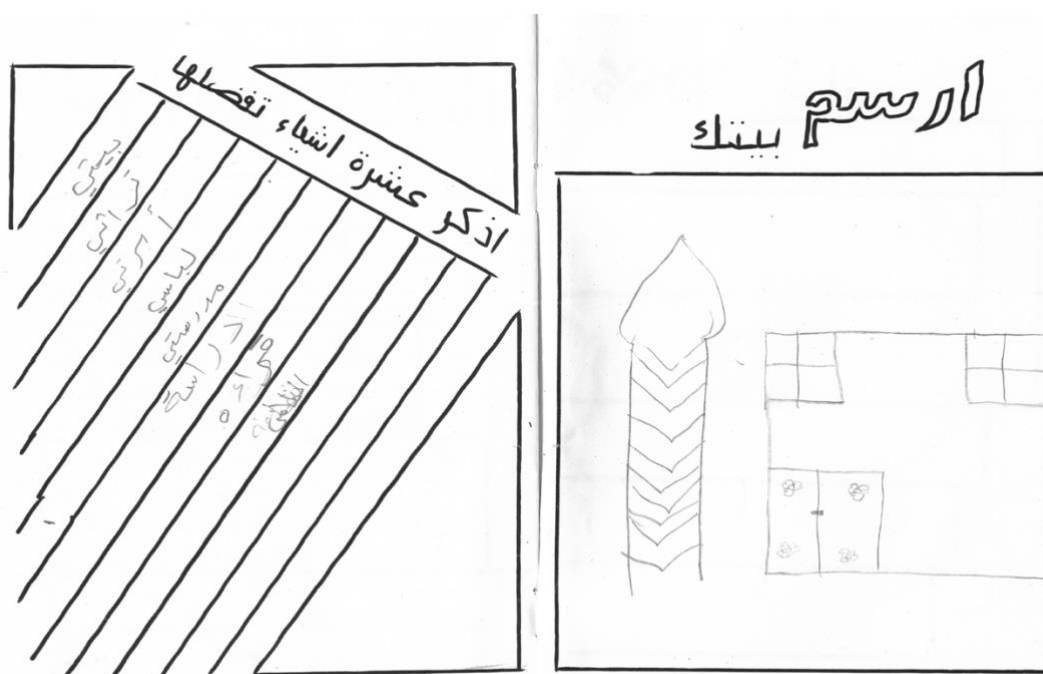


Figure 15 Sample from a student journal. This section asked students to draw their home and list their favorite things. This CYP included a minaret in their drawing.

I planned to collect qualitative data in a variety of ways: participant observation through the use of a field journal, student journals (Figure 15), interviews, photo elicitation, and feedback forms for the end of the course. This strategy was chosen to diversify the ways in which data is collected in order to corroborate answers and strengthen the research.

I used participant observation while in the classroom and on field trips. This included taking notes about the course as well as my own observations about the class environment and culture. I paid particular attention to the interactions between the students and the instructors. I documented these interactions in a journal that will be referred to in the research.

In addition to observations, I created individual packets for each child. The packets included information sheets and permission slips for the child and their parents as well as a Heritage Journal (Appendix 2). I created the heritage journal to accompany the heritage classes in order to collect the thoughts and insights of the student as they experienced the class. The idea to create a journal came from a desire to learn about the CYP individually while also giving them the

space and freedom to tell their truth without a spotlight. It was inspired by Keri Smith's 'Wreck this Journal' writing style and leaned heavily on open-ended questions (Smith, 2007). I created the journals using my own handwriting and simple line drawings of charts and journal pages. I decided this strategy would be more welcoming and informal for the students. The CYP had survey-fatigue from years of studies; therefore, the journal is a more personal and fun way to elicit answers. I chose to use my own handwriting because it demonstrated my own willingness to learn and be creative with them.

I created questions that were not addressed in surveys conducted by Save the Children, UNHCR, UNESCO, and OXFAM (Chatelard, 2017; Save the Children Sweden, 2015; Serrato, 2014; UNHCR et al., 2014). The first half of the journal included demographic and general icebreaker pages. As I did not have a clear idea of what I was looking for at this early stage in the research, the questions and activities were limited to information about the heritage project and not resilience. For example, the journal contains a lined page with the simple heading 'My Heritage'. I intended for this space to be used for students to write any thoughts they had about their heritage. I chose this page to be the first page because it is non-specific and would give the students a space to introduce themselves through their heritage. There is also a page asking students to draw their house. This activity was aimed at gently determining where students considered home: Zaatari or Syria. Another page asks students to list their ten favorite things. This, in particular, was inspired by the desire to know, generally, what things they love and if those things are available to them in the Zaatari refugee camp. There is a page asking students to tell me a story, gently allowing them to share. Finally there is a page that asks students to rank what is most important to them on a pyramid. After these first few pages there are journal entry pages that ask students to write what they learned today in class and what they learned at home. These were meant to be used after each class and at home to determine how the class cooperates with the student's home lives and if heritage learning was present in the home. After this series of pages there is a Venn diagram that asks students to write about themselves, their heritage, and where both intersect. There is a page asking students to write what they like and do not like about their heritage. And finally there is a page that asks students to write what they know, want to know, and learned about their heritage. This page was meant to measure impact on learning.

The HCHP had not previously employed the use of feedback forms for their courses. One of the best ways to empower CYP is to "provide them with opportunities to voice their opinions" (Alwan, 2016: 89). With this in mind, I created a simple survey for the end of the class. This survey was intended to improve understanding of the influence the project has had on participating CYP.



Although a lot of the CYP suffer from respondent fatigue, all projects require careful observation to determine progress as well as to make adjustments and improvements.

The survey consists of eight questions:

- Was the HCHP relevant to your everyday life? Why or why not?
- Was the HCHP useful for you? Why or why not?
- What did you like about the class?
- What would you change about the class?
- What topics would you like to see added to the class?
- What has changed in your life since participating in the class?
- Are you enrolled in formal education in Zaatari?
- Is there anything else you want to say about the course?

The questions were open and phrased in a way that is gentle and non-threatening. The survey was also created with the intention of collecting CYP opinions about the content of the class, thus promoting agency. No questions were removed or added since the first surveys were collected.

Finally, I planned to do photo elicitation with the students by giving them a group of images and asked to sort them into piles of their choosing. This method aimed to determine what they remembered from the HCHP course.

#### *6.4.1.2 In the Field*

Although my trip to Jordan was planned in advance, unfortunately I did not receive permission to enter the camp during my late August and early September visit. In lieu of entering the camp to observe the classes, I was invited to join the class on two field trips while I was in Jordan. This affected how they filled out their journals because I was not with them to answer their questions as they filled them out over time and during the class. It also meant I was not able to collect systematically observed data during this trip. Alternatively, I was able to observe how the students behaved outside the camp, which was a rare and exciting occurrence for all of them.

In September 2018, I accompanied the instructors and students on field trips to the archaeological sites of Umm Qais<sup>17</sup> and Iraq al Amir<sup>18</sup>, visiting each site twice: once with the boys and once with the girls. In Jordan, the weekend is on Friday and Saturday. During the first week,

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<sup>17</sup> Umm Qais is an ancient site with a modern village, like Umm al-Jimal. It is located in the north-west of Jordan just south of the Golan Heights (El Khouri and Omoush, 2015: 12). The ancient Roman site shows evidence of later Byzantine, Abbasid, and Umayyad occupations (Ibid).

<sup>18</sup> Iraq al Amir is a site south-west of Amman that includes the Hellenistic palace Qasr al Abd ("fortress of the servant" (Berlin, 1997: 12)), ancient water management structures (an aqueduct and dam), an ancient village, and natural and man-hewn caves (Lapp, 1980: 1).

we took the boys to the northwestern site of Umm Qais on Friday and the girls on Saturday. All sixty students participated in the field trip. The following week we did the same, this time travelling to Iraq al Amir. I was able to interact in limited ways with the students and observe their participation and interaction with their teachers and the material culture and heritage they were learning about. I brought the packets with me during the field trips and the instructors assisted in explaining what was in the packets and what to do if they chose to participate. We made it very clear that if they did not want to participate in the research project, that they did not have to complete any work and that it was perfectly acceptable not to participate.

During the field trips I initially observed that the students were incredibly excited to leave Zaatari camp and 'visit Jordan'. The CYP were indistinguishable from any other student group visiting the sites, climbing on the structures, joking and laughing with each other, and enjoying themselves. The bus rides were filled with singing and dancing, while the teachers egged them on over the microphone. Overall, it appeared as though the students enjoyed the trips.

At the end of my time during the September field season I collected the journals and permission slips from the students. I also handed out a class feedback form to students to learn more about what they thought of the class. Twenty-three out of thirty girls and twenty-three out of thirty boys returned their packets. Of the twenty-three boys, four boys returned their journals and permission slips blank and therefore they were not included in the data. Therefore, 70% of all students for the July-September class are represented in this study (76% of the girls, and 63% of the boys). Of the collected data, 55% represents the girls' class and 45% represent the boys' class.

A local collaborator, Abdullah Alkhdeer, translated all the materials for this project. Abdullah has worked with the UJAP for many years and is the official translator for the project. I chose to work with him not only because of his close association with the project, but also his knowledge of local dialect. It is also important, to myself and to the project, to support local participation in heritage research as well as to stimulate the local economy by keeping as much of the work locally sourced as possible. Before translations were done, I discussed the project with the translator and informed him that this, as with other work, is confidential. We also discussed the content and I asked him to try to translate the answers with as much impartiality as possible and to avoid thinking about the questions while translating. I asked him to do this to avoid the possibility of him projecting his thoughts onto the CYP's answers. For the journals, I provided him with a template to fill out in order to organize the CYP's responses in the journals. He was asked to fill out one form for each child. Although he did his job correctly, it is necessary to point out that translation is not exact and the translated words used might not be an accurate representation of the CYP's intended meaning.

### 6.4.1.3 Results & Observations

I made the journal before I had access to the students and therefore some of the pages became redundant. After my initial field research with the CYP in September of 2018, I revised the journal to eliminate redundancies and include a wider variety of questions.

The first change I made was adding a question page linked with the 'Draw your house' page. Though drawing is a fun activity that most of the CYP commented on in their journals, the drawings of their houses gave me little information about their lives. Therefore, I added a page asking them to 'describe their house', tell me who lives in their house with them, and draw those people in the drawing. This not only extended their drawing activity, but also gave them a chance to talk about their everyday living space and the people who are in their lives. I also added a page asking them what they would do with a million dinars. This is aimed to understand what they would want out of life if they had an abundance of resources. On the 'tell me a story' page I added the words 'about your life' to limit the kind of story they could tell. I removed the daily journal entries and added a page asking them to write what they learn in heritage class compared to home and school. Although students did answer the questions in the first journal, they did not do it daily and it appeared more important for them to think about the differences in content from each educational source rather than day-to-day lessons. I added a page asking students what they felt before and after taking this class. A lot of the students had already expressed how this class has given them pride for their heritage as well as an avenue for making new friends. This page was dedicated to those feelings. Finally, I added a chart for students to track their feelings over the course of a week. This was intended to discover if students feel differently on days they have class as opposed to days they do not. Finally, I removed the Venn diagram because almost none of the students filled it out.

The objectives for this field season were almost all completed with the exception of obtaining permission to enter Zaatari and conducting photo elicitations and interviews. This field season created new objectives for the next phase of data collection, as well as generating a considerable body of data processing. I also had new questions: what aspirations do the participating CYP have? What emotions do they experience daily and does the HCHP affect those emotions?

Overall, this field season was a way to learn more about the CYP and the HCHP. Although the journals did provide some good information about CYP perceptions of the course and their interest in the subject matter as well as their own interests and needs, the most significant data was collected during my observations of the trips and how the CYP behaved when they were just being themselves and interacting with each other.

## 6.4.2 Year Two: Field Season Two- February &amp; March 2019 Visit

Ahead of the March visit to Umm al-Jimal I was adamant to obtain permission to enter Zaatari. In order to successfully achieve my goals, I created a detailed work plan for this visit. The work plan outlined the main goals of the visit, which were to improve colloquial Arabic, obtain permission to enter Zaatari refugee camp, obtain permission slips from participating students, collect systematic observation data from both classes, obtain journals and feedback forms from participating students, conduct interviews with students and staff, transcribe and translate interviews, and conduct photo elicitations with CYP.

## 6.4.2.1 Planning &amp; Strategies

Alongside the new journal and feedback forms, I designed quantitative strategies based on George McCall's work on systematic field observation (McCall, 1984). I created a spreadsheet in Excel to use while in the classroom. The variables I initially intended to use (Figure 16) were adapted from McCall's examples: teaching organization, curriculum content, child activity, and interactions (McCall, 1984). At this point in my research, these variables were used as placeholders until I was able to create specific variables in the classroom that were more relevant and appropriate to my research.

Variables			
Teaching Organization	Curriculum Content	Child Activity	Interactions
Class contact	Language	Raises hand	Alone
Group contact	Heritage	Answers question	Child to child
Cooperative activity		Asks question	Child to teacher
Individual activity		Working/engaged	Child to other adult
No direct activity		Distracted	
		Off task	
		Fidgeting	

Figure 16 Initial variables for planned systematic observation.

I assembled the materials and filled the folders with the modified journal, information sheets, permission forms, and art supplies and separated them into gendered piles. I also brought additional toys and art supplies for the local CYP in Umm al-Jimal.

In order to prepare for interviews with students from previous heritage classes in Zaatari, I created a list of questions and translated them into Arabic with some assistance from my Arabic teachers in Amman (Appendix 1). The questions focus on the CYP's life before and after the heritage class as well as their aspirations for the future and how they spend their time in Zaatari camp.

### 6.4.2.2 *In the Field*

While studying Arabic in Amman, I received news that I had successfully obtained permission to enter Zaatari from February 15<sup>th</sup> to March 10<sup>th</sup>. On February 14<sup>th</sup> I visited the American Centre for Oriental Research (ACOR) and met with Bert de Vries, the director of the UJAP, in order to plan our trip to Umm al-Jimal the following day. While at ACOR I found additional resources on refugees that would become the foundation for my research question and would change how I collected data in the field. It was at this time that I decided what interview questions I would use.

I found a correlation between sources of resilience (Identity, Rights, and Safety) and refugee CYP multiple sources (Chatty and Hundt, 2005; Gatrell, 2013; Edith Grotberg, 1995). This information helped shape how I would interpret the results. During this visit, I observed all three of these sources in the heritage classroom: safety (I have), rights (I can), and identity (I am). High student attendance and participation indicate a sense of safety within the classroom. Students do not participate—especially with enthusiasm and smiles on their faces—if they are uncomfortable, scared, or uninterested. Furthermore, students share their experiences with each other, telling stories and exchanging similarities and differences with their peers. This is a form of knowledge creation. Although it is not recorded, it is an experience that validates their individual experiences with heritage, fostering identity. Finally, the validation of experiences students encounter within the classroom encourages them to continue participating because they are listened to and their voice, like their peers' voices, is meaningful in the classroom. This facilitates independence, confidence, and autonomy.

The HCHP met twice a week, on Monday and Thursday, for three months. It was conducted in a single room eight by six meter pre-fabricated building. The classroom had exactly thirty students' desks with a teachers' desk at the front and two air-conditioning and heating units. The space was very small and there was no room for students to get up and walk around. The boys' class started at 9:00am and finished at 11:00am. The girls' class started at 12:00pm and finished at 2:00pm. Actual instruction time was one hour; students were given additional time to eat a provided meal. Because of the limited time in the classroom, I was only able to observe four days of classes, totaling eight lessons. The Monday class focused on art and the Thursday class focused on Heritage; therefore, I was only able to observe two heritage lessons during this visit.

The first day I visited the class was during an art lesson. Students were painting a mural on the side of their building. The mural was inspired by the ruins of Umm al-Jimal (Figure 13).

I observed the first lesson in order to decide how I would collect data and what I would focus on during the following visits. The heritage lessons were structured differently to the art lessons and began with a very short introduction to the topic by the instructor with an

accompanying Powerpoint presentation. The art lessons were focused on the creation of a product, such as a mosaic or a drawing, and did not rely on discussion or instruction. The heritage lessons I observed were discussion heavy and relied on the participation of students. The quantitative strategy variables I initially selected did not fit the structure of the classroom. Therefore, I decided not to use the spreadsheets I had previously produced and, instead, developed a strategy to measure individual and class participation levels. I observed a correlation between participation and a sense of comfort and safety within the classroom and created a method to demonstrate that hypothesis.

<b>Date:</b>	n/a=vacant				
<b>Time:</b>	<b>Class:</b>	<b>Subject:</b>			
<b>5 min inc</b>					

Figure 17 Example of data measurement of the HCHP classroom showing participation over a five-minute interval. The top of the table represents the front of the room.

I created a spreadsheet to show the seating chart of the classroom, with each cell representing a child (Figure 17). I then counted how many times each student participated in class, with or without raising their hand, every five minutes over the entire class period.<sup>19</sup> This created twelve charts for each hour of class. This method effectively demonstrates the participation levels within the class as well as the rate of interest and enthusiasm shown by the CYP. Unfortunately, I was only able to obtain one day of data with this technique.

The class structure is unique in that the instructor does not dictate information to the students, but rather introduces a topic and allows the CYP to engage in a dialogue around what

<sup>19</sup> Where previously I wanted to separate the numbers for hand raising and calling out, I found that was not significant because the classroom culture allowed for and even encouraged calling out.

they know about that topic from their families and their lives in Syria. The instructor acts as a facilitator in those discussions and actively validates the experiences of the CYP.

On the fourth day of observations the class was rained out and very few students showed up, resulting in a cancellation of the class. Because Jordan is ill equipped with the infrastructure to handle rainwater, Zaatari becomes a dangerous flood zone when it rains heavily. Additionally, I was unable to attend further lessons due to a misunderstanding between my team and the funding body. Therefore, I was only able to observe the three classes (six lessons) in total, two of which were heritage lessons. This is a prime example of how unpredictable ethnographic field work can be.

During my time at Zaatari I was able to obtain four interviews with students and one interview with an instructor. The four students I interviewed were all girls and they participated in the course when I visited in September; the instructor assisted in translating their responses.

Finally, correspondence with the UJAP team uncovered an interest and a need to reproduce the HCHP in the town of Umm al-Jimal once again. There has not been any follow up with the CYP, now young adults, who participated in the original programme with refugee CYP and local Jordanian CYP living in Umm al-Jimal. Furthermore, representatives from the UJAP are eager to start the programme in the town of Umm al-Jimal once again.

### *6.4.2.3 Results & Observations*

Visiting the class and observing with the instructor and students answered a lot of my questions. There are no other heritage programmes or activities for CYP in Zaatari camp. The course was initially designed with the concept of creating a heritage centre for the community of Umm al-Jimal where classes could be conducted as well as other activities and events. After the project was moved into the Zaatari camp and because of space limitations, that was not possible. Furthermore, all attempts to obtain a larger space have failed.

So far, the course has included approximately 360 CYP over three years. Only one child per family is chosen. This is due to the fact that there are only sixty spaces available every three months. The hope is that the participating CYP will share their experiences with their families, therein impacting as many families in the camp as possible. This strategy is a prime example of the community and family-based structure of the culture. Furthermore, the course was developed and designed entirely from the bottom-up by the instructors.

As described above, the class structure relies entirely on the participation of the students. Although there is a 'plan', the students are encouraged to build a narrative together about their shared heritage. In this way, students assist in the 'meaning making' and 'knowledge creation' process in the classroom with the instructor. This form of teaching was put in place to allow students to talk about their experiences with their heritage because the heritage of all the CYP

differs depending on what part of Syria they are from and discussing the differences and similarities allows the students to offer their views and unique interactions with heritage. This method supports identity-building and social cohesion within the context of a refugee camp, where identity is particularly vulnerable. The systematic observation model I created for measuring participation supports the hypothesis that the heritage course promotes a sense of safety for the participating CYP while also encouraging identity-building through heritage discourse. This supports my aims to discover how heritage education can support identity, safety, and autonomy.

All objectives for this field season were met with the exception of conducting photo elicitations, as there was no time in which to do this. Furthermore, I produced a methodological framework for collecting data about the course in the future in the event that another opportunity to observe the HCHP class presents itself in the future. This methodology will be useful in determining how participation-based heritage discourse builds a sense of safety and identity, and ultimately resilience, in CYP. Unfortunately, with the increasing difficulty to enter Zaatari, it was not possible for me to observe further lessons with the HCHP.

### 6.4.3 Year Two: Field Season Three- September 5<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> 2019

Following discussion with the UJAP team, we decided that this research might fruitfully accompany the efforts to recommence the heritage lessons in the town of Umm al-Jimal. The UJAP team decided that the CYP who had previously participated in the original HCHP be interviewed. Therefore, two additional data sets required collection for this research: interviews from participants who took part in the original heritage courses in Umm al-Jimal, and feelings surveys from participants in Zaatari camp and Umm al-Jimal.

#### 6.4.3.1 Objectives and Research Questions

The CYP in Umm al-Jimal lost a valuable resource when the HCHP was moved exclusively to Zaatari refugee camp. Not only did the project build relationships between host community members and refugees, it built a common identity and reinforced the importance of intangible cultural heritage, a quickly disappearing resource in a rapidly globalized world. Furthermore, collecting similar data as was collected in Zaatari could provide a valuable comparison of the effects heritage discourse has on different groups of CYP. The objectives of this field season were:

- To collect qualitative data about the HCHP through interviews with students from the 2016-2018 programmes in the town of Umm al-Jimal
- To discover how the HCHP impacted past students years after they completed the course
- To compare the HCHP course in Umm al-Jimal to the HCHP course in Zaatari refugee camp
- To determine if heritage education can be used as a catalyst for resilience

Research questions included:



- What kind of lasting impact does heritage discourse have on CYP?
- What differences are there between the responses of participating CYP within a refugee camp and participating CYP within a host community?
- How does community archaeology build community, heritage, and resilience?

#### 6.4.3.2 Planning

I returned to Jordan in September 2019 to collect twenty interviews. I created new interview questions and hired an interpreter to translate for me. I also created materials for a photo elicitation activity in order to determine how much of the content from the course CYP remembered (Appendix 3). I planned to video record the photo elicitations. The questions varied by CYP and were taken from the following list I made prior to arriving and altered while in the field as new questions came up (Figure 18).

Interview Questions				
General questions	Heritage questions	HCHP questions	Resilience questions	Community questions
Tell me about yourself	Are you from a Bedouin tribe or clan? If so which one?	Do you remember the heritage course? What do you remember?	Do you feel safe in Umm al-Jimal?	Tell me about your community
What do you do in your spare time?	What do you think it means to be Bedouin?	Tell me about your teachers	Where do you feel safest?	What does belonging mean?
Tell me about Umm al-Jimal	What is heritage?	Tell me a story about your teachers	Are there places in Umm al-Jimal that don't feel safe? Why?	Do you feel like you belong here? Why or why not?
Tell me about your friends	What is culture?	Tell me a story about the class	When do you feel happiest?	Do the people here make you feel welcome?
Where are your friends from?	Tell me about your heritage and culture	Was the heritage class different from formal school? How?	What things make you happy?	What do you remember when you moved here?
What do you want to do when you finish school?	When do you talk about heritage?	Did you enjoy the heritage project? Why or why not?	When you are sad what do you do to cheer yourself up? Does it	Do you feel at home here?

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			always work?	
What do you want to do in life? What are your dreams? How will you accomplish those dreams? What obstacles are there?	Who do you talk to about heritage?	Where was the course taught? Which building?	How is your life?	Did the heritage course help you feel at home here? Why or why not?
What are you most proud of in your life?	How did people live in the past?	Why did you take the class?	Do you have everything you need?	Are the ruins important to the people here? Why or why not?
Do you like going to school? Why or why not?	When you were little, what did you think the ruins were?	What did you want from the class?	What is the most important think in your life?	
Tell me about school. Are Jordanians and Syrians in the same classes? If so do you play together?	What was your experience as a small child around the ruins? What did you do?	What did you get from the class?		
What do you remember about your life two years ago?	What stories did you hear about the ruins?	What did you like about the course?		
What is your oldest memory?	Do you participate in other heritage activities? What parts of your heritage do you think have been lost?	What did you not like about the course?  Do you think about the heritage course? What do you think about and why?		

	<p>What parts of your heritage are in danger of being lost?</p> <p>What parts of your heritage should be preserved?</p> <p>What questions do you still have about your heritage?</p>	<p>How did the class make you feel?</p> <p>Do you talk about the heritage course? With whom?</p> <p>Do you talk to other students from the heritage class?</p> <p>Do you get together with students from the heritage class?</p> <p>What was your favourite part of the course?</p> <p>Why did they stop teaching the heritage class in Umm al-Jimal?</p>		
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Figure 18 Interview themes and questions.

Additionally, I planned to have CYP participate in drawing activities to extract different results relating to the home and their safe or favorite places.

#### 6.4.3.3 *In the field*

I arrived in Umm al-Jimal Saturday afternoon to begin working on Sunday. My translator, a friend who is a local teacher in Umm al-Jimal, and I consulted the roster of past HCHP participants in order to choose interviewees for the upcoming week. Because of his deep connections with the CYP and their parents in the community, he was instrumental in contacting CYP and scheduling interviews. On the first day we were able to conduct three interviews with some neighbour CYP who live next to the UJAP dig house. Initially we wanted to invite CYP to the dig house to be interviewed. After these three interviews I decided it was too formal a setting and therefore it would be more beneficial to interview CYP in their homes where they are more comfortable and relaxed. Furthermore, the inclusion of family members in interviews was positive due to the family-centric structure of the culture in Jordan and Syria.

After the first day we undertook an average of five interviews a day for the first week. I revised the questions each evening in order to get less bias and more substantial answers. We revisited six CYP to ask them further questions. Interviews were approximately thirty minutes per

CYP and were semi-structured, meaning that while the interview questions were created prior to the interview, questions changed and developed depending on how each CYP responded.

At the end of each interview, I conducted a photo elicitation video with the CYP. The video focused on images of heritage objects, sites, and other attributes. The CYP were now, themselves, filmed. The photo elicitation captured the CYP's memories of their heritage and whether they learned about it at home or from the HCHP course.

Because of time constraints, only four CYP completed drawing activities with me in their second interviews.

### *6.4.3.4 Results*

We interviewed twenty-four CYP and conducted thirty-one interviews in total. We attempted to interview the same number of boys and girls, as well as the same number of Syrian and Jordanian CYP. While we did interview twelve boys and twelve girls, we only interviewed ten Jordanians compared to fourteen Syrians. Six of the CYP had been interviewed before and one interview was with Muaffaq Hazza, one of the instructors of the HCHP.

The interviews illuminated the ways in which the archaeological project and the community of Umm al-Jimal have created and fostered a safe and supportive environment for Syrian refugees of Bedouin descent through shared heritage. Because the UJAP works cooperatively for local interests, a culture of heritage appreciation has developed that supports Bedouin interest in their own heritage and facilitates ways in which they can sustainably preserve that heritage. The Bedouin traditions and customs, according to interviewees, are better represented in Umm al-Jimal than in surrounding towns and therefore the town was chosen by some refugee families as a safe and acceptable location to live until circumstances change. The town was also cited as cleaner and safer than surrounding towns which is unquestionably due to the development of the antiquities into a tourist site as well as other sustainable community and archaeology driven initiatives, such as the development of new streets, parks, and street lights, as well as the water project, and a hospitality and tourism project called 'Hand by Hand', that aim to create jobs, relieve poverty, and bolster local quality of life. Due to these new observations I decided to focus on how community archaeology builds community, heritage, and ultimately resilience.

### *6.4.4 Summary of data collection*

The field research included in this thesis included qualitative and quantitative methods: interviews, student journals, student surveys, photo elicitations, participant observation, and systematic observation that included frequency observation and time sampling. The data collection yielded interviews with twenty-eight CYP and two instructors, eighty-one CYP journals, forty-two CYP surveys, two days of systematic observation results, and twenty-three CYP photo

elicitations. Due to my limited access to Zaatari refugee camp, I was only able to procure four days of classroom observation: two art classes and two heritage classes. Furthermore, surveys were only given to CYP in September 2018. In the next section I outline what methods were used to analyse the collected data.

### 6.5 Analysis

#### 6.5.1 Introduction

In order to organize and analyse the literature and my data I used NVIVO and Excel as data management software. NVIVO is a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software programme that organizes literature and qualitative data to assist in the analysis process of research (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2011: 75). While NVIVO is a very useful organizational tool for qualitative research, it does not analyse data for the researcher. Nancy Leech and Anthony Onwuegbuzie outline seven ways NVIVO can be used to analyse qualitative data: constant comparison, keywords-in-context, word count, classical content analysis, domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, and componential analysis. I also used more traditional techniques including implementing charts and graphs to compare thoughts and responses. In this section I will discuss these strategies and how they were used to analyse this data.

#### 6.5.2 Constant Comparison

Constant comparison is a commonly used technique developed in 1967 where data or sources are compared using a coding process (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2011: 75). This is done in NVIVO using 'Nodes' to code portions of data or text. Literature reveals themes that become nodes to indicate commonalities or differences in the text. Each node is visible on the side of the screen, which allows the user to see all of the relevant themes.

All of my literature was compiled into NVIVO to create the literature review using a deductive reasoning. As I worked through the literature, I created codes based on the relevance to my study as well as the frequency in which certain themes occurred. This resulted in parent nodes for community archaeology, education, methodology, and refugee studies. I created other nodes that became redundant after further research and therefore are not included in the literature review.

#### 6.5.3 Keywords in Context

Keywords-in-context (KWIC) is an analysis method that helps determine how language is used by participants or in literature (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2011: 75). This can be accomplished in NVIVO by doing a query to search for a particular word within a set of data or literature. In this type of query you can also include words around a keyword in order to maintain the context in which the word is being used. This is especially useful in determining how participants use language in responses to surveys or interviews. It is also useful in determining

how the literature discusses particular themes in nuanced ways. I used queries to discover how the literature on CYP discussed resilience.

### 6.5.4 Word Count

Word count is the simple act of counting the amount of times words come up in a text or in multiple data sources (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2011: 76). NVIVO allows you to conduct a word count within seconds on any data in the programme. This tool makes it easy to determine how many participants answered particular questions with particular words. This method is especially useful for surveys or questions that produce short one-word answers.

I made special nodes for the CYP journals and survey questions with their answers. I included the top three or four answers for each question in the journals to see how many students answered the questions in the same way. I was able to then discern how students answered questions depending on their age and gender. I was also able to see, overall, how students interacted with their journal, which questions were ignored over others, and what common themes appeared in the data.

### 6.5.5 Classical Content Analysis

Classical content analysis counts the emerging themes or nodes to determine their prominence in a research study (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2011: 76-77). Similar to constant comparison but with an extra dimension, themes are observed through their emergent frequency (Ibid). This method is helpful in determining at what frequency themes are discussed and what themes dominate in the data and literature (Ibid). This is particularly helpful for discovering how resilience in refugee CYP is discussed in literature regarding Palestinian refugee CYP in Jordan. Although the cited literature for Palestinian refugee CYP was scanned and copied and not uploaded into NVIVO, I was able to identify the common themes in the literature and identify further information in NVIVO through a 'resilience' query. The query uncovered additional sources with similar findings (Alwan, 2016; Eisenbruch, 1988: 286).

### 6.5.6 Excel

Like NVIVO, Microsoft Excel is a computer software programme that can be used for data analysis. Although it is often used for quantitative data analysis, it can also be used for qualitative data analysis.

I used Excel to input data from the feelings assessment CYP filled out in the journal. I first input the individual answers for each child and then made a 'total spreadsheet' that added up how many students answered 'great', 'okay', 'sad', and 'angry' over a period of eight days in February. I then compared the boys' class and the girls' class side-by-side and created line charts to show change in answers over time. All survey and journal answers were subsequently put in Excel spreadsheets and then uploaded into NVIVO for analysis.

### 6.5.7 Other Methods

In order to organize my thoughts I employed rudimentary methods for a more kinesthetic approach. I collated the data into three themes; building community, building heritage, and building resilience. I then went through all of the data in Nvivo and Excel and manually listed all the corresponding information on large graphs. Each graph had three sections (Figure 19): Zaatari, Umm al-Jimal, and both. This was intended to create a visual representation of the differences and similarities in how the CYP answered questions about community, heritage, and themes relating to resilience. This method was also meant to assist in the organization of chapters. This type of analysis was more intuitive than the other methods.

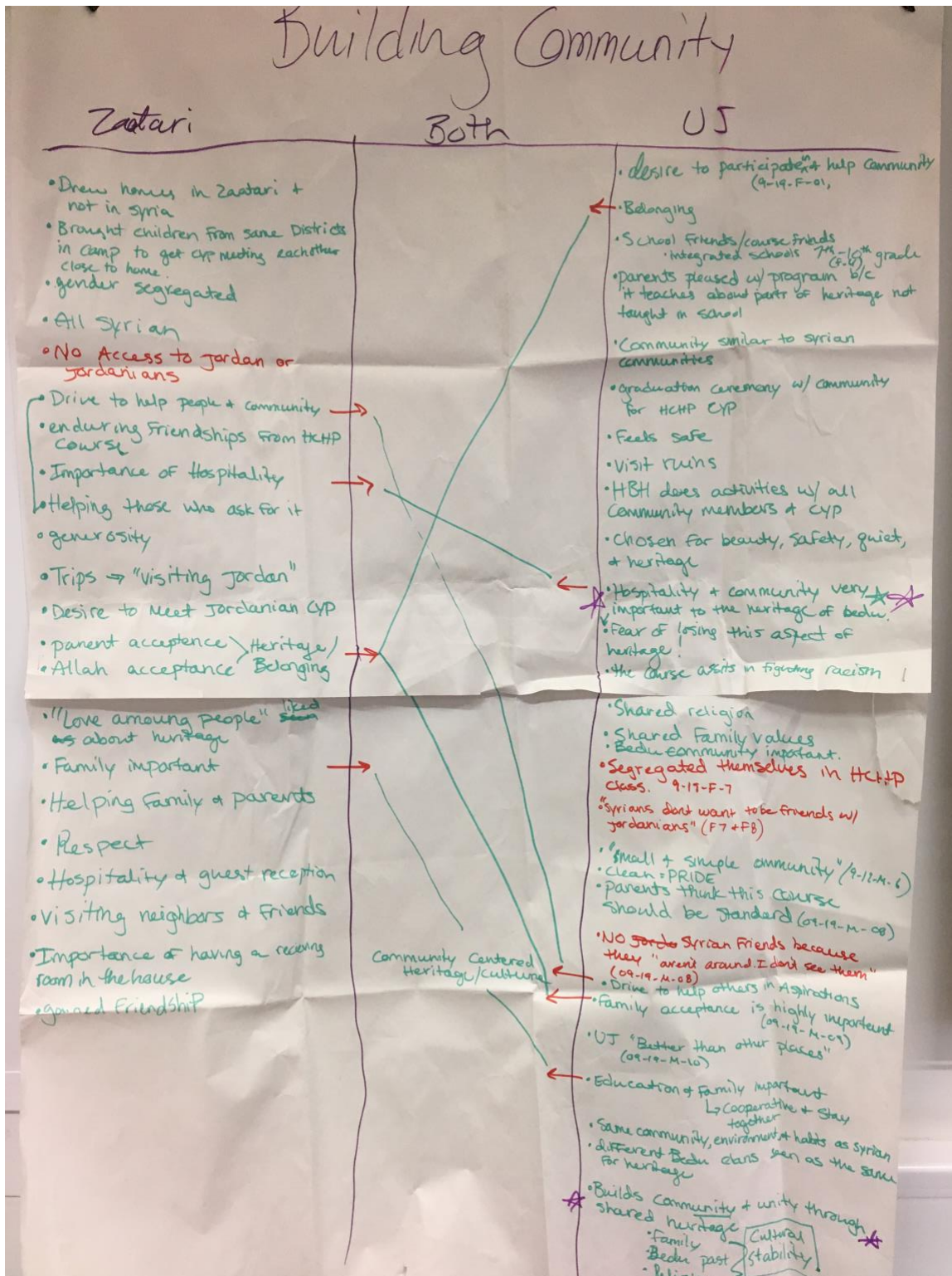


Figure 19 Example of comparison between data collected about community from Zaatari and Umm al-Jimal.

## 6.6 Summary

This research relied on a certain amount of flexibility. The shape my methodology took depended on the conditions of my field visits, access to the HCHP, and my ability to adjust my research accordingly. Furthermore, although I tried to eliminate bias, it is impossible to remove entirely. Finally, the physical and emotional safety of all CYP was highly considered during this



project and every precaution was observed during the construction and implementation of this research.

This research includes both qualitative and quantitative methods including interviews, journals, feedback forms, drawings, photo elicitations, frequency and time sampling, and participant observation. All of these contributed to the final results outlined in the data chapters.

In the first field visit I was unable to enter Zaatari so I used my time to accompany the class on field trips to archaeological sites in Jordan. I used feedback forms and student journals to collect student perspectives about the HCHP. Overall, the first field visit was useful in observing field trip structure, the rapport between the CYP and their HCHP instructors, and the overall structure of the project. It also gave me the information I needed to adjust my study for the next round of data collection.

During my second field visit I was able to visit the classroom and observe four days of lessons. I developed a methodology, a combination of frequency observation and time sampling, that measures participation by counting each time a student answers a question in five-minute intervals. Although I will not be able to use this method again for this research, it is possible that it method will be useful for future research with the HCHP or similar projects. This field visit redirected the focus of this project toward the connection between heritage work and resilience

The field visits produced eighty-five student journals and feedback forms, thirty-six interviews, twenty-four photo elicitations, and four drawings. Written data was put into Excel and NVIVO and analysed through constant comparison, word count, and classical content analysis. Photo elicitations were reviewed and results were typed into a table to show how often CYP commented on each image. This field visit further re-directed the focus of this project toward how community archaeology builds community and heritage appreciation, and how both can support resilience in CYP.

In the next three chapters I use the results of my data analysis above to argue that the presence of community archaeology and cultural resources, namely archaeological sites, increased community value for tangible and intangible heritage, inspired community projects and community-building, and supported sources of resilience, that in turn provided a strong environment for Syrian refugees to rebuild their lives in the town of Umm al-Jimal. Furthermore, I will show how the HCHP supported resilience in refugee youth in both Umm al-Jimal and Zaatari refugee camp.



## Chapter 7: Building Community

*“The most important thing is that we have to help the community to get better and we have to participate with our neighbours and our community in every occasion” (09-19-F-01)*

### 7.1 The Young People of Umm al-Jimal

The following research data included the study of three groups of youth who participated in the Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP): Jordanians who lived in Umm al-Jimal, Syrian refugees who lived in Umm al-Jimal, and Syrian refugees who lived in Zaatari refugee camp. In this chapter I analyse how the UJAP has supported community-building efforts in Umm al-Jimal including the development of the HCHP.

This project aims to amplify the voices of young people in order to gain insight about their perceptions and their lives. Because data can provide a sterile representation of human experience, this chapter begins with profiles of five very real young people who live in Umm al-Jimal and how they experience their lives there. In order to maintain anonymity, their names have been changed and will be accompanied by the codes I created for them.

#### 7.1.1 Aaila (09-19-F-04)

In a two-story home a one-minute walk from the ruins, Aaila lives with her parents and siblings. Aaila is a sixteen-year-old Jordanian girl who participated in the HCHP in 2017. She has nieces and nephews that frequent their home. In fact, two young relatives were present during our interview. Her family have olive trees and other plants in their yard as well as some animals, including a horse. After our interview she and her sister brought me out to meet their horse. They were quite proud to have one. Their guest room, where we held the interview, was accessed from the outside to keep guests separate from the main house; this is a typical house layout in Jordan. When I met her, Aaila was wearing very formal clothes with a white and black hijab. Her sister wore less-formal clothes, but both appeared fashionable and keenly aware of their appearance, as most teenage girls are. As we sat together, my laptop open, her small nephew wandered over to me and began chewing on the corner of my computer. We all laughed and her sister distracted him while we conducted our interview.

Aaila is in tenth grade and, according to my translator who used to teach her, excels in her education. For her, education is how she plans to accomplish her dreams. She wants to be a nurse when she finishes school to “help sick and poor people.” She intends to accomplish this dream through hard work and is adamant that nothing will stop her. The schools in Umm al-Jimal are gender segregated so she attends an all-girls school where she has a lot of friends. She is friends with both Jordanians and Syrians through school as well as the HCHP course. She sees no

difference between the two groups. Her outlook was optimistic and when asked about how she cheers herself up, she shrugged and told us she is always happy. Aaila remembered the HCHP course well and had abundant memories of what she learned there. This could have to do with the fact that she learned a lot about her heritage from her family who have lived in Umm al-Jimal for generations. Her grandparents lived in the ruins and her grandmother had the iconic Bedouin facial tattoos. She, like other residents in Umm al-Jimal, was proud to live in a place with an archaeological site and grew up curious about the site and its history. She doesn't know why the Masa'eid stopped living in the ruins, but she guessed that it was because tourists wanted to visit the ruins. She viewed this as a good thing for both the community and the visitors, stating that "[t]ourists should be relaxed...so the ministry of tourism takes their rest in the ruins." She also saw it as necessary for the Masa'eid to leave the ruins: "in our community it is shameful when a strange person comes here and sees the girls", drawing attention to the conservative and religious traditions of the small town as well as the impact tourism has had on their community. She doesn't believe the ruins belong to her or the Masa'eid, but to the tourists who visit. The HCHP course provided her with more in-depth information about her ancestors and her home; she hopes it will return so her siblings can learn about their past in order to preserve their history and traditions.

### 7.1.2 Hamsa (09-19-M-08)

On the other side of Umm al-Jimal, Hamsa lives with his parents and younger brother. Hamsa is a sixteen-year-old Jordanian boy who has lived in his home in Umm al-Jimal his entire life. His parents sat in on our interview and offered tea, coffee, biscuits, and other snacks. His mother said she believed the heritage course provided "big benefits for kids." During the interview she and her husband would proudly talk about how they have taught their sons about their heritage. Their house is also close to the ruins where his grandparents once lived.

Hamsa is proud to be Bedouin and reveres the nomadic life. He said that learning about his heritage brings him back to his origin as a Bedouin. Through the class he was able to learn more and share his experiences with others. He learned a lot about his heritage from his parents and grandparents as well. His grandmother still makes bread in the traditional way: on a curved metal plate over fire. She also bears the facial tattoos typical of older women in Umm al-Jimal. For fun he enjoys taking care of his uncles' goats in his free time and hopes to retain his traditions when he grows older. Hamsa's parents are proud of their heritage and encourage Hamsa's love of the Bedouin way of life by taking family trips during school holidays, where they spend months living in camel-hair tents and practicing older traditions; they herd goats and collect and grow wheat as they did in the past. His favorite part of these trips is sleeping under the stars. "When

you are in a tent it is more natural than being in a house,” Hamsa declared. “I liked the simple life in the tent.”

When he is not on holiday or in school, he plays football with his friends. Hamsa admits that it isn’t just the ruins he and the Masa’eid are connected to, but the surrounding lands where they grazed sheep. Finally, he is happiest at his uncles’ house playing with the sheep there. Although he does use technology and plays games on tablets or phones, Hamsa has a deep connection with his heritage and the past that has been fostered through his family and the community at Umm al-Jimal. His parents said he knew more about his heritage than he offered, but that he was shy. During our interview his cousins visited and we interviewed them as well.

Hamsa is in the eleventh grade and attends the Umm al-Jimal school for boys. There are no Syrians at his school and, while he met some through the HCHP course, he has no Syrian friends. He hopes to go to university to become a doctor and specialize in cardiology. Like Aaila, he wants to help sick people. The need to participate in community and help neighbours is a common desire among the people of Umm al-Jimal.

### 7.1.3 Dalia (09-19-F-09)

On the outskirts of town Dalia and her family live in a camel hair tent. Dalia is a fifteen-year-old Syrian girl who moved to Umm al-Jimal from Damascus. She is in the eighth grade and is from the Al Jumlan Bedouin clan. She and her family came to Umm al-Jimal four years ago and therefore she and her siblings remember Syria. Her home in Umm al-Jimal consists of multiple tents where she lives with her sisters, brother, mother, and father. Some of her older siblings who have married and formed their own families live in separate tents; their small children played in the guest area as we sat to conduct the interview. Because there aren’t distinct rooms, a partition was put up between the sitting area of the home and the more private quarters during our visit. Her older sister dropped-out of school to work, so Dalia is grateful that she can still go to school. Although I interviewed her after her brother, sister, and two cousins, she had the most to say and showed the most excitement to answer my questions; this is possibly due to hearing the questions and planning her answers. With both of her parents, her sisters, brother, cousins, and small nieces present, we sat on plush cushions next to a large air conditioner. It was September and the desert heat was stifling. Regardless of the heat, we turned the air conditioner off in order to hear the interviews. As we sat, sipping tea and coffee, I interviewed nearly her whole family. Dalia and her sisters were excited at my arrival as they thought it meant they could return to Syria; they thought I was from the UNHCR to tell them it was safe to return. Their disappointment, however, did not overshadow their excitement to talk about the HCHP course with me.

She told me life in a hair tent is difficult: the winters are cold and wet and the summers hot and dry; when it is windy “the tent might blow away over our heads”; and animals come and go as they please. Even as we sat talking, a wild rabbit visited us. Despite the lack of solid walls and doors, she and her family felt safe in Umm al-Jimal. When Dalia and her family fled Syria and entered Jordan her parents heard that Umm al-Jimal was a safe and quiet town with a strong community that held Bedouin values. It was important to her whole family that they live in a place that shares their heritage and traditions. Regardless of the shared traditions, they want to return to Syria. Her older sister, particularly, missed their home in Syria and wanted to return to it. Their family’s situation, living in a camel hair tent, was different from other Syrian families I met (who all lived in built houses) but surely it is not unique. Because of the conflict and transition to Jordan, Dalia missed school and therefore was held back. This is a common occurrence for young displaced Syrians. Despite these difficulties, Dalia likes Umm al-Jimal: “[w]hen I came here I visited the ruins and wanted to know everything about it.” This is why she and her brother and sisters wanted to participate in the HCHP. She made both Jordanian and Syrian friends through school and the HCHP. Antithetically, her sister, who is not in-school and works with their mother on a farm, is limited in the young people she meets and has not met any Jordanian CYP since she left school. For Dalia and most other Syrian CYP, the HCHP and formal school were the main sources for meeting Jordanian CYP.

Dalia values her studies and was eager to practice English with me. She had a book of English words and hoped to learn how to speak English well. When she finishes school she wants to be a police officer like her uncle was in Syria. She and her sisters spend a lot of time at their uncle’s house with their cousins. Family members are her closest friends and allies. As previously stated, despite living in a tent, they felt safe; like other residents in Umm al-Jimal, they trust their neighbours. When Dalia first arrived, she felt like a stranger; now she is a part of the town. She attributes this to learning about the cultural similarities through the HCHP course: “I wanted to know what was similar between Syrian and Jordanian and I discovered it was the Hauran.” She spends her free time with her cousins and family; she is happiest when she is with them. Although she doesn’t have her grandparents with her and has no memory of them, her parents answer all questions she and her siblings have about heritage. The whole family showed tremendous pride in their Bedouin heritage and were eager to share it with a stranger like me.

### 7.1.4 Jaiyana (09-19-F-03)

In a home close to the centre of the village Jaiyana, a twelve-year-old Syrian girl, lives with her mother and sister. As we approached their home, asking to speak to their father, a neighbour told us he could give permission to interview the girls, as they had lost their father in Syria. The support of neighbours acts as a surrogate family in lieu of those they lost in the conflict

and demonstrates the willingness of community members to support incoming refugees. Jaiyana and her family are supported by the UNHCR and have lived in Umm al-Jimal for eight years; Jaiyana was only four years-old when they fled Syria and has no memory of Syria or the family members they left behind.

Both Jaiyana and her sister attend Syrian-only schools and therefore only have Syrian friends. She wants to be a fashion designer when she finishes school and showed us some of the designs she created. She used old fabrics to create outfits for her dolls as practice for her future profession. She intends to stay in-school and go to university for fashion design in the future.

Her mother sat with us during the interview and talked about how important the heritage project was to her daughters. Although the community shares their heritage and traditions, Jaiyana's mother expressed concern that because they left their home and relocated without other family members her daughters lacked the valuable heritage resources that family provide. She told us her daughters used to enjoy sitting with their grandmother listening to the stories about Bedouin life, but now they do not remember the stories or their grandmother. Like all other refugees, the continuity of their lives had been broken when they were forced to flee the comfort and safety of their home. Now, Jaiyana only remembers her life in Umm al-Jimal. "[W]e are from the Al Moalli clan in Syria," her sister told us as we sat sipping coffee and tea and eating biscuits her mother insisted we try. Jaiyana stated that "[t]heir traditions and heritage were so good and wonderful and they had a good life in the past", confessing she would like to live as her ancestors did; continuing to describe what she knew, she told us that "[t]hey lived in tents and they had sheep and made yogurt." Her mother added that she used to make yogurt in the traditional way, but it is much harder now because she doesn't have the right tools to do it. She was proud, however, that her daughters had the experience of making and eating traditional yogurt because she viewed it as a disappearing tradition.

Jaiyana loves Umm al-Jimal and doesn't imagine living anywhere else; she believes that "[t]he community is beautiful and the habits are good...there is no difference between Jordanian and Syrian." She believes this although she has only Syrian friends and made no Jordanian friends in the HCHP class. She was unsure why she "met some Jordanians in the class but didn't make any friends."

Jaiyana's favorite part of the HCHP course was learning about the knitting and weaving traditions of her ancestors; she wants a course dedicated to weaving and embroidery so she can learn how to do it. Although her dream to be a fashion designer pre-dates the HCHP course, it inspired her to learn more and integrate her heritage into her designs. She values education above all else because "[i]f you are well educated you can live your life easily and comfortable."

Jaiyana and her family experienced a great loss before moving to Umm al-Jimal. Despite their hardships, they are happy and well-adjusted to their lives in Umm al-Jimal and they have no plans to move back to Syria. Umm al-Jimal is their home and their mother agreed that moving back to Syria would be leaving the town her daughters know best.

### 7.1.5 Preliminary observations

Friendships between Jordanian and Syrian youth depended on continued interaction. Just as communities are not quickly built, fostering social cohesion between Syrians and Jordanians relied on collective interactions on a daily or weekly basis. The most reliable way for both groups to interact was through school and other extracurricular activities such as the HCHP. As shown above, youth who attended Jordanian or Syrian only schools were unlikely to have friends from the other group, even if they met them in the HCHP course. While this does not apply to all CYP, it is clear that the HCHP goal to bring Syrian and Jordanian CYP together requires more work. It also shows that segregated education divides youth. Despite the divisions, the stories above show that there was a mutual respect for each other, and they viewed each other as equal community members.

All of the youth described above revered education and believe it is the only way to fulfill their dreams and aspirations. For most of them, their dreams involved helping others, a common theme we will revisit later in this chapter. The biggest difference between the Jordanian and Syrian youth described above was their personal access to heritage through family and the levels of cultural bereavement among refugees. The Jordanian residents of Umm al-Jimal had the benefit of living on the same land their ancestors grazed sheep on for generations. The Jordanian CYP also benefit from their family's memories of their life before moving from the ruins and the traditions they kept before technology transformed the town. Neither Dalia nor Jaiyana have their grandparents nearby. Even if they did, their grandparents would have stories about Syria and the particular landscapes in which they lived their lives there. Jordan was a foreign landscape with no ancestral memories attached to it. The experience of learning about your heritage and history within the landscape in which it occurred is different to learning about it outside that landscape. Memory as a component of heritage is often tied to a landscape or place and becomes more difficult to access when separated from that landscape (Harrison et al., 2008: 7) causing displaced people to lose access to their memories and, therefore, their heritage. In this way, Syrians had far less access to their heritage compared to Jordanians.

Another observation from the stories above is the difference in perception concerning camel-hair tents; while Hamsa loved his experiences of living in a tent during his summer breaks, Dalia felt very differently toward tents as she lived in them full time. Whereas Hamsa had a "bedouin experience" with his family as a holiday trip, Dalia was forced to live in a Bedouin tent



with her family as it was all they had available to them. The difference in perception here was due to the difference in resources and experiences between the Jordanian boy and the Syrian girl. It is also a difference between Bedouin life as a livelihood compared to Bedouinism as heritage and traditions.<sup>20</sup>

Depending on their age, CYP who are forced to migrate will have different memories of their homeland which will affect their perception of their life in their new home. Dalia moved from a house in Syria to a tent in Umm al-Jimal, creating a desire to return to their home in Syria due to the difficulty of living in a tent. In contrast, Jaiyana has no memory of her home in Syria and therefore nothing to compare her current home to. To her, the house she lives in in Umm al-Jimal is her childhood home and the only one she knows. The HCHP was instrumental, however, in facilitating the recall of memories about heritage. In other words, by stimulating memories about the past, the HCHP assisted in those memories being reinforced and more likely to be remembered later in life. This, in turn, created new memories about heritage with other young community members, supporting the concept of collective memory. Furthermore, family and friends, combined with the comfort and belonging generated within the HCHP classroom provide the kinds of support systems necessary for resilience to grow. In the context of heritage learning, HCHP acted as a surrogate family to Syrian youth who lost or lacked access to heritage through familial relations. It also supported memory retention and creation by introducing or revisiting information that students may have past experiences with. Stimulating memories about heritage and encouraging discussion about those experiences reinforced the memory of heritage.

All the young people described above are immersed in their heritage in some way: through their family; through living in an ancient town; through their experiences as Bedouin. They are only a small representation of the whole picture of the community in Umm al-Jimal; however, their experiences are valuable and provide insight into the lives of the young community members there.

In the next sections, I will show how the HCHP instructors instilled a sense of community and belonging in their students through heritage education. I will also explore how the community archaeology project in Umm al-Jimal promoted the strengthening of that community.

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<sup>20</sup> There is a distinction between living the nomadic life of a Bedouin and claiming Bedouin heritage. While there are many people in Jordan who call themselves Bedouin because of their heritage, very few still live the nomadic lifestyle of Bedouin (Cole, 2003: 235).

## 7.2 Community in Umm al-Jimal

### 7.2.1 Belonging

The teaching environment of the HCHP, unlike a formal classroom, encouraged students to contribute to the lesson by sharing their own experiences in collaborative relation to class content. This teaching methodology, championing openness and discussion, facilitated collaboration of narrative-building that changed with every group of CYP who took the class, therefore resulting in unique shared experiences and memories. One creator of the HCHP commented on the impact he perceived between the Jordanian and Syrian CYP before and after participating in the course.

“Sometimes if you go to the school you see the Jordanian students and the Syrian students and they don’t like each other. When we brought them together in one class and we start to have fun, they know each other and they live together now, like they aren’t Jordanian and Syrian. They are the same” (Hazza, 2019).

Another instructor corroborated this point, identifying a change in students’ comfort level as the course progressed.

“When you gather a group of kids, you find maybe two or three kids already know each other from [school] or they are neighbours. They can chat and be noisy together during the class. But the rest of the class for the first few classes are more conservative to participate. They will come and sit very politely” (Bayer, 2019).

But toward the middle of the season you would find “lots of noise in the class. No this is not noise, these are kids who are trying to participate. This is the change” (Bayer, 2019).

A sense of comfort was also expressed through participation levels; when I visited the HCHP classroom in Zaatari,<sup>21</sup> I observed a 93% (26/28) participation rate from male students and a 93% (25/27) participation rate from female students over an hour class period. I visited the HCHP classroom when they were nearing the end of the current session, meaning students had been participating in the course for nearly two months when I arrived. Therefore, according to Bayer’s observations, students would have been more comfortable and willing to participate at

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<sup>21</sup> Although I was only able to observe the classroom in Zaatari, the lesson structure and methodology were the same when the class was run from Umm al-Jimal. The only difference was the participating students.

that time in the course. I cannot comment on participation at the beginning of the course; however, this data can be used comparatively in the future.

In order to measure participation, I anonymously recorded participation by students every five minutes using a tally system (Figures 20 and 21). The classroom had six rows of five desks. In the table, each cell represents a seat in the HCHP class. Only two students from both classes (four in total) refrained from participating in class discussion. In actuality, it was difficult to keep up with the fast-paced discourse in the classroom; there was a constant symphony of student voices eager to respond to their instructors' enquiries. Therefore, the results are a representation of the recorded data from the classroom: the numbers would no doubt have been slightly higher had recording been done by a machine without the possibility of human error. Regardless, the difficulty I had keeping pace with student participation further demonstrates the high degree of engagement, interest, and comfort that the HCHP instructors facilitated.

Boys'

Class	25/2/19					Class Participation Over One Hour	
Front of Class							
	15	22	6	32	1		
	6	10	11	3	15		
	13	7	4	8	23		
	22	2	2		22		
	Vacant	Vacant		7	11		
	5	4	Vacant	51	8		

Figure 20 HCHP Boys' participation levels over the course of one hour.

Girls'					
Class	25/2/19		Class Participation Over One Hour		
	Front of Class				
	2	26	29	7	34
	10	4	2	3	1
	2	4	4		25
		37	54	6	1
	Vacant	15	18	36	11
	18	9	Vacant	4	6

Figure 21 HCHP Girls' participation levels over the course of one hour.

Participation levels show a high level of comfort by students. Ahmed further asserted that students, especially the girls, relax in the classroom because it is a safe space:

“[y]ou find the girls on the streets, they are very conservative, they are walking calmly. They are not looking here or there. Sometimes they are not even chatting or smiling or laughing. But when they are in a safe place...in the classroom, in a home...you will know how crazy they are. And as much as they can, they take out some of their energy in this class. This means that they are really feeling safe here and they can practice what they are like” (Bayer, 2019).

This statement suggests that for girls in particular the HCHP classroom felt comfortable enough to be themselves, which generally only happens in the home. Comfort and safety support an environment of belonging within the classroom. These results also capture a genuine interest in the subject matter which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The classroom environment and the teaching methodology developed by Ahmed Bayer and Muaffaq Hazza facilitates belonging through a genuine interest in the lives and experiences of

young people. The CYP drew sharp contrast between their HCHP instructors and their formal school instructors. One girl told us that “the teachers didn’t used to deal with us as students, but as sons and daughters” (09-19-F-09), illustrating the familial environment in the classroom and relationship-building between instructors and students. Another student remarked that “they allowed us to do something not usually allowed in school, prohibited, and talk easily with each other” (09-19-F-05), while another added that “they were good and kind and developed discussion between students” (09-19-F-04). This promotion of unplanned discourse between students involved the CYP in narrative-building and established collective memories, which promote bonds and social cohesion. It also fostered mutual trust and respect between all participants. Furthermore, the data illuminated a desire by youth to be close to their instructors, participate in discussion, and learn about each other.

Elaborating on the freedom they had within the HCHP course, one CYP admitted that “[t]he teachers in school have specific lessons and if you want to ask a question outside of the lesson they may say ‘not now’. In the course if I wanted to ask something outside of the subject the teacher accepted me and gave me the answer” (09-19-F-09). The instructors desire to listen to their students and allow for questions and discussion regardless of the scheduled topic was an important community-building tool; it demonstrated an intention by the instructors to keep the classroom student-focused rather than content-focused, giving students a sense of importance and self-value. In general, the popularity of the instructors is clear from responses; many of the CYP, with smiles on their faces, said the instructors were funny and wonderful (09-19-F-05, 09-19-F-06, 09-19-F-10, 09-19-M-07), and another CYP told us there was “[n]othing better” than the instructors of the HCHP (09-19-F-09). It was clear, sitting with young people and talking about the course, that it was a valued experience for all who participated in it. The enthusiasm for the course further demonstrated that student-centred learning can encourage personal agency and strengthen identity.

Some Syrian CYP stated that they took the course to meet other CYP in the community, to make friends, and to learn about Jordan and their new home in Umm al-Jimal. A Syrian girl living in a Bedouin tent on the outskirts of Umm al-Jimal talked to us about her interests in making the best of her situation and how to make new friends in her new community:

“When I first came to Jordan I felt like a stranger. I went to school and met Jordanian and Syrian students and I went to the course because my friends at school told me the course would teach me about heritage. I wanted to know what was similar between Syrian and Jordanian and I discovered it was the Hauran” (09-19-F-09).

## Chapter 7: Building Community

Making friends is a central part of childhood development and is generally facilitated through family or school. Unfortunately, because of the high demand for education in host communities like Umm al-Jimal, school days have been doubled and many Syrian and Jordanian CYP attend separate schools. This limits the number of friends CYP can make from the other group. Since social cohesion requires Syrians and Jordanians to interact with each other, they must have opportunities where this is possible.

Making Friends through the HCHP						
CYP	Are you in school?	Your age	Your nationality	Do you have Syrian or Jordanian friends?	Are you currently friends with both Syrians and Jordanians?	Do you attend a mixed school?
09-19-M-01	No	17	Syrian	Syrian	No	No
09-19-M-02	Yes	14	Syrian	Jordanian	No	Yes
09-19-M-03	Yes	13	Syrian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-M-04	Yes	12	Syrian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-M-05	Yes	12	Syrian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-M-06	Yes	13	Jordanian	Jordanian	No	No
09-19-M-07	Yes	16	Jordanian	Both	No	No
09-19-M-08	Yes	16	Jordanian	Jordanian	No	No
09-19-M-09	Yes	16	Jordanian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-M-10	Yes	16	Jordanian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-M-11	No	13	Syrian	Both	Yes	No
09-19-M-12	No	17	Syrian	Both	No	No
09-19-F-01	Yes	14	Syrian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-F-02	Yes	15	Syrian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-F-03	Yes	11	Syrian	Syrian	No	No
09-19-F-04	Yes	15	Jordanian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-F-05	Yes	15	Jordanian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-F-06	Yes	16	Jordanian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-F-07	Yes	13	Jordanian	Jordanian	No	No
09-19-F-08	Yes	13	Jordanian	Jordanian	No	No

09-19-F-09	No	15	Syrian	Both	Yes	Yes
09-19-F-10	No	16	Syrian	Both	Yes	No
09-19-F-11	No	15	Syrian	Syrian	No	No
09-19-F-12	Yes	13	Syrian	Both	Yes	Yes

Figure 22 Friendships in and out of the HCHP classroom.

Figure 22 illustrates the importance of bringing Syrians and Jordanians together. Jordanian students in mixed schools cited having Syrian friends, whereas Jordanian students in Jordanian-only schools reported only having Jordanian friends. The same was true for Syrian students with the exception of a few instances where they were not in mixed schools and still retained Jordanian friends from the HCHP course. The majority of participating students attended mixed schools. Overall, sixteen out of twenty-four participants have both Syrian and Jordanian friends. CYP who made friends from the opposite group in the HCHP course generally retained those friendships after the course ended. This is also attributed to their continued interactions through formal school: according to the data, CYP not enrolled in formal school are less likely to retain the friendships they made through the HCHP. Regardless, the data verified that the decision to bring two groups together through a shared past was successful; it fulfilled the need for engagement and social cohesion efforts between Syrian and Jordanian youth, providing a service for a need expressed by CYP and their parents. It also verified, however, that continued engagement between Syrian and Jordanian youth is necessary to sustain social cohesion.

A Jordanian CYP, when asked what belonging was, answered to “live and grow up in a place” (09-19-F-04). She said that Syrians “are so great because [they] and Jordanians are the same community and maybe we are just one population” (Ibid). A Syrian CYP corroborated this sentiment, stating that CYP “accepted each other and the teachers taught them how to accept other opinions. And they made Syrians and Jordanians as they are brothers and sisters” (09-19-F-09). Again, we see CYP likening their instructors and peers from the HCHP to family, indicating a development of close ties, friendships, and a sense of community. To one Syrian CYP, he “became one of this community. That is belonging” (09-19-M-02). Another Syrian CYP, a girl who did not retain her Jordanian friends from the class, told us that in “[t]he community there is no difference between Jordanians and Syrians. They are all equal” (09-19-F-03). Another Jordanian boy said there were “no differences” between the Syrians and Jordanians and that their “traditions are the same as ours” (09-19-M-10). When describing the people in Umm al-Jimal, Dalia’s sister told us “[i]t is a village. The people here, we understand them and they understand us...the people and community are the same [as in Syria]” (09-19-F-11). While some barriers still exist between Jordanians and Syrians, the majority of Syrian youth questioned view Umm al-Jimal as their home.

Some have plans to attend university locally, indicating their desire to stay in Umm al-Jimal for the long term.

While previous students remember the classroom as being a place where they were equal and peers, a disconnect arises between CYP who are not enrolled in formal school with their past friends of both nationalities. Their memories of each other are largely positive, but they have trouble connecting without continued engagement with each other. One Jordanian girl said “when we sat together as Jordanians and Syrians it was reciprocal and the Syrians knew something of our traditions and we knew something about theirs” (09-19-F-04); she has friends from the HCHP course in school as she attends a mixed school with both Jordanian and Syrian students.

In contrast, another Jordanian girl who does not attend a mixed school had a different experience in the HCHP course; she did not make friends in the HCHP course because “[t]hey sat together and we sat together alone” (09-19-F-07). Her father mentioned that this may be because of a difference in age between the students. Whether this was the case or not, she expressed an interest in participating in activities with Syrians but has not had the opportunity to do so outside the HCHP course. Another Jordanian girl who attends a Jordanian-only school said she did not have any Syrian friends because “Syrians don’t want to be friends with Jordanians” (09-19-F-08). A Syrian girl who attends a Syrian only school said she made Jordanian friends in the class but did not keep in contact with them (09-19-F-03). Furthermore, she did not know why this was the case. Finally, another Jordanian boy who attends a Jordanian-only school said he believed the HCHP course was meant to bring Jordanian and Syrian students together and it did create friendships but “it was only a little bit” (09-19-M-06). He also thought perhaps it was difficult for Syrians and Jordanians to become friends because “maybe the Jordanians try to make trouble with the Syrians.” Another Jordanian boy told us he thought there were no problems between Syrians and Jordanians, but he does not have any Syrian friends because “there aren’t Syrians around here and I don’t see them” (09-19-M-08). In fact, some Syrian students moved away from Umm al-Jimal after the course, according to HCHP instructor Muaffaq Hazza (Pers. Comm). Overall, this perception is an outlier in the data but is no less valid than the more common opinions and should be considered carefully. This view was only expressed by students not enrolled in mixed schools. However, the sentiment continued into the HCHP class. It is my interpretation that due to a lack of experience with Syrian students in formal school, there is a perceived distance between students that manifests itself in the HCHP classroom by proxy. The HCHP instructor, Ahmed Bayer, made similar observations when he described how students interacted in the beginning of class, where students gravitated toward those they were familiar



with while others were quiet and conservative in their interactions. The disconnect in these accounts is that the students who expressed barriers between Syrian and Jordanian CYP did not make friends with the other group over the three-month course. This differs with Ahmed's observation that by the end of the course students had sufficiently mixed and found friends. It is unclear, however, how students define friendship and if the term is reserved for very close friends rather than acquaintances. Regardless, the fact that there is a correlation between continued contact and mixed formal education is another example of the importance of continued engagement between students.

The concept of home is a feature of belonging. It can be a physical place or the feeling of a place. It is often associated with family but also includes the community in which 'home' is located. Syrian CYP who drew their home drew places in Umm al-Jimal (Figure 23 & 24). Figure 23 was drawn by a twelve-year-old Syrian girl living in Umm al-Jimal with her mother and sister (09-19-F-03). The drawing is a self-portrait of her standing in the ruins of Umm al-Jimal under a pair of Umayyad arches. She even included one of the information signs that guide visitors through the ruins.



Figure 23 Drawing by a Syrian girl of herself in the ruins of Umm al-Jimal (09-19-F-03).



Figure 24 Drawing by a Syrian girl of herself at the playground in Umm al-Jimal (09-19-F-02).

Figure 24 shows another Syrian girl, age fifteen, holding the hand of a small child in a playground (09-19-F-02). This particular playground is near her home in Umm al-Jimal and the small child is her cousin. She was eight when she moved to Umm al-Jimal and remembers living in a big city (Daraa). She recalled the differences between her old home in Syria and her new home, saying that the “houses are different. And the weather is different. It is much cooler (in Syria). We lived in the city but here is a town. I didn’t like living in the city. I prefer living in a town” (09-19-F-02). They will remain in Umm al-Jimal as it is the only home they know now.

Since many of the CYP interviewed have been living in Jordan for longer than they lived in Syria, many do not remember Syria at all (09-19-F-01, 09-19-F-03, 09-19-M-02, 09-19-M-05). While they still identify as Syrian, they see no difference between themselves and Jordanian CYP (09-19-F-03). The Syrian CYP who have memories of Syria, however, wish to return (09-19-F-02, 09-19-F-09). Therefore, memories are a key factor in defining “home” for the CYP.

#### 7.1.2 Family

Family is immensely important in the context of both the community of Umm al-Jimal and forced migration. Family members were often listed as the thing most valued by CYP. One CYP said family was most important because “whatever happens with you, no one will feel what

happens to you or support you like your family” (09-19-F-10). Another stated that “[f]amily is cooperative and they stay together” (09-19-F-02). She added that family is also important because it is where you learn about your heritage and past traditions. Her mother mentioned that before they left Syria their grandmother would tell them about ancient things and their heritage and they loved to learn about it. While she (09-19-F-02) remembers her grandmother, her younger sister does not and the lessons her grandmother tried to teach her have vanished from her memory. Grandparents are a key source of information and knowledge about the past for young people but unfortunately, many Syrian youth are without their grandparents due to the conflict and the difficulty of travel for the elderly. One Syrian girl said “I don’t remember my grandparents but when I think about [heritage] I go to my father and ask about it” (09-19-F-09). She also left family behind in Syria. Another Syrian girl told us she was too young to remember her grandparents and how they lived in Syria (09-19-F-01). In contrast, many Jordanian youth still have their grandparents around to teach them about heritage. One boy, Hamsa’s brother, said his grandparents taught him how to be proud of being Masa’eid Bedouin (09-19-M-06).

One third of interviewed CYP told us they were happiest when they were with their families. Younger family members were often cited. For refugees, family might be the only constant and stable aspect of their lives. Therefore, the presence of family provides a sense of belonging regardless of locale. Additionally, some of the CYP told us they moved to Umm al-Jimal because they had family there.

### 7.2.3 Shared Heritage & Bedouin pride

As discussed above, most Jordanian and Syrian youth came to see little or no differences in one other. Syrian identity ties into the local Umm al-Jimal community through shared Bedouin and Hauran heritage. One Syrian CYP said that they wanted to live in Umm al-Jimal because the community is Bedouin and “[t]hey understand us because it is the same language, dialect, and habits” (09-19-F-10). She added that community is important to them because they “[w]ant to live in a community where there are the same habits and traditions and the whole community is Bedu. It will be different if you move to another community” (Ibid). This account suggests a need for continuity during a hard transition like forced migration. That Umm al-Jimal shares religion, Arabic dialect, Bedouin traditions, a strong heritage presence, and even familial ties with Syrians makes it an attractive choice as a host community. The voices of CYP agree: a Syrian girl described the Umm al-Jimal community as “[b]eautiful and the habits are good” (09-19-F-03). A Jordanian boy told us there were “[n]o differences” between Syrians and Jordanians and that “[t]heir traditions are the same as ours” (09-19-M-10). Despite the barriers between the two groups, they perceive each other as a part of the same community and sharing the same Bedouin past.

I asked CYP how they felt about being Bedouin, and every CYP used the word 'proud'. One Jordanian girl expressed how being Bedouin was different from other Jordanian heritage: "[a]s Bedouin we always have our own traditions and habits and we are different from other Jordanian people because we have our dialect and we have our habits" (09-19-F-04). CYP also expressed pride in living in Umm al-Jimal. One boy asserted that "Umm al-Jimal is better than other places" because "[a] lot of people in our community know each other and they have a relationship together" (09-19-M-10). Thus, there are observed differences between Umm al-Jimal and other towns in the area. Syrian parents also confessed that they chose Umm al-Jimal because of the traditions and strong Bedouin presence (Pers. Comm). Although this is true and the Umm al-Jimal community works hard to protect its heritage and traditions, modernization is an unabating force and its effects have not gone unnoticed, as discussed below.

### 7.2.4 Fear of Eroding Traditions

Community, generosity, and hospitality are highly important cultural characteristics of the Bedouin people. Heritage work supports community-building in this particular context by spreading awareness, teaching the importance of heritage preservation, and instilling a value of heritage among community members. Because hospitality and generosity toward local and visiting people is such a central and fundamental feature of the local heritage, it automatically fosters relationships, thus facilitating community-building. The work done by the HCHP has resulted in an increased concern among participating youth about the disappearance of certain aspects of heritage.

A Syrian boy, the brother of Dalia, told us generosity was part of his heritage he was afraid of losing and that it was an important part of their ancient history and traditions (09-19-M-11). Similarly, a Jordanian girl lamented the loss of traditions as she perceived them, saying that "[i]n the past the whole community used to go to parties or ceremonies together and now they don't. In the past if we have a guest they will not leave until they have something or make a big meal for them but now it is just coffee or tea and they leave" (09-19-F-04). In fact, some of the families we visited were embarrassed about what little they had to offer, while others insisted we stay for dinner. The tradition of hospitality, especially between family and community members, is cited repeatedly by youth and their parents. One parent said "[t]he life now is a fake life. It is not a Bedouin life. The Bedouin life is in the past. The simple life. The simple people. The generosity. The hospitality. All of this is gone with the ancient grandparents" (Pers. Comm). When asked what parts of their heritage they think are in danger of being lost they answered that there is "no relationship between relatives. No generosity. No hospitality. We still keep it with the guests but not with the family". When asked how they think these traditions could be saved they said "we have to make our relationships hard together and we have to have weekly or monthly

clan assemblies” (Ibid). Another local adult confirmed that generosity among extended family was disappearing and the “nuclear” family was becoming more prominent (Pers. Comm). His concern was that the disappearance of hospitality and generosity would result in a further disconnection between people in the community. Furthermore, parents were eager to know if the HCHP would be reinstated in Umm al-Jimal because they felt it would help their youth in keeping their traditions safe.

### 7.3 Community in Zaatari

As stated previously, the HCHP course moved exclusively to the Zaatari refugee camp in 2018. In this section, I will discuss how the HCHP course in Zaatari compares to the one in Umm al-Jimal and then analyse how the difference in resources affected the students.

My time with the CYP at Zaatari was limited. Additionally, because of the restrictions on residents living in the refugee camp, the course was limited to Syrian CYP. Zaatari significantly lacks an archaeological site and project as well as an established community and other cultural resources that are readily available in Umm al-Jimal, further limiting the cultural capital of the project.

#### 7.3.1 Family and Home

All surveyed CYP live in Zaatari with their families. While some family members were inevitably left behind in Syria, all surveyed youth said they came there with family members and lived with them, thus indicating the presence of important familial support. Furthermore, family members were cited by 50% of youth as one of the most important parts of their lives (Appendix 3).

When asked to describe their home, one CYP said “I am a refugee and I live in a caravan” (03-19-F-02). Another youth said “my house is beautiful and big. My house is the best house. I love my house because it is my only dwelling place. My home is what brings me together with my family” (03-19-F-12), emphasizing once more the connection between home and family, and the importance of being together. Another stated that “my house is the most beautiful in the world because my mother is in it” (03-19-M-17). That family is a fundamental part of the home for youth in Zaatari is unsurprising; as discussed in previous chapters, familiarity supports comfort and trust, which facilitate resilience. Because Zaatari is a new world for all who enter it, they must create their own safe spaces, comfort zones, and communities from the ground up. Home is the first place they are able to do this. One girl wrote in her journal “[o]n a winter day, when it was snowing, my stepmother gave birth to a boy and that was the most beautiful day of my life. We were all together and playing in the snow” (03-19-F-10). Their lives are now centred in Zaatari and their memories grow there.

CYP drawings of home vary from floor plans to facades, but all represent their homes in Zaatari rather than their homes in Syria. In the first group of journals more CYP drew a façade of their home. I attribute this to a lack of further investigation and questions about the drawings. In the second group of journals I asked them to describe their house and who they lived with in addition to drawing their home (Figure 26), and this time half drew floorplans. The floorplan drawings (Figure 25) serve as a physical representation of youths' daily lives and their memories of their homes as they live in them, rather than an outside representation of a physical space. They are a visual explanation to an outsider, welcoming them into their home without a physical visit. In a way this is the difference between a 'house' and a 'home'.

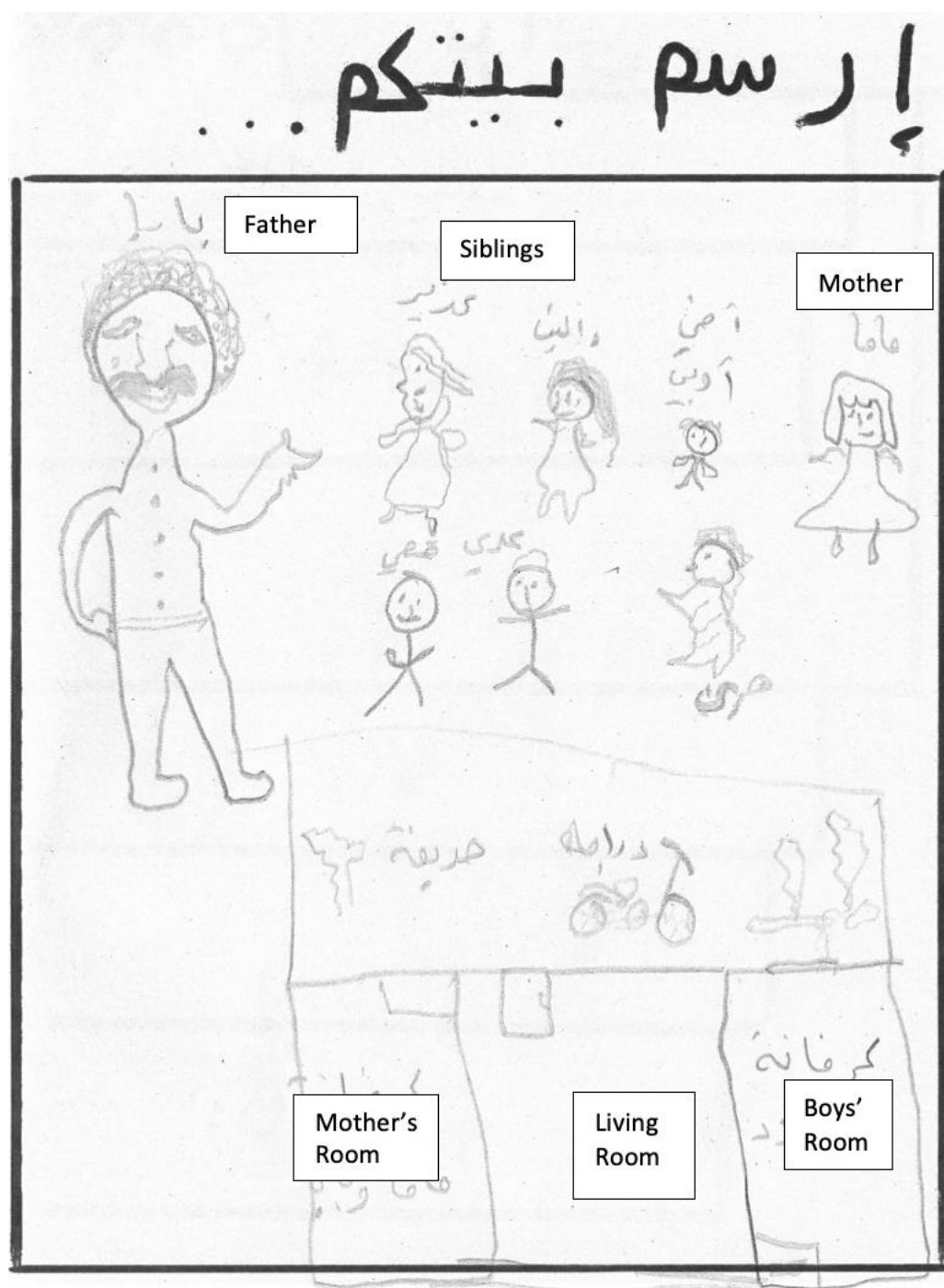


Figure 25 Floorplan drawing by 03-19-F-17 of her home in Zaatari refugee camp.

Home Drawings by Youth						
	Fall 2018			Spring 2019		
Gender	Floorplan	Façade	No Drawing	Floorplan	Façade	No Drawing
Male	6	8	5	5	6	9
Female	2	20	1	9	9	1

Figure 26 Student drawings of 'home' as floorplans or façades.

### 7.3.2 Belonging and Friends

The HCHP chooses CYP in Zaatari by districts in the camp in order to easily organize transportation as well as develop friendships and relationships between CYP in their own neighbourhoods. Interviewed CYP in Zaatari stated that organizations like the HCHP in Zaatari help them meet new people, stating “we are very glad that we know many friends now” (09-18-F-19). They added that they hope there will be more activities like the HCHP in the camp. Another youth told us while she wanted to go back to Syria, everything is provided for them in the camp and they love their family and friends the most within the camp (09-18-F-22). After the course ended, CYP remained close with those they met in the course and participated in other activities together (09-18-F-19, 09-18-F-22). When I interviewed past participants, they came in pairs, demonstrating a continued friendship since their heritage classes ended as well as a possible need to walk with someone else for safety reasons.

Some students made close friends in the course and listed them more than once in their journals as important and valuable. Some of the journals even had the same answers written in them indicating that friends had spent time together outside the HCHP course and worked on their journals collaboratively.

### 7.3.3 Generosity

Hospitality and generosity were also important to Syrian CYP in Zaatari. When asked what they would do with one million dinars, CYP said they would “help the poor” (03-19-F-01, 03-19-M-04), “spend it on needy people” (03-19-M-01, 03-19-F-13, 03-19-F-14, 03-19-F-15, 03-19-M-15, 03-19-M-19), “support a charity project” (03-19-F-03), “start a project and feed poor families” (03-19-F-08), “give an amount to the orphanage” (03-19-F-13), “make a charity project for children” (03-19-F-17) and “establish a charitable society to help poor and homeless people and provide them with housing, nutrition, clothing, and other necessities” (03-19-M-07). In addition to helping others, CYP also expressed a desire to help their families first with debt, housing, and future finances.

### 7.3.4 Religion

Communities that share religious beliefs can be a powerful draw to those who have suffered from conflict or displacement. The CYP cited religion, prayer, and studying the Quran as their favorite things. This was only cited by Syrian youth from the Zaatari camp and, although also religious, was not often brought up by youth living in Umm al-Jimal.

### 7.3.5 Restrictions and limitations

The ability to leave Zaatari camp is important to CYP. The restrictions on access to the outside world create tension. Muaffaq Hazza, an HCHP instructor, explained that “in Zaatari camp



they are in a closed community but [in Umm al-Jimal] they are not in a closed community; they have the freedom; they go to school; they go to the super market; they enjoy and play in the playground...; they go together with my kids. They have a lot of friends. But [in Zaatari] they are isolated from our communities”(Hazza, 2019).

The CYP identified the field trips offered by the HCHP course as their favorite part of the course and, in fact, requested more field trips in the future. On the trips, CYP commented with excitement that they were “going to Jordan”, showing a disconnect between the environment of the refugee camp and the rest of Jordan. This disconnect and isolation can lead to ‘otherness’ and the development of a refugee identity, as seen from Dawn Chatty and Gillian Hundt’s work on Palestinian refugees discussed in Chapter 4. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to obtain permission to take CYP out of Zaatari to go on these trips. According to Muaffaq “it wasn’t very easy. We have to do a lot of procedures with the government, with the police, and with the authorities just to get the permit to take them outside. And now [it has been] almost nine months that we couldn’t take anyone out [of Zaatari] because it is ‘illegal’.<sup>22</sup> Illegal to take the Syrian refugees on trips. They would remember these trips all of their lives”(Hazza, 2019).

The Syrian CYP living in Zaatari expressed a desire to “see Jordan” and meet Jordanian CYP. One interviewed CYP told us “these projects help us go outside” (09-18-F-19). Muaffaq described it as “practical training”. In terms of community-building, field trips are an educational and content-relevant way for CYP to build collective memories with their peers. These trips are a valuable resource that has been unfairly taken from them.

### 7.4 Summary of findings

#### 7.4.1 Umm al-Jimal

Human beings are social creatures. Community is defined as a group of people living in the same place or sharing a commonality. Strong communities provide safety, belonging, identity, and support. They are often strengthened by community activities and initiatives that dedicate time to a common cause or interest. Cultural resources are obvious sources for community development. As outlined in Chapter 4, cultural activities promote collective memory between residents that can cross generations. They promote “intimate communication between different community members” by bringing them together to create dialogue about the past whether it be a common past or not (Ichikawa, 2018:230). Archaeological sites also serve as gathering places and, if utilized, can be a tool for social cohesion. Cultural resources that engage communities, such as community archaeology projects, have also been shown to benefit lower socioeconomic

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<sup>22</sup> Late in 2018 there were floods in Jordan that killed a school bus full of CYP on a school trip. The government disallowed trips after this tragedy. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-45983337>

communities who tend to suffer from a lack of resources and social activity (McDonell et al., 2015; McLeigh et al., 2015). Finally, cultural resources are considered “necessary to sustain local identities and a sense of a place” and can be used to rebuild post-conflict communities (Moualla and McPherson, 2019: 4-5).

Strong community ties are fundamental for supporting identity, safety, and ultimately resilience. Communities often share commonalities including but not limited to history, heritage, religion, familial bonds, and memory that create the environs necessary to cultivate resilience. During forced migration, communities are often destroyed. In Umm al-Jimal, the community has been strengthened through the presence of cultural resources and a long-standing archaeological project. This, in turn, makes it an attractive locale for incoming refugees. The foundation of a strong community, bolstered by the long-standing presence of an archaeological project, and the development of the HCHP, set the stage for imbuing a sense of belonging among incoming refugees.

For many Syrian CYP, Umm al-Jimal is home. Most Syrian CYP in Umm al-Jimal expressed a sense of belonging and thought that the people of Umm al-Jimal were like them and welcoming. While some CYP observed a distance between Syrian and Jordanian CYP, others interacted with both groups fluidly (Figure 25). This usually correlated to which school they attended, if they attended school at all. For Syrian youth who left school early, making friends is more difficult; these CYP wanted to return to Syria more than CYP enrolled in-school. Due to the majority of participants being enrolled in-school, the outcome of this study shows that Syrian CYP generally considered Umm al-Jimal their home with only a few wishing to return to Syria. This also correlated with whether they had memories of Syria or not. Syrian parents admitted they chose Umm al-Jimal because of the shared heritage, safety, and strong Bedouin community. Overall, despite some youth not retaining friendships from the course, Syrians do not feel ‘othered’ and the barriers to friendship are largely due to proximity and convenience rather than a dislike of each other. Most importantly, Syrian CYP have friends and family in Umm al-Jimal, both of which provide the support that is necessary for building strong communities.

The high participation rates within the HCHP classroom indicate a strong sense of belonging, comfort, and safety among students. Participating in the HCHP classroom means sharing and validating personal experiences about heritage as well as building identity through engagement. Furthermore, CYP testimonies about the course showed a continued interest in their past, pride in what they know, and a warm endearment toward their instructors. High participation within the classroom is a testament to the comfort and familiarity generated by the classroom environment and unique teaching methodology created by the instructors. The

promotion of sharing experiences and creating unique narratives between students generates collective memory, which supports community-building and strengthens identity. The memories created in the classroom and on the field trips were warmly remembered by the CYP two years after the course ended which suggests those memories are stored in long-term memory and will be remembered into their adulthood as positive experiences with their heritage, an outcome Ahmed Bayer had hoped for (Bayer, 2007: 4).

Although the HCHP course did encourage Syrian and Jordanian CYP within Umm al-Jimal to interact with each other and share their experiences, resulting in some friendships, there are still many barriers between Jordanian and Syrian CYP. Proximity has proved to be a key factor in uniting Syrians and Jordanians. As shown in Figure 25, CYP who go to school with both Syrians and Jordanians have both as friends; however, CYP who are in Jordanian or Syrian only schools are less likely to have the other demographic as friends. These trends show a need to integrate more Jordanians and Syrians in formal school or enlist combined activities such as the HCHP in order to promote relationships and social cohesion between Jordanian and Syrian CYP. Finally, CYP who left school are even less likely to have friends outside their home life, suggesting a need for other integrated community activities for youth in Umm al-Jimal. Since the HCHP course ended many CYP lost touch with one another unless they attended the same school. These results show a need for the HCHP course to continue in the town of Umm al-Jimal and for the establishment of other programmes that will revisit past students in order to further engage them in heritage work and community activities.

The strong sense of Bedouin heritage at Umm al-Jimal was another reason Syrian families moved to the town. Umm al-Jimal was perceived as having stronger Bedouin traditions and customs than surrounding towns in the area. It is also the only town with a community archaeology project, archaeological ruins, and strong community engagement through heritage work.

Although the HCHP was an important step in bridging the cultural and social divide between Jordanians and Syrians, and has been shown to have a positive influence on community, gaps remain between the two groups, in large part because they do not mingle with one another. The class provided a space and an environment for exchange and dialogue, but since it was discontinued there have been no other efforts to bring these two groups together (aside from schools that teach both). Finally, the lack of heritage activities and support over the past two years has left CYP without a valuable community resource. There needs to be continued engagement with the CYP through heritage and other activities in order to support social cohesion, community-building, and identity-building.

Finally, CYP shared their concerns about disappearing traditions, citing a dwindling of hospitality and generosity toward community and family members as well as toward visitors, guests, and strangers. These fears were echoed by their parents. Parents told us that they were so happy that their children participated in this project because of these concerns and expressed an desire for the HCHP course to restart in Umm al-Jimal in the future.

### 7.4.2 Zaatari

There are many differences between the communities in Zaatari refugee camp and the Umm al-Jimal host community. Umm al-Jimal has a long-standing community that has been strengthened by the community archaeology project and respective initiatives therein. CYP have more perceived freedom in the host community than in Zaatari. While there are barriers to building friendships between Syrians and Jordanians in Umm al-Jimal, the HCHP functioned as a social cohesion tool. In Zaatari, the communities are creating relationships and building community from the ground up. Although the HCHP strives to assist in community-building, it is a small project that can only reach 240 CYP in a year. That is a small number compared to the population of CYP in Zaatari, approximately 42,400 CYP (UNHCR, 2020: 1). In contrast, people in Umm al-Jimal have more activities and cultural resources along with the freedom to visit other places.

### 7.5 Conclusion

Overall, the data show that the UJAP created interest in addressing the need for heritage education for youth through community engagement. This interest in heritage, over time, strengthened resident relationships and facilitated the building of collective memory between community members resulting in a strengthening of trust and support systems within the town. As a result, the HCHP was created as a structural entity to promote the continuation of heritage appreciation in youth. It provided a space for the growth of friendships, trust, and heritage pride. It also gave Syrian students access to their heritage and a platform to engage with others about their heritage when familial resources were lost or unavailable. Finally, the project strengthened a connection to a shared heritage between the Jordanian residents and the migrating Syrian residents, supporting social cohesion, trust, and respect in an otherwise tense and traumatizing context.

In the next chapter I will show how community archaeology supports heritage preservation and interest through community engagement and demonstrate how community and heritage support one another.



## Chapter 8: Building Heritage

*“[Heritage] brings me back to my origin as a Bedouin...and I feel proud” (09-19-M-08)*

### 8.1 Introduction

The longevity of tangible and intangible heritage depends on the interests and needs of communities as well as the political and cultural environment in which they are located. During forced migration, survival becomes forefront to all other concerns. However, once settled, refugees seek out commonalities within their community to reassemble their lives as best they can. Commonalities in heritage ease the transition of migration into a new community and support community-building and identity which are key sources of resilience.

The value for heritage at a community level is generated when there is collaboration and cooperation between archaeologists and community residents, facilitating personal agency over heritage context and narrative by local stakeholders (Beel et al., 2015: 461). When local residents have authority to decide what parts of their heritage are valuable, the value for heritage will unsurprisingly increase. In this chapter I will demonstrate how community archaeology has contributed to building the value community members have for heritage in the town of Umm al-Jimal and the Zaatari refugee camp; I will discuss how value for heritage inspired the creation of the HCHP which imbued value for heritage and supported identity in youth, thereby strengthening sources of resilience.

### 8.2 Growing Up with Archaeology: Muaffaq’s Story

Heritage exists with or without the support of heritage projects. Archaeology and heritage projects draw attention to heritage, resulting in a heightened awareness of heritage and identity. Before addressing the data collected, it is important to share the story of an Umm al-Jimal resident, archaeologist, and HCHP instructor Muaffaq Hazza, whose life has revolved around the UJAP since childhood.

Muaffaq Hazza Almasa’eid is a leading archaeologist with the UJAP and is from a Masa’eid Bedouin family. His parents lived in the ruins of Umm al-Jimal before they were forced to move into homes in 1972. The story of how Muaffaq became involved with the UJAP is well known to residents in Umm al-Jimal. Although no longer a youth, Muaffaq shared with me a story about his youth and the impact archaeology had on him throughout his life.

“I was a young boy, maybe ten years old? We’re talking about thirty-three years ago. And Bert<sup>23</sup> brought his students to Umm al-Jimal... I mean...I didn’t know who they are. I thought ‘what are those...people doing digging digging digging in the dust?’. And I saw all the old people; Bert always had old people around like my grandfather. All the people in the village, they loved Bert. And I thought ‘I could work with him.’ Everyone waits from year to year to year for them to come. And I was wondering ‘what are those people doing?’ and ‘what are they looking for? For gold?’ This is the story I heard all the time, people looking for gold and I thought every year he would take the gold and go. I needed to know. And this is what made me very curious about this.

“So every year I was waiting... Sometimes they wouldn’t come for two years. But when they came I became so happy. Then I stuck to Sally de Vries.<sup>24</sup> She was a field director with Bert and I started to help her...she liked me and they knew my father and my family so we started a friendship. I became her assistant, bringing tea [to the field team]. And then I started to work on the excavation year after year with Bert like a gopher-boy. But I learned a lot. I started to speak English...I was very curious to know this culture. I wanted to know ‘why do you study archaeology?’ I told Bert I wanted to be an archaeologist. And year after year I started to know people. Some scholars came to Umm al-Jimal and Bert told them to go to Muaffaq and Muaffaq will give you a tour. Then I worked as a local guide in the site and it was a lot. It was a very nice job. Everybody was jealous of me in the village. They thought ‘Muaffaq speaks English and he goes with tourists and he gets money!’ And something made them also love the site. They saw that [I] was benefiting from the site. They wanted to do the same. And some young people from Umm al-Jimal tried to do this but they didn’t have the chance because [I] was there. And this is what made me.

“And, you know, believe me, Umm al-Jimal is equal to my family. I have five daughters and one boy and my wife. The site is equal to them. I cannot leave the site and I cannot leave my family...I know every stone” (Hazza, 2019).

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<sup>23</sup> Bert de Vries, the late director of the UJAP who has worked in Umm al-Jimal since 1972.

<sup>24</sup> Sally de Vries is a specialist in Bedouin embroidery and traditional Bedouin dresses and wife to the late Bert de Vries.

Muaffaq's story is an excellent example of how the presence of archaeological projects indirectly and directly impacts the lives of local community members, especially CYP. UJAP was not a community project when Muaffaq first began participating; however, its presence and the inclusion of local community members increased the value of heritage and the past. Since the UJAP became a community archaeology project in 2009, even more residents have had the opportunity to participate and interact with the project and their heritage.

Muaffaq's curiosity is not unique. The site attracts the attention of all community members. Local CYP walk through the site to get to school. They may see the names of their grandparents and ancestors written on the stones. They are familiar with the stories their grandparents have told them about Bedouin life in and around the ruins. There is a culture of heritage appreciation in Umm al-Jimal that is abundant because of the physical reminders present in and around the archaeological site. The proximity of a physical site and the landscape surrounding acts as a reminder to the community of who they are and where they came from. In this way, the cultural resources of Umm al-Jimal are indisputable sources of heritage-building. Furthermore, the community archaeology project acts as a facilitator between that heritage and the residents of Umm al-Jimal.

### 8.3 Building Heritage in Umm al-Jimal

The HCHP was created out of an expressed need for local heritage education for CYP in the community. As discussed in earlier chapters, the UJAP, and then later the HCHP, addressed the concerns of many residents about the disappearance of their traditions and the diminished understanding of heritage by the CYP in the community. Muaffaq admitted that "we decided to start with young kids to raise their awareness [about how] this...could benefit [them] in the future" (Hazza, 2019). Aspects of the HCHP are specifically aimed at creating memorable moments with heritage for CYP to look back on and regard warmly later in life.

"It's practical training. To tell them Nabataean, Byzantine, Roman, Muslim, all these civilizations, they don't care. But when you take them and tell them 'this is a Roman city', 'this is Umm al-Jimal', and then you have lunch with them and they start talking. 'What did you see?' 'We see columns, we see theatres, the Romans they are famous for theatres.' They love these and they will remember it forever" (Hazza, 2019).

Furthermore, the community interest in and push for a heritage programme further supports the assertion that community and heritage are co-dependent. Through the HCHP, heritage is



named, defined, and identified for youth who previously had no frame of reference for the heritage they experienced every day.

### 8.3.1 Measuring the Value for Heritage

Apart from two CYP whose family came from Sudan, the interviewed youth and their families descended from Bedouin tribes. Over half of the CYP interviewed, both Jordanian and Syrian, come from the same Bedouin tribe: the Masa'eid (Figure 27). Youth identified other Bedouin tribes and clans as having the same traditions regardless of their clan affiliation (09-19-F-09). Although they no longer live a nomadic life and are happy to have access to modern technology and innovations, they are proud of their heritage and identify strongly with being Bedouin.

CYP	Nationality	Bedouin Tribe
09-19-M-01	Syrian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-02	Syrian	From Sudan
09-19-M-03	Syrian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-04	Syrian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-05	Syrian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-06	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-07	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-08	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-09	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-10	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-M-11	Syrian	Al Jumlan
09-19-M-12	Syrian	Al Arwalla
09-19-F-01	Syrian	From Sudan
09-19-F-02	Syrian	Al Moalli
09-19-F-03	Syrian	Al Moalli
09-19-F-04	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-F-05	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid/ Alkhadeer
09-19-F-06	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid/ Alkhadeer
09-19-F-07	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-F-08	Jordanian	Al Masa'eid
09-19-F-09	Syrian	Al Jumlan

09-19-F-10	Syrian	Al Jumlan
09-19-F-11	Syrian	Al Jumlan
09-19-F-12	Syrian	Al Jumlan

Figure 27 CYP nationality and their Bedouin tribe affiliation.

HCHP students showed great pride in their Bedouin heritage (09-19-F-02, 09-19-F-05, 09-19-F-09, 09-19-M-06, 09-19-M-07, 09-19-M-08, 09-19-M-09, 09-19-M-11, 09-19-M-12). One youth said being Bedouin “enhances” her through traditions and habits (09-19-F-08). Bedouin hospitality was particularly identified as an important aspect of their heritage; multiple CYP said they were particularly proud of Bedouin hospitality with guests (09-19-F-11, 09-19-M-11, 09-19-M-12). This pride was reinforced through the HCHP, where Bedouin heritage was taught as an important aspect of shared community identity. One CYP admitted that they visited the archaeological site more after the course to talk about it with their friends and think about how they lived (09-19-F-03). By learning about their local heritage, they were able to engage in discussions about that heritage with other community members, further supporting identity and heritage pride. Therefore, heritage discourse facilitates community engagement, and furthermore identity, through heritage education. Where previously youth lacked the vocabulary to identify or discuss their heritage, new knowledge about the past gave shape and meaning to their experiences. In this way, the HCHP provided CYP with the tools to understand and identify their heritage in order to discuss and build upon it.

The course resulted in a perceived increase in CYP’s personal sense of value and responsibility for the site. Muaffaq asserted that “[a]fter all this, we see the kids sometimes...cleaning the signs!” (Hazza, 2019). Furthermore, some CYP expressed concern about other community members vandalizing or destroying the site: one CYP said “[w]e have to keep [our heritage] by not destroying it...we have to keep it” (09-19-F-02); another asserted that it was important to “tell the people that this is our heritage and [that] we have to preserve it. Keep the ancient things and tell our next generation about these things and what they are used for” in order to keep them from being destroyed or disappearing (09-19-F-03); and a third said “[s]ome people try to develop [in the community] and a group of guys try to destroy what they developed. When the municipality put lights up, some guys come at night and break them” (09-19-F-05), adding that it was the same for the site. In fact, the UJAP has installed two sets of signs due to this type of vandalism. The HCHP presented the community with hope that the newly-found interest in and concern for heritage would lessen instances of vandalism in the future.

The concerns of the CYP show that they value the site and their material heritage as well as their intangible heritage. It is also clear to youth that one of the only ways to preserve some

parts of their heritage is to share it and talk about it so that the memories of their grandparents and the stories they share remain a part of their lives. These testimonies paired with their concerns about fading traditions show that the HCHP course successfully imparted responsibility for heritage to the next generation.

### 8.3.2 Measuring Memory and Retention

Memory tied to a particular landscape is fortified through continued interaction with said landscape, a process which supports identity. Forced migration can have a negative impact on identity by limiting access to memories triggered by the presence of particular objects, people, or places. Furthermore, collective memory that was developed between community members in a particular place dissipates when that community is forced to flee separately. Displaced youth in particular, who have been taken out of a familiar landscape, are at higher risk of identity loss due to a lack of a stable heritage landscape and access to memory (Eisenbruch, 1988: 284). Thus, memory is important to the discussion of identity and building community and heritage. One of the central themes of the HCHP is how its engagement with CYP builds memories and supports memory retention over time. Their method of teaching is more a method of sharing: “I don’t want to tell [them] things. I want to examine if they ever think that these things used to exist, if they have another version of what I’m talking about. Did you ever hear anything connected to this from your families? And that is the interaction between me and the kids” (Bayer, 2019). The dynamic in the classroom between teacher and student was remembered and valued by CYP, as demonstrated in Chapter 7. Muaffaq’s and Ahmed’s relationship with the students was mutually familial and focused on engagement.

Two years after CYP finished their time with the HCHP, memory about the HCHP course was an important consideration. As stated in the previous chapter, many of the Syrian CYP interviewed remember very little about their lives before migrating to Jordan. Therefore, the HCHP instructors made sure to target Syrian CYP who remembered little about their homeland and who did not have access to their grandparents’ knowledge of heritage.

“We targeted the kids who came at like five years or four years and they know nothing. Now they are twelve years, thirteen years. They know nothing about the history of the area of the South Hauran, South of Syria and Hauran region. They know nothing. These rich archaeological sites. And now what’s happened with the war, the [result] of the war on the site, it is destroying the archaeological sites. We need these kids, when they go back, to carry our message to other people and to tell them we have learned this and this and this to take care of our archaeological site and to protect our heritage. Yes, we speak about archaeology,

we speak about history, but we still have something called ‘traditions.’ Traditions, habits, are used in the communities. South Hauran and Northern Jordan are connected in all these [cultural heritage] things. We have a lot of intangible heritage like the habits of weddings, family, how we are married, invitations, food for example, dresses and how people dress, it is intangible. Stories and songs that already disappeared now” (Hazza, 2019).

The HCHP, in this way, aimed to promote the preservation of heritage through the education of CYP. The course supported and supplemented content that is sometimes provided within the homes of CYP, further fortifying the process of creating memories.

Memory is also tied to education. Syrian CYP enrolled in school remembered more about their heritage and about the course than CYP who have been out-of-school for an extended period of time. Although most of the CYP I interviewed were enrolled in school, two boys who were out-of-school and working stood out as having a difficult time remembering the content of the HCHP course (09-19-M-01, 09-19-M-12). These boys were also older and remembered Syria, and had possibly experienced trauma. The lack of enrollment in-school, access to grandparents or extended family, and trauma are all factors in memory retention and therefore Syrian CYP are at a higher risk of losing or having difficulty accessing memory, knowledge about heritage, and ultimately personal identity.

Some of the elder residents of Umm al-Jimal live in a similar way to when they lived in the ruins: some still make their own bread, milk, and cheese in the traditional way, and they dress in many of the same styles they did seventy years ago (Figure 28). You may even see an elderly woman with facial tattoos.<sup>25</sup> The elderly residents have experienced many changes to their way of life, but fortunately, their children and grandchildren have benefited from their knowledge about the past. Many Jordanian CYP in Umm al-Jimal have the ongoing experience of interacting with their grandparents and learning about traditions directly from them, while this experience is limited for Syrian CYP because many elder family members either remained in Syria or were lost in the conflict. One Syrian boy, when asked about heritage, said “I don’t remember anything [about heritage] because I don’t know my grandparents” (09-19-M-02). Therefore, it is unsurprising that Jordanian CYP identified more heritage-focused images than Syrian CYP during photo elicitations.

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<sup>25</sup> Facial tattoos were popular among Bedouin women and girls before it became well known that it was forbidden by their religion, causing it to become a lost tradition.



*Figure 28 Me (left) and Humaidah (right), a local Bedouin woman who had facial tattoos and wore traditional Bedouin clothing.*

#### *8.3.2.1 Understanding memory through photo elicitations*

Photo elicitations included images from fifteen categories: archaeology, field trips, Umm al-Jimal, archaeological objects or artifacts, traditional food, instruments, water wells, traditional dress, herding, weaving, weddings or occasions, coffee/tea and hospitality, tattoos, Bedouin houses, camels/transport, and a miscellaneous section that included falconry and games. When CYP were presented with these mixed images they identified images that were familiar and told us where they remembered learning about it. I then made note which images were identified by each student and if they learned it at home or during the HCHP course. Images were not specific to Jordan, aside from the images for field trips and Umm al-Jimal, and included images of Syrian and Jordanian tangible and intangible heritage.<sup>26</sup>

CYP were asked to choose familiar images from a pile of images of tangible and intangible heritage. The results of the photo elicitations (Figures 29, 30, and 31) show that Jordanian CYP have memories of learning about their local heritage at home and with their families at a higher rate than Syrians.

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<sup>26</sup> For the full set of images see Appendix 3.

The majority of images chosen were about heritage. Figure 30 shows what percentage of student answers were about archaeological and heritage categories. Overall, Syrians recognized more images than Jordanians. Figure 31 shows the percentages of images and subject matter CYP learned about from the HCHP or from home. Jordanians learned the majority of their knowledge about heritage from home (66.7%), whereas they learned more about archaeology in the HCHP classroom (78.6%). In contrast, Syrians learned 94.74% of their archaeology knowledge and 54.6% of their heritage knowledge from the HCHP classroom. Syrians still learned 45.5% of their heritage knowledge from home, still significantly less than Jordanians. This data correlates with the observation that local Jordanian children have had more exposure to cultural resources through the presence of an archaeological site and a community archaeology project that encourages cultural value and heritage appreciation.

Archaeology	Image Category	Jordanian		Syrian		Totals
		Learned at home	Learned at HCHP	Learned at home	Learned at HCHP	
	Archaeological sites	0	5	1	3	9
	Field Trips	0	3	0	13	16
	Umm al-Jimal	3	6	1	3	13
	Objects or Artifacts	3	8		17	28
<b>Totals</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>36</b>	
<b>Local Heritage</b>	Food	16	6	11	16	49
	Instruments	1	1	0	0	2
	Wells	3	2	2	2	9
	Dress	3	6	2	5	16
	Herding	4	3	3	1	11
	Weaving	3	3	0	2	8
	Weddings	1	0	5	4	10
	Hospitality	4	0	7	6	17
	Tattoos	2	0	5	1	8
	Bedouin Tents	3	0	0	1	4
	Transport	2	0	0	4	6
<b>Totals</b>		<b>42</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>42</b>	

Figure 29 Results from photo elicitation.

% Jordanian Archaeological Answers	% Syrian Archeological Answers	% Jordanian Heritage Answers	% Syrian Heritage Answers	% Total Archaeology Answers	% total Heritage Answers
13.6%	18.5%	30.6%	37.4%	32.0%	67.9%

*Figure 30 Percentages of answers by students based on topic (N=23).*

<b>% Jordanian Archaeological knowledge from home</b>	<b>% Jordanian Archaeological knowledge from HCHP</b>	<b>% Syrian Archaeological knowledge from home</b>	<b>% Syrian Archaeological knowledge from HCHP</b>
21.4%	78.6%	5.3%	94.7%
<b>% Jordanian Heritage knowledge from home</b>	<b>% Jordanian Heritage knowledge from HCHP</b>	<b>% Syrian Heritage knowledge from home</b>	<b>% Syrian Heritage knowledge from HCHP</b>
66.7%	33.3%	45.5%	54.6%

*Figure 31 Percentages of answers based on topic, nationality, and source of knowledge (N=23).*

Syrian youth were more likely to learn about their heritage from the HCHP course. They had a higher recall of archaeological sites and artifacts, especially those visited on the field trips. Food was a particularly well-known topic and led to conversations about the differences between Jordanian and Syrian Mensaf (Abdul Razzaq, Pers. Comm).<sup>27</sup> In contrast, both Jordanian and Syrian CYP learned more about archaeological sites from the HCHP course. Finally, the low percentage of Syrian youth who learned about heritage from home demonstrates that refugees suffer from limited capacity for family to focus on identity and heritage when they are struggling to survive. The community of Umm al-Jimal supports refugees by providing a safe place to re-build their lives and re-build their identities.

CYP without access to grandparents have lower rates of learning about heritage from home. Because of this, the HCHP is a fundamental resource for heritage education. When elder family members are unavailable for storytelling, the HCHP steps in:

“[w]e make the class and the lesson as a story that could attract the kids to listen. You know they are young kids. They want to play. And what they think is to come to play only. And to attract them to the subject to make it like a story, they could understand it very well. Once you give the story, they will never forget it. As you know we have when we were kids we heard ‘Laila and the Wolf’<sup>28</sup> and we still remember ‘Laila and the wolf.’ Why? Because really, we didn’t read it in books in the beginning. Somebody read it to you in a way it’s like in a joke. A funny thing.

<sup>27</sup> Jordanian Mensaf uses rice whereas Syrian Mensaf uses grains.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Laila and the Wolf’ is a rendition of ‘Red Riding Hood’.

You know, like a mystery thing. You know, it makes you enjoy it. And then you have to tell it to your friends. And this will stay with you forever. This is how we teach” (Hazza, 2019).

For Syrian youth, grandparents and extended family rarely accompanied them to Jordan. This is a key reason why the HCHP was developed: to supplement the loss of Syrian heritage resources due to conflict and forced migration. In this way, the HCHP is a valuable resource for Syrian youth, both inside refugee camps and in host communities.

The method of teaching used by the HCHP is a fundamental support for memory retention, as stated above. Because the class is only twice a week, students rarely miss lessons:

“[o]ne of the main things with this project is we don’t want to make it like school. If we ask the kids to do it regularly on a daily basis, I believe this will make it a bigger burden...and it will lose some of the benefits and joy...which the kids have when they are here twice a week. If it is just twice, I believe during the week there is something in their mind that they are waiting for. If it is just twice a week they will find that it will be difficult to miss [a class]” (Bayer, 2019).

Furthermore, because students are encouraged to participate in the ‘teaching’ of heritage, through sharing their experiences and adding their understanding of heritage to the ‘fabric’ of the narrative being built there, they are more likely to remember what they learned. Students who were asked what they remember learning two years ago in formal school recalled only broad topics. In contrast, they were able to remember what they learned in the HCHP class because it was limited, focused, and, above all, it involved them, their thoughts, insights, experiences, and voices. It made them important contributors to the lessons and valued their input. It also validated their experiences with heritage by encouraging students to share similar experiences

### 8.4 Building Heritage in Zaatari

The youth in Zaatari were at a disadvantage compared to those in Umm al-Jimal: they could not leave the camp easily; they did not have access to the cultural resources available to Jordanians; they did not benefit from an already established community with strong relationships. CYP in Zaatari, like other refugees, were traumatized and trying to make sense of what had happened to them. One twelve-year-old boy wrote: “I have suffered so much in my life. My mother and my older brother have gone away” (03-19-M-10). Because of the conflict and being forced to relocate he missed so much school that he was in the fourth grade when he should have been in seventh. He felt that he was ignorant of a lot of information before taking the HCHP



course but now, his newfound knowledge about his heritage fills him with “a beautiful and wonderful feeling” (Ibid). The losses he experienced contributed to his cultural bereavement. The HCHP class was able to supplement his lack of cultural resources (i.e. family members and homeland) and provide access to identity-building heritage. Indeed, cultural bereavement in refugee camps compared to towns is exacerbated by less access to cultural resources and less community engagement. One of the main reasons the HCHP moved from the town of Umm al-Jimal to the Zaatari refugee camp was to address these concerns.

### 8.4.1 Lack of Cultural Resources

Many of the surveyed youth lost family in the conflict. While I did not ask for information about their losses, they offered them in the ‘Story’ section of the journals. As explored previously, family was a powerful resource for identity through the commutation of knowledge, traditions, and heritage. Thus, the separation or loss of family members due to conflict contributed to a loss of heritage and therefore, identity.

There are no archaeological artifacts or ruins inside Zaatari. Therefore, the field trips were valuable to students because it was likely the only time they were able to leave the camp and interact with cultural sites since arriving. Many of the CYP listed the field trips as one of their favorite things. CYP in Zaatari have no access to Jordanians and no other opportunities to explore or experience historical and cultural sites, or engage with other communities. These limits makes it impossible to connect with the host population.

A lack of freedom of movement and an overabundance of security in Zaatari stifles autonomy, safety, a sense of self, and identity. While these elements are being fostered and encouraged by the HCHP course, it alone cannot fully supplement the need for strong community, cultural resources, and freedom. Furthermore, it is unclear how these CYP will remember the course years from now: further research is undeniably required.

### 8.4.2 Measuring Memory Retention at Home and in Class

Youth in Zaatari listed learning courtesy, respect, cleanliness, helping parents with tasks, and taking care of younger siblings in the home. Although youth learned aspects of their heritage from remaining family members, because of forced migration and refugee status, family members who are working to secure basic resources for their families may understandably lack time to focus on passing traditions and heritage to their children. Some traditions are inherently passed on, such as etiquette for receiving visitors, respect for elders, taking care of younger siblings, how to prepare tea and coffee, and religious traditions. Girls in particular indicated that they were taught how to cook Bedouin dishes and help their mothers around the house. In the heritage class they were able to learn where their traditions came from and put their knowledge into context which, indirectly, enhanced that knowledge. “Something valuable has been added to my

life”, one CYP declared (09-19-M-08). Figures 32, 33, and 34 demonstrate that heritage education is essential in order to provide students with knowledge about themselves and their ancestors.

In the class in Zaatari students said they learned how their ancestors lived and were able to compare this to how they live today. “I learned how the inhabitants of the Hauran area lived and how they used water and fed cattle” (03-19-F-03) or how “[i]n ancient times they used clay as an alternative to [dishwashing liquid] and...they did not have a TV or a fan” (09-18-F-12). The students learned about agriculture, the tools that were used, pottery, cooking, folklore, and hospitality as well as everyday life, customs, and ancient civilizations.

The results show that students identified knowledge about heritage at a higher rate (68.7%) than knowledge about archaeology (31.3%). Furthermore, only 10.88% of what students learned at home was heritage related.<sup>29</sup> Figure 32 shows what CYP from the September group learned at home and in the HCHP classroom; it shows that while some heritage is taught at home (10.9%), the majority of information taught at home (89.1%) is focused on home and social values or responsibilities, whereas in the HCHP classroom, students learn about heritage and archaeology. In contrast, Figure 33 shows that 12.5% of all of the heritage information students receive comes from home, whereas the majority (87.5%) is learned from the HCHP course. In contrast, students from the March 2019 course reported no specific heritage education from home (Figure 34). This sharply differs from the results in Umm al-Jimal where 45.5% of CYP heritage knowledge came from home (Figure 30). While the methods to obtain this information were different and there is room for more interpretation and knowledge to be gained on this topic, the data suggest that CYP in host communities receive more access to heritage at home than CYP living in refugee camps.

Comparing what CYP learn in the HCHP class and at Home			
Learned in HCHP		Learned at Home	
Archaeology	31.3%	Home and social values/responsibilities	89.1%
Heritage	68.7%	Heritage	10.9%

Figure 32 Topics students living in Zaatari identified they learned in HCHP and at home (shows percentages within the HCHP classroom separate from percentages at home) from September 2018 (N=42).

% of Heritage Learned in HCHP	% of Heritage Learned at Home
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<sup>29</sup> For a more detailed list of topics students learned from the HCHP course and from home see Figures 16 and 17 in Appendix 5.

Course by CYP	Home by CYP
87.5%	12.5%

Figure 33 Percentage of heritage knowledge learned by CYP from September 2018 student answers (N=42).

Comparing what CYP learn in the HCHP class and at Home			
Learned in HCHP		Learned at Home	
Archaeology	36.4%	Home and social values/responsibilities	100.0%
Heritage	63.6%	Heritage	0.0%

Figure 34 Topics students living in Zaatari identified they learned in HCHP and at home from March 2019 (N=39).

Aside from heritage classes, students frequently mentioned the drawing and art activities as parts of the course they most enjoyed (Appendix 4). The kinesthetic act of pairing creation with learning fortifies memory and leaves individuals with a physical reminder of the activity and its purpose (Fernandes et al., 2018: 302). This is demonstrated in the photo elicitations where students remembered a specific Nabataean pot because they drew it in class. Fernandes et al. suggest that using multiple senses during learning, such as the visual act of looking at an image and the kinesthetic act of drawing it, enhances the chances of retaining that memory (2018: 303). One CYP said “[w]e learned how to draw, step by step, this” when referring to the Nabataean pot (9-19-F-10). Another recalled that the image was similar to what they drew, but the one they drew in the course had handles (09-19-F-12). Twelve out of twenty-four CYP picked the image (2D in Appendix 3) as one they remembered. In fact, the image was remembered by more students than any other image in the photo elicitation, further demonstrating how drawing supports memory.

In conclusion, the HCHP course helped to impart new heritage knowledge and define and identify heritage knowledge CYP already had as important to their identity. CYP in Zaatari were able to identify their heritage despite being dislocated and detached from their homeland, giving them a chance to rebuild their sense-of-self.

#### 8.4.3 Measuring Value for Heritage

Many CYP claimed they knew nothing about heritage before the HCHP course. In actuality they did not know that the knowledge they possessed about themselves and their family’s past was heritage. An eleven-year-old girl wrote in her journal that “[before the project] I was bored. I felt something I lacked, and I did not know much about heritage. I didn’t know I’d have these friendships.” After participating in the project, she wrote “I felt active and that I found what I lack

which is heritage. I felt joy and pleasure” (03-19-F-12). ‘Joy’ is a common theme expressed in the journals and interviews about the HCHP course. Another girl wrote that she was “bored” and “lonely” before participating in the HCHP course (03-19-F-15) and another that “I was not happy” (03-19-F-16). After learning about their heritage, students left with “a beautiful feeling to know [their] heritage” (Ibid).

One student living in Zaatari said that before the course, heritage had no value to them. After the course, however, they counted their heritage as a very important part of their lives (03-19-M-12). Similar to youth in Umm al-Jimal, CYP in Zaatari learned the vocabulary for discussing heritage, thereby gaining a fuller understanding of their experiences and themselves. One thirteen-year-old boy said he became proud of his Bedouin and Arab heritage after learning about it (03-19-M-16). He came to Jordan six years ago after moving from town to town in Syria after their home was bombed (Ibid):

“[w]hen we lived in the city of Homs in Syria. We had olive vineyards. During the events in Syria we moved to live in the village Al-Qarnain. One day, when we had my father’s uncle [over], a mortar hit the house in the basement and our neighbour [...] was injured. [W]e fled to our neighbours [and] then we came to Jordan” (Ibid).

Now, living in Zaatari, he is rebuilding his identity and his life. Luckily for him, he was one of the few children chosen to participate in the HCHP course in 2019.

The field trips garnered the most enthusiasm from students. One boy from Zaatari said “[w]hen I visited heritage sites, the teacher taught me about the heritage and its meanings and explained many things about it. I loved going to the heritage sites to take advantage of some things that were absent from my thinking” (03-19-M-04). Ignorance is mentioned by youth as a negative aspect of their lives before learning about their heritage. It is also identified as something they do not like about their culture. Through the project, youth became aware of the loss of heritage because of modernity, conflict, ignorance, and the passage of time. Similar to CYP in Umm al-Jimal, the HCHP imbued youth in Zaatari with value for their heritage.

### 8.5 Summary of Findings

Jordanian students who grew up in Umm al-Jimal had a higher retention of their intangible heritage because they had the benefit of a stable living environment within an ancestral landscape with their extended families. In contrast, Syrian youth, both in Umm al-Jimal and in Zaatari refugee camp were uprooted from their homes at a young age, dislodged from their family’s cultural context and collective memory, and often separated from community and family members. Removal from a cultural landscape has been shown to have a negative impact on memory and identity, which is why cultural and heritage interventions like the HCHP are so

important. Host communities with cultural resources are better equipped to offer alternative cultural landscapes that support identity and collective memory, whereas refugee camps lack long-standing community support and cultural resources. In Zaatari refugee camp, for example, students lacked the stable structure of a community with long-standing relationships and roots to a place, as well as the presence of an ancient site. Umm al-Jimal residents benefited from a well-established archaeology project that has developed relationships with the local community and instilled a lasting value for heritage among community members. The differences were evident in the memory retention results, where Jordanian youth learned more intangible heritage from their families whereas Syrian youth in both Umm al-Jimal and Zaatari learned most if not all of their knowledge about intangible heritage from the HCHP. The HCHP course is therefore integral to promoting knowledge of heritage and identity support in refugee CYP.

Living in Umm al-Jimal provided support for both Jordanian and Syrian youth. The CYP living there did not feel different from each other. Syrian youth who have spent most of their cognizant lives in Umm al-Jimal considered it home. Some of the Syrian CYP had local family members in town and shared a common history, reinforcing bonds. Although not all Jordanians and Syrians interacted, they did not feel othered. Syrian youth felt comfortable in Umm al-Jimal because of their shared heritage and the development of collective memory; the town fostered comfort and belonging.

Before taking the HCHP course, youth were unfamiliar with the vocabulary to explain their origins and their past. While students had knowledge about their heritage, they were unaware of its value or relevance to them. They did not know what 'heritage' meant or that the things they knew about themselves were a part of heritage. By youth's own admission, the HCHP enhanced their pride about their heritage, families, and past while revealing parts of their identity that they were unaware of. The HCHP helped CYP develop the context behind the knowledge they already possessed and further enriched that knowledge through interactive experiences with heritage and the past. Growing pride and value for heritage shows ownership of that heritage. The process of identifying heritage provided a base where youth could better develop identity. For Syrians, especially those living in Zaatari, knowledge of heritage and of their origins shifted from CYP away from feeling lost, bored, and empty, and toward feeling empowered and joyful. This change supports the notion that although heritage exists despite the presence of a heritage course, heritage education is essential for organizing and identifying heritage, and ultimately identity, within the minds of young people, especially those displaced by conflict.

The HCHP teaching methodology promoted memory retention through engagement and respect. The instructors encouraged personal agency and respect to their students, reinforcing

value for their experiences. Students were encouraged to contribute their experiences to the class content and discourse, further supporting value for heritage and strengthening agency and identity. Students reported a sense of pride and joy from the knowledge they gained through the HCHP course.

Syrian CYP in the host community of Umm al-Jimal learned about heritage at home at a much higher percentage than CYP living in Zaatari refugee camp, suggesting that refugees in host communities have more cultural resources, physically and emotionally, to impart heritage knowledge to their children inside the home. While it is difficult to know the exact reason for this outcome, it is likely that the lack of a strong community presence and personal autonomy inside a refugee camp stifles expressions of culture and heritage within the home. Survival and safety are of greater concern within a refugee camp, especially when compared to a host community like Umm al-Jimal with a strong pre-existing community and built-in heritage resources.

Although the HCHP course undeniably benefits the CYP in Zaatari as source of heritage, it cannot replace sources of heritage outside of the classroom such as extended family, community, and material cultural heritage that is found in places like Umm al-Jimal. Youth in Zaatari require access to cultural resources and community. While heritage education acts as a guide for understanding the heritage youth experience every day, if youth are not experiencing heritage at home, their experiences become limited. Through the identification process of heritage, youth are empowered and can use heritage to build their identity and develop the person they want to be in the future. This is particularly important for CYP living in Zaatari refugee camp because of their loss of family and homeland as well as the restrictions of movement that prevent youth and their families from visiting other heritage sites in Jordan or elsewhere.

Finally, the HCHP is a resource youth in Umm al-Jimal require in order to continue the important preservation work undertaken there. Without the HCHP, the value for heritage that has been reinforced through the course will lose momentum and jeopardize both physical and intangible heritage. In the next chapter I will show how the community, heritage, identity, and personal agency encouraged by the HCHP are vital sources of resilience for youth.

## Chapter 9: Building Resilience

*"[When I am sad] I remember my goals in life and so I have to go on. Nothing will stop me" (09-19-F-08)*

### 9.1 Introduction

Resilience is "the human capacity to face, overcome, and be strengthened by or even transformed by the adversities of life" (Grotberg, 1995, 5). As discussed in Chapter 5, Grotberg's and Gatrell's sources of resilience can be embodied within the rights, safety, and identity (RSI) of a person or persons. These factors are essential in order to empower youth, especially after experiencing trauma such as forced migration. In this chapter, I will discuss how community archaeology and heritage resources, specifically the HCHP, directly supported the identified sources of resilience in youth.

### 9.2 Resilience at Umm al-Jimal

#### 9.2.1 Safety

Safety is a source of resilience that is built through trust in an environment and trust between those living within it. As previously explored, Umm al-Jimal was perceived as safe by residents and, in fact, safer than surrounding towns in the Mafraq governate. Syrian families indicated that they chose Umm al-Jimal because it was locally known for being safe compared to other communities in the area (09-19-M-11). HCHP instructor Muaffaq Hazza, said that Umm al-Jimal is safer than other towns in the area but not "[a]s safe as before" because "[w]e are facing a [drug] problem in the community right now." He believes drugs started being imported after the Syrian crisis. In fact, Jordan's towns and refugee camps close to the Syrian border are more susceptible to smuggling and drug trafficking due to the proximity to the Syrian conflict (Idris, 2019: 3). This has been attributed to economic strain and not the influx of refugees (Ibid). Regardless of these issues, he believes Umm al-Jimal is safe and, in fact, safer than other towns. He attributes Umm al-Jimal's strong community and its perceived safety to the community archaeology project. Before the project he said "[i]t was just a place. Truthfully I tell you it was nothing" (Hazza, 2019). The long-standing archaeology project helped develop and strengthen the community through a fortification of heritage and traditions that has disappeared in other communities due to modernization and the lack of cultural resources. Furthermore, the archaeological site has, over time, facilitated community projects that brought community members together in ways that were not possible in other communities, demonstrating how material heritage and cultural resources strengthen community, thereby fostering trust and a sense of safety among residents. In this way, Umm al-Jimal offered a strong and safe community

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for Syrians to settle. In this section I will discuss safety as perceived by residents rather than assessed by official sources because safety is perceived differently by different people.

Furthermore, Syrians who have experienced forced migration will perceive safety differently to Jordanians who have not.

			Is Umm al-Jimal Safe?			Where is unsafe and why?	
Student ID	Gender	Nationality	Safe	Unsafe	Safest Place	Unsafe Places	Reason
09-19-M-05	M	Jordanian	X		Home	Ruins	Rocks and snakes
09-19-M-06	M	Jordanian	"A little bit unsafe"		Home	Camping in a tent	Ghosts and wolves
09-19-M-07	M	Jordanian	X		Home	None	
09-19-M-08	M	Jordanian	X		Umm al-Jimal	Ruins	Near the pool "the water is deep and not fenced"
09-19-M-09	M	Jordanian	X			None	
09-19-F-03	F	Jordanian	X		Home	None	
09-19-F-04	F	Jordanian	X		Home	None	
09-19-F-05	F	Jordanian	X		With Family		"Not nice guys"
09-19-F-06	F	Jordanian	X		Home with Family	None	
09-19-F-07	F	Jordanian	X		At home		
09-19-M-01	M	Syrian	No Response				
09-19-M-02	M	Syrian	X		Home	Northern Part	"A lot of problems there"
09-19-M-03	M	Syrian	X		Home	None	
09-19-M-04	M	Syrian	X		Home	None	
09-19-M-10	M	Syrian	X		"Every place in Jordan"		



<b>09-19-M-11</b>	M	Syrian	X		Home	None	
<b>09-19-M-12</b>	M	Syrian	X		Home	None	
<b>09-19-F-01</b>	F	Syrian	X		School and Home	None	
<b>09-19-F-02</b>	F	Syrian	X		School and Home	Ruins	Snakes
<b>09-19-F-08</b>	F	Syrian	X			None	
<b>09-19-F-09</b>	F	Syrian	X		School and Home	None	
<b>09-19-F-10</b>	F	Syrian	X		Home	None	
<b>09-19-F-11</b>	F	Syrian	X		Home with Family	None	
<b>09-19-F-12</b>	F	Syrian	X		All of Umm al-Jimal	None	

Figure 35 Perceived safety by CYP in Umm al-Jimal.

Understandably, students indicated that the safest places were “home” and “school”. This is likely due to the frequency with which they are in these places, the presence of family and trusted adults, and the familiarity they have with them. As young people, it is unlikely that they will have been to many places far from their homes in town or elsewhere without an adult. As shown in Figure 35, all interviewed youth perceive Umm al-Jimal as safe with the exception of a few places: students identified the ruins as potentially unsafe due to snakes and unguarded reservoirs, as well as some parts of town where “problems” are present.

One Jordanian girl told us she did not always feel safe in Umm al-Jimal because there are “[a] lot of not nice guys,” but she also told us that “[e]very place is safe” in Umm al-Jimal (09-19-F-05). She equates Umm al-Jimal with safety despite the presence of “[n]ot nice guys” which demonstrates that her belief in Umm al-Jimal being safe is stronger than her concern for potentially unsafe individuals living within the town. In contrast, a seventeen-year-old Syrian boy said life is better in Umm al-Jimal than in Syria because he can “[g]o anywhere without being afraid” (09-19-M-12). His perception of safety may differ from Jordanians because of his experiences in Syria. Similarly, Syrian CYP were the only ones to say that all of Jordan and all of Umm al-Jimal were safe. Jordanians were more likely to cite unsafe places in Umm al-Jimal than Syrians, with only two out of fourteen Syrian youth, compared to four out of ten Jordanian youth, citing places in town that seemed unsafe. That means that almost half of Jordanian youth

questioned found Umm al-Jimal unsafe in some way whereas only one in seven Syrian youth found anything about Umm al-Jimal unsafe. Girls and boys in Umm al-Jimal have differing perspectives on safety, due to the conservative nature of the community. Where boys and men can be seen walking alone in the ruins, down the streets, and in the desert, girls are always accompanied by family or other girls. This means that girls likely go less places and are exposed to fewer 'unsafe' areas in town. This practice can also build a subconscious belief in girls that being alone is dangerous and limits the range of places they may visit. While this is certainly true, Umm al-Jimal is a small town and most people within it are acquainted with one another in some way. There is a sense that people are looking out for each other and if something negative were to happen, it would quickly become public knowledge (Abdul Razzaq, Pers. Comm). This community dynamic lends itself to providing a sense of security and trust among residents.

The Umm al-Jimal archaeological site, or the "ruins", were cited multiple times by Jordanian youth as being perceived as unsafe. The reasons students gave for the site being unsafe were environment based and not community-member based; youth were concerned about snakes, rocks, ghosts, and reservoirs without guardrails.<sup>30</sup> One Jordanian girl said "I don't go alone, but if friends go and they want to see the ruins I will go with them" (09-19-F-08), demonstrating again that girls feel unsafe alone outside their homes. In fact, because the ruins are often scarcely populated, they become more dangerous if you are alone. In town there is always someone looking out for you; in the ruins, you have no such security. In this way, the presence of other community members provides security and their absence is perceived as dangerous. In other words, the tight-knit community of Umm al-Jimal provides a sense of security, further demonstrating its strength.

Edith Grotberg stated that adults can reinforce resilience by "encouraging children to become increasingly autonomous, independent, responsible, empathetic, and altruistic and approach people and situations with hope, faith, and trust" (Grotberg, 1995: 7). The HCHP provided such encouragement. In the HCHP classroom students felt safe. As outlined in previous chapters, participation rates show a high level of comfort and safety. One student said she felt safe in the classroom because of the freedom she was allowed by the instructors (09-19-F-05). Where at first, as observed by Ahmed Bayer, students were hesitant to participate, the freedom to interact and share with other students during class fostered a sense of security, personal autonomy, and self-value among CYP that inspired them to participate and share within the

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<sup>30</sup> Archaeological sites, ruins, and abandoned historical buildings are often the subject of myth and mystery for those who live among them. For example, the native Muvian people of the Americas believed ruins to be haunted and ran away at the sight of them (Card, 2018: 152).

classroom. In this way, the independence and autonomy fostered within the HCHP classroom also encouraged an environment of safety and trust. These qualities are even more vital in Zaatari. Gatrell found that it was difficult to obtain a sense of safety with an overabundance of security, like that found in refugee camps, because it stifled freedom and autonomy (Gatrell, 2013: 8). In the HCHP classroom however, the balance of a safe and secure environment and the encouragement of autonomy and independent sharing proved to be a unique and valuable method for participating youth.

The fact that the majority of youth see the community of Umm al-Jimal as safe can be linked to strong community relationships and family ties which were fortified by the fostering of heritage appreciation through the long-time presence of the UJAP. Youth perceptions of safety were further strengthened in the HCHP classroom where relationships were forged, and personal identity was reinforced. When safety is present, identity can build and, in the context of resilience, coping strategies can begin to manifest. I will now explore further how independence and personal autonomy were encouraged by HCHP instructors and the role they play in coping and resilience.

#### 9.2.2 Rights (Freedom, Autonomy, and Coping Strategies)

Rights are defined by Peter Gatrell as “human rights” which can include civil rights (personal autonomy protected by governing bodies), political rights, and social and economic rights (2013: 11). In the context of this research, ‘rights’ refers to CYPs’ perceived freedoms and abilities based on their current living situations, support systems, and resources. As previously described, the HCHP classroom employed a bottom-up methodology that engaged youth in narrative-building about heritage. This teaching strategy afforded youth more personal agency than they experienced in formal school, resulting in high participation levels and interest in the subject matter. In this way, the HCHP supported autonomy and personal agency which is linked to the development of coping and resilience.

Coping strategies, defined as the “interplay between structure, culture...and personal agency (Thomson and Crul, 2007: 1030), are fostered by sources of resilience (rights, safety, and Identity/I have, I am, I can) and are a measure of resilience itself. Coping strategies, which present themselves through RSI, are unique and personal. Nonetheless, Syrian and Jordanian youth identified similar strategies for coping. Five out of twenty-four students said they cheer themselves up in the company of others, such as friends or family members (Figure 36). The remaining nineteen students either identified solitary activities or did not indicate others as being part of their coping strategy. Alone time can be difficult to obtain for youth living in Umm al-Jimal. Families are generally large and siblings share rooms. Extended family may also share the same living space, with multiple families living under the same roof. This is particularly common among

Syrian families as resources like space and money may be limited. Therefore, being alone is a luxury. Yet while solitude is sought during times of sadness, CYP state that being with others makes them happy. When asked what makes them happy, nine youths said being with family accomplished this. Some said they are happiest when they are with their families. Again, family provides the security and structure that facilitates resilience and allows coping to occur.

Student ID	Gender	Nationality	Coping Strategy
09-19-M-01	M	Syrian	N/A
09-19-M-02	M	Syrian	Play with friends
09-19-M-03	M	Syrian	Walk near the house
09-19-M-04	M	Syrian	Play with cell phone
09-19-M-05	M	Syrian	Play with friends
09-19-M-06	M	Jordanian	Play on bike
09-19-M-07	M	Jordanian	Go swimming/walk in the land
09-19-M-08	M	Jordanian	Play with cell phone
09-19-M-09	M	Jordanian	N/A
09-19-M-10	M	Jordanian	Walk in the land or play with cellphone
09-19-M-11	M	Syrian	“Just get happy by yourself”
09-19-M-12	M	Syrian	Walk
09-19-F-01	F	Syrian	Watch TV
09-19-F-02	F	Syrian	N/A
09-19-F-03	F	Syrian	Design or make things
09-19-F-04	F	Jordanian	Watch TV
09-19-F-05	F	Jordanian	Play with nephews
09-19-F-06	F	Jordanian	Sleep or nothing
09-19-F-07	F	Jordanian	Anything fun or funny with siblings
09-19-F-08	F	Jordanian	Remember goals
09-19-F-09	F	Syrian	Nothing
09-19-F-10	F	Syrian	Try to forget it
09-19-F-11	F	Syrian	Walk with cousins
09-19-F-12	F	Syrian	Sit alone

Figure 36 Coping strategies of CYP in Umm al-Jimal.

Although the majority of youth identified solitude as a strategy for cheering themselves up during hardship, they normally prefer the company of their families. In fact, some students claim they are always happy despite knowing strategies for cheering themselves up when they

are sad. One Jordanian girl said she was “always happy”, but she identified watching TV as a way of feeling better (09-19-F-04). She also identified being with her family and friends as making her happiest. Because she is always surrounded by family, she considers herself always happy and sees a difference between sadness and difficulty. Having a bad day does not negate her happiness, and, furthermore, she has ways of feeling better in the event that she does experience a difficulty in her life. This is an example of resilience. Another Jordanian girl said she is happiest when she is at home with her family —three brothers, eight sisters, and ten nephews— “collected together” (09-19-F-06). She said she does “[n]othing. Maybe sleep” when she is sad; however, her mother responded by saying “[s]he is laughing all the time” and “[m]aybe she doesn’t get upset” (Ibid). These CYP responses show that community members, including friends and immediate or extended family, are a part of the support system that allows CYP to be happy and recognize how they can become happy when they are feeling down. Community and family act as conduits for sustaining happiness in youth. Furthermore, rights, personal agency, and self-awareness are dependent on the structure community provides.

Another part of coping identified by youth was remembering their goals (Figure 37). Aspirations are the self-motivating force that help individuals achieve personal goals. Having aspirations is a sign of resilience and personal agency. Many of the CYP identified ambitious career goals and admitted that hard work in school and university was the only way to achieve those goals. A Syrian girl identified designing clothing as a coping strategy for when she felt sad in order to cheer herself up (09-19-F-03). This strategy, tied to her career aspirations to be a fashion designer, enhanced her ability to do her craft and is a reminder of her long-term goals. Similarly, a Jordanian girl cheers herself up by “remembering [her] goals in life” as it helps her “go on” because “nothing will stop [her]” (09-19-F-08). She wants to be a surgeon to help people and gain a “position in the community”(Ibid). Her motivation is tied to a community-centred heritage where helping others elevates one’s own social status. In this way, coping strategies are linked to future aspirations, self-motivations, and a sense of self that are supported through safety, community, and the presence of cultural capital and other external resources in Umm al-Jimal. Furthermore, a community that provides support to youth sustains itself by creating community-driven individuals who will add to its structure and provide support for future generations.

Walking “in the land” was cited by Jordanian boys as a way of coping with negative feelings. In Umm al-Jimal you will often see men, young and old, walking “in the land”, or the unoccupied sections of desert in the areas surrounding the town. In Arabic, to walk without purpose is expressed by the word *mishuar* (مشوار). There is a comfort found in walking through land once grazed by one’s ancestors that cannot be felt in the same way by Syrian youth living in a

host community; for Syrians, Umm al-Jimal is not their ancestral home and will not produce the same feelings their homeland would. Nevertheless, one Syrian boy said that walking “helps get rid of his problems”, though he added that never gets sad or angry (09-19-M-12). Maintaining happiness despite getting sad or angry was another common theme among CYP, revealing a desire to move past a hardship.

Student ID	Gender	Nationality	Career Aspirations
09-19-M-01	M	Syrian	None
09-19-M-02	M	Syrian	Mechanic
09-19-M-03	M	Syrian	Dentist
09-19-M-04	M	Syrian	Pilot
09-19-M-05	M	Syrian	Doctor
09-19-M-06	M	Jordanian	Army
09-19-M-07	M	Jordanian	Soldier
09-19-M-08	M	Jordanian	Doctor/cardiologist
09-19-M-09	M	Jordanian	University
09-19-M-10	M	Jordanian	Soldier
09-19-M-11	M	Syrian	Army or police officer
09-19-M-12	M	Syrian	Barber
09-19-F-01	F	Syrian	Doctor
09-19-F-02	F	Syrian	Engineer
09-19-F-03	F	Syrian	Fashion Designer
09-19-F-04	F	Jordanian	Nurse
09-19-F-05	F	Jordanian	Stay at home
09-19-F-06	F	Jordanian	None
09-19-F-07	F	Jordanian	Lawyer
09-19-F-08	F	Jordanian	Surgeon
09-19-F-09	F	Syrian	Police officer
09-19-F-10	F	Syrian	Translator
09-19-F-11	F	Syrian	Lawyer
09-19-F-12	F	Syrian	Lawyer

Figure 37 Career aspirations of CYP in Umm al-Jimal.

Personal agency and identity are codependent. Building identity increases personal agency and vice versa. Peter Gatrell said “freedom and autonomy play important roles in identity development and formation” (2013: 12). He meant that the shape our identity takes relies

partially on the choices we make for ourselves during our lifetime. While some aspects of identity are stationary (i.e. ethnicity, ancestry, nationality) others require personal autonomy to flourish. In this way, by facilitating narrative-building and student agency in the classroom, the HCHP further supported identity. In the next section I will discuss the ways in which the HCHP encouraged identity-building in youth through both heritage discourse and agency.

### 9.2.3 Identity

The youth previously enrolled in the HCHP course range in age from ten years-old to seventeen years-old. They were Syrian and Jordanian. They were Bedouin from Masa'eid, Al Jumlan, Arwalla, and Al Moalli tribes. They were sisters and brothers. They were daughters and sons. They were friends. Their identity— including, but not limited to, personal, religious, national, community, ethnic, familial, age-related, and cultural—was developed by their environment, the community, and their place within it. Especially for Syrians, heritage was a tool for reconstructing identity after forced migration and trauma. Their identity was further reinforced and sustained through education and heritage discourse during which their heritage was named and their experiences identified, valued, and validated.

Rights and Safety act as pillars supporting Identity. Along with Bedouin identity, the HCHP promoted Jordanian and Syrian identity through discourse about both nationalities, their similarities and differences. Career aspirations are pertinent to both Rights and Identity as they are representations of hope, a belief in ability, and a vision of future identity. Only one student, an out-of-school Syrian boy who now works with his father, had no plans or aspirations for his future; he repeatedly said he did not know anything and had little belief in himself or his future (09-19-M-01). His story is an outlier in this research; however, it is likely that his situation is common among out-of-school Syrian CYP. He viewed his lack of education as a debilitating aspect of his life which caused him to know nothing of value. Although it is likely he knows more than he thinks, his conclusion that not having an education left him without anything to contribute to this work revealed a deep belief system that only bestows value and status to the well-educated. One in-school Syrian girl said “[education] is basic for humans. If there is no education there will be no life” (09-19-F-02), showing a high regard for education as a way to improve your situation. As previously stated, another girl believes education will give her status within the community. The importance of education as a status elevator is part of the cultural belief system, as it is in many other cultures. These testimonials demonstrate the need to actively pursue educational programmes for Syrian CYP, who are at a higher risk of dropping out-of-school (Stauffer, 2020).

The HCHP course was identified by students as important for preserving their identity as a Bedouin. CYP showed concerns about aspects of their heritage disappearing and agreed that sometimes the only way to preserve a tradition that no longer fits within modern society is to talk

about it and pass it down to future generations through story telling as their grandparents did for them. Other traditions, such as generosity and hospitality, were regarded as particularly important to preserve. The cultural tradition of generosity and hospitality is demonstrated through CYP career aspirations; many students identified careers they believed would help people and their community showing a deep desire, rooted in heritage, to help each other and strengthen the community. CYP proudly identify as generous and hospitable, as their parents do, and feel ashamed when they do not offer all they have to guests. By identifying aspects of their heritage that are in danger of disappearing, such as facial tattoos, traditional food-making, and generosity, and discussing them in the HCHP classroom they have a better chance of passing on traditions, and cultural identity, to their families for generations to come. Again, identifying and naming what constitutes heritage for CYP allows them to understand how it affects their lives and their community and why it is important for them to protect it. By identifying what their heritage is, they are able to identify who they are and who they want to be.

CYP took the course because they wanted to know more about their origins and ultimately themselves. To youth taking the course “[i]t’s important to know the heritage and the history, traditions and habits, [...] the things our grandparents used to live on” because “[y]ou will know the history of yourself,” further supporting the notion that knowledge about the past encourages identity growth (09-19-F-10). One Jordanian girl “wanted to know something more about the ancient things and the heritage, [...] to know how they lived and maybe I want to do the same” (09-19-F-07). She added that she does not want to live like her grandparents, but that maybe she would practice some of the traditions (Ibid). Another Jordanian girl signed up because she loves the subject of heritage. She stated that “[w]hen someone asks me about...my heritage I want to be able to answer” (09-19-F-09).

One Syrian girl said her Bedouin heritage was her “inheritance from our grandparents” (09-19-F-09). She also retains her identity as a Syrian and said “[p]eople cannot forget their homeland” (Ibid). She wants to return to Syria with her family but has “gotten used to this community” for the time being. She is most proud of her identity as a Syrian, particularly generosity, saying “Syrians give water to someone even if they aren’t thirsty” (Ibid). She believes Syrians are unique and her habits and traditions are different from Jordanian, but also that Syrians and Jordanians are similar; in fact, her grandmother was Jordanian (Ibid).

Bedouin identity itself is a point of great pride for youth. Bedouin history is not well documented, by Bedouin accounts or otherwise, and therefore is at risk of being lost. The HCHP course is a way for youth to discuss what they know from their grandparents about their history and learn from each other and their teachers. CYP identified attributes about their ancestors that



they personally adopted: one Jordanian boy said “[t]hey rode horses and were brave,” adding that he and his people are still brave (09-19-M-07). Another Jordanian boy talked about the long trips to Syria his family made to trade salts (09-19-M-09). A Syrian boy said being Bedouin was “something big. The origin of Arab” (09-19-M-10). A Jordanian girl said she is proud of herself because “as a Bedouin we always have our own traditions and habits and we are different from other Jordanian people because we have our dialect and we have our habits” (09-19-F-04). Being with family and from a Bedouin clan gives CYP living in Umm al-Jimal security in identity which was reinforced and supported through the HCHP course.

### 9.3 Building Resilience in Zaatari

#### 9.3.1 Safety

Zaatari is a fortress. In order to enter you must have permission from the UNHCR and the government. It is guarded closely inside and out. While this may seem as if it would provide a sense of safety to those living inside, an overabundance of security can have the opposite intended effect; as stated above by Gatrell, a sense of safety takes time to build, especially when the security of community is non-existent due to forced migration. One girl who took the HCHP course in September 2018 said she does not feel safe walking at night because of stray dogs (09-18-F-23). Her sister said drivers on the roads drove too fast and recklessly making her feel unsafe (09-18-F-22). HCHP instructor Ahmed mentioned that girls in particular walked conservatively in the streets and looked down and avoided confrontation or eye contact.<sup>31</sup> These sisters also said the only places they can play outside are the IRD (International Relief and Development) community centres in the camp. Safe programmes for CYP are rare in Zaatari; students identified only one other programme that they participate in called the TIGER (These Inspiring Girls Enjoy Reading) programme<sup>32</sup> which helps Syrian girls with schoolwork.

The lack of safe spaces for youth in Zaatari makes resources like the HCHP course highly popular and important. The potential of community-building paired with supplemental heritage education is also highly desirable to families living in Zaatari. One of the ongoing issues seen by Ahmed and Muaffaq is that siblings of students show up for class despite not being enrolled and the lack of space for extra students. Although they hate turning away CYP, they have to. This high demand for the HCHP course by parents and youth is testament to its appeal and success.

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<sup>31</sup> Sexual harassment is an ongoing problem in Zaatari refugee camp as well as other refugee camps in Jordan (Al-Hourani et al., 2019: 25). While none of the interviewed or surveyed youth expressed such encounters, it is possible that they have seen or experienced sexual harassment and other types of sexual violence in the refugee camp.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.globalgiving.org/projects/tiger-girls/> 2016

One student cited “living a secure life” as a goal or aspiration for the future, suggesting it does not fully exist in his present life (09-18-M-13). Another listed safety as important to him (03-19-M-04). After their experiences in Syria, regardless of memory, security and safety are on the minds of CYP, their parents, and everyone around them. Therefore, feeling secure and safe is unsurprisingly important to youth living in Zaatari. They are also more aware of what safe and unsafe feel like. Safety was rarely mentioned by Jordanian youth in Umm al-Jimal until the subject was brought up; in contrast, Syrian adults in Umm al-Jimal as well as youth in Zaatari mentioned safety unprompted. Finally, concern by youth shows that although Zaatari is not lacking physical security precautions, it lacks perceived safety and security by youth and adults alike.

### 9.3.2 Rights

Coping strategies and rights were not directly considered or surveyed when I began collecting data in 2018 from CYP living in Zaatari refugee camp; therefore, the data are limited. Yet as discussed above, CYP showed a high degree of interest in having the freedom to leave the camp and explore Jordan. Their inability to leave Zaatari and the daily restriction of movement within the camp reduce CYP personal agency and autonomy. These restrictions in turn hinder the resilience-building process.

The field trips to Umm Qais and Iraq al Amir were by far the most mentioned and most popular parts of the HCHP course by students. By contrast, students in Umm al-Jimal remembered the field trips well, but did not mention them as important aspects of their lives. Since youth in Umm al-Jimal have the freedom to visit these places with their families, while youth in Zaatari are without this privilege, it is unsurprising that the field trips were mentioned frequently and with excitement by CYP in Zaatari. For Zaatari CYP, they may not have another chance to leave the camp and experience physical freedom for the foreseeable future.

On the field trips, the instructors encouraged students to explore and fully enjoy their time away, often allowing students to take time for photos and even pay for unplanned activities like horseback rides. As in the classroom, the HCHP instructors allowed the students to make decisions about the content they discussed, thereby giving them agency.

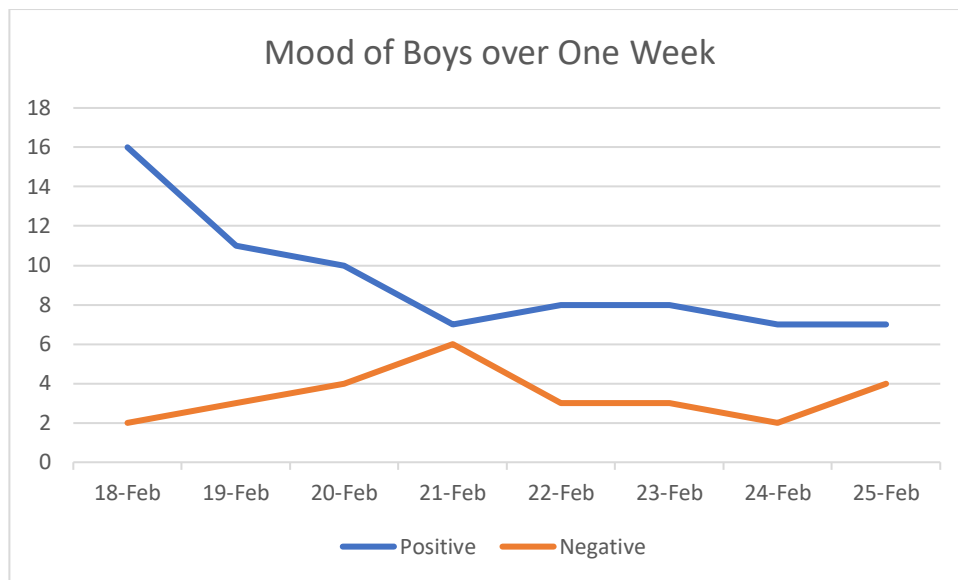


Figure 38 Boys' answers for their mood over the period of a week.

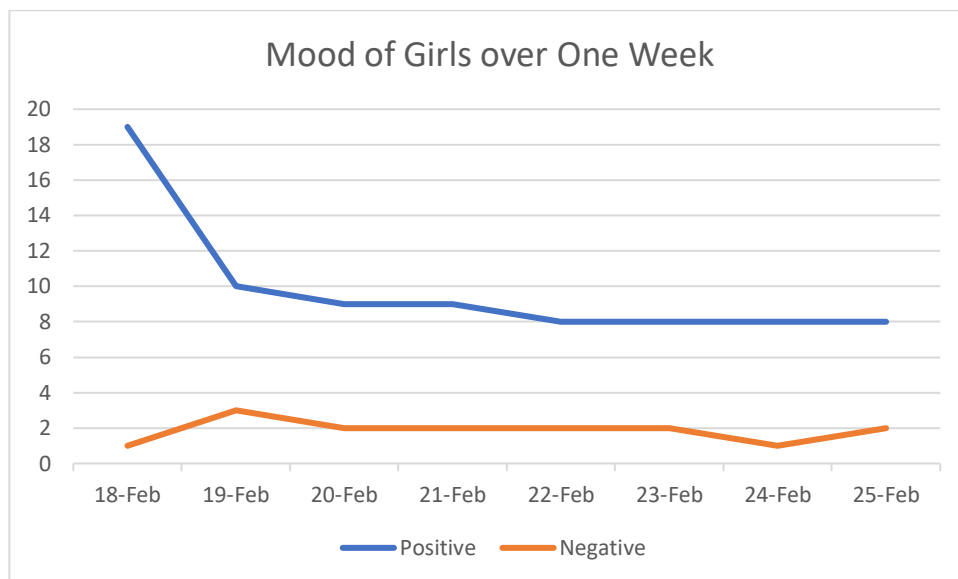


Figure 39 Girls' answers for their mood over the period of one week.

The journals produced more information about the participating CYP's aspirations and interests outside of heritage. Twenty boys and twenty-three girls, a total of 43 out of 60 CYP (72%) returned their journals along with signed permission forms. The feelings assessment produced results (Figures 38 and 39), showing changes in mood over the course of a week. The 'Positive' line represents the number of CYP who answered 'great' or 'okay' whereas the 'Negative' line represents the number of CYP who answered 'sad' or 'angry' on a particular day during the week of February 18<sup>th</sup> 2019. It shows students emotions during that week were overall positive, with few students feeling sad or angry. As I was unable to collect additional data about feelings, these results stand on their own.

The perception of not having personal agency and ability or control over one's life makes it harder to cope with stress and sadness (Gatrell, 2013: 8). While many CYP living in Umm al-Jimal said they rarely felt sad, CYP in Zaatari showed a range of emotion including sadness and anger. Figures 38 and 39 show students' mood over one week beginning on Sunday February 18<sup>th</sup>, 2019 and ending in Sunday February 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019. Classes were held on Sunday and Thursday, therefore February 18<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, and 25<sup>th</sup> were HCHP course days. The blue line indicates the number of students who answered "great" or "okay" and the red line indicated students who felt "sad" or "angry" on the respective day. More students had positive feelings on the first Sunday (February 18<sup>th</sup>) after which significantly fewer students reported positive moods. Boys in particular report an increase of negative feelings until February 22<sup>nd</sup> when they participated in the HCHP course, after which fewer boys had negative moods and more boys had positive moods. This differs from the girls where the positive reports decrease but level out and are still overall more prominent than negative moods. While this feelings survey was only filled out over the course of one week, it shows that some students were experiencing negative feelings throughout the week. This may also be representative of family life and the stresses parents experience that are then transferred to their children. Many stresses on adults in Zaatari are related to a lack of personal agency and ability such as money issues and the inability to secure a job or income. The lack of control over their lives produces anxiety and stress that manifest into sadness and anger. Regardless, it also shows some positive change in overall mood of CYP during HCHP class days. More research is required regarding what relationship there is between the HCHP course and CYP change in mood. It was only possible to conduct this research over a week and not all students participated.

As in Umm al-Jimal, school and education are seen by Zaatari youth as a way to improve their lives and take control of their situation. Some youth even said education and learning are the most important thing to them. Being "first" in class and "succeeding in school" were also listed as important to youth (09-18-F-07, 09-18-F-08). In a lot of ways their education and how well they do in school is one of the only aspects of their lives they have some control over. Performing well and doing their best academically is an avenue toward control of their lives. Education, such as that which the HCHP offers, is a tool of empowerment and a means to building personal agency.

### 9.3.3 Identity

The HCHP course was important and relevant to the Syrian CYP taking the course because it taught them about themselves, their families, the country and context they left behind (the Hauran in particular, where many of them were from), and how parts of their daily lives and customs are in fact part of their heritage. This heritage was passed down by their grandparents, about whom they have few memories, and is now living through them. Although I did not ask

about missing family members, only three Syrian CYP I surveyed in Zaatari had a grandparent living with them in the camp. Youth in Zaatari are more likely to be separated from extended family or even immediate family which, as previously explored, is an important resource for heritage education. Therefore, their identities are also more at risk of being relegated to a 'refugee' than those of Syrians living and integrating in host communities. They are provided for by the UNHCR in terms of shelter, food, and health, but lack cultural resources that support identity.

After participating in the HCHP course, students cited heritage, as well as family and friends, as the most important things in their lives. Hospitality and generosity were also a common themes and such values are passed to CYP by immediate family in their household. While the HCHP curriculum focused primarily on past traditions and practices, present traditions are still taught in the home.

Becoming an "active member of society" was cited as important to youth (03-19-M-13). Another youth said one important facet of their lives was "sharing everything in our society and our lives" regarding heritage (03-19-M-04). Being a part of a community strengthens identity and security which further supports resilience. The support a community provides, through friendship and trust, produces the structure wherein identity can build, making community and identity symbiotic entities.

Many youth expressed a feeling of something lacking before they took the HCHP course, but they did not know what it was. The class "energized" them and instilled an interest in themselves and their families' pasts (03-19-F-13, 03-19-F-14). They felt they knew little to nothing about their grandparents, past, and where they came from. "I did not know anything about my grandparents and how they lived and worked" (03-19-F-02); "I did not know anything" (03-19-F-08); "I did not know much about heritage" (03-19-F-10); "I was bored and felt something I lacked" (03-19-F-12); "I did not know anything about my heritage or about the ancient civilizations that inhabited my homeland" (03-19-M-07); "I was disorganized and ignorant of a lot of information" (03-19-M-10); "I did not know what heritage was" (03-19-M-11); "Heritage had no value" (03-19-M-12). After taking the course students felt "active, I felt that I found what I lack, which is heritage. I felt joy and pleasure" (03-19-F-12) and that they were left with a "beautiful and wonderful feeling" (03-19-M-10). Where once CYP felt heritage was valueless, it became "very important to our lives" (03-19-M-12). The knowledge they gained in HCHP fostered pride in themselves and a cultural identity that they share with strangers in the camp.

Family is a dominant resource listed as most important among CYP, and it is fundamental to their identity. Family are some of the only people youth know well and are close to in a camp

of over 70,000 people, and culturally, family is particularly important, respected, and revered. For youth who experienced war, forced migration, and loss, family may be all they have. Their position in the family is central and their relationships with family members are essential for their wellbeing and overall survival. Helping parents with siblings, chores, and other tasks nurtures “parent satisfaction” which was listed as important by youth (09-18-M-09, 09-18-M-16, 09-18-M-19). It also feeds into religious identity of being a good Muslim who obeys and respects family and who will be an important part of their community when they become an adult. The HCHP instilled youth with cultural knowledge that helped place themselves and their family into a larger context, giving them greater meaning, value, and importance, which they then could share with their families. In this way, the HCHP acted as a conduit to inspire discourse about heritage and identity at home between family members even after the course concluded.

### 9.4 Conclusion

The ability to cope with and overcome hardships and the self-awareness to identify those strategies are signs of resilience. Coping strategies are supported by a sense of ability and freedom as well as the structure of a strong community and family. CYP in Umm al-Jimal have the structure of community as well as the freedom to develop personal agency. In contrast, the strict confines of Zaatari limit the levels of safety, rights, and identity that can be cultivated by youth. The juxtaposition of circumstances between CYP in Umm al-Jimal and CYP in Zaatari shows a difference in need and interest by each respective party, which needs to be considered carefully moving forward with the HCHP.

The HCHP was created to fulfill the needs of youth in Umm al-Jimal. The community that grew around the ruins was strengthened through shared heritage and an interest in the past. This interest was facilitated by the archaeological project which then inspired a community-centred project. Through the strengthened community, perceptions of safety and security grew until the Syrian war broke out. Once Umm al-Jimal became a host community to Syrian refugees, the HCHP was developed to bring Jordanians and Syrians together to create relationships that foster security between the two groups. In addition, the HCHP cultivated youth’s cultural identity and personal agency, which support resilience. While the HCHP was not specifically created for Zaatari and there was not an expressed desire for heritage projects prior to starting a project there, the course was received very positively by participating youth in Zaatari and, even with the draconian restrictions of the camp, the project promoted its own form of community-building.

As explored in the last chapter, participation levels demonstrated a high sense of safety and personal comfort by CYP in the HCHP classroom. Outside the classroom, all participating CYP in Umm al-Jimal said they felt safe with the exception of a few students who felt some places were unsafe due to bad people. Other students thought some places were unsafe because of

snakes, deep water, or falling rocks. Generally, however, students felt safe. Syrian parents reported that they chose Umm al-Jimal because they heard it was safer and had a stronger community than other places in Mafraq. This can be attributed to the presence of cultural resources such as the ancient ruins and the archaeological and community projects. The safety and security provided by the community is absent from Zaatari and, although the HCHP classroom provided an additional safe space for students, it is no replacement for the security a strong community produces.

Students in Zaatari refugee camp showed less security and personal agency than CYP in Umm al-Jimal. This may be associated with the limitations I experienced while collecting data in Zaatari; however, the data shows that youth in Zaatari have fewer resources than youth in Umm al-Jimal, such as activities, clubs, and freedom of movement. Zaatari is also a large, confined space, not founded by a pre-existing community. Furthermore, the lack of personal agency among youth fosters anxiety and feelings of sadness and anger. These feelings can be perpetuated through family if caregivers also feel they have limited personal agency and are not able to support their families in the way they believe they should.

Identity is a fundamental component of resilience-building. Much of the Identities of CYP were created and supported by the community; however, CYP had no frame of reference for what some parts of their identity were before entering the HCHP classroom. By naming and identifying heritage, CYP were able to place themselves within the context of their heritage and give meaning and value to their experiences. In this way, the HCHP provided a framework and structure for identities youth already possessed but could not name or describe.

Students in Umm al-Jimal identified coping strategies that help them when they are feeling sad. Some students identified activities with friends while most identified solo activities. This can be attributed to the lack of personal space and alone time CYP experience in their everyday lives in Umm al-Jimal. Some students, however, said they rarely get upset or sad. This is linked to the presence of strong families and a supportive community. The structure maintained by family and the community allows youth to cope with stresses in their lives without greatly affecting their mood. In contrast, some youth in Zaatari showed a range of emotion over the course of a week. Where the lives of CYP in Umm al-Jimal appear calm, there is a sense of chaos and lack of control in Zaatari despite the presence of walls and security forces. As described above, if personal agency is missing, coping strategies are limited and can cause more stress.

The HCHP course is one of the few activities youth can sign up for in the refugee camp. However, it is highly desired by families in the camp and can only accommodate approximately 120 students a year. Those who are privileged enough to secure a space in the class can share it

with their families. Unfortunately, this means that only a fraction of CYP in Zaatari benefit from the identity and personal agency-building that the HCHP course cultivates. In the case of Umm al-Jimal, the course has been completely removed in order to accommodate Zaatari. Unfortunately this means the course is increasingly a distant memory to those youth who participated in it. Without this valuable resource, CYP have limited access to their history and, in many ways, themselves.



## Chapter 10: Discussion and Interpretation

In this chapter, I discuss my findings in the context of the reviewed literature and argue that the presence of cultural resources and archaeology projects that welcome community involvement support strong and safe communities and social cohesion, provide and promote identity, reinforce value for heritage and the past, and provide a good environment for building resilience in refugee status community members. While community, identity, and heritage are inherently tethered, I focused on these themes individually, examining how the collected data is supported by the literature, and where there are differences or discrepancies.

### 10.1 Discussion of Findings

The Hauran Cultural Heritage Project (HCHP) is a strong example of a community-archaeology-supported project that was community driven and encouraged narrative-building amongst young people. The agency that the HCHP afforded both Jordanian and Syrian CYP within the classroom promoted shared as well as individual identities. Neil Faulkner and Stephen Brighton identified “archaeology from below” as a bottom-up approach that affords participants the power to produce their own knowledge about heritage and the past (Brighton, 2011: 345; Faulkner, 2000: 29). Melissa Baird similarly advocated for a social justice framework that seriously considered local heritage claims and knowledge as central to working toward equality and focused on restoring power and agency to local or marginalized stakeholders (2014: 149). While the HCHP has not documented student narratives, the sharing and production of knowledge and meaning in the classroom embodied these approaches. In the HCHP classroom, CYP were experts on their heritage who conferred with one another about the similarities and differences of their experiences. The instructors largely acted as conduits and stimulators for memory. In this way, the HCHP teaching methodology facilitated the sharing of power and reinforced student agency which ultimately built identity. Furthermore, the HCHP, while supported by outside funding organizations, was designed, organized, and operated by local stakeholders of both Jordanian and Syrian decent, making the structure of the project predominantly bottom-up.<sup>33</sup>

#### 10.1.1 Promoting Strong and Safe Communities

Archaeological practice and discourse can support meaningful interaction between community members, building trust and mutual respect, which supports the perception of safety. The feeling of safety, as described by Peter Gatrel, “creates the foundation necessary for trust

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<sup>33</sup> The HCHP was funded by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung Foundation which gave agency to the HCHP instructors; however, the Foundation made larger decisions about the project including moving it from the community of Umm al-Jimal to the Zaatari Refugee Camp.

that in turn creates a base for identity” (2013: 9). CYP are particularly vulnerable to disruptions in the development of identity within a community without the existence of a perceived safe home and community (Gatrell, 2013: 8). As shown through the data, home and school felt the safest to CYP surveyed; however, CYP felt safe in most parts of town. High levels of trust and support are indicators for a strong community (McDonnell et al., 2015: 93) and were observed within the community of Umm al-Jimal. The case study presented by Kathleen de la Peña McCook and Maria Jones demonstrated that cultural capital and resources encourage communal activity within a community, which then reinforces relationships, common values, and ultimately trust between community members (2002: 326). This was verified through the data where Syrian parents and youth expressed their belief that Umm al-Jimal was safer than surrounding towns.

The presence of the UJAP has, over time, strengthened the local community by demonstrating value for heritage and the past, largely through employing local workers over the decades and thus allowing generations of residents to participate in the archaeological process. In fact, there are more people who want to participate in the excavation than there are jobs, making the positions highly sought after (de Vries, Pers Comm). The existence of cultural resources and an archaeological project sets Umm al-Jimal apart from surrounding towns. A heightened value for heritage was demonstrated by the town when a community-based project drew the interest of residents, resulting in the establishment of other heritage-centred projects. Additionally, accounts of Syrian refugees choosing Umm al-Jimal over other towns because of its reputation for safety and value for heritage demonstrated that it is not only residents of Umm al-Jimal who recognize how the presence of cultural resources has benefited the town, but surrounding communities as well. Therefore, it must be stated that the original archaeological project, ongoing since 1972, played a fundamental role in instilling value for heritage among residents which resulted in community-centred initiatives. There is no substitute for this kind of engagement which further demonstrates the importance of the presence of cultural resources and institutions in building community and resilience.

Cultural institutions also provide spaces for communities to gather and bond. In the case of Umm al-Jimal, the archaeological project has inspired and supported other community projects that have strengthened and crafted bonds between residents: the Women’s Cooperative trained and employed local women in the handicraft trade of basalt carving and brought women together in public spaces for both economic and artistic stimulation; Hand by Hand brought community members together to create a plan for tourism accommodation and services; the HCHP brought Syrian and Jordanian youth together to learn about their shared heritage and share their own experiences with each other. The act of bringing youth together, both Syrian and Jordanian, to

create collective memory and learn about similarities and differences between two groups was engineered to create trust and facilitate relationships between community members. The strengthening of social relationships is central to how community archaeology builds strong communities.

Akita Ichikawa argued that sites are gathering places for community members to build collective memory and strengthen social relationships as well as identity (Ichikawa, 2018: 233). Like Umm al-Jimal, the Nueva Esperanza community archaeology project had residents worried about the thinning of social relationships within the community which her team then addressed directly through dialogue as well as agency-building among participants (Ichikawa, 2018: 232-233). Even after the HCHP left Umm al-Jimal, residents in Umm al-Jimal were worried about the deterioration of hospitality and community relationships in their town, which shows a continued need and desire for community and heritage projects and engagement within the town. Parents of participating CYP in Umm al-Jimal expressed their interest in the HCHP returning to the town because of their concern for deteriorating community relationships and traditions of hospitality among neighbours, further demonstrating the impact of heritage work on building strong community relationships. Based on this research, there is a continued interest by community members in restoring the HCHP to the town of Umm al-Jimal. This community interest coupled with the results of this research indicate a strong need for the re-establishment of the HCHP within the town of Umm al-Jimal.

Strong communities inspire trust among residents, including youth. Both Syrian and Jordanian CYP in Umm al-Jimal perceived the town as safe. Jordan is a Muslim country that values some distance between boys and girls who are non-familial, for reasons of protection as well as religious belief. Furthermore, while schools in Jordan are segregated by gender, the HCHP course was co-ed while it existed in Umm al-Jimal. This differs from the HCHP course in Zaatari where parents demanded a separate class for girls and boys. This shows a higher perceived level of safety by parents in Umm al-Jimal compared to parents in Zaatari refugee camp. Refugee camps often struggle with trust and safety, as demonstrated by the UNHCR perceived safety report (UNHCR et al., 2015). In the HCHP classroom, instructor Ahmed Bayer explained that students came to the class very shy and conservative in the beginning, but quickly developed enough comfort and safety to participate regularly in class. Peter Gatrell argued that “it is impossible to conceive of security without autonomy and vice versa” (2013: 8). Hiba Salem and Jason Hart suggest that the voices and experiences of youth are valuable to research done about them (Hart, 2006: 4; Salem, 2018: 9). Furthermore, Beel et al. argued that agency over heritage was necessary to both building strong and resilient communities and value for heritage (2015: 467). The HCHP

teaching praxis reflects Beel et al.'s argument by encouraging CYP agency and autonomy in classroom through heritage discourse and narrative sharing. By encouraging students to participate in class and discuss their experiences with heritage, the HCHP instructors supported student agency and autonomy which concurrently supported safety within the classroom. The result was 93% participation rate among students with an average of only two students refraining from participation over the hour-long class. This means students, overall, were comfortable and engaged in the HCHP classroom suggesting a high level of perceived safety and personal agency. Therefore, the HCHP provided the rare instance of a youth-focused safe space within the refugee camp outside their homes.

In Zaatari, restrictions of movement and access created difficulty for HCHP instructors. Gatrell discussed how an overabundance of security can stifle agency and therefore safety (2013: 8). The newness of Zaatari as a community also creates difficulties for safety because relationships and trust have not had time to develop between community members as they would in a host community. Therefore, while the HCHP absolutely benefited CYP in a refugee camp setting, it is limited by the lack of both cultural resources and the resulting strong community relationships. Therefore, it is necessary for heritage projects, like the HCHP, to be regarded as a long-term solution for heritage work in both refugee camps and host communities. Refugee camps in particular need extra support from heritage projects to build community and value for heritage in order to support identity, safety, and ultimately resilience. This can be offered in the form of more heritage education projects, events, collaborative efforts to preserve narratives and stories, and public heritage spaces that encourage shared heritage and collective memory.

Because Zaatari refugee camp lacked the longevity of an archaeological project or the cultural resources present in Umm al-Jimal, community-building was limited. Umm al-Jimal benefits from a long-standing archaeological project that facilitated community engagement and value for heritage among its residents. Furthermore, Syrian refugees residing in Umm al-Jimal benefit from these strong community ties. No similar community structure exists in Zaatari and therefore more community-focused work is necessary within the camp. Finally, the restoration of the HCHP in the town of Umm al-Jimal is necessary in order to continue the progress youth experienced in understanding their heritage and traditions as well as community-building and social cohesion between CYP living in the town. Without project continuity, these results will diminish over time.

### 10.1.2 Promoting Identity

Scholars in both archaeological and refugee studies agreed that a bottom-up approach to projects with invested local and refugee populations was the ideal way to mitigate further marginalization and ensure the work being done is needed and helpful (Alwan, 2016: 13; Atalay, 2007; Eisenbruch, 1991: 1; Jason Hart, 2006; McGuire, 2008). By allowing local stakeholders, including refugees, agency and power over projects and their respective narratives, bottom-up heritage work supports autonomy and identity. Peter Gatrel argued that safety and autonomy are “prerequisites for a healthy evolution of identity” (2013: 8). Youth in their most crucial developmental years are building the foundations of their identity; in the case of refugees, those years are disrupted and result in loss. Eisenbruch posited that cultural bereavement is the “loss of social structures, cultural values, and self-identity” that results in trauma (1991: 3). Therefore, the presence of a strong community with strong cultural values can help alleviate cultural bereavement within refugee populations. This is why Umm al-Jimal as a host community has been particularly successful. The existing structure of the town and its subsequent community projects, combined with a strong sense of cultural identity and tradition among community members provide welcome stability for incoming refugees to rebuild their lives. Particularly for CYP who were very young when they left Syria, Umm al-Jimal is safe, familiar, and home.

Without knowledge about heritage, ancestors, and the past, youth expressed dissatisfaction and boredom in their lives; participating in the HCHP inspired friendships, comradery, and meaning in an otherwise isolating and powerless situation. A lack of power and personal agency, as discussed previously, further stifles identity making identity work highly important in refugee camps. CYP living in the Zaatari refugee camp reported feeling “ignorant”, “bored”, “unhappy”, “lonely”, and “lacking” something (Appendix 3). After the HCHP course, the most common reported feelings were “joy” and “pride” about their heritage and subsequently their identity. As discussed, one survey found refugee youth “feeling a loss of identity and hopelessness about the future” (Robinson, 2015:20), which is reflected in the findings of this research. The “collective identity” that is developed through shared experience in a refugee camp (Alwan, 2016: 26) was redirected by the HCHP from the identity of refugee to cultural and heritage identities, restoring a connection to their families and their homeland, forging connections with the people they now share a community with.

In the context of Zaatari refugee camp, space was a restricting factor. Alwan agreed that refugee camps, while providing immediate relief to refugees, lack the social “spaces that facilitate identity...especially for children” (2016: 12). As Alwan also pointed out, CYP in the refugee camps need more identity support because the smaller and denser area limits the amount of physical and metaphorical space youth can exist in, which can be isolating and stifling to identity-building

(2016: 89). She argued that “some children spend most of their crucial years identifying themselves as refugees rather than citizens belonging to a specific place” (Ibid). I found this to be true of CYP in Zaatari refugee camp. It is difficult to develop roots and connections in a place that is temporary, as refugee camps are meant to be, but often are not. The youth I met in Zaatari were disconnected from the outside world: when we left the camp to go on field trips, they said they were excited to be “going to Jordan” (Bayer, Pers. Comm). Drawing youth to a heritage landscape supported collective memory, demonstrated by abundance of memory and excitement about the field trips displayed by youth. On the basis of the data I collected, there is a need for engagement with cultural and heritage landscapes that support collective memory and identity-building.

CYP identified themselves as refugees in their journals, such as one girl who wrote “I am a refugee and I live in a caravan” (03-19-F-02). Because youth in refugee camps are surrounded by only refugees, the identity of ‘refugee’ becomes commonplace. Furthermore, without active engagement with peers that encourages collective memory and relationship-building, the potential for strong community falls short and furthermore limits identity creation within the context of a group of people with shared beliefs and values. I would add that refugee camps lack the tranquility of already-established community ties and structures with the capacity to support a refugee population’s social and emotional needs; refugee camps restrict interactions with nationals, thereby hindering how they as refugees fit into the outside world. On the other hand, in Umm al-Jimal, Syrian youth felt at home and like they belonged. They developed relationships with youth they were exposed to regardless of their nationality. The only hinderance to further social interaction was when students were either in Jordanian or Syrian only schools, or when they were out-of-school all together. Students in mixed schools have friends from both groups.

In Umm al-Jimal, both Syrian and Jordanian youth saw few differences in one another. Parents of Syrian youth said they chose Umm al-Jimal because of its strong Bedouin traditions compared to neighbouring towns. This can be attributed to a heightened value for traditions and heritage due to the presence of the archaeological ruins and their affiliated projects. Strengthened appreciateion for heritage provides a base for community relationships. Gatrell stated that the safety of a common social identity, or a “stable, positive, and socially verified self-concept” provides support to identity stability and growth (2013: 9). This safety through a shared community heritage between local and refugee was possible due to the long-standing archaeological project that encouraged value for heritage among residents and was further bolstered by the HCHP course. The HCHP was one of the only activities for youth in the camp and

the only one that focused on heritage. Other activities were sports and education-focused, such as the TIGER programme that helps girls with reading and schoolwork.<sup>34</sup>

While the HCHP continues to operate in Zaatari refugee camp, it no longer operates in Umm al-Jimal, leaving CYP without a valuable identity-building resource. For Syrian CYP especially, who have experienced severe cultural bereavement and loss, the removal of the HCHP is another loss of a central identity-building resource. While Umm al-Jimal has other heritage-focused events and projects, none of them are youth-centred. It is, therefore, imperative that the HCHP be restored in the town of Umm al-Jimal where it was conceived.

#### 10.1.3 Promoting Value for Heritage and the Past

Heightened value for heritage and the past by Umm al-Jimal residents sets the town apart from others in the region. Students of the HCHP acknowledged the difference in their breadth of understanding about heritage before and after taking the class. Furthermore, the presence of strong heritage traditions and Bedouin identity within Umm al-Jimal, as described by incoming Syrian refugees, is visible and outstanding to non-residents.

Veysel Apaydin discussed how heritage education was the most significant way to protect heritage (2017: 28). He argued that heritage textbooks and formal education form public perceptions of heritage, and therefore advocated for better developed heritage education in formal schools in order to increase value for heritage and thus protect archaeological and heritage sites (Apaydin, 2017: 33). However, as formal education is nationally mandated and often focuses on broader national agendas, I argue that a local bottom-up approach to developing heritage curricula fosters a more personal attachment to heritage that is grounded in local identity. This argument is supported by Sian Jones who reiterated that local interests in heritage that are largely ignored by “experts” ultimately alienate local stakeholders from their heritage, resulting in a disconnect from heritage and affiliated projects (2017: 22). By allowing stakeholders to participate in deciding what aspects of their heritage to focus on, they can help create projects that are valuable to them.

Muaffaq’s story in chapter eight demonstrated that the presence of cultural resources in a community can inspire interest in and value for heritage. The longevity of the archaeological project in Umm al-Jimal encouraged interest in the ancient ruins and resulted in a heightened level of value for cultural heritage. Agency over cultural resources and heritage narratives further strengthened the value of heritage, as was demonstrated by the creation of community-developed and led heritage projects that arose in Umm al-Jimal. These projects allowed

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<sup>34</sup> <https://www.globalgiving.org/projects/tiger-girls/> 2016

community members to decide how they engaged with heritage and create projects that would support their values as a community. The inclusion of a heritage education project for youth demonstrated a community desire for a more direct approach to building value for traditions and heritage in their CYP, as well as a response to the lacuna in heritage education in the formal school system. Furthermore, this research underlines systemic societal problems regarding a lack of value for humanities. Lack of funding is a constant threat to projects such as the HCHP and reduces the potential impact they could have on greater societal issues.

Unsurprisingly, both in Umm al-Jimal and in Zaatari refugee camp students learned very little about heritage in formal school. Youth living in Umm al-Jimal learned most of what they knew prior to the course from home: the data showed that more than half (66.7%) of Jordanian CYP's knowledge about heritage and nearly half (45.5%) of Syrian CYP's knowledge about heritage was learned at home. In the case of Zaatari, the majority of knowledge about heritage was learned in the HCHP course rather than at home. This shows that Zaatari CYP lacked heritage education in both the home and their formal education, making the presence of a heritage education project even more valuable. The HCHP, which focused on local heritage rather than national perceptions of heritage and identity, offered a more personalized version of heritage that was meaningful to the students attending the course. For Umm al-Jimal residents, the heritage being taught in the HCHP was developed locally and therefore presented content to CYP that was relevant to them. Furthermore, the more students learned about their heritage, the more valuable it became. Through the journals and interviews, students described how before the course they knew heritage was important but knew little about it or how to identify it. After the course students had a fuller understanding and appreciation of their heritage.

Students showed concern for the disappearance of cultural traditions within their community, demonstrating their own value for heritage that was developed through their interactions with the HCHP course. Social value of heritage was elevated through the HCHP, demonstrated by the interest students expressed. Students showed concern for vandalism and destruction of heritage sites, including the smashing of site signs in Umm al-Jimal. This concern shows an increase of perceived responsibility for the preservation of material heritage by CYP. The results of this study echo Beel et al.'s assertion that community agency over heritage work is fundamental to the endurance of a heritage project because it allows community members to choose how they interact with and preserve their heritage, heightening community value for and investment of heritage (2015: 467).

#### 10.1.4 Promoting resilience

If resilience can be measured by how well a community responds to external shocks (Beel et al., 2015: 460), then Umm al-Jimal demonstrated high levels of resilience by maintaining strong



community bonds, traditions, and trust after the arrival of Syrian refugees to their town. This was further demonstrated by how the Umm al-Jimal community supported and built resilience in the refugee families they hosted. Through cultural activities like the HCHP course, the Umm al-Jimal community was able to adapt to the external shock of migrating refugees while maintaining strong ties to their traditional cultural identity.

As discussed, Peter Gatrell identified rights, safety, and identity (RSI) as critical areas for coping and resilience in refugee youth. The data demonstrated that the HCHP teaching methodology supported all three sources of resilience in the classroom: identity was promoted through local heritage education; rights were promoted through personal agency and narrative-building in the classroom; and safety was offered by instructors and the safe space they provided. These sources of resilience are also reinforced by strong communities, the development of which was also supported by the presence of heritage resources in the town of Umm al-Jimal and through the UJAP.

Safety is a source of resilience that has been discussed previously in this research. Safety is perceived and changes as a matter of perspective. Syrians were more likely to feel completely safe in Umm al-Jimal compared to Jordanians who identified some places they felt less safe. One Syrian compared his perceptions of safety in Syria and Umm al-Jimal, stating Umm al-Jimal was much safer. This suggests that Syrians perceive Umm al-Jimal as safe compared to the conflict they experienced in Syria, whereas Jordanians lack that experience and will be more sensitive to 'unsafe' areas. The level of perceived safety and trust of a community will dictate how community members interact and build relationships, resulting in member ability to build identity and autonomy (Gatrell, 2013). Therefore, the perceived safety and trust that is present among Umm al-Jimal residents, both Syrian and Jordanian, suggests Umm al-Jimal a good environment for CYP to develop.

Malkki identified that the power and control that humanitarian organizations have over refugees can unintentionally stifle the personal agency of said refugees resulting in a lessening of rights (1996: 379). The bottom-up approach to developing and implementing projects for refugees is the solution to the unintentional effect of silencing refugees by humanitarian organizations. By including refugees in the planning and development process, aid efforts become informed by the recipient population and avoid providing unwanted or under-researched resources. Furthermore, engaging refugees in decision making processes also provides personal agency and power which can assist in building resilience and relieving trauma. With the encouragement and support of the UJAP, local residents created the HCHP to fit their need for a heritage project that brought Syrian and Jordanian youth together. The shared identity of

Bedouin made the HCHP course highly attractive to both Syrian and Jordanian community members. Due to modernity and the increasingly sedentary lifestyle of Bedouins living in Jordan and Syria, many of the historical and intangible traditions of living a nomadic life have disappeared. Being Bedouin changed from a way of life to an identity held by sedentary Jordanians and Syrians. While some families, like Hamsa's, spend summer vacation in Bedouin tents, looking for connection to the livelihood of their ancestors, others are simply trying to survive after fleeing a warzone and have not rebuilt their traditions. Therefore, the course was identified by both students and parents as an important way to preserve these dissipating traditions and habits. Students became proud of their Bedouin ancestry, inspiring responsibility over and value for preserving their heritage through discussion and practice. The result was an immensely popular course that inspired value of heritage, strengthened cultural identity, and created lasting bonds between Syrian and Jordanian youth.

The HCHP course does not stand alone in supporting RSI; formal education and family are a large part of Jordanian and Syrian CYP's lives and determine to what extent they are exposed to one another. Although students made friends in the HCHP course, the continuation of those friendships largely relied on which school a CYP attended: Jordanian only, Syrian only, or mixed. Syrian and Jordanian youth expressed difficulty with making friends from the other group if they did not attend a mixed school. Students who were out-of-school had more difficulty in making friends with either group. This highlights not only the importance of the HCHP course, but also that of formal education in making connections between youth. As stated previously, support of friends and community members assists in resilience work through shared experiences and collective memory. Through relationships, Syrian refugees move away from the identity of refugee or 'other' and move toward feeling like they are a part of the community.

Like Palestinians, Syrians and Jordanians are community-based societies that build their identities through communing and family ties. Chatty and Hundt similarly suggest that trauma is experienced through familial and social groups rather than individually. This research only emphasizes the importance of family and community for youth. Syrian CYP in particular identified family members as part of their coping strategy. Community and home structures are fundamental to the development of identity and resilience. Refugee 'voices' were a common theme in literature about refugees. Humanitarian efforts have in the past silenced or alienated refugees through top-down practices that fail to conduct needs-surveys with the people they are trying to help (Malkki, 1996: 379). Instead of a standardized or prescribed understanding of the needs of refugees, which has been developed since the end of World War II (Malkki, 1996: 386), it is crucial to promote a more customized and personal approach to refugee wellbeing in order to

promote resilience. Listening to the needs and interests of a marginalized group is a fundamental aspect of rights work (the R is RSI) in that it allocates power and voice to that group. As Beel et al. also emphasized, local agency over cultural heritage encourages identity and value for heritage by giving control and ownership to community stakeholders (2015: 462). Personal agency is a component of human rights that encourages resilience. Therefore, the relocation of power and control over heritage to local stakeholders is central to the argument for cultural heritage work as an instrument for resilience-building. The presence of coping strategies in both Jordanian and Syrian youth demonstrates what Thomson and Crul identified as the “interplay between structure, culture...and personal agency” (2007: 1030). The space and resources available to enact those coping strategies further allows CYP to deal with adversity on their own terms. Furthermore, family, friends, and the community offer support to youth experiencing difficulty. Syrians in particular identified spending time with other people (i.e. friends or family members) as agents of coping whereas Jordanians were more likely to seek solitude. This is attributed to the heightened need for external support that refugees exhibit due to the loss home, family, and friends.

This research exemplified how heritage projects with a bottom-up approach can be used to build resilience through RSI in both host communities as well as refugee camps. The HCHP was created and implemented by local stakeholders from both Jordanian and Syrian communities. While the results of this study favor host communities over refugee camps as effective resilience builders, CYP from both locations showed signs of RSI after participating in the HCHP course. The HCHP course created a microculture within the classroom that gave students agency, safety, and identity through bottom-up interactive heritage exchange, learning, and narrative-building. The quality of the HCHP was dependent on an environment of reciprocity and shared experience and was successful in these endeavors.

### 10.2 Conclusions

Community archaeology laid the groundwork for community-led projects to develop in Umm al-Jimal. The agency afforded to community members was replicated in the methodology for a youth heritage course with Syrian and Jordanian CYP. It was observed that democratic archaeological practice strengthened community ties and value for heritage, which created a positive host community environment for incoming refugees. Furthermore, when moving to Umm al-Jimal, Syrian families maintained the language, religion, heritage, and cultural connections they had in Syria, thus making the transition easier on CYP. This type of stability makes social cohesion and community-building easier than when moving to a completely foreign environment. While living as a refugee in a host community is difficult, there is comfort in this kind of familiarity.

The HCHP offered a unique learning environment that inspired high participation through safety and mutual respect. After completing the course students were more confident in their knowledge about themselves and their heritage, and felt proud of their Bedouin roots. Syrian and Jordanian youth built relationships with one another while also increasing their value for heritage. The agency they were afforded within the classroom further supported identity and personal autonomy -- key sources of resilience. While youth had a vague understanding of what heritage was before the HCHP, the course identified and named it, giving their experiences value.

The methodology of the HCHP promoted personal agency, autonomy, and identity. The HCHP content promoted identity and value for heritage. The community archaeology project created the environment under which a bottom-up community-led heritage project could develop. The UJAP helped build Umm al-Jimal into the strong and safe community it is today.

This research demonstrates how bottom-up approaches to heritage work and archaeology can strengthen communities with a variety of stakeholders. It also demonstrates how community archaeology can shape and contribute to communities with refugee populations. In a world where conflict is seemingly endless, ethical and sustainable approaches to archaeological and anthropological research must be implemented with local communities to ensure benefits for living populations.

### 10.3 Critical Reflection

Although the outcome of this research is overwhelmingly positive, I want to reflect on why that is the case. There is a lack of recorded negative opinions by community members toward the UJAP. While I would like to believe this is because there is overwhelming enthusiasm and interest in the UJAP, it is likely that those who hold such opinions do not participate in UJAP activities or programmes or are unwilling to express their displeasure with the project. Furthermore, as stated previously there is a culture of 'people pleasing' in the Middle East that may have led participants to hide their true feelings or beliefs about the HCHP or the UJAP. Both of these issues create an unintentional bias and a lack of critical appraisal which may account for the overwhelmingly positive results of this project and should be considered carefully for future projects.

During interviews and in the journals I asked CYP if there was anything they did not like about the HCHP or what they would change. In the journals, CYP expressed a desire for more field trips and classroom time, again only indicating positive feedback toward the course. Similarly, in interviews CYP had nothing negative to say about the course. Some students wished for follow-up courses that included more advanced information about their heritage (i.e. weaving) but still enjoyed their time with the HCHP and expressed no issue with the content or its limitations. While I optimistically hope the results represent the true perspectives of CYP who participated in

the HCHP, I must also consider that some of the responses are a result of respondent acquiescence bias, or a desire to please the interviewer.

Respondents often answered with one-worded answers, an outcome often avoided by ethnographers. While there were efforts to pull more substantial answers from CYP, the presence of a stranger in their home, interrupting their routine or their free time, may have made them nervous. Although I informed them there were no wrong answers, as previously stated, it is possible they were concerned they would give an incorrect answer. In this case it would have been beneficial to re-interview all participants, perhaps in different settings (i.e. outside or away from other children or adults) to engage them in non-formal activities while discussing the HCHP and UJAP.

I had my own apprehensions conducting interviews, as most people in Umm al-Jimal are often so generous that they are unable to say 'no' to a request. Because of this, I often tried to limit the time I spent in the homes of CYP, resulting in my own feelings of nervousness and a desire to avoid overstaying my welcome. This may have attributed to some questions not being explored more deeply or a rushing to get through content. In retrospect, while my concerns represent a thoughtfulness necessary while conducting this research, I trusted that my translator, who arranged each meeting, knew each participant and their families well enough to impose.

Finally, it must be addressed that youth chosen to participate in the HCHP represent a small sample of the population of CYP in Umm al-Jimal. This project would have benefitted from including non-participating CYP in order to show if a difference in heritage understanding and perspective exists. I recommend that future projects broaden the scope of interviewees to non-participants, both adults and CYP, living in Umm al-Jimal.

#### 10.4 Recommendations and applications for Future Projects

To conclude, I will provide an important assessment of my research methodology and offer recommendations for future research. Although this research project produced acceptable amounts of data, more in-depth data, including interviews and a survey of surrounding towns, could have been procured.

This research project included a great deal of planning; however, the realities of field work resulted in an organic methodology that required flexibility and patience. For example, the questions I created for youth in Umm al-Jimal prior to conducting interviews in September of 2019 changed and evolved with every interview I conducted. This resulted in inconsistencies in the number of youth who answered any given question. Furthermore, I encountered difficulty drawing in-depth answers from some CYP. Future development of such work should include re-questioning participants and the use of more ad-hoc and open questions in order to elicit more in-depth responses from participants.

The methods used in this research illuminated which strategies work best and which require more time and resources. Although out of my control, more time in Zaatari refugee camp would have allowed me to conduct more frequency observation and time sampling in order to gather more participation data over a longer period of time and add breadth to the research. Furthermore, the Journals and surveys, while useful considering my lack of prolonged access to the students in Zaatari, proved to be less personal and beneficial than I had hoped. Interviews, like those conducted in Umm al-Jimal, would have produced more in-depth and consistent results.

Finally, this research would benefit from further insight into how neighbouring villages and towns, without similar cultural resources, value heritage. Such a project could also look at safety concerns in comparison to Umm al-Jimal and community relations between local Jordanians and Syrian refugees. Finally, youth and adult interest in heritage projects could be measured to determine how heritage is valued without the presence of a heritage site or any active heritage or archaeological projects.

It is clear that heritage-focused projects would benefit any community. The key recommendation is that any efforts to begin a heritage project must be designed and developed by local community stakeholders. Furthermore, any funding bodies interested in supporting heritage projects for humanitarian purposes must surrender power to invested communities. Furthermore, surveys and interviews about the needs and interests of local residents are necessary before any decisions are made.

It is recommended that narratives given by youth should be recorded by instructors in some way, especially in the context of creating new shared narratives. While the experience of sharing and creating together is central, some assemblage of the experience for community consumption or exhibition may add to the experience and help document heritage for future projects.

Communities worldwide are vulnerable to weakening and mismanagement due to modernization, increased national and international tensions, top-down or government agendas, globalisation and capitalism, and civil unrest. All communities need resources for community and resilience-building, including cultural resources. This research has shown the importance of cultural resources and community-led projects in building a strong environment for supporting resilience in marginalized populations. Moreover, this research argues that cultural and heritage resources should be a fundamental inclusion in resilience-building efforts. Furthermore, it is paramount that aid organizations involved in such efforts defer to local control over the development and implementation of any services to reduce the risk of creating unwanted or

unnneeded projects. Finally, within these projects and in general, youth voices need a platform in order to develop identity. Youth must be included in the development of resilience-building efforts in order to create relevant projects that support their needs and interests, and offer them much-needed autonomy. Bottom-up approaches fulfill these standards of practice and allow for aid organizations and governments to assist in the development of effective, inclusive, and tailored projects that are beneficial to vulnerable communities who are in dire need of resilience interventions.

One inescapable point that must be addressed is the current lack of an HCHP presence in Umm al-Jimal. Beel et al. argued that sustainability through ongoing community-led projects was the key to resilient communities and community heritage (2015: 466). Without access to heritage courses, Umm al-Jimal youth are not engaged with their heritage, their memories, or one another in a way that supports social cohesion, personal agency, and identity. On the other hand, Zaatari lacks space and resources for youth, especially regarding heritage. The limited capacity of the HCHP makes the demand for the class high but its turnover rate low. It is, therefore, suggested that the capacity of this project be increased and the course be reinstated to Umm al-Jimal while also continuing to operating in Zaatari.





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