REFUGE BEYOND SAFETY

A Study on Syrian Refugees in Jordan Preparing for Irregular Onwards Travel to Europe

Marta Oltedal Lyngstad

International Migration and Ethnic Relations
Two-year master’s program
Master thesis 30 credits
Spring semester 2015
Supervisor: Margareta Popoola
Abstract:

The aim of this study is to get an enhanced understanding of why and how young Syrian refugee males in Jordan prepare for irregular travel to Europe. Through eight semi-structured interviews with Syrians in their 20s and 30s residing in Amman, and a conceptual framework of life plan, existential mobility and social network theory, this research hopefully enhances our understanding of the dynamic and uncertain process of onwards irregular refugee travel. I conclude that discrepancies between the narrative of self and the actual situation may trigger secondary migration, while the social capital inherent in the social network of an individual is essential in the preparation phase of onwards movement. Moreover, the results indicate that latent ties are use actively to assess the reliability of the large pool of information accessed through membership in social media networks.

Key words: Syrian refugees, Jordan, secondary migration, social network theory, life-plan, latent ties
Acknowledgement

First and foremost I would like to thank my informants who through our conversations made this study possible. I sincerely hope that we will meet again either in Europe or somewhere else where you have been able to proceed with your life plan. Furthermore, I would not have been able to carry out this research without the help of my interpreter Hazem. Thank you for engaging in my work and contributing with explanations and contacts.

I would also like to express my appreciation to my supervisor Margareta Popoola who has contributed with invaluable feedback throughout the whole research process. The quality of the study has furthermore been enhanced after inputs from Birgitte Suter, Ane, Siv and Rolv.

Finally, Jørgen you have made the work with the thesis worthwhile and fun through your encouraging words, constructive comments and love!
Abbreviations

GT – Grounded theory
IS – Islamic State
JD – Jordanian dinars
MENA – Middle East and North Africa
MoI – Ministry of Interior
UN – United Nations
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USD – United States dollars
Map of Jordan (OCHA 2013). Jordan is situated in a turbulent corner of the world. Large numbers of refugees originate from countries sharing a border with Jordan.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgement...........................................................................................................4
Abbreviations ..................................................................................................................5
Map of Jordan ..................................................................................................................6
Chapter 1: Introduction ....................................................................................................9
  1.1 Aim and research questions ......................................................................................9
  1.2 Delimitations .............................................................................................................10
  1.3 Clarifications of terms ..............................................................................................11
  1.4 Outline of paper .........................................................................................................11
Chapter 2: Contextual background ................................................................................13
  2.2 Legal status and access to services and livelihood ................................................13
  2.2 Diminishing protections space ................................................................................15
Chapter 3: Literature review ............................................................................................17
  3.1 Motivations for secondary migration ........................................................................17
  3.2 Preparation in first safe country ..............................................................................18
  3.3 The missing link between the humanitarian situation and secondary migration ....20
Chapter 4: Conceptual framework ..................................................................................23
  4.1 Life plan and existential mobility ............................................................................23
  4.1.1 Life plan and existential mobility as formed by the wider context ......................24
  4.2 Social network theory .............................................................................................25
  4.2.1 Social network theory and the refugee journey .................................................27
  4.3 Utilising the conceptual framework .........................................................................27
Chapter 5: Methodology and method ..............................................................................29
  5.1 Philosophical considerations ....................................................................................29
  5.2 Research design ........................................................................................................29
  5.2.1 Conducting semi-structured interviews ..............................................................30
  5.2.2 The informants and the empirical material ........................................................31
  5.2.3 Analysing the material .......................................................................................33
  5.3 Ethical considerations ...............................................................................................34
Chapter 6: Findings .........................................................................................................36
  6.1 Introducing the informants .......................................................................................36
  6.2 Jordan as an inadequate place of refuge .................................................................38
  6.2.1 Lack of study possibilities ....................................................................................38
  6.2.2 Limited access to secure and sustainable work ................................................39
  6.2.3 Increased hostility and lack of protection ..........................................................40
  6.2.4 Neither a future in Syria nor in Jordan ...............................................................41
  6.3 Conducting irregular travel to Europe ....................................................................42
  6.3.1 Perceived absence of regular means of travel ....................................................42
  6.3.2 Demonstrated feasibility of irregular travel .........................................................42
  6.4 Preparations before the travel ..................................................................................43
  6.4.1 Money ................................................................................................................43
  6.4.2 A valid identity document ...................................................................................44
  6.4.3 Information about the journey ............................................................................45
  6.4.4 Knowledge about national and international regulations ...................................48
  6.4.5 Perception of situation in destination countries ..................................................50
Chapter 7: Analyses and discussion ...............................................................................53
7.1 “Whatever happens here, we will be the weakest link” ........................................53
7.2 “You can only go to Europe through irregular ways” ........................................55
7.3 “I have studied this for three months, every day I’ve studied” ...............................56
7.4 A dynamic process with an uncertain outcome .....................................................59

Chapter 8: Conclusion ..............................................................................................62
8.1 Suggestions for further research ..........................................................................63

Literature list .............................................................................................................64

Appendix ..................................................................................................................69
Chapter 1: Introduction

Between April 2011 and March 2015, almost 253,000 Syrian nationals had sought asylum in Europe. Many of the Syrians initially escaped the war in Syria by fleeing to neighbouring countries. There, almost 4 million Syrians have found safety from the war in their home country (UNHCR n.d.-b). However, as the numbers of Syrian refugees in the neighbouring countries increase, so do the challenges for host governments and communities to provide adequate shelter, assistance and sustainable solutions for the Syrian newcomers. Consequently, the social and economic situation for many of the refugees is deteriorating. Some of the Syrians in Jordan and the surrounding region have therefore decided to travel onwards to Europe irregularly in search for better conditions than those offered by refuge in the region.

The focus of this research is the initial stages of irregular secondary migration among Syrian refugees living in host communities in Jordan. In this study, irregular travel refers to a journey that is conducted, in its entirely or partly, without pre-obtained permission to enter a country and therefore consists of illegal border crossing(s)\(^1\). With Jordan as the point of departure, I will investigate why some people decide to engage in an expensive, uncertain and often dangerous journey to Europe, and examine how they prepare for the upcoming travel while in Jordan. Lately, the potentially fatal consequences of this type of travel has received much attention in international media due to the tragedy that played out in the Mediterranean where over 800 migrants drowned on their way to Europe\(^2\). This study will hopefully provide insight into why some individuals still deem it necessary to conduct this type of journey and how they prepare for the travel-to-come, despite the dangers ahead.

1.1 Aim and research questions

Scholars have given increased attention to onwards movements among migrants in traditional transit hubs close to the European border like Istanbul, Cairo and Rabat. These are cities that thousands of migrants attempt to use as stepping-stones to enter the European continent after an often long and fragmented journey from their countries of origin. A complexity of obstacles and opportunities along the migratory journey may

---

\(^1\) Further elaborations on these and other terms will be given in section 1.3

\(^2\) See for instance Al Jazeera (2015)
have affected their arrival to these transit hubs. Despite this, little research has been conducted on the onwards movement from initial, dispersed spaces of safety for refugees which, unlike the subsequently reached transit hubs, are still remote in time and space from desired destinations. This is also the case regarding research on secondary migration among Syrian refugees in the Middle East, much because of the novelty and on-going development of the phenomenon. With this in mind, the aim of this study is to get an enhanced understanding of why and how young Syrian refugee males in Jordan prepare for irregular travel to Europe. To reach this aim, I have stipulated the following three research questions:

1. Why do some young Syrian refugee men not want to stay in Jordan?
2. Why have some young Syrian refugee men decided to conduct irregular travel from Jordan to Europe?
3. How do some young Syrian refugee men prepare for the onwards travel while in Jordan?

This study will contribute to the limited pool of research on the onwards migration of Syrian refugees travelling irregularly from the Middle East to Europe.

1.2 Delimitations

Due to limited available time and resources, I have delimited the study in several ways. Firstly, I have only interviewed informants residing in host communities in Amman. Secondly, I chose to focus on males in their 20s or 30s since this group constitutes the majority of those who migrate irregularly to Europe (Collyer 2007; İçduygu 2000). As no official data exists on the number and composition of Syrians in Jordan who have travelled irregularly to Europe, it is thus not possible to state what proportion of them are male and in that age cohort. Still, the aforementioned delimitation is relevant in accordance with migration trends presented in official EU statistics (Eurostat n.d.). Thirdly, the study will focus on the experience of the individuals. While the position of the state or other stakeholders may be relevant for this study, I chose to have the individual as the analytical category of investigation. Nevertheless, in the conceptual framework and analysis I will discuss why it is still fruitful to assess the influence of both the meso and macro level when investigating the topic at hand.
1.3 Clarifications of terms

*Irregular* travel refers to a border crossing that is conducted in a manner that violates the entrance conditions of the specific country (Jordan and Düvell 2002: 15). The travel of the Syrians in this study is hence not facilitated through, for example the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), or by obtaining a visa at a foreign embassy. However, the entire journey is not necessarily conducted in an irregular manner, as part of it may be conducted in line with official regulations of the relevant authorities.

The term *refugee* is in this study used in a generic sense, referring to Syrian nationals who left Syria because of the current war in the country. Not all of the informants in this study were registered with UNHCR Jordan and, hence, had not officially been granted either refugee status or subsidiary protection. However, since all of the informants left Syria as a consequence of the civil war, this research will for the sake of simplicity refer to the group in focus as Syrian refugees. All of the informants nevertheless plan to apply for asylum when they reach the desired destination in Europe.

*Secondary movement/migration* is used interchangeably with *onwards movement/migration/travel* and refers to the migration of those who either have or could have received protection elsewhere (Collyer et al. 2012). The Syrian men in this study would most likely have been offered some sort of protection in Jordan, but instead decided to prepare for onwards migration to Europe.

*Host country* is employed in reference to the place outside of the country of origin where an individual is currently residing. Here, the term *host community* mostly refers to urban or rural areas in Jordan where Syrians live alongside Jordanians. A *destination country* is interpreted as a (desired) future place of residence. In this study, this commonly entails countries in Europe. A *third country* refers in this study to any country other than an individual’s country of origin or the current host country.

1.4 Outline of paper

In order to get an enhanced understanding of why and how some young Syrian men in Jordan prepare for onwards irregular travel to Europe, it is also necessary to know more about the context within which the decision and preparations take place. The contextual background will therefore be presented in chapter two. In chapter three I will discuss a selection of previous research, with an emphasis on literature focusing on the Middle
East and North Africa (MENA) in general, and the Syrian refugee crisis in particular. I will here attempt to place this study within existing literature, and argue that it contribute to research by drawing a link between the humanitarian situation in Syria’s neighbouring countries and the engagement in secondary migration for Syrian refugees in the MENA region. In chapter four, I will outline a conceptual framework that I find particularly suitable as a tool to enhance our understanding of the topic at hand. In chapter five I will explain and discuss how I went forward with this study by outlining the method and methodology of the study.

As the empirical material obtained through interviews forms the basis of this research, I will introduce the informants individually in the first part of chapter six. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the findings extracted from the interviews with the informants. I will present these findings separately in three sub-sections, in accordance to their relevance for the previously stipulated research questions. I will continue with a similar layout in chapter seven, as I start the chapter by analysing the findings relevant for the various research questions separately. I will furthermore discuss a few issues concerning all three research questions in the last part of the seventh chapter. A summarising conclusion and suggestions for further research will round up the thesis in chapter eight.
Chapter 2: Contextual background

Jordan is a country with a long history of hosting refugees. More than two million Palestinian refugees reside in the country because of the protracted conflict between Israel and Palestine (UNRWA 2014). In addition, over 50 000 other refugees, including Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni, are registered with UNHCR Jordan (UNHCR 2015b). Since the war in Syria started in 2011, UNHCR has registered more than 627 000 Syrian refugees in Jordan (UNHCR n.d.-a). Among these, around 83% live in host communities (UNHCR 2015b), with Amman as the governorate hosting the highest number of refugees from the war-torn neighbour in the north (UNHCR 2015a).

To date3, only 17% of the required funding to handle the protracted Syrian refugee situation in Jordan for 2015 is covered (UNHCR n.d.-a). As the war in Syria has entered its fifth year, Syria’s neighbouring countries seem to face an ever-ongoing struggle against donor fatigue to obtain sufficient funding for humanitarian operations.

Jordan is at the moment one of few countries in the Middle East that still has relative internal stability. As the number of Syrian refugees in the country continues to rise, and with thousands of Jordanian foreign fighters currently engaged in the conflict, the Jordanian government fears spill-over effects from the war in Syria and violence in Iraq. Consequently, the Jordanian government is increasing border controls as it is deemed essential to know who is travelling in and out of the country (ACAPS 2015). The authorities particularly fear infiltration of individuals affiliated with the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) or the Assad regime, which may hamper Jordan’s stability and security. Verifying and checking the document of Syrians travelling through official border points has, therefore, become a priority of the Public Security Department in Jordan4.

2.2 Legal status and access to services and livelihood

Syrian nationals who are in Jordan legally are regarded as foreign nationals by the authorities (Orhan 2014). Refugees living in host communities need a service card provided by the Jordanian Ministry of Interior (MoI) to gain access to health care and public schools, while registration with the UNHCR enables Syrians to access

---

3 As of 21st of May 2015
4 Personal correspondence with an international Immigration Liaison Officer
humanitarian assistance. In order to live in host communities, the refugees should be bailed out from the official refugee camps by a Jordanian relative without a criminal record. While the Jordanian authorities initially did not firmly enforce bailout regulations, this enforcement has lately increased. A large number of refugees staying in host communities without proper documentation therefore risk being returned to refugee camps if caught by the authorities. It is furthermore difficult to obtain the MoI service card without a proper bail out certificate. Therefore, many Syrian refugees are hesitant to approach the authorities to obtain the MoI card due to fear of being forcibly returned to the remotely located refugee camps. Moreover, the Jordanian government has asked the UNHCR to refrain from providing assistance and documentation to refugees who left the camps after mid July 2014 without proper bail. As a consequence, many urban refugees are unable to access assistance and lack valid identification documents as asylum seekers or refugees (ACAPS 2015).

In November 2014, the Jordanian government decided that Syrians holding MoI service cards are no longer entitled to free health services, but should instead pay the same rates as uninsured Jordanians. While the state-provided health services for Syrians are still somewhat subsidised by the Jordanian government, the new regulations have disenabled many Syrians from obtaining adequate health services due to the high cost of consultation and treatment (ACAPS 2015).

Syrian refugee children holding MoI service cards have access to free public schooling in Jordan. However, just over 60% of school-aged Syrian children attend formal education in Jordan as a consequence of, among other things, the inability to re-enter schooling after longer periods out of school, the high cost of transportation and school materials, and overcrowded classrooms (UNICEF 2015). Syrian youth also have the possibility to attend higher education in Jordan. Still, many eligible Syrian students are not able to enrol in Jordanian universities since they are incapable of paying the required tuition fees for foreigners. Those who have means to pay the tuition fees may still be unable to attend universities as it can be challenging to obtain the necessary documents from Syria proving eligibility to start or continue a degree (Watenpaugh et al. 2013). Hence, while Syrian children and students in theory can access primary, secondary and tertiary education, many are in practice unable to make use of these services.

Syrian nationals need to obtain a work permit to engage in legal employment in Jordan (Orhan 2014). This work permit cannot be obtained for work in occupations that
are stated in the “Closed Professions List”, containing jobs within occupations such as engineering, medicine and administration (ILO 2015). Moreover, as few Syrians are able to obtain a work permit within “open” professions, a large number have to work illegally (Orhan 2014). If caught working illegally, Syrians have to sign a paper stating that they will not work illegally again (Ibid), and risk being relocated to one of the official refugee camps (ACAPS 2015). Reports have documented that some Syrians working without a valid work permit in Jordan have been forcibly returned to Syria (Amnesty Internation 2013).

2.2 Diminishing protections space

The large influx of refugees from Syria has resulted in increased tension between host communities and refugees (e.g. REACH 2014). The Syrian refugees are seen as competitors in the labour market, many schools have to do double shifts and the rent of housing has in some areas tripled (Achilli 2015). This has contributed to increased dissatisfaction among the Jordanian population, compelling the authorities to react. Consequently, humanitarian stakeholders and observers are reporting a shrinking protection space for Syrian refugees in Jordan (e.g. ACAPS 2015; ECHO 2014; IRC and NRC 2014). The authorities currently seem to follow an encampment policy by making it less feasible and beneficiary to live in host communities. It is now more complicated to register and access services outside refugee camps, and the mobility of urban refugees has as a consequence been restricted (Achilli 2015). In general, it is becoming more difficult to be a Syrian refugee in Jordan due to increased hostility from the local population and further restrictions from the authorities.

The Syrian refugees take various approaches to handle the diminishing protection space in Jordan. While some might choose to remain in Jordanian host communities with or without the required documents, others may decide to return to the official camps because of the increasingly difficult conditions in host communities. Some also choose to return to Syria voluntarily due to the lack of economic opportunities and legal rights in Jordan (IRC and NRC 2014). In addition, a number of humanitarian stakeholders have raised concerns about Jordan’s increasing refoulement\(^5\)

---

\(^5\) A violation of the principle of non-refoulement that “prohibits States from returning refugees in any manner whatsoever to countries or territories in which their lives or freedom may be threatened” (UNHCR 2006: 15)
of refugees to Syria (e.g. ACAPS 2015; Amnesty Internation 2013; HRW 2014; IRC and NRC 2014). Some may try to be resettled through the UNHCR-system, while others may see independent, irregular onwards migration to countries outside of the region as their only alternative leading to a better future.
Chapter 3: Literature review

Studies on the causes and consequences of forced migration have been a central focus for migration scholars for years. Lately scholars have taken an increased concrete interest in the “in between” phase of emigration and settlement, namely the migration journey and places that are transited along the route (e.g. Bredeloup 2012; Collyer 2007, 2010; Düvell 2006; Gerard and Pickering 2013; Papadopoulou-Kourkoula 2008). Despite this recent attention, Benezer and Zetter (2014) argue that there is still a “gap” in the literature addressing the different stages of the refugee journey.

In this chapter I address a selection of existing research relevant to the start of the refugee journey, after an individual has fled immediate danger. Firstly, I will discuss research concerning why some refugees decide to engage in secondary migration from a supposedly safe area. Secondly, I will discuss research regarding how refugees prepare for the onwards travel. Research from the MENA region will be prioritised in these two sections. While conditions necessary for migration engagement are discussed in a number of studies, few researches have yet explored more extensively how individuals themselves prepare for the travel. As there is only limited in-depth research available on the topic, the discussions will be supplemented by studies not referring exclusively to refugees, in addition to studies also focusing on conditions further along the migration journey. In the last section I will outline relevant literature concerning the current Syrian refugee situation. This is also the context wherein I place this study, as I argue that existing research still overlooks important parts of the process of secondary migration among Syrian refugees.

3.1 Motivations for secondary migration

Most research conducted on secondary movement among refugees acknowledges that there are a variety of reasons why refugees choose to move on from the place where they initially found safety (e.g. IOM and UNHCR 2010; Legomsky 2003; Suter 2012b; Van Hear 2012; Zimmermann 2008; S. Zimmermann 2010). While exploring various refugee populations in Egypt, Al-Sharmani (2008) found that onwards movement to Western countries was often motivated by a number of factors including lack of protection, few possibilities of education and livelihood, and generally few prospects for a future in Egypt. This is in line with Zimmermann (2008: 83) who explains, “Not being able to
contemplate going back meant looking forward”, and stress that most refugees are seeking more than merely safety. Brekke and Aarset (2009) argue that whereas push factors such as war, conflict and violence might initially be more important in the migration decision, pull factors such as possibilities of livelihoods and education may become more influential for onwards migration as individuals spend time in exile. Hence, motivations for secondary migration are often diverse and subject to change over time.

While motivations may be diverse, some scholars still emphasise certain factors as more influential. In a comprehensive study on secondary migration among Somali refugees in neighbouring countries, Moret, Baglioni, and Efionayi-Mäder (2006) found that motivations are often induced by legislation in both host and destination countries. Chatelard (2002, 2005) partly supports this in her studies on Iraqi refugees in Jordan by arguing that the authorities largely facilitate the onwards movement of the refugees in the country through unfavourable legislation. While most Iraqi refugees were allowed refuge in the country during the wars and violence in Iraq in the 1990s and 2000s, the Jordanian authorities did not make it especially advantageous for the refugees to stay. One in five Iraqis in Jordan supposedly had concrete plans on moving to a third country in 2007 (Dalen and Pedersen 2007).

The importance of social networks in migration theory is well established among researchers. Doraï emphasizes and exemplifies this in his work on Iraqi refugees in Syria (2011) and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (2003). In both cases various transnational social networks motivate and facilitate onwards movement to European countries containing Iraqi and Palestinian diasporas. Whereas the social networks in Doraï’s study seem robust and reliable due to the protracted nature of these refugee situations, Moret, Baglioni, and Efionayi-Mäder (2006) found that some migration decisions are based on rumours that spread among refugee populations. This draws attention to how various social networks can also contribute to migration decisions based on an illusory picture of the journey or the situation in destination countries.

### 3.2 Preparation in first safe country

For many refugees, it is after first fleeing immediate danger that they find time and resources to plan for secondary movement (Middleton 2005). While the initial flight from the country of origin can be understood reactively since the priority is to escape danger, secondary movement from first country of safety can be seen as proactive as the
refugees at that stage may have the time to gather information and resources to migrate onwards (Moret et al. 2006; Richmond 1988). A number of reports and articles address refugees who plan to move on while in the first place of refuge, but few investigate in more detail what this preparation phase entails. Still, some observations can be extracted from the existing literature.

Van Hear (2006: 12) claims that “access to social networks and mobility can be among refugees’ most important assets”, and is supported by a number of studies. As an example, Doraï’s (2011) research on Iraqi refugees in Syria found that social networks between the Iraqis in Syria and Iraqis in Europe play a major role in providing sufficient money to carry out onwards travel. Moreover, social networks are important sources of information about the travel and conditions in destination countries. Information can for instance be obtained from human smugglers (Gilbert and Koser 2006), friends and family who have migrated (Robinson and Segrott 2002), fellow migrants (Suter 2012a) or religious networks (Chatelard 2005). Communication technologies have furthermore enabled cheaper and faster information flows between individuals planning to move onwards and people elsewhere who possess information of use (Collyer 2007; Martin 2001).

The quantity and quality of the information can differ greatly. Even though many might find information from friends and family most trustworthy, this information is not necessarily accurate as some may downplay negative experiences they encountered during the journey (K. Koser and Pinkerton 2002). According to Malakooti’s (2013) study, migrants who move onwards to Libya possess surprisingly little information about the journey, and the information they do have mostly concerns how to get to the next stop, rather than to a final destination. Additionally, individuals may be “selectively seeking information” (Ibid: 65) and prefer to focus on success stories instead of risks and negative experiences. Hernández-Carretero & Carling (2012: 415) nevertheless argue that “aspiring migrants actively engage with the risk information they receive, evaluating the validity of its risk in relation to the credibility of the source and filtering it as they see relevant to their case”, and thus have more faith in how people assess available information.

While the previous sections address the collection of finances and information that are necessary, and maybe also obtained, throughout the entire journey, some studies stress that certain items may be essential to obtain before initiating the onwards travel. For instance, the Iraqi refugees in Jordan should, according to Chatelard’s study (2002),
get hold of a valid passport before proceeding with travel plans as it enables the crossing of official borders. However, as the same study additionally points to, the Iraqi refugees could at the time of the study circumvent the passport requirements by paying a smuggler to get them out of Jordan through remote and unguarded border areas. This may, though, not be the case today, as the conflict in Syria and Iraq has made northern and eastern border areas unsafe, and has furthermore led the Jordanian authorities to increase the security at the borders. The need for a valid passport may therefore depend on the geographical position of countries that migrants desire to leave or travel through, and the quality of border control.

3.3 The missing link between the humanitarian situation and secondary migration

It is possible to roughly divide relevant literature addressing Syrian refugees and secondary migration into two categories. Firstly, there is a large body of reports and studies concerning the situation of Syrian refugees in Syria’s neighbouring countries. Secondly, a growing number of papers have started to address the Syrian refugee situation from an international or European perspective. I will in this section give a brief account of these emerging research areas, and furthermore suggest that this study contributes to knowledge by drawing attention to the gap between the two evolving bodies of research.

Given the novelty and continuing developments of the Syrian refugee crises, humanitarian stakeholders still account for a majority of reports on the humanitarian situation of Syrian refugees in the region. Regular interdisciplinary status-reports (ACAPS n.d.; ECHO n.d.; UNHCR n.d.-b) and frequent overall assessments (e.g. Achilli 2015; Care Jordan 2014) provide a continuing overview of the Syrian refugee crisis. Furthermore, International Non-Governmental Organisations, UN-bodies, and independent researchers are delivering more detailed reports on the refugee situation concerning issues such as education (Ahmadzadeh et al. 2014; UNICEF 2015), health (Benage et al. 2015; Doocy et al. 2014), livelihoods (ILO 2015; Stave and Hillesund 2015), protection (HRW 2014; Kataibeh and Al-Labady 2014), and potential consequences for host countries (Christophersen et al. 2013; Young et al. 2014). These updates and reports commonly highlight discrepancies between the status quo and targets stipulated within different sectors of the refugee response. Since these reports and studies are conducted as the refugee situation unfolds, they usually also provide
relevant stakeholders with policy and prioritization suggestions aimed at reducing the humanitarian cost of the Syrian refugee crisis.

The second collection of research addresses European perspectives on the Syrian refugee crisis. These studies typically discuss how Europe and the international community should contribute to easing the burden of the pressing Syrian refugee situation in the Middle East (P. Fargues and Frandrich 2012; P. Fargues 2014; Orchard and Miller 2014; UNHCR 2014). Moreover, there has recently emerged more reports and articles concerning the number and experience of Syrian refugees who embark on an often hazardous and potentially fatal boat journey across the Mediterranean in order to reach Europe (DeBruycker et al. 2013; A. Fargues and Bartolomeo 2015; IOM 2014; Save the Children Italy 2014). Still, although these reports and studies address both the numbers of individuals attempting to enter Europe irregularly and their stories, they rarely investigate the earlier stages of the refugee journey that take place further away from the European borders.

While research and reports concentrating the humanitarian situation for refugees in Syria’s neighbouring countries have the potential to increase our understanding of why some individuals decide to engage in secondary migration, the link between the two is seldom drawn. Rather, there is a noticeable “jump” from the aforementioned humanitarian focus to Syrian refugees situated inside or on the fringes of Europe. This research will hence provide a context-specific contribution to increase our understand of why some individuals decide to engage in irregular secondary migration to Europe from the Middle East, and how they prepare for the journey before setting out.

To sum up, according to existing literature it is not possible to distinguish one single reason for why refugees desire to engage in secondary migration; as motivations may derive from discrepancies in possibilities and security in host and potential destination countries, the context should always be taken into consideration. This is furthermore also the case during the preparation phase for secondary migration, as country-specific circumstances may determine the necessary preparations for travel, and the resources that an individual can obtain from his or her social network may influence the facilitation and feasibility of actual onward movements. Based on the existing literature

---

6 See Düvell (2013) for a brief, but rare exception.
on Syrian refugees, I furthermore argue that there is still a need for research addressing the motivations and preparations for secondary migration among Syrian refugees in the Middle East. Hopefully, this study will contribute to reducing the information-gap on refugee journeys mentioned by Benezer and Zetter (2014) in the start of this chapter.
Chapter 4: Conceptual framework

During the work with this research, the concepts of life plan and existential mobility, and the social network theory materialised as the most relevant and suitable conceptual framework for this study. The concepts of life plans and existential mobility are proposed as analytical tools to investigate why individuals may decide to engage in migration, but they do not address how this migration might be facilitated. Social network theory is therefore included as it can address both motivations for migration and the potential facilitation of this movement through social networks and social capital. After an outline of the concepts and the theory, I will discuss why it is fruitful to integrate the three approaches for this particular research.

4.1 Life plan and existential mobility

Through increased access to global media and transport technology, people today are exposed to impulses that they were not exposed to just a few decades back. As this may bring about an ever-increasing pool of alternative lifestyles, it is according to Anthony Giddens (1991) becoming more important for individuals to develop their own life plans in order to achieve the goals they set forth. A teenager may see herself graduating with a University diploma in Engineering six years ahead; a woman may want to be a mother by the time she is thirty; and a middle-aged man may plan to move back to his childhood house after retirement. This way of life-planning can be linked to Ghassan Hage’s (2005) concept of existential mobility. Existential mobility is to subjectively feel that one is “going somewhere” and advancing in life. If an individual is not able to go forth with his or her own life plan, this may lead to a lack of existential mobility in where life is not proceeding as planned and hence give a sense of life being put on hold.

According to Giddens (1991), individuals are constantly developing their own identity through a reflexive self. The way we see ourselves can change over time depending on, for instance, new impulses and environments, and we adapt to expected or unexpected circumstances. Based on our reflexive self-identity, we create a biographic narrative of how we want our life to be. The narrative is open for change in the same way as the self-identity. How we choose to live our lives and our life plan should through this reasoning fit into the narrative made through a reflexive self-identity. A life narrative that does not fit the actual situation of an individual can also be
a consequence of comparative existential mobility, wherein person A does not feel he is moving forward in the same pace as person B (Hage 2009). The life narrative may then be re-evaluated in order to achieve a perceived adequate development as compared to the progress of other people.

If the life plan of an individual is not deemed achievable in a specific place, this may, according to Hage (2005), prompt individuals to engage in migration as a way to again experience existential mobility. It is expected that the conditions in the place to which an individual migrates can bring about a renewed sense of existential mobility, as there may be better opportunities to fulfil the life plan in the new place. In line with a rational choice approach (Haug 2008), individuals hence may see migration as the most feasible way to achieve the life plan and again experience existential mobility.

It may be difficult to predict if life becomes better after migrating. Still, within the uncertainty of life in the new place there is leastwise a possibility of existential mobility being one of the outcomes, unlike staying in the same place, where the only perceived situation is the status quo (Hage 2005). This uncertainty can be seen in light of Giddens’ (1991) understanding of risk, as something an individual assesses in relation to future possibilities. If an individual believes the possibilities after migration outweigh the risks of migration and consequences of staying put, then they may partake in migration. This can be a way for the individual to influence the outcome of his or her own lives, or as Giddens puts it, to “colonise the future”.

4.1.1 Life plan and existential mobility as formed by the wider context
Implicit in the concept of life plan and existential mobility is human agency. Van Liempt (2007: 53), inspired by Giddens, articulates her understanding of a migrant’s human agency with the assertion that “people are not ruled by society, but have agency even when their options are limited”. Van Liempt’s underlying assumption of a migrant’s self-agency is also applicable in this study. While refugees often are seen as a vulnerable and passive group in society, the refugees in focus in this study are actively trying to influence their own future by preparing for onward movements.

When referring to human agency it is natural to also address the impact of social structures. In his extensive work on the interplay between agency and structure, Giddens (1984) has emphasised that social structures, to various degrees influence individuals’ scope-of-action, as they can both constrain and enable human action. Additionally, Giddens (Ibid: 173-74) argues that “each of the various forms of constraint are thus also,
in varying ways, forms of enablement. They serve to open up certain possibilities of action at the same time as they restrict or deny others”. In a migration context, an illustrative example of this is the implementation of the Schengen Agreement, which simplifies movement of people within the Schengen area, but restricts the entrance of people from outside.

Bakewell (2010: 1690) moreover argues that social structures should be an explicit part of the analysis of refugees’ movements since an exclusively human agency-framework can “undermine their case for refugee status”. Motivations for secondary migration may, for instance, be formed by continuing insecurity in home countries, or limited legal rights in the first host country.

Through an underlying focus on human agency, I will in this study, nevertheless, also address how refugees themselves try to circumvent barriers to onwards migration erected by various social structures. This can be seen from a rational-choice point of view, as the group in focus make an assessment of where it is most feasible to fulfil their life plan and experience existential mobility given the different structures shaping the possibilities to get there, and how life is expected to unfold in the new place.

4.2 Social network theory

With an initial reference to labour migration, social network theory addresses how and why international migration continues over time. In general, it is argued that individuals who are part of a social network containing former and present migrants have access to resources that increase the likelihood of non-migrants within the network to become migrants (Palloni et al. 2001). Koser (1997) contends that social networks and their inherent resources are correspondingly relevant in the study of forced migrants. Even though the urgency of leaving the place of origin for refugees is likely to be more pressing than for labour migrants, social networks to various degree still play a role during pre-flight, flight and post-flight. Social network theory is equally applicable when investigating the motivations and preparations for the Syrians in this research.

Social networks and social capital are two distinct, but still interlinked components of social network theory. While social networks can describe the strength and density of social interactions between individuals across space and time, social capital may capture how these social ties can facilitate actions (Bourdieu 1986) such as migration.
Migrant networks are according to Massey et al. (1998: 42) “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin”. These social ties or relationships between individuals within a social network can take various forms. Granovetter (1973) makes a distinction between weak and strong ties based on the amount of time, emotions and intimacy that are invested in the relationship, and the reciprocal services one can gain from the tie. Close family and households are often regarded as strong ties, while for instance acquaintances form weaker ties. Furthermore, social networks can consist of symbolic ties, wherein the participants do not necessarily know each other personally, but due to for instance common religion, shared memories or future expectations the ties can give a sense of “imagined community” (Faist 2000).7

Dekker and Engbersen (2014) argue that the Internet and social media have transformed social networks among migrants. While Internet applications simplify contact with strong ties across geographical distances, it also provides an opportunity for individuals to regain contact with weak ties, who might possess information of potential future use to them as a migrant. Additionally, Haythornthwaite (2002) contends that the Internet has made accessible a large pool of yet-to-be activated latent ties. This access could for instance be obtained through subscription to mailing lists or membership in an online community. An activated latent tie converts into a weak tie through social interaction. These latent ties may furthermore be activated, for instance, through online communities, as it is easier to see which users possess much information, and thus also to contact these individuals. It is then up to the individual to assess whether the information gained through the activated latent ties online can be trusted or not.

Social networks can be converted into social capital, as it exists in the relationship between people (Coleman 1988). Social capital is the ability to use the resources found within a social network (Portes 1995), and is thus a potential product of social ties in social networks (Faist 2000). Social capital can be materialised within a social network when information and advice on how to conduct a journey is exchanged, and consequently facilitates or simplifies migration (Boyd 1989). Social capital is furthermore transferrable into other types of capital (Massey et al. 1998), such as for example financial capital if an individual borrows money or obtains a job through someone in his or her social network.

7 The concept of imagined community was introduced by Benedict Anderson (1983) and addresses how individuals who do not know each other may still experience a sense of shared community
Granovetter (1973) has famously emphasised the “strength of weak ties”, arguing that individuals may access more diverse social capital through weak ties than through the stronger ones. Individuals a person has a close relationship with are, according to this reasoning, more likely to possess the same information and contacts as the person him or herself. Acquaintances on the other hand, may also be part of other social network and thereby have access to different sources of information and contacts. Coleman (1988), however, highlights the expectation of reciprocity as an important condition for the social capital to be activated. As the strength of ties depends on the degree of investment in the relationship, individuals possessing strong ties might be more prone to assist future migrants with for instance financial support, as there may be a stronger sense of obligation and compassion towards them. An individual may hence get access to different types of social capital through different types of social ties.

If the social capital within the social network is used, it can facilitate cheaper and less risky engagement in international migration through accumulated experience and practices, and enable future migrants to benefit from the resources inherent in the network. While social networks may provide motivations for international migration through interaction with former and present migrants, the social capital inherent in the various relations may render actual movement possible. Social network theory hence addresses the continuation of already existing migration patterns.

4.2.1 Social network theory and the refugee journey
Whereas Massey et al (1998) focus on the ties between people in places of origin and destinations, more recent studies have highlighted the presence of these social networks in places a migrant might transit on the journey between the area of origin and destination. A journey does not always go directly from place A to place B, and social ties along the way may impact both the situation in transit and further mobility (Brekke and Brochmann 2014; K. Koser and Pinkerton 2002; A. Koser 2010; Schapendonk 2012).

Social network theory is in this study employed as a tool to discuss how an individual may be motivated by social networks to decide on onwards travel, and how he or she utilises the social capital within the various social ties to prepare for the travel.

4.3 Utilising the conceptual framework
People do not live in an isolated vacuum, and the life plan and narrative of an individual is influenced by the surrounding context. Employing the social network theory facilitates a discussion of how the life plan of an individual may change depending on information and resources existing within a social network. As the theory focuses on the social network of individuals across time and space, it is also fruitful to discuss how membership in a social network may impact the way individuals see themselves in terms of perceived existential mobility. Additionally, the decision to engage in international migration as a means to fulfil the life plan and again experience existential mobility, might lead the individual to more actively employ the social network and its resources when planning for the upcoming travel. The various components of the conceptual framework of this study are hence highly interlinked.

While a micro level lens is utilised to investigate the topic at hand, influences from both the macro and meso level are of significance. Implicitly, the micro approaches of life plan and existential mobility are influenced by macro level circumstances, both as something that has to be circumvented (e.g. immigration policies) and as a source of possibilities (e.g. access to education). Explicitly, the individual is used as the point of departure when assessing how the meso level approach of social network theory influences and shapes the motivation and preparation of the group in focus.

By applying this conceptual framework of life plan, existential mobility and social network theory, an objective of the study is to understand the dynamic process migrants face when deciding and preparing for secondary migration. Hopefully, the chosen conceptual framework will strengthen the analysis of the study as it will accentuate the relevance of utilising several approaches to investigate why and how young Syrian refugee males in Jordan prepare for irregular travel to Europe.
Chapter 5: Methodology and method

In this chapter, I will account for and discuss the methods used in this research and the methodological assumptions these draw on. After some philosophical considerations, the research design is presented. This entails a discussion on the method, the empirical material and how I did the analysis. Lastly, a number of ethical considerations will be discussed.

5.1 Philosophical considerations

My understanding of how the world works has shaped the way I chose to conduct this study, and I consequently wish to clarify my underlying philosophical considerations shaping this particular paper. This research is based on a social constructivist understanding of the world. I do not see reality as a single uniform truth, and I hence prefer to address it in the context of the wider social system. I believe that the way we see the world is itself formed by the world we live in, and we thus should take into account the social and cultural surroundings of any issue that is subject of investigation (Creswell 2007).

My understanding of the world also influences how I understand knowledge. The conclusions I draw from the material and analysis are hence based on my conception of knowledge (6 and Bellamy 2012). As the purpose of this research is to describe, understand and interpret the material I obtain from the interviews, I construct the knowledge and findings of this research (Merriam 2014) based on my warranted interpretations of the expressions and experiences of the informants.

Drawing on these aforementioned philosophical considerations, this study will take into careful consideration the specific context and how the informants themselves assess and prepare for the forthcoming travel. Through my social constructivist and interpretivist approach to the world and knowledge, I believe it is of value to conduct research presenting subjective truths seen in a specific context.

5.2 Research design

The literature on onwards migration of refugees in Jordan is scarce, and there is yet to be research conducted on the situation of Syrian refugees in Jordan travelling further to Europe on their own. Given the little knowledge about the specific research focus, this
study was inspired by a grounded theory (GT) approach. The empirical material should according to this approach be the centre of attention throughout the whole research process (Glaser and Strauss 1967). A qualitative research design was therefore used in this study. It is fruitful for this particular research since the aim of the thesis was to get an enhanced understanding of why and how young Syrian refugee men in Jordan prepare for irregular travel to Europe. I did not attempt to investigate how many people that are in this particular situation. Rather, I strived to understand the perspective of the informants by interpreting the empirical material generated through interviews.

The study could potentially be supplemented by a quantitative approach in order to enhance our understanding of numerical factors related to the inquiry. However, due to lack of former research and official data on characteristics and numbers of Syrian refugees in Jordan who chose to conduct this particular travel, it is for the moment more feasible to focus solely on a qualitative research design for this particular study.

It is essential that I as a researcher strive to demonstrate the credibility of this type of qualitative research. Given the importance of this issue, I will in each of the following subsections assess how and if the validity and/or reliability have been sustained and/or considered through the research process.

5.2.1 Conducting semi-structured interviews
I collected the material informing this study through eight semi-structured interviews. Interviews were especially appropriate for this study as I tried to explore opinions, feelings and experiences (Denscombe 2007). Before conducting the interviews, I made an interview guide with a few introductory easy-to-answer background questions, and five general topics with some potential sub-subjects. I did not follow the guide strictly, but ensured that all major topics in the guide were discussed at some point during the interview. The interviewee was encouraged to elaborate on issues, and to explore further new topics that I deemed relevant. Additional sub-questions were introduced in later interviews when concepts and topics were discovered during preliminary analysis of earlier interviews. This is in line with the GT approach wherein it is essential not to follow a strict interview guide that may constrain the information obtained, and thereby potentially influence the findings and analysis.

At one point I had an offer to conduct a focus group. This could have provided valuable material on how and what information is generated through interactions.

---

8 See section 5.2.2 for more details
9 See appendix
between Syrians who are all planning to travel to Europe irregularly. However, due to language barriers that will be discussed later, I did not consider it feasible to moderate a focus group conducted in Arabic in a satisfactory manner without loosing valuable elements of the discussion.

A concern that I had in mind throughout my interviews was how information generated through the interviews could depend much on different context specific aspects that might have affected the interviewee or me as the interviewer. Although a possible interviewer effect can be difficult to avoid, it is still important to be aware of its presence (Denscombe 2007). I, the researcher, am a young woman from Scandinavia, while the informants were all Middle Eastern males in their’ 20s and 30s. My own identity could potentially have constructed an invisible barrier between the informants and me. Two concerns can be highlighted in this regard. Firstly, the gender roles are generally more conservative in the Middle East than in Scandinavia, and the fact that the interviewees and I were of different gender may impact the information shared. Secondly, I could be considered socially and economically superior to the informants due to my passport. The informants had high expectations of the social and economic life in Northern Europe and a main topic during the interviews was how the informants could make a life for themselves in Northern Europe.

I conducted most of the interviews with an interpreter. This entails that valuable details can be lost if the interpreter conveys what is said into his own words (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). However, as I did not have sufficient Arabic skills to conduct the interviews myself, I decided that engaging a professional interpreter was the best solution. The interpreter was himself a young Syrian living in Jordan. Several of the informants seemed to be more comfortable talking about their situation when knowing that also the interpreter could relate to some of the challenges and topics raised during the interviews. My level of Arabic was nevertheless good enough to detect possible discrepancies in the translation when listening to the audiotapes. I therefore on several occasions asked the interpreter to re-translate certain parts of the recorded interviews to enhance the validity of the transcribed material.

5.2.2 The informants and the empirical material
When searching for informants for this study, I looked for individuals that had already decided, and were working purposefully, to prepare for onwards, irregular travel to Europe. This can lead to some challenges, as it may be difficult to define when an
individual is working purposefully towards a goal. However, upon contact with the informants, it became apparent that everyone in various ways had started practical preparations for travel, and so had progressed beyond mere intention. I will nevertheless discuss further the uncertainty inherent in the obtained material in the analysis. Furthermore, as the interview phase developed, an additional criterion of age and gender naturally emerged\textsuperscript{10}.

I used my personal network to access the field. I deliberately tried to interview people from different social networks as a measure to decrease the bias of the empirical material, since people within the same network are more likely to share similar sources of information or influences than strangers (Vershinina and Rodionova 2011). In addition, not all of the informants were in the same stages of life. While some were either single or in a relationship, others were married and/or had children. These individual characteristics might give the informants different perspectives on the situation, and it can thus be seen as a way of triangulating the empirical material (Merriam 2014). This was why, in addition to six unmarried young men, I also included two married young men (of whom one had children) among my informants.

Even though measures were taken to decrease potential biases, this study does not claim to hold a representative sample. Given that all of the informants were reached through my expatriate or upper middle-class Jordanian friends/acquaintances, all individuals within the target group did not have equal chances to be approached for an interview. It is likely that the reached informants hold similar socio-economical characteristics as the individual who put me in touch with them.

I conducted nine interviews, with a total of 11 informants. However, during the interviews it became apparent that three of the informants were not planning to travel to Europe \textit{irregularly}. These three are hence not within the scope of this study. Only the empirical material from the remaining eight informants are therefore used in this research, of whom all will be introduced separately in chapter 6.1. Two of the interviews were conducted with two informants present at the same time, in addition to the interpreter and me. One interview was conducted in English without an interpreter.

Ideally, I should in accordance with the GT approach continue to conduct interviews until a theoretical saturation is reached (Bryman 2008). However and admittedly, available time also played a role in the number of interviews I conducted.

\textsuperscript{10} See delimitations in section 1.2
Nevertheless, there was little new information concerning the broad topics identified in the final interview that had not been touched upon during earlier interviews.

Various measures have been taken to enhance the validity of the material. Firstly, I asked for elaborations or posed follow-up questions if a topic or statement was unclear, in order to double-check that I understood the information correctly. Secondly, in addition to taking notes during the interview, all interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. I therefore possessed both notes on initial thoughts and ideas that I wrote down during the interview, and a complete transcription of the whole interview. Moreover, this also enhances the reliability of the study as it enables other researchers to make their own assessments based on the same empirical material accessed through my notes and the interview transcripts. When I went through the transcripts after the interview, I could detect if topics should be explored further or needed additional elaboration. Some of the informants were, as a consequence, contacted again for additional information over Facebook or, as in one case, through a follow-up interview.

Still, as the informants were all in the planning-phase of the journey and still open for new information regarding how to conduct the upcoming journey, taking part in the interview might in itself influence the informants. My questions could for instance potentially bring forth new ideas, and thereby affect the informants on-going preparations for the travel. Additionally, as I myself became part of the social network of the informants, several of the informants used the opportunity to ask me questions regarding European policies and regulations. It is possible to argue that answering these questions may decrease the validity of the material since the informants might not have obtained this information elsewhere. However, as a researcher I want to give something back to the informants who have devoted time to contribute to the study, and one form of reciprocity can be to provide objective information and advice (Duvell et al. 2010). I was nevertheless very aware of which information and advice I could give with confidence, and how this potentially could affect the situation of the informants.

5.2.3 Analysing the material
The study is iterative since I constantly went back and forth between the information of the informants and the analysis (Bryman 2008). This is especially fruitful due to the qualitative, explorative and small-scale nature of this particular study (Denscombe 2007). The information obtained from the interviews was coded and categorised back and forth simultaneously, throughout the interview procedure. This enabled me to
constantly adapt the interview questions to newly emerging themes and statements. The continuous consultation with the collected information ensured that I stayed close to it (Creswell 2012) and may hence have strengthened the validity of the analysis.

Even though the empirical material guided the analysis, I did not disregard the findings of earlier research from similar contexts and topics. Denscombe (2007: 94) argues that relevant former research and knowledge should be seen as a “tentative starting point from which to launch the investigation”. During the interviews, I therefore always kept in mind the findings from previous research. Nevertheless, upon the emergence of other aspects and issues I deemed relevant, I tried also to pursue these new topics rather than solely investigate concepts and theories emphasized in former research.

I used the computer assisted qualitative data analysis program NVivo to organize the information. All the transcripts of the interviews are stored and coded in NVivo. It is however important to keep in mind that NVivo is not used to analyse the information, but to facilitate the analysing of the information. It is thus still I as the researcher who had to make sense of the coding and patterns that emerge when working with the empirical material.

It was challenging to know how much empirical material that was needed to reach a point where I could, with confidence, claim to find patterns and concepts that can potentially develop theory. I therefore endeavoured to reach a theoretical saturation that would enhance the validity of the study. This entails that later interviews confirm the empirical material obtained in earlier interviews, and no new information or analysis is generated through additional interviews (Bryman 2008).

5.3 Ethical considerations

I started all of the interviews by explaining who I was and how the information from the interviews would be used. I emphasized that the informant was in charge during the interview, and that he could decline to answer a question or withdraw from the whole interview at any time without giving an explanation. After oral consent from the informant, the interview could start. Denscombe (2007) argues that more lengthy research on sensitive issues should always have the informants’ informed consent in writing in order to make sure that the informants are fully aware of the scope and aim of the research. However, due to the exact sensitivity of the issue at hand, I chose to not ask for a written consent in line with the reasoning of Duvell, Triandafyllidou, and Vollmer
I did nevertheless not start the interview before I was assured that the informants understood the objectives of the research and how the material would be used and subsequently got their oral consent. The interpreter conveyed this information in Arabic.

Taking part in the research should not harm the informants. Considering the sensitivity of the topic, the informants were therefore ensured full anonymity before starting the interviews. All of the informants are hence given fictive names and the names of workplaces and education are excluded throughout this paper. As there is a strong presence of mukhabarat\(^\text{11}\) in Jordan, I did not discuss the topic of the research with people I did not know or trust. Given that most of the informants were working, or even staying, irregularly in Jordan, I considered it particularly important to protect the identity and anonymity of the informants. Interestingly, however, many of the informants explicitly stated that they were not afraid to have their names on print. As one of the informants explained: “everything I say to you now, I will have to explain in even more detail to the immigration authorities when I reach Germany”. I nonetheless still emphasized that all names would be changed and other identifiable variables would be excluded.

The informants were eager to talk and openly discussed the challenges they faced in Jordan and details of the possible routes they could take to Europe. After explaining a ninth possible-route to Europe, one of the informants joked that no Syrians would be able to reach Europe after the publication of this thesis. Even though this was said in a joking manner, I should always keep in mind how the study could potentially harm the informants. Carling (2001: 54) accordingly argues that a migration thesis should “not reveal details that A) are not already known by the relevant authorities, and B) could make it easier to further restrict migration flows”. This is also taken into consideration in this study, and I have omitted for instance names of smugglers that were mentioned as trustworthy by the informants, and details of irregular travel itineraries, as recommended by Black (2003). The purpose of this study is not to make it more difficult to travel into Europe irregularly, but rather to get a better understanding of why and how some Syrians prepare for the travel while in Jordan.

\(^{11}\) Jordanian secret police
Chapter 6: Findings

This chapter presents the findings extracted from the interviews. I will first introduce the eight informants independently to enhance the transferability of the study. It will, according to Merriam (2014) enable other researchers to assess if the analysis and findings from this study are relevant also for different studies. Subsequently, I will present findings relevant to each research question in sections 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4. These are addressed separately, as there is a natural sequential order between the findings of the different research questions.

6.1 Introducing the informants

Mahmod is 21 years old and came to Jordan over 2 years ago. He had finished one year of his university degree in Damascus when he fled to Jordan because of the war. Mahmod lives with Syrian friends in an apartment close to the café where he works ten hours a day, six days a week. He stresses that his employer is treating him well. Mahmod has a large group of friends in Amman consisting of Syrians, Jordanians and other foreigners. He likes his life in Amman, but he cannot see a future in Jordan. As soon as he came to Jordan he therefore started saving up money so he could travel onwards to Europe. Mahmod is planning to use a smuggler to get to Europe. He can make himself understood in English.

Omar is Mahmod’s cousin and lives with five Syrian friends. All of them are planning to go to Europe together by boat with the facilitation of a smuggler. Omar is 25 years old and did two years of his university degree in Syria. Before he could complete his studies he had to flee the country because the government wanted him to serve in the military. Omar is working in a company owned by a friend of his father. He is, together with a couple of hundred other Syrian employees, working irregularly for the company.

Tareq does not live with Omar, but spends much of his spare time hanging out with friends in Omar’s flat. 25-year old Tareq had to interrupt his university studies in Damascus and flee to Jordan when he was called for military service. He now lives with his family in Amman. He is currently working in a company where they prepare office equipment, but this is not related to the education he started while in Syria. Tareq can make himself understood in English. After one year in Jordan, Tareq decided that he
cannot live in the country anymore and started preparing to travel onwards to Europe irregularly together with a friend.

34 year-old Yazan had his own workshop in Damascus and regularly travelled to Jordan for business before the civil war in Syria broke out. Two and a half years ago he fled to Jordan. After he had been in Jordan for some months, his wife, parents and three siblings joined him. Yazan had by that time been able to set up his own informal workshop and earn money to facilitate the entrance and stay of his family. He has decided to travel to Europe with the help of a smuggler. When in Europe, he wants to be reunited with his family through reunification procedures and to enable his father to receive treatment for his heart disease.

Ahmed is Yazan’s six-years younger brother. He completed his degree in Syria before he had to flee the country. He was smuggled to Jordan after several attempts to join his family legally through official border points. Since Ahmed did not enter Jordan legally, he neither has permission to stay in the country, nor the right stamps in his passport to leave it. This is a main concern since Ahmed is planning to travel together with his brother to Europe. His various attempts to get a valid travel document have so far not been successful.

Saeed (22) came to Jordan two years ago after first spending a year in Lebanon. He initially planned to spend only one week in Jordan to visit his girlfriend, but ended up staying. Now he is living with two friends from Europe. In his first year in Jordan Saeed was able to continue his studies, which had been interrupted when he left Syria, with financial assistance from his mother. However, after one year Saeed had to quit as the money he got from his mother and his part time job was not enough to cover the tuition fees. Saeed seemed to be very sociable and had taught himself fluent English in two years. He has, during the last eight months, worked on a plan for how he can travel to Europe irregularly without using a smuggler.

22-year old Khalid had to interrupt his bachelor studies and flee to Jordan two years ago after attending demonstrations against the regime in Syria. He first shared an apartment with other Syrians, but now lives together with one Japanese and one British man. Khalid is working in a foreign company in Amman six days a week, 9,5 hours a day. About a year ago he started thinking of going to Europe. He is planning to reach Europe with the facilitation of a smuggler. He is however not certain about when he will travel since he has recently met a girl in Jordan, and might postpone his journey because of her.
**Wasim** (34) differs from the rest of the interviewees since he has only completed primary school, while the rest have started or finished higher education. In addition, Wasim is the only informant who has children. In Syria, Wasim ran a family business together with his brothers, but the business broke down when he and his family fled the country three and a half years ago. Wasim struggled to find employment in Jordan offering a salary that would cover the family’s expenses, and therefore decided to start his own mini-business as a street vendor. Wasim, his wife, and three children aged 2, 7 and 11, live together in a rented apartment. Wasim is the sole breadwinner in the family and is aware that a family reunification process in Europe can take time. He therefore sees no option but to bring the whole family along on the journey to Europe by sea.

### 6.2 Jordan as an inadequate place of refuge

All but one of the informants say that they first started thinking about travelling onwards to Europe after they had been in Jordan for a while. Furthermore, all of the informants expressed that there is no future for them or their family in Jordan. However, one isolated cause was seldom stated as a reason to leave Jordan. Lack of educational opportunities, difficult work conditions, poor prospects of peace in Syria and increased hostility from the Jordanian population recurred as determining motivations for the decision to start preparing for onwards travel. In the following section I will present the informants’ views concerning why they no longer consider Jordan a viable place for permanent refuge.

#### 6.2.1 Lack of study possibilities

A main concern among the informants was the limited possibility to engage in further studies. Mahmod, despite being happy with his social situation in Jordan, stated that his foremost goal was to finish his degree. In Jordan he was not able to fulfil his ambitions in life, and it was apparent that he felt he had to take charge of his own future. Khalid and Saeed, being less satisfied with the situation in general, also emphasized that a main reason for their planned travel was the inability to continue with their studies in Jordan due to the high tuition fee for foreigners. Lack of educational opportunities was a reason for leaving Jordan that was particularly stressed by the informants whose studies had been interrupted because of the war in Syria.

Yazan and Wasim expressed that the lack of educational possibilities for their family members influenced their decisions to leave Jordan and head for Europe. While
Yazan was concerned about the future of his younger sister who was not able to use and develop her academic talent in Jordan. Wasim was not satisfied with the schooling of his children. For him, a main reason to leave Jordan was to enable his young children to get a good education and better prospects for the future. While the informants in their 20s expressed a need to enhance their own education, Yazan and Wasim, both being married and sole breadwinners of the family, emphasized the need for the younger family members to get adequate opportunities to access a good school and higher education, which would provide them with more possibilities for the future.

6.2.2 Limited access to secure and sustainable work

None of the informants expressed satisfaction with their type of work. Tareq explained that Syrians who try to apply for the mandatory work permit were rejected and had no choice but to find informal employment. He furthermore emphasised that working irregularly was getting more difficult since employers were afraid that they would get into trouble with the police if they hired Syrians. According to Khalid, the authorities had recently put more restrictions on the work possibilities of Syrians, which were now more zealously enforced. Yazan explained why he had given up working irregularly in the country: “Many times they [Jordanians] reported me to the police because I had opened a job [workshop] here, and the police came and closed the shop because I am not allowed to start a job here. After being shut down three times, I gave up”. Wasim similarly commented on how Syrians had to be on the alert when conducting informal work:

“One day I was in Medina Street12 and I saw a police car, a van. It was filled with people and when I started asking what was the story behind this, they told me that they are Syrians. And if there are more Syrians here… The police was asking if there were more Syrians in the neighbourhood so they could send them to Zaatari13. When I saw them I tried to avoid being seen”.

Yazan elaborated further on the challenges of working in Jordan as a Syrian: “Many clients [in the workshop] did not pay me all the money. They paid me once in advance and they did not complete the payment. And I could not go to the police because I’m Syrian and I do not have rights here. It happened many times to me,

---

12 The name of the street has been changed
13 The largest refugee camp in Jordan
and I’m fed up”. Neither he nor his wife was able to work in professions relevant to their education.

Also his brother Ahmed had given up working in Jordan. He had already been arrested three times by the labour inspectors and was therefore not working anymore since he did not want to risk being arrested again. Khalid informed that also he had been arrested twice, just because he was Syrian.

With more labour inspections and tougher reactions to those working irregularly, the informants had difficulties securing an adequate and stable income. Yazan and Ahmed explained that they had to make a drastic change in order to be in a position to pay for the expensive medical treatment of their father; as the situation was at the time of the interview, their savings would be gone within two months.

6.2.3 Increased hostility and lack of protection
Syrians in Jordan are experiencing increased hostility from the local population. Wasim tried to understand the reason behind this tension:

“Maybe because of the big numbers of Syrians now, in addition to some simple clashes between some Syrians and Jordanians which affected other Syrians. For example, five months ago a Jordanian and a Syrian guy fought in Tafilah14 and unfortunately the Jordanian guy was badly injured and was taken to the hospital. In light of this, the Tafilah inhabitants started expelling Syrians from the neighbourhood”

Saeed expressed his frustration regarding the way many Syrians are treated and how this impacted his choice of leaving the country:

“I’m done with this country. Like day in and day out I feel like I can’t… I just want to leave now.. (.) there are no opportunities, I can’t work, I can’t. I don’t know how to explain it… Like the people’s attitude with you as a Syrian is sometimes really disturbing. Like a taxi driver one time dropped me off the taxi because he knew I was Syrian. He’s like “you are a Syrian”, I’m like “Yeah”, then he stopped the car and told me to get out. It’s getting worse and worse actually because the idea that Syrians are taking the job of the Jordanians with lower salaries. The Jordanians are getting to hate the Syrians more and more”.

---

14 A conservative city in central Jordan
Yazan, Saeed and Khalid all noted that they did not believe they would get assistance from the police if they were to need it because they were Syrians. In Khalid’s view the racism they experienced from the police was the worst: “The police officers wanted to take me away because I’m Syrian, only because I’m Syrian. Even though I have a work contract and a residency permit”.

6.2.4 Neither a future in Syria nor in Jordan

In the summer of 2014, with the entrance of the self-proclaimed Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, Wasim and his family realized that they would not be able to return to Syria in the near future. He and his wife therefore decided that the only way they could make a decent life for their children was to leave Jordan. Wasim noticed a change in the way Syrians were treated that affected their decision to travel:

“When I saw the obvious change in treatment with Syrians in Jordan, I become ascertain that whatever happens here, we will be the weakest link (…) They [the Jordanians] are not warm and hospitable anymore. And they might accuse the Syrians for any event that happened to Jordan. One of them is the pilot that was killed by IS15. So some of them might say that it is because of you Syrians”

Yazan and Ahmed also stressed that they could not continue to live in Jordan, and they could not go back to Syria. As they saw it, their only option was to travel to Europe where they would be respected and treated according to the human rights. The brothers knew of many Syrians who had travelled to Europe and now had a better life than before.

Wasim explained that he was not able to ensure a stable and secure upbringing for his children in Jordan, and therefore had to somehow provide them with better conditions. Tariq furthermore stressed that life in Jordan was very different from what they were used to in Syria stating “when we see the situation here, khalas16, everyone decided to leave Jordan”.

Even Mahmod’s parents, who initially did not want him to travel irregularly because of the inherent dangers, had changed their minds: “When they started seeing that Syria’s situation is getting worse an worse by the day, they said like

15 See for instance BBC (2015)
16 Common Arabic term that here can be interpreted as “enough”
“No, you should do it. This is the best thing you can do”. Right now there is no one trying to stop me or hold me back”.

6.3 Conducting irregular travel to Europe

The aforementioned conditions had caused the informants to decide that they could no longer stay in Jordan. Therefore, they had started to search for alternatives on how they could leave the country and travel to Europe. This section outlines why the informants decided to conduct irregular travel to Europe.

6.3.1 Perceived absence of regular means of travel

It is difficult for Syrians to obtain a legal entrance permit to a country outside of the region in order to leave Jordan lawfully. Omar and Wasim were both rejected when applying for a visa to Canada and Australia respectively. Wasim explained that he filled out 30 pages for the visa application, and 8 months later he received a mail with the rejection notification. The mail stated that he could not get a visa since he did not have a financial sponsor in Australia. Ahmed and Yazan had similarly approached several embassies unsuccessfully in hope of obtaining a visa and travel document in order to leave Jordan.

Wasim had also applied for resettlement through the UNHCR, but, by the time of our interview, he had still not heard anything from them. He did not have faith in the UNHCR to offer him and his family transfer to a third country. Mahmod supported Wasim’s lack of confidence in the UNHCR and stated that young single men like himself would never be offered resettlement through the UN-body17.

6.3.2 Demonstrated feasibility of irregular travel

Saeed had considered several options of how to get to Europe, one being to marry a European friend and later apply for family reunification. However, as he did not want to be dependent on another person, he was uncertain if this was the right option for him. After talking to his Syrian friend in Europe, Saeed instead decided to start preparing for irregular travel:

“when my friend just arrived there and he told me like “guess what”, he was just talking to me and telling me “I’m in Denmark”. I was like “Good! How?” He told me like

---

17 For UNHCR’s criteria of resettlement, see UNHCR (2011)
“Don’t worry”. I was like “What? Did you travel illegally?” He was like “yes, don’t worry, it was so easy”.

While Saeed was still thinking about whether he should apply for a visa through his European friend or not, he was also encouraged to travel irregularly as he had seen numerous Syrians who had managed to conduct the travel on their own.

Sick and tired of the way he was treated in Jordan, Khalid was also motivated by a friend who had reached Europe safely. Omar furthermore explained that when he arrived in Jordan he had 25 Syrian friends in the country. Now, two and a half years later, 20 of them have travelled to Europe irregularly.

Leaving Jordan was a main concern for the informants who had all set their minds on starting a new life in Europe. As Omar explained, “Europe is not a paradise for me, but at least I will get some kind of respect there, the thing I am missing here”. According to Tareq “you can only go to Europe through irregular ways”. Travelling irregularly seemed to be considered the only feasible solution for all of the informants.

6.4 Preparations before the travel

Upon deciding to migrate irregularly to Europe, the informants started to plan the travel. Five major topics can be identified from the empirical material addressing how the informants prepared for the up-coming journey. In addition to saving money and securing a valid travel document, the interviewees gathered information about the journey, international and national regulations, and the situation in the desired destination countries. The three last topics are strongly interlinked and could be presented together. However, as all three topics are recurrent in the preparations of the informants, I will nevertheless present the relevant empirical material separately to highlight the significance of the topics.

6.4.1 Money

The informants stressed that they needed to have enough money before they could leave Jordan. All except Saeed were planning to pay a smuggler to facilitate parts of the journey. The smuggler would provide the informants with transportation and/or fake identity documents. The expected cost of the travel varied much between the informants. While Wasim expected to pay 10 000 USD to a smuggler in order for his family of five to cross the Mediterranean and reach his destination in Europe, Omar and Tareq were prepared to pay around 6750 USD each to a smuggler that would take them from Turkey
to Italy by boat and provide them with a fake ID when in Italy. In addition to facilitation fees to the smuggler, the informants were also preparing to spend money on a scheduled plane ticket out of Jordan, living costs during the journey and transportation costs within the Schengen area.

Despite the insecurity of working in irregular employment\textsuperscript{18}, all the informants except the brothers still engaged in some sort of work in order to pay the cost of living in Jordan and to save up for travel to Europe. The informants explained that it was often difficult to find employment in the start, and they spent time approaching potential employers in search for jobs. While Mahmod, Khalid and Omar found their current job through their social network, Saeed was working as an Arabic teacher a few hours a week for foreign friends and acquaintances. Both Wasim and Yazan had started up their own informal businesses, but only Wasim had continued. A combination of actively searching for employment and getting help from friends and acquaintances enabled most of the informants to engage in some kind of paid work.

In addition, money to cover the expected cost of the journey was also obtained externally. Yazan and Ahmed had a bit of old family land in Syria that their brother could try to sell off, and Saeed and Khalid got financial assistance from their parents and siblings. Wasim was trying to get some money from a couple of friends and his brothers that were living in the region, and stressed that without financial help from these people, it would be very difficult to pay for the whole family’s travel to Europe. Mahmod was the only one who explicitly said that he did not want to accept the money that his family had offered him, explaining that “I want to make it all by myself without their help”.

6.4.2 A valid identity document
The informants stressed that Syrians were not able to leave Jordan without a valid Syrian passport. This was a main concern in the preparation phase for those whose passport had expired or who had not entered Jordan through the formal border crossings. Wasim explained how having a passport may be more essential for Syrians in Jordan than Syrians elsewhere:

“From Jordan the main obstacle is that you cannot leave the country without a passport. The problem is not in entering Turkey, because the Turkish government might be a bit tolerant with them. But you cannot get a visa [exit permission] to go out...”

\textsuperscript{18}See section 6.2.2

44
of Jordan if you don’t have a valid passport. People who are living in Lebanon can be smuggled through the sea to Turkey without any passport”

Wasim and his family still possessed valid Syrian passports, which they intended to use to leave Jordan.

The informants not holding a valid passport had various approaches on how to obtain this. At the time of the interview, the Syrian embassy in Amman was processing Khalid’s application for an extension of his passport. However, he was uncertain if the extension would be approved since he had previously violated some documentation procedures introduced by the Syrian government. Saeed also tried to renew his passport at the Syrian embassy, but was rejected. In the end Saeed found a contact in the Syrian embassy in Turkey that managed to renew his passport1920. Ahmad was still looking for a way to get a valid passport. He was currently approaching different embassies in Amman hoping they could provide him with a temporary travel document. Ahmed was reluctant to use a forged passport due to the potential consequences if caught. Since he entered Jordan irregularly and did not have the permission to stay in the country, he was afraid that the Jordanian government might detect him using a forged passport and send him back to Syria. At the time of the interview he and his brother were still searching for other ways to get him a valid identity document in order to leave Jordan.

At the end of the interview, Ahmed asked me if I knew of embassies or someone in embassies that might be able to provide him with a travel document. Unfortunately, I was not of much help.

6.4.3 Information about the journey
The itinerary of the travel seemed carefully planned. The informants had many opinions on for instance safe and dangerous routes, and which smugglers they could trust or not. As Yazan himself put it while explaining nine possible routes; “I have studied this for three months, every day I’ve studied”. You could according to Omar ask any Syrian right now about the ways to Europe, and everyone would give you information about which roads were available and which roads had been closed.

---

19 One of the informants who was excluded from the data due to not being within the scope of this research, paid 500 Jordanian dinars to a Syrian man who had set up an unofficial office in central Amman in order to renew his passport. The Syrian man then supposedly renewed the passport of the informants by using official stickers that had been plundered from a migration center in Syria.

20 See Chatelard (2005) for more on how Iraqi refugees used smugglers to facilitate their journey out of Jordan a decade ago.
Saeed explained how his friend in Denmark gave him advice on how to prepare for the travel and to be aware on who to trust: “He told me there are a lot of fake smugglers who just want to take your money and lie to you (...)[it] is your job to know who is lying to you and who is not”. Wasim similarly emphasized that a friend who had reached Germany was his most trusted source of information and helped him plan the journey by providing advice and contact details of smugglers. The other informants also supported this.

Both Wasim and Khalid said that they planned to contact and travel with the same smuggler as used by their friend in Europe. While some of the informants who planned to use a smuggler from Turkey said that they would contact a pre-determined smuggler when in Turkey, others said that they would contact him while they were still in Jordan. A few days before the departure from Amman they would therefore call the smuggler to let him know that they would soon be coming to Turkey to travel with him. Most of the smugglers were according to Saeed also Syrians.

While opening a file on the iPad, Yazan and Ahmed explained how a friend of theirs who had already arrived in Europe made a document that would help them and other Syrians to reach Europe. The document contained detailed information on for instance which hotels they should stay in, and how much they should pay for one night. Thus, the knowledge and experience conveyed by personal contacts in Europe contribute to shape the informants’ expectations and helped them plan their itinerary.

Online communities also proved to be important sources of information. The informants searched for information about the journey on a number of Facebook groups for Syrians and other Arabic speakers who either planned to or already had travel to Europe irregularly. Khalid explained how he used Facebook to send messages or write a comment and ask for extra details from people in the group. Wasim was regularly checking the different Facebook groups to go through the questions and answers people post in search for relevant information. Omar and Tareq also got much of their information from Facebook groups. The various Internet pages, some with around 25000 members, were crowded with information and offers on how to travel irregularly to Europe.

Saeed emphasised that he himself helped other with information about the travel: “I know these communities. I talked to a lot of people. Now some people ask me for some stuff online, because I’m kind of famous, because I know a lot of things. I always advise people. A lot of people don’t speak English. I help them”.
The informants had different approaches on how to assess the large amount of information available. Saeed was collecting information from various sources systematically. Every time he came across new information, he wrote it down in his notebook. This enabled him to compare all the information he had collected and assess which sources and information were most reliable. Saeed explained how he evaluated what he read on Facebook:

“I always ask whenever I hear “I just arrived here like this and this..” I always start talking to people I don’t know. “How? What did you do?” Like I don’t know the people. And then they tell me some information. I take this and this and this, and put everything together and see who’s lying, who’s right, which person match the other person. Like if more people told me the same names, the same stories, then I may believe them”.

As for Mahmod, Yazan and Khalid, they claimed to only take advice from people who had already travelled to and reached Europe. When asked where he got the most valuable information, Mahmod answered:

“From the ones who have left. (..) They took several routes and I talks to them and gather information and decide which one is safer, which one is better. It’s basically a collective of information and I have to pick the best for me, or the best option for me.”

And Yazan continued:

“From my friends who have arrived there. I asked this one and this one in Sweden, this one in Germany, this one in Austria, I asked them about this and I meet people in Facebook and ask him. [I get] so much [information] from friends.”

Both of them expressed that they found information from people who had arrived safely in Europe more trustworthy than other sources of information. Pros and cons about the various routes were considered before the informants chose which itinerary they wanted to pursue.

Upon obtaining a valid Syrian passport, the informants were all planning to take a commercial plane from Amman to Turkey. From there on the itinerary varied. Ahmed and Yazan regard the land route through Greece and Eastern Europe as the most feasible
route. Wasim, Mahmod, Tareq and Omar were planning to pay a smuggler to bring them to Italy by boat. Wasim regarded this route as safest since he could follow the same route as his friend in Europe. The latter three preferred this route since their main contact in Europe, being their cousin, friend and brother respectively, advised them not to take the Eastern European land route. Khalid was still uncertain on which route he could take. If he was able to renew his passport, he preferred travelling from Turkey to Greece by boat. However, if the Syrian embassy rejected his application, Khalid claimed he could still fly to Algeria without a proper passport since the Algerian authorities according to him were somewhat more lenient towards Syrians. In Algeria he would then use a smuggler to get to Libya and further to Italy by boat. Some Syrian friends of his had told him about all the bad experiences they had in Libya, but Khalid was still willing to take that route since he did not want to stay in Jordan much longer. For Yazan and Ahmed, travelling through Libya was not an option since they stressed that it was both dangerous to be in the country and to travel from it by sea. Saeed did not want to use a smuggler and had therefore developed an alternative plan that among other things entailed jet skis, persuasion and private taxis. Saeed was convinced that he would be able to fulfil the plan since his friend had previously managed to travel in a similar way.

6.4.4 Knowledge about national and international regulations
When preparing for the journey to Europe, the informants were also trying to keep updated on national and international regulations that might affect their itinerary. If for example Turkey were to introduce visa regulations for Syrians, the informants might have to adapt their preparations to the new regulations by applying for and obtaining the visa before they could take a scheduled flight to Turkey. If this was not feasible and/or desirable, the planned travel route should somehow be modified to circumvent the change in regulations.

All of the informants had some knowledge of the Dublin Regulation that determines which member country should assess an asylum application. Their focus was to avoid giving their fingerprints in the southern European countries. According to Khalid and the two brothers, the only way to reach their desired destination was to avoid being caught by the police, for instance in Italy. Others however, had different opinions on how to circumvent the regulation.

21 In addition to the EU countries, Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Switzerland are also signatory to the Dublin Regulation
Saeed’s plan, if caught by the police in Greece, was to simply refuse to leave his fingerprint in the country, inform the officers that it’s his right to decide whether to give his fingerprints, and then just run away. Saeed insisted that as long as he knew his rights and conveyed this to the Greek officers, he would be able to continue his journey as planned. Mahmod as well believed that he could discuss the situation with the police in Italy. After disembarking the boat in Italy, Mahmod planned to surrender himself to the local police. There he would get the choice of either applying for asylum in Italy, or leaving his fingerprints in ink on a piece of paper so that the Italian authorities could give him a one month permit to stay in Italy. According to Mahmod, he would not face any difficulties when applying for asylum in his desired destination since he had not given his fingerprints digitally. Wasim believed that the Red Cross would provide them with assistance upon arrival in Italy since he was travelling together with his family. According to him, the Red Cross would ask if they wanted to apply for asylum in Italy or to continue their journey further without additional contact with the Italian government.

Mahmod, Wasim, Khalid, Yazan and Ahmed mentioned that not all countries that have signed the Dublin Regulation sent people back to Italy. Depending on the individual case, Sweden and Germany would according to them sometimes disregard that people had had their fingerprints taken in Italy due to the difficult situation for asylum seekers in the country. Mahmod, for instance, had through one of the Facebook pages found an article from Der Spiegel that informed which regional authorities in Germany that did not send people back to Italy in accordance with the Dublin Regulation. Wasim similarly mentioned that Germany and possibly Sweden might consider assessing their case even if they had their fingerprints taken in Italy. Hence, he and some of the others still felt there would be hope to reach their desired destination, even if they left their fingerprints in Italy.

Also internal policies and regulations confined the possible itineraries of the informants. The Turkish coastal city Marsim was for example often cited as an important transit hub for migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean. While some were still planning to embark on a boat trip from Marsim, others mentioned that the Turkish government recently had increased controls around the city, making it less accessible and attractive for migrants and smugglers. As a consequence, Yazan and Ahmed had decided not to follow through on their original plan of crossing the Mediterranean, but instead take the land route through Greece and Eastern Europe.
The informants were exposed to a variety of sources containing information about official regulations. In addition to listing a number of Facebook groups, when asked about where he had obtained information about different immigration policies, Saeed said he had found a web link to the Swedish Migration Board. Khalid moreover mentioned he had learnt about the Dublin procedures through a documentary film about Syrian refugees that he had watched during a film festival in Amman\textsuperscript{22}. In his opinion, the information from the documentary was identical to information he had received from friends who had already travelled. He therefore found it trustworthy.

All of the informants had obtained some information on national and international regulations that they took into account when preparing for the journey. However, the information given by some informants was not always in accordance with the information of other informants. The feasibility of the travel may thus be hampered depending on the reliability of the information people possessed.

6.4.5 Perception of situation in destination countries
Sweden and Germany were the desired destination countries for all of the informants. Khalid would like to either join his friend in Germany or some relatives in Sweden. For Wasim it was important that he and his family could plan a future in the country where they would seek asylum. Wasim and Khalid would therefore be happy if they ended up in either of the two countries.

Mahmod preferred to travel to Germany since his cousin already lived there. More importantly, Mahmod wanted to go to Germany due to the good educational possibilities for refugees in the country. According to him, Sweden had now become a less favourable place for Syrians because of a pressing housing situation for refugees and increased hostility against Muslims among the local population. This, he said, had been particularly bad after the Charlie Hebdo shooting in Paris\textsuperscript{23}. Omar and Tareq also preferred Germany and not Sweden because there, according to them, were too many Syrians in Sweden already and therefore it would be difficult to find work and housing.

Yazan and Ahmed did not share this perception. According to them, all Syrians in Jordan dreamt of going to Sweden. Yazan explained this fascination by the way his friend was received when he arrived Sweden: “When he arrived at the airport he saw the Quran, the Bible and the Torah, which is a sign of equality and non-discrimination. They

\textsuperscript{22} “On the Bride’s Side”, directed by Augugliaro, del Grande and al Nassiry
\textsuperscript{23} The deadly attack on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris on 07.01.2015 performed by perpetrators claiming alliance to IS.
treat Arabs in a very good way and call them "New Inhabitants" not "Refugees or Displaced". Saeed also preferred to go to Sweden. In addition to the financial aid, he believed Sweden was the country where he would have the best possibilities to finish his studies.

It seemed common to have special criteria in mind when considering which country to go to. To get a good perception of how the conditions were in the respective countries, Yazin actively used his network in Europe to collect information concerning the different privileges provided to refugees in the various countries. For him and Ahmed, long residency was essential when choosing a desired destination:

“In Sweden you get a residency in five years, and after that you get a citizenship. While in Spain you get a one-year, but it’s not a residency it’s like a subsidiary system. They give us like subsidiary system for one year, but they do not guarantee that they will renew it (...). What will happen after the revolution [civil war] in Syria? We cannot go back anyway, so it’s not stable to stay in Spain.”

Wasim had decided on desired destination countries after talking to a friend in Europe, and by following conversations on Facebook. His choice was also much motivated by residency policies:

“I am considering either Sweden or Germany because they first of all have a very good educational system which for me is very important. Secondly, long residency. In Sweden they give us five years residency, and after the five years we will get citizenship. In Germany it’s three years and after this we might renew it three years and then we might renew this. The main reason is the long residence”

Mahmod had through his work at the café got to know some Jordanians who studied at the German University a bit outside of Amman. Since they had all been exchange students in Germany, Mahmod used the opportunity to ask them about their impressions of Germany. He had a clear vision of why he wants to go to Germany and the possibilities he would have there:

“In Germany studying is for free. It’s not as expensive as in other European countries (...) In other countries I would have to go to the country and study on the expense of the country, and I would have to pay it back. So I get stuck in a certain
country for like ten years. But in Germany, the German government would pay for me to learn German. Then I would study for free because in Germany it’s free for everyone. That way I wouldn’t have to get stuck in Germany (…) So if I work and study at the same time, I will start building myself up as soon as I am able to gain working knowledge of the language”

All of the informants had a clear perception of where in Europe they wanted to apply for asylum. Decisions on desired destination were usually made after comparing the situation of refugees in different countries in Europe. Still, the information of the informants might not always correspond to the actual situation in the destination countries.
Chapter 7: Analyses and discussion

This chapter will provide an analysis of the findings outlined above. I will start the chapter by analysing the three research questions separately in light of the conceptual framework. This will be followed by a more general discussion where I touch upon issues that may be relevant in the various initial stages of secondary migration, and which furthermore contribute towards an enhanced understanding of the topic at hand in accordance with the overall aim of the research.

7.1 “Whatever happens here, we will be the weakest link”

Motivations for secondary migration among the Syrian refugees in this research appear to be highly influenced by discrepancies between their actual situation in Jordan, and the individuals’ conception of their life narrative. The young informants especially seemed to be dejected by the stay in Jordan, as they felt unable to develop skills and achieve personal advancement like other young men in their early 20s. Lack of accessible educational possibilities was a main concern. While completing a degree seemed feasible a few years back when studying in Syria, the same objective appeared impossible in Jordan. None of the informants saw a future for themselves in Jordan and expressed that their life was currently on hold. Accordingly, the informants would not be able to regain a sense of existential mobility by working towards a specific goal and get on track with the life plan if remaining in Jordan.

Yazan and Wasims’ motivations for engaging in secondary migration were somehow different from the reasons stated by the younger informants. As both Yazan and Wasim were the main breadwinners of their families, the well-being of family members seemed more significant. This can be understood in light of a changing self-identity. For Yazan and Wasim being a husband and a father appeared to be an important characteristic of their perception of self. Their life plan and priorities might hence change in accordance with a reflexive self-identity in which their role as a family provider might overshadow their need for personal development. Both for example expressed more concerns about the future possibilities and existential mobility of the younger family members, than of their own personal situation. Furthermore, both had successful private business in Syria, but were not able to provide the same financial means as irregular workers in Jordan. For Yazan, this also entailed that he could not pay
the vital medical treatment for his elderly father. One consequence might be to experience a sense of failure as a breadwinner for the family, leading Wasim and Yazan to search for a change that would enable them to again facilitate a decent and more prosperous future for themselves and their family members.

Moreover, the ill-treatment some of the informants experienced in Jordan was regarded unacceptable compared to how they expected to be treated. As Saeed explained, even the taxi drivers did not give him respect and emphasised that Syrians as a group were blamed for the difficulties Jordan was facing. Saeed thus clearly expressed that he felt he was being treated unfairly and did not deserve to be a target of Jordanians’ aggravation. Accordingly, divergence between actual treatment and how an individual himself expects to be treated may be a motivation for onwards movement as the informants’ current situation did not fit their perception of self and might hamper progress of the life-plan.

While the feeling of being treated in an (in)appropriate manner was subjective, it was also formed through comparison over time or space. Yazan, who in the past conducted regular successful business trips to Jordan, at the time of the interviews had no means to claim pre-agreed payment for his services in the workshop, and thus did not enjoy the same respect as previously. Khalid compared his situation in Jordan with the warm reception and good treatment a Syrian friend of his received upon arrival in Germany. Through the experience of his friend, Khalid understood how he potentially could be treated as a Syrian refugee abroad and seemed to incorporate this into his own narrative. It hence seemed like Khalid and the other informants became more dissatisfied with their own situation upon discovering the achievements and situations of people within their social network. Hence, the social network of the informants performed as an illustrator of how life could potentially be for a Syrian refugee, and furthermore motivated them to search out such lives for themselves. The same social ties could furthermore also demonstrate the absence of existential mobility, as individuals compared themselves with the achievements and situation of others.

The informants did not see a prosperous future in either Syria or Jordan, as the hope of peace in their home country in the near future was diminishing, and the situation for Syrian refugees in their current host country was deteriorating. Given the pessimistic outlook on the future in Jordan, the informants expressed a need to make a change that somehow would enable them to continue with their lives in accordance with their life narrative. Even though it would be difficult to know the outcome of an implemented
change, a future without change was more easily conceptualised as pessimistic in the current situation, or potentially even worse. It might hence seem like the informants perceived few possibilities to take control of their own future while in Jordan, and hence searched for a change that might enable them to again somehow work towards colonising the future in accordance with the life plan as suggested by Giddens (1991).

As Wasim stated that “whatever happens here, we will be the weakest link”, he highlights that the informants were not optimistic regarding how their life would turn out if they remained in Jordan. Through this analysis, I argue that the lack of existential mobility and unsatisfactory opportunities to fulfil the life plan in Jordan seem to be the main reasons why some Syrian men in the country do not want to stay in Jordan. The motivation to leave Jordan is reinforced when individuals are treated in a manner that does not fit the self-identify of the person. These push factors are furthermore formed by the social network of the individual, as it becomes apparent that other Syrian refugees holding similar characteristics have better possibilities to fulfil their own life plan elsewhere.

7.2 “You can only go to Europe through irregular ways”

As legal channels of migration to Europe seemed to be blocked for the informants, either because they were not granted official visas from foreign embassies or not considered within the priority group for UN-resettlement, the only presumed solution was to conduct an irregular journey. Even though the informants were aware of the potential dangers and challenges with this type of travel, irregular migration was assessed as the only realistic action that might enable the fulfilment of the life plan in accordance with their life narrative.

The social network of the informants played a role in the decision on type of travel. For Khalid and Saeed, it was the successful travel of a Syrian friend that encouraged them to prepare for a similar travel. Omar accordingly stressed that a majority of his earlier social network of Syrians in Jordan now had reached Europe after conducting irregular journeys. Social ties thus worked as motivation for engaging in secondary migration by demonstrating its feasibility.

Conducting this type of travel could also be understood as part of the life plan in itself. As an increasing number of Syrians manage to get to Europe on their own, it will in accordance with social network theory facilitate and simplify the journey for future Syrian onward migrants. For Saeed, knowing that his friend, and many Syrians like him,
had already travelled irregularly seemed to be an additional motivation for him to prove to himself that he was also able to carry out the journey. Mahmod similarly stressed that he did not want financial assistance from his family, but rather wanted to render the journey possible by himself. One could argue that Saeed and Mahmod had incorporated the experiences of others into their own narratives of self, and now seemed to see the journey itself as an independent part of their life plan. To go through with such a journey may hence be a token of independence and resilience that cannot be obtained by travelling in a different manner.

Tareq argued that “you can only go to Europe through irregular ways” and illustrates the perceived lack of migration channels as expressed by the informants. Still, while immigration policies and social structures undoubtedly influence the decision to conduct irregular travel to Europe for some Syrian men in Jordan, so does the social network of the individual. Due to the successful experience of others, this means of travelling is deemed feasible. For some of the informants, the completion of such a journey independently may have become a goal in itself as an incorporated part of the life narrative.

7.3 “I have studied this for three months, every day I’ve studied”

The findings from this research suggest that different social ties provide different types of information and facilitation for the individual who is preparing for secondary migration. In general, the informants put more trust in the information obtained from strong ties such as friends and relatives who had reached Europe through similar travel. The informants seemed to base their choice of route primarily on the advice and experience of these close ties. Still, information from pre-existing weak ties and activated latent ties were also collected, and constituted a pool of information that the informants could draw upon in their assessment of suitable itinerary and destination.

Moreover, the findings imply that membership in online communities, such as Facebook groups for current, former, and coming Syrian migrants, were essential sources of information, and for some, extra motivation for secondary movements. The social ties found in online communities might be characterised as symbolic ties since the groups supposedly consist of Syrian members who either already migrated irregularly to Europe or want to; they meet online and forge a sense of shared history and future. Thus, it can be argued that the online communities form an “imagined community” in which
the informants can relate to other group members based on their shared experiences and expectations as refugees.

These online communities could furthermore be understood as a warehouse of latent ties. As the Facebook groups often consist of thousands of Syrian migrants, these forums provided the informants with thousands of potential social ties. Based on the findings, it is possible to identify two distinct ways that the informants utilised the latent ties. Firstly, some latent ties were activated and developed into weak ties when the informants initiated contact with other group members on the social media platform. Khalid for instance, activated latent ties as he approached other members in the Facebook groups, asking for clarifications or elaborations of information he deemed relevant for his own journey. Secondly, the informants also used information from latent ties actively, as a means to gather a pool of information without activating the tie itself. These ties may therefore be understood as passive, latent ties. Wasim for instance, explained how he spent time reading through posts and comments in relevant Facebook groups. Even though his name was visible as a member of the specific group, Wasim may never have revealed to the other group members that he was using the information provided by them in the preparation of his own travel. Hence, while these latent ties were never activated through mutual interaction, the information provided by these latent ties could still provide social capital as it prepared Wasim for what to expect and how to handle the upcoming journey. Although the activated and passive latent ties described above originate from the same pool of accessible social ties, the identification of a distinction within these latent ties highlights the diverse approaches the informants use to obtain information from their social network. Whereas the activated latent ties were identifiable for both participants of the tie, passive latent ties were visible for only one of the tie participants and were thus used in a different manner.

Additionally, the information obtained through the Internet and social media networks can be a source of confusion, as a vast pool of potentially contradictory information is available. Reading from the findings, it could be suggested that latent ties were used in order to assess large quantities of available, and sometimes conflicting, information. As an example, Saeed was contacting other members on Facebook groups for Syrians travelling to Europe, asking follow-up questions about information and comparing the various answers in order to assess its reliability. Yazin similarly explained that he would ask for advice and information from Syrians all over Europe in
order to find out which country would offer the most suitable asylum conditions for him and his family.

The knowledge expressed by the informants was not consistent, and illustrated the potential uncertainty of the obtained information. The information they emphasised as most trustworthy was to a large extent shaped by the personal experiences of a strong tie, such as a family member or a good friend, who had already reached Europe through an irregular journey. For instance, while Mahmod’s cousin warned him against travelling by land through Eastern Europe, Saeed’s friend in Denmark advised the opposite, stating that the Eastern European land route was the safest alternative. The information conveyed to the informants in Jordan hence depended much on the personal travel experiences of their contacts in Europe, which in many cases could be a result of coincidental events that occurred along the journey. It could additionally be challenging to recognise the underlying motives of people posting on online forums. Some might for instance be smugglers or somehow searching for profit, and might therefore provide biased or false information to convince more people to make choices beneficial for their business.

Furthermore, the preparations before travel are much dependent on the possibility to transform social capital inherent in the social network of the informants into other types of capital. Through friends and family, informants were able to convert social capital into financial capital by obtaining employment and collecting money through the connections with close ties. Access to sufficient financing was according to Wasim only possible with the help of his social network. Similar reasoning can be drawn from some of the informants’ struggle to obtain a valid travel document. Saeed was able to use the social capital of a weak tie in the Syrian embassy in Ankara to obtain the “physical” good that a passport certainly is. Accordingly, it might be said that the social capital Saeed had access to was transformed into a sort of physical capital. Amhed on the other hand, had still not been able to obtain an official travel document, which could be a consequence of the lack of access to the necessary resources within his social network. The possession of financial capital and physical capital in the form of a valid travel document, was according to the informants a prerequisite for conducting the journey.

The concepts of life plan and existential mobility are also relevant during the preparation phase of the Syrian refugees in this study. For Yazan, who explicitly said he had searched for information regarding the travel and situation in potential destination
countries daily for the last three months, the preparations in themselves may be a way to regain a sense of existential mobility. While assessing how they can circumvent immigration policies and financial barriers, and hence somehow trying to impact the directions of their own future, the goal of an education and being treated with respect may seem more feasible than waiting passively. Furthermore, an important part of the preparation phase entails searching for information about where one has the best chances of carrying out the life plan. Wasim for instance, stressed the importance of long residence as a desired criterion in the destination country, underlining how he hoped to settle in a place where his children could have a secure and stable life.

As Yazan explained that “I have studied this for three months, every day I’ve studied”, he serves as an illustrative example of the energy and time the informants seem to spend on preparing for the journey. The Syrian men in this study use their social network and the social capital inherent in these actively to obtain information and contacts for the upcoming journey onwards from Jordan. While close ties supposedly provide the most trustworthy information, latent ties accessed through online communities provide a large pool of information that the informants take into consideration when planning the journey and searching for preferred destinations. The social capital can furthermore be transformed into other types of capital essential for the feasibility of the travel. Moreover, the preparation entails assessing the available information regarding how and where one is most likely to regain existential mobility and succeed with the life plan.

7.4 A dynamic process with an uncertain outcome

To get an enhanced understanding of why and how some young Syrian refugee males in Jordan prepare for an onwards travel to Europe, it can be fruitful to discuss how this is part of a dynamic and somehow uncertain process. I will in this last part of the analysis therefore discuss some broader issues that became apparent during my work with this research.

Although this research takes the individual as the point of analytical departure, influences from both the meso and macro level contribute to form the motivations and preparations of onwards irregular travel to Europe, as individuals do not live in a vacuum. As an example, the visa requirements of European countries seemingly render regular travel to Europe impossible for Syrian nationals, and social macro structures hence constrain the actions of these individuals. To circumvent these barriers and enable
the fulfilment of the life plan, the individuals in this study actively use the resources in their social network as sources of information and facilitation to prepare for an alternative way of travelling to Europe. Furthermore, the individuals in this study might not have deemed conducting irregular travel feasible if they did not know or know of other people that previously succeeded in a similar type of travel, encouraging the possibility of the same achievement. Consequently, through considerations of how meso and macro factors may influence and form the decisions of the individuals, and moreover which actions individuals engage in when adapting to these, the conceptual framework of this study has facilitated a dynamic discussion of the topic at hand.

Given the precarious circumstances of the informants, it can sound odd that the informants still somehow radiate a certain positivity and optimism. Mahmod and Saeed, for instance, are certain that they will be able to continue their studies if they reach Germany and Sweden. As they are aware of the difference in refugee and welfare policies between Jordan and the various European countries, these inequalities also contribute to shaping their decision to move onwards. Bearing in mind the assumed opportunities they may have elsewhere, the young men express a positive outlook of the future. However, for these possibilities to be realized, the informant first needs to reach the desired destination countries. While the informants are alert to the potentially fatal risks of conducting irregular travel, they also seem optimistic regarding their chances of reaching their preferred destinations. As an example, Wasim believes that he can apply for asylum with his family in Germany even if they had their fingerprints taken in Italy. Saeed is in a similar manner confident that he will be able to convince the police to let him proceed to Sweden if caught in Greece. It seems the informants have faith in their own go-ahead spirit and means of circumventing immigration legislations that could complicate their planned journey. Consequently, the informants express views that imply a positive perception of the future, based on an optimistic assessment of the feasibility of onwards travel.

The dynamic process of motivations and preparations for conducting irregular travel to Europe also entails an inherent uncertainty. While the Syrian refugees that informed this research were confident in their decision to travel onwards to Europe and engaged in preparations to enable this, actual onwards movement had yet not taken place. The informants are still preparing to travel, and the plans as explained in the interviews can thus always be subject to change. A potential development in motivations and plans can for instance be a consequence of a changing life-plan and narrative.
Khalid already hinted to this uncertainty during the interview as he expressed that he might postpone the travel from Jordan as he had recently met a girl. The new acquaintance might hence lead Khalid to rethink his life narrative, wherein he might see it more important to be with the girl than to migrate to Europe. This uncertainty is also illustrated by Mahmod and Omar, who during the interview stated that they planned to take a boat from Turkey to Italy, yet a few months later were stuck in Greece trying to adapt to changes in their itinerary. The findings and analysis of this study should hence be regarded as part of a dynamic process that sheds light on the situation at a particular point of time in the life of an individual, and are consequently also subject to change.
Chapter 8: Conclusion

As the civil war in Syria has entered its fifth year, the neighbouring countries are struggling to provide adequate and sustainable shelter and opportunities for the increasing number of Syrian refugees. Through eight semi-structured interviews, I have in this research investigated why and how some young Syrian refugee males in Jordan are preparing to engage in irregular travel to Europe in search for, in their view, a more adequate place of refuge.

One isolated reason cannot explain why some young Syrian refugee men do not want to stay in Jordan. However, as this study has illustrated, much of the motivations for onwards movement can derive from a perceived discrepancy between the life narrative and their actual situation in Jordan, and a perception of how life potentially can unfold in a different place. Hence, the lack of educational possibilities and personal development, inability to support the family, and experience of undeserved hostility, has lead some Syrian refugees to assess Jordan as an unsatisfactory place of potential long term refuge. Put simply, some Syrian refugees in Jordan do not see the possibilities of an acceptable future for themselves and their families in the country.

When individuals do not want to stay in Jordan, they may start searching for alternatives of how to leave the country. This research has shown that some young Syrian refugee men decide to conduct irregular travel from Jordan to Europe since regular channels of travel are considered unfeasible due to immigration policies and alleged UNHCR priorities. The feasibility of irregular travel is furthermore demonstrated by the successful travel of other Syrian migrants, thereby assuring individuals that it is possible, and sometimes even desirable, to conduct a similar journey.

After deciding to attempt travelling to Europe irregularly, some young Syrian refugee men start preparing for onwards travel from Jordan. The social network of the individual is in this phase used actively to gain information and contacts for the journey and destination countries, and as a potential source of obtaining sufficient financing and adequate identity documents. Moreover, I argue that latent ties are important tools in the preparation phase as they are used actively, though not necessarily activated, to assess a large pool of sometimes contradicting information available through the Internet and social media.
This study has contributed to a very limited pool of research on the initial phases of irregular secondary migration among Syrian refugees in the Middle East. I have moreover provided a context-specific illustration of the possible link between the situation of Syrian refugees in Jordan and the decision to engage in secondary migration. Through a conceptual framework of existential mobility, life plan and social network theory, I have tried to demonstrate the dynamic and somehow uncertain process of the topic at hand, where the motivation and scope of action of the individual are formed by influences from both the meso and the macro level. In answering the stipulated research questions, hopefully this research enables an enhanced understanding, for decision-makers and academics alike, of why and how young Syrian refugee males in Jordan prepare for irregular travel to Europe. This is especially timely considering the current debate about how to handle the increasing number of Syrians and other migrants who embark on boats in an attempt to cross the Mediterranean. While the experience of the eight informants may not be representative for all migrants trying to reach Europe irregularly, it still provided valuable insight into the underlying motivations and preparations for conducting such a journey.

8.1 Suggestions for further research

While this research conceivably has contributed to a still limited amount of research on the migration aspirations and preparations of Syrian refugees in the Arabic peninsula, there remain a number of topics that need further investigation.

A natural follow up to this research would be to examine secondary migration among Syrian refugees as they progress along the journey. It could for instance be of value to investigate the topic at hand retrospectively, looking at how Syrian refugees who have conducted an irregular journey from the Middle East to Europe assess the decisions they took and preparations they made after completing the journey. Furthermore, the selection criteria of the informants of this research included only individuals who have already decided that they want to prepare for irregular travel to Europe. It could therefore be fruitful to expand the scope of a future similar study to also include individuals who have not (yet) decided to move onwards from Jordan. This may enable an interesting discussion of why some individuals chose to move onwards, while others, who may hold similar characteristics, choose to stay put in the initial place of refuge.
Literature list


Amnesty Internation (2013), Growing Restrictions, Tough Conditions The Plight of Those Fleeing Syria to Jordan, Amnesty International


Black, R. (2003), 'Breaking the convention: Researching the "illegal" migration of refugees to Europe', Antipode, 35 (1), 34-54.


Care Jordan (2014), Lives Unseen: Urban Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Host Communities Three Years into the Syrian Crisis, Care Jordan.

Carling, J. (2001), Aspiration and Ability in International Migration: Cape Verdean experiences of mobility and immobility, Master Thesis, Department of Sociology and Human Geography:University of Oslo.


Dalen, K. and Pedersen, J. (2007), Iraqis in Jordan Their Number and Characteristics, Fafo, Jordanian Department of Statistics, UNFPA.


Doocy, S., et al. (2014), Syrian Refugee Health Access Survey in Jordan, Bloomers School of Public Health: Johns Hopkins University.


--- (2013), 'Turkey, the Syrian Refugee Crisis and the Changing Dynamics of Transit Migration', in The Mediterranean Yearbook 2013, Barcelona: IEMed.


Granovetter, M.S. (1973), 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (6), 1360-80.


Malakooti, A. (2013), Mixed Migration: Libya at the Crossroads, ALTAI Consulting: UNHCR.


Save the Children Italy (2014), "The boat is safe and other lies": Why Syrian refugee families are risking everything to reach Europe, Save the Children Italy.


UNHCR (2006), Master Glossary of Terms Rev. 1, UNHCR.


68
Appendix

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Start the interview by explaining who I am and how I will use the information obtained through the interviews. Emphasize anonymity and the possibility to withdraw from the interview or reject to answer a question at any point of time without the need to give a reason. Be sure that the interviewee understands and agree with this information.

Background information
- Age:
- Time of stay in Jordan:
- Who do you live with in Jordan:
- Education:
- Reason for leaving Syria:

1. Can you describe your situation here in Jordan when you first arrived and now?
   - When, why and how did you come?
   - Social network here? (upon arriving and now)
   - How found housing and work?
   - Social life?

   → Has being in Jordan changed since you first came?

2. When did you first start thinking about migrating to Europe?
   - What made you think of this alternative?
   - Why then?
   - A desired destination goal? (if so, why?)

3. How will you travel?
   - Help/facilitation?
   - Why this route?
   - Alternative means of travel?
   - Risks?
   - Use smuggler?

4. What do you need to do (preparations) before you can travel?
   - How do you know this?
   - How are you able to do all of this?
   - Help from others?

5. Who are the people who give you information and help you when traveling?
   - Anyone holding you back?

6. Anything more you want to add?

Thank you!