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Service Provider and Beneficiary Perceptions of Collectivist Domestic Violence Social Issues

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Social Issues in Jordan

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ABSTRACT

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In this research I have focused on beneficiary and service providers' perceptions toward Arab social obstacles to help-seeking, appropriate intervention methods and obstacles to reintegration into the community after seeking assistance. Through semi-structured interviews and content analysis of local policies, laws and specific service offerings, I sought to contribute to the limited literature that explores how formal institutions that originate from a Western context are adapted to meet the unique needs of Arab victims of domestic violence. I found that the main social obstacles to help-seeking were attributed to a dearth of knowledge about existing services, a lack of confidence in formal institutions such as non-governmental and government agencies, a fear of rejection or punishment from their families and communities, concerns about laws that might increase a woman's vulnerability and limited economic resources.

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INTRODUCTION

In this research I have investigated perceived battered women's social obstacles to help-seeking and reintegration into their communities after help-seeking in Jordan and more broadly within the Middle East and North Africa. While recognizing that each country has unique historical, social and political differences, the Middle East and North Africa are predominantly Arabs and share many fundamental social norms vis-à-vis family, community, religion, and gender roles. By focusing on beneficiary and service provider perceptions of this social issue, I have explored a wide array of unique social and legal expectations of the family and its members that influence how Arab women deal with domestic violence.

Women play a crucial, but largely unexamined role in the social, political, and economic development of Jordan (Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation & United Nations in Jordan 2010) (Moghadam 2009). Indeed, Jordan is considered one of the most progressive Arab states, yet little research examines issues unique to women and institutions aimed at serving them. This is especially the case in regards to women who find themselves on the margins of society due to abuse and mistreatment. In other words, I began with the assumption that these are women with little social or economic power to define their own fates and are largely at the mercy of other's interests. Thus, defying cultural norms and seeking help through formal versus informal channels may be a sign of their attempts to wrest some degree of control over their own fates.

Domestic violence is a prevalent social dysfunction that negatively impacts communities by creating economic and public health burdens (World Health Organization 2009). Additionally, domestic violence against women has wider implications for the victim's family and children. Exposure to domestic violence and familial dysfunction negatively influences children in the West (Gil-Gonzalez, Vives-Cases, and Ruiz 2008) (Fang and Corso 2007) and the

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Arab world (Haj-Yahia 2001) (Okour and Hijazi 2009) by creating unhealthy habits of dealing with frustration which may lead them to continue the cycle of violence and abuse within their communities and families.

In the West, when abuse becomes serious enough that the victim does not believe that she has the resources necessary to end the violence, she will usually turn to trusted members of her family for advice or assistance (Lempert 1997). Frequently, extended family interventions can effectively curtail violence (Clark et al. 2009). However, if the woman's family does not have the resources or is unwilling to assist the victim, she must turn to more formal channels for assistance (Lempert 1997).

Haj-Yahia and Sadan's (2008) research offers evidence that within Arab society, domestic violence is viewed as a private familial issue. They further claim that a family's inability to address domestic violence reflects poorly on the reputation and honor of the couple as well as the family (Douki et al. 2003) (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008) (Clark et al. 2009:148). For these reasons, pursuing outside assistance to curtail abuse can be perceived as the woman's betrayal of her family which can lead to further social isolation and ostracism from her family and community (Haj-Yahia 2002:274).

The literature shows that barriers to domestic violence help-seeking among Arab populations exists in North America (Hassouneh-Phillips 2001) (Graham, Bradshaw, and Trew 2009) (Kulwicki, Aswad, and Carmona 2010) as well as in Arab countries (Haj-Yahia 2002) (Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani 2009) (Critelli and Willett 2010) (Haj-Yahia 2011), making this an Arab issue, not just a regional issue. However, there is little research that emphasizes perceived obstacles to reintegration and culturally sound intervention methods designed to ease

this transition in Arab communities and particularly in Arab countries (Al-Krenawi and Graham 1998) (Haj-Yahia 2011).

Because limited research has focused on battered women's shelter interventions in the Arab world (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008) (Haj-Yahia and Cohen 2009), I sought to contribute to this literature by identifying social and legal barriers that prevent victims of domestic violence from seeking formal assistance and reintegrating into their communities. I have also explored how services and interventions that originate from a western construct are adapted to a collectivist context (Hall 1976) to assist battered women reintegrate into their families and communities after they have broken local norms by seeking formal assistance. Through semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and the use of extant data, I identified many of the perceived beneficiary help-seeking and re-integration social obstacles.

Within the Middle East and North Africa, family and marriage are considered the fundamental and most important social institutions (Ghazwi 2007) (Al-Zyoud 2012). As such, other social institutions such as governments have traditionally yielded jurisdiction and responsibility to the family in topics related to family affairs (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008). Nevertheless, battered women's shelters and formal services for victims of domestic violence are becoming more commonplace in the Middle East and North Africa and are gaining credibility and relevance within Arab communities. With the growing prevalence of such services, it is increasingly important to identify social obstacles that battered women must overcome before and after seeking formal assistance as well as how battered women's shelter programs and other services assist women as they prepare to return to their families or relocate into new communities. It is important to understand that women who receive resources and services offered through formal institutions such as battered women's shelters, nongovernmental

organizations or police have done so in defiance of cultural barriers by exposing familial dysfunctions and violating family solidarity. Thus, through this exploratory research, I have studied perceived obstacles to family and community reintegration after women have sought formal assistance from domestic violence and abuse women's shelters. I have done so in efforts to uncover what Arab victims of abuse do when social arrangements, such as the family and tribe, that traditionally define and protect an individual become the source of violence.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

By interviewing governmental and nongovernmental service providers, social workers and clients in Jordan, this research explores a spectrum of perspectives and experiences that focus on the unique social obstacles that Arab victims of domestic violence encounter and must negotiate when seeking assistance for abuse. I have also examined how governmental and nongovernmental service providers have adapted the Western concept of formal intervention and battered women's shelters to offer appropriate intervention methods and mitigate social obstacles to community reintegration. This research will also contribute to the discourse on how service providers can reduce social obstacles to help-seeking in order to improve domestic violence victims' access to existing services and facilitate more effective rehabilitation and reintegration.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is extensive research on western intervention methods at battered women's shelters, yet very little research addresses intervention methods within the Middle East and North Africa. Western approaches strongly emphasize the individuality and autonomy of domestic violence victims in treatment and intervention programs (Haney 1996) (Chang et al. 2005) (Pennington-Zoellner 2009). As a "high context" and tribal society (Hall 1976), the institution of

the family is the central unit of Arab communities from which individuals derive their sense of self, social status, ethnicity and nationality (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008).

Jordan is considered a tribal society (Loewe, Blume, and Speer 2008) that is politically and socially influenced by tribal mores (Alon 2007:2). Since the Hashemite Monarchy began nation-building in the 1940s, the Monarchy has granted tribesmen powerful and prominent roles within the Jordanian political system that continue to influence the social and political climate in Jordan. The Hashemite Monarchy also granted tribes control over their internal affairs including but not limited to family issues (Alon 2007). Many of those residing in Jordan, namely the large Palestinian population, do not have tribal roots (Shryock 1997), yet tribal mores such as family honor, shame, reciprocity and solidarity are widespread values that are held by the general community (Haj-Yahia 2011) (Loewe, Blume, and Speer 2008:274). These social attitudes are also relevant to both Christians and Muslim community members with varying levels of religious commitment, making religious convictions less relevant to this research.

In this community, individuals are loyal to their social groups such as the family, clan and tribe, and not to the state (Shryock 1997). This "in group"-"out group" social dynamic is strong within high context communities (Hall 1976), making it difficult for service providers to intervene unless they are members of the "in group." Because of the strong emphasis on group unity and loyalty, women who report family dysfunctions such as abuse are viewed as traitors (Haj-Yahia 2011). As such, a woman who betrays the family trust is exposed to similar levels of danger from her family as women who publically taint the family honor through promiscuous behavior. Although some western intervention techniques may be applicable within the Arab context, western NGOs and governments approach domestic violence in a formalized system of collaboration, prosecution and individual-oriented treatment that is generally incongruent with

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Arab social attitudes and local government interventions (Haj-Yahia 2000:254) (Linos, Khawaja, and Al-Nsour 2010).

The Jordanian government recognizes domestic violence as a social issue and is actively trying to develop the legal and institutional infrastructure necessary to provide assistance to domestic violence victims without diminishing the power of the family or threatening the traditional structure of the family (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 2008) (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 1976;2010) (Nemri 2013). Despite this, the general Jordanian community largely justifies forms of domestic violence, offers tolerance and leniency toward situations of intimate partner violence, and blames the victim for the abuse by accusing her of not fulfilling her traditional obligations or for inappropriate behavior (Haj-Yahia 2000:237, 241) (Khawaja, Linos, and El-Roueiheb 2008).

While pulling from the perspectives and experiences of different service providers and beneficiaries at a government-sponsored battered women's shelter and a non-governmental battered women's shelter in Jordan, I explored service provider and beneficiary perceptions of the social and legal obstacles that domestic violence victims must overcome in order to seek formal assistance and reintegrate into their communities. Through this, I was able to identify many of the perceived social roles of women and how these roles influence the social constraints and latitudes that she must mitigate when seeking assistance to end abuse.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL

In seeking assistance for domestic violence in the Arab world, women are breaking fundamental cultural rules that can spoil the reputation of their families and create long-term negative repercussions for the victim of abuse as well as her family (Haj-Yahia 2011). Seeking outside assistance for private familial issues such as abuse is viewed as betrayal and the victim

may be ostracized by her family, husband and community for revealing her situation. Due to the high level of social pressure that women face to be submissive and endure abuse, there is a strong social stigma that is associated with reporting abuse to the police and social services. Arab women will only do so in extreme cases of abuse when all informal assistance has failed (Haj-Yahia 2011:336-337) .

Although not all women who seek assistance from battered women's shelters in Jordan are married or seeking to end their marriages, those that instigate separation and divorce face substantial social stigma such as: potentially losing custody of their children, ostracism from her family and community and diminished opportunities to re-marry. Being unmarried or divorced is traditionally viewed as unfortunate because without marriage, women cannot gain traditional symbols of social status that are awarded through marriage such as community recognition, economic stability and children. While Arab woman are beginning to gain recognition and status through means other than marriage, by way of acquiring higher levels of education and increased participation in the economy (Rashad, Osman, and Roudi-Fahimi 2005), negative feelings and distrust toward divorced women are still prevalent (Al-Krenawi 1998).

If divorced women find an opportunity to re-marry, they will likely become a co-wife or marry an older widower (Kulik and Klein 2010:919). Polygamy is becoming a rarity in Jordan with only 5% of ever married women reporting that they were in polygamous marriages (Department of Statistics [Jordan] and ICF Macro 2010:61), making such marriages scarce opportunities. Polygamous marriages are often wrought with rivalry between co-wives over their husband's love and resources and are considered low status unions (Al-Krenawi 1998). Divorce also creates an insecure future with emotional, economic and social stressors for the divorcee and her family (Savaya and Cohen 2005:730).

Another key component of Arab culture that permeates almost every facet of abuse, women's shelter interventions, as well as the reintegration process, is patriarchy. Patriarchy is defined as a socially constructed system of male power and control over women that has been embedded and institutionalized within modern society (Dobash and Dobash 1979) (Komter 1989) (O'Toole, Schiffman, and Kiter Edwards 2007:3-5) (Hattery 2009). Within the family structure, patriarchy molds gender roles as well as power disparities between husbands and wives (Komter 1989) (Hattery 2009). Additionally, patriarchy impacts how individuals and communities justify forms of abuse (Haj-Yahia 2000). Although patriarchy is often associated with perpetration of abuse, patriarchy can also play a key role in how families ameliorate abuse. While assisting victims of domestic violence, social workers seek to identify family or community members who wield power and influence over the abusive family member. When patriarchy is positively incorporated into the reconciliation process, fathers, uncles, mother-in-laws or local sheikhs can serve as members within the victim's network that can provide protection for the victim while holding the perpetrator of abuse accountable.

Like other Arab states, Jordanian government interventions and legal codes pertaining to the family are limited because government leaders do not want to detract from the power and influence that emanates from the family and tribe (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008). Instead they seek to offer support to families. Because abuse is considered a private internal issue that should be addressed at the family level, outside assistance is considered a last resort that is pursued if all other avenues of relief from abuse are exhausted. In congruence with the patriarchal nature of Jordanian society, victims of domestic violence first turn to men and senior women within their families or the families of their husband in order to seek assistance from abuse. These figures of power within the family can serve as effective mediators (Clark et al. 2009:148) (Yount

2010:44), but if they are unsympathetic to the abuse, the woman is left with few structurally and culturally viable options.

Consequently, if families are unwilling or unable to provide victims of abuse with the protection, support or resources necessary to help the victim leave an abusive situation or curtail abuse in the home, the family has failed to fulfill one of it's fundamental roles. Families may not be able to assist victims of abuse due to distance, lack of monetary resources, or severe health problems (Clark et al. 2009). Additionally, families may opt out of assistance because they believe that their daughter is being disobedient or is not adequately fulfilling her role within her family and, as a result, deserves the abuse.

In severe cases when informal resources have been exhausted, victims of abuse may seek formal assistance or continue to live in an abusive situation in an attempt to preserve the reputation of her family (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008:5-6). While empowering the family to take the actions necessary to ameliorate mistreatment, existing legislation and government interventions are also intended to provide marginalized women who have exhausted family resources with the support necessary to overcome domestic violence. Thus, women who seek assistance at battered women's shelters often feel shame for formally reporting abuse to police authorities because of the negative impact that such actions can reflect on their families as well as their future. Although the stigma and shame associated with reporting abuse also exist within Western countries, tribal Arab communities place high value on the honor of a family which is derived from the virtue of its women (Shryock 1997). Additionally, Arab families are negatively influenced by gossip, rumors, and tainted reputations in their communities (Haj-Yahia 2011). Despite these deterents to help-seeking, NGO and government battered women's shelter reports

in Jordan indicate that services offered at these battered women's shelters are gaining relevance in the fight against family and intimate partner violence.

Battered Women's Shelters

In the West, battered women's shelters can serve a variety of clients by offering adaptable services that meet the unique needs of women seeking refuge from domestic violence. While assisting victims of mental or physical abuse with a spectrum of needs, battered women's shelters typically offer medical, legal and social service assistance in addition to temporary housing to victims and their children (Dobash and Dobash 1979:225) (Dobash and Dobash 1992).

Although there are some overarching needs that are shared by most women who seek assistance from battered women's shelters, the diverse demographics of women shelter clients correspond with unique services and professional support. The interventions that this research focuses on include counseling, couple and family mediation, legal advisement, and vocational training. I selected these intervention methods because they are the main resources that both the government and NGO sponsored battered women's shelter offer in Jordan.

Western sources describe battered women's shelters as locations of transition in which women can prepare to leave her abuser or a means of removing herself from an abusive situation while she seeks to reconcile and address abusive behavior with the abuse perpetrator. Such facilities can help women and their children make the transition from violent homes by offering safe housing for women who have limited resources (Dobash and Dobash 1992). If outside assistance did not exist, this population of women would likely face homelessness or perhaps be unable to leave violent homes due to economic constraints (Kurst-Swanger and Petcosky 2003:233).

Within some battered women's shelter contexts in the West and Arab communities, there is a collective environment amongst the beneficiaries as they work together to perform domestic work in their living quarters and share personal experiences (Dobash and Dobash 1979:225) (Agnew 1998) (Haj-Yahia and Cohen 2009). Battered women's shelters vary in the level of autonomy offered to clients admitted into the women's shelter and the services that are provided therein (Dobash and Dobash 1979) (Dutton 1992) (Agnew 1998).

Counseling

The ideal counseling model is that staff and social workers work closely with clients to offer support and guidance. Counselors and social workers support clients relative to their needs and play an open, critical and supportive role as they help women identify viable courses of action to overcome abuse when they return to their homes or start a new life (Dobash and Dobash 1979:224) (Agnew 1998). In Western contexts, short-term individual counseling and support has proven to be a useful form of intervention among victims of domestic violence because it helps clients cope with abuse and develop life skills (McNamara, Tamanini, and Pelletier-Walker 2008:132). In Arab communities, seeking outside assistance to remedy abuse can be perceived as a shameful act that betrays the family (Haj-Yahia 2000:251). Because collectivist communities typically associate higher levels of shame with assistance seeking than individualist communities, social workers must first seek to normalize the situation by relating the victim's actions to acceptable traditional family values such as family well-being, safety of children and harmony within the family (Lee 2002:477).

Once counselors are able to ameliorate victims' conflicting feelings of family betrayal and efforts to overcome abuse, counselors can begin helping victims take steps toward eliminating abuse and its effects from their lives. Within counseling intervention, women receive

practical and emotional support that maintains and respects the victim's right to self-determination (Agnew 1998:242). In order for counselors and social workers to adequately provide guidance, support and assistance for victims of domestic violence, they must first understand how the victim conceptualizes her situation, relationships, and potential options (Rolling and Brosi 2010:234).

Additionally, counselors work in collaboration with victims of abuse as they work together to set goals that will enable the client to cope with psychological trauma and establish a logical course of action that will provide the client with safe options (Petretic-Jackson, Witte, and Jackson 2002:299-300). While working with victims of domestic violence, counselors must help clients recognize and overcome natural protection mechanisms that victims of abuse have developed that enable victims to temporarily cope with abuse. The main forms of psychological coping methods are manipulation, expression of anger, dissociation, minimization of violence, self blame and self detachment (Petretic-Jackson, Witte, and Jackson 2002:303-308). This can be particularly helpful for Arab women as they identify ways to express frustration and anger of abuse without disrespecting or ostrasizing herself from a figure of authority within her family (Btoush and Haj-Yahia 2008).

Couple and Family Intervention

Jordan is a "high context" society that maintains a hierarchal structure within the family (Hall 1976). Because there is a significant disparity of authority between husband and wife, *face-saving* methods are effective forms of couple intervention (Lee 2002:479) (Al-Krenawi and Graham 2005). These techniques allow family members to collaborate and make positive changes to habits and behaviors that contribute to abuse without threatening the authority of the perpetrator or placing blame.

Additionally, including the husband and family in the intervention process serves to bridge the gap between the victim of abuse and her family on two fronts. First, familial inclusion softens the harshness of betrayal and enables the family to work with social workers and the victims of abuse to establish viable solutions. This can help prevent alienation of the husband while establishing an environment in which the couple can address familial dysfunctions (Agnew 1998:252-253) (Btoush and Haj-Yahia 2008).

Counselors within high contexts must strike a balance between offering non-confrontational methods of reconciling with victims' abusers and reducing abuse within a patriarchal context without alienating the husband or extended family (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008:11). During the reconciliation process, the victim must maintain a reputation of respect and cooperation in order to prevent accusations of disobedience and justifications of perpetrated abuse (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008:5-6). Secondly, including the family in formal intervention is critical in establishing sustainable change. In fact, family inclusive interventions can help the family explore ways to better assist and protect the victim of abuse from future instances of abuse by serving as a support and placing pressure on the perpetrator(s) of abuse (Al-Krenawi and Graham 2005). This can also serve as an opportunity through which social workers can address commonly held attitudes toward abuse such as victim-blaming, endurance, and patience. Thus, these methods can be used effectively, because they are culturally sensitive and appropriate to identify, expand and reinforce positive changes that eliminate abuse.

Legal Advisement

In providing legal advisement, women's shelters in the West connect beneficiaries with lawyers that can inform women of their rights and legal options regarding both criminal and civil cases such as protection orders, child welfare, and marriage dissolution (Glass, Rollins, and

Bloom 2009:198). Although service providers in the Middle East and North Africa also offer services such as legal counselling and advocacy, the fundamental laws and rights offered to battered women have substantial differences that vastly change the legal framework.

Built upon patriarchal precepts, the legal system formally reinforces male precedence within the Arab society. The most pertinent Jordanian laws that outline beneficiaries' rights as women and as victims of domestic violence include: the Personal Status Law, Protection from Domestic Violence Law, and Penal Code. Naturally, a domestic violence victim's rights and duties vary depending on the dynamics of her case including age, nationality, marital status, and the nature of abuse.   In the discussion I have outlined how the existing laws codify social norms and create social obstacles to helpseeking.

Vocational Training

Because women with social and monetary resources typically have alternative options when faced with abuse, those that seek refuge at women's shelters usually come from low-income households. Because beneficiaries at women's shelters typically have limited educational attainment and limited formal work experience, vocational training courses and certification program offerings can help women equip themselves with marketable skills that can subsidize family income or promote self-sufficiency among women who are not reintegrated into their families. Although some interventions offer low-wage employment and temporary relief to victims of domestic violence, more sustainable interventions must be established to equip vulnerable women with the job skills and education necessary to earn a living wage and become self-sufficient (Pyles 2006:66). In order to accomplish self-sufficiency, battered women's shelters must offer interventions such as self-employment and microenterprise programs, job training programs, and postsecondary education (Pyles 2006:65-66).

Due to the largely conservative and gender segregated workforce, Jordanian women are often excluded from economic opportunities outside of the home and must pursue self-employment or microenterprise within home-based enterprises in order to be economically involved. Vulnerable women who would otherwise be excluded from the economic realm can potentially establish home-based enterprises that contribute to the family income without overtly challenging conservative and patriarchal gender roles (Al-Dajani and Marlow 2010:473-474). By offering certifications and vocational training courses that cater to the educational, social and economic situations of clients, such training may enable these women to better equip themselves with the skills necessary to contribute to their family needs and become self-sufficient. Such employment can provide women that traditionally have little control over their lives feel a greater sense of self-determination without challenging the conservative patriarchal social structures in which they live (Al-Dajani and Marlow 2010:482).

In order to put these general concepts of services into a social context with service providers and victims of domestic violence as key actors, I asked three main research questions. These questions investigate the social forces that influence the environment in which service providers offer assistance and victims of domestic violence seek assistance.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What social and legal obstacles prevent women from reporting family and intimate partner violence and how do professionals seek to overcome these social obstacles?

- What are social obstacles that battered women's shelter beneficiaries must overcome in order to reintegrate into their communities after seeking formal assistance?

- What are the roles of government and non-governmental service providers?

METHODS

A battered women's shelter under the Jordanian Ministry of Social Development (MoSD) served as my primary data source. However, in order to contextualize my research within a wider scope, I found it critical to engage representatives, academics and service providers from other governmental and nongovernmental entities within Jordan, Morocco, and Palestine. This qualitative research includes semi-structured interviews, participant observation field notes, and basic demographic data from a governmental and a non-governmental battered women's shelter in Jordan. Using these qualitative methods, I compared demographic trends and explored the unique dynamics that define differences in beneficiary needs and institutional roles within the social landscape. Through this exploratory research, I have examined perceived barriers to help-seeking, reintegration, and relocation from the perspective of stakeholders, professionals and beneficiaries. I have also focused on the intervention methods that are used to accommodate and cater to the needs of battered women given these obstacles to help-seeking and reintegration.

As is the case with qualitative data, this research was somewhat invasive and required much cooperation and assistance primarily from the MoSD personnel and beneficiaries. This is particularly the case because I performed all of my interviews with beneficiaries as well as most of my field observation notes at the Jordanian Ministry of Social Development sponsored battered women's shelter. In order to gain access and collect data for this research, I volunteered with the children's coordinator for three months and helped develop a curriculum designed to teach battered women about healthy communication skills, anger management and healthy relationships. In doing this, I was able to make my research beneficial to MoSD stakeholders. These contributions served as my "research bargain" with the Ministry (Marshall and Rossman 2006).

While working in coordination with the MoSD sponsored battered women's shelter director, I performed semi-structure interviews with 10 beneficiaries as well as two social workers. In addition to these interviews, I completed field observations of staff trainings, activities offered to beneficiaries, children's activities, family counseling sessions, celebrations, and follow-up field visits while volunteering at the shelter for four months. I also gleaned valuable information from informal question and answer sessions with the shelter management.

With the NGO battered women's shelter, I performed semi-structured interviews with the battered women's shelter director and four staff members. I also completed participant observations while volunteering at the shelter for two months. For further information, I also interviewed service providers and professionals within the non-governmental, governmental and private sectors within Jordan, Morocco and Palestine. By casting a wide net, I was able to interview professors at four universities, a local government council member, foreign aid representatives, and representatives of human and women's rights organizations.

In order to compliment the information that I gained from my interviews with beneficiaries and service providers, I performed a content analysis of applicable government policies, laws and regulations. I sought to identify social obstacles to help-seeking and reintegration, what roles governmental and nongovernmental organizations play, and how the government codifies social gender roles and family responsibilities. In doing so, I also learned about the procedures through which victims of domestic violence undergo in order to seek refuge and services from the battered women's shelter. By following this process from its beginning at local police stations and following reported abuse through the system, I have analyzed how beneficiaries and service providers perceive the help-seeking, intervention and reintegration processes and the social obstacles that inevitably influence this phenomenon.

Through this process, I sought to identify the criteria that must be satisfied in order to be admitted into the non-governmental and governmental battered women's shelters for assistance. Understanding the process through which beneficiaries must pass in order to receive services and assistance at the centers also informed interview questions regarding clients' perceptions toward reporting abuse. By doing this and through interviews with representatives from both groups, I was able to analyze how governmental and nongovernmental institutions perceive social obstacles to domestic violence help-seeking and reintegration after help-seeking and how they adapt their approaches in efforts to reduce and eliminate family violence within their communities. Through my interviews, I also sought to identify why some abused women would choose to report their cases to non-governmental women's shelter instead of governmental institutions. Throughout the interview period of my research, I used the "grounded theory" (Creswell 2009:13) and constantly adapted and tailored my interview questions for service providers and academics so that I could build upon the information and concepts that I gathered in past interviews and participant observations. Conversely, my interviews with beneficiaries remained consistent throughout the beneficiary interview process in order to meet the IRB and Ministry of Social Development requirements.

Because I consulted with a variety of informants to gather the necessary information for this research, I have included Figure 1 to illustrate which sources I consulted to collect data for each of the aforementioned topics. For almost all of the variables, I gathered data from more than one source in order to triangulate and validate my findings. By interviewing a wide spectrum of individuals who fill a variety of capacities and responsibilities, I was be able to more accurately pinpoint social obstacles faced throughout the help-seeking process and how existing services are designed and adapted to meet these unique needs.

[Figure 1 about here]

Institutional Review Board

The MoSD and Brigham Young University's Institutional Review Board approved all of the research methods and questions in order to ensure that the safety and anonymity of all research participants were protected and maintained throughout the study. Also, since I interviewed a vulnerable population, I reviewed my interview questions with MoSD stakeholders who helped me identify questions that required extra levels of caution and sensitivity. These questions were related to the nature of the abuse and trauma experienced by the respondent.

Using interview ethical practices identified by Ellsberg and Heise (2002), I sensitized myself to the vulnerable situation of the women that I interviewed by analyzing my own attitudes toward domestic violence, rape and other forms of abuse and sought to eliminate misconceptions to ensure that I did not inappropriately react to respondents' experiences. I also volunteered with a local women's shelter in Utah as a rape crisis respondent and attended rape victim support groups regularly for three months prior to beginning my field research. By increasing my sensitivity toward domestic violence and related issues, I was able to be more understanding of respondents' past traumas and more effectively protect the respondents' psychological well-being by recognizing my limits as a researcher. In order to minimize the distress that respondents might have experienced during the interviews, I emphasized respondents' agency to skip questions or to end the interview at any time. I also ended my interview by asking final questions related to the woman's plans for re-integration into the community (Ellsberg and Heise 2002).

I received the approval of the MoSD to gather data for this research because I have worked as an intern and BYU in-country facilitator with the MoSD for over four years and have gained significant exposure to the different branches within of the Ministry.   My past experiences were critical in enabling me to develop a research framework that adhered to the local and national stakeholder requirements. Additionally, the strong relationships and rapport that I have established with key members of the Ministry have enhanced my ability to receive enthusiastic Ministry support and approval despite the sensitive nature of my research topic.

To protect the beneficiaries' privacy, I worked with the Director of the Center to locate a private room in which I could perform confidential interviews with the respondent and a staff member (Lyon and Sullivan November 2007:13). MoSD stakeholders required that a staff member be present in all of the interviews to ensure that the respondents' rights were upheld and to make the respondents feel more safe and comfortable while disclosing personal information. The staff members who were present during the interview process were usually the beneficiary's assigned social worker or another staff member who was familiar with the details of the women's individual cases.

In order to make my presence and interviews less invasive to the beneficiaries and staff members at the MoSD women's shelter, I volunteered at the shelter two times per week for four months. Throughout this process, I kept field notes on daily observations, interactions and program functions. By maintaining a consistent presence at the Center, I was able to develop rapport with the beneficiaries and develop a sense of familiarity with the women which increased levels of trust. By developing rapport, clients were more inclined to offer detailed and complete information which directly influenced the richness and reliability of the data. After completing

each interview, I sought to maintain the confidentiality of the respondent by assigning case numbers to each interviewee and disassociating clients' names from their interview information. To further protect the anonymity of those interviewed, the MoSD stakeholders allowed me to take notes during the interview process but I was not permitted to voice record any of my interviews with Ministry staff or clients.

During some of my interviews with nongovernmental service providers, I was permitted to voice record. For voice recorded interviews, I asked the interviewee to read the letter of informed consent and give verbal informed consent before proceeding with the interview. In some of my interviews with NGO service providers, voice recording was also not permitted. For all of the interviews that I was unable to record, I took notes throughout the interview and wrote more comprehensive interview notes shortly afterward so that I could record the information accurately. Because of this adaptation, I have distinguished normally quoted individuals who were voice recorded from field note quotes by italicizing all field note quotes.

Interview Process

In order to receive a cross section of the population that seeks refuge at the MoSD sponsored battered women's shelter, the shelter director selected cases that were representative of each of the general demographic groups that are served at the center. These cases were selected from the beneficiaries who were preparing to leave the Center between March and May 2013. This amounted to 10 interviews with clients.

After receiving verbal informed consent from the clients, I performed interviews with the clients during their final week at the government battered women's shelter. By performing interviews at the very end of the beneficiaries' stay, the respondents were able provide complete information on their experiences and perceptions throughout the assistance process. This is the

case because she could reflect back on the obstacles that she faced while coming to the center, recognize her knowledge prior to entering the shelter, offer her perceptions of the quality and appropriateness of the interventions used and lastly explain her planned course of action that she intends to take when she leaves the Center.

Using a semi-structured interview format ensured that I addressed critical topics through the course of the interview, but it also afforded me the flexibility necessary to explore the scope of the service providers', professionals', and beneficiaries' opinions and stories. To refer to the interview guides that I used in my interviews with service providers, professionals and beneficiaries, please see to the appendix.

Beneficiary demographic variables that I gathered during interviews and through extant data include: age, educational attainment, children, socioeconomic status, marital status, living arrangement (e.g. live with extended or nuclear family), city of residence, reason for admittance, severity of abuse, if she is a returning client, source of abuse, and prior residence in other government facilities (e.g. girl's protection center, orphanage system, or other). Through interviews with beneficiaries, I explored the unique social expectations and gender roles that victims of domestic violence must mitigate when faced with abuse and throughout the help-seeking process. Interviews with service providers and professionals were instrumental in explaining how institutions within a collectivist and patriarchal Arab community adapt interventions and services to reduce family violence.

Data and Analysis

After transcribing all of my notes from beneficiary interviews, I assigned a number to each of the beneficiary interviews and I performed open coding and organized general themes and concepts into hierarchical groups. A significant weakness of my research was my inability

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to adequately address the reliability concerns that may result from human error during the transcription and translation process. Because I was unable to voice record during most of my interviews, I relied heavily on follow up questions throughout my interviews. I also sought to mitigate possible reliability issues through participant observations and informal question and answer sessions with the directors and staff members.   In order to verify the reliability of interviews that were recorded, I have saved copies of the recordings so that I can refer back to the documents should discrepencies arise.

While using NVivo throughout the coding process, I recorded analytical memos and developed a coding system that organized the data into a logical format that was conducive to further analysis. After open coding the transcripts, I used "axial coding." Axial coding occurs after open coding and enables the researcher to develop an in-depth picture of data by drawing connections between key concepts and ideas. In my research, I used this method to more deeply analyze the issues that family violence victims face as well as the context in which they and service providers must operate (Neuman 2011:513-514). As the sole researcher, there should be minimal issues with reliability and uniformity in the translation and coding methods. In order to ensure that coding methods have not shifted over the course of the research, I compared the first coded documents to the last coded documents and compared the coding groups for consistency.

I also employed a series of three qualitative methods that directed my analysis, namely, ideal types, methods of agreement and difference. Employing Max Weber's concept of ideal types (Neuman 2011:517), I compared and contrasted Western ideal types of domestic violence intervention methods as described by Hattery and Smith (2012) and their appropriateness within a collectivist and Arab community. Furthermore, I have researched the parallels and contradictions among conventionally Western practices and those implemented by service

providers in Jordan, Palestine and Morocco. I sought to do this by analyzing the unique cultural context as well as meanings assigned to abuse and more formal intervention methods.

For the final qualitative analyses, I also employed agreement and difference methods to compare and contrast the social roles and responsibilities of beneficiaries across a variety of demographics including marital status, children, and severity of abuse. In doing this, I sought to explore the rights and interventions that correspond to these demographic characteristics (Neuman 2011:523). Using the beneficiary statistics from the 2012 annual reports released by the two women's shelters, I was able to compare the demographic trends of governmental and non-governmental service providers. This is particularly important because the statistics illustrated the different social expectations of married and unmarried women, community responses to governmental and non-governmental help-seeking and differences in the nature of the abuse. All of these factors are largely dependent on the unique situations and demographics of the clients that seek formal assistance and largely impact the variables that contribute to abuse within the family as well as the intervention methods required to curtail abuse. This also contributes to the debate regarding the roles of governmental and nongovernmental institutions and their respective roles in addressing family violence.

ANALYSIS

In order to understand the context in which battered women seek assistance, I have first outlined the sources of assistance, their varying levels of formality and the general services and resources that they offer victims of domestic violence. Traditionally, the extended family served as a form of social and economic protection for the nuclear family as well as its individuals. However, with a changing economic landscape, the organic social roles of the extended family have weakened, while the social status of the nuclear family has maintained its hierarchical

structure with rigid social responsibilities and rights. The prevailing social roles and relationship within the nuclear family and community have remained relatively static (Barakat 1993). According to an NGO social worker, when the family intervenes, they usual make the conflict more complex and are counterproductive. She illustrated this when she said:

> … It [the family] depends on reconciliation [and forgiveness], not a solution based on a professional foundation and awareness of the rights of both parties or awareness of women's rights and laws. Because of this, they don't solve the root of the problem and it returns anew.

With the extended family playing a less prominent role within the nuclear family and the lives of its individuals, this has left at-risk families in a vulnerable situation if they are exposed to family violence or mistreatment. In this case, at-risk families were defined by a government social worker as families with increased levels of vulnerability to poverty, alcohol and drug use, criminal activity, low educational attainment and other marginalizing characteristics. For this reason, governmental and non-governmental institutions have sought to bridge this gap by offering services that build upon and enhance organic social protection offered by the extended family. Service providers made it clear that these services are not intended to replace existing social arrangements but rather to re-enforce and strengthen extant social family ties by offering counseling, guidance, and raising awareness.

Jordan has two battered women's shelter facilities both of which are located in the capital, Amman. One of the battered women's shelters is sponsored by the Ministry of Social Development. The other battered women's shelter is managed by a local woman's organization. Because I have worked extensively with both of these Jordanian battered women's shelters, I have focused on the practices, interventions and resources that they utilize with their cases. In comparing the two aforementioned shelters I have focused on the unique roles of nongovernmental and governmental battered women's shelters in assisting family violence

victims and how their different levels of legitimacy change the dynamics of help-seeking

obstacles to intervention as well as the types of services that they can offer a victim of domestic

violence. By using data that I collected from other governmental and non-governmental entities

in Jordan, Palestine and Morocco, I sought to more broadly contextualize and explore Arab

perceptions of social obstacles to help-seeking and reintegration influence. Through my

interviews, I found that service providers and professionals throughout the region cited the same

general themes of the roles of shame, patience, honor, family reputation in the community, and

the importance of family unity. In describing these similar obstacles, my interviews

demonstrated that there is a spectrum of social institutions that victims of domestic violence can

refer to that hold varying levels of legitimacy in combating domestic violence.

[Figure 2 about here]

When defining the levels of formality and corresponding roles that different social

institutions have, I find it helpful to use a spectrum. Figure 2 exhibits the varying degrees of

legitimacy that help-seeking institutions have by identifying how formal and invasive assistance

is. Naturally, family and friends are the most informal means of assistance. The first line of

defense and most informal means of assistance is an individual's family network. Among two of

the three married beneficiaries in my interview pool, two of the women faced intimate partner

violence and sought assistance from their families of origin. A social worker from a

nongovernmental organization said that married women who are subject to intimate partner

violence usually have fewer social dysfunctions within their families of origin than unmarried

women. This makes sense because in cases of intimate partner violence, the violence originates

from a person who is usually not a member of her family of origin.

In contrast, unmarried women who are forced to leave their homes typically come from broken homes in which the abuse is coming from the most intimate members of her family such as her brother, father or mother. All of the unmarried women that I interviewed reported that they had very little or no contact with their extended family due to death, divorce, or distance. In cases in which the family was unable or unwilling to offer assistance some of the beneficiaries relied on friends for short-term refuge, assistance in seeking medical treatment, and aid in identifying and contacting formal assistance.

I have classified community leaders such as sheikhs, priests, and imams as semi-formal service providers because these individuals are members from the communities in which they serve. In rural regions with strong tribal ties, sheikhs are respected community leaders who serve as traditional mediators between community members. Through my observations at the government battered women's shelter, I have observed the unique role that a community sheikh can play within family councils. Some difficult cases in conservative communities in which a woman cannot leave her community, the sheikh can work in coordination with a social worker from the government battered women's shelter who offers professional guidance. In other cases in which the victim of abuse is removed from a tribal community, sometimes the sheikh will be asked to join the victim's parents or family members. He can serve as a representative of the community and the family and can offer informal oversight after a woman has returned back to her community.

Non-governmental organizations offer higher levels of institutional legitimacy in the general community and are more capable of offering uniform services in both rural and urban regions. As a structured institution, an NGO can offer professional services to members of the

community as well as specialized services for women who have been exposed to violence and do not have a safe place to stay.

I consider services and assistance offered by nongovernmental organizations to be less formal than government institutions because government institutions have higher levels of legitimacy within the community. This is manifested in the government's ability to independently enforce laws and regulations that mete out punishment against perpetrators of abuse. Government institutions are also the most formal means of help-seeking because they can offer professional assistance like NGOs but also provide the highest levels of protection to clients.

Context of Government Sponsored Battered Women's Shelter

Beginning with the most formal means of assistance, the government sponsored battered women's shelter, I have examined the roles that the government plays in addressing family violence and compared their responsibilities to those held by non-governmental service providers. The government sponsored shelter facilities and staff at provide battered women and their children with a clean and safe environment wherein beneficiaries can receive services to address domestic violence and other related issues.

Enclosed by a tall cinderblock fence which separates it from the community, the infrastructure of the MoSD shelter building is designed to offer high levels of security. The facility is equipped metal bars on all of the building's windows and doors and surveillance cameras in all of the public areas including the entrances to the grounds and building to ensure the safety and security of the staff members and clients. Police personnel from the Family Protection Department (FPD) have a constant presence at the Center and perform thorough searches of visitors. In doing this, they are able to screen visitors for weapons, drugs or other

prohibited materials that could harm staff members or clients. While sitting in the front lobby, I observed two visiting family members' initial responses to being searched and asked for photo identification.

Two of a beneficiary's aunts came to the government shelter to drop off personal items. They were greeted at the reception and offered coffee. Then, the police officer asked to inspect the bag with the belongings and also asked the women "Please give me any cigarettes, medicine, cell phones, etc." The two women looked at each other and exclaimed, "This system is like a prison!" The other woman at the reception said in a reassuring voice, "No, this is not a prison. This is a care center for victims of domestic violence – a care center, not a prison." Then, receptionist emptied the plastic bags of belongings for the beneficiary and inspected each article to make sure that there was nothing hidden away within the clothing. There was a hair brush, towel, hijab, shirts and other articles. After she finished looking at each article and running her hand over them for foreign objects, she placed them back in the bag and handed it back to the woman.

An NGO social worker expressed her disapproval of the approaches and appearance of this government approach when she said "It's …sort of like prison." Despite these criticisms, offering this level of security enables the government sponsored battered women's shelter staff members to provide beneficiaries with high levels of danger with the safety and security necessary to protect them from harm. At the same time, high security precautions provide staff members with a safe environment in which they can meet with perpetrators of abuse and other interested parties. In less severe cases, it also allows staff members to offer mediation, family counseling and marriage counseling to clients and their family members.

The tall protective wall around the facility also provides the beneficiaries with the privacy that they need in order to interact and socialize outside. In 2012 the director had the area in front of the shelter landscaped with gardens, grass, trees and a gazebo. During the warm months, the center utilizes this area for social events such as Mother's Day, Ramadan, Eid, and presentations offered by other organizations. While offsetting the sterile environment of the center, the garden offers a therapeutic environment in which staff members and clients can relax.

Community members and other service providers have described the appearance of the government facility as a prison because of the high level of protective infrastructure and invasive procedures that are taken in the name of security. While it has elicited a debate on the importance of such visible forms of security, these measures might be critical to the Center because it addresses high risk cases and the facility location is not secret.

 The administration at the government shelter has taken strides to improve the quality and breadth of services available to its beneficiaries, and has forged working relationships with non-governmental organizations in order to provide beneficiaries with comprehensive services that are relevant to the needs of the occupants. Some of the services that at the shelter include: counseling, welfare, legal assistance and vocational training.

Government Sponsored Battered Women's Shelter Client Demographics

In order to better understand the demographic characteristics of the beneficiaries at MoSD battered women's shelter, I have included relevant descriptive statistics and accompanying bar graphs on age, perpetrator of abuse, and marital status.

[Figure 3 about here]

Since its establishment in 2007 the government has grown from offering residence and services to 299 beneficiaries to 637 women and 227 accompanying children in 2012. The facility can accommodate between 35 to 50 women with 36 accompanying children at a given time.   At the MoSD battered women's shelter, 35% of beneficiaries are under 18 years old, 37% are between 18 and 25 years old, 25% are between 26-30 years old and only 3% are 30 years old and older. This means that 72% of the population served at this facility is under 25 years old which is a stark difference from the population over 30 years old.

[Figure 4 about here]

The perpetrators of abuse were predominantly fathers making up 36% of primary perpetrators, followed by 28% husband, 17% brothers, 12% other, and 7% mother. The victims of domestic violence who are served at the MoSD women's shelter require high levels of institutional legitimacy and security because of the increased level of sensitivity and danger for leaving her family's residence. These figures make it clear that most of the clients at the government battered women's; shelter are young and are victims of family violence, not intimate partner violence.

A past study on Jordanian knowledge and understanding of domestic violence indicated that most of the respondents classified physical forms of abuse as domestic violence but much less believed that psychological abuse was a form of domestic violence (National Family Council of Family Affairs and USAID 2008). This finding might help explain why 81% of beneficiaries at the government battered women's shelter reported physical violence as the main type of violence perpetrated against them while only 12% reported psychological violence and 7% reported sexual violence in 2012. Many victims of family violence have suffered from a number of types of abuse with varying degrees of severity.

[Figure 5 about here]

Figure 5 illustrates the marital status dynamics of government clients. According to 2012 statistics, 60% of government clients were unmarried woman, while 30% of the clients were married, 9% were divorced and 1% of the women were widowed. Given the demographic dynamics of this shelter, further demonstrates that the majority of cases at the government battered women's shelter in 2012 were victims of family violence and are unmarried young women. Given the age demographics of the government shelter, it is not surprising that the

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majority of the women are unmarried because the average age at first marriage within this age cohort is 23.3 years old (Department of Statistics [Jordan] and ICF Macro 2010:62).

As a government battered women's shelter, this facility offers services to general victims of domestic violence as well as "absent girls." Absent girls are young women under the age of 30 years old who have left their family homes without the permission of their legal guardian. A NGO affiliated lawyer explained this population as follows:

> If she leaves before the age of 30, it is the family's right to report a complaint and secure her and it is the right for any security center to arrest her and transfer her to jail, detention, to the Family Protection Department, etc. So those do not come to us. Those who are reported publically [as missing] are a small portion. But most of them [go to] security centers that transfer them to jail, detention centers, or [the MoSD battered women's shelter]...

Although most of the beneficiaries that are served at the government battered women's shelter were Jordanian citizens (82%) in 2012, 15% of the clients were non-Jordanian Arabs, and 3% were foreign. Although a portion of the non-Jordanian clients are married to Jordanian citizens, there are also refugee cases from Iraq and Syria, as well as cases that have fled neighboring countries in order to escape domestic violence. Some of these cases fled to Jordan in search of protection from abuse while others were residing in refugee camps or living in typical Jordanian communities.

The length of residence at the MoSD women's shelter varies dramatically and is dependent on the severity of the issue. About 80.5% of women reside in the government battered women's shelter between 1 and 7 days; 17% stay between one week and one month. Approximately 3% stay for 1-3 months and only .5% stay for more than 3 months. Because of the range in residence, the management has divided the beneficiaries into three separate living quarters: emergency, residents, and families. The emergency section is the most transient. As cases have stabilized and acclimated, they are then transferred to the family section if they are

married or to the residents section if they are single. While offering the new clients a place in which they can acclimate to the center, this division also allows the resident and family sections to live in an environment with higher levels of emotional normalcy and consistency. I noticed a distinct difference in the emotional states of the women in the three divisions during a mother's day celebration.

> *Two of the divisions, family and residents, had come down but the emergency division had not. The women in the two divisions were familiar to me because I had seen some of them in a volunteer's yoga classes. They smiled, were upbeat, and greeted me by kissing my cheeks. These women joked with each other and laughed as they waited for the others. Some of the women in these two divisions wore dresses that were clearly for this occasion and several of the girls from this division had more makeup on than I usually see them wear. The women from the emergency division entered without much noise or chatter. During the event, only one woman from the emergency division participated in the talent show. The family and residents' divisions were smiling, laughing, dancing and clapping their hands as their peers performed. When I looked to the left, the emergency division women had sullen faces and almost none of them were clapping. At least four of them broke out into tears. Someone gave them tissues because it was obvious that they were having a hard time.*

Despite these living divisions, the women are encouraged to interact with one another during the day through the scheduled training classes, meals and celebrations.

According to government annual reports, many of the beneficiaries at the government shelter are members of low-income families, lack an education and have few employment opportunities in their communities. These demographics paint a bleak future for young women that are confronted with abuse. The reports also show that 40% of the women at the government battered women's shelter have not completed the tenth grade, and many of the women have not developed the basic mathematic, reading and computer skills to satisfy basic literacy standards, much less seek employment.

In order to equip these women with the skills necessary to support themselves, the shelter offers skill-building classes such as sewing, mosaic building, basket weaving and salon skills. Each of these classes is instructed by contracted employees several times a week in fully

equipped work rooms. Beneficiaries have access to an exercise room equipped with six machines

and basic equipment, computer lab with five computers, small library with over 1,000 books,

salon with all accompanying supplies, prayer room, relaxing room, two playrooms for children,

two kitchens and a large conference room.

Salon, sewing, mosaic making and basket weaving skills are taught by community

members who are paid to teach classes each week. These classes offer the women opportunities

to engage in wholesome activities that promote skill development that is marketable and will

permit them to work within their homes. Participation in all of the offered classes is mandatory

for residence and attendance progress is carefully monitored by the instructors. Other resources,

such as the exercise room and computer lab, are not used as regularly because there is a lack of

technical knowledge necessary to properly utilize the equipment. However, on several

occasions, the shelter has received grants from NGOs and businesses in the community which

have provided secretarial training and certification for beneficiaries for short periods of time.

As the number of government battered women's shelter beneficiaries continues to swell,

the administration at the center has worked to mobilize local resources that enhance the services

available to MoSD battered women's shelter clients. They have done this by forging agreements

with NGOs and other institutions that increase the human capacity at the Center throughout the

year. Some volunteers and organization employees teach classes such as music therapy, yoga and

art, while others offer onsite performances, renovations or legal assistance.

In exchange for providing temporary housing to some of an organization's refugees, the

organization provides funding for one full-time children's psychologist from a local organization

who works with the children at the group and individual level. Through her interactions with the

children, she monitors and signs of child abuse and neglect. They also offer part-time funding for

two additional NGO employees who facilitate a variety of exercises that encourage the

participants to express themselves through different mediums. In doing so, the beneficiaries

develop teamwork and cooperation skills with other beneficiaries. While working in

coordination with a wide breadth of nongovernmental organizations, the MoSD shelter stake

holders broaden its offerings to their beneficiaries despite its physical separation from the

community. In contrast the NGO battered women's shelter collaborates with local NGOs and

government organization while keeping its beneficiaries engaged within the local community.

Context of Non-governmental Battered Women's Shelter

As one of the oldest organizations in the Kingdom, this organization has a prominent

presence within the Jordanian landscape and its members have advocated for women's rights,

social justice, economic and political participation for decades. At each of its 12 satellite

locations, the organization offers a variety of services including field visits, economic

empowerment, training activities and refers clients to psychologist doctors. Of the services

offered to over 5,000 clients in 2012, 98% of the services were directed through the hotline

(53%) or in-person sessions/consultations (45%) while very few cases resulted in field visits

(1.1%), legal cases (0.4%), participation in empowerment and training programs (0.3%), or

references to psychologists (0.2%). The shelter director best described the hotline service

program as follows:

…the hotline program offers social, legal and psychological services. We have in a cadre
of workers composed of social specialists, psychological specialists, and legal advisors. In a
major way, the social specialist receives the case and opens a file and she is responsible for the
administration of the file and if the case completely. In using networks and cooperating with the
psychological specialist and with the lawyer if there is a legal aspect in her case. They mostly
work together as one team and exchange roles as they serve on the woman's behalf …

By seeking assistance via telephone, individuals might feel that they can maintain a level

of anonymity. This makes seeking assistance less threatening. Because individuals can seek

assistance within the comfort of their home and the contact is intimately available within their private environment, the hotline might serve as a semi-formal means of assistance. Because hotline callers are not required to give extensive personal details or visit the Center in person, some clients use this arena to address stigmatized social matters such as parental concerns about a child's sexual promiscuity, sexual orientation, and other difficult topics. Hotline usage in Jordan is widely used throughout the Kingdom because it is easy to access, maintains an element of anonymity and does not require her to leave her home. It also serves as a more long term form of support for less severe cases.

The organization established a battered women's shelter in 1996 that has a capacity of 15-20 beneficiaries. This shelter offers protection and housing to any women in the Kingdom who are exposed to violence and do not have safe accommodations. Because of their broader target population, the organization's women's shelter serves women who are victims of human trafficking and abused guest workers as well as victims of family violence and intimate partner violence. Of the over 5,000 women who sought assistance from the organization in 2012, only 602 victims of violence required refuge at the NGO's battered women's shelter.

> …now, the women who refer to the hotline, not all of them want a shelter or require a shelter. But the woman who does not have a safe place in which to reside, and is threatened and is exposed to danger, she asks shelter. Therefore, their number is a small percentage in relation to the women who refer to the hotline line.

The general services that the shelter beneficiaries receive include: shelter, protection, food, clothing, health services, social/psychological support, legal assistance, training and educational opportunities, job placement assistance, and relocation assistance.

Unlike the government sponsored shelter, the NGO's battered women's shelter location is secret. In being a secret location, not only is it necessary for the facility to easily blend into the community in which it is located, it also does not require the same levels of security as a shelter

like the government shelter. When the shelter director was explaining security needs of the NGO

shelter's cases, she said:

> … We don't receive cases that have death threats because we don't have the protection
> and security like the government. My protection is that I take specific measures
> throughout the day so that I can offer security and protection to the shelter… from the
> beginning if she [a case] came to me, I would transfer her to [the government battered
> women's shelter] or … the Family Protection Department…

The organization regulations give the clients higher levels of self-determination and

autonomy, which includes freedom of movement while residing in the shelter and liberty to

choose to discontinue services and leave. The non-governmental women's shelters included in

this study in Morocco, Jordan and the Palestinian Territories are in secret locations, mediation

and intervention services are facilitated between perpetrators and victims at separate locations

that are known by community members. Because the battered women's shelter location is secret

and the cases that NGOs address are less severe, these organizations may not be required to take

the same measures of protection in order to ensure the safety and security of staff members and

beneficiaries.

While a representative of the NGO battered women's shelter expounded upon this by

saying the security measures that are taken in at this facility, she said:

> We don't search anyone. We have in [center] security but the women [officers] wear
> civilian clothes, they do not wear military [uniforms]. If we feel that a person is
> dangerous, we ask for help from them to be present in the area. I mean, if they [guests]
> are with me in the office, they [the officers] will be present outside sitting, for example,
> in case any dangerous situation arises, they will enter.

The organization offers a space in which divorced or separated parents can exercise their

visitation rights in a safe and supervised environment. This area is monitored by onsite social

workers who work with both children and parents on a variety of topics including parenting

skills, communication skills and marriage counseling. In addition to offering guidance to

separated and divorced couples on how to resolve their interpersonal conflicts, social workers

also help children of divorced and separated couples adapt and cope with their new living situations.   If the child has developed behavioral issues due to the separation or divorce of his parents, the social workers can work with him to improve his social skills. Similarly, they can work with parents and children to strengthen their relationships. The organization also boasts a medical clinic that offers services both to the shelter residents as well as women and children in the general community.

The non-governmental organization battered women's shelter has empowerment trainings that are offered to victims of family violence. Through this program, they offer beneficiaries training in two productive projects, baking and catering as well as sewing and embroidery. In a large kitchen equipped with industrial appliances, the women are taught how to use the equipment, prepare the food and meet professional standards. Some of the food that they produce feeds the women at the battered women's shelter and is sold to local businesses.

In the sewing and embroidery courses, participants learn how operate the sewing machines, follow patterns and cross stitch on the traditional dresses, shawls, and pillow cases. The organization helps the women market their products and gives the proceeds to the women who make the products. If a beneficiary leaves the battered women's shelter before she has completed her courses, NGO will offer her a stipend to cover her basic living expenses and transportation until she finishes. Once the women have completed the professional training program, the NGO helps participants seek employment either at the organization or outside of the organization.

Non-governmental Organization Battered Women's Shelter Client Demographics

When asked to describe the demographic dynamics of the shelter, the shelter director began by explaining the shelter's diversity. "There is a large proportion of house workers that are

Sri Lankan, Filipinas, Indonesian, [and] Bangladeshi… that enter the shelter. They have

problems with worker's rights." She continued by explaining how political upheaval in

neighboring countries has influenced demographic trends, the shelter director explained:

> …during the American occupation of Iraq, there were a large portion of Iraqis in Jordan, so it is a natural thing that a lot of Iraqi women referred to us on the hotline and [there were] Iraqi beneficiaries in the shelter – most of them were Iraqi women. Now, because of the crisis in Syria, there is a large proportion of Syrian beneficiaries at the shelter. A lot of Syrian women refer to the guidance hotline program either in Amman or in Jordanian cities because there is a crisis in the relationship between Syria and the people and … there is a large number of Syrians in Jordan and they have problems but that's typical.

The demographic attributes that are recorded by the NGO battered women's shelter

reports include: perpetrator of abuse, marital status, age, educational attainment, and socio-

economic status. Due to the overlap in some of the demographic data collected by both women's

shelters, the different population dynamics of each center clarifies the role of each institution

within the larger landscape of combating family violence.

[Figure 6 about here]

The age composition of clients who seek refuge at the NGO's battered women's shelter

are mostly women between the ages of 20 and 49 years old as opposed to the government shelter

figures which were notably younger with only 3% of the 2012 beneficiaries exceeding 30 years

of age. At the nongovernmental organization's battered women's shelter, only 9% of the

beneficiaries are under 20, 30% are between 20-29 years old, 30% are between 30-39 years old,

24% are between 40-49 years old and 6% are between 50-59 years old and 2% are 60 years old

or older. The NGO shelter serves a much older population than the government shelter. This

shows that in 2012 older and married women were more apt to seek refuge at the NGO instead of

government battered women's shelter, while younger and unmarried women more frequently

received services from government.

In the Figure 7, it shows that of the 602 victims who sought refuge at the NGO women's shelter in 2012, 58% of respondents reported abuse from the her husband, 12% from perpetrators represented by other, 11% from her ex-husband, 7% from her employer, 7% from another woman, 2% from her father, 2% from her brother, and 1% from her son. This report shows that 69% of the victims who sought refuge at NGO's battered women's shelter in 2012 were victims of intimate partner violence from her current or former husband, while only 5% reported abuse from a close male relative such as the victim's father, brother, or son. The figures classified as "other" and "woman" are less meaningful because reports do not offer sufficient information to determine if the source of abuse was family abuse or not.

These figures are notably different from the sources of abuse among the government sponsored battered women's shelter beneficiaries who predominantly experienced family abuse from fathers or other family members, while only 28% reported violence from the husband. This figure also indicates that although the majority of beneficiaries suffer from family violence, there are enough guest workers to influence the issues and needs that are addressed by service providers. In the following figures, I was unable to separate the cases of family violence from those of guest workers' cases. Although this obscures the precise population dynamics among family violence victims, these graphs still offer insights into the general population trends.

Figure 8 indicates that the majority of the beneficiaries at the NGO shelter are married women. Although single woman seek assistance from the organization, their cases are much less prevalent at NGO than they are at the government battered women's shelter. Instead, 65% of NGO beneficiaries in 2012 reported being married. In comparing government client marital

status figures with NGO clients, it is clear that the majority of government clients are unmarried while the majority of NGO clients are married. Service providers from both shelters noted that unmarried women have much more sensitive cases that are subject to much higher levels of danger. Also, cases that involve absent unmarried women under 30 years old are legally required to be under state custody. Although the general services offered by both institutions remain the same regardless of marital status, sources of conflict and support vary due to marital status changing the nature of conflict resolution within the family.

The shelter environment and interventions offered by the NGO battered women's shelter target less severe cases in which the institutional legitimacy of the organization is sufficient to meet the protection and intervention needs. Seeking assistance from non-governmental organizations is viewed as less severe and less formal means of help-seeking because the victim has not sought to take legal action against the perpetrator of abuse. For this reason, nongovernmental organizations might be considered semi-formal means of help-seeking that straddle between seeking informal assistance among family and friends and formal assistance such as filing a complaint with the police or government entity.

How their roles complement one another?

Through the Jordanian press, the MoSD has advocated that its role within the field is to provide safety and protection for victims of domestic violence. They do this by funding a comprehensive services battered women's shelter as well as facilities for vulnerable female populations such as young women who were raised within state-sponsored orphanages and victims of sexual abuse and rape. Recognizing that the government facilities have constraints due to a lack of human capacity among employees, high levels of pressure, and limited funds, government agencies such as the MoSD have called upon nongovernmental organizations to

assist these agencies to this fill these gaps (Nemri 2013). Some organizations work actively to offer support the staff and clients at government sponsored facilities like the government sponsored battered women's shelter. Through this cooperation, trained psychiatric and social work specialists offer onsite capacity building to government employees and also work directly with beneficiaries through goal oriented exercises and activities.

In Jordan, the government and the non-governmental organization battered women's shelters offer complimentary services in which women with varying degrees of family violence and dysfunction can seek assistance that is appropriate for their needs. Service providers' affiliations with NGOs or governments hold different degrees of power and legitimacy which influences the roles that they play as well as where victims of domestic violence seek assistance. As an NGO with a limited security apparatus, the organization's shelter serves the needs of mild to intermediate family and intimate partner violence cases. This reduced level of legitimacy is an attractive alternative for victims of abuse who do not want to file formal complaints and legally punish their family members.   It also plays a valuable role in raising community awareness of the available services and refers cases to the FPD if the victims' needs are beyond the scope of organization. By providing their cases with services and support without infringing the women's freedom of movement and autonomy, NGO beneficiaries are not fully removed from their communities. In serving this population, the NGO's services reduce the pressure placed on the government battered women's shelter's resources and enable the government facility to focus their attention on the most severe cases of family and intimate partner violence. The service providers that I interviewed in Jordan expressed a strong commitment to collaboration and resource sharing. As one NGO lawyer recognized, fighting domestic violence requires a large cadre of service providers from both the public and private sectors. Together these institutions

strive to create a community that is aware of the types of domestic violence and actively work to eliminate it through prevention and intervention.

Forms of Abuse

Social structures explain why instigations and manifestations of abuse as well as intervention methods used to confront abuse are fundamentally different across cultures (Hattery and Smith 2012). This is particularly the case when comparing collectivist and individualist communities. The forms of abuse that I have chosen to focus on in my study are acts of violence that are closely linked to issues unique to the Arab community. An NGO social worker explained the role that collectivism plays in Jordan as follows:

> In general, we are a society that talks, not like the Western communities that don't talk to anyone or don't talk to someone. In our society, we have social relationships and very close [ones]. And outside of the capital relationships are tribal and clan oriented, not just the family that is inside of one family. No, the big family and bigger and bigger... So they all intervene and they all talk... This is one of the problems that exacerbate the problem because it doesn't solve the root of the problem (Social Worker, Non-government sponsored battered women's shelter 2013).

Although traditionally the nuclear and extended family, clan and tribe have played an important role within tightly-knitted Arab communities, the family can also be the source of the conflict. This can result in problems between both of the spouses' families or with one of the families. This extends to clans and tribes, which are more prevalent and have stronger ties in rural areas.

A government social worker pointed out that there are cases in which the mother-in-law is either the source of violence or influences her son to use violence against his wife. In a Jordanian study on determinants for spousal conflict and divorce, extended family interference was cited as a prominent issue (Ghazwi 2007). This might happen if the couple lives very close to their families of origin, either in the same living quarters or as close neighbors.

Mother-in-laws can also instigate violence against her son's wife or influence her son's treatment of his wife. For example, if the mother-in-law doesn't like her son's wife, she sometimes encourages her son go out with other women or marry another woman. When family tension and conflict arise from family interference, social workers at the government shelter might encourage the married couple to take measures to increase their autonomy as a nuclear family by moving out of the same living quarters or by redefining their relationship boundaries with the couple's respective families. Other determining factors that influence manifestations of violence against women include their social position and its accompanying roles as defined by civil and Islamic law.

Gender-based violence. Preference of male children over female children can be a form of gender-based violence. Within the Arab tradition, patriarchal lineage is embedded in a child's name. This is a form of social legitimization and establishing social ties. When a married couple begins having children, the mother and father become known in their community as the parents of their first born son. Although the gender preference for sons is decreasing within the Arab community, one's failure to produce a son can become a source of frustration due to the social implications. This also makes the couple more vulnerable when they mature in age because they will not have a son who will be able to support and care for them in their old age.

A couple in Jordan shared these sentiments and wanted a son. They first had a healthy daughter followed by two sons with severe disabilities and then another healthy daughter. Due to the parents' failure to produce a healthy son free of disabilities, they associated their frustration with their first daughter and abused her severely. In her childhood, the girl's father poured gasoline on her, which left her legally blind, shaved her head and beat her until she was unrecognizable and suffered from trauma-related mental retardation.

This young woman was exposed to severe gender-based violence because of the frustration and disappointment that her parents felt due to their own inability to produce a healthy son. Because of their strict interpretation of gender roles within their community, they

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felt that their daughter was incapable of reconciling their social vulnerability. Another prominent form of gender-based violence in Arab society is based in community acceptance of male expressions of anger even when it comes at the expense of female family members.

Isolated abusive behavior. When I asked a room of three social workers to describe a situation in which a beneficiary might seek refuge at the battered women's shelter for one to several days, they responded with an example of a case that they considered simple with minor abuse. When describing this "easy" case, they described the following:

> *A woman was sent to the government battered women's shelter for one day because her husband had beaten her. He beat her because when he went to the souk, he purchased white underwear for his wife but when he returned home, there was a pair of red underwear in his bag. He beat his wife because he thought that she was having a relationship with the vendor who sold him the underwear. The social workers laughed as they told the story. I found this husband's response interesting because instead of being angry at the vendor for switching the underwear for other reasons, he automatically thought that it was due to some fault of his wife.*

The social workers viewed this case as less serious because the abuse was an isolated event with a clear event that triggered the abuse and provided a cathartic release to the perpetrator. The social workers explained that this husband had a lapse in judgment and incorrectly assessed the situation. Many of the more serious cases suffered from cyclical or constant abuse. Their response and interpretation of this case begged the question, if he was willing to beat his wife when she had given no impressions of committing adultery, what would this husband do if his wife did something that crossed him?

Honor. In an interview with a private sector social worker, she explained the societal acceptance of male relatives' role in punishing female relatives such as a wife, daughter or sister if she steps outside of the lines of decency. If he chooses not to discipline her at a level that is commensurate with her deviation, the community may question the masculinity of the male family members and their ability to control the behavior of their female family members. The

social worker attributed this urgency to mete out equal punishment as social traces of the historical role of revenge within the community. For this reason a man is pressured to respond to high levels of disobedience such as sexual promiscuity in a strong and visible way to show the community that he does not condone the behavior of his female relative and meted out adequate punishment. Similarly, two other service providers expressed that community members have also normalized family and intimate partner violence as acceptable forms of discipline within the home.

Instrumental abuse such as psychological, verbal and physical forms of aggression is used as preventative measures of intimidation or as punishment for suspected promiscuity. Women who are at high risk of being murdered or injured by a relative are placed in government protection facilities such as the MoSD sponsored women's shelter because it has the capacity to provide adequate protection while also offering mediation and counseling to both the victim and her family.

Three young women with conservative Bedouin heritage were living with their father in his home. When their father became weak, their brothers became more violent with them and began threatening them. When their father died, the young women remained in their father's home unaccompanied by a guardian. In response, their brothers began beating them, burning them and threatening to kill them.

The absence of a strong male figure within the home that can re-enforce good behavior and punish behavior that might harm the family honor is very threatening. For this reason, the brothers sought to compel the young women to behave through intimidation and fear. When I asked the young women how they intended to curtail their brothers' abuse, they indicated that they felt that marriage was the only way to absolve their brothers' fears of dishonoring the family through sexual deviance or rumors. When asked how marriage would reduce their brothers' abuse, they stated that when they are married, they will no longer be their brothers' responsibility monetarily or otherwise because their husbands will bear this responsibility over them.

Another situation that several service providers mentioned while discussing honor issues among unmarried women is running away from a woman's parent's home. In her absence, the family and the community automatically fear that the young woman has exposed herself to an inappropriate sexual relationship because she slept outside of the home. Such disgrace is punishable by severe abuse or death. When there is strong evidence to support their intact honor, families are more willing to accept formal assistance and work to reconcile their relationship with their daughter, wife or sister because she has not violated one of the greatest expectations of her gender role.

According to research performed by Hayajneh and Naqshabandi (2007) in Jordan, they found that women who committed moral crimes were often motivated by revenge. After being institutionalized at a women's prison in Jordan, many of these women reported that they came from broken homes and were exposed to abuse (Hayajneh and Naqshabandi 2007). Although it may seem irrational to run away from home and have a sexual relationship when there are palpable social sanctions for such behavior, many of the cases cited that they were seeking revenge with their family. They also reported feeling remorse and depression for their involvement in moral crimes.

Similarly, in research performed by Ayse Onal (2008) in Turkey, she found that although there were some unremorseful men who committed honor crimes, many of them felt regret and sorrow for killing their female relative.   The violence that is often perpetrated by a brother, father or male relative does not only originate from male family members but also from female relatives and the larger community (Onal 2008). Patriarchy influences the perspectives of both men and women and does not excuse female family members from being a source of pressure on male relatives to physically punish or kill a deviant female relative. Because of the level of

community violence against those who break the social and religious norms, a vulnerable person may be seeking protection from numerous people such as brothers, parents, cousins and extended relatives making restraining orders obsolete.

Restraining order reinforcement and length limitations make it impractical for cases in which a woman is at high risk of danger from multiple family or community members and make it most effective to detain the victim in a state facility in which service providers can offer the security necessary to protect her life. This is particularly the case for some of the cases that are placed in the government battered women's shelter with moderate levels of danger and those within the women's prison, who are exposed to high levels of danger. Because family and community members play an active role in the perpetration of abuse and honor killings for sexual deviance, social work approaches that actively engage an endangered woman's social network including both men and women can reduce a family's social pressure to abuse or kill the woman. This is also arguably one of the few methods that service providers can offer that will enable a woman to fully re-integrate into a collectivist community after seeking assistance .

Interestingly, with increased economic and social resources, families can forgo honor killings and harsh treatment for social indecency if the family members choose that they do not want to use corporal punishment. A private sector social worker explained that those who are marginalized have few alternatives to violence because they are at the mercy of stronger and wealthier community members and are dependent on their clean reputations for their livelihood. They also lack the resources and social connections to gain access to adequate information and services. Because of their social vulnerability, they cannot afford to overlook indecent behavior.

In contrast, a wealthy family is more easily forgiven than a poor family because the weaker members of the community are dependent on the wealthy for their livelihood and need

the financial relationship. Additionally, wealthy families might use their resources to cover up the scandal by undergoing abortions or hymen restoration surgery. Although these services are illegal in most of the Middle East, families with strong social networks and monetary resources can easily find access. The private sector social worker demonstrated this concept in the following case:

> *A wealthy married woman with four children cheated on her husband. Upon learning of the affair, the husband did not want to kill his wife but wished to distance his family's reputation from her shameful behavior. In attempts to remove the family shame, he took his wife to a clinic and had the psychiatrists pronounce her psychologically unstable and admit her to the facility for several months for "treatment." After the "treatment," she returned to the family home.*

In this case, the woman's husband was able to simultaneously excuse her behavior and saved face in front of his community because their family had the connections and resources necessary to absolve the family shame through non-violent means. Although this family was able to avoid domestic violence due to the husband's personal choices and socially acceptable alternatives to abuse furnished by their resources, abused women who require external services often do not have these luxuries. Instead, they must find other methods of mitigating the social and legal obstacles that prevent them from seeking assistance from abuse.

Social and Legal Obstacles

Some of the main help-seeking social obstacles themes that beneficiaries expressed in the interviews were: a lack of knowledge of the availability and quality of services offered, a lack of confidence in the integrity of institutions, and a fear of rejection or punishment from family members for seeking formal assistance. Women also face substantial obstacles to help-seeking due to the vulnerability that they face within the legal system.

Lack of awareness. Prior to their residence at the shelter, almost all of the beneficiaries who I interviewed had very little to no knowledge of the services that the Family Protection

Department could offer them. Only three of the respondents had prior knowledge of the battered

women's shelter and the services offered before their current residency. These three respondents

had either received assistance at the shelter in the past or knew someone who had.   It was not

until they had filed their cases to the police, a nongovernmental organization, their embassies or

through personal online research that these women learned of the Department of Family

Protection. An 18 year old unmarried Kuwaiti woman's help-seeking experience offers insights

into the how the victim of abuse acquired information about FPD and sought assistance.

> *When she was in Kuwait, she visited an organization to find about services that she could use in Jordan. They told her about the FPD and how she should contact them if she ever had any issues. She remembered this information. While her uncle was visiting from a Western country, he beat her for breaking house rules like staying out too late. First she went to the Kuwaiti embassy after she was beaten and they would not help her, even though it was obvious from her face that she had been beaten severely. She asked them about FPD and they told her that it was only for Jordanians and that they did not help foreigners. Despite this, the young woman called the operator and was connected with FPD. She filed a complaint against her aunt for psychological abuse and her uncle for physical abuse.*

Three of the beneficiaries reported that their perpetrators used the Family Protection

Department as a threat to the perpetrator's wife or ex-wife. Because their perpetrators used the

government agency as a threat that would place the victims or the victims' mothers in jail, this

deterred one interviewed women and two of the victims' mothers from seeking assistance. In

attempts to escape the abuse and threats, a married 36 year old woman and her 5 children fled

Iraq and went into hiding in Jordan.

> *XXXX was shocked that they [Family Protection Department] found her and was also frightened that they would arrest her and take away her children. She didn't eat for two days because she was so afraid that they would return them to Iraq. She was afraid to go to the Family Protection Department and wondered the city trying to get away from the Family Protection Department for fear of what would happen to them ... Once the FPD understood the situation, instead of punishing her, they took the woman and her children into custody to protect them.*

Upon learning about the nature and role of the government institutions and services

offered in Jordan, the married woman exclaimed:

> ... that if she had known that the FPD existed and knew that it would help her as it has, she would have come directly to it and filed a complaint against her husband. "He threatens me, beats me and throws me out of my house; don't I have a right to complain? Yes, I do."

This case's sentiment was common in my interviews with women who had limited to no prior knowledge of FPD rights and government battered women's shelter services. A government service provider stated that not only do victims of abuse have limited awareness of available service but they also harbor incorrect perceptions of what domestic violence is. He stated that in recent research reports from his agency, they found that 80% of respondents believed that physical violence was the only form of domestic violence. Furthermore, he explained that disciplining one's wife or child by using abuse is commonly accepted in the community, and is not considered inappropriate conduct. An NGO service provider stated that women who are less aware of their rights might not realize that they are being abused and may not know that she can challenge abusive behavior.

In order to overcome this social obstacle and raise awareness, civil society and government institutions must work in tandem to create clear definitions of abuse so that victims of abuse can easily identify family and intimate partner violence. Both sectors must also coordinate efforts to educate general community members on women's rights and available services that are designed to protect abused women from mistreatment.

Lack of confidence in institutions. Influenced by the collectivist nature of Arab communities and tribalism, some cases question the standards of confidentiality and privacy that are given a woman's case while others question the role of nepotism. Because of the damning effect that rumors or gossip can have on a family's reputation, victims of domestic violence might not seek assistance if they question the level of privacy that beneficiaries will receive

within the battered women's shelter. An NGO battered women's shelter social worker illustrated this when she stated:

> There is not a difference between the capital and the other cities because this is culture… The environment of Amman or even far away because the communities know each other mostly the tribes. They will know each other, so there truly is sensitive that they will return and go back and talk or something but they still come. It's not like they don't refer to the program, no, they come to the program with some of their fears. Once, a woman came to me from Salt [a more rural community outside of Amman]. She said, "I don't want to go to the branch in Salt because there they know me." She came to me here or from Zarqa or from Baqa'a for example… This is a small quantity.

Within small and tribal communities in which privacy is scarce, women are especially concerned about local community members finding out about their cases. To remedy this, some women seek assistance in another district or city. This concern also stems from women's concerns about the level of professionalism maintained by the staff members as well as the quality and effectiveness of the services offered at the facilities. If the interventions and assistance offered by service providers are insufficient, seeking formal assistance could place the woman in a worse situation.

Individuals who live within more tribal and rural regions might also be more apprehensive about receiving assistance because they doubt battered women's shelter employees to work within the framework of their conservative social structure. A government social worker illustrated this difficulty as she explained:

> *Bedouins are the hardest to work with because of their customs and traditions. She said that if she was not also from a strong Bedouin tribe, there is no way that tribal families would work with her. They would say that she did not understand how the clans and tribes and village social structures work. However, she explained that because the social worker is from a prominent family, the families find comfort in knowing that she understands their culture and was raised in it. She said that they also feel that they can trust and respect her more because of her family ties.*

In a family session, the family members pointed to her name placard several times while affirming their confidence in her capabilities because of her family background. The government

social worker also indicated that it is very difficult for someone from outside of the Bedouin community to try to intervene and work with this population. Social workers who deal with these cases must be from within the community in order to gain the access and trust that is so critical to foster cooperation and resolution.

Others fear seeking services from government entities if the perpetrator of abuse has strong connections within the government, police or court systems that would prevent the victim from receiving adequate protection and justice. *Wasta,* is similar to nepotism and is described by Loewe, Blume, and Speer (2008) as using one's social connections and relationships to gain access to resources or influence policies and legislations at the expense of a third party. They argue that this creates a lack of fairness and predictability within the public and private sectors. Furthermore, *wasta* persists within the political system because it is heavily controlled by tribesmen, there is a lack of transparency and accountability, and *wasta* is associated with tribal values such as solidarity and mutual responsibility (Loewe, Blume, and Speer 2008:259, 273). The lack of fairness and predictability created by *wasta* destroy the integrity of governmental and nongovernmental institutions and instill a lack of confidence among both victims and perpetrators. This is counterproductive in two ways because it deters victims from seeking assistance due to a lack of credibility while simultaneously reassuring perpetrators of abuse that they will not be held accountable for family violence even when cases are filed against them.

Since the decapitation of the Iraqi government in 2003, Iraqi tribes have filled the power vacuum. Through this process, tribes have gained tremendous influence within formal institutions (Asfura-Heim 2011). While offering prominent tribes increased influence and power, it has also raised skepticism among those from less powerful tribes. The Iraqi mother and

her children only sought informal assistance from her family members because she knew that she

could not seek formal assistance in Iraq. She explained the following:

> *Her husband's brother had wasta within the Ministry of Interior and his family could control the judges and the courts in favor of their tribe. Her husband's tribe had more prestige and power than her tribe. If he took her to court, it would not be a fair trial. He could accuse her of anything and could take her children away from her.*

Even when she fled to Jordan, her husband used his family connections to contact the

Jordanian FPD. Both he and his wife believed that using nepotism, he would be able to capture

his wife and children and force them to return to Iraq. When he attempted to pressure the

government women's shelter director with his family reputation, the director told him: *Wasta has*

no place in solving the problem at hand and will not help his case. In part, the director is able to

speak so authoritatively about *wasta* because she also comes from a very prominent family in

Jordan and is not at risk of losing her job or credibility within the social work field due to her

insistence of upholding justice. This beneficiary is grateful that Jordan's social protection

system has not been corrupted by *wasta* but she still fears that her now ex-husband will try to use

different Jordanian government institutions to threaten her and her children.

In another case,

> *The family members raised their concerns and issues about their local family protection department and how the girl's mother has relatives at the facility and that they think that part of the reason why they were having so many issues there was because of wasta. The social worker told them that there is no wasta here. Wasta will not help anyone here and only real solutions can help here.*

Fear of rejection or punishment by family. Due to the cultural acceptance of male family

members punishing female family members, cases of domestic violence are viewed skeptically.

Victim blaming is common because others frequently seek to investigate if there were possible

provocations for the violence that was perpetrated against the victim.   Women who seek

assistance outside of the family are viewed as irresponsible, disrespectful, and active contributors

to the disintegration of the family and society at large. As expressed by an NGO service

provider,

> … This social culture forbids the woman from resorting to any source outside of the family and it's considered shameful. The woman must be subordinate; the woman must protect the secrets of the family… [and] her husband. If there are defects, you can't speak about them in front of the others [because]… this considered shameful.

In several interviews, service providers referred to these social attitudes as products of the

'culture of shame.' Victim blaming results from the 'culture of shame' because the emphasis is

placed on the victims who broke the silence instead of the perpetrator for abuse. This effectively

refocuses the fault on the victim who is commonly blamed for instigating or deserving the

violence. A government social worker pointed out that:

> *The hardest thing is to file a complaint against the family. This is harder than complaining against a husband because of the social traditions. It's more shameful when a girl complains about her brother, father, or mother even if she has been exposed to violence, it is also more shameful for her to leave.*

Within the hierarchical structure of the family, there is a greater gap between the power

of an unmarried woman and her guardian or patriarch than there is between wife and husband.

Legally and socially, unmarried women find that they have few viable alternatives to returning to

their families. Giving custody to a relative other than the father is associated with one's

incapability to raise his own children. This is highly stigmatized and shameful because this is a

key social expectation of parents. This disrupts the cultural fabric and isn't usually accepted as

appropriate (Social Worker, Government battered women's shelter 2013). Besides, most of the

women come from broken homes in which the relatives are not very close and may not talk to

one another. This makes living in other places even less of an option. Because of this lack of

latitude and both legally and socially, unmarried women realize that reporting abuse will usually

prove counter-productive. Thus, only cases with severe cases of domestic violence are able to

disregard the social barriers to seek formal assistance (Social Worker, Government battered women's shelter, 2013).

A married women who wants to preserve her marriage and only wishes to purge the violence in her relationship, may fear that after seeking assistance, her husband will divorce her and that she will lose the support of her family members. Also, despite the victim's exposure to abuse, her family might return her to her husband's house when she tries to seek refuge in her parents' home. In the Iraqi mother's case, her parents advised the woman to be patient with her husband and his family and endure the abuse.

Mothers are usually saddled with blame from their husbands and family members whether she chooses to take her children with her to the battered women's shelter or leaves them behind with her family. A government social worker depicted this dilemma as follows:

> *If she leaves the children and seeks refuge at the battered women's shelter, she is seen as irresponsible for leaving her children and her family. However, if she takes her children, she is considered irresponsible because she is exposing her children to life as refugees, has kidnapped the children, has raised them in a disgraceful way… and might be accused of exposing her children to danger.*

When a woman chooses to sever ties with her husband through divorce or separation, she is even more likely to lose the support of her family. Whether a woman's family is unable or unwilling to assist her when exposed to family violence, victims of domestic violence are placed in a very vulnerable situation and must choose between enduring the abuse or bringing shame to her family by seeking outside assistance and breaking the traditional family structure. The strong societal emphasis on family, community and the communal mindset make it very difficult for women to choose to end an abusive relationship through divorce.   As one government shelter social worker described, *in the end, if she divorces, she fears that she will have no children, no family and no husband. She will have no one.*

Legal obstacles. Due to the patriarchal nature of the judicial systems in the Middle East and North Africa, battered women are often wary to seek legal action against their husbands or families. This reluctance stems from their lack of confidence in the fairness of the existing patriarchal laws or the judges who mete out the laws. I utilized Jordanian legislations as a backdrop of sources that clearly explicate gender specific rights and duties. The main legislations that I relied on include the Personal Status Law, Penal Code, and Protection from Domestic Violence Law. These civil laws lay out a formal institutional framework for gender relations within the public and private spheres. They also reinforce a patriarchal and hierarchical structure within the family that places male relatives in positions of authority and power.

In my interviews with a non-governmental lawyer and social worker from Jordan and Morocco, a consistent issue throughout the Middle East and North Africa is limited legislation that protects women against domestic violence and even less that are fully implemented and upheld within the courts. Jordan is a signatory on numerous international agreements that promote women's rights, yet there is very little application of these laws within local courts. Jordan also has legislations such as the Protection from Violence Law that are not implemented or upheld but could offer added measure of protection to victims of domestic violence.

Jordan established the Protection from Violence Law in 2008 which is designed to temporarily imprison the perpetrator and provides victims of abuse with provisional emergency restraining orders. Under this law, the aggrieved party should be able to present its case before a family reconciliation committee that is coordinated by the Department of Protection (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 2008:Art. 6A). In appropriate cases of domestic violence, a one-month protection order can be instated that prevents the abuser from approaching the plaintiff's place of residence (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 2008:Art. 14A). This

court order can be extended up to six months (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 2008:Art. 14B). Unfortunately, these restraining orders do not protect women with serious threats, especially when the victim has more than one perpetrator.

An NGO lawyer explained her views on the Protection from Domestic Violence Law when she said:

> They work without taking the opinions of organizations. This means that they don't have round tables and we have a lot of thoughts that we ask for to amend the law but currently the law is lacking and it is not used. This means that it was instated five years ago but until now, it doesn't have a structure and it isn't used. So, we face the problems such as the victim, the woman when it is in the house, originally, they distance her husband from the house but that doesn't happen. She is not able to rule her children inside of her house. So, she is the one that is punished, not distancing the abuser. And the same thing happens to those that are threatened [with death]. They put her in centers of care and arrest centers, the prisons, instead of stopping the one who threatened her with the violence.

The NGO lawyer further emphasized that the courts apply the penal laws to punish perpetrators of domestic violence but victims of domestic violence are not receiving adequate protection when she explained:

> … They [the courts] use the penal laws, they have used the penal laws for a long time but it now punishes the criminal… We don't just want to punish the criminal, we want to have protection. The role of protection is what we look for in the law and it is truly not used and it needs more reform to protect the family and …the children.

Because victims of domestic violence have different social and legal responsibilities based on their marital status, I have outlined some of the different legal and social barriers that single women, married women and mothers experience when domestic violence is perpetrated against them.

As a single woman. Within Shariah law, there are many patriarchal edicts that are designed to designate male relatives as stewards over their families. This is the case because within Islam, the male family members are expected to physically and financially protect and

care for their mothers and unmarried sisters. Under Shariah laws and the Personal Status Law, male family members are offered more resources and rights than their female family members. Community members validate these inequities because they argue that men have greater responsibilities that require the inequity in rights and power. Interestingly, the inequities within the family legal and social structures are also validated by community members because these inequities are intended to protect women (Hudson, Bowen, and Nielsen 2011:459, 461, 463).

Article 185 in the Jordanian Personal Status Law requires unmarried women under 30 years old to receive permission from her guardian in order to reside outside of the family home. As described earlier, women within this category are called "absent girls." A legal expert explained this legal situation when she said:

> They [the family] have announced [that she is missing] because the girl left her family's house… We have something written in the law called *walaya* [male guardianship] and *qawama* [male physical and social responsibility over the woman]. It is that the girl stays under the power of her family until she reaches the age of – now it is 30 years old but it was 40 [years old.] So, a result of our requests lowered this age to 30 [years old.] It is the family's right to issue the freedoms of the woman to move her, to leave the family until she reaches 30 years old.

If the young woman violates this law, the guardian can file a complaint with the local police. This allows the police to take the young woman into custody and return her to her guardian's home.

Rape is another related issue that has the most stigma and shame associated with it due to its direct links to morality and family honor. The Penal Code Article 308 in Jordan and a similar law, Penal Code Article 475 in Morocco, enable a perpetrator to avoid prison for rape by marrying his victim. A government affiliated legal expert explained:

> …Article 308 from the penal code… permits a rapist to marry the person that he raped to avoid the punishment. This is an occupying failure of the problem that in addition to raping her, he can also marry her. So it is like it is offering him a gift for raping her…

Within this marriage contract, there is a condition that this marriage cannot be terminated for five years. This same contract and condition can also be applied to cases of statutory rape in which a man has sex with a girl under the age of 18.   The concept of marrying the victim of rape is embedded in concepts of patriarchy and a societal fixation on female virtue. An NGO affiliated researcher relayed the story of a rape victim in Morocco brought attention to this issue when she committed suicide. The researcher said:

> *Some say that Amina was raped and forced to marry him while others say that she was having illicit sex with him and decided to marry him when people found out. Amina ate poison and died from its effects. Her mother insists that she was raped and is the one who took Amina's husband to court for her death.*

In addition to questioning whether or not a victim provoked her rapist, she is also branded as dishonorable because she is no longer a virgin. As such, her prospects of marriage are virtually eliminated. The law suggests that the institution of marriage and that security that it offers women is so important within the culture that it is better for a woman to marry her rapist than it is for her to remain single. Oftentimes, parents will encourage their daughter to marry her rapist. In exchange for marrying his victim, the rapist is acquitted of the rape charges.

According to a government social worker, an absent girl who runs away from home and consents to an extramarital relationship is also strongly encouraged to marry her partner.

> *…absent girls who have left their homes and made relationships with young men, the solution for them is almost always marriage. This is the answer because the girl left with the man by her own choice and wants to marry him. Neither family will refuse because it provides safety for both the girl and the boy. A couple may do this if one of their families would not allow them to marry. His family will not allow him to go without marrying her because he too has disgraced his family… If they marry, the man is not allowed to divorce her for 5 years.*

Both unmarried and married victims of domestic violence experience social obstacles to help-seeking such as shame for revealing a private family issues and victim blaming. However, married women fulfill a different role within their family as wife, mother, and daughter-in-law.

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These unique roles directly influence the source of violence and the social and legal rights and duties that she possesses. A nongovernmental organization social worker emphasized this when she explained:

> The basic services are elementary go along with vision of the NGO in providing psychological and legal support and preserve the respect of the woman and her rights. …there is no discrimination between the unmarried and married women [but] the plan of work differs. When you fix a problem between a young woman and her family is different from between a married woman and her husband but… [even after you make this distinction], cases differ from each other.

> *As a married woman*. An NGO affiliated lawyer, explained the legal rights that women

have when entering into marriage contracts. She also described the social pressures and stigmas that prevent women from safeguarding her rights before marriage. She expounded upon this when she said:

> *Women are legally free to choose her conditions. She said that a woman can write whatever conditions she wishes. Although legally this is the case, there is not enough awareness about this among women or parents. If she insists on writing conditions, she may have significant struggles at the beginning of their relationship but she offers herself some safety. She said that there will also be community and parental shame if you write extra conditions. The lawyer said that writing conditions within marriage contracts is very rare for women. She said that about 2 women out of 1000 women will take this right and implement it.*

The NGO lawyer cited additional social and institutional issues that prevent women from writing conditions in their marriage contracts when she added:

> *Even if they write the conditions, women have a difficult time realizing their contractual rights. For instance, let's say that I wrote in my contract that my husband is not allowed to marry another woman while we are married and he does so anyway. Because I am required to raise a case before court and wait while my case is being examined, it will be between 3 and 4 months before my case is actually reviewed and could take months to complete. For this reason, in the rare occasion that a woman has written conditions in her marriage contract, the likelihood of her exercising those rights and raising a case is very slim. In the end, being insistent in the beginning of the marriage is not worth it because it will not benefit her in the end.*

When a woman marries, her guardian, whether it be her father or closest male relative, signs the marriage document giving his consent to the terms of the union (Section 3: Marriage Guardian Personal Status Law, 1976/2010). In a way, this is a legal and symbolic transfer of responsibility from the woman's male guardian within her family to her new husband. Because of this patriarchal stewardship over female family members, if a couple divorces, the woman often returns to her father's house. Therein, a woman's male relatives resume responsibility over her socially and economically. This can become an issue if the woman's male relatives blame her for the divorce or feel that her divorce brings shame to their family. This can also create economic hardship on her family, particularly if her parents are old, poor or deceased.

Because, women are taught to seek permission from their fathers and husbands in Arab society, they frequently hesitate to seek help. A government social worker clarified this point when she said:

> *… A woman should not leave the house without telling her husband where she is going, much less raise a complaint against him. "He will kill me for leaving without telling him. What will he do if I complain against him?" (*Social Worker, government sponsored battered women's shelter)

Women who speak out about domestic violence are accused of being against marriage and against the society at large, especially if she calls for a divorce. The community sees her as a rebel who is fighting against the institution of marriage and contributing to the disintegration of the community's social stability.

> *Also, if she complains, her family will stand with her husband because it is disrespectful to one's husband. She is seen as without manners and irresponsible because she is trying to tear apart the family and cause trouble. Her family will tell her that she must be patient and endure it. For these reasons, she will think 100 times before she leaves her husband and complains against him.*

When a woman decides that she no longer wishes to live with her husband, an NGO lawyer described a woman's options.

A woman will choose to either divorce, stay with her husband or separate from her husband. If she divorces, she receives social pressure because people start talking about her because she does not have a man who is responsible for her. She has to go to the court in order to divorce, but in order to separate [without child custody issues], they do not have to go to a court. The husband is able to marry another woman if he chooses and she is able to live away from him. This is different because she still has a man who is responsible for her.

In addition to having enumerated rights to request the husband to furnish separate housing arrangements for his wife in cases in which the wife has incurred damages during the marriage (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 1976;2010:Sec. 2 Art. 62), women also have rights that allow them to initiate divorce without requiring them to forgo their rights to financial support. Some of these circumstances include abandonment, husband's failure to pay dowry, deprivation from financial support, and damages incurred during marriage. However, men enjoy more rights to initiate divorce with fewer legal qualifications (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 1976;2010:Sec. 4: Art. 126-132).

As a mother. She will often stay because she doesn't want to leave her children (Social Worker, Government battered women's shelter). When a couple has children, the children legally and socially acquire their religion, ethnicity and identity from their father and are recognized as part of their father's family. As such, their father's family is responsible for the economic welfare of these children should the father divorce or die. By only legitimizing patriarchal ties when a couple divorces, a mother cannot receive guardianship over her children. Mothers can receive conditional custodianship over her children if she meets moral and legal qualifications, while the father is not required to legitimize his right to guardianship or custody. A mother can receive custody of her children until they reach puberty, which is identified as age of 9 for boys and 11 for girls. At which time, the children choose with which parent they wish to live. However, regardless of the child's wishes, the father and his family maintain guardianship (Lawyer, non-government sponsored battered women's shelter).

Even if a woman is able to receive custody of her children, she faces social obstacles to providing for her children. Because traditionally, a woman's children are not members of her family but rather that of her husband, a divorced woman's father might refuse to take financial responsibility over her children. At times, parents will tell their divorced daughters that they will accept her back into their home and provide for her on the condition that she does not bring her children because the children are not the mother's family's responsibility (Social Worker, government sponsored battered women's shelter).

Furthermore, if a woman's children are Jordanian citizens, she is required to have her husband's legal permission in order to travel outside of the country with her children (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 1976;2010:Art. 175-Art. 177). This measure protects a man's right to have access to his children and prevents a current or former wife from taking his children away from him against his will. While safeguarding the rights of the father, this travel condition can be detrimental for foreign passport holding mothers who relied on their husbands for residency. An NGO lawyer described this issue as follows:

> *Receiving Jordanian citizenship as a foreign wife is not a right. A husband can either open a file within 3-5 years after marriage or he can refuse to sign the papers to grant her citizenship. If he waits for her visa to expire, she will be deported from the country and has no right to take her children with her without his permission.*

By forbidding the children from traveling abroad, the father can effectively take full custody of the children unless the foreign passport holding mother can furnish her own residency. This is also an issue among women with Jordanian citizenship because they are also *unable to travel with her children without legal documentation with the father's written permission that verify her right to travel with her children.*

A mother's custody over her children is based on her compliance with provisions outlined in the Personal Status Law including Article 171A and 171B. Under Article 171A a

woman's custody over her children is conditioned on her ability to meet unidentified religious expectations, possess a satisfactory intellectual capacity to raise her children and does not deprive the father of his rightful access to his children. According to Article 171B, a mother bearing custodianship remarries, she forfeits custody of her children because the children cannot live within the same dwellings as a man who is considered a legal "stranger." This is the case because it is inappropriate for children to live with a man who is not their guardian or relative

Because this legislation only places reservations on the religiosity, morality, marital status and living conditions of the mother, the father is not held to the same standard. On the contrary, a father's religious and moral capacities remain unquestioned even if the divorce is due to domestic violence. Additionally, the man is free to remarry without relinquishing his rights to guardianship and custodianship. An NGO affiliated lawyer explained conditions that would place a father's guardianship in question when she noted …*in order to take the children away from the father, the father must be extremely abusive and there must be significant evidence from the legal health report.*

These laws create substantial uncertainty and insecurity to mothers because of the vague enumerated conditions of her custodianship. With the current conditions, an ex-husband can easily deprive a woman of her rights to custodianship by accusing her of being immoral and unfit to raise their children under correct religious principles. This issue results from a lack of measurable indicators by which morality or religiosity can be measured.

Divorced women, especially those with children, are stigmatized due to their marital status and consequently have few marriage prospects. The social stigma placed on divorced women coupled with custody conditions contribute to a woman's obstacles in fully re-integration into her community after divorce because she is unable to remarry without losing her children.

Due to high unemployment rates and lagging rates of economic participation among women in the Arab world, this custody legislation also exposes some women to economic vulnerability particularly if she has few marketable skills. In contrast, divorced men do not face these same hardships because they are not saddled with as much social stigma, which makes it is much easier for them reintegrate into their communities. Instead, community perceptions are more apt to normalize divorce among men, thus making it easier for them to find suitable mates after divorce.

Women are socially and economically vulnerable due to a gender gap in enumerated rights outlined in the Personal Status Law, Family Code, and Penal Code. This negative effect is further exacerbated by a lack of female judges within the court system that predominantly works with family issues, the Islamic Shariah courts. When confronting abuse, this creates substantial legal obstacles for women who are seeking separation, divorce, custody or relocation. Reluctance to filing legal complaints on cases of abuse is closely tied to the weak legal mechanisms that are supposed to protect victims of abuse.

The Jordanian government rejects the concept that women receive the same rights in regards to marriage and divorce, guardianship over children, and rights to ownership and management of property within marriage. Within the Jordanian society, women are not given equal rights over ownership and management of property within marriage or at the time of its disillusionment due to traditional gender roles that are widely accepted within the community (The National Centre for Human Rights 2011:117) (Division for the Enhancement of Women Department of Education and Social Affairs 2009).

Economic obstacles. As the breadwinner within the family, the male family members are solely responsible for the wellbeing of their female relatives, whether their dependents be

mothers, sisters or daughters. The Department of Statistics reported that in 2010 80% of

Jordanian men were opposed to women working (The National Centre for Human Rights

2011:119). One professor described this sentiment as follows: *Women who are economically*

independent and make money outside of the home are seen as a threat. They are seen as a threat

because they are very cognoscente of their potential power.

Within this largely gender divided context, traditional families discourage women from

working outside of the home due to potential exposure and gender intermixing while using

public transportation and working in the office. They also discourage women's work outside of

the home because it may take some of her attention away from her house, children and family

duties. Also, due to high unemployment rates, there is a form of gender discrimination between

hiring men over women because men are economically responsible for the welfare of his family,

while women do not hold these same monetary responsibilities (The National Centre for Human

Rights 2011:119).

Recognizing these social and legal setbacks to economic independence, service providers

that I interviewed throughout the region recognize the pivotal role that economic empowerment

has for some domestic violence cases.

> The wife who is dependent economically, if her husband pays for her or her family pays
> for her, she must endure all of the conditions because she can't live by herself and can't
> live without economic income. Because of this, we work on economic empowerment. So
> that she can become stable and can work and have income – materially independent. She
> can face her problem in a stronger way and the influence of abuse will be less.

A social worker at an NGO-sponsored battered women's shelter in Jordan described the

following decision-making powers that an economically stable woman has if she is exposed to

domestic violence:

> A woman who is stable economically can solve her problem in a different way. When she
> is stable economically, she can, for example, leave her husband. She is bolder in asking

for a separation or divorce. She is able to rent a house and pay for her children. If there is a situation in which her husband refused to support his children. She is able to be stronger while facing her problem. The wife who is dependent economically, if her husband pays for her or her family pays for her, she must endure all of the conditions because she can't live by herself and can't live without economic [support]...

Although economic stability is a hindrance to some women in making the decision to seek assistance for abuse or leave her perpetrator, service providers from both the government and NGO battered women's shelters state that wealth can have different barriers for some women. According to the NGO shelter's 2012 annual report, 65% of the beneficiaries served were from low-income households, 30% were from middle income households and 5% were from high-income households. The NGO social worker explained that well educated and wealthy women face unique barriers to help-seeking because their social status might be placed in jeopardy if she leaves an abusive relationship or seeks formal assistance.

…[Women with] more education, hesitate because their position in society is hard because she declares that there was violence or refers to an organization and asks for assistance and maybe she is a director of an organization but she is exposed to violence. It is very hard for her, for example, to come to us even to come to us declaring [violence].

When asked about the socioeconomic status among battered women who choose to leave their perpetrators, a university professor explained:

...educated women are also battered. The difference may be that they know their rights. They are well educated and may be financially independent but will choose to stay because the violence wrought against them in the home is more palatable to her than the community accusations and loss of reputation by breaking her family…

The professor then proceeded to give an example of one of her colleagues within her department who suffers from domestic violence. She described this colleague as:

… A highly educated woman who is a university professor. This woman stays for her children and her reputation. She does not want to be seen as the one who destroyed her family, loses her children or contributes to the disintegration of the society. For these reasons, she sacrifices for her children, her family, and her larger society.

Although the majority of women who are exposed to abuse do not report,

… There are women who leave and talk and refer. They say 'enough, I can't carry this anymore.' She has carried this and considered the violence against her for a long period of time... But when she takes the decision, anyone against her – she doesn't care (Social Worker, Nongovernmental Organization 2013).

Some dynamics that push women to this level of urgency include: fear of losing her children, feeling that the family violence has escalated to a level that she can no longer bear, fears that her life is threatened, or feeling she has exhausted all of her other resources whether they be social or material. Almost all of the interviewed women reported that they had first sought informal assistance from their parents or extended family before seeking formal assistance.

A married woman who was 23 year old Jordanian and pregnant with her second child because she had lost the support of her family of origin due to a recent conflict that erupted while she was staying in her family's home. Her father did not want her to return to her husband's house because he drank and was abusive to her. However, her relationship with her parents was strained when she chose to return to her husband's home. When she became pregnant, her husband continued to beat her. She was in danger of having a miscarriage and needed medical treatment but she knew that she could no longer turn to her parents because she had chosen to return to her husband. Because she was alienated by her parents, she had no other resources and began researching alternative means of assistance.

The Iraqi mother of five children explained her situation as follows:

He started threatening her that he would go to the court and take the children away from her. When he started threatening this, she knew that she needed to take action. He accused her of zina [sex outside of marriage] and working as a prostitute at night. When she went to her brother's home, they were all in a single room. Her family wouldn't allow her to work and they wouldn't let her children study. She had come to her family's home in the past trying to get away from her husband. Each time, the

woman's parents would return her and the children to her husband. She knew that with his threats, they would do this again and she knew that she had to leave.

This woman endured abuse for about twenty years before she chose to leave permanently. By the end of her relationship with her husband, the abuse had escalated and her family was not offering her or her children the support and freedom that they needed in order to stabilize and start over. Because she was unable to work as a seamstress while living with her parents, she was unable to save money to care for her children. In desperation, she prepared her children's travel documents and moved to Jordan. If her husband had not continued pursuing her, she said that she probably would not have sought formal assistance. The choice was forced upon her because her husband filed a kidnapping complaint with the Jordanian FPD.

When I asked the 18 year old unmarried Kuwaiti woman what led her to contact the Family Protection Department she expressed the following:

> *… At that point, she had no IDs other than her personal ID, no passport, nothing. She said that she had tried to get them from her embassy and had been refused [counting on each finger 1-10] times. Her relatives heard numerous times from her aunt that she was bad. She has never been listened to or asked… She was silent and never spoke out about anything. She said, "You know how when you have a paper and then blow it and it flies [gestures with her hand pretending to hold a paper or feather and blows it.] That was me. I was completely up in the air. I contacted Family Protection Department to take my rights and to take control of my situation." She wanted to be listened to because she is 18 and is not a child anymore.*

This young woman did not know her rights before coming to the shelter, but she did know that as a child, she had very few options or rights. When she turned 18, she wanted to gain control over her life. She, like other respondents, said that she reported her case because she wanted to "teach her aunt and uncle a lesson – scare them, not punish them." She like three others thought that by reporting the abuse, her aunt and uncle would be afraid to abuse her again in the future.

Other beneficiaries that I interviewed had sought formal assistance because under the

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abuse they were deprived of critical medical treatment, imprisoned in an apartment with no food or electricity, or fell pregnant due to repeated rapes. Through my interviews with battered women's shelter clients and staff members, it was clear that these women had truly desperate situations that had escalated to a point that the abuse within the home was far worse than the social sanctions that they would face for seeking assistance.

Service Providers' Perceptions of Family Violence and Appropriate Intervention Methods

Building upon the perceptions of obstacles to help-seeking and reintegration into the community, I sought to compare and contrast service providers' epistemologies and intervention approaches to combating family and intimate partner violence within the governmental and non-governmental sectors. Naturally, their missions and theoretical approaches to ending domestic violence differ from one another. Among the service providers in this study, the two theoretical frameworks that best described their intervention approaches are family and feminist theory approaches as described by Hattery and Smith (2012). Under their definition, family theory attributes conflict within the family as the result of family members' inabilities to resolve conflict, problem solve and communicate in healthy ways. Family theorists acknowledge the role of power in family violence and how this influences complex family relationships. Intervention methods among family theorists include the entire family such as family counseling, parenting classes, or stress and anger management coaching. Feminist theory approaches as defined by Hattery and Smith (2012) emphasize the role of power and control within the cycle of violence. Those with greater power perpetrate violence against weaker members within the family. To combat abuse, service providers who hold a feminist theory will identify the negative use of power and control with victims of domestic violence and seek to eliminate power disparities that are destructive (371-373). Domestic violence and abuse service providers

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included in this study encompass a variety of social institutions including governments and NGOs. Three of the five battered women's shelters used in this study provide intervention methods and services that are based in family theories, while the remaining two shelters' intervention methods and services follow feminist theories. Government institutions tended to be more conservative behind the mantra of family values while two nongovernmental organizations more aggressively defended human rights and took a more individualistic approach.

Family theory service providers. The three family theory battered women's shelters seek to preserve the structure of the family and end domestic violence through reconciliation and reintegration into the family. Using these precepts, they focus on dysfunctions within familial relationships and view conflict within the family as manifestations of poor interpersonal skills such as communication or anger management. In these cases, intervention methods revolve around counseling, guidance and classes designed to help the beneficiaries, perpetrators and families improve their communication and problem solving skills to avoid conflict in the future.

Family theory based institutions are gaining acceptance within their communities because they actively encourage reconciliation and staff members go to great lengths to work with victims' family members and perpetrators of abuse. At three of the battered women's shelters, social workers first coordinate with the beneficiary to identify individuals within the family or community who wield influential social power and can positively influence the perpetrator's perspectives and actions or best advocate for the victim. A government social worker suggested that this person *"could be an uncle, or maybe the oldest male member of the family."* By identifying influential people, social workers can request meetings with these individuals and coach them on how to best influence the perpetrator of abuse and advocate for the victim.

Instead of seeking to destroy the patriarchal social hierarchy, the MoSD and most of the NGO sponsored battered women's shelters included in this study seek to improve living conditions for victims of domestic violence by utilizing the extant social arrangements. The family and community members such as fathers, uncles, mother-in-laws or local sheikhs can serve as members within the victim's network that can provide protection for the victim while holding the perpetrator of abuse accountable. By doing this, the formal institutions are reinforcing the legitimacy of organic family and community social mechanisms, while challenging abuse. Because these formal services re-enforce the family, they are less likely to be viewed as invasive and foreign.

Feminist theory service provider. Representatives from institutions that I classified as feminist theory-based using Hattery and Smith's definitions (2012) regarded family theory interventions as ineffective and temporary solutions that maintain the structure of the family at the expense of the victim of abuse. One private sector social worker interpreted the use of family theory and restorative justice oriented services as superficial solutions because of these service providers lack the resources and capacities needed to offer the high level of support that sustainable reconciliation and reintegration require. She criticized the current system as a means of pushing victims of violence to "kiss and make up with their families" after receiving assistance.

Representatives from both of the shelters that uphold feminist theories and approaches assert that family violence is rooted in a power inequality between family members based on gender and age. They argue that domestic violence is perpetrated by those with higher social status and power onto those with inferior power and social standing. In this case, those with

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more power can use family or intimate partner violence for its functionality and effectiveness in achieving results and minimal repercussions (Hattery and Smith 2012:371).

The two NGO shelters that followed this model promote women's rights, reject the use of family and intimate partner violence under any circumstances, and advocate for gender equality. Both of these institutions originally focused their interventions strictly on the victims who seek assistance from abuse and did not offer resources to perpetrators of abuse or the wider community due to limited resources. One of the service providers recounted:

> *When NGOs promoted women's rights and the rejection of abuse without engaging the community in the West Bank, positive social change was not achieved. In fact, women who sought assistance were mistreated more because they began rejecting domestic violence but the victims' social networks and perpetrators were not given this same awareness. In order to produce sustainable solutions, non-governmental institutions are recognizing the value of engaging not only perpetrators but also men and women from the community.*

As is evident by the NGO example above, if service providers adopt approaches and philosophies that seek to change the cultural norms and traditions while disregarding traditional family structures, they will exacerbate abuse instead of curtail it. This is the case because those service providers alienate the victim of abuse by not incorporating the social values of the community and by failing to include the community within the rehabilitation process. Community engagement is necessary in order to provide sustainable solutions to victims of domestic violence, especially within the collectivist context. Another social worker in Jerusalem illustrated this point with the following narrative:

> *An Arab Israeli citizen sought assistance from a Jewish NGO because she lived in a predominantly Jewish area. While she was receiving services from the Jewish shelter, she stopped wearing the hijab and started smoking. When she returned to her community after receiving assistance, her changes in attire and new smoking habit were not accepted by her family and they beat her severely.*

An NGO social worker in Morocco explained that NGOs are beginning to recognize the importance of community engagement and are adapting their intervention methods when she said:

> ...we are changing. There is an evolution …in our work and we are learning. At the beginning, yes, we were saying men should get out of women's space and they should be punished… But we have experienced and we have learned now that we really have to be careful and that we need those men… It will be more helpful and beneficial to our society if we work on those men and if we manage to change them and engage them, because we cannot combat violence without men – all of them, not just the perpetrators… The whole community should be engaged.

Three non-governmental service providers stated that in recent years NGOs have realized that by limiting their services to victims, beneficiaries might face greater levels of violence within their homes because no resources were used to empower families or raise the awareness of the perpetrator(s) of abuse. Also, NGOs are recognizing that offering information and services to victims, perpetrators, and the general population is critical in order to promote social change and increased community sensitivity toward domestic violence and abuse issues. It is through breaking the silence, advocating for women and engaging the entire community that domestic violence will become a social issue that does not project shame or dishonor on victims.

Individual-Based Interventions Within the Collectivist Landscape

Within collectivist communities, the interests of an individual are much less relevant than the best interest of the greater community. However, within the individualist context, the individual's interests, rights and wellbeing not only matter, but serve as a pivotal point in the decision-making process (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008). There are aspects of individual-based interventions embedded within the procedures of all of the battered women's shelter in my sample. This is manifested in the client's right to self-determination and role as an active participant in finding solutions to her family violence. Additionally, women have the right to choose whether she would like to seek reconciliation and reintegration into her family or if she

would like to divorce/separate from her family or husband. A government service provider

illustrated this when she told me:

> *"Our role is to give you the solution that you want." She said that they would stop a woman*
> *if she wanted to do something illegal or completely unsafe but that the woman must make her*
> *choice. They will guide her but in the end, it is her life.*

Social workers from both the MoSD and NGO battered women's shelters explained that

family involvement throughout the intervention process is critical regardless if the beneficiary

wants to seek reconciliation or not. A government social worker explained, *"The beneficiary can*

refuse to meet with her perpetrator but case workers must meet with perpetrators and the

family." At the MoSD battered women's shelter, the social workers can have the FPD send a

summoning letter to the family but a MoSD social worker said that *"the family is more likely to*

be receptive to her and cooperate if she kindly introduces herself and invites them to honor her

by coming for a meeting."

Social workers from two of these institutions expressed that if there were hardships that

prevented a case's family from visiting the facility, the social workers will accommodate to the

family's limitations by calling the family or making a field visit to the family home. When asked

to explain how receptive husbands and families are upon first contact, an NGO social worker

explained:

> … [In the beginning], they are stressed, upset, angry and don't understand who we are.
> When we introduce ourselves to them, [we say that] "our goals are to help you.
> Reconciliation for the family [and]… the children is important to us. It is important to us
> to solve the problem, not to make it more complex… We will maintain the same degree
> of professionalism with all of the parties but we will protect the rights of woman herself.

This approach allows the service providers to gain the confidence of the victim's family

and perpetrator of abuse because the family realizes that the battered women's shelter staff

members or not a threat to their family but rather offer assistance to preserve and strengthen it.

An NGO social worker identified a general difference in receptiveness between perpetrators of intimate partner abuse and family violence. Sometimes husbands refuse to cooperate in the beginning but families are generally more cooperative due to the unwanted community attention that a family receives if their daughter has left the family home. She elaborated that:

> When the family knows that the girl is at the organization and the organization protects her and she isn't in the street or with someone else and she's in a place that is respectable and well-known…, they relax and they are happy that she is not in another place. So, they visit us because they are pleased inside and are relieved that she is with us and not in another place. Because of this, the family cooperates with us faster than the husband [usually].

At the government shelter, perpetrators of abuse are sometimes apprehensive about going to the battered women's shelter for a session with social workers out of fear that he or she will be arrested. I observed this in a family session between a social worker and two uncles of an abused girl who were coming on behalf of her abusive father. The two men were concerned that their brother, the girl's father, would be taken to court or arrested as a result of his daughter's allegations against him.

> *The social worker responded that going to court would not be necessary if the father was willing to come forth and cooperate. They [the girl's uncles] asked if the FPD would arrest him. She said that the father doesn't have to be afraid of this happening if he cooperates. However, if he will not, these measures will be necessary and will be taken. She explained that working with the government battered women's shelter is an alternative to the criminal court system.*

When the perpetrator of abuse and the family are invited to the shelter, a government social worker stated that she explains why their daughter or wife left. She described her approaches to the family as follows, "When they come, I do not punish them or chastise them. I am peaceful with them and tell them that the goal is to solve the problem." She tells

them that she can offer guidance and address steps that must be taken in order for the woman to return.

Especially with cases that are from rural and traditional families, government social workers have expressed that they find it effective to acknowledge the family's fears by reflecting them back at them in a positive way. For example,

> *I know that you feel that this is shameful and that you are concerned about what other people will think, but you should be happy that she came directly to us and didn't go somewhere else. She came to us because she wants to fix the problem.*

Also, in order to foster trust and familiarity, social workers will adapt their accent or way of speaking to reflect those of the family. This also makes the families feel that she understands them and their culture. When the battered women's shelter gains the confidence of the interested family members, sometimes the family members will contact the battered women's shelter for assistance in addressing issues with their wives or other family members.

While serving as a liaison between the victim of domestic violence and her family member(s), service providers are placed in a difficult situation in which they must choose whether to accept accusations of abuse provocation or challenge widely held views by upholding clients' human rights. Within institutions there is a spectrum of perspectives regarding human rights and victim blaming. Violence perpetrated against women in the Arab world is often attributed to her failure to meet gender role expectations or for instigating and escalating abuse through inappropriate behavior (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008:11).

Some social workers do not challenge existing power disparities within marital relationships, and instead coach women to be patient, restrained, and obedient to her husband and family members' expectations. They also teach methods to de-escalate potentially confrontational interactions. This approach does not challenge the core issues – justifications for

abuse based on unhealthy stereotypes of masculine and feminine roles and power disparity within marital relationships (Dobash and Dobash 1992) (Haj-Yahia and Sadan 2008). For this reason, social workers who promote these values have limited impact.

Instead, interventions that maintain strong elements of restorative justice which hold the perpetrator of abuse accountable for his/her actions, must promote transformations that are significant enough to eliminate abuse (Center for Restorative Justice & Mediation: School of Social Work, University of Minnesota 2006), while maintaining the central values held within the family and community.

Because the perpetrator of violence, power structures and resources within beneficiaries' families vary, each woman's case is unique and requires individualized services in order to curtail abuse and properly reintegrate into her community. Both NGO and government agencies hold sessions with the beneficiary, perpetrator(s) of abuse and anyone who is related to the issue at hand. In these sessions, they raise the awareness of perpetrators and victims on the importance of communication and understanding within the relationship. Within these sessions, they also offer mediation and facilitate legally binding written agreements between the perpetrator of abuse and victims. In fulfilling each of these aspects within the sessions, service providers seek to protect the rights of the beneficiary and end the family violence. Once the woman returns to the home, the institution sends representatives on field visits to assess the women's situation and ensure that she is not re-victimized.

Perceptions of reintegration and relocation. My small sample suggests that elements of battered women's shelter intervention methods that originate from a Western context are actively used by both feminist and family theory oriented institutions. Of the 10 women that I interviewed, only two of the cases returned to their families. The majority of the cases were

relocated into new communities. Some of the main obstacles that beneficiaries expressed in

interviews were concerns regarding the government's ability to protect victims from re-

victimization, isolation and uncertainty. While describing their perceived obstacles to

reintegration into their families or relocation, the beneficiaries explained how their social

workers sought to reduce difficulties after leaving the battered women's shelter.

A government social worker validated beneficiaries' concerns of re-victimization when

she explained that there is inconsistent legal protection of beneficiaries' rights after she leaves

the battered women's shelter. This is especially alarming for women who made legal

agreements with their perpetrator of abuse during the reconciliation process. Upholding former

beneficiaries' rights within their communities is uncertain because each governorate power is

responsible for overseeing the terms and conditions that a perpetrator must obey in order for the

victim to return home. Because each governorate receives a case's information from the Ministry

of Interior, there is a lack of uniformity on how or when the woman's rights are upheld. When

asked if women in rural and urban settings enjoy the same rights after seeking assistance, a

government social worker responded

> *…In theory, they should but that they do not. She said that even if there are violations of the conditions that he has agreed to obey, she will not seek assistance again. In the rural areas and villages, they are more strict and angry and they more closely follow the culture of shame. In rural areas, they have more obstacles and she must have more self-confidence and be stronger in order to protect her rights.*

Reintegration. Of the two cases who resolved their situations through family

reintegration solutions, the case that was married was able to separate herself from her

perpetrator through divorce and had few concerns about reintegration. Whilst the unmarried case

returned to a living situation that was very similar to the one that she fled and had greater levels

of uncertainty.

The married 23 year old woman who was pregnant with her second child was in the process of filing a divorce from her second husband and the father of her unborn child, because she had sought reconciliation at the battered women's shelter in the past and the interventions were ineffective in ending her husband's abuse. She said that the FPD has helped her file two health reports for her divorce case which will provide her with the evidence that she needs in order to be report damages sustained during the marriage. If the judges find her evidence compelling, she will be granted a divorce without her husband's permission and without losing her right to her husband's financial support (Jordanian Ministry of Social Development 1976;2010:Sec. 4 Art. 132). After her divorce has been finalized, she returned to her parents' home with her son from a previous marriage.

This young woman claimed that she did not have any major fears to reintegration because her social worker had coordinated extensively between her and her family to repair relationships between the woman and her family members. She was able to accomplish this by working with her social worker to call and arrange visits to see her family members such as her aunts, uncles, parents and grandmother. The beneficiary said that this was important in helping her repair relationships with family members. She also attributed her lack of uncertainty to her strong case for divorce. Through divorce, her husband will lose his responsibilities, obligations and power over her and she will be able to raise her sons in her family's household.

The other reintegration case involved an unmarried 18 year old woman who has dual citizenship in Jordan and Italy. Her mother is divorced from her father but due to her father's threats, her mother fled to Italy, leaving her 4 children in their apartment within the children's father's apartment complex. The father's abuse reached new heights when he locked the 18 year

old woman along with his other children into their apartment and turned off their electricity for over one month.

As the oldest child in a case with 4 children, this young woman had few options other than reintegration. A government social worker stated that young women under 18 years old are not offered a choice because they are still considered children and do not have a right to self-determination. Because of this, girls who face family violence under 18 years old are placed in an orphanage or returned to her family if the violence isn't too severe.

For the young women, solving their cases are difficult because they must return to their perpetrator which is their fathers' home and have no other options. It is not even appropriate for her to go to a grandparent or aunt or uncle's home much less live alone or with friends.   If she is sent to a grandparent or an Aunt's home, her parents will be accused of being unfit and unable to raise their daughter and the family will talk about them. There is a big stigma with seeking accommodations outside of the father's home.

With the help of the battered women's shelter, her mother was contacted and returned to Jordan. The woman attributed her mother's return as the biggest resolution of her case. Because her father pays for his ex-wife and children's housing, he has the power to dictate where they live. As a result, they will be returning to the apartment from which they fled. Recognizing that the father will still have a significant amount of power over their lives, she said that *they have to take everything in degrees of change and slowly build up their lives.*

She and her mother intend to do this by seeking employment and saving money until they can rent an apartment independent of her father. Until then, this young woman said that the situation will be different because now they have the support of the MoSD and understands what her rights are. Because of her increased knowledge and self-confidence, she said that she will not

wait until their situation reaches a desperate level before seeking assistance. Despite her optimism, this young woman is concerned that because of her family's dependence on her father, their situation makes them very vulnerable and they could easily return back to the original problem.

Relocation. In order to assist women who are victims of rape, incest or choose to leave their husbands, some institutions have adapted to this by arranging collective housing arrangements with former beneficiaries who have left the facility. This enables the women to develop a sense of community and belonging even when they cannot fully reintegrate into their families or larger communities. All of the organizations included in this study help secure employment for beneficiaries who choose to separate from their husbands or families. These women are ideal candidates for cleaning, cooking and care provider services within government and NGO facilities that serve orphans or other institutionalized populations. They are ideal candidates because these positions often require female employees to sleep at the facility, which is not widely accepted by women who reside within their family homes.

A 19 year old Jordanian woman with two accompanying sisters sought assistance when she fell pregnant after being raped repeatedly by her father over the course of over five years. After seeking assistance and being placed in a government girls' protection center for similar cases, she was transferred to the government battered women's shelter where she received extensive psychological care for abuse related psychological trauma. Because the perpetrator of abuse was her father, reintegration into her family was not possible. Her social worker emphasized:

> *… In order to protect the beneficiary's safety, the family must be aware of and approve of where she lives and works after she leaves the battered women's shelter. If the social workers do not do this, beneficiary may be in danger if her relatives find her because they might threaten or kill her.*

The social workers helped this young woman find employment in an orphanage in which she will work as a supervisor and live with her two sisters. While working and caring for her sisters, she is continuing to receive psychological services from a community organization. When her situation is more stable, she would like to return to her studies.

Another method of reconnecting unmarried beneficiaries that lack viable family links is by finding other appropriate communities in which they can develop healthy social networks. Recognizing that she is severing ties with her abusive aunt and uncle, the unmarried 18 year old Kuwaiti woman's only relatives in Jordan, she expressed that she was afraid of being alone after leaving the shelter. She went on to explain how her social worker has been coaching her and helping her prepare to live independent of her family.

> *People say that family should come first but she has had to rearrange this for her situation. She said "first comes my studies, second comes me, third comes the people that I love that love me. And of course, Allah is above all of those." The beneficiary said that friends are good but I want a family. Her social worker tells her "You will make your own family." "...But friends are just that, they are friends. Family is different. Family is closer and they are there for you."*

To prepare her, this young woman's social worker has helped her learn the value of money by teaching her how to spend responsibly. Because this woman is still at a vulnerable age, her social worker is helping her search for appropriate housing at a university campus dorm. In this setting, the woman will be required to live under structured university housing rules and will reside in an environment in which she can create a healthy new social network of friends. The young woman also explained that this housing situation is ideal for her because she would like to begin university in the coming year.

The married 36 year old Iraqi mother of 5 children suffered from intimate partner abuse for about 20 years. She expressed the importance of receiving a divorce in her case when she related the following:

Divorce was critical because of the continuous accusations that her husband was making. She felt that she needs to completely cut off his responsibilities over her so that she can be autonomous and live without threats.

Through regular meetings with her social worker, this woman was able to strengthen her personality and gain assertiveness. In addition to offering guidance on how to effectively manage her home and care for her daughters as a divorced mother,

The staff members have also offered logistical assistance that has helped her acclimate to Jordanian society and culture. She said that with the news skills that she has developed here, she can better take care of her children and help them.

Because the Jordanian government has helped her gain working rights in Jordan and potentially citizenship for herself and her daughters, this beneficiary is confident that she will be able to provide for her family as a seamstress again. Despite these securities, she is still concerned that her brother or husband will find her and try to cause trouble for them in Jordan. *She still has concerns that her husband will try to bribe officials in Iraq who will then use their power to influence political leaders to take action against her here in Jordan.* In order to ensure their security, her social worker has helped her to find housing in a safe area that is close to a police station. This and the knowledge that if she feels like she needs assistance, she knows how to get her rights in Jordan offer her relief and comfort.

Her social worker explained to me that being a refugee in Jordan can offer victims of domestic violence freedoms and choices that women who are married to Jordanian men do not have. Refugee cases generally have less factors and social pressures that she must take into consideration. For example, she has no family that she has to appease or who will cause her trouble in Jordan. Thus, she can make a decision on her own and might only need economic empowerment. Her case is especially simple if she is educated or has marketable skills or capabilities.

DISCUSSION

Through this qualitative research, I found that patriarchy, collectivism, and tribalism penetrate many layers of Jordanian society and greatly impact beneficiary and service provider perceptions of social barriers to help-seeking and community reintegration. The most pertinent social values that influence Jordanian community attitudes toward domestic violence and help-seeking include honor, shame and the importance of family. These dynamics shape a myriad of perceived social barriers that victims of abuse are confronted with while help-seeking and reintegrating into their communities after help-seeking. The main social impediments that I found in my research include a lack of awareness of rights and duties and available services; a lack of confidence in existing social institutions; fears of rejection, revenge or punishment from of one's family; limited protection and security offered by existing laws; and concerns of losing economic stability or social status.

Interestingly, community social values influence victims of domestic violence in different ways depending on the victim's social role within her family as well as the relationship between the victim of abuse and her perpetrator. Both socially and legally, women hold different duties, responsibilities and rights depending on their marital status, age and children and naturally require assistance that is tailored to their unique circumstances. For example, an unmarried woman who raises a complaint for family violence has few alternatives to returning to the same family environment from which she fled. She also faces public scrutiny for raising a complaint against family members that have higher social status due to age or gender. Because most of the women in this population are virgins, suspicions of promiscuous activity and family honor become not only family but also community concerns.

Married women who choose to seek formal assistance often fear that their husbands will divorce them and their families will not support them. Married women with children must face the fear of being seen as an irresponsible mother for disrespecting her husband in front of her children and the community. By seeking safe residence outside of her husband or family's dwelling, her actions are also condemned because she has potentially exposed her children to inappropriate living conditions. Most of the women in this study also raised concerns about being isolated or stigmatized for seeking assistance for domestic violence particularly when the women did not return to their family homes.

In order to ameliorate some of these concerns, future research should explore social issues that contribute to the perceived fears and uncertainties that victims of domestic violence face. Related topics include examining extant domestic violence public awareness campaigns in order to gain insights into how service providers can increase visibility within the community and combat negative perceptions toward abuse, investigating how service providers can offer modern and economically viable skills to clients who require economic empowerment.

By performing interviews and participant observations with 10 battered women's shelter beneficiaries and 16 service providers in the Jordanian public and private sectors, I have found that local institutions adapt family theory social work concepts (Hattery and Smith 2012) in order to promote sustainable solutions to domestic violence. While working within the tribal and patriarchal framework of Jordanian society, these institutions engage the family and community members while also advocating for the rights of domestic violence victims. Through my research, I found that effective intervention methods cannot disregard cultural mores that contribute to violence against women, but rather they work within the cultural framework to promote social progress and sustainable solutions to domestic violence. Critics of family theory

intervention methods argued that restorative justice methods can only be successful if service providers invest their resources and attention on cases for an extended period of time. One NGO social worker claimed that family theory oriented approaches offer short-term results because NGO and government agencies have limited resources and cannot offer the long-term support needed for full rehabilitation.

Because of the foundational role that family has within the collectivist Arab society, the extended family can serve as an organic social arrangement that can help victims of family or intimate partner violence end abuse. Social workers from both of the Jordanian battered women's shelters cited family and community involvement within the rehabilitation process as crucial to establishing long term solutions. With professional guidance and counseling, service providers are able to utilize the naturally hierarchical social structure of the family to offer protection and support to the victim of domestic violence.

However, in cases in which the family unit is deemed irreparable, victims of domestic violence are rarely capable of fully reintegrating to the community at large. This is especially the case among victims of intimate partner violence who choose to divorce and relocate. In order to mitigate the negative social implications of dissolving family ties, government and NGO women's shelters work to facilitate the development of new community ties whether it be through establishing communal housing arrangements for formal beneficiaries or through job placement within government facilities that require women to sleep outside of the family home. This raises questions about how well these women are able to reintegrate into their communities in regards to marriage opportunities and long-term economic stability.

Feminist theory oriented non-governmental institutions (Hattery and Smith 2012) in this study have focused their services solely on victims of domestic violence. As a result, they have

observed that in empowering women to reject violence without engaging their families and communities, beneficiaries can become subject to further abuse and social isolation. Social workers are also realizing that they cannot truly remove women from environments with domestic violence without engaging the family. Institutions that have focused their services solely on victims of domestic violence exacerbated abuse unless they removed the woman from her community and located her in a completely new community. Even in these circumstances, there is a chance that a family member will find the woman.

In comparing the general social work approaches to domestic violence in the West with those of Jordan, further research should explore how long term results of family theory and feminist theory approaches compare to one another within an individualist context. Even though the very concept of family is conceptualized differently in Jordan than it is in the West, family inclusion and restorative justice techniques similar to those utilized in the Jordanian battered women's shelters might offer women in the West who choose to reconcile and reintegrate into their family setting more sustainable solutions to end domestic violence and maintain their relationships. Further research should also examine how Arab service providers balance cultural expectations and social norms while also supporting the human rights and safety of victims of domestic violence. It is my hope that increasing the visibility and widening the discussion of domestic violence issues in the region will assist service providers in adapting their services and resources to better meet the needs of Arab women.

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Figure 1. Methods of Data Gathering

	Perceptions of social obstacles in help-seeking process and interventions	Demographics of Clients	Social Roles, Expectations and responsibilities	Nature of Services and their objectives	Perceived obstacles to re-integration	J O R	M O R	P A L
Extant Data		X				X		
Laws, Policies, Regulations	X		X	X		X		
Interviews with service providers and professionals	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Interviews with Clients	X	X		X	X	X		
Direct Observation	X	X		X	X	X		

Methods and sources used to gather data.

Figure 2. Spectrum of Help-Seeking Methods and Levels of Formality

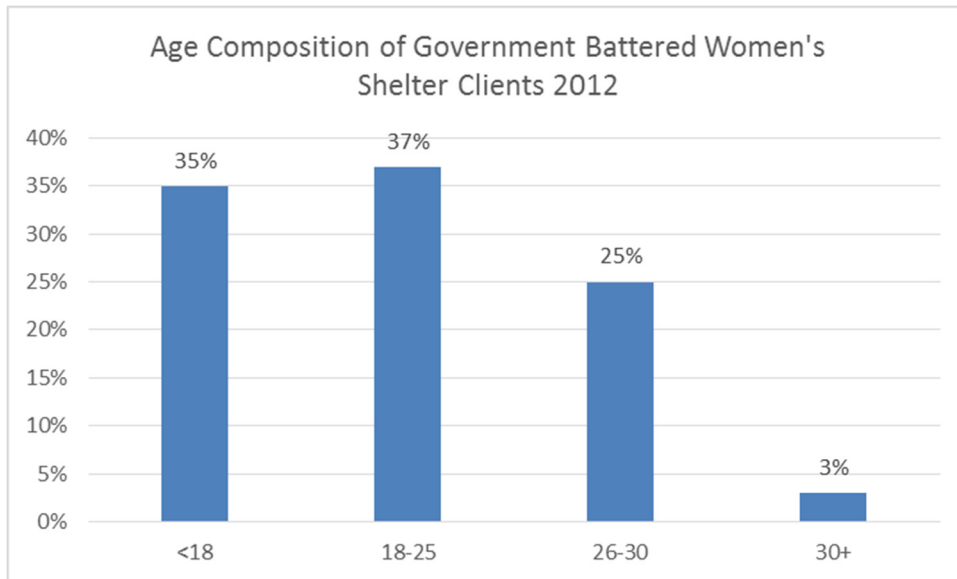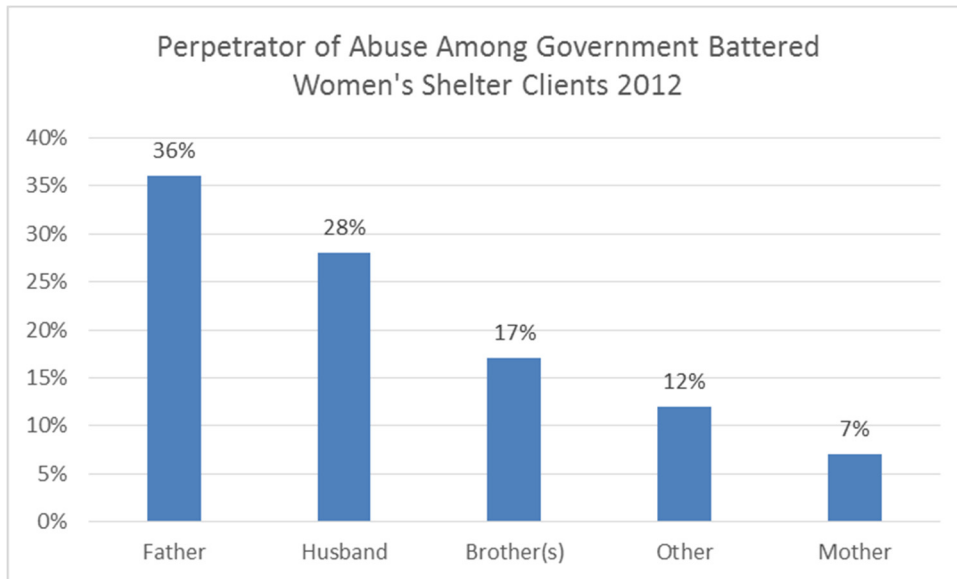| Family Member	Friend	Community Leader	NGO	Government
Informal Help-Seeking		Semi-Formal		Formal Help-Seeking
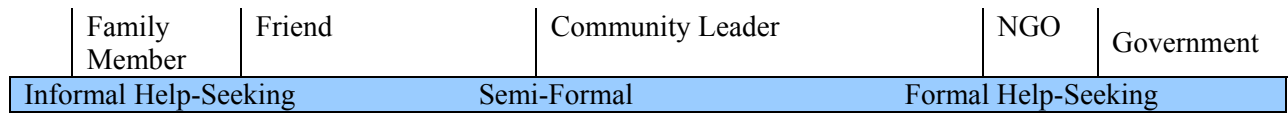
Figure 3.

All government battered women's shelter age statistics were collected from the 2012 annual

government shelter report.

Figure 4.

Perpetrator of Abuse Among Government Battered Women's Shelter Clients 2012
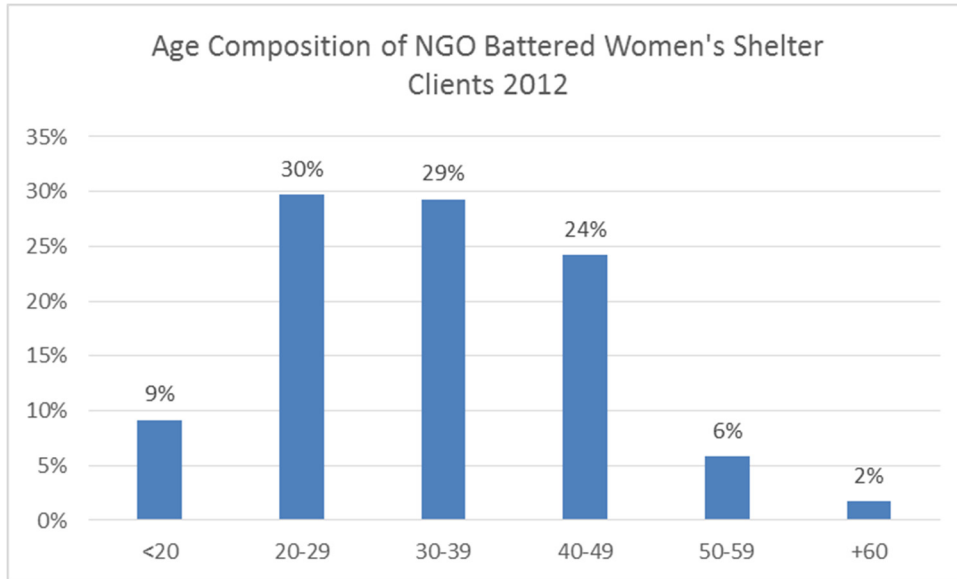
All government battered women's shelter statistics on perpetrator of abuse were collected from the 2012 annual government shelter report.

Figure 5.
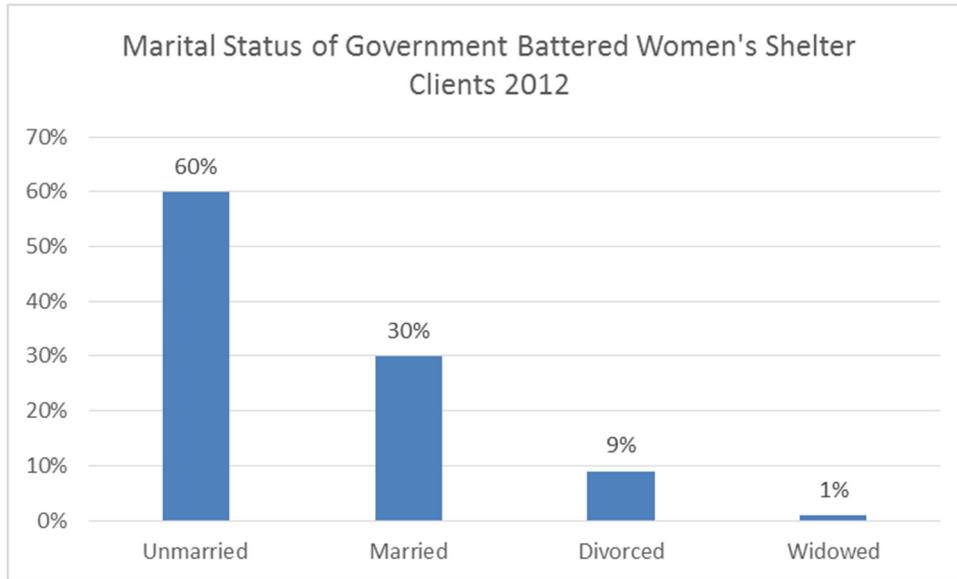
The 2012 marital status statistics for government clients were taken from the "Al-Arab Al-

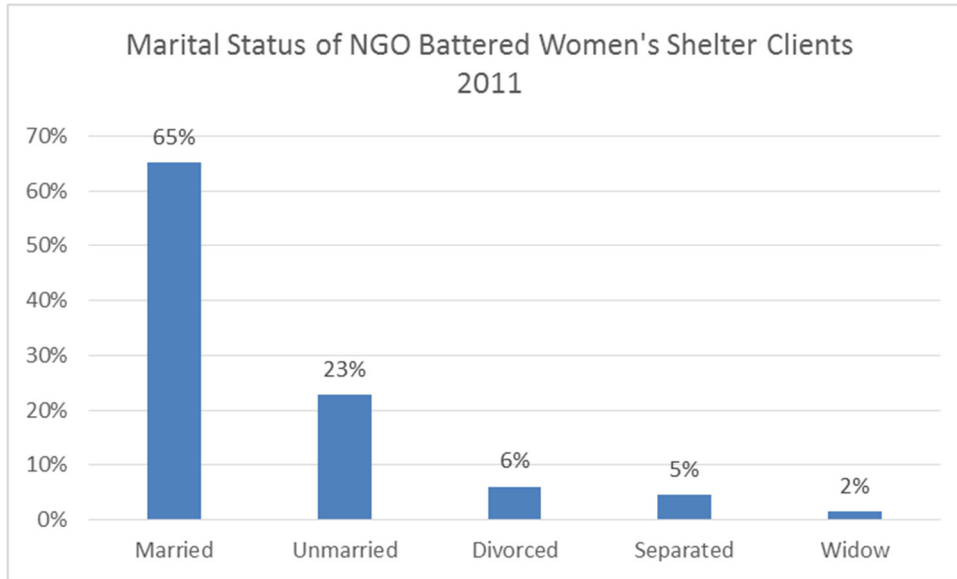Yawm" online newspaper (المعايعة 2013).

Figure 6.

All non-government battered women's shelter statistics for age composition were extracted from the organization's 2012 annual report. The organization gathered information from new clients on their age at each of the branch offices amounting to 686 clients.

Figure 7.
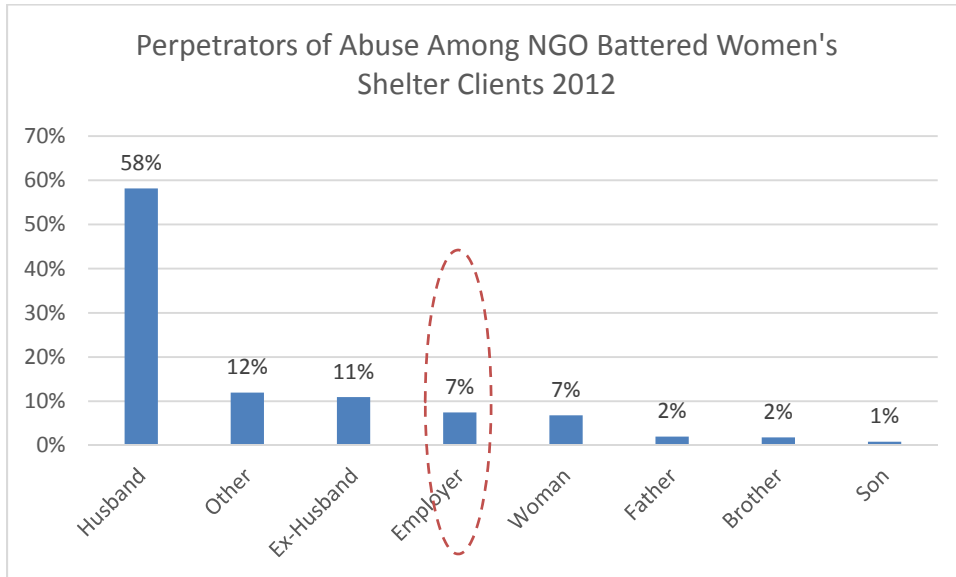
All NGO battered women's shelter statistics for this table were collected from the organization's
2012 annual report. The shelter population was composed of 602 victims of family violence. At
least 45 clients in this graph were exposed to forms of violence beyond the scope of this study.

Figure 8.

All non-government battered women's shelter statistics for marital status were collected from the

organization's 2011 bi-annual report. There were 66 clients in the sample.

APPENDIX

Service Provider Interview:

1. What is the name of interviewee's position?

    - What are his/her main responsibilities within this position?

    - When did he/she begin working with this center/organization?

    - In his/her career, has he/she held other positions related to domestic violence or women's issues?

2. Identify some of the main objectives and goals of the facility:

    - What are the stakeholders doing to reach these goals?

    - What is interviewee's role in reaching these goals?

    - What indicators are used to gauge the success of these goals?

    - What evaluation mechanisms are in place to monitor the Center and its facilities?

3. Description of the process that abused women undertake in order to receive assistance from the organization/ministry and seek refuge at shelter.

4. How do the MoSD, legal system, police, Family Protection Division, and nongovernmental organizations coordinate services for victims of domestic violence and abuse?

5. What criteria are necessary for battered women to be referred to the organization/shelter for services and short-term residency?

6. What are the general domestic issues that are dealt with at the facility?

7. How do social work approaches regarding domestic violence in the Arab and Islamic context differ from Western societies?

- How are these social differences reflected in the structure and administration of services offered by the MoSD and Family Protection Division (interventions, barriers to help-seeking, barriers to reintegration, etc.)?

8. What resources and services does the center have to address the main issues that you mentioned?

- General demographic trends that he/she has noticed among the beneficiaries?

- How do the services differ for married and unmarried beneficiaries?

- How do the services offered to the beneficiaries differ depending on the type of abuse (sexual assault or rape, physical domestic violence, psychological domestic violence, etc.) and severity of abuse?

- What additional services are available for mothers with children?

9. What are the main weaknesses of other centers of protection?

- What are stakeholders doing to mitigate these weaknesses?

- What roles do NGO's and IGO's play in strengthening these aspects of service.

10. What are the main strengths of other centers of protection?

11. How have the services and resources offered at the women's shelter changed since you became involved with this Center (i.e. Human capacity, physical resources at the center, funding, cooperation with NGOs and organizations, volunteers, etc.)?

12. Anticipated changes to women's shelter and other social welfare centers?

13. What are some of the main obstacles to re-integration and relocation for women when they leave the women's shelter?

14. What measures do stakeholders and staff members take to assist beneficiaries so that they transition smoothly into their communities?

- Are any follow-up services offered to beneficiaries after they have left the Center?

- If so, what types of services are offered?

Women's Shelter Beneficiary Interview:

1. What is beneficiary's age and town of residence?

2. Is she married and if so, does she have children?

3. What is her highest level of education?

4. What is the home environment of the beneficiary?

   - How many family members in household?

   - What is estimated monthly income of the household?

   - Does she live with extended or nuclear family?

   - If married, what is her relationship with her husband's family and living arrangements?

5. What types of abuse did she experience (sexual, physical, psychological, etc.) and how severe was the abuse?

6. What is her relationship with the person who perpetrated the abuse against her?

7. What environment or incidences led her to report the abuse that she was experiencing?

   - Did she try to seek assistance from informal channels (family, friends, neighbors, etc.) before reporting to the police?

   - If so, why was this assistance insufficient in meeting her needs?

   - How has her family responded to her formal and informal help-seeking efforts?

8. How did she report her abuse?

   - Did she have any concerns about reporting abuse?

- What is the process that she went through with the Department of Social Protection and MoSD while reporting abuse?

9. When did she arrive at battered women's shelter?

10. What was her intended purpose for seeking assistance?

11. When is her anticipated leaving date?

12. Will she be relocating or returning to her family?

- Does she feel that the situation that led her to report abuse has been adequately resolved?

- How was it resolved?

13. What classes did she participate in and how frequently did she participate?

- Does she feel that she learned valuable skills from the classes that she can apply to her life?

- What classes did she participate in and how regularly did she participate?

14. What services and assistance did she receive while at the women's shelter?

- Were the services that she received designed to reintegrate her into her family or relocate into a new community?

- How beneficial did she find these services and assistance?

- What services and interventions did she find ineffective in assisting her?

- What services and interventions did she find effective in assisting her?

15. Have the services at women's shelter prepared her to reintegrate or relocate?

16. Does she feel prepared to return or relocate?

17. What are some of her main concerns about reintegration/relocation?

18. What are the dynamics of her relationships with supervisors and employees at the woman's shelter?

19. According to the beneficiary, what is the atmosphere and living situation at the center?

20. How did the beneficiary spend her time in a typical day?

21. How can the services and resources at the women's shelter improve to better meet the needs of other women in her situation?