

**AMMAN'S TRANSITION FROM TENTS TO CONCRETE:
BUILDING IDENTITIES OF OLD AND NEW IN AMMAN'S 'SETTLEMENT
CITY' THROUGH ITS PALESTINIAN AND SYRIAN INHABITANTS**

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Political Science with Distinction.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Agency	A person's ability to choose and control the circumstances of one's own life.
Communitas	A bond that occurs between people, even people of various social, political, and economic statuses, due to specific social transformations that they share which are strong enough to bridge other differences between the factors of their lives (Turner 1995).
Informal Employment	While not permitted, labor done by refugees without the right to work is referred to as informal employment/labor because the term 'illegal' carries negative connotations for a process that is vital for survival.
Integration	After resettlement, integration refers to the migrant eventually adopting the new location's histories and culture as his own. This is not fully happening within the Palestinian diaspora in Amman, and interestingly, Syrians are settling within the Palestinian framework of integration.
Resettlement	After migrating to a new place, establishing a home, family, neighborhood, or community, is considered resettling in regards to this research.
Restricted Right to Work	Severe legislative restrictions on formal refugee work that exclude refugees from working within the host country (Brown, et al. 2018). Jordan has a restricted right to work.
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East

ABSTRACT

The last century has seen massive movements of Palestinian refugees seeking harbor in the ‘Transjordan region’—initially an area created in 1921 under the British Mandate system, the area is a crossroads of migration and settlement where Palestinians sought refuge for more than 70 years. More recently, over the past two decades, Amman, the capital city of Jordan, has experienced a massive influx of 660,393 Syrian migrants to date, seeking refuge and settling in both similar and different ways (UNHCR 2019). This thesis looks at the process of how communities become what they are to migrants and locates how their settlement patterns connect back to their identities as refugee settlers. The more permanent the experience of settlement structures become in Jordan for Palestinian and Syrian refugees, the more permanent their past national identities become. The presence of these refugee-settlers is ultimately shaping Amman, through the gradual shift in permanence of their dwellings, that start with tents and end with concrete buildings that make up small commercial/residential hubs, but are still living in a state of flux. Based on 6 months of participant observation in Jordan and primarily conducting in-depth interviews with architects, activists, and the city’s migrant inhabitants, it is possible to look at how Palestinian and Syrian migrants share related experiences in the shared ways they develop infrastructure, social relations, and in turn affirm their identities through and within these spaces, shaping Amman, Jordan, into a ‘Settlement City.’

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

As Edward Said explained, “Exile...is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home,” (Said 2003, 173). As I learned from Karama,¹ a college student in Amman, her grandfather felt the effects of what Said describes as a rift between one’s self and one’s home. Her grandfather, Hani, came from Palestine to Jordan in 1948 due to violence encroaching upon his hometown. My interview with Karama revealed that Hani had left Palestine after asking to join a group of other Palestinians that he knew were heading to Jordan. Hani left his home without realizing that he would never be able to return to Palestine.

¹ All names cited in this project are pseudonyms used to protect the identities of those discussed.



Figure 1 Mural by Palestinian-Jordanian Suhaib Attar, Amman, Jordan, 2018.²

Hani began to settle in Amman after it became clear that “the war continued and never ended.” He initially rented a house in the area of al-Mahatta which lies within the eastern boundaries of the Amman Governorate. Grasping that it would be financially beneficial to build a house instead of renting one over a prolonged period of time, Hani built his family’s home more centrally located in Amman. His children and grandchildren are Jordanian by birth, but like Karama, they are also Palestinian in their hearts. Karama’s family never left Amman because after time, her relatives in Palestine also moved to Amman or stayed behind in Palestine. Her family wishes to remain close with the rest of their relatives as life goes on, never forgetting the homeland or the challenges her family prevailed through to settle in Amman.

We expect migrants who relocate to a place to eventually become culturally and socially integrated within that place, to settle, allow that new place’s histories become

² All images in this thesis are for representational purposes only.

their own, but this is not happening within the Palestinian community. Old histories play fundamental roles in shaping a Palestinian-Jordanian identity that is unique from other Jordanians. Similarly, it seems with newer Syrian migrants, integration is happening but within the framework of how Palestinians identify with their familial histories and traumas. Syrians form networks within Jordan in ways similar to, even mirroring, Palestinian networks within Jordan. For both of these groups, Amman is the central locus of settlement or a ‘settlement city.’

In 1956, over half a million displaced Palestinians resided in Jordan, and at the time, made up one-third of Jordan’s population (C. D. Smith 2013, 223). Jordan was also the only Arab state to offer citizenship to Palestinians. This was prompted by King Abdullah’s desire to lessen the Palestinian identity of those residing in Jordan (C. D. Smith 2013). However, Palestinian identity remained strong among newly Jordanian citizens and Palestinians residing in camps. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), took residence within Jordanian refugee camps and settlements and were combatants in the Jordanian Civil War against Jordanian military forces in 1970.

Jordanian military forces shelled refugee camps where Palestinian nationalist organization was centered, resulting in at least 14 thousand casualties: 3,000 of the casualties were fatal, and the majority of all casualties were Palestinian non-combatants (CINE NEWS Paper Tiger Television, Inc., 1973). By July 1971, the civil war culminated in the withdrawal of the PLO forces from Jordan to mainly Syria (C. D. Smith 2013). The abundance of Palestinian non-combatant casualties only further perpetuates the identity of being Palestinian since they were attacked as non-Jordanians.

In the case of Syria, since just 2011, Jordan has hosted more than 650 thousand refugees (Human Rights Watch 2017). It appears that perhaps Jordan has finally taken

all of the refugees that it can sustain with other countries doing little to relieve the burden. Jordan has deported increasing numbers of Syrian families and individuals back to Syria since 2016 because the government can no longer support them (Human Rights Watch 2017). This information informs that there are significant numbers of Syrians in Jordan at this time. Where do they live? Have they established Syrian communities, and if so, are there connections between Syrian settlement in Amman and Palestinian settlement?

During my time in Jordan, I attended a conference titled, “The Influence of Refugees on Urban Organization from ‘Micro to Macro,’” that was held April 30, 2018, at the Institut Francais de Jordanie, moderated by architect Rand El Haj Hasan. During the conference, Dr. Fatima Al-Nammari of Petra University and Dr. Beverley Butler of University College, London, presented on “How forms of housing (a major prerequisite for social inclusion) shape the existence of refugees” and on “The way the presence of refugees profoundly reconfigures the host country’s urban dynamics.” I plan to research and evaluate the phases of community development that they outlined from tent to concrete neighborhood and how this development affected Amman. Commenting on the purpose of the conference, Rand El Haj Hasan stated that the conference reveals the research of experts on refugees and their plight to create their own community, “revealing them as architects themselves, capable of inventing homes no matter how austere are the means available,” (Dupire 2018).

This project investigates how two groups, Syrians and Palestinians, settled in Jordan and some of the reasons why Syrians and Palestinians hold onto past identities. The project investigates the following research question:

- *How do Palestinian and Syrian refugees experience settlement in Amman,*

and

- *how do their experiences and identities impact the city?*

This project examines why certain waves of migrants move to Amman, where migrants move, how migrants live, and what policies affect the lifestyles of those that have settled in Amman. Migrants move to Amman and create a city of settlement, or a ‘settlement city,’ which is only cohesive in light of recognizing the cultures that settle and persist to establish the physical and social cityscape of Amman as the capital of Jordan.

Summary of Contributions by Chapter

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first three chapters constitute the introductory material that set up the research question, overarching theoretical overview, and review of literature and methodology. The empirical material and conclusion follow. The following section elucidates the original contribution made in each chapter.

Chapter 1, Introduction, we expect migrants who relocate to a place to eventually socially and culturally integrate within that place, to settle, but this is not happening within the Palestinian and Syrian communities. Syrians form networks within Jordan in ways similar to, even mirroring, Palestinian networks within Jordan. For both of these groups, Amman is the central locus of settlement or a ‘settlement city.’

Chapter 2, Theoretical Overview, explores the theory of a settlement city and how other theories have informed this research. This project draws from three main perspectives of postcolonial theory, migration and urban studies, and how people form communities of stateless citizens. I theorize the concept of a ‘settlement city’ through these theoretical literatures.

Chapter 3, Methodology, provides the research design and methods used to conduct the research. My own positionality and relationship to the research is explored. My methods include seven months of ethnographic participant observation in Jordan, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and archival and cultural analysis of art and customs.

The empirical data of the project is organized into three chapters that elucidate facets of how Syrians and Palestinians experience Amman as a settlement city. It is divided into the three governing aspects that impact the ‘Settlement City’ through defining and creating the settlement, settlement lives in the city, and the settlement impacts. The project is broken down into this format because it is necessary to start with background information about Palestinians and Syrians who settle in Amman, before moving into the specifics of what settlement life is like and how this impacts the city by making Amman a “Settlement City.”

Chapter 4, Defining and Creating the Settlement, provides historical background of settlement in Amman including waves of settlers from Syria and Palestine. I use archival activism as an approach to include photos and scenes from documentaries in order to redefine settlement in Amman through the agency of the Palestinian and Syrian settlers, as opposed to settlement defined by the state (Azoulay 2012). Statistical data is used to understand the physical facets of refugee camps around Amman.

Chapter 5, Settlement Lives, explores the experience of settlement within Palestinian and Syrian communities around Amman. A mixed-method approach of secondary sources, semi-structured in-depth interviews, archives, and participant observation is used to frame the life of Palestinian and Syrian refugees in the context of Amman.

Chapter 6, Impacts of Settlement, ties together and builds upon the previous two chapters, this chapter starts getting at the deeper questions of how people form and affirm a stateless community, and what this explains about identity, Amman, and Syrians and Palestinians in Amman that is unique to the rest of the world. Using secondary sources, public Instagram posts displaying art or cultural expression, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and participant observation, the chapter explores identity and the impacts of Syrian and Palestinian settlement.

Chapter 7, Conclusion, emphasizes the material and information provided in the three previous empirical chapters in order to highlight the argument that Amman is a settlement city for Syrian and Palestinian migrants who retain old identities, while at the same time crafting new, hybrid identities that incorporate their experience of settlement in Jordan.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The concept of a ‘settlement city’ developed throughout the thesis, explores migration and settlement as two actions intrinsically linked to a specific destination city rather than migration and settlement simply as separate practices of movement without regard for the destination city. This research posits that Amman is a settlement city in which populations that have migrated and settled within it, are largely responsible for the architectural and social structures of Amman. More than just the physical structure and layout of the city, customs, cuisine, and public art are indicative of a settlement that has occurred and been dually accepted by the migrant population and the local *Ammani* population. The theories discussed below also inform this research project.

This project concerns the experiences of Syrians, Palestinians, and Jordanians, all of whom have previously been under some sort of Western control or direct influence within the past century. The foremost scholar that comes to mind regarding this area of study is Edward Said, himself a Palestinian refugee who grew up in Egypt. His championship of the theory of research termed ‘Orientalism,’ and his critique thereof, have been interwoven in my college education from the start (Said 2003). Said ultimately paints a picture of Orientalism as a way of conducting research that results in the domination of the Orient, often times called the East, by the Occident, or the West. This research looks like a white person pretending to have some authority over histories and cultures that he has nothing in common with and cannot truly understand. Most memorably, Said paints a picture of exactly what the ‘subject’ of such studies looks like along with the negative effect of what Orientalism does:

In newsreels or newsphotos, the Arab is always shown in large numbers. No individuality, no personal characteristics or experiences. Most of the

pictures represent mass rage and misery, or irrational gestures. Lurking behind all of these images is the menace of jihad. Consequence: a fear that the Muslims (or Arabs) will take over the world, (Said 2003, 287).

Said's analysis of the role of Orientalism demonstrates the necessity of voices that change a western lens. Realizing this was a perspective that was unconsidered in the project, it became clear that the research participants must serve as research partners in the knowledge production (Marcus 2011). Their experiences and expressions all paint a new picture, not one encountered is like the next, not every story is the same, and not every story is either 'good' or 'bad.'

Further, regarding refugees in general and Palestinians more directly, Said explained, "Exile...is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home," (Said 2003, 173). For Palestinians, this rift makes up a part of their identity that even survives in those that accepted Jordanian citizenship. This rift also appears within the Syrian refugee context to Jordan. For those that settle within Jordan, no matter how temporary they believed settlement would be, the memory of how Syrian refugees were drove out of Syria to Jordan remains a lasting component of how they self-identify.

Post-colonial theorist, Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that the term 'research' is "inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism," (L. T. Smith 2012, 1). Tuhiwai Smith explains that as a native person herself (she is from the Maori people in New Zealand), it is infuriating that a Westerner can purport to know all there is to know about her people "on the basis of their [the Westerner's] brief encounters with some of us [native people]," (L. T. Smith 2012, 1). It is belittling to native people, or colonized people, to box them as research subjects into trivial categories, reveal these surface level findings to the West, then have the West reflect these assumptions and 'knowledge' back on the native peoples as if educating them about themselves.

Not only are the Syrians, Palestinians, and Jordanians native to the area of Jordan and previously colonized peoples, but their stories involve quite a bit of migration. In the case of Amman, these groups are moving into or near an already existing city and establishing places to make their own lives.

Due to the high level of migration into Jordan, specifically the capital city of Amman, this research finds utilizing migration and urban studies necessary and useful. According to Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller's article, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society," most social scientists of the past have focused, in their view, far too closely and restrictively on national identity as strictly a nation-state practice (Levitt and Schiller 2004). Further, it was believed that after some time, migrants' homeland ties would simply dilute until transnational identity became irrelevant in their lives. Levitt and Schiller posit that this view cannot capture the multitude of intersecting national and ethnic identities that migrant populations in cities share. Because of this, researchers must recognize that migrants are "living simultaneously within and beyond the boundaries of a nation-state," (Levitt and Schiller 2004, 1006). The thesis looks transnationally at identity of Palestinian and Syrian migrants to Jordan, but the research also explores nationality from the viewpoint of the nation-state which experiences cultures and practices moving into it from Palestinians and Syrians. It is this interaction between transnational identities that align with or digress from Jordanian identity that make Amman as an international city unique.

Abdou Maliq Simone's 2004 concept of "people as infrastructure" is based on a case study of Johannesburg in South Africa (Simone 2004), and parallels the experience of Palestinians and Syrians in Amman, Jordan in this thesis. Migrants in Amman shape

the city themselves, rather than the economic and social structure of the city being constituted exclusively by state government. People as infrastructure is defined as:

People as infrastructure indicates the residents' needs to generate concrete acts and contexts of social collaboration inscribed with multiple identities rather than in overseeing and enforcing modulated transactions among discrete population groups (Simone 2004, 419).

Evidence of 'people as infrastructure' in Amman is thoroughly discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, but a brief list of this theory's prevalence is local Jordanians buying coffee or market products from Syrian street vendors who are working without permits, hiring Palestinians and Syrians for housework over hiring a professional service, and social venues hosting events such as tournaments to benefit Palestinian or Syrian children's sporting activities, to name a few. However, as explored in Chapter 6, Syrians and Palestinians in Amman also rely on their own national groups and networks.

The notion of stateless citizenship is evident in Jordan's refugee population; Palestinians and Syrians still unable to go home, yet also unable to realize a fulfilling life in Jordan and access public services could experience the effects of being stateless citizens. In fact, when one becomes an internationally recognized refugee, one loses ties to state responsibility such as healthcare, repatriation, public education, access to state courts that might be used to sue a state or agents of a state for abuses suffered at a state's hands while migrating to a host country. Refugees become citizens of the world, under the care of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), such as Palestinians are, or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), such as Syrians and other refugees are.

Camps are symbols of sovereign power (Agamben 1998). Refugees that are retained in the camp are simultaneously included and excluded from the state in which they are held; refugees are under the care and protection of the state in which their camp

is located, however they are outside of the benefits that citizens have access to (Agamben 1998). In Jordan's case, Syrians are unable to work outside of the camp, or fear being arrested and deported back to Syria. Syrians have access to UNHCR healthcare and food aid, but the weight of all Syrians attempting to access these systems in Jordan can result in neglect of the refugee. If only Syrian refugees were considered citizens of Jordan, or granted temporary access to Jordan's public resources, opportunities for paid labor and welfare access would improve their quality of life. Agamben argues that because the state can determine the aspects of the refugee's life, forcing him to remain in the camp to access what food and healthcare he can, refugees are living in a state of exception. This gray area is where the state's rule of law does not exist, and because human rights are based on the idea of civil rights, or citizen's rights, refugees, which are by definition not citizens of their host country, are not guaranteed access to their human rights (Khosravi 2010). Living in the camp can expose refugees to abuse perpetrated by state officials, employees of international organizations, and even other refugees.

This state of exception that refugees experience, combined with the difficult and violent nature characterizing their journeys to Jordan, creates *communitas*. *Communitas* is a bond that occurs between people, even people of various social, political, and economic statuses, due to specific social transformations that they share which are strong enough to bridge other differences between the factors of their lives (Turner 1995). Completing a long and arduous journey can link people. Experiencing the death of a loved one or surviving harsh and restrictive living conditions together can link people. All of these factors and more exist among the refugee populations in Jordan and reinforce their identities as refugees, Syrians, and Palestinians.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter highlights the methods of how I conducted my research in this senior thesis project. The chapter is divided into three main sections, research design, data collection, and data analysis, followed by an exploration of my own positionality within the research process.

Research Design

This project explores Syrian and Palestinian refugees and their descendants in Jordan, and is inspired by a mixed method approach. The methodological worldview in this thesis follows a ‘pragmatic’ approach (Creswell 2009). This pragmatic research view puts the greatest focus on the research question and pursues any and all methods available in order to answer the research question (Creswell 2009). For example, quantitative data from the United Nations Relief Works Agency and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is combined with participant observations and semi-structured interviews across the empirical chapters (see Chapter 5: “Settlement Lives”), in order to draw qualitative conclusions about developed identity as a member of a refugee city.

Data Collection

This thesis is developed by a mixed- and multi-method research approach to understand how Syrian and Palestinian inhabitants in Amman, Jordan shape their experience of the city and create a ‘Settlement City,’ based on seven months of fieldwork in Amman, Jordan.

These methods included:

- Semi-structured interviews of 5 Syrians and 10 Palestinians in Amman, Jordan (see Appendix for interview table),
- Archival analysis and cultural analysis,
- Analysis of secondary sources,
- Analysis of artistic expression, and
- Ethnographic participant observation.

METHOD	DESCRIPTION
Semi-structured interviews	Interviews were 30-minutes to an hour with 5 Syrian and 10 Palestinian inhabitants of Amman.
Archival analysis	Archives reflecting the settlement of Palestinians are given deeper meanings through Azoulay's 'archival activism' approach.
Cultural analysis	Analysis of the communities and networks established by Syrians and Palestinians in Amman.
Analysis of secondary sources	Analysis of UNHCR and UNRWA reports on refugees in Amman which helps expose some of the conditions that Syrians and Palestinians encounter in Amman.
Analysis of artistic expression	Exploring artistic expression as evidence that Syrians and Palestinians are shaping Amman as a settlement city. Looking at the art through Azoulay's 'archival activism' approach helps to impart meaning on the art more than the title of the piece, who created it, and where it is located. This approach explains the what and why behind the production of art across the city.
Ethnographic participant observation	Observation of Amman and its Palestinian and Syrian inhabitants within settlements across the city.

Figure 2 Methods used.

The following subsections explain the methods that were used throughout the process of conducting this research.

Semi-structured interviews: 5 Syrian and 10 Palestinian inhabitants in Amman were interviewed during the seven months that I resided in Amman, Jordan over 2017 and 2018, as well as some interviews that occurred via Instagram over 2018 and 2019

(see Appendix). These interviews asked for the research partners to first describe their national identities as well as their own person experiences of settling in Jordan or, in the case of Palestinians whose parents or grandparents settled in Amman, their immediate family member's experience of settling in Jordan. These interviews helped in understanding how Syrians and Palestinians in Amman settled in similar ways and how Amman is a settlement city.

Archival analysis: The main challenge this research confronts is time. The first-hand accounts of Palestinian refugees entering Jordan in the late 1940s-1950s are largely unavailable for one-on-one interviews. When not using archives for this set of data, this research must take accounts from ancestors with a grain of salt; added heroism and exaggeration can occur as a family tradition is passed down through generations. Looking for other sources of information about Palestinian settlement in Jordan, Ariella Azoulay's 2012 concept of archival activism is helpful. Azoulay's definition of how a state perceives an archive is:

With the position of the present time, an archive prevents people from accessing material before the material has lost its ability to provoke feelings and/or actions that could interrupt the law and power of the place within which the archive is located. The material that the archive allows access to is firmly located in the past and this material that could have previously stirred negative responses now appears to have softened and become merely historical fact with its "accusing finger cut off," (Azoulay 2012).

Inspired by Foucault, Azoulay finds this definition wholly at issue with research, which can be used to trigger emotions, guiding actions in the present and preventing mistakes from the past. Following this discovery, Azoulay began asking 'why' questions about archives. Answers to these questions opened up interpretation of an archive that was previously only limited to what the archive was categorized as. Investigating the whole

picture and using participant observation, it is possible to find deeper meanings within archives and pieces of artistic expression throughout Amman.

Cultural analysis: Interaction with families based for varying durations of time in Amman provided information about the facets of their daily lives that are reminiscent of cultural practices brought with them from Syria or Palestine. Objects handed down, songs and poetry sung, dances for special events, cuisine, fashion, and remembrance of family history all indicate a national identity or a homeland that still exists within the inhabitants of Amman, regardless of the time that separates them from Palestine or Syria. In the case of Palestinians, families based in Amman for 70+ years still hand down keys, still wear the Palestinian scarf over the Jordanian scarf, still eat Nabulsi desserts, among other traditions, that all indicate that full integration into Jordanian culture has not occurred.

Analysis of secondary sources: This thesis utilizes UNHCR and UNRWA public information on the history and development of refugee camps in Jordan to provide factual support to family histories of settlement in Amman. Secondary data supports the interviews of research participants regarding the camps' conditions and the challenges that refugees face settling in Amman.

Analysis of artistic expression: When questions ask 'what,' information becomes categorized and limited in what it can say compared to questions that ask 'why.' By explaining how labeling photographs as, 'this is X,' can be limiting, misinformative, and single-sided, Azoulay finds that asking questions about who took a photograph, why that person takes a photograph, when and where the photograph is taken, and other beyond-the-surface questions about an archive help discover new and better ways to interpret pieces of the past. Analysis of artistic expression utilizes the

‘archival activism’ approach when exploring archives whether written, photographic, or other media. Further, the ‘archival activism’ approach is used in this thesis whenever contemporary art, text, videotape, or other form of expression is used to answer the research question. For example, Instagram can be considered an informal ‘archive’ in that each post has worth to the person that collects it through posting, liking, commenting, and sharing. Each post has a source and a date, along with a description that links the person that posts the archive and the archive itself, which we can gather data from on ideas such as identity and cultural value. On top of this, the research investigates the ‘why’ behind art shown in Instagram posts (why was this created, why is it important, why reproduce it on Instagram?) in order to discover that art created by Syrian and Palestinian inhabitants in Jordan is shaping Amman and becoming part of *Ammani* identity.

Ethnographic participant observation: In Amman, participant observation provided the most insight into how Syrians, Palestinians, and Jordanians interact with each other and how their lives merge and diverge. This period of observation was useful in order to analyze culture and art around Amman, observing the importance of tradition and expression that reaffirms old identities of nationality or belonging.

Fieldwork Locations

In total, seven months of residence in Amman forms my participant research findings and informs my first interests in the research I have undertaken here. For the first three months in Amman, I lived in Medina Riyadiya (Sports City) which was within walking distance of my language institute. The area is mainly residential and constitutes lower-to-middle class families, with very few villas scattered throughout. Living here means that going to stores, restaurants, meeting places, etc. are only reachable by taxi or ride

sharing, which were utilized daily. I relocated to a more westernized neighborhood with an urban setting in Weibdeh near Diwar al-Baris (Paris Circle) for the duration of the last three months. However, I still attended daily classes in Sports City, a 15 minute taxi ride away. This resulted in taking a taxi at least twice per day for school. I interviewed these taxi and Uber drivers with semi-structured interviews to inform this research. Upon returning from Jordan, I summarized these interviews and made notes about the people, ideas, customs, and issues that I came across. From there, I began to find my research question, the puzzle that would help guide me through the rest of this project.

Data Analysis

When interacting with locals, those who permanently reside in Amman and have a family history of living within the surrounding region, the research takes into account my personal status as a ‘white American girl’ and further, a ‘farm girl’, and how my western upbringing might influence my research and processing of data. Lisa Tuhiwai Smith warns of the problem in which the researcher projects her own prejudices on her subjects and corrupts the data to suit previously held opinions, as opposed to forming new ideas to suit facts (2005). The thesis avoids generalization and assumption-making about my research partners because one experience is not like another.

When processing data, memos were written to summarize the data gathered. These memos are written as if writing a section of the thesis, and help point research into new directions. Memo writing has created a project that uses diverse sources of data and analysis to support the theory that Amman is a settlement city for Palestinian and Syrian refugee settlers. Linking some memos together has resulted in identifying useful support to this main argument, and excluding some memos has helped to focus the project.

Recognizing the role that constructivism plays in shaping how one collects, includes or excludes, analyzes, and writes about data (Charmaz 2006), this thesis recognizes that interpretations and conclusions written herein are only an interpretive representation of Syrians and Palestinians in Jordan and are not an exact, nor complete picture of these groups. Completed theories are only constructions of reality from the perspective of the researcher (Charmaz 2006).

Positionality

It is important to account for positionality in research involving an ethnographic process because the position of the researcher inevitably influences the resulting research and conclusions. I am a Caucasian woman in my early twenties, born and raised in a small state of the United States, residing on my family's farm. I was raised as an only child with both of my older siblings already living on their own. As a result, I used reading to broaden my horizons. The books I initially fancied were romantic novels, Stephen King thrillers, crime and mysteries, but I began to develop a taste for adventure, discovery, non-fiction articles which I would later come to know as ethnographies of cultures and lifestyles other than my own.

As a freshman at university, I spent my first semester of college in Rome, Italy where I first encountered refugees, asylum seekers, and stateless persons regularly and in person. I also encountered Arabic for the first time here because my freshman resident advisor's first language is Arabic. She describes herself as an Egyptian, born in Kuwait, who now lives her adult life in Egypt. My hard-lining feminist English professor helped my writing skills to flourish, as writing was never an area I felt truly confident in. She pushed me and always asked me why I was writing something. Finding my 'why' for

writing led me to explore my own studies, all having something to do with migration, violence, and/or personal development.

I pursued an Arabic minor and an Islamic Studies minor at the University of Delaware, in addition to my Political Science degree with concentration in Global Politics. Through these course sets, I met a student, Sara, who had Palestinian roots. Sara was seeking to learn the formal language of her culture; she and her siblings were born in the United States, her parents were born in Amman, Jordan, and her grandparents were born in Palestine. Upon seeking an immersive language experience, Sara's parents informed me about education in Jordan and accompanied me on my first trip to Amman. Six months later, I returned to Amman to study Arabic.

Daily taxi rides, however strange, provided me with the most opportunities to develop my research for this project; a vast majority of taxi drivers I interacted with were Palestinian, and an equal majority of Uber drivers were Syrian and/or college students. Traffic in the Kingdom allowed me to get to know a driver quickly, yet intimately. I found that taxis are not much unlike confessionals or bars, where information flows freely and without much concern for repercussions. This is important given the nature of the area's general 'do not discuss politics, especially if you do not agree with them' golden rule.

The methodologies utilized throughout this thesis, explained in detail above, are centered around constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2006). Robust information was collected that delves deeper into refugee studies than solely the surface of who, what, how, when, and where, and instead moves past those to look at and consider the why. However, because I am not a refugee from Palestine, nor one from Syria, and I do not share the culture or fluency of the language, I cannot pretend to be a true insider.

Pablo Dominguez Galbraith, a researcher within the field of international migration explained, “There is no better expert on migration than a migrant himself,” and this is true of Syrian and Palestinians living in Amman (Galbraith 2019). Their interviews and cultural products are the main evidence that supports that Amman is a settlement city and Syrians and Palestinians are reestablishing their old identities within Amman instead of fully integrating as Jordanians.

Chapter 4

DEFINING AND CREATING THE SETTLEMENT

Settlement within Jordan occurred in similar and different ways, not just between Palestinians and Syrians, but within these groups as well. What is interesting is how did settlement develop and evolve over time with various waves of migrants to Jordan. This chapter looks at the factors behind Palestinian and Syrian relocation to Jordan and the physical spaces that they occupy and develop, which define and create the settlement.

History of Waves of Palestinians

The experiences of Palestinians that cause their movement, as well as their journeys to Jordan, and their reception in Jordan, all affect the way they settle and the choices they make in doing so. Focus on the main waves of migration, the causes for the migration, and the settlement created by these waves will develop a comprehensive look into the root of Palestinian heritage and what it means to those living in Jordan.

Today, the territory that constitutes the state of Jordan was once called Transjordan. Under the British Palestinian Mandate in 1922, Britain acquired the area in order to provide for a distinctively Arab population as Jews began to settle and push out Palestinians from the fertile lands around Jerusalem and Israel proper today. Ever since 1922, Transjordan was ruled semi-autonomously by King Abdullah who answered to the British High Commissioner in Palestine. The Jordan River split Eastern and Western Palestine and Eastern Palestine became part of Transjordan and Western Palestine became simply Palestine.



Figure 3 Map of Palestine 1948. The West Bank was the territory referred to as West Palestine when the area now labeled as Jordan was referred to as East Palestine, then Transjordan, and finally Jordan.

Palestinians were traditionally a farming people. Peasant Palestinian land tenants were permitted to farm land for survival at the behest of absentee Arab

landowners. Following mass purchases of land by Zionist organizations in the early 1920s from these absentee Arab landowners, peasant farmers were ousted from the lands they had resided on for generations. This created a problem: thousands of Palestinians were forced to leave, many without compensation and the majority of the rest without adequate compensation (C. D. Smith 2013, 122).

An example of how drastic the result of Palestinian tenant removal was is noted in one case where 688 tenant families on the Sursuq Lands were displaced, the result being nearly 8,000 people were forced to relocate (C. D. Smith 2013, 122). Transjordan was the easiest solution for relocation. In addition to displaced farmers during this period, the Depression also wiped out Palestinian agricultural business, which pushed families reliant on agricultural business to relocate in Transjordan as well.

Palestinians that were able to stay after the Depression were organized by the younger, higher educated Palestinians and attempted a revolt against the Mandate in 1936 (C. D. Smith 2013, 131). As a response to the revolt, partition was seen as a solution to rising tensions between the Arabs and the Jews. However, partition was not favored by the Arabs who would have been placed under the rule of Transjordan rather than Palestinian rule. Transjordan along with other neighboring Arab states, all agreed with the Palestinians' sentiments, especially since the partition plan inadequately and unfairly distributed land; Arabs were supposed to get Arab majority areas, and Jews were intended to get Jewish majority areas, but the lands given to the Jews were actually Arab majority areas, and all Jewish areas had the most fertile lands (Figure 2).

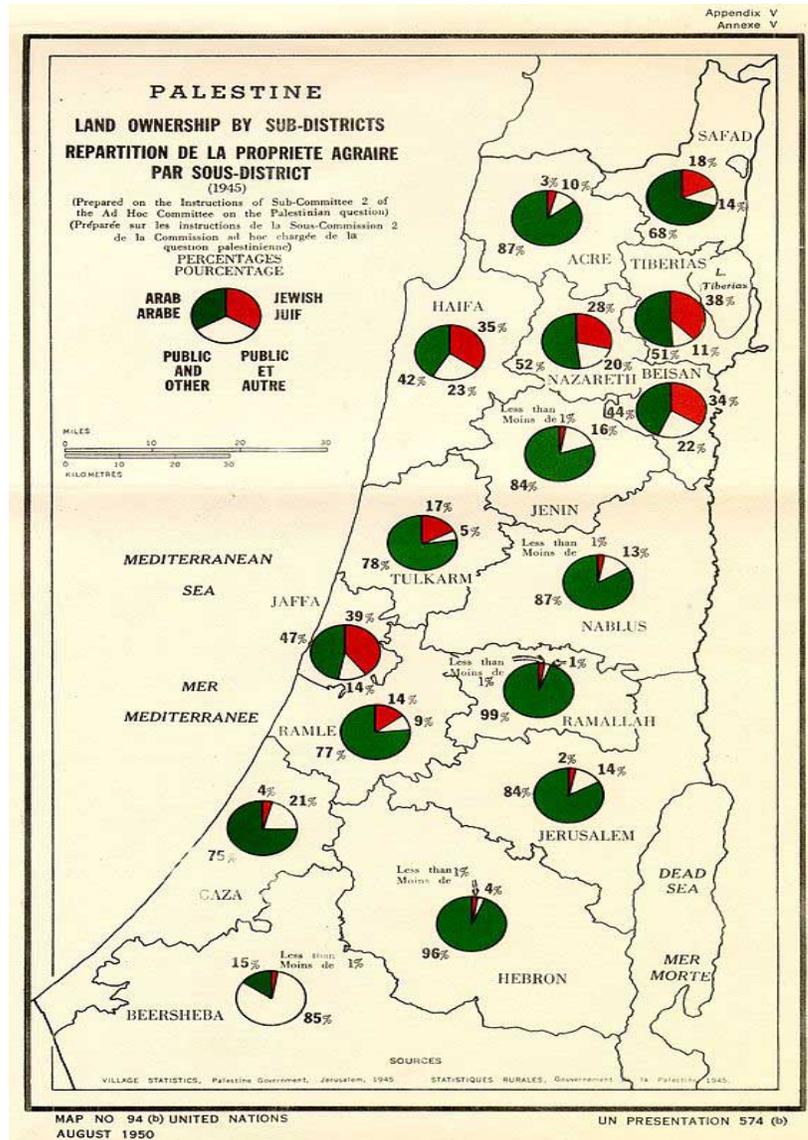


Figure 4 Palestinian land occupation by population (1945). Green indicates Arab Palestinian population and red indicates Jewish population.

By the end of 1946, 1.269 million Arabs were located in Palestine and 608,000 Jews were located in Palestine, a 2:1 majority (C. D. Smith 2013, 187). Sustained clashes between the two groups eventually led to the end of the British Mandate. By the time the British pulled out of Palestine, King Abdullah of Transjordan had reached an

agreement on the division of Palestine with the Zionists that would mitigate the possibility of a Palestinian entity from forming after the British troops had left. The plan was that central Palestine and part of Jerusalem would be absorbed into Transjordan (C. D. Smith 2013, 192).

Violence between Palestinians and Jews after the British left started on a small scale, but escalated from attacking villages and settlements to detonating bombs in heavily populated Arab cities. By the spring of 1948, the escalation of violence had caused 15,000 more Arabs to flee (C. D. Smith 2013, 193). By the end of spring, the Jews caused hundreds of thousands of Arabs to flee. The attack that caused the most damage to the Palestinians was the attack on April 9th, 1948, on the village of Dayr Yasin. The village had been unexpectedly ambushed in the middle of the night by Jewish forces, which indiscriminately killed 254 Palestinians (CINE NEWS Paper Tiger Television, Inc., 1973). Before the attack, the village had made an agreement with Jewish forces to remain nonaggressive, but this agreement was not honored. The bodies of those at Dayr Yasin were mutilated and shoved down wells (Figure 3).



Figure 5 Image of Jewish forces gathering grenades before the attack on Dayr Yasin (CINE NEWS Paper Tiger Television, Inc., 1973).

Jewish forces used the attack on Dayr Yasin as an example while attacking other Palestinian villages throughout Palestine. The Jews threatened increased attacks and more Dayr Yasins if the Palestinians would not leave. After an attack on Palestinians in Haifa on April 21st, 50,000 Palestinians fled or were exiled within three days, and by May 15th, another 300,000 Palestinians followed (Figure 4) (C. D. Smith 2013, 196). Particularly salient among Palestinians today is that Israel claims these particular Palestinians fled willingly, are thus not refugees, and thus do not have any right to return.



Figure 6 Image of Palestinian casualties after an attack on an unnamed Palestinian village (CINE NEWS Paper Tiger Television, Inc., 1973).

By the end of the war for independence in 1948, 400-450 thousand Arabs had been forced out of the new Israeli state and of the 860 thousand Arabs living in the land now deemed Israeli territory, only 133 thousand remained (C. D. Smith 2013, 200). At this time, 470 thousand Palestinians were occupying Jordanian refugee camps on the West Bank of the Jordan River or Egyptian camps in Gaza, and the rest were scattered throughout Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan proper (the east side of the Jordan River) (C. D. Smith 200). In 1950, the area known today as the West Bank was annexed by Jordan which means that by 1956, over half a million Palestinians were living in Jordan, making up a third of Jordan's total population (C. D. Smith 223).

In 1954, Jordan granted Palestinians citizenship under the Nationality Law to anyone of Palestinian nationality prior to May of 1948, so long as they were not Jewish and lived in Jordanian territory prior to 1954. Citizenship was offered as a way of quieting Palestinian identity and nationalism that was rising in the Palestinian camps, and of course not all refugees accepted citizenship because it would mean giving up any hope of returning to their homeland. Another effort to decrease Palestinian identity within Jordan included banning the word Palestine from official records as of 1950 (Palestinians Journeys | Timeline n.d.). But as time went on, the camps began to become increasingly more permanent, and along with them, the Palestinian identity.



Figure 7 Image captured from a video of camp personnel attempting to interview a female refugee in a camp in the West Bank (c. 1950) (CINE NEWS Paper Tiger Television, Inc., 1973).

As a result of the Arab-Israeli War in 1967, Jordan lost the territory of the West Bank and 380 thousand refugees moved from the West Bank to Jordan proper as of today (Palestinians Journeys | Timeline n.d.). As it stands currently, according to the United Nations Relief Works Agency, there are 2,206,736 registered Palestinian refugees in Jordan and the ten Palestinian camps in Jordan accommodate only 18%, or 370 thousand, of those refugees. The rest of the Palestinian refugees live in and around Amman (UNRWA Jordan). Coupled with this, of the Palestinians that accepted Jordanian citizenship, and still identify as Palestinian, Amman is believed to be made up of 80% Palestinian-Jordanians (Palestinians Journeys | Timeline n.d.). Currently, Amman has a population of roughly 4 million people, which would mean that Palestinian-Jordanians make up about 3.2 million of the inhabitants in the city (Jordan Population 2019: World Population Review 2019).

Palestinian Camps in Jordan

Jordan has ten official UNRWA sponsored Palestinian camps, four of which were set up for refugees that fled in 1948 as a result of the Israeli War of Independence, and six of which were set up as emergency camps as a result of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. This section will look at the population of each camp when it started off, and the current population today as well as looking at some photos of the early camps and how they began to structurally develop to become more permanent³.

³ All facts in this section are retrieved from the UNRWA's website

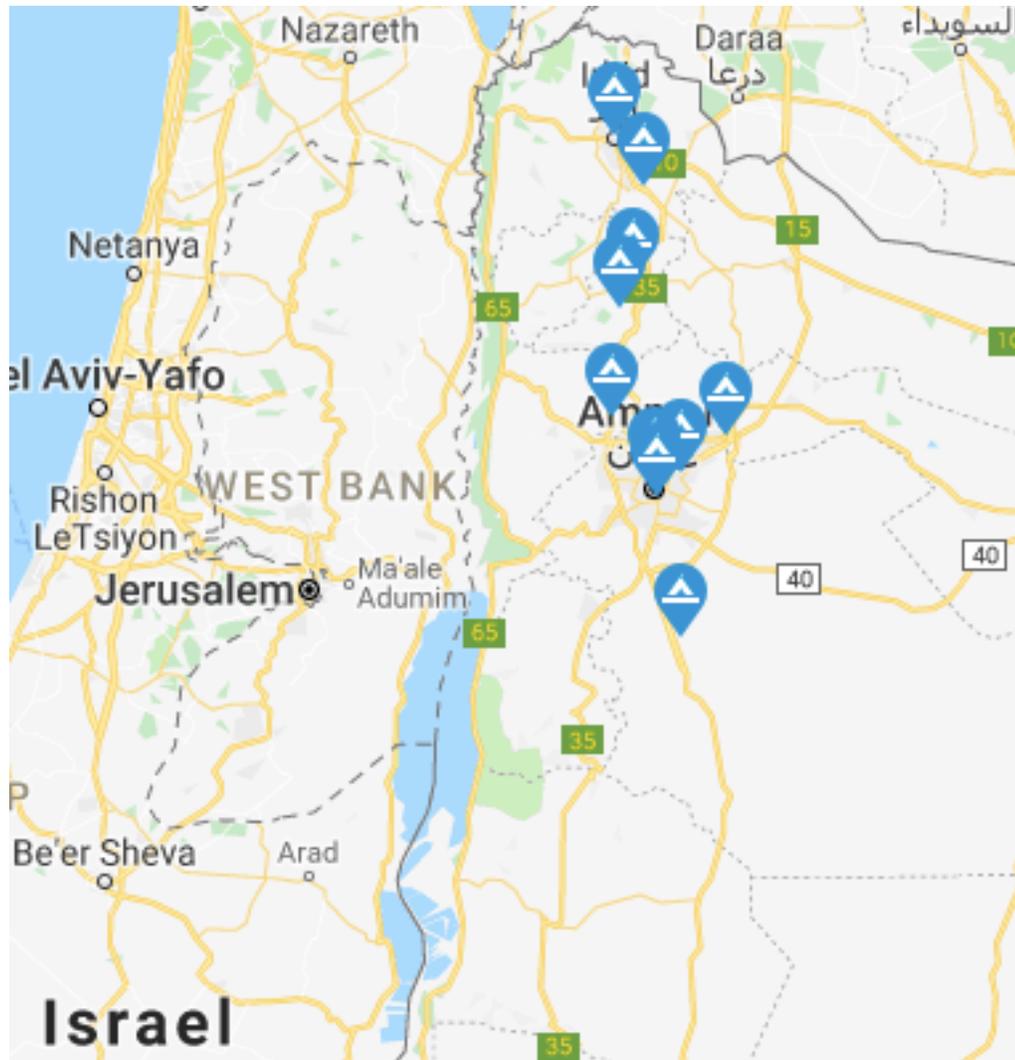


Figure 8 Map of UNRWA Palestinian camps in Jordan. The blue tents indicate camp sites (UNRWA). Note the closeness of the camp locations around Amman and their closeness to the West Bank.

The four initial camps are called Zarqa, Irbid, Jabal al-Hussein, and Amman New Camp (also called Wihdat). These camps were located on the outskirts of the urban areas of Amman or within an hour of Amman for ease of administration.

- *Zarqa* was the first camp established and it originally had 8,000 refugees which occupied .18 square kilometers of land. Refugees converted tents into concrete

shelters and added more rooms and levels overtime. Currently, there are about 20 thousand registered refugees living in Zarqa, but this number is actually even larger since some Palestinians may be living in the camp off of the registry.

- *Irbid* camp was established in 1951 on .25 square kilometers of land just north of Amman. Initially 4,000 refugees lived in the camp in temporary shelters, but by 1954, refugees began replacing tents with mud shelters. The United Nations Relief Works Agency that only handles Palestinian refugees supplied refugees in this camp with roofing materials as they built their own mud shelters. Eventually, mud shelters were replaced with more reliable concrete shelters. There are approximately 28 thousand registered refugees currently living in Irbid, but again, this number could be higher.
- Established in 1952, *Jabal al-Hussein* was initially occupied by 4,000 refugees on a land area of .42 square kilometers just northwest of Amman proper. Similar to Irbid, tents in Jabal al-Hussein evolved into durable shelters with UNRWA supplied roofing materials. The camp seems to blend seamlessly in urban Amman today with 32 thousand registered refugees.
- *Wihdat*, the last of the four initial camps, was established in 1955 on .48 square kilometers of land just south of Amman proper. It initially had 1,400 shelters which increased to 2,660 shelters by 1957. Over time, refugees added additional rooms to their shelters using more permanent materials. The camp has become an urban section of Amman today. Today, 57 thousand refugees are registered as residents of Wihdat,.

After 1967, six additional camps were created to hold refugees that were ousted from Gaza and the West Bank during the Arab-Israeli War. The camps are called Souf,

Marka, Jerash, Talbieh, Baqa'a, and Husn. These camps, like the four initial camps, were located within short driving distance of Amman.

- *Souf* is located 50 kilometers north of Amman on .5 square kilometers of land. Souf was initially abandoned in October of 1967 because tents could not withstand the conditions due to cold weather and flooding. However, the camp was re-inhabited in 1968 out of necessity to accommodate more refugees. After the return to the camp, 1,650 shelters were built, and now about 19 thousand registered refugees live in the camp, possibly more.
- *Marka* (also called Hitten), was established in 1968 on .92 square kilometers of land just 10 kilometers northeast of Amman. The UNRWA does not provide much information on the camp's early history, but it can be assumed that numbers of shelters and initial residents were near the same numbers as those of the other six camps and shelters developed into more permanent structures just as other camps experienced. Today, Marka is home to 53 thousand registered refugees.
- *Jerash* camp was established in 1968 with 11,500 refugees on .75 square kilometers, roughly 55 kilometers north of Amman. 1,500 of the initial tents were replaced with shelters and by 1971, about 2,000 shelters had been built. Refugees replaced these with concrete overtime, but many roofs are still made of corrugated zinc and asbestos sheets. Today, there are 29 thousand registered refugees.
- *Talbieh* was initially established with 5,000 refugees on .13 square kilometers of land located 35 kilometers south of Amman. Much like Jerash, the camp transitioned from tents to concrete structures, but roofs still consist of zinc and

asbestos. There are significant structural problems with the refugee shelters and poor light and air ventilation. Due to this, it can be expected that refugees will continue remodeling their residences to create a higher standard of living, or move out of the camp altogether and most likely live in Amman. There are currently 8,000 registered refugees inhabiting Talbieh, with the possibility that actual numbers may be larger.

- *Baqa'a* camp is the largest camp in Jordan, just 20 kilometers north of Amman. It initially consisted of 5,000 tents for 26 thousand refugees, which is about 5.2 people per tent, on an area of 1.4 square kilometers. Between 1969 and 1971, the UNRWA replaced the tents with 8,000 shelters due to Jordan's harsh winters. Since then, the refugees have built their own, more durable, concrete structures. There are approximately 119 thousand registered refugees living in Baqa'a today, but numbers could be larger.
- The final Palestinian camp is *Husn*, also referred to as Martyr Azmi al-Mufti, was initially made up of 12,500 refugees in 1968 on .77 square kilometers of land about 80 kilometers north of Amman. By 1971, 2,990 shelters had been constructed to replace tents, which refugees modified with concrete over time. Today, approximately 25 thousand registered refugees reside within the camp.

As mentioned above, numbers of registered Palestinians within the camps do not reflect actual numbers of those in the camps. In addition, many registered refugees do not live within actual camps, which accounts for the fact that as of January 1, 2018, the UNRWA released that 2,206,736 registered Palestinians live in Jordan with the number of those registered increasing by 1.8% over the past years (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). Only about 17.5% of registered Palestinians live in camps, which

accounts for 407,983 of the total registered Palestinian refugees (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). This means that Palestinians are settled within the urban areas of Jordan, the majority settled in or around Amman where employment opportunities are more available and their families have access to better resources such as education and healthcare. This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

History of Waves of Syrians

A notable number of Syrians have fled to Jordan for refuge over the past two decades. Most of these people left as a result of government crackdown on political and religious dissenters. From 2006 onward, Syrians also suffered from an extreme drought that caused 1.5 million Syrians from agricultural areas to migrate internally to Syria's urban cities (Francis 2015, 17). The pressure that this internal displacement placed on scarce resources, most notably water, and on the labor market, caused Syrians to relocate to Jordan, even before the Syrian Civil War in 2012. The most substantial wave of Syrian migrants to Jordan occurred as a result of the outbreak of violence in 2012, and persisted years onward.

As violence broke out within Syria in 2012, urban areas were targeted indiscriminately. President of Syria, Bashar al-Assad was suspected of, and a year later condemned by the international community of, using chemical weapons against his own citizens. However, the chemical attacks did not stop, and in August 2013, as many as 1,700 civilians died as a result of a chemical weapons attack in a highly populated area (Romero 2018).

By 2012, about 2,000 Syrians had migrated to Jordan as a result of violence (Francis 2015, 20). Each year thereafter, numbers of Syrian migrants to Jordan increased. In August of 2012, the first Syrian refugee camp established in Jordan, called

Zaatari, grew from a couple of thousand Syrian residents to 15 thousand Syrian residents, and just five years later Zaatari became one of the most densely populated areas within the region, and the second largest refugee camp in the world (Francis 2015, 20).

Another notable wave of Syrian migrants to Jordan came during 2015 at the peak of sectarian violence in Syria. As the Assad regime lost more troops to ISIS and rebels, it forfeited more territory, thus exposing more and more people to violence. It is a well-founded fear that when ISIS takes over new territory, anyone not in line with their strict Islamic government is handled brutally, and even killed. Because of this, large numbers of Syrians in forfeited territories fled to neighboring countries, mostly Lebanon and Jordan, as the Assad regime gave up more territory. By June 2015, upwards of 620 thousand Syrian refugees were registered in Jordan (Francis 2015, 1). Due to overcrowding in the camps, most Syrians live in Amman or Jerash, located just an hour north of Amman, as opposed to living in a camp.

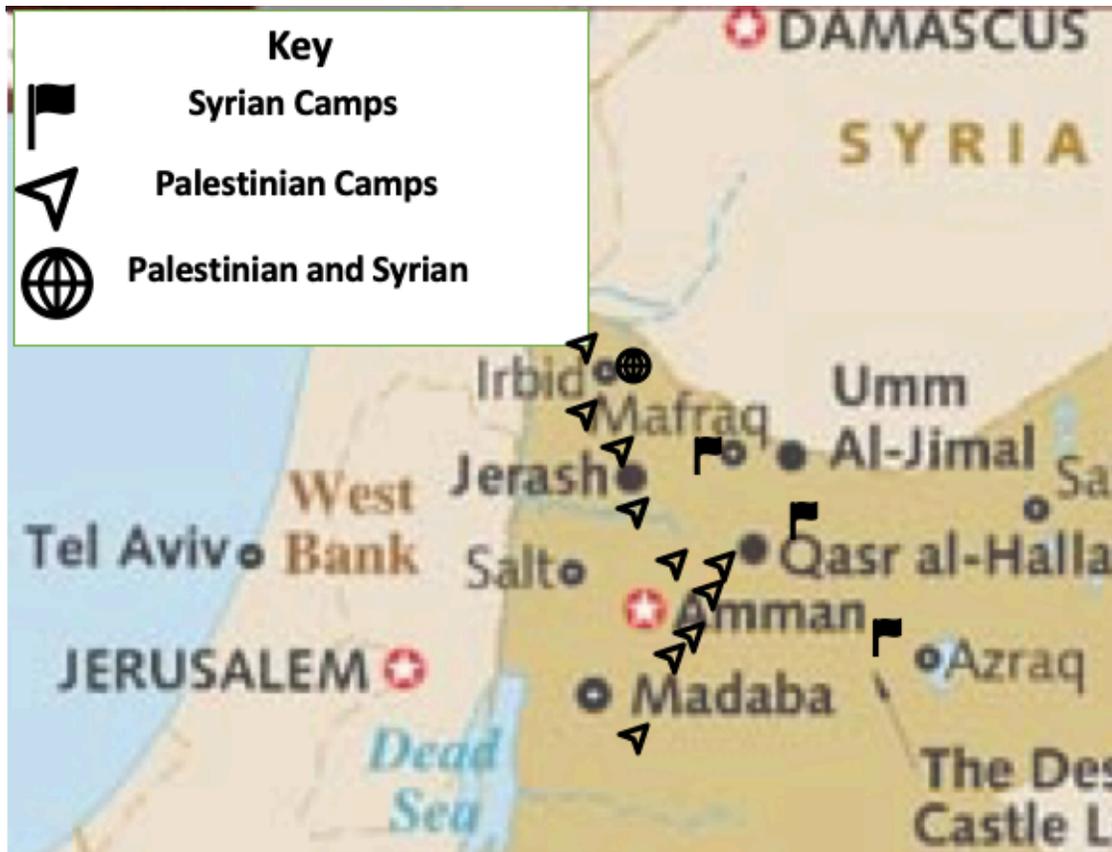


Figure 9 Graphic I have compiled showing Syrian and Palestinian camps, note the proximity of the camps to each other and Amman.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report on Syrian refugees in Jordan as of March 2019, there are currently 670,238 registered Syrian refugees, almost 25% of which fall between the ages of 18 and 59 years of age. The discrepancy in numbers comes from the fact that refugees have no right to work outside of the camp, and access to aid is limited within the camp due to underfunding, both of which are discussed in Chapter 5. It is therefore more advantageous to settle in and around Amman, unregistered, in order to make one's own living, even though this choice comes with risks such as deportation back to Syrian if Jordanian police arrest an undocumented Syrian or registered Syrian refugee working

outside of the camp. Palestinian refugees were given the right to work outside of the camp, however this is under special circumstances, and the Syrian refugees have not been given the right to work outside of the camp. The effects of the decision for a Syrian refugee to work and live outside of the camp are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Syrian Camps in Jordan

There are currently two primary Syrian refugee camps in Jordan that are all located to the northeast of Amman, within an hour's drive. The camps are called Zaatari and Azraq (Figure 8).

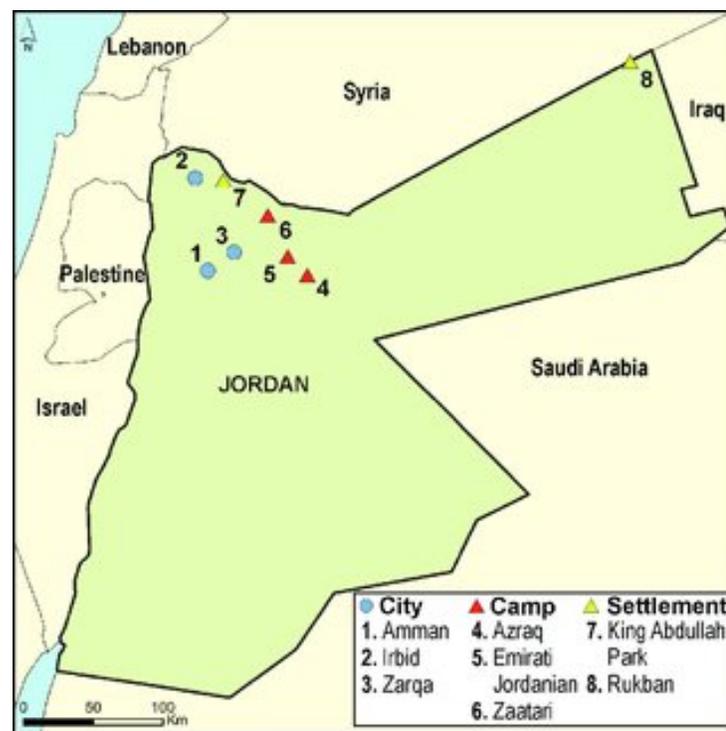


Figure 10 UNHCR map of Syrian refugee camps in Jordan (Jauhiainen and Vorobeva 2018).

- *Zaatari* was established in 2012 and held 150 thousand refugees at its peak, but now averages around 80 thousand refugees (Lee 2018). The UNHCR reported in 2018 that the camp held 78,527 refugees (UNHCR Fact Sheet Zaatari). The camp is comprised of UNHCR shelters, but initially started as a camp made of tents. Over time, refugees have added onto the shelters (Figure 9) and have even painted murals on the shelters (Figure 10). The camp gets energy from a solar panel farm nearby.



Figure 11 Image of Zaatari camp (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).



Figure 12 Mural painted in Zaatari camp on UNHCR shelter (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).

- *Azraq* opened in 2014 and as of 2018 holds 40,615 Syrian refugees according to the UNHCR (fact sheet *Azraq*). At that time, the UNHCR also reported the use of 8,952 shelters in the camp, all of which were connected with electricity which draws energy from a solar panel farm just outside of the camp. The camp has the potential to expand and accommodate 120-130 refugees, however there is no need for expansion currently because Syrians are settling within and around Amman.



Figure 13 Long-distance photograph of Azraq camp and UNHCR shelters (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).

However, as stated above, a minority of the Syrian refugees in Jordan actually live within these camps. Figure 14 below shows the various locations of Syrian refugees in Jordan by population density. Note the concentration of the Syrian refugee population in and around Amman. Like the Palestinians before them, Syrian refugees have chosen to settle within the city over staying within the camps. Amman is a settlement city where Syrians integrate into Amman within the framework of Palestinians.

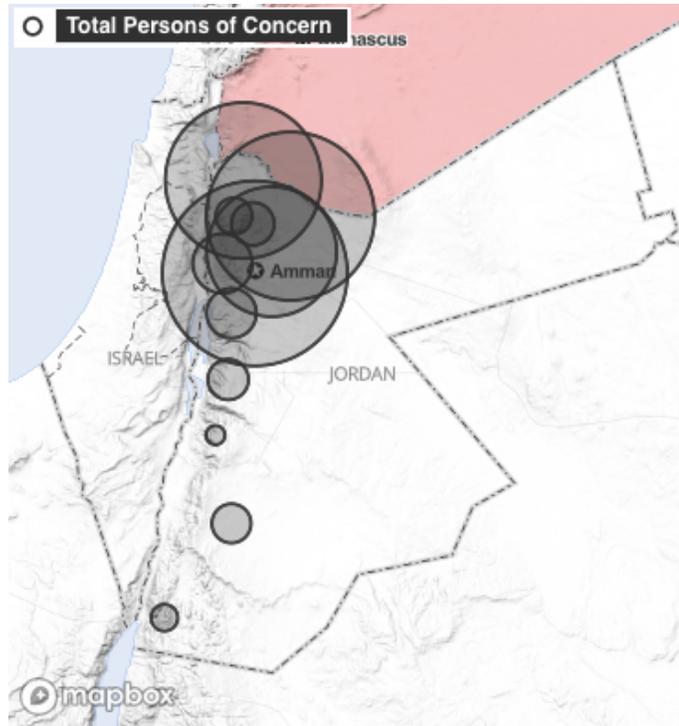


Figure 14 Graphic of Syrian refugee locations by population density (UNHCR-Jordan).

Chapter 5

SETTLEMENT LIVES

This chapter investigates the role of settlement lives in shaping the settlement city. The chapter draws from ethnographic data and the experience of settlement of Palestinian migrants and new Syrian inhabitants. Settlement in and around Amman by Palestinians and Syrians happens in a variety of ways. Within the camp, the initial means of settlement (a tent or a shelter) is provided, and over time, Palestinians and Syrians have used their own agency to expand and improve their living spaces. Palestinians and Syrians that settle within and around Amman through their own agency, decide where is the best place for themselves to live and work.

Over the course of my interview with Karama, a 3rd generation, self-described Palestinian-Hungarian-Jordanian, she revealed that her grandfather, Hani, came from Palestine to Jordan in 1948 as a result of the war. My in-depth, semi-structured interview with her informed me that her grandfather had asked to join a group of other Palestinians he knew were heading to Jordan in order to wait out the war. Hani traveled with them and had intended to only be in Jordan for a few weeks to a few months until the war ended and he could return to Palestine. He initially rented a house in the area of al-Mahatta which lies within the eastern boundaries of the Amman Governorate.

After some weeks, Hani's family members also left Palestine and joined him in Amman. Reflecting back, within one year in Amman, it became clear to Karama's grandfather that "the war continued and never ended." This prompted his decision to build his own house in Amman, a house that Karama's family still occupies to this day. When I inquired why she believes her family has chosen to stay in Amman ever since, Karama expressed that she believes her grandfather never wanted to leave his family

behind that was still in Palestine. Karama said, “My grandpa had the hope of returning back [to Palestine] when things get better, that’s why he stayed [in the rental house] at the beginning, and when things got worse he built the house.”

Karama then revealed that later generations of her family stayed because Amman is now where her family is rooted. Her family still has relatives they occasionally see in Palestine and properties in Palestine and Amman. Karama attends university in Amman and studies public transportation within Amman, to make navigation for temporary visitors easier around the city.

Similar to Karama’s grandfather, Reem, a Syrian refugee studying art in Jordan, believes that within a few years, she will be able to return to Damascus. Reem spends most of her time with her boyfriend, a Jordanian student at her university as well. Reem confided to me that she hopes to develop her mastery of art to the point that her painting will be able to express feelings like “hope for return,” but she is also afraid; “Syria won’t be what I remember, and maybe I will stay in Amman if things are too hard.” Reem is worried she will have a hard time settling back in Syria as so many of the people she knew there have moved somewhere else and she is unsure whether her friends will ever return.

Reem can imagine Amman as her home; “I have made friends here, and sometimes life seems normal. If Abdul (her Jordanian boyfriend), and I get married, we can stay here or maybe go to Europe. But, I know he will want to stay here because of his family.” Like Karama’s grandfather, Reem seems to be slowly opening up to the idea of staying in Amman and settling down.

Both Karama’s grandfather and Reem immediately settled in Amman rather than living in a camp. For Reem, it was easy at her age to apply to study at university. For Karama’s

grandfather, the camp was not necessary because in 1948, he believed that he would only stay in Jordan for a short period of time, and he had the financial means to rent a house. Despite having settled, Reem and Hani still hold onto their national identities prior to settling in Jordan. Reem is not a citizen of Jordan, but says the struggle in Syria and her memories in Syria will always make her different than a Jordanian.

Bilal, a self-described 2nd generation Palestinian-Jordanian, makes up only the 1st generation in her family to actually be born and raised in Jordan. At the time of my interview with Bilal, she was a chemical engineering university student in Amman. Bilal helps her mother, Nadia, with photography and modeling as Nadia is an up-and-coming Palestinian-Jordanian fashion designer. Bilal's family home is located in north-western Amman, about twenty minutes from where I lived in Weibdeh at the time, and I visited Nadia and Bilal for lunch a few times. Out of all those I interacted with in Jordan, their family chose to settle in Jordan in a very interesting way.

Leaving the city of Nablus as children in 1967 due to increasing Israeli occupation of Palestinian-held land, Bilal's parents were raised in Amman. As adults, Bilal's father chose to relocate himself and Nadia to Saudi Arabia "to seek a better education and then [work]." Years later, Bilal's parents returned to Jordan and had Bilal and Nouf (a spirited young girl in primary school at the time). When Bilal's parents relocated to Amman, they were never forced to seek refuge there because their family had the means to live outside of the camps.

When I asked why Bilal's family chose to stay in Jordan even though her father could work from anywhere in the world, Bilal told me, "Nothing actually makes us (Palestinians) different from any Jordanians. Jordanians and Palestinians consider themselves as one. So, I even sometimes say that I am a Jordanian, because Jordan is

my country, too.” Bilal’s words here seem far different than her actions, however. Bilal enjoys writing Palestinian novels, showing the lives of Palestinians after they have left Palestine and settled in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. When I asked her why this writing was important to her, she expressed, “We (herself and her parents) only knew about Palestine from books, songs, and poems... What made me write this novel? I wanted people to know about the Palestinians from their point of view. I belonged to an occupied land which anyone can visit and I cannot...Most Palestinians are allowed to visit their country, and some others can go for a visit, but Israel made life there harder for a Palestinian to stay.”

Bilal creates her own identity, one that is just as equally Palestinian as it is Jordanian since she feels she can use these signifiers of nationality interchangeably. She reaffirms her Palestinian heritage while at the same time crafting a new identity that is native Jordanian as well. A year after my interviews with Bilal, she has studied abroad in Turkey and is translating her writings into English for publication. Jordan remains her home, but she plans to apply this year, 2019, to visit her national home in Palestine with other Palestinian-Jordanian friends of hers.

Knowing I had previously traveled to Tel-Aviv and Rishon Lezion in Israel, Bilal eagerly invited me to return for the trip to Nablus and Jerusalem, so she could show me her homeland from her own eyes. Bilal is so invested in sharing her Palestinian heritage with the world, that she would offer to take an outsider around with her on her first visit to the homeland she has only ever dreamed about. But while her Palestinian identity is something she is truly passionate about promoting, Bilal held that Jordan would always be her home as well, and Amman would always be her familial base.

Life in Palestinian Refugee Camps and Settlements

Settlers within a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan have very different stories, and different expressions of identity, than those that immediately settled outside of the camps or eventually moved to the camps. One Palestinian refugee woman in Jordan said:

We were living in very bad conditions after the exodus in 1948...The people would eat anything, anything green. We were very hungry; there was much starvation. We lived ten people to one small room. Our people were afflicted with Tuberculosis. Four out of five babies died before they reached the first year of life. After six months of almost complete starvation, the United Nations began their program to give us only 6¢ worth of food every day, barely enough to survive. All of this was the result of the Zionist Israel (CINE NEWS Paper Tiger Television, Inc., 1973).

Fortunately, conditions within the camps developed positively overtime, and under the United Nation Relief Works Agency, camps today have access to better aid and services such as education, healthcare, and community development programs. However, improvement can always be made, especially to healthcare and education where resources and staff do not meet the need of the refugees who access their services.

The UNRWA reports as of January 2018 that they have 2,206,736 registered Palestinian refugees and 120,804 other registered persons of interest⁴ located in Jordan (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). According to the same source, over the whole country, the UNRWA runs 25 primary healthcare facilities, accessed by 1,613,786 patients annually, providing over 1.9 million consultations per year. The UNRWA also staffs 33 locations that provide dental healthcare services for over 67 thousand screenings per year. All of these healthcare service locations employ only 724 health staff. There are 14 women's program centers, ten community rehabilitation

⁴ Palestinians without formal refugee status.

centers, and one community development center. There is a total of 171 UNRWA schools in Jordan for 122,194 students, which means each school teaches roughly 714 students. These numbers break down in the individual camps in the following ways:

- *Zarqa*: the camp resembles an urban quarter through the addition of shops and eateries built by the inhabitants over time. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the camp holds 20 thousand registered refugees. In Jordan, poverty is defined as an income of 814 JD or less per person annually as of 2010 (Dawass 2015). Of the total camp population, 19% (~3,800) live in poverty, 15% (~3,000) suffer from severe chronic health problems, and 68% (~13,600) do not have health insurance (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). The UNRWA runs four double-shift schools⁵ and two health centers within the camp.
- *Irbid*: residents in Irbid account for 28 thousand registered Palestinian refugees. Of the total registered refugees in Irbid, 31% (~8,680) live below the poverty line, 44% (~12,320) do not have health insurance, and the camp has the largest prevalence of chronic health problems at 16% (~4,480) (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). The camp has four double-shift schools and one health center.
- *Jabal al-Hussein*: what initially resembled a camp, now blends seamlessly into the urban areas of Amman. The area is at its maximum building density and suffers from severe overcrowding according to the UNRWA. With 32 thousand registered refugees, 28% (~8,960) fall below the poverty line, 15% (~4,800) have chronic health problems, and 69% (~22,080) have no health insurance

⁵ Double-shift schools are schools that offer two time frames for educating students. Without each school offering two days of school within one calendar day, the camp would not meet the education needs of the children within.

(United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). There are four double-shift schools and one health center.

- *Wihdat/Amman New Camp*: the second largest Palestinian camp in Jordan and home to 57 thousand registered refugees, 34% (~19,380) of refugees fall below the poverty line, 8% (~4,560) suffer from severe chronic health problems, and 66% (~37,620) do not have health insurance (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). The camp has 13 schools, one community rehabilitation center, one women's center, one environmental health office, and one camp services office. The camp shows high levels of overcrowding, an absence of green areas and free spaces, and most structures are in obvious need of repair.
- *Souf*: made up of 19 thousand registered refugees, this camp's population experiences 23.1% (~4,389) poverty, 3% (~570) chronic health problems, and 27% (~5,130) no health insurance (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). The camp has four double-shift schools and one health center. The camp typically experiences harsh weather conditions like rain, flooding, and cold weather due to its location 50 kilometers north of Amman, which contributes to the lower population density.
- *Marka*: the third largest Palestinian camp in Jordan, Marka is home to 53 thousand registered refugees. Unfortunately, for whatever reason, the UNRWA does not publish figures about this camp regarding population percentages and healthcare. However, the UNRWA does run ten double-shift schools and one health center. Given the population number and the one health center, statistics could be higher than in other camps with regards to those living below poverty, chronic illness, and health insurance.

- *Jerash*: home to 29 thousand registered refugees, this camp has the highest poverty rate out of all ten of the UNRWA camps in Jordan at 52.7% (~15,283), and 88% (~25,520) of all inhabitants do not have health insurance (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). The UNRWA has four double-shift schools and one single-shift school, with one healthcare center that serves the whole camp.
- *Talbieh*: located 35 kilometers south of Amman with high temperatures, Talbieh only holds 8,000 registered refugees. Of the total population, 28% (~2,240) live below the poverty line and 37% (~2,960) do not have health insurance (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). There are four UNRWA double-shift schools and one healthcare center.
- *Baqa'a*: the largest Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan holds 119 thousand registered refugees. Of the total population, 32% (~38,080) live below the poverty line, 17% (~20,230) are unemployed, and 46% (~54,740) do not have health insurance (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). The UNRWA has 16 double-shift schools in Baqa'a and two healthcare centers.
- *Husn*: made up of 25 thousand registered Palestinian refugees, 23% (~5,750) of camp Husn's residents live below the poverty line, 18% (~4,500) are unemployed, and 49% (~12,250) do not have health insurance (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). Five double-shift schools, one single-shift school, and one healthcare center provide services to the camp's residents.

With the estimated totals for those below the poverty line and those without health insurance (not including Marka camp) that I have calculated in parenthesis above, 106,562 of all 337 thousand registered Palestinian refugees in the camps, not including

Marka, live below the poverty line, or ~31.6%. Of the nine camps, excluding Marka, a total of 186,220 registered Palestinian refugees do not have health insurance, or ~55.26% of the entire population in the camps (excluding Marka).

Life in Syrian Refugee Camps

Syrians living within the camps experience hardships such as limited resources and access to food. The statistics listed below according to each camp highlight why Syrian refugees might choose to informally work outside of the camps and in areas around Amman. Refugees are able to rent living spaces within and around the city and use their refugee identity cards to come and go from the camps to collect aid (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).

- *Zaatari*: as of December 2018, UNHCR reports that 78,527 refugees live in Zaatari, only 11,518 of those refugees have work permits to work outside of the camp, and only 4,813 refugees work for cash inside the camp (UNHCR 2018). Not only does this information indicate that refugees are likely participating in informal labor outside of the camp, but with only 64 national staff and nine international staff, community services are likely severely strained (UNHCR 2018). For 18,493 children, there are 32 schools, which means nearly 578 children attend each school (UNHCR 2018). Of their graduates, 110 refugees have scholarships to study in Jordanian universities (UNHCR 2018). The UNHCR provides cash assistance to refugees for basic needs as well as non-food items: blankets, cooking utensils, plastic sheets, ground mats, mattresses, jerry cans, and buckets. These items are given after individual assessment of a refugee's needs after he enters the camp. UNHCR also provides cash for hygiene products and cooking gas, but this is done periodically throughout the year and

is based on the camp as a whole, rather than the individual. What is shocking is that each refugee receives only \$28 USD per month, per person in the family for food (UNHCR 2018). This is roughly 20 JOD, and was just enough for me to eat for one week choosing the lowest cost items to complete a healthy diet at stores also found within the camp such as Safeway. I found that rice, meat, eggs, milk, yogurt, and vegetables for one week costs roughly 20 JOD. What this indicates is that a diet for a refugee living only on this 20 JOD relies on less nutrient dense foods. Overtime, this is unsustainable unless refugees work outside of the camp to supplement their monthly food allowance, and settling within and around Amman offers more opportunities for work.

- *Azraq*: composed of 40,615 refugees, 60% of which are children, and 240 of those children are unaccompanied, Azraq shares similar issues with Zaatari (UNHCR 2018). There are 8,952 shelters in use, so roughly 4.5 refugees per shelter (UNHCR 2018). With such a large percentage of the population being children, of the 12,703 children of school age, 1,809 children do not attend school and only a total of 18 refugees have received scholarships to Jordanian universities (UNHCR 2018). Across five healthcare facilities, there are 5,700 consultations weekly (UNHCR 2018). The whole camp is maintained by a permanent staff of 50 national staff, 5 international staff, and 2 international volunteers (UNHCR 2018). Aid to refugees in Azraq is the same as aid provided to refugees in Zaatari, except refugees in Azraq are also provided with 240 grams/.5 pounds of fresh bread per person, per day (UNHCR 2018).

Both camps have access to clean electricity through solar panel fields located just outside of the camps. As for water supply, Jordan is considered one of the most water

poor countries in the world, and this has caused issues for refugee-access to water in past years. Fortunately, as of 2016, newly built water distribution systems ensure the continued access to water within the camps. Before, water stored in water drums and underground reservoirs would run out before their weekly refills (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).

Ghufran, a 40 year-old woman with children living in Zaatari camp said,

Refugees say the camp started with just tents. They prayed to even see an ant. They started bringing canaries into the camp to feed life. Life was not existent here. If we get Jordanian citizenship and are treated as Jordanians, our future will be just as good as if we went to Canada. But here at camp there is no future ever (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).

Qais, a shop owner with a daughter and son, refuses to let them live in a tent in Zaatari. He has settled 45 minutes outside of center city Amman. Qais' daughter was born after he and his wife arrived in Jordan, and they named their daughter Sham, after the Arabic word referring to Syria (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017). Ibrahim, a teenage boy, lives in the same area as Qais. He hopes to become a famous rapper one day, his lyrics are about Syria, his future, and his life in Jordan (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).

Finally, an interview with Sami, a young man with a younger brother, revealed that he was initially located in Zaatari, but there was no work for him and his brother. He was able to come and go from the camp with his refugee ID card, and currently works outside of the camp without a permit repairing and renovating homes. Sami worries that he or his brother will be arrested if found working outside of the camp and sent to either Azraq or back to Syria. Sami said if he or his brother were arrested, and Sami could not get himself or his brother out, he would "choose Syria, it's better than Azraq," (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017). Sami had visited Azraq before

and he recounted that people would run from the camp or go back to Syria because living conditions were harsh. Sami admitted that even if he could be resettled in any country of his choosing around the world, he would still go back to Syria if he could (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017). But as it is still unsafe for his family to return to Syria, his settlement in Amman has become ever more permanent as time passes.

Refugee settlers' identities are established and formed out of their histories and living conditions. Refugees resettle in Amman and use their own agency to establish social connections and express themselves through the cultural practices that they retain. Art even becomes an avenue of expression for the refugee settler, and this art and cultural practices are adopted by Jordanians within their everyday lives. The following chapter explores these impacts in greater detail.

Chapter 6

IMPACTS OF SETTLEMENT

This chapter explores the impacts of settlement within Amman and points to networks of Palestinian and Syrian inhabitants as a way through which newer migrants inform their opportunities and decisions. The chapter also uses art created by Syrian and Palestinian inhabitants of Amman to highlight the physical impact of settlement in Amman. The artwork also demonstrates the impact of movement on the settlers themselves as their art is an expression of their experiences settling in Jordan.

Amman is a city made up of displaced people whom do not identify with the city, or as '*Ammanis*', which causes Amman to lack the appeal and characteristics of an ideal cohesive-looking city (Shami 2007). From afar, Amman seems homogenous in structure with sand colored buildings proliferating the cityscape. However, up close, the city has sections that look very different from one another. For example, on the west side of Amman, gentrified areas of the city resemble European city areas with their modern shops, bars and cafes, and main streets extending out from a city circle called Diwar Baris at the center. However areas on the east side of Amman are less uniform in nature as they developed from squatter populations and refugee camps (Shami).

Within east Amman by the mid-1980s, roughly a quarter of all housing structures in Amman were located here (Zagha 1987). The structures here have grown upwards layer by layer and increased in number due to their proximity to refugee camps. Scholars have noted that neighborhood Palestinian identity among these poorer populations on the east side of Amman is strong, but refugee identity tends to be stronger. Later generations of Palestinians in Jordan that still occupy eastern Amman work to create a village, reflective of the villages their peoples left in Palestine,

reaffirming their identities as truly Palestinian. Even living a poor life today reflects the heritage of peasant Palestinians in the homeland (Sawalha 1996) (Farah 1999).

From the 1950s – 1980s, the influx of Palestinian and Syrian migrants to Amman were not solely of the refugee type, and they did not only settle in the east side of Amman. There were elite classes of Palestinians and Syrians which made up two strong merchant communities. These groups were propped up through business with cities in Palestine and Syria and their families which still remain in those areas (Shami 2007). These two bourgeoisie-type groups were termed Nabulsi, after the city of Nablus in Palestine, and Shami, after the city of Damascus in Syria. These terms still exist today to classify the origins of elite groups in Amman, even if current members of these classes never resided in those cities or countries.

While both the Nabulsi and Shami lived glamorous lives compared to the rest of the population, which lived simply and was based on agriculture, they did so in competing ways (Shami 2007). Competition over holding extravagant religious parades throughout Amman, establishing the best neighborhoods, and constructing the best villas and restaurants, are examples of architectural additions to Amman throughout the city. While living in Amman, I knew the best Palestinian food was from Sufra Restaurant which is located near Rainbow Street, in the direct center of Amman with a beautiful view of the Citadel. On the contrary, the best Syrian food in Amman was from Tannoureen located in north-western Amman.

Recent migrations of peoples from Syria and Palestine help to carry on the tradition of Nabulsi versus Shami distinct groups by contributing to the restaurant and merchant businesses owned by fellow countrymen or families with either Syrian or Palestinian ties, respectively. An Uber driver named Omar from Syria told me that since

work must be unofficial for refugees, he had many friends paying for university and/or supporting families by working in the kitchens of Syrian restaurants. He personally felt working for a restaurant was “much too risky because the Shoorta (Jordanian police) can easily find and detain us (referring to refugees working illegally outside of the camp) and Uber works better and is easier.” I found that a majority of Uber drivers that I requested were young Syrian males.

What is curious is that I had assumed driving for Uber would be more risky since Uber is an illegal means of transportation in Jordan⁶ due to the fact that it cannot be regulated and taxed, and it competes with Careem, the ride-sharing application sponsored by the government. So why would Syrians risk using Uber to earn money when Jordanian Traffic Police are stationed daily all over the city? The less obvious answer was revealed to me by another young Syrian Uber driver named Jamal. Jamal expressed that while driving for Uber has its risks, such as getting pulled over for a routine traffic stop and the police discovering that drivers are driving illegally for Uber and are also working illegally as Syrians, Uber does not keep a record of drivers that is shared with the Jordanian government.

Uber is also flexible, allowing Jamal and others like him to work around his busy university schedule and familial obligations. Jamal stated, “With Uber, someone always needs a ride, and work isn’t always guaranteed other places (referring to other jobs). Since Uber has standard fares, I get payed more driving for Uber than working somewhere that they know I’m not supposed to work, and can pay me less for more work. I’m proud of the service I give – I am like my own businessman.” Jamal kept one

⁶ At the time of my research in 2018, Uber was not legal for anyone to use regardless of citizenship status.

of the cleanest cars I had ever ridden in while in Jordan, stocked with mints, bottled water, and snacks; the pride in his mastery of how he earned money was evident.

If one considers the plethora of Uber drivers in Amman, and that many of them are Syrian, less so Palestinian, Syrians tend to contribute to movement throughout Amman just as much as regulated taxi drivers do. Approximately 80% of taxi drivers, by my account, tended to be of Palestinian descent; I took a taxi to and from school every day for six months with a group of students that I lived with in Weibdeh. The men who drove these taxis were, majority of the time, 2nd generation Palestinian-Jordanians around 40-60 years of age, and from their stories and state of dress, were among the lower economic class of Jordanians.

Palestinians from the largest two waves of refugees to Amman in 1948 and 1967 encroached on the bourgeois areas in eastern Amman established by the elite Nabulsi and Shami groups. This encroachment of refugee camps and squatter structures prompted the two bourgeoisie merchant groups to move further and further west across Amman, crafting larger and more expensive looking areas every decade or so (Shami 2007, 222). Not all members of the group moved over time, however, which caused people's social relations to expand across the entire city of Amman. Taxis and Ubers now compose an essential link that ties groups with histories of shared identities and relations together after decades of time (Shami 2007) which helps to reaffirm identities of shared Palestinian or Syrian cultures and histories.

It is true that Palestinian refugees without sufficient resources initially settled in refugee camps to access aid, healthcare, and education, but some refugees that initially settled outside of the camp, later turned to the camp after resources ran low (Stevens 1952). Together refugees in the camps created their own spaces, resembling the villages

they lost in Palestine as people regularly traveled as villages or ‘family units’ (Peteet 2005, 109). This allowed refugees to rely on old connections for support while settling in Amman. By doing so, Palestinian refugees “subverted the denativising intent or respatialization and legally imposed refugee identity,” (Peteet 2005, 100).

Social relations of neighborliness, with intensive visiting, intermarriage, and the exchange of goods and services cemented this long-term relationship...In a sense, village areas have been the physical symbolic memory, transmitting the space of Palestine to the present, giving the displaced a deep visceral and everyday connection to past time, place, and social relationships (Peteet 2005, 112).

Examples of how groups retain identity are culinary practices, art, dance, and cultural customs. Explored below, many Palestinian and Syrian expressions of identity within Amman have become popularly accepted, even adopted, by all Jordanians within their own *Ammani* culture.

Suhaib Attar, based in Weibdeh, 25 years of age, is one of the most popular and talented digital and graffiti street artists in Jordan, and even the Middle East. His work has made it to the United States, and his talents mark the sides of buildings in Amman. His most famous works and style are characterized by animals. Attar explains why: “As long as you’re not touching religion or the monarchy, no one cares,” (Talty 2018). In Amman, it is illegal to mark buildings without a permit, but socially, it can cause issues when art depicts non-fictional human subjects or humans in a way that is meant to say something political. Suhaib was born in a Palestinian refugee camp and believes, “At the end of the day, we are all refugees,” (Talty 2018).



Figure 15 “Sea turtle”. Instagram: @suhaib_attar, January 28, 2019, Jordan.

More than just a Sea Turtle, the image above shares connections to the Palestinian people whom carried their homes on their backs. Here, the turtle figure is not replicated in the background, and it is its own distinct group, but the image also shows the turtle as a member of the community of other species depicted. Palestinians in Jordan are a large part of the community, but are distinct from it. No other species depicted carries their home on their backs, either.

Attar’s work shows up not just in temporary forms on the sides of buildings or as laptop stickers and t-shirts, but Jordanians, regardless of their heritage, have taken it upon themselves to make his work even more permanent. Attar is comfortable with the idea that his work is a temporary form; his art is not hung in museums on canvas, but

rather on materials exposed to the elements, much like refugee settlers Amman. His art may even wash away before the Palestinian issue of return or resettlement is resolved. For Attar, he just wants to give back to Amman, his city of settlement, in a beautiful way.

Attar's work has been woven into Jordanian identity rather than the other way around; the most famous pieces of Attar's work now adorn Jordanians in the form of tattoos. Jordanians have personalized Attar's work and bent it to incorporate his art into their own identities as Jordanians or those who have overcome struggles.



Figure 16 From left to right: “Stag” and “Phoenix”. Instagram: @suhaib_attar, 2018, Jordan.

Just as with the Sea Turtle, connections between the Stag and Phoenix can be drawn with the Palestinians. Stags' antlers are shed and regrown annually, connecting to the daily struggles that come with the rift between ones' self and ones' homeland and

the need to adapt to changes (Said 2003). The Phoenix is a mythological creature, which regenerates itself from the ashes of fire. The Palestinians have been reborn of fire in the 1948 war, the 1967 war, Black September of 1970 when the PLO were ousted by military force from Jordan, and every struggle ever since.

Other examples of identity formation and retention are found in cultural products. Overtime, it has become difficult to distinguish what is specifically Palestinian cuisine from what is Jordanian cuisine apart from a few dishes. The strongest indicator of Palestinian identity is the black and white checkered headwrap or scarf that is a symbol of Palestinian heritage. The Jordanian scarf shares the same white background and pattern, but is red and is a symbol of Jordanian heritage. Today, walking around the city, one can still find dozens of shops that sell these scarves, and hundreds of people wear them in their daily lives and for more formal occasions. Because of the distinct color difference, it is easy to see national identity, and also reveals that Amman is a city of settlement for Palestinians.

Within the Syrian community of refugees in Amman, expression is taking the form of art. Hadeel, 21, was a student at the University of Damascus when she left and came to Jordan. She was fortunate enough to continue her studies and was given a government job teaching film-making within the Syrian camps to young girls. Hadeel believes that the girls can take her lessons and direct their own films, producing story lines of their lives or ideas about the future (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).



Figure 17 Image of Hadeel instructing her students within Azraq camp (Irving and Brown Collective Eye Films, 2017).

Programs within Syrian refugee camps for the arts are ways to involve artists with work in their fields, while also engaging the children of the camp. Murals adorn many surfaces within Azraq and Zaatari camps and are works created by the refugee settlers themselves. The various images below contain powerful meanings and messages for those inside and outside of the camp. As time goes on, the camp takes on the character of an extension of Amman itself. With ever more time passing that Syrians are unable to return, Syrian camps may become parts of Amman much like Palestinian settlements and camps have become part of the city as well.



Figure 18 Zaatari refugee camp the night before Eid. The camp looks like a city as its inhabitants have shops and vendors open to break the daily fast. Instagram: @refugees, June 4, 2017, Amman, Jordan.



Figure 19 “Playing music from the darkness,” mural in Azraq camp (Artista 2017).



Figure 20 “This piece was created in collaboration with Syrian refugee children, and explored the importance of water conservation, especially for those who suddenly find themselves stranded in a desert,” mural in Zaatari camp (Artista 2017).

The strongest link between refugee settlers and their impacts on a refugee city can be found in the image below. This image is on display in the Orient Gallery located in Amman, Jordan. The sculpture is made of wire and is the frame of tents. The shadows drawn under the tents represent the stable homes that refugees had to trade for unstable tents. While this is certainly the case, the shadows of permanent dwellings underneath the tents also foreshadow the circle of development within a refugee settler’s journey. The tent frame, over time, will become a stable dwelling once more, but this time, it will not be in the same country as the stable dwelling from the refugee’s past. The collection of tents will become a neighborhood, and multiple neighborhoods will become corners of Amman. Refugees will shape Amman as they settle within it.



Figure 21 From houses to tents and houses again, Instagram: @orientgallery, August 5, 2018, Amman, Jordan.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Throughout this project, the puzzle of why Palestinians have not adopted a fully Jordanian identity and have instead established a multinational identity as Palestinian-Jordanian has played into how the Syrian refugees in Jordan are settling. For both of these groups, Amman is the central locus of settlement or a ‘settlement city’ (see figure below). A settlement city explores migration and settlement as two actions linked to a specific city. This research has posited that Amman is a settlement city in which Syrians and Palestinians that have migrated and settled within it are largely responsible for the architectural and social structures of Amman.



Figure 22 Settlement City

The thesis investigated the research questions: 1) How do Palestinian and Syrian refugees experience settlement in Amman, and 2), how do their experiences impact the city?

In the chapter “Defining and Creating the Settlement,” how Palestinians and Syrians settle in Amman is explored. The reasons behind why refugee settlers come to Amman are violent in nature, and the result of conflict. The events that these migrants flee from, combined with difficult journeys to Jordan and the difficulties of settling in Amman, promulgate Syrian and Palestinian identities; their histories set them apart from the native Jordanian population residing in Amman prior to the 1948 war which pushed Palestinians into Jordan. Areas of settlement in and around Amman only grew in numbers, and today, the UNRWA has 2,206,736 refugees under its mandate in Jordan alone with 370 thousand of them living in the 10 official refugee camps for Palestinians, creating the largest population of Palestinians outside of Palestine worldwide (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). In fact, between Palestinian refugees within the West Bank (828,328 thousand refugees) and the Gaza Strip (1,386,455), Jordan hosts just 8,047 fewer refugees. (United Nations Relief and Works Agency 2018). Jordan is essentially a nation within a nation-state.

Furthermore, the additional settlement of nearly 660 thousand Syrians since the outbreak of conflict in Syria contribute another 6.8% to Jordan’s total population of around 9.7 million people (UNHCR 2019). A staggering one-third of Jordan’s population is composed of just these two refugee groups, not including migrants who are unregistered, nor refugees from other. A refugee population of this size places substantial pressure on Jordan’s resources, such as healthcare and water, during one of the most difficult economic periods in Jordan and globally.

“Settlement Lives” explored the living conditions of Syrians and Palestinians within Jordan. International organizations are able to support these refugees to some extent, but it is necessary for refugees to truly settle, obtain jobs, and establish lives within Jordan in order to take care of families and prevent living a life on hold. Even though Palestinians are able to work legally within Jordan and Syrians are not able to work legally without a permit, Syrians have taken it upon themselves, just as the Palestinians did, to find work using other Syrians to help them obtain employment. The bourgeoisie Palestinian and Syrian groups that took root in Jordan early in the 20th century help support newer migrants from Palestine and Syria by offering employment; this is indicative of mentorship that exists to show the way to settle and make a living in Jordan. Patterns established by Palestinian and Syrian refugees as well as other nationals are familiar and comfortable. This explains why Palestinians and Syrians have settled within Amman in similar ways over time, creating a settlement city.

Refugees’ experiences and identities impact the city by making Amman a ‘settlement city.’ Refugees settle in Amman because their countrymen settle in Amman, because their families remain in their countries close by, because return is always a notion within their hearts. The city has developed as Palestinian camps on the eastern side of Amman have become more permanent. The populations within the camps develop the camps into their own micro-cities, which attract movement from the original city and pull the city limits outwards to consume and incorporate the camps within Amman.

As Syrian camps remain overtime, we can expect a similar expansion to occur. Syrians that move into central Amman will return regularly to the camps as the camps become more urban in nature. The refugees that stay in the camps will increasingly

expand and develop their homes into neighborhoods. Soon, the Syrian camps may define the outskirts of Amman and become cultural hubs for food, culture, and community events.

The three main findings of this research are as follows:

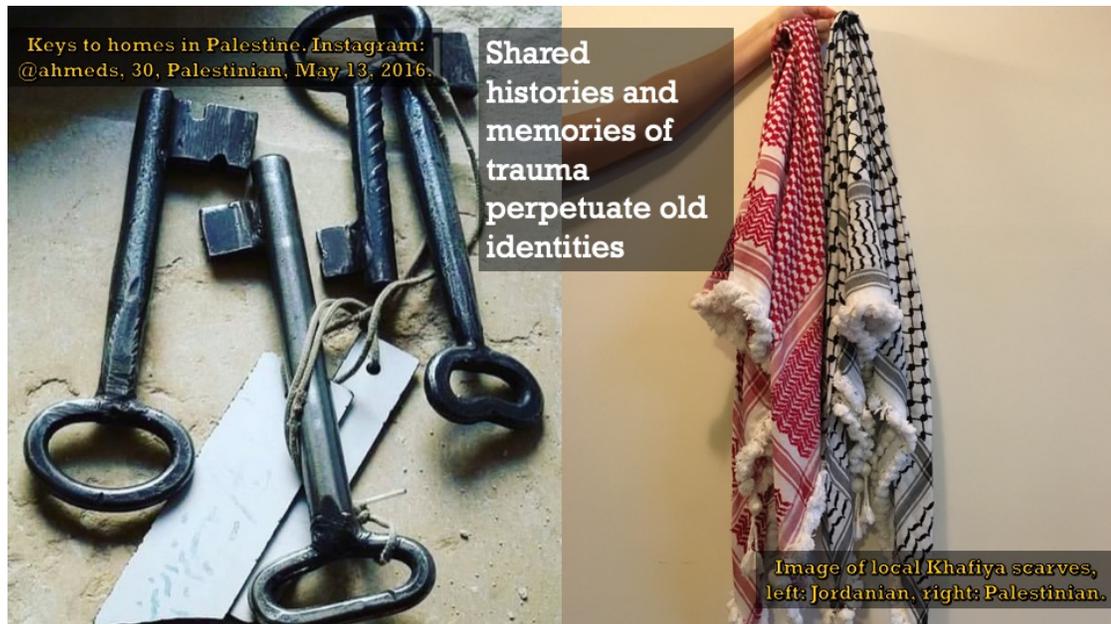


Figure 23 Findings: 1

First, shared histories perpetuate old identities which are passed down through the generations. It is common for keys to Palestinians homes to be passed down, even if those homes no longer stand in Palestine today. Also, Palestinians prefer wearing the black Palestinian scarf over the red Jordanian scarf.



Figure 24 Findings: 2

Second, Palestinians and Syrians rely on social networks of settlers before them for guidance. After taking taxis and Ubers twice per day for seven months, most of the taxi drivers I encountered were Palestinian and most Uber drivers were Syrian. Omar, a Syrian Uber driver, told me that work must be informal for refugees since they have no legal right to work outside of the camp without a permit. Because of this, Omar has many friends supporting families by working in the kitchens of Syrian restaurants or driving for Uber. Another Syrian Uber driver, Jamal, said that Uber gives him freedom to work when and for how long he desires and that he is proud of the service he provides.



Figure 25 Findings: 3

Lastly, Palestinian and Syrian murals throughout Amman allow for expression of identity and mark the city in a way that is more permanent than the transitory nature that their refugee histories might indicate. Born in a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan, the muralist Suhaib Attar thinks of his art as giving back to Amman in a beautiful way.

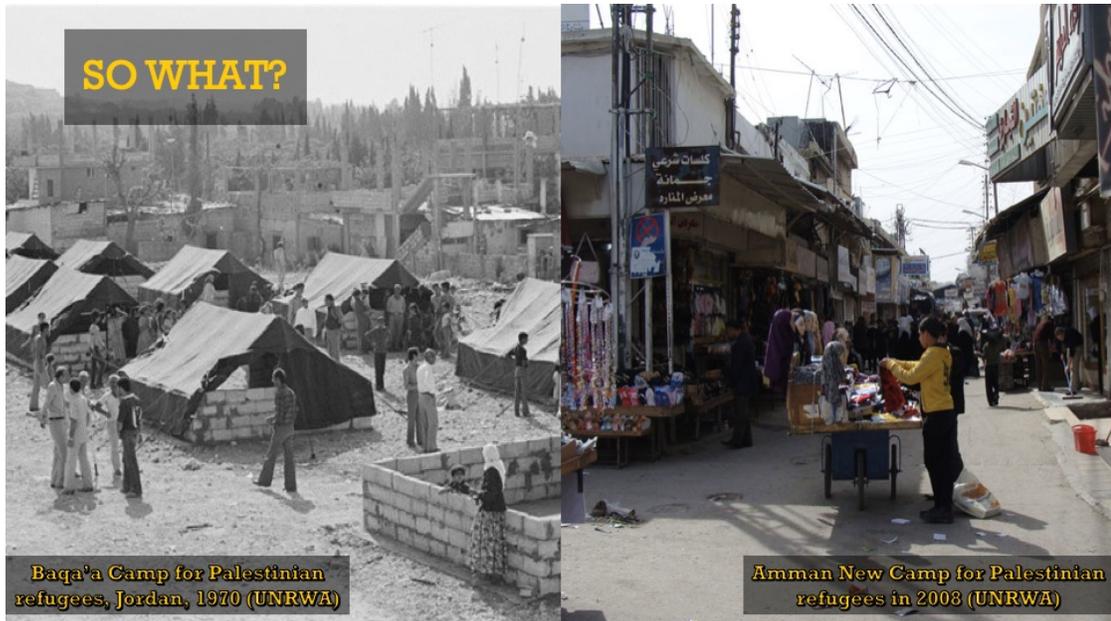


Figure 26 Comparing settlements: 1970 to 2008.

From the beginning, this project explored the lack of integration within the Palestinian inhabitants of Jordan and how Syrians settle within the framework of Palestinians. Amman is a settlement city which helps explain this. Camps are initially composed of the basic necessities for life, and as time goes on, settlers develop their dwellings and communities into urban quarters of Amman shown in the figure above. Palestinians and Syrians are both making their marks on Amman through the neighborhoods and communities they build, the customs they perpetuate, and the public art they create.

New Directions

Viewing urban cities as settlement cities can move scholarship into exploring multiple migration groups within cities and their shared experiences in regards to settlement. Migration scholarship typically focuses on one group in one places, or the multiple

places in which one group settles. The settlement city approach adds value to migration scholarship in that various refugee groups within one location affect the settlement of the other groups settling within and around them. Not only this, but whereas one would expect the city and the local residents to shape the refugee settlers' experiences and identities, the opposite appears more realistic.

Palestinians as the primary group to resettle in Amman troubleshot refugee settlement and helped to establish patterns of settlement that Syrians have followed within Amman. Refugee settlers from Syria and Palestine dominate the labor fields of transportation, as discussed in "Settlement Lives," and refugees rely on social networks of previous refugee settlers to inform their opportunities and decisions.

Syrian and Palestinian art projects within Amman could help foster closer collaboration as possibility for return to Syria remains a question. Amman benefits from the added beauty and colors that the murals bring, and mural painting could provide jobs to the Syrian communities. Having refugees invest their time and creative efforts within the city they inhabit creates stronger communities; instead of separating Syrians as refugees from the Ammani population, art could provide a way to incorporate them into the Ammani population and allow for both to work together. Brighter futures are possible through collaboration of the various groups living within Amman, and beautifying Amman is an attractive place to start.

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Appendix A

MASTER-LIST OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Interview Alias	Interview Medium	Interview Date/My Location	Gender M/F	Identified Nationality	Generation in Jordan
Sara	In person	2017/US + JO	F	Palestinian-Jordanian	3rd
Karama	Instagram	2019/US	F	Palestinian-Hungarian-Jordanian	3rd
Abdallah	In person	2018/JO	M	Palestinian-Jordanian	3rd
Rabia	In person	2018/JO	F	Palestinian-Jordanian	3rd
Hussein	In person	2018/JO	M	Palestinian-Australian-Jordanian	3rd
Abdul	In person	2018/JO	M	Palestinian-Jordanian	2nd
Abed	In person	2018/JO	M	Palestinian-Jordanian	2nd
Nadia	In person	2018/JO	F	Palestinian-Jordanian	1st
Bilal	In person + Instagram	2018-19/JO + US	F	Palestinian-Jordanian	2nd
Samee	In person	2018/JO	M	Palestinian-Jordanian	2nd
Omar	In person	2018/JO	M	Syrian	1st
Khalid	In person	2018/JO	M	Syrian	1st
Jamal	In person	2018/JO	M	Syrian	1st
Samira	In person	2018/JO	F	Syrian	1st
Reem	In person	2018/JO	F	Syrian	1st

⁷ All names have been changed to protect the privacy of my interview participants.

Appendix B

RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS RAISED DURING THE DEFENSE

Clarify the significance of Black September regarding the identity of Palestinians living in Jordan at the time.

What is important to note about Black September (see pages 3 and 62) is that Palestinians, or ‘foreigners,’ were able to take over, for a period of time, when the PLO initially defeated the Jordanian military up until the USA stepped in to help the Jordanian monarchy reaffirm control. This is ultimate source of national fear when refugees conquer the refuge country and this fear still plays out in modern politics today.

However, personal implications of Black September did not come up in my interviews of primarily third generation Palestinian-Jordanians, but it is interesting that this event is something remembered by other generations of Palestinians. As mentioned in the Chapter 4: Defining and Creating the Settlement, military response to the PLO involved targeting of non-combatants, creating another refugee situation for Palestinian refugees within Jordan, their expected place of refuge. The generation of Palestinians that experienced Black September could not come to identify as Jordanian because they were targeted by Jordanians as people that were not Jordanian. Black September only helped to perpetuate the Palestinian identity within Jordan.

Explain further the identity of Amman itself.

Within the settlement city of Amman, there is the existence of foreign culture and local culture. However, the prevalence of local culture is hard to define due to

Jordan's continued existence as a transitory state, or Transjordan. Everyone can link their histories to other countries, so a true Jordanian culture is hard to pinpoint. The Jordanian perspective was not investigated within this project, but is an interesting route to explore in future projects related to this thesis.

Amman's identity as a settlement city is not a city defined by the settlement of just Syrians and Palestinians, this project only investigated these groups, but Jordan is the host to numerous refugee groups and migrants. Instead, the settlement city of Amman is created as different peoples migrate and settle within Amman. These peoples add their own impact on the city which is specific to their experiences of migrating and settling, Palestinians and Jordanians were used in this project as examples of the crafting of the settlement city.

Expand upon the interaction this research shares with Political Science and International Relations theories.

“Transnationalism, in the form of trade, cross-border investment, and migration, can challenge the sovereignty and authority of the nation-state,” (Hollifield 2004, 887). The liberal political worldview today is that barriers to the free exchange of capital, services, goods, and people should be removed to benefit the power, wealth, and security of the nation-state (Hollifield 2004). However, in the case of Jordan, free trade of people is not necessarily enhancing the wealth and power of Jordan. Palestinians and Syrians in Jordan are significant population groups which can cast migrants and Jordanians against each other in the competition for access to state resources such as education and healthcare. The Palestinians and Syrians in Jordan are essentially nations living within a nation. This creates a liberal paradox over time, explored by James Hollifield, that the

“economic logic of liberalism is one of openness, but the political and legal logic is one of closure,” (2004, 887).

The existence of large migration groups within a nation-state makes it difficult for the state to distinguish its native population from other groups. Migration becomes self-perpetuating because of chain migration, which the migrant networks of Palestinians and Syrians in Jordan exemplify. With mass migration of other nationalities into Jordan, migrants challenge the creation of a strong Jordanian identity and weaken the power of Jordanian nationalism generally. Migrants constitute a large proportion of the population and are not ‘Jordanian,’ but identify as Syrian or Palestinian, for example.

In response to migration, a bolstering of border control was seen in the migration policy shift of the 1990s along the US-Mexico border and the Schengen system in Europe as the result of an effort to limit the free flow of people (Hollifield 2004). Unable to come up with a solution for how to manage ethnic diversity, governments resulted to tightening migration policy in order to appease the nation (Hollifield 2004) and re-concentrate national power. A similar shift has been seen in Jordan as the military has resorted to preventing Syrians from crossing the border (Human Rights Watch 2017) in a wider effort to limit migration and settlement of non-nationals within Jordan.

Jordan’s current strategy to strengthen nationalism appears to be creating a community of internationals incorporating Palestinians and Jordanians as the same nationality; third generation Palestinians identify equally as Palestinian and Jordanian, as Bilal noted. Additionally, public demonstration at the Palestine versus Jordan basketball game was organized under the idea that the two teams are of the same people, but it is unclear whether this instance was the result of legitimate grassroots organization or orchestrated at some level by the Jordanian government.