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Between Two Homelands:
A comparison between Urban and Rural Palestinian Refugee Settlers in Jordan and their Attachment to their Palestinian Identity

By
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Dedication Page

To my loving family, thank you for the ultimate support

To my one of a kind supervisor, thank you for believing in me!
Between Two Homelands:
A comparison between Urban and Rural Palestinian Refugee Settlers in Jordan and their Attachment to their Palestinian Identity

Leen Khalaf

Abstract

Jordan’s population is divided between Jordanians and Palestinians, it is a nation where two people who share very similar culture, norms, and beliefs live together. However, the issue of identity emerges on the surface in a lot of cases, family names make it clear who is Palestinian and who is Jordanian and in some instances, people love to separate. In other cases, however, both live happily together and some Palestinians believe Jordan is their first home. The topic of this thesis was motivated after living my whole life in Jordan as a Palestinian and having the issue of identity discussed almost daily. I wanted to know if all Palestinians feel like I do, belonging to two different identities if this is possible, or belonging to one identity and which identity would that be. Thus, a survey was distributed to a number of Palestinians holding the Jordanian citizenship living in either urban areas or rural refugee camps to study whether there is a difference in attachment levels to the Palestinian identity and whether the living circumstances effect this attachment.

Keywords: Identity, Attachment, Urban, Rural, Refugee Camps.
Table of Contents

List of Tables ................................................................................................................. IX
List of Figures .................................................................................................................. X

Chapter 1 Introduction ................................................................................................. 1
  1.1 Overview on Identity: ............................................................................................. 1
  1.2: Importance of Studying the Palestinian Identity: .................................................. 2
  1.3: Brief about the Methodology: ............................................................................... 3

Chapter 2 ....................................................................................................................... 5

Literature Review .......................................................................................................... 5
  2.1 Chapter Overview: ................................................................................................. 5
  2.2 Main Aim of the Literature Review: ...................................................................... 5
  2.3 Identity in Social Psychology: ............................................................................... 5
  2.4 Crisis of Identity: .................................................................................................... 6
  2.5 Postmodern and Instrumental Theory of Identity: .................................................. 7
  2.6 Focusing on the Palestinian Identity ...................................................................... 9

Chapter 3 ....................................................................................................................... 16

Research Methodology .................................................................................................. 16
  3.2 Research Method Justification: .............................................................................. 16
  3.3 Survey Design: ....................................................................................................... 17
  3.4 Variables of the Study: .......................................................................................... 18
  3.5 Limitations: ............................................................................................................ 19
  3.6 Ethics: ..................................................................................................................... 19

Chapter 4 ....................................................................................................................... 20

History of the Palestinian Conflict: ............................................................................. 20
  4.1 Chapter Overview: ................................................................................................. 20
  4.2 Historical information about conflicts on the Palestinian land: ............................. 20

Chapter 5 ....................................................................................................................... 27

Waves of Migration, the Palestinian Society, and the Arab’s Resistance ....................... 27
  5.1 Chapter Overview: ................................................................................................. 27
  5.2 The Three Phases of Expulsion: ........................................................................... 27
  5.3 The Nature of Palestinian Society: ......................................................................... 28
  5.4 Arab Resistance: .................................................................................................... 29

Chapter 6 ....................................................................................................................... 30

Right of Return ............................................................................................................. 30
  6.1 Chapter Overview: ................................................................................................. 30
  6.2 Palestinians’ Right of Return: ............................................................................... 30

Chapter 7 ....................................................................................................................... 33

Palestinian Refugees, Citizenship, and Living Conditions ............................................. 33
  7.1 Chapter Overview: ................................................................................................. 33
  7.2 Palestinian Refugees as a term: ............................................................................. 33
  7.3 Citizenship: ........................................................................................................... 34
  7.4 Definition of “First- Generation Refugees”: .......................................................... 36
  7.5 Type of housing, ownership and living space: ......................................................... 36
    7.5.1 Housing Type: ................................................................................................. 36
    7.5.2 Property Ownership: ...................................................................................... 37
7.5.3 Living Spaces:............................................................................................................. 38

Chapter 8 Palestinian-Jordanian Philanthropists............................................................... 39
8.1 Chapter Overview: ........................................................................................................ 39
8.2 Elevating Jordan’s Economy:...................................................................................... 39

Chapter .................................................................................................................................. 42

Charts and Figures ................................................................................................................. 42
9.1 Chapter Overview: ........................................................................................................ 42
9.2 Age, Place of Birth, Socio-economic Status: ............................................................. 42
9.3 Culture and Political Related Aspects: ....................................................................... 47
9.4 Identity: .......................................................................................................................... 47

Chapter 10 ............................................................................................................................... 51

Data Analysis .......................................................................................................................... 51
10.1 Chapter Overview: ...................................................................................................... 51
10.2 Age, Place of Birth, Socio-economic Status: ......................................................... 51
10.2.1 Age of Respondents: .............................................................................................. 51
10.2.2 Place of Birth and Citizenship: ............................................................................ 52
10.2.3 Socio-economic status: ......................................................................................... 53
10.2.4 Living Status: ......................................................................................................... 55
10.3 Identity: ......................................................................................................................... 55
10.3.1 Events and songs supporting Palestine: ............................................................... 56
10.3.2 Identity you relate to the most: ............................................................................. 57
10.4 General Analysis: ........................................................................................................ 67

Chapter 11 .................................................................................................................................. 70

Conclusion ............................................................................................................................... 70

References ............................................................................................................................... 73

Appendix 1 – English Survey ............................................................................................... 83
Appendix 2 – Arabic Survey: .............................................................................................. 85
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tenure of Dwelling</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ways to own a dwelling</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Crowding</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Age Percentage of Participants</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Socio-economic Status of Respondents</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Urban Area Respondents’ Job Positions</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rural Area Respondent's Job Positions</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Cultural Aspects</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Political Parties Support</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 1: Questionnaire Types 17
Figure 2: Steps for Developing the Survey 18
Figure 3: Percentage of Palestinian Refugees with Jordanian Nationality outside and inside camps. 35
Figure 4: Type of Dwelling 36
Figure 5: Place of Birth of Participants 43
Figure 6: Acquiring of Jordanian citizenship 43
Figure 7: Living Area of Respondents 44
Figure 8: Living Status of Respondents 46
Figure 9: Identity 48
Figure 10: Identity According to Urban Area Residents 48
Figure 11: Identity according to Rural Area Residents 49
Figure 12: Return to Palestine 49
Figure 13: Urban Area Residents Answers on Return 50
Figure 14: Rural Area Residents Answers on Return 50
Figure 15: Return If Circumstances Change 50
Figure 16: Distribution of Facebook Users as of January 2018 Source: Statista 52
“And Identity? I asked.

He said: Self-defense…

Identity is the daughter of birth, but in the end
she’s what her owner creates, not an inheritance
of a past”

― Mahmoud Darwish, Exile no. 4 Counterpoint: For Edward Said

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview on Identity:

Identity is a difficult word to tackle; it is general and for some people it is an unclear term. It is always changing and evolving without any restrictions and people believe that in different contexts they have different identities. This does not mean that people have an identity disorder; it simply means that people change to fit and survive in an ever-changing world. Identity usually consists of the different beliefs, personalities, expressions, and more that make a person or that allows a person to be a part of a group; especially since members of a group usually share the same identity belief.

The term identity is confusing and people do not often agree on it. Some believe that it is inherited and people do not get to decide what they want their identity to be; it cannot be changed. Others believe that you gain a different identity everywhere you go because place and identity are bound together, meaning that you take a part of every place you live in or visit. The memories and experiences we gain from the different places get to shape our personalities and our identities. Kathryn Mitchel believes that "the bonds between place and identity can influence social formations, cultural practices, and political actions. It may be seen, for instance, in the efforts of groups of emigrants to establish roots in their new homes through the planting of particular tree species or architectural ornamentation" (Mitchel, 2004). This can be called Place Identity (Gieseking, Mangold, Katz, Low, and Saegert, 2014).

Meriam Webster's dictionary has 4 definitions for identity; "sameness of essential or generic character in different instances", "sameness in all that constitutes the objective reality of a thing: oneness", "the distinguishing character or personality of an
individual: individuality", and "the relation established by psychological identification" (Webster, 2017). Place identity is a term first brought together by three environmental and social psychologists; Harold M. Proshansky, Abbe K. Fabian, and Robert Kaminoff. They explained "that identities form in relation to environments". They also suggest that place identity is a part of a person’s self-identity "and consists of knowledge and feelings developed through everyday experiences of physical spaces" (1983).

According to UNHCR, a refugee is “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence” (UNHCR, n.d). Refugees are the people who have a well-rounded fear of persecution because of different reasons ranging from race, gender, religion, and more. This is the reason why they cannot return to their home countries or are most likely afraid to do so. The 1951 Geneva Convention is the main refugee law and it clearly defines who a refugee is and all the legal and social assistance a refugee should receive. It is ratified by 145 state parties and at first it was written to protect the European refugees. It was later followed by the 1967 protocol document to expand the previous convention and included the refugees and displaced people worldwide (UNHCR, n.d).

This brings us to where refugees live. Some are able to take the citizenship and live in urban areas with jobs while others live in rural or refugee camps. An urban area is defined as the region surrounding a city, with inhabitants having non-agricultural jobs. The area is usually very developed with a density of human structures such as houses, buildings, roads, bridges, and more. Thus, an urban area typically refers to cities, towns, or suburbs. Rural areas are the exact opposite of urban areas; they have low population density and a lot of undeveloped land. There is usually a high level of migration from rural to urban areas (Rutledge, McDaniel, Bvoudreau, Ramroop, Teng, Sprout, Costa, Hall, Hunt, 2011).

1.2: Importance of Studying the Palestinian Identity:

Identity is the understanding that people have about themselves; their skills, abilities, hobbies, level of knowledge and more. They might be attributed to the place the person lives in, especially since the place and its people always have a huge effect on shaping the identity. However, what happens to this self-image when the person is forced to
leave his/her home country and is obligated to start his/her life all over again? Will the person be able to survive in this ultimately new life? Will he/she face hardships and give up? Will this person be willing to change the beliefs that make up his/her identity to fit in a different country?

This context is not really a dream in the world we live in now. It started a long time ago, continued in 1948 with the Palestinians, and persists till these days with Syrians, Iraqis, Yemenis, and more. The Palestinian identity is a topic of interest and discussion in the world. Many believe that Palestinians do not really exist anymore; being forced out of their countries also forced them to change their identities. This topic is important to the community in general especially that it concerns an issue or a cause that is being lost day by day. Not a lot of people are concerned with the Palestinian identity, and those holding it are seen as inferior sometimes and in some countries like Lebanon, they are not really respected.

This study focuses on Palestinians living in Jordan only because it is one of the very few Arab countries that gave Palestinians the Jordanian citizenships and where Palestinians now hold a dual identity. I want to show how holding a dual identity can affect attachment, and maybe cause the attachment to be divided between two countries, helping and trying to build them both. The study will also answer the question of if different living conditions; urban and rural areas, might affect the attachment to the identity as well. Some view the Palestinian case as a lost cause, this thesis will either prove that Palestinians gave up on their identity or that their attachment to the identity will keep the Palestinian cause alive through generations.

It is important to note that my aim in this thesis is nothing except to study the attachment to the identity and whether it will be lost with the coming generations.

1.3: Brief about the Methodology:

I used surveys, both online and self-distributed, as the methodology for this study to get to know more about the people I am writing about in my study. Surveys will hopefully give me precise results because they provide unvarying definitions for all subjects who are to answer the questionnaire. This allows greater accuracy when measuring the data gathered. Most importantly, surveys limit the possibility of biasness
because the people answering them remain anonymous and thus there is no observer subjectivity. It is important to note that I was not able to hold face to face interviews because I was not allowed to enter the refugee camps. This will be explained in details in the section about the methodology.
Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Chapter Overview:
This chapter studies the different literature that focused on the Palestinian identity. It starts off with generally studying identity and the different theories of identity and at the same time linking it to the Palestinian identity. The literature review then focuses solely on the Palestinian identity and how Palestinians inside and outside of Palestine are struggling to save it.

2.2 Main Aim of the Literature Review:
As this literature review hopefully shows, there is a huge gap in the resources and information that they provide; showing the lost lives of those forced migrants from Palestine after the Nakbeh and the history of their identity before the Nakbeh. Moreover, there is no information about the younger generations who did not witness the Nakbeh and how the stories told about the event and their current living conditions affect their attachment to their Palestinian Identity. This thesis will expectantly fill this gap by interviewing the second generation of Palestinians living in Jordan; both in camps and in the capital city of Amman.

2.3 Identity in Social Psychology:
In social psychology, identity is identified as the sense of belonging to a place or group, it can also be the membership to one or more groups (De Finna, Anna, 2003). Stuart Hall states that identity can be created from the relationship between the person and others; this relationship causes competing loyalties on achieving a particular aim (Hall, 1996). Change, according to Stuart Hall, is not created by itself but by different cultures interacting with each other and interrupting already existing identities. This causes one culture to be exposed to the completely different set of cultures and values of the “other” (Hall, 1996). In the case of Palestinians however, the competition is the strongest because they fight not only for their country but for keeping and reserving their identity as well. They want to stop the interaction of the Israeli culture with the Palestinian one and stop the interruption of the Palestinian Identity. They also didn’t really ever achieve any form of independence in their own country; never had full
sovereignty over a space that they can call their own (Khalidi, Rashid, 2010). In the specific case of Palestinians, they are considered “the other” in their own country. Strategic essentialism is a concept that Hall discusses. Essentialism, as defined in Oxford Dictionary, is “A belief that things have a set of characteristics which make them what they are, and that the task of science and philosophy is their discovery and expression; the doctrine that essence is prior to existence” (Oxford Dictionary). Palestinians still living in Palestine face the challenge of the Israeli state trying to take their homeland and denying them the right to a national identity. Thus, they believe that holding on to this essentialist identity of being Palestinian is a way to fight in order to keep their land and save what used to be. Palestinian essentialism is not really surprising especially because the 2nd and 3rd generations formed their Palestinian identity living between displacement and refugee camps. They have to hold on to their identity while in a constantly changing world that lacks stabilization and demands change on individuals or groups.

2.4 Crisis of Identity:

Stuart Hall discusses the question of identity in “Questions of Cultural Identity” (1996) noting that the identities that once stabilized our social world are now in decline and new identities are emerging. This is called the “crisis of identity” and to Hall this crisis is undermining the framework that gave the individuals their strength and place in society. I believe that this can be linked to Palestinians who were forced to migrate to surrounding countries because they face this “crisis of identity”; even though Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the other countries where they migrated have similar cultures, we cannot say that they have the same identities. Therefore, they face a crisis where they want to preserve their old Palestinian identity but are now surrounded by new and different identities that they might have to uptake and accept. Hall addresses this crisis of identity theory by explaining that there are transformations happening in the world that is dividing the cultural setting of age, gender, race, ethnicity, and so on which in turn are undermining our personal identities. This as a result means the “loss of the sense of self” and it “de-centers” the person from his/her place in the society and thus forming a crisis of identity for that individual. Hall cites the cultural critic Kobena Mercer who believes that “identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent, and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty” (Mercer, 1990, p. 43). Again, this can be associated to
Palestinian forced migrants because their identity had become a very important issue that has to be studied and discussed since they no longer have a country to settle in. Thus, what is assumed to be fixed and stable is lost.

2.5 Postmodern and Instrumental Theory of Identity:

One of the views concerning identity states that it is not born with the person; it forms from the interaction between the self and the society, bridging the gap between the inside and the outside because we allow the culture and the people to become part of us. The postmodern theory proposes that there is no one fixed identity; identity is formed and transformed continuously as long as the person interacts with the people and his/her surroundings. In this theory, identity is historically formed not biologically and not socially nor culturally. This can be seen as a positive aspect if we want to relate it to the Palestinian Identity case; the Palestinian forced migrant does not necessarily have to neither have a fixed identity or face a crisis of identity since this theory explains how it’s acceptable for a person’s identity to “re-form” according to the surroundings.

Another type of identity is the social one; it is defined as the part in a human’s self-concept that comes from his/her understanding of the world per the membership in a social group and the emotional significance that comes from that group (Tajfel, 2010). In “Social Identity and Intergroup Relations” the author of one of the chapters, John C. Turner, argues that sometimes, social identity is stronger than personal identity and it sometimes functions to the exclusion of it; meaning that our self-image is almost always shaped by our social groups (Turner, 2010). Social identity was the subject of many social psychological research and it was seen as dependent on the social role of an individual in the society and at the same time social identity can help us understand how membership in a certain group can affect the personal values, and vice versa (Turner, 2010). Thus, the Palestinians living in refugee camps are a part of a group that were denied from the basic right of belonging and had their Palestinian citizenship taken away from them. They were not given another citizenship in return. Their social role in the camps can be very minimal and thus they almost always form groups in order to feel that they belong. These groups will cause a shift in their personal and most of the time their religious values. Sari Hanafi explains that the Palestinian camps in Lebanon do not nurture the Palestinian identity and aims to strengthen it (2008). Instead, the fundamental national movement mingles with the religious conservatism
and creates a new urban identity. This has led to Islamic extremism that is frightening not only to the urban refugees but also to the neighboring Lebanese citizens (Hanafi, 2008). Instrumentalist approach is the same as the social identity theory. It states that identity is not fixed and a person is not stuck with the same one until he/she dies. Instrumentalists believe that identity is a personal choice and is independent from the situational context or the presence of culture (Reuter, 2015). Sociology textbooks explain that having an instrumental view is having a self-reflection of a community according to history and culture (Bacovi, 1998). Identity is defined as the reaction to the pressure of the community or the social group within the community (Bacovi, 1998). It is not given for the human from birth and is constructed as the person undergoes changes in his/her life. One of the ideas of the instrumentalist theory is presented by Fredrick Barth. He believes that the characteristics of the community is not fixed forever and they change spontaneously (acovi, 1998).

In the very famous book written by Amin Maalouf “In the Name of Identity” (2000), he states that identity cannot be categorized. He doesn’t consider himself half Lebanese and half French. He views the question of “to which identity do you relate to” as dangerous because it reflects that people believe that identity is given at birth and it cannot be changed. Thus, according to this belief the entire journey one passes through in life makes no difference. Hence, he is agreeing with the postmodern identity theory. Maalouf argues that the identity of a person is decided in reverse to that of his enemy, the example he uses is of an Irish Catholic; he will always differentiate himself from an Englishman and he even might speak his own form of English. To Maalouf, this is one of the few examples that show the complexity of identity. He explains his identity by saying that it consists of first his Arabic mother tongue connecting him to all the people around him who speak the same language and his religion which is Christianity that connects him with billions of Christians around the world. His French and Lebanese side connects him with the rest of the world. Maalouf believes that every person has a different composition of identity making him/her complex, unique, and irreplaceable, characterizing identity. What he means is that a Palestinian for example is different than a Lebanese but at the same time a Palestinian is different from another Palestinian, and this is why in the same family there can be two brothers or sisters that are very different. As a result, when it comes to the Palestinian/Jordanians, they can be considered as having two identities that they relate to; the Jordanian one since they
are now considered Jordanians, and the Palestinian one because no one can forget their origin. My research question is strongest here; what about the Palestinians residing in Jordanian refugee camps who do not have the citizenship? The fact that any person who publicly announces that he has more than one identity is accused of wanting to dissolve his “original” identity irritates Maalouf because again to him a person’s identity does not consist of only one item.

2.6 Focusing on the Palestinian Identity

Discussing more specifically about Palestinians, Rashid Al Khaldi wrote the “Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness”. He mentions that one of the famous misconceptions is that the Palestinian identity and nationalism are short termed and of recent origin, emerging only in the 1960s and have to be distinguished from real identities and nationalism; Palestinian identity did not exist before the 1960s. To him, this is a distorted vision of the Palestinian identity that demolishes two consequent periods that were important in building the Palestinian identity. The first one is the British mandate that lasted for thirty years and ended because of the increase in violence between the Jews and the Palestinians starting the first war between the two in 1948 and onwards. These events that started from 1947-1949 caused the Palestinians to lose their status and their ability to control Palestine not to mention their houses and work places. This is Al Nakbeh. He called the second period “the lost years” between Al Nakbeh and the emergence of the Palestinian Liberation Organization in 1964. At that time, he notes that Palestine has disappeared from the political map as an independent actor and the Palestinians as people. This is why a lot of people do not believe in the existence of the Palestinian identity prior to the 1960s; Palestinians have been defeated by the Zionist movement in a series of overwhelming military wars. These defeats resulted in the expulsion of many of the Palestinians to the neighboring Arab countries changing the demography. Major cities of cultural and economic importance like Jaffa and Haifa were lost. Rashid Al Khaldi believes that the Palestinian identity was present before the 1960s and before the Nakbeh.

Helena Lindholm Schulz notes in her book “The Palestinian Diaspora” (2003) that Palestinians still residing in Palestine can state that they have an identity only when the “terrible present” is over and the Palestinians achieve what other people already
have which are a state, a passport, and a place that they can call home. She mentioned a quote that was said by one of the activists of Fateh where he states that being a Palestinian is: “To have a state, a land, and a passport, because they stop the Palestinians everywhere. To have a country. To have “watan” homeland, to be able to go everywhere and to be related to somewhere, and not all the time being kicked out from everywhere” (Fateh activist, West Bank, 16 November 1994). Thus, according to Schulz, identity for the Palestinians cannot yet be achieved. Schulz speculates that the loss of everything causes them to be in a suspended concept of identity. However, because this loss is a shared experience between many people, it makes the idea that return is almost impossible more bearable. For her, it was the Nakbeh and being forced to leave that created the idea of “Palestinian-ness”. She states that when in exile, the longing to the homeland causes a fixation of the homeland in the mind; keeping it as it is. Struggle and resistance is a very important factor for the Palestinian’s identity formation, it also influenced those residing outside where some stated that they were ashamed to call themselves Palestinians before the revolution. Finally, Schulz mentions the fact that not knowing the Palestinian identity is more of a problem for the younger generation that never actually knew anything about it, especially for those living in camps. Schulz states that for this younger generation, uprootedness causes a feeling of bitterness because all they ever knew were the camps. With the new generations coming that have no memory of the land or the resistance and the struggle, the idea of returning will eventually vanish and their identity will be what is given because there are no other options. Schulz cites one of the refugee children of Shatila in Lebanon who says that there is no meaning in holding the Palestinian identity when Palestine is not for them; the identity they are holding has no place. The author states however that this differs according to the place of residence. In Jordan and USA, many Palestinians identify themselves as Jordanians or Americans but of course not forgetting their Palestinian origin. Those living in Syria or Lebanon on the other hand identify themselves as purely Palestinians.

Moving on to Ahmad H. Sa’di “Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian Identity” (2002), he describes the Nakbah as the cause of dispersion of Palestinians, presenting for them the loss of homeland and the disintegration of society. Sa’di cites a Palestinian Historian that actually stated that after Nakbah, Palestine stopped on existing and the Palestinian people are now called
refugees and those who managed to stay in Palestine are called “Israeli Arab”. Sa’di explains that the identity of those living outside Palestine is for an imagined land; however, it is constantly reproduced through traditions and tributes. This raises the discussion on the “imagined identity” Palestinians started writing stories and poems and creating photography books in order to create the feeling of how Palestine was before the Nakbah. These books with the photographs in them describe areas in Palestine with every detail in them. Sa’idi mentions the fact that many Palestinians became homeless after Nakbah and that they would never feel at home again. Many Palestinians kept the key and they look at it as a symbol of home and return. Others who were treated fairly in their “new homes” expressed that they cannot feel over comfortable because it would be a form of betrayal. All these forms of longing to their homeland and the small details that they remember give meaning to identity and connect them to Palestine, the books and photographs represent a form of reconstruction to their identity.

Kanika Sud mentions in her research titled “Construction of a Palestinian Diasporic Identity” that the term diaspora should be “limited to those who have retained a memory of, a cultural connection with, and a general orientation toward their homelands” (Safran, 2004) and not to any dispersed community. She believes that the diaspora has a very difficult job to maintain their identity and to stay connected to their community. In her study, she states that Chryiss (2007) believes that what keeps the Palestinians connected to their identity is the transmission and maintenance of their cultural beliefs and activities and how important the idea of statehood it is to them. The loss of their homeland in 1948 and 1967 led for the dispersal of many Palestinians and this meant the dispersion of many families as well. This dispersion has only led to strengthening their connection with each other. Return visits, vacations, phone calls, and constant communication strengthens the identity and shows how family ties take the form of transnational activities. An important factor to consider is the oral transmission of memories of the lost homeland and life before the catastrophe. Thus, family ties are very important for the second generation so they can have a sense of their homeland. Sud mentions Woodward (1997) who argues that migration causes the diaspora to have multiple identities that are acquired from inequality and not being able to settle down. However, a lot who settled down in countries like Canada believe that their Canadian passport allows them to travel back and forth between Canada and
other countries, offering mobility and international protection. It is important to note that this international protection is offered in Palestine as well which causes Palestinians in Palestine to look at them as “elite”.

Helena Lindholm Schulz and Juliane Hammer discuss in “The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland” that the territorializing of this Jewish diaspora in Palestine created a “wandering identity” changing the Palestinians to a “refugee nation” (Hammer, Schulz, 2003). Schulz considers the experiences faced by Palestinians as the root cause of many new Palestinian identities. An identity of suffering for Palestinians have been created because of fragmentation, loss of their homeland, and denial, the identity of resistance and revolution was created in exile to overcome victimization and refutation. Thus “suffering” and “struggling” are the major components of the Palestinian diaspora identity” (Hammer, Schulz, 2003). Schulz states the following “Deterriotialised communities seek their identity in the territory, the Homeland lost, which they can only see from a distance, if it all. The focal point of identity and politics is a place lost” (Hammer, Schulz, 2003). The researcher focuses on Palestinians in Jordan explaining that they were always reminded that they do not really belong; they are guests that should always be grateful for the generosity of their Jordanian hosts. Palestinians however viewed Jordan as the best option from all the bad choices and that even if they are not completely happy their situation and lives in Jordan was acceptable.

Rosemary Sayegh explains the different answers given by Palestinians when asked to describe who they are prior to 1948 and now. In her study titled “The Palestinian Identity among Camp Residents” she states that Palestinians answered the above question with simply explaining that Palestinians are Arabs like all other Arabs in the nation. After the dispersion to different camps, camp settlers still call themselves Arab but with a very different experience than others. Their loss of identity and its change to being “refugees” as well as their poverty increased the sense of difference between them and others, not to mention the ridicule of people surrounding them and referring to them as the “others”. Sayegh explains that even before the war, Palestine and Arab politics have not been very fond of each other, leaving “scars” on both sides (Sayegh, 1977). These problems however are difficult to describe because of their complexities but they led Palestinians to feel that they are alone and without support from the Arab
states, creating a feeling of distrust between both of them. As for the question of identity, Sayegh states the following: “Asked to choose an alternative identity, it was only one of the oldest respondents who said he would belong to "any good, persecuted, Arab people." Two said that they felt "Arab first, Palestinian second," but the majority had no such hesitation, some even refusing to make an alternative choice” (Sayegh, 1977).

In “al majdal, Uncovering Palestinian Memory, a Role of Oral History”, which is a quarterly magazine of Badil Resource Center, the editors discuss how the events of the Nakbeh resulted in loss of many important documents which in turn resulted in the dramatic change of the Palestinian identity. This magazine’s aim is to show how important oral history is for the Palestinians especially the diaspora. The editor of one of the sections titled “Oral History, Memory and the Palestinian Peasantry” Dr. Mahmoud Issa, highlights a very important point explaining how there is a gap in all the documentaries. He mentions that all the documentaries and books about Palestinian experience in the Nakbeh and the history before is written by Palestinian elites while the Palestinian Peasants of “falaheen” did not write anything about their experiences and life in Palestine prior to the Nakbeh (Issa, 2006). Issa continues by giving the example of Ghassan Shihabi, a Palestinian living in Al Yarmouk Camp, who wrote a book about the massacre of Tantura. The editor mentions that his book wasn’t known because it was in Arabic while another person, Teddy Katz, wrote a book about the same massacre and became famous because it was written in English. The next section “The Role of Oral History in Archiving the Nakba” written by Diana K. Allan she explains that the Nakbeh itself did not create the Palestinian identity but had a major role in shaping or changing it and is important in Palestinian history. She quotes the Palestinian historian Elias Sanbar writes: “The contemporary history of Palestinians turns on a key date: 1948. That year, a country and its people disappeared from both maps and dictionaries.” Elias Sanbar continues by stating that most of the Palestinians who were forced to leave because of Nakbah were illiterate and thus preserve their history via oral stories. Thus, he encourages the next generations to document these stories so they can remain throughout history (Allan, 2006). Amahl Bishara explains how listening to the oral stories of elderly Palestinians causes people listening to imagine the land, houses, fruits, and even the smell of the flowers as if it is in front of them (Bishara, 2006), and this is very important when it comes to strengthening the
identity and creates a longing to the original land.

Finally, and most importantly, is the section by Isabelle Humphries “Overcoming the obstacles to recording history in the Galilee”. The editor went to Galilee in order to meet and interview an old man called Jamil Arafat. She states that what she learned was not only the oral history of Palestine, but how important it was for the Israelis to prevent the Palestinians from documenting and preserving this history and the lengths they went to stop them in order for the Palestinians not to strengthen and hold together the community roots (Humphries, 2006). Jamil Arafat states in his interview with Isabelle Humphries that after the Nakbeh, he was one of the Palestinians who stayed in Palestine, he knew how important history was and decided to document it, knowing that they were not allowed by the Israeli government to use a lot of words when writing. Thus, he posted pictures of Galilee before the Nakbeh only in the newspaper. He then decided to publish an article and thus received a call from the Jewish head of the Arab Education Department and by then he knew he was being watched (Arafat). This did not stop him and he was overwhelmed by people asking to be interviewed or to share photos for his next article.

“Landscape of Hope and Despair, Palestinian Refugee Camps” by Julie Peteet has a chapter titled “Producing Place, Spatializing Identity, 1948-68” that explains how there is a relationship between the place and identity in which “it is one of mutual interaction within a field of power, external and internal, that limits as well as shapes possibilities for both” (Peteet, 2005). Peteet believes that there is one very important point that distinguishes refugee camps from other places; camps produce violent practices that is a causation of displacement (Peteet, 2005). She also explains that even though Palestinian camps restrain freedom, the spatial device of these camps caused the transformation in Palestinian community and identity (Peteet, 2005). In a Journal titled “Beyond Culture: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference” by Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, they state that there is now the idea of multiculturalism and subcultures, and how different cultures can live together side by side without problems. However, the authors discuss how these concepts are suggestive; and there are usually many problems associated with different cultures sharing a space.

Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson also examine the idea of imagined communities
and places. They believe that identities have always been less fixed because of people’s mobility, unlike what classical anthropology always suggests. They state that “In this culture play of diaspora, familiar lines between "here" and "there," center and periphery, colony and metropole become blurred” (Gupta, James, 1992). In this sense, everyone is experiencing displacement because even those who remain in the natural habitat will feel that this place has changed and new and different cultures are being welcomed. This causes ideas of culturally and ethnically distinct place to become more noticeable. This is why imagined communities become imagined places; displaced people become more attached to what they remember about their imagined lands because they know they are living in a world that denies such territorialized anchors. It is important to note that remembering places for dispersed people and refugees serve as a symbolic anchor (1992). According to the two authors of this journal, immigrants use memory to construct their new lives. Linking this to dispersed Palestinians, remembering how their lives were and applying how they used to live, their values, cultures, house rules, and traditions in their new lives serve as an anchor to their identity; producing their own national space.

In the analysis of this thesis, the instrumental approach or theory will be relied on the most because it captures the reality that the Palestinians are experiencing.
Chapter 3  
Research Methodology

3.1 Chapter Overview:
This chapter is divided into several sections. It starts with the research method justification, survey design, and the variables of the study. The section on the variables of the study explains how the participants were chosen and what the questionnaire or survey is made off.

3.2 Research Method Justification:
The Qualitative Research Consultants Association defines qualitative research as a research designed to measure and reveal the behavior of a target group regarding a specific topic or issue and the results are descriptive not analytical nor predictive (QRCA, n.d). Some qualitative research methods are the questionnaire survey methods, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups. These methods give field notes, audio-notes, recordings, and of course transcripts.

I chose questionnaire surveys as the qualitative research method for my topic because I believe that it will provide textual and descriptive ideas for how people feel; especially that the topic at hand depends on people’s feelings and believes and each person will have different thoughts and will answer differently. Thus, questionnaire surveys show the “human” side of my topic and will show how each person is different; the contradictory side of people.

The topic that I chose is measuring intangible factors like people’s beliefs and reasons for their attachment or detachment to their Palestinian identity. Surveys were people are describing and writing anonymously can help me better understand a complex issue that might be unclear. This might be a sensitive topic for many people, especially in Jordan were there are always ongoing problems between many Palestinians and Jordanians, thus surveys allow people to write whatever they feel anonymously and in this way, more people will be willing to answer.
For all the reasons mentioned above, I believe survey was the best method for me to use in this thesis. I wanted to reach my sample size quickly and I wanted to provide them with the anonymity that they would prefer in such an issue. This was met.

3.3 Survey Design:

The survey is the most important tool in the research, it is the method that will help the researcher collect the information needed to fill the gap and give an answer to his/her hypothesis. Thus, in order to build and develop a good survey, a number of steps have to be taken into account before distributing.

Before deciding on the questions that I want to ask the sample decided on, I had to read the literature carefully to see if there will be information that will help. In this case however, there was a huge gap in the literature where first, there was no mention about Palestinian identity after the Nakbah and no mention of how the new generation feels about the Palestinian identity and how attached are the new Palestinian generations who are not living in Palestine to their original identity.

After knowing that there will be no help from the available literature, I started writing the relevant questions that could give me the answers that I need. 26 items were identified to be suitable and I used them in my survey. After sending it to my supervisor...
for approval, the survey was distributed personally and online. The steps are identified clearly in the figure below:

![Figure 2: Steps for Developing the Survey](image)

### 3.4 Variables of the Study:

The survey developed consists of 26 items divided into 3 parts. The first part focuses on age and socio-economic status. Socio-economic status information was taken from questions about employment and occupation, job position, and the area in Amman or governorate in Jordan he/she lives in. The second part of the survey focuses on whether or not the person is related to the Palestinian culture. The last part focuses on the attachment to Palestine and the identity they relate to the most; in this case, it is either Jordanian, Palestinian, or both.

The sample group targeted were Palestinians living in Jordan with the Jordanian nationality. They were divided between Palestinians living in rural refugee camps and Palestinians living in urban areas like Amman. Also, the sample size consisted of ages between 15-45 years old only, since here is where the gap in the literature lies. The questions regarding socio-economic status focused on knowing whether the person is self-employed or employed the position of the person. The area he/she lives in as well as the job position the person holds can tell a lot about the socio-economic status of the person. The socio-economic status can sometimes be more important than culture in the case of attachment to an identity or to a place, thus I believe it is important to study in this case.

Pennsylvania State University defines random sampling method as one of the many methods that come under probability sampling. It is the method that ensures that everyone has an equal opportunity in being selected. The group was randomly selected; not targeting specific people or figures. They were distributed to various family, friends, employees, and posted on social media to reach as many as possible. It was also
circulated to many people. I had to disregard the pure Jordanians or Lebanese who wanted to fill-out the surveys because they do not serve the issue of the study.

3.5 Limitations:

A very important point that should be made clear is that I wanted to use in-depth interviews with Palestinians living in refugee camps, however I was not given an entry permit from UNRWA and the Ministry of Interior for an unknown reason; no logical reasoning was given to support this decision. This led me to search for other solutions and I found Palestinians working in Amman that are living in Refugee camps who were gladly willing to fill out surveys. Also, since this limitation was met I had to find another solution to reach a good number of people and I chose to send the surveys online to anyone who is interested and ready to help. The increase in Internet and social media usage was a big reason for me to think about posting my survey there.

Another important limitation that I am aware of is that the sample number of 41 respondents only give some indication because it is small. When the thesis is expanded and with future research, the sample will be expanded as well. The sample used in this research only gives an indication about the situation.

3.6 Ethics:

“Ethics are the norms or standards for conduct that distinguish between right and wrong” (CIRT, n.d). It is very important to take ethics into account when compiling information, regardless if the research is qualitative or quantitative. Ethics consideration is critical when getting information from surveys or questionnaires. In order to gain the full support of the participants, you need to ensure that they will remain anonymous, especially if it is a sensitive issue like this one. Also, readers want to be assured when reading the research that research that focuses on critical issues such as human rights for example followed the appropriate procedure. Following the right procedures to ensure ethics effects the integrity of the research. Therefore, there was no name or gender section in the survey to ensure that the anonymity of the respondents remains.
Chapter 4
History of the Palestinian Conflict:

4.1 Chapter Overview:

Palestine is one of the countries that did not get any rest from all the wars. There were many conflicting claims to the land. This chapter will summarize what Palestine underwent from the Ottoman empire in 1900s to our days now with Trump’s presidency; considering the fact that Palestine is never really ruled locally; there is always a strong interference from an outside source.

4.2 Historical information about conflicts on the Palestinian land:

In 1900 to 1917, Palestine was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. Starting 1917, the British Mandate was signed and then and there thousands of European Jews started to flood into Palestine to build their own state in what they believe is their ancestral land (Fisher, 2014). In May 16, 1916, the “Sykes Pikot agreement” or “The Asia Minor Agreement” as it was first called, was done and it laid down the borders of the Middle East, these are the borders that we now know and live by. The two diplomats, Francois Georges-Picot for France and Sir Mark Sykes for Britain negotiated for 5 months and in grease pencil drew a series of straight lines on a map to create such uncomplicated borders. The new countries were divided into two spheres; Transjordan, Palestine, and Iraq where to be ruled by the British control while Lebanon and Syria where to be ruled by the French control (National Catholic Reporter, 2015).

In 1917, the British Government announced its support to build a Jewish state in Palestine and it released the famous Balfour Declaration. It read the following: “His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country” (Balfour, 1917). This continued until it led to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.
From 1933 until 1945 was when the Nazis gained power in Germany and Jews started fleeing after the Holocaust took place, and the Nazis gained power in almost all of Europe ([www.ushmm.org](http://www.ushmm.org), 2015). At the same time, Palestinians started showing resistance against the foreign policies and controls that they were facing. In 1936 what started as a minor Arab-Jewish clashes changed into a big and widespread revolt which lead to the creation of the Union of Palestinian Political Party called The Arab Higher Committee, headed by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Al Hajj Amin al-Husseini. He believed and urged people to hold a strike in order to form a national government instead of a foreign one (UN, 1990). Even when there was a strong resistance from Palestinians, the British government was still issuing permits for Jewish immigrants in order to enter Palestine. The increase of resistance lead to violence and this in turn lead the British authorities to appoint a Royal Commission in order to “investigate” the reason behind this occurring violence. This ended the strike in October 1936 but lead to the assassination of a British District Commissioner (UN, 1990). Although there was no proof that an Arab did the assassination, the British Commission blamed the Arab Higher Committee, arresting its leader and deporting him to Seychelles Islands, the Mufti however, was able to escape to Lebanon where he continued to head the strikes and revolts (UN, 1990).

The situation in Palestine was getting out of hand, thus the British referred to the UN on the question of the future of Palestine. The UN then created UNSCOP; the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine by the General Assembly. The purpose of UNSCOP was to investigate what was going on in Palestine and write proposals according to the situation, and with that try to appropriately find solutions (Hammond, 2010). What is worthy to note is that UNSCOP did not include any Arab Nations; Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt all requested the “The termination of the Mandate over Palestine and the declaration of its independence” but this was rejected for some reason (Hammond, 2010). With this rejection, the Arab Higher Commission did not agree to collaborate while the Arab Nations agreed to meet with UNSCOP. On November 29, 1947, the
United Nations General Assembly decided with 33 votes with 13 against, and 10 abstentions, to divide Western Palestine into a state for the Palestinians and another one for the Jews. The Jews area would consist of the Negev Desert, the coastal plain between Tel Aviv and Haifa, and parts of the northern Galilee. The Palestinian area would consist primarily of the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza District, Jaffa, and the Arab sectors of the Galilee. The Palestinians did not accept this partition while the Zionists, lead by David Ben-Gurion accepted this initial plan but had the dream of controlling all western Palestine one day. Palestinians believed that they have the strength to drive the Zionists out of Palestine (Friedman, 1995).

May 14, 1948 is the day that Arabs, particularly Palestinians, hate while the Jews, particularly Zionists, love. This was the day that Israel declared its Independence. David Ben-Gurion read the “Declaration of Independence” in Tel-Aviv’s Art Museum infront of the Jewish Community in Palestine. In this declaration, he announced the creation of “Madinet Israel” or the Jewish State on the Palestinian Land (Shlaim, 2002). Ironically, the declaration stated that all inhabitants of Palestine, especially the Arab inhabitants, will be treated equally, peacefully, and with respect. The state of Israel will also be peaceful to its neighboring Arab Countries (Shlaim, 2002).

1948 was the year of the Nakbeh where 700,000 Palestinians, if not more, became refugees. They left with the urging of Arab leaders who promised that they will be soon coming back to Palestine after the war is over. Those who left were divided into the Gaza Strip, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria. The Arab countries at that time, except Jordan, refused to absorb the refugees into their populations and thus they were forced to stay in camps. The 200,000 Palestinians who came to Jordan were granted citizenships by King Abdullah (ADL, 2015). This was when the UNRWA was created in order to oversee the economic integration of the refugees into the Arab countries (ADL, 2015). Sadly, in 1949, Israel signed 2 agreements with Egypt and Jordan respectively to stop the war; a truce (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2015).

In 1964, Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed. This formation was caused by three important factors; first is the growing importance of the question of
Palestine between Arabs, second is the growing hostility between the Palestinians and the Jews on the division of the Palestinian land and water diversion projects, and third is the creation and growth of the underground Palestinian activities which Arab states like Egypt wanted to stop (Robinson, 2017). The PLO wanted to achieve political liberation from the Arab Nations in addition to of course liberating Palestine and safeguarding the return of the refugees that were now spread between the neighboring Arab states.

The world witnessed the second wave of Palestinian forced migration in 1967 but the UN considered them displaced people and not refugees (ADL, 2015). In 1969, Yasser Arafat was elected as the chairman of the PLO and in 1974, the Arab League recognized PLO as the representative of the Palestinians in Palestine (Metz, 1989).

On November 5th, 1975, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution that formally defines Zionism as a form of racism but in 1991 they annulled it for some reason (UN, 1991). Hamas was founded in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmad Yassin (CFR, 2014).

On December 9, 1987, the first Palestinian Intifada took place. It was a result of the buildup of Palestinian tensions and grieves (Hudson, 2008). After many meetings and recognitions that something must be done by both parties, PLO and Israel signed the first OSLO treaty with Bill Clinton present on the lawn of the White House in Washington in 1993 (Bickerton, Klausner, 2002).
Jumping to 1994, on October 26th, Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel that stated that both sides will stop any threats and instead of using forces against each other, they will use it to support each other. Economic boycotts will have to stop as well (Migdalovitz, 2003). The treaty also stated that “Israel respects Jordan’s role in the mosques in Jerusalem and will give it high priority in permanent status negotiations” (Migdalovitz, 2003). The pact also indicated that Jordan has to lease Israel one sq. mi for 25 years, that will be renewable when they are over, and in return Israel will give clean water for Jordan (Migdalovitz, 2003). On September, 28, 1995 the PLO headed by Yasser Arafat, and Israel headed by Yitzhak Rabin signed an agreement that became known as OSLO II in front of Bill Clinton, Hussni Mubarak, and King Hussein of Jordan. This treaty affirmed that Palestine will have control over almost one third of the West Bank. So, Jenin, Nablus, Kalkilya, Tulkarem, Ramallah, Bethlehem, and Hebron were now under the control of Palestine. 35% of Gaza strip was decided to be under the control of Israelis; the Jewish settlements and all the roads leading to them. The remaining land was decided to be under the control of the Palestinian Authority (Shlaim, 2002).

Wars however continued especially after Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated in 1995 and many meetings and treaties were done to try and stop all the conflicts that were going on. In 2002, two important events took place. The first event was the occurrence of the second Intifada because Ariel Sharon who was then the Likud Leader visited the Haram Al Sharif. This provocative act as well as the presence of a large number of Israeli police caused the rise of riots and strikes. This was when the sad event of the Palestinian child Muhammad Al Durra happened (Bickerton, Klausner, 2002).

The second important event was when Ariel Sharon was elected as Israel’s Prime Minister and as soon as he occupied the position he pursued an unbending line against Palestinians, especially Yasser Arafat and stated that he believed that Arafat is a threat to peace and is responsible for all the violence that were occurring (Isseroff, 2006).
This was the beginning of the many massacres that Israel launched against Palestinians, killing many well-known leaders and influentials. One very well-known massacre was the Jenin one.

In 2003, Arafat asked his supporter Mahmoud Abbas to share powers with him and this affair was followed by the Mideast Peace Summit held in Jordan by President Bush, Abbas, and Sharon were both parties “promised” to stop the bloodshed that was taking place at that time (CBS News, 2003). In the same year, the world woke up to the surprising news of Israel building the segregation wall in order to “prevent suicide bombers” from entering to “their” side (CNN, 2003). Even when this was taking place, Israel and Palestine’s leaders still wanted to have a peace treaty, and in the same year they released symbolic peace agreements in the Geneva Accord (Myre, 2003).

In 2004, Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, an influential Palestinian leader of Hamas, that was loved not only by Palestinians but by many Arabs all over the world, was murdered by an Israeli air strike as he was living a mosque and sources say that he and his sons were hit by three rockets, killing him and leaving his sons in a critical situation (CNN, 2004). In the same year, the World Court announced that the wall that was being built was violating international laws (Ha’aretz, 2004). This did not stop them however from continuing its building. In the same year, the world witnessed the death of Yasser Arafat in Paris after being poisoned with many attempts to treat him, he was then interred in a grave in Ramallah and Mahmoud Abbas was elected as president (CBS News, 2005). In the year of 2006, Sharon suffers from a major stroke and undergoes hours of brain surgery, he lived on respirator and thus was replaced by Deputy Ehud Olmert (CNN, 2006) and after he takes control, the 2006 war with Lebanon took place and ends after many were killed (CNN, 2006). Of course, with the years passing by, many negotiations, meetings, and treaties were taking place in order to have peace between the two states and in 2010 there was a peace talk between Palestine and Israel in Jordan but ended without any progress (BBC, 2012) and the airstrikes on Gaza from Israelis and airstrikes on Israelis from Hamas and Fateh continue.
In 2017, Trump was elected as president and swore to appoint Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel if he wins, and this event took place on December 6, 2017 after the winning of Trump where he ordered the US embassy to move. Until this day the world is witnessing strikes and riots against this decision while Netanyahu thanked the US president for this historic decision that they have been waiting for (NPR, 2017).
Chapter 5
Waves of Migration, the Palestinian Society, and the Arab’s Resistance

5.1 Chapter Overview:
The Israeli war on Palestine forced a large number of Palestinians to migrate. This chapter studies the three main waves of migration, or phases. It also studies the nature of the Palestinian society and how it was a factor that helped the exodus, and then focuses on the Arab’s kind of resistance. During 1948 and 1967, 725,000 and 250,000 Palestinians were forced out of Palestine respectively, they fled from their homes to seek protection from the Israeli army, hoping to build a new life wherever they end up (Kossaifi, 1989).

5.2 The Three Phases of Expulsion:
The exodus from Palestine, according to the Institute of Palestine Studies, was a mass panic from the terror that was administered by the Zionist attacks (2016). Despite many attempts from Arab leaders to control the uncontrollable flight, Palestinians fled in large numbers. Walid Khaldi described the migration from Haifa – Palestine stating that "hundreds of people blocked the narrow lanes and pushed and heaved against one another, each trying to save himself and his children. Many children, women, and old men fainted and were trampled by the surging crowds” (Khaldi, 1959). Another testimony from the UN Mediator in Palestine at that time, Count Bernadotte, stated that "the exodus of the Palestinian Arabs resulted from panic created by fighting in their communities, by rumors concerning real or alleged acts of terrorism, or expulsion. Almost the whole of the Arab population fled or was expelled from the area under Jewish occupation" (Bernadotte, 1948).

The Institute of Palestine Studies states that since May 15, 1948, expulsion of Palestinians became a regular action by the Zionist movement. There were three important phases, or waves, of expulsion. The first wave started with a small number of Palestinians when taken as a percentage of those who became displaced; the number is estimated to be as high as 30,000. When this number was compared to the 700,000 Palestinians total, this wave was considered the minor wave (Polk, Stamler, Asfour,
Many believe that the first movement was voluntary for the upper and the middle class of Palestinians who only wanted to temporarily move from the chaos that is taking place in Palestine. At the same time, the Zionist movement wanted to prove to the world that the two-state resolution made sense and is applicable, thus they tried their best to ensure that not a lot of Palestinians left; this is why this phase included a small number of migration (Abu-Lughod, 1971).

In the second wave of migration, a large population of Palestinians fled from their houses after terror started spreading because the Zionist movement started using weapons and gases (Institute of Palestine Studies, 2016). The third phase began when the statehood of Israel was declared and by now the expulsion of Palestinians became a standard policy that was carried out systematically. It was in this stage were people started to be expelled if they did not leave willingly and intimidation was practiced openly (Abu-Lughod, 1971).

The results of these three waves are all the same; the expulsion of a large number of Palestinians from their homes and the uprooting of the native Palestinian population from their homes into the Middle East or the world.

5.3 The Nature of Palestinian Society:

It is safe to say that the clash or war between the Zionist movement and the Palestinian community was not equal. The Palestinian community was larger in number yes, but the Israeli community were more educated and more technologically and weaponry advanced. The plan was all set up between the British and the Israelis; as soon as the British began to withdraw the Israelis slowly settled in with their weapons, governments, and institutions. It is important to note that even at that time their institutions were highly advanced and when compared to the Palestinian institutions they were stronger.

Focusing on the Palestinian society prior to the Nakba, it is important to know that there were 29 towns in Palestine. In 1946, villages like Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem was largely mixed between Arabs and Israelis. Towns like Nazareth, Nablus, Hebron, Ramle, Lydda and Gaza were only Arab and “Tel-Aviv” was a large Jewish town (Jewish Voice for Peace, 2016). Palestinians’ income was mostly from agriculture and
they were economically self-sufficient. With all the resources present, no one can deny that before the tension and the Zionist movement appeared, there was a good relationship between Jews and Palestinians. The society of Palestine was a strong factor in the way the exodus was carried out and many residents who were expecting disaster fled out of Palestine having the thought of returning once the war is over, the Zionists till this day will not allow them to come back (Institute of Palestine Studies, 2016).

5.4 Arab Resistance:

One important point to consider is that when the Zionists were putting their full effort, the Palestinians’ resistance were in the form of “Gorilla” strikes; spontaneous and always focusing on the leaders (Sayegh, 1979). Musa Alami, a Palestinian Nationalist and Politician, stated the following on the issue of Arabs resistance “We had no clear idea of total warfare, but were dominated by the ideas and methods of previous revolts. These had been, in the first instance, popular mass movements of general excitement and enthusiasm. Later there had developed revolutionary groups or bands, but the organization of these groups had been primitive.... When the struggle began, these groups were formed again with the same materials and elements on the same basis and with the same methods: no general support, no regular soldiers, no unity, no totality, no training, no defense, no good arms” (2016).

The Zionists were a well-trained and organized army and were able to enter Palestine anytime they want since they took over the interior lines. The supporting Arab armies and troops were not able to enter Palestine until the day of May 15, 1984 (Polk, Stamler, Asfour, 1957). All this ended with the Zionists capturing more land than the Partition Resolution allowed.
Chapter 6
Right of Return

6.1 Chapter Overview:
This chapter explains and focuses on the Palestinians’ right of return and how it was clearly stated in International law. It explains Israel’s view on it and why they still do not accept it or act upon it even though it’s a law that they have to acknowledge.

6.2 Palestinians’ Right of Return:
The UN General Assembly established a committee made up of 20 members in 1975. This committee was called “The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People” to exercise the rights of the Palestinian that were discussed in the General Assembly in the previous years (Radley, 1978). One of the rights that were discussed in this committee is the “inalienable right of Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted…” (Radley, 1978). Resolution 194 (III) Of December 1948, paragraph 11 states the following: “Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible; Instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation” (UN, 1948).

The committee recommended that Palestinians return in two phases. The first wave of return would be by refugees of the six days’ war who left Gaza and the West Bank that took place in 1967. The second wave of return would be by the refugees who left their homes in 1948.

There are two arguments that explain why the right of return by the Palestinians should be recognized. The first argument, also called the “liberation” theory, states that the State of Israel was formed illegally in the first place and such a state cannot oppose
the return of Palestinians to their original land (Radley, 1978). The other theory, based on the concept of repatriation or the return of someone to their land, states that Israel has to recognize the right to return because it is sanctioned in International law (Radley, 1978). This means that Israel has a duty to accept an International law that does not serve its purpose of existence, this is stated in the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Executive Conclusion No. 40 “…the basic rights of persons to return voluntarily to their country of origin is reaffirmed and it is urged that international cooperation be aimed at achieving this solution” (UNHCR, 1985).

In June 1967, The UN security council agreed to pass resolution number 237 that called on Israel to facilitate the return of Palestinians who were forced to leave in 1948 and later in 1967 (Mohamed, 2016). The number of actual refugees who left in 1948 and 1967 are decreasing in numbers, but their descendants are still here. This scares Israel because if a fraction of the 5 million Palestinian refugee descendants exercised their power, they would cause an imbalance in the Israeli system and plan (Mohamed, 2016). Knowing that Israel have always feared losing the “Israeli domination” and their whole plan and project relies on it, no wonder they would not accept a non-negotiable right such as the right of return.

So, what are the arguments that the State of Israel has against the right of return? They explain that even if the return of Palestinians to their original land is justified, there is simply no room. It is already dense and small and there is no room for other people to live in it (Bronstein, Musih, 2008). Salman Abu Sitte’s study however, proves that most of the villages that were emptied after their inhabitants left are still empty and have remained vacant.

With all this into account, Palestinians who were forced out in 1948 were not allowed to return because they were seen as a threat to the establishment of a Jewish majority in their new state. This was made clear in a meeting held between Don Stevenson, a member of American Friends Service Committee, and Eliahu Elath, the Israeli Ambassador in the US (AFSC, n.d). Elath’s answer to the question of if Israel would accept all the Palestinian refugees back was “Israel would commit suicide if she took back all the refugees” (Elath, 1949). Without expelling the Palestinians who were living in the areas and villages that Israel wanted to build its state on, it would have
been impossible to execute the plan of building a fully distinct Jewish culture and political system (AFSC, n.d).
Chapter 7
Palestinian Refugees, Citizenship, and Living Conditions

7.1 Chapter Overview:
This chapter explains how the term “Palestinian refugee” is used in reports and studies. There will be an explanation the citizenship of Palestinians in Jordan. This chapter will include the definition of the “first-generation refugees” as well. Finally, it will mention Type of housing, ownership and living space.

7.2 Palestinian Refugees as a term:
Palestinian Refugees term is used in many studies and surveys by Jordan’s Department of Statistics (DoS) and FAFO. When doing the surveys, the DoS and FAFO requested to divide the Palestinian households into refugees from 1984, displaced from 1967, refugees from 1984 then displaced in 1967, and finally non-refugees (Tiltnes, Zhang, 2013). Refugees from 1984 are defined as Palestinians whose permeant residence was once the 1984 areas in Palestine, now defined as the State of Israel, who left to seek refuge in neighboring area because of the war but were prevented to return (Tiltnes, Zhang, 2013).

Those who are defined as displaced from 1967 are those who came into Jordan as a result of the 1967 war and were not already a refugee in 1984. Refugees of 1984 who became displaced in 1967 are those who were forced to flee from Palestine because of the war of 1984 and settled in Gaza strip, that was once part of Jordan in 1951, and had to flee again in 1967 because of the war (Tiltnes, Zhang, 2013). Non-refugees are Palestinian-Jordanians who do not consider themselves refugees. Thus, a Palestinian refugee is defined as any person who belongs to the three previous categories minus the non-refugee group (Tiltnes, Zhang, 2013). An important percentage to know is that a higher proportion of Palestinian refugees living outside the camps (96 per cent) than those living inside the camps (85 per cent) hold Jordanian citizenship.
7.3 Citizenship:

After the first Arab-Israeli War and under the rule of King Abdullah I, Jordan expanded its sovereignty to the West Bank (Ramahi, 2015). This caused the majority of the inhabitants to acquire the Jordanian citizenship based on a decision that was later called “the unification of the two banks”. Palestinians residing in that area were given all the rights that accompany the citizenship such as residence, work, education, voting, construction, parliamentary candidacy and participation in governance (Ramahi, 2015).

One question that many have in their minds is whether the Jordanian citizenship was imposed on Palestinians who settled in the West Bank or who were seeking refuge in Jordan. The answer can be found in the amendment made to Jordan’s nationality law, Law No. 56, issued in 1949. This law states the following “all persons habitually residing in Tran-Jordan or in the western area that is currently being administrated by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan who hold Palestinian citizenship shall acquire Jordanian citizenship and enjoy all citizen’s rights and responsibilities on the same footing as Jordanians” (Ramahi, 2015).

According to Tiltnes and Zhang in an UNRWA report, the majority of Palestinian refugees residing in Jordanian are considered Jordanian nationals with a Jordanian National ID Number (2013). This means that they are entitled to the same political and civil rights as the Jordanians. This gives access to important services and to the entire labor market.

Palestinians coming from the Gaza strip who do not have citizenships are given a temporary passport that expires after two years while those from the West Bank who do not hold a Jordanian citizenship are given a temporary passport that expires after 5 years (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013). Studies show that inside one particular camp, not all refugees hold a Jordanian citizenship while a large number of refugees residing outside of camps have it. The figure below, taken from UNRWA report in 2013, shows the number of Palestinians with the nationality outside camps (Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid) and inside camps (2013).
According to a research article written by Shaul M. Gabbay in 2014, Palestinians who hold a temporary passport means that they hold a travel document and are not considered citizens and do not hold a national number. Thus, they are not entitled to the same rights as those who have citizenship. Gabbay states education example of the rights that Palestinians who hold a temporary passport are not entitled to; Jordan is a signatory on all United Nations documents that state that education is a right for everyone but it still does not allow children who have temporary passports to attend state elementary and secondary schools.

Oroub Al Abed adds to this by explaining that these different categories of Palestinians were distinguished by the government by giving them a series of colored cards. Yellow cards were given to Palestinians holding a permanent passport and a national ID number but have relatives’ reunification permits from Israel and they need to go back to visit them (Al Abed, n.d). Green card was given to Palestinians from the West Bank in order for them to be able to visit Jordan and go back to the West Bank. Blue cards were given to Palestinians from Gaza so they could go back and forth
between Gaza and Jordan. Pink cards allow Palestinians from Gaza permanent residence in the East Bank. Holders of the green card have ambiguous status because after the disengagement from the West Bank they were given a Palestinian Passport which does not really signify a nationality (Al Abed, n.d).

7.4 Definition of “First-Generation Refugees”:

First generation refugees residing in Jordan are those who were born in Palestine before the event of 1948, these now make up 5% of camps population only (Tiltnes, Zhang, 2013). These come from the specific 1948 areas; 41% come from Khalil (Hebron in English), 34% come from Ramla, 27% are either born in or are descendants of people from Jaffa, 18% come from Ber Sheba, and finally 18% have roots in Jerusalem (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013).

7.5 Type of housing, ownership and living space:
7.5.1 Housing Type:

A majority of Palestinians residing in camps live in houses that are called “dar” houses. According to UNRWA a dar is “a lone-standing house and typically used to comprise two to four rooms on the ground floor plus some outdoor space adjacent to it” (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013). These days however, regulations allowed expansion of households and they are now building apartments for the three generations of refugees to live in. Palestinian refugees living outside camps live in apartments nowadays but also lived in a “dar” when they first arrived to Jordan. Their houses were not allowed to have rooftops that were closed with bricks, only with cheap type of iron. The figure below taken from UNRWA report shows a comparison between type of housing of refugees inside and outside camps in 1999 and 2011 (2013).

![Figure 4: Type of Dwelling](image-url)
7.5.2 Property Ownership:

The figure below shows the number of Palestinians inside and outside camps who own the property they live in. They were divided between those who own them debt-free, those who own them with debt, those who rent their houses, and those living in houses without rent. The figure is for the years 1999 and 2012 (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013). It is clear in the figure that the situation is better for Palestinians inside and outside camps as the number of those owning their properties increased in both areas. For Palestinians outside camps, the number of people owning houses by debt decreases while in camps the number increased from zero to two.

Table 1: Tenure of Dwelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Outside camps</th>
<th>Inside camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owned, no debt</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owned, debt</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied rent-free</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>3,472</td>
<td>1,491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next table shows the number of Palestinians inside and outside the camps who own their houses by building them, buying them, inheriting them, receiving them from other relatives, or other. In camps, the number of inherited houses is the highest, meaning that refugees in camps get their houses mostly from their parents (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013).

Table 2: Ways to own a dwelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Outside camps</th>
<th>Inside camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Built it</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought it</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited it from parents or relatives</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received it for free from other than relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.5.3 Living Spaces:

Tiltnes and Zhang calculated the living space according to the density and crowding percentage (2013). The figures will show that the houses in the urban areas (outside the camps) are more spacious than in the rural areas (inside camps), this means that crowding is not a problem in urban area houses.

Table 3: Crowding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons per room</th>
<th>Outside camps 2012</th>
<th>Outside camps 1996</th>
<th>Inside camps 2011</th>
<th>Inside camps 1999</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 2</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-2.99</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3.99</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 and more</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>3,472</td>
<td>2,318</td>
<td>39,336</td>
<td>2,536</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 8
Palestinian-Jordanian Philanthropists

8.1 Chapter Overview:
Palestinians in Jordan were accepted in the society and given the nationality after the first migration in 1948; some integrated well and were able to strengthen the Jordanian economy. This chapter focuses on important families such as Nuqul, Shoman, and Abu Ghazaleh and how they helped and are still helping in elevating Jordan’s economy.

8.2 Elevating Jordan’s Economy:
The “Atlas of Jordan” proves the argument of how Palestinians helped the Jordanian economy. In 1950, all Palestinians with the Jordanian Citizenship were allowed to vote in the Parliamentary elections and members of the West Bank were able to be appointed in ministerial and other important governmental positions. Being able to vote benefits the candidates because the number of votes will increase while occupying high governmental positions allows more knowledge and new beneficial information to be exchanged. When the parliament was created in 1950 as well, 20 seats were given to Palestinian-Jordanians from the west bank, now called “Diffa Gharbeyeh”. Thus, many efforts were done to ensure the integration of the Palestinians in Jordan, and the parliament puts down laws promoting the equality of all Jordanians before the law regardless of their race. The author states that the naturalization enhanced and accelerated the kingdom’s economic development by developing the agricultural, transportation, and industrial services. Amman, Jordan’s capital, received the highest number of the Palestinians and thus was the heart of the booming economy of Jordan.

However, one cannot forget the Palestinians in Jordan without the nationality that are living in camps. There are 58 recognized refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Gaza Strip as stated by the UNRWA. However, refugees do not own the land on which the camps are on but they are allowed to “use” it to cater to their needs. In Jordan, 140,000 refugees from the Gaza Strip live in refugee camps; they are able to obtain temporary Jordanian passports but not entitled to full citizenship rights.
Many Palestinians living in Amman to be more precise can be seen in the elite sector and sometimes in high positions, one was Tahir Al Masri who was a former Prime Minster and he is of Palestinian origins. However, Palestinians are still not able to join many sectors such as the armed forces and top governmental positions, and in elections Palestinian participation is less than Jordanians. Abdul Hameed Shoman, a man with Palestinian origins, created Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation which is one of the oldest philanthropies of Jordan and it is financially supported by the Arab Bank that gives 3% of its profits to running the foundation (Ibrahim, Sherif, 2008). The aim of the foundation is to enhance human creativity in Jordan and increase knowledge. The foundation’s impacts are highly noticed especially in areas of research and dialogue. This is only a part of how the Shoman family is of social and economic importance for Jordan. The importance of the family is mentioned in many magazines or newspaper articles such as New York Time stating that the family is also the first establisher of the Arab Bank, the largest and oldest financial institution in Jordan which also represents Palestinian nationalism. The bank represented Palestinian aspirations (The Associated Press, 2005).

Another famous foundation is EliahNuqul Foundation that was established solely to give back to the society to create long-term and effective social change. The Foundation focuses on education and healthcare system. Another philanthropy category is the corporate one. Nuqul, another Palestinian family, created Nuqul Group. Its corporate philanthropy is focused on assisting organizations that target those in need in the education, healthcare, and socioeconomic development sectors. These families are all of Palestinian origins who wanted to give back to Jordan. Forming these giving foundations to help people in education, healthcare, research, and dialogue supports Jordan’s society as well as economy (Ibrahim, Sherif, 2008).

Talal Abu Ghazaleh, a Palestinian forced migrant who settled in Jordan, established “Tag-ORG”. This organization focuses on accounting, auditing, as well as strategic studies. It offers professional training and management courses. He was thus appointed as the owner of intellectual property in Jordan. It established relationships with many Arab governments which is beneficial to Jordan and then appointed as an upper senate member. Mohammad Abu Ghazaleh was able to provide Jordan with fruits and poultry and created Fresh Del Monte which is now Jordan’s largest poultry producers. He is
also Chairman of the International Wings Group (Venture, 2014). These companies provide everything from private jet chartering and management services, to pilot and aviation engineering and training. Thus, they feel that they have a corporate social responsibility towards Jordan.

Establishing the Arab Bank caused the increase of money influx to Jordan. Philanthropy foundations create education opportunities and better healthcare for those in need. It benefits Jordan when it provides monetary assistance to the universities and enhances their research and dialogue sections. Other businesses create work opportunities and decrease the unemployment rate in Jordan. We cannot say that Jordan’s economy boomed because of Palestinian families only for sure, but it can be said that they acted as catalysts. Migrants usually send remittances back to their home country, but in the case of occupation and forced migration, the money they make is used to help the country especially in the case of integration.
Chapter 9
Charts and Figures

9.1 Chapter Overview:
This chapter will show the results of the study. The results will be shown in different charts and tables with explanation for each different figure. This is the chapter that will make the study clearer for the reader and it is the part that will allow the analysis to be done.

9.2 Age, Place of Birth, Socio-economic Status:

Table 4: Age Percentage of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (Years)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>31.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>9.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>4.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows the percentage of age groups that filled out the survey. As seen above, the highest percentage rate is found in age group 26-30 giving us 36.6%. The following age group is between 21-25 with 31.7%. The age group 36-40 is the least with 4.9%. This is expected because first of all this is the age group using social media platforms thus they will be the ones that respond to the survey. Second of all this age group is the focal point of the generation that I am targeting.

The pie chart below shows the birth place of the respondents. We can see that most of the Palestinian-Jordanians were born in Jordan, 75%. The following respondents were born in Palestine with 10%. These two percentages are the most important, this will be further explained in the coming chapter.
The pie chart above focuses on how the respondents acquired the Jordanian citizenship. The chart was done exactly how the respondents gave their answers to depict the true responses. 49% answered the question by saying that they were born in Jordan. 34% stated that they were born in Jordan and thus their parents already had it and passed it on. 10% answered by saying that they acquired it from their father who in turn took it from their father. 7% stated that they have a temporary passport but no citizenship.
Figure 7: Living Area of Respondents

Figure 5 above shows the area that the respondents live in, rural areas are the refugee camps that some of the respondents come from and Urban areas are several locations located in Amman, the capital of Jordan. Further explanation in details will be discussed in the coming chapter.

Table 5: Socio-economic Status of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Studying OR Working</th>
<th>Employed OR Self-employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>87.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 above presents the socio-economic status of respondents that filled the survey. More than half of them are working (87.8%) and are employed in companies or banks; 78% can be found in the employed section. From those who are working, 9.8% are self-employed. The next highest percentage is 7.3% were participants are neither working nor studying; they are unemployed; this is why in the employed or self-employed section the neither is 7.3% equaling to the neither in studying or working. University students represent only 4.9% of the respondents.
The two different tables below show the position of the person in regards to the area he/she lives in. This table was done because I wanted to see if people who live in rural areas hold different positions than those living in urban areas.

**Table 6: Urban Are Respondents’ Job Positions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdoun</td>
<td>Neither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdoun</td>
<td>University and Career Guidance Counselor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Kursi</td>
<td>Founder and CEO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Madina al-Riyadeyah</td>
<td>Social Media Specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdoun</td>
<td>Legal Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabouq</td>
<td>Solar System Designer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabouq</td>
<td>Architect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabouq</td>
<td>Assistant Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahyet Al-Rasheed</td>
<td>Program Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardens</td>
<td>Budgeting Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabal Amman</td>
<td>Sales Operation Program Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabal Amman</td>
<td>Senior Program Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabal Amman</td>
<td>Manager's Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabal Hussein</td>
<td>Sales Promoter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabal Hussein</td>
<td>Training Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabal Al-Taj</td>
<td>Medical Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamaleeyeh</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalda</td>
<td>Marketing Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalda</td>
<td>UX Designer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Manager</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shmeisani</td>
<td>Visual Communication Designer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shmeisani</td>
<td>Communications Executive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7: Rural Area Respondent's Job Positions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wihdat Camp</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqa’a camp</td>
<td>Messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wihdat Camp</td>
<td>Bank Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huttein Camp</td>
<td>Sales Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp/Location</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Hussein Camp</td>
<td>Bank Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqa’a camp</td>
<td>Checks Collector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amman New Camp</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqa’a camp</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussein Camp</td>
<td>Investor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqa’a camp</td>
<td>Checks Collector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amman New Camp</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqa’a camp</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussein Camp</td>
<td>Investor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alzarqa</td>
<td>Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alzarqa Camp</td>
<td>Maintenance and Support Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amman New Camp</td>
<td>Bank Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussein Camp</td>
<td>Bank Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussein Camp</td>
<td>Messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alzarqa camp</td>
<td>Bank Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqa’a camp</td>
<td>Bank Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Wehdat</td>
<td>Messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussein Camp</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqa’a camp</td>
<td>Messenger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LIVING STATUS**

![Bar Graph showing living status](image)

Figure 8: Living Status of Respondents

Figure 6 above shows whether the respondents live with their families or alone and as it is clear in the bar graph alone, only 3 live alone and others live with their families.
meaning that the whole family lives in Jordan and not Palestine. The reasons for why the three respondents are living alone will be mentioned in the coming chapter.

**9.3 Culture and Political Related Aspects:**

Table 8: Cultural Aspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural songs</th>
<th>Supporting Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows the number of respondents that engage in cultural aspects and go to or engage in supporting events. 24 from the 41 respondents listen to Palestinian cultural songs and 17 from the 41 don’t. 14 out of 41 engage in several different events that support Palestine or the Palestinian cause while 27 don’t.

Table 9: Political Parties Support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supporting a Political Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 above shows the number of respondents who support a particular Palestinian party. Only 5 out of the 41 respondents who filled the survey support a political party, the name of the party was mentioned and will be declared in the next chapter. The largest section from the respondents equaling to 36 do not support any political Palestinian Party.

**9.4 Identity:**

The graph below shows the most important aspect. It demonstrates to what identity the 41 respondents feel most related to, Palestinian, Jordanian, or both. 63% stated that they feel they relate the most to both identities. 22% follow feeling more Palestinian, and 15% feel more Jordanian. This figure illustrates both those living in camps and those living in Amman.
The following two graphs divide the answers of the respondents in order to study what identity respondents who live in camps relate to the most and at the answer of those living in Amman. Those living in Amman (Urban area) had a higher percentage on those who find the Palestinian identity relating to them the most; 36% while only 5% answered the same in camps. Respondents in both areas however mostly answered “both” and this is why it is the highest percentage as shown in both graphs; 55% in the urban area and 74% in the rural area.
Figure 11: Identity according to Rural Area Residents

Figure 8 below shows whether Palestinians in Jordan are willing to return back to Palestine or not. 68% answered yes to the question showing their interest in returning if possible and 32% answered no.

Figure 12: Return to Palestine

The two figures below are done to show the Palestinians living in Amman compared to the Palestinians in refugee camps and their answers to this question. Do they want to return to Palestine now? In the Urban area, which is Amman, 75% answered yes to returning while 25% answered no. 63% of refugee camp respondents answered yes on returning while 37% answered no. This will be further explained in the next chapter.
The below graph shows whether the 13 respondents who answered no are willing to return if circumstances change one day. From there, 10 respondents gave a no to this answer and 3 said yes, showing that most of them believe that Jordan is their real home.
Chapter 10  
Data Analysis

10.1 Chapter Overview:

This chapter includes the analysis to the data that was shown in the previous chapter. There will be an explanation and linkage to the issue of the thesis and how the data provided is exactly like it was expected.

10.2 Age, Place of Birth, Socio-economic Status:

10.2.1 Age of Respondents:

Most of the respondents who completed the survey whether it was distributed directly to them or filled online lie in the age group of 26-30. Following this age group comes 21-25 years old. This is what was expected because first of all the main gap found in the literature is this age group and these were the main ones targeted. This is the main age group from the age groups listed in the survey that I wanted to target and their answers were the most important. Also, and this is an important point to mention, high percentages of social media users come from the generation of this age group, especially Facebook Platform and this is where I posted my survey to make sure I reach the highest number of people.

According to information taken by Statista from Facebook itself on January 2018, the age group that uses Facebook in high frequencies the most are age groups of 18-24 and 25-34 which is exactly what was shown in the graph above. This can be shown in the below graph taken from a study done by Facebook.
10.2.2 Place of Birth and Citizenship:

The second graph that was listed in the previous chapter was focusing on the place of birth. An important point to mention is that all the people in the survey are Palestinians but they are all living in Jordan now. As the graph states, the major part – 75% - were born in Jordan followed by 10% born in Palestine, and 15% born elsewhere. This was important to ask in the survey because I believe the place of birth is an effect on the identity itself, on the attachment to the identity, and to what country is considered home.

Usually, people answer the question of “Who Am I” with describing something about themselves that they relate to the most, and this usually is the place of birth. This is where the meaning of place is the most important and where the relationship between the person and the place takes place. The person builds a social and physical connection and a life in the place that the person is born and raised in and this causes an attachment to the place sometimes more than the physical aspect of a place.

The citizenship graph shows how the respondents gained their Jordanian citizenship. 93% of all respondents are born in Jordan. These were divided into three categories according to the answers of the participants themselves. Answers were illustrated in the graph as is so the research depicts what the respondents exactly want. These three
categories are: born, born+parents, and father+grandfather. This means that 93% of this generation obtained the citizenship because their parents had it from their parents and thus they directly obtained it. The remaining 7% are those who currently hold the temporary passport but without a citizenship. As explained in chapter 4, these do not have the full rights as those who hold the citizenship, however, they are all employed in Jordan.

10.2.3 Socio-economic status:

Figure number 4 illustrates the area that the respondents live in. The two main areas targeted are urban and rural areas. The urban area is Amman; the capital of Jordan and rural areas are a number of refugee camps. 57% of the respondents are living currently in Amman while 43% are in refugee camps.

According to a report done by UNRWA in 2016, there are 2,175,491 registered Palestinian refugees living in Jordan. Most of them have a Jordanian citizenship even if they live in camps. There are ten authorized camps operating in Jordan that accommodate nearly 370,000 refugee (18% of the refugees of the country). The camps have 171 schools and 121,368 students attending and getting their education. There are also 25 health facilities. The ten camps in Jordan are Amman New Camp, Jerash camp, Baqa’a camp, Huttein camp, Irbid camp, Jabal Al Hussein camp, Jerash camp, Marka camp, Souf camp, Talbieh camp, and Zarqa camp. In this survey, respondents came from Alzarqa camp, Al Hussein camp, Al Wehdat camp, Amman New Camp, and Huttein camp (UNRWA, 2016). The Palestinians from these camps all come to Amman to work and find a living. This is because the socio-economic conditions in Amman is better and finding work in Amman will ensure a better future for them. This is why respondents go back and forth from the camps they reside in to Amman every day.

Table 2 illustrates the employment of the respondents living in camp and out. Some of the respondents were university students and some are currently unemployed. Most of the respondents are working however. Those who are working were asked whether they are employed or self-employed and four respondents answered that they are unemployed. One of these works alone as an investor in the agricultural sector, another one has his/her own company in the private sector with five employees. The third
respondent under the self-employed is the CEO and founder of his/her own technological company. Finally, the fifth respondent is self-employed in his own company but decided to work as the assistant manager and has 50 employees in the company. The first two respondents live in rural areas or refugee camps, precisely Jabal Al-Hussein and Alzarqa respectively.

There are two respondents who are currently unemployed, one of them lives in Amman and graduated from university three months ago. The second one has been unemployed for five years and is living in Jabal Al Hussein refugee camp; the person lies in the age group of 35-40 years old. This does not show anything of importance because the first unemployed person needs time to find a job after graduating from university and the latter person might have decided to retire.

Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the position of each respondent. Table three focuses on respondents in urban areas and table four focuses on those in rural areas or refugee camps. The aim of this question was to know if the job position will be different according to the area of residence. It is important to note that all respondents work in Amman, those residing in refugee camps go back and forth to Amman to work. Respondents living in refugee camps work as bank employers, teachers, messengers in banks, and sales coordinator. These job positions are considered low level jobs with low salaries. Respondents living in Amman hold positions such as project manager, marketing officer, sales operation manager, university counselor, visual communication designer, and more that are considered middle to high level jobs that pay medium to high salaries. Note that this information is according to this sample and we cannot generalize it to the entire Palestinian-Jordanian population.

Rural workers tend to do production work; machine operators, artisans, farmers, miners, and laborers. Urban workers tend to work in management, research and development, and sometimes sales and support (McGránahan, 1988). People believe that these types of jobs are more prone to foreign competition and this can create problems to rural areas, in addition to the experience that they would not really have; based on the thinking that they did not receive a proper education when compared to the urban area settlers. One cannot forget the fact that these low-level jobs will lead to a low income and thus bad services and construction.
There are many reasons for why this could be the case. First of all, there parents could have had low income to allow them to enter good universities in Jordan. The number of family members living on the household could have been more than the family could handle and thus education was of low importance. They could have studied in community colleges not universities.

10.2.4 Living Status:
This brings us to the next graph, whether the respondents are living alone or with their families. Only three answered that they are living alone for different reasons. Two respondents stated that their family currently resides in Palestine and one stated that his/her family resides in the USA. It makes sense that most of the respondents live with their families because the phenomena of the targeted age group living alone is not present in the Middle East countries unless they are living outside their countries for studying. Arabs leave their families houses when they have enough income to build their own families and move out. The two respondents whose parents reside in Palestine completed their studies in Jordan and were directly employed. Moreover, 75% of respondents were born in Jordan and were living with their families since birth and this is how they acquired the citizenship.

Where and with whom you live hold a lot of meaning, some people consider a lot of countries they lived in home. Others consider “home” a place they never went to but the stories of this place is passed through generations. The place we live in and the people living with us, for better or worse, preserve an iconic status and a special place in our hearts, even if the place we live in is not the same as the place we originally come from. In this case, both places hold a special place in our hearts and both represent different ideas in our heads.

10.3 Identity:
If you ask the old Palestinian generation who lived in Palestine before they were forced to migrate and before the state of Israel was born, they would tell you about how amazing, simple, and beautiful life was in Palestine. It is where they consider home even if they are now settled in different countries.
Our grandmothers always say the same stories on how they made a living by working in agriculture and trade. They talk about how hospitable they were and how any visitor from outside Palestine never asked for warmth, food, water, or anything because he/she was always treated with respect, their homes were the visitors’ homes as well. Stories about neighborly visits with fruits and coffee are always told to us grandchildren. They teach us on how important education was for both men and women and how it bought honor to the family. They also always mention how they all had to wear the cultural Palestinian clothes when attending a wedding, the “tawb” that my grandmother still wears to any of our weddings. The traditional “zaghrouteh”; the sentence that they used to say when a couple gets married in Palestine, is still said in weddings by the old generation. When this generation gets together, the “falahi” or old Palestinian dialect appears and it is so nice to hear.

All this only proves that if you ask my grandmother, her brothers, and her friends whether they consider themselves more Palestinians than Jordanians even with the Jordanian citizenship, they will answer that their identity is and will always be Palestinian. They do not however believe that a day will come where they will return or a day where our generation will go back and see Palestine’s beauty. They however will leave everything behind if this day ever comes.

This was the most important part in the survey. Several direct and indirect questions were answered by the respondents that could help me analyze their attachment to the Palestinian identity. It is important to know whether this generation of Palestinians hold the same level of attachment as the older generation, especially since they did not live there and did not witness the events that the older generation witnessed.

10.3.1 Events and songs supporting Palestine:

The first two questions asked in this part was whether the respondents listen to Palestinian cultural or patriotic songs and whether they attend Palestinian events. 24 answered that they do listen to songs while the remaining 17 don’t. 14 stated that they do attend events that support Palestine while 27 stated that they don’t. Listening to music and songs related to a culture or attending events like “dabkeh” can show how well you are attached or the connected to the culture and identity of a country. Cultural and patriotic songs usually reflect and carries the values of a culture. An identity is
passed on to generations through music and songs that act as a thread connecting the generations together. Cultural songs and events can also help bring people of one culture together. In this case, bringing Palestinians together.

The events supporting Palestine that respondents go to vary between watching plays, being part of demonstrations and protests, organizing events in universities, and boycotting Israeli products. Others are a part of the “dabkeh” dance group called “hannouneh”; the cultural dance group of the Palestinian culture. Cultural events help enhance the unique meaning and values behind the physical and social aspect of an identity. In order to understand the community and identity you come from, it is very important to understand the cultural aspect of it. Since respondents did not have a chance to live in Palestine, the events and songs pass this culture to them and it resonates it in their minds. Knowing that this generation still attends and listens to songs of their original identity show that they still have this sense of attachment to it and that they still relate to it.

The respondents were then asked whether they support a specific Palestinian political party. Only 5 from the 41 respondents answered yes. The different parties followed are Fateh, Hamas, Kataeb, and Palestinian People’s Party. The fifth person answered that he/she supports all of them. Sometimes, a political party attaches a person to an identity or to a person more than religion or culture. Russel J. Dalton defines Party identification as “an early-socialized, enduring, affective, psychological identification with a specific political party” (Dalton, 2016). The more you are related to a party that belongs to a specific country, the more you are connected to that area by actions such as voting and political participation. This part however only had 5 respondents who answered yes. The remaining 36 respondents do not care about any political party.

10.3.2 Identity you relate to the most:

The respondents were asked what identity they relate to the most, Jordanian, Palestinian, or both. In figure 7, all participants residing in both urban and rural areas were illustrated. 63% of all respondents believed that they relate to both identities equally. They were all asked “why” they feel that this identity is what they relate to the most and the answers are interesting and different. The answers to those who answered “both” were the following:
“Having two identities represents a multicultural atmosphere”
“Having two identities represents a multicultural atmosphere”
“I was raised in Jordan but the Palestinian identity is what I am”
“I relate to every Arab region”
“Palestinian by blood, Jordanian by culture and both are my name”
“Palestine is my origin and Jordan is where I grew up”
“I was born in Jordan but raised as a Palestinian”
“I love both”
“I am a Palestinian who is loyal to Jordan”
“I was born in Jordan I lived my life and studied here all my friends are in Jordan, but Palestine is my original country my love and the country of my ancestors that holds all the emotions and memories that my parents have taught me “
“Belonging to patriotism”
“Palestinian by blood, Jordanian by loyalty and culture”
“Jordan is the country that I lived in and enjoyed everything it offered and I never experienced alienation and Palestine is my dream land”
“I'm a Palestinian made in Jordan”
“Although I have Palestinian roots, I was born and raised in Jordan and I am treated purely as a Jordanian citizen”
“I am Jordanian but Palestine is my hometown and It is where I am originally from. Palestine is an integral part of my identity”
“I owe Jordan a lot for teaching me and having me that’s why I cannot deny its favor for me and my family. At the same time Palestine is the origin and an integral part of my heart and soul. In different circumstances, we would still live there”

The answers represent why those answered “both” feel as so. The answers illustrate the loyalty the respondents have for their dual identities. Palestine represents an integral part of who they are, it is where they originally come from what their parents passed along for them. Jordan represents not only where they currently live but it is their home; where they were born and raised and where their loved ones reside. They cannot deny the favors that Jordan did for them and this is why they relate to both identities.
Looking specifically into the answers of those living in rural camp areas, 74% relate also to both, and not to the Palestinian identity. What was surprising was that those living in urban areas had a lower percentage of those related to both, 55% to be exact, because 36% believe they relate more to the Palestinian identity. In the rural refugee camps, only 5% answered that they relate more to the Palestinian identity. This for me was surprising because I always believed that those living in refugee camps are more attached to the Palestinian identity. However, this case apparently differs from one country to the other, especially since even if they live in refugee camps they hold the same rights since they have the citizenship. Those who answered that they belong to the Palestinian identity more had the following answers:

- “I was raised as a Palestinian”
- “My roots”
- “I have a temporary passport and no Jordanian citizenship”
- “Palestinian identity is in my blood; I was born and raised on this identity”
- “My roots and origin”
- “Identify with the struggle and my dad had to leave Gaza for better opportunities, I understand Jordan will forever be my homeland but I still tell everyone that I am Palestinian to let people know more about it”
- “I always have an identity crisis. My family has history with Palestine. No emotional connection with Jordan although it is where I was born and raised”
- “I was raised with a strong connection to Palestine”

The answers of those who believe they are more Palestine comes from being raised in a family that closely connected them to it; teaching them that it Palestine represents their roots and origins.

The aim was to see if the living condition will influence what identity they relate to the most. Knowing that most of those living in the rural refugee camps have low-end jobs that pay low salaries and as stated in previous chapters live in smaller houses, I expected the answers to be different. 21% of those residing in refugee camps defined their identity as Jordanian while only 9% in Amman identified themselves as Jordanian. The answers of those respondents are as follows:

- “I am loyal to Jordan since birth”
- “All my respect is to Jordan”
- “Loyalty to Jordan”
- “Jordan comes first”
- “I was raised with little connection to Palestine since I was raised in Jordan”

The answers depict the thinking of the respondents when they answered this question. This is only a sample of what could be the thinking of many Palestinians residing in Jordan. Many Palestinians these days do not recognize their origins as Palestinians and they say that their ancestors are purely Jordanian. They feel that they belong to Jordan more because they lived in it their entire lives, their friends and family are there, and most probably their surroundings are purely Jordanians. They might psychologically believe that if their group is all Jordanian, they would not fit in thus they change who they are in order to be accepted. Moreover, many Palestinians and Jordanians have the same family names and thus people cannot differentiate. Many Palestinians use this to their own advantage.

After asking to what Identity they relate to the most, the question of what the identity they chose means to them is important to understand. Identity is what makes up an individual and when a person has a strong sense of identity it means that he/she truly understands him/herself. Thus when the respondents explain what this identity means to them we can have a sense of why they relate to feeling more Palestinian, Jordanian, or both. The answers were attention-grabbing. Those who answered that they relate to both identities defined identity as:

- “It is my history”
- “Resistance”
- “It is where life and my daily details are. Palestine is a right that was taken away by force”
- “This identity means I am made up of different Arab cultures”
- “Identity to me is what a person identifies with internally, and all the external factors set upon the person and the impact those factors had on the person”
- “Means that I can relate to issues/ problems/ incidents/ events in both countries”
- “Origins”
- “Sense of belonging:
- “Sense of loyalty and belonging”
- “Love and loyalty to both Jordan and Palestine”
- “It is life, stability, safety and security, peace and love”
- “Loyalty to the country, to the population, to the place that you are from and belong to. My first and forever love”
- “Loyalty to the Arabism”
- “Memories and stories of culture and origin”
- “My origin and sense of belonging”
- “I’m Jordanian with a Palestinian identity”
- “Everything I own in this life”
- “Identity are the roots that extends in my personality and it’s the memory of my ancestors, it is cultural and social inheritance that makes my life and existence”
- “I got my identity from my Grandfather who is the President of Palestinian Land Society who wrote several books about Palestinian history. Since I was born and raised in Jordan I got the Jordanian Identity”
- “I feel proud that I belong to these two identities. I feel proud to be born on such a noble land who witnessed many heroes and proud to be Palestinian and belonging to a holy land and people who do not give up in defending their land.”
- “The right to belong to the holy land and refusing the Zionist movement”

These answers show how respondents are very similar to each other and that these two identities reassemble people who differ in looks and personality together. This also proves that identity holds different meanings and people have different opinions on it. For the respondents, holding a dual identity of Palestinian and Jordanian means that they are loyal to both, their origins and roots and memories that their ancestors have in addition to the never-ending loyalty to the place they were born and raised in. Both identities shaped who they are as people now. They have a clear answer for the question of “who am I?”.

Those who relate to the Palestinian identity have different answers for what this identity means to them. If you search for Palestinian in different dictionaries, you would get different meanings. In an American dictionary, they define a Palestinian as a person who is a native inhabitant of Palestine or a person who formerly lived in
Palestine (Random House, 2018). A British dictionary defines it as “a native or inhabitant of the former British mandate, or their descendants, especially Arabs living in the Palestinian Administered Territories; Jordan, Lebanon, or Israel, or as refugees from Israeli-occupied territory” (Collins English Dictionary, 2012). This is what being Palestinian formally means, in books and dictionaries. What this identity means to the Palestinian respondents is the following:

- “Palestine is the birth place of my family and the 3rd holiest site in Islam. I am proud to be PLO !!”
- “My traditions, culture, and origin”
- “It is a part of my heritage my identity”
- “Identity for me means homeland, my roots, my background, the complete composition, nationality is part of identity, everything I am living for, and without identity I am nothing”
- “My soul”
- “It means belonging to friends, people, interests that shape us and this is why I identify with the Palestinian Struggle, seeing that my parents always enjoy talking about politics and Palestine at home”
- “Identity goes beyond nationalities and countries; it is what makes you you. It is knowing your weakness and strengths and knowing how you can contribute to the community you are in. it is probably even more complex than that”
- “This identity represents a dream”
- “Where memory and reality meet”

Those who are related more to the Palestinian identity do not define their identity as it is in books and dictionaries. Informally, the Palestinians proved that their Palestinian identity represents their souls, homeland, their traditions, their memories, and a dream that they wish to reach.

The last category is those who relate to the Jordanian identity more. This identity means the following to them:

- “Everything in this life, loyalty and sense of belonging and love”
- “Loyalty”
- “It’s an identity that unifies and doesn’t differentiate; an Arabic Islamic identity made up of all citizens”
- “It’s a legal documentation that includes personal details about its holder”
- “Jordan comes first”
- “It doesn’t really mean anything to me I feel like I was born into it and I had to go with the flow”

One interesting answer was the last one stated, this one respondent might represent many people who feel identity does not mean anything. The respondent relates more to the Jordanian identity and the reason is that he/she was given the nationality at birth and it was not chosen by the respondent. This is why the respondent does not relate to the Palestinian identity or in this case not even the Jordanian. This is a case that can be discussed and why people believe identity is a complex term to be identified. Some people do not get to choose their identity and that it is given to them by birth, unchanging and forced on them. Others believe that a piece of every place they visit or get to live in adds to their identity, making it complex and made up of more than one aspect.

The next concern was whether the respondents are willing to return to Palestine and start their lives there, leaving everything they have and built in Jordan behind. To many Palestinians, leaving Jordan and the lives they were born in is hard, no matter how much they are related to the Palestinian identity. Even if they listen to cultural songs, attend supporting events, believe and defend the Palestinian cause, and have the Palestinian identity running in their blood, the question of leaving is very hard.

The first generation that were forced to leave Palestine found it hard to settle down and build their lives again in the many countries they scattered to. Jordan was the only country that granted many of the Palestinians the Jordanian nationality. Even though having a huge number of refugees in Jordan strained the Jordanian economy, all sources and people admit that the Palestinians are a huge reason for the great health and prosperity in Jordan. This is why the question of whether they are willing to go back to Palestine is important, are they willing to leave everything behind again and start over from scratch. One cannot forget the fact that to the new generation did not get the chance to live in Palestine and it represents the land of their dreams and the unknown to them.
The results showed that most of the respondents want to return to Palestine no matter what identity they relate to the most; 68% want to return while 32% do not. For those Palestinians who live in camps, wanting to return is what was expected. It is normal for a person to relate to the identity of the area he/she currently lives in. Palestinians who came to Jordan whether living in camps or no live the best life compared to those who settled down in other countries. Acquiring the Jordanian citizenship allowed them to live and be treated like the pure Jordanians. Even those who only have the temporary passport live an easier life compared to other refugees because they are able to enter different countries like Lebanon for example. However, focusing on those living in rural refugee camps, if they were given the chance to return to Palestine where they can live in the houses that their ancestors left for them, where they own good agricultural land, and might even hold better jobs, they would leave. This is why 63% of the respondents living in rural refugee camps want to return and 37% do not.

What was surprising for me was to know the answer of those living in Amman. Basically, I wanted to know that if living in an urban area, attending private schools, working in medium to high end jobs, and living in apartments or villas no matter to what identity they relate to the most, will cause them to not want to get back to Palestine. Many factors could be the reason for their answer to be no. First of all, this generation did not really live in Palestine and it represents the unknown. Second of all, they were born and raised equally to the purely Jordanians. Finally, their living conditions are good enough to offer them everything they need in a country that is not really considered theirs. With all this in mind, it was unpredicted that 75% of Amman residents would answer yes and only 25% would answer no.

The reasons for those who answered that they would return were the following:
- “It’s our land and original home:
- “It’s my hometown”
- “Because I deserve to live in my country or wherever”
- “Because it is my home, my country, and the land of my ancestors”
- “I want to return to my homeland”
- “I still consider it my homeland, but living there is very difficult”
- “My homeland”
- “Because of the love I hold for this country”
- "The love I have for this country"
- "Humans have to go to their origin though my life in Jordan is suiting me since I lived in it for a long time safely but seeing your country is equal to happiness"
- "It’s the land of my ancestors and family and our properties”
- "To get to know the country of my ancestors and get back our home”
- "The country that I belong to”
- "The origin of my ancestors”
- "Palestinian by origin, my parents are Palestinian as well as my ancestors and I’d be honored to go back to my origin”
- "My homeland is my mother”
- "Where we originally come from and the place I feel where I feel I belong to the most. But now a short visit is more than enough”
- "It's my right to go back”
- "It is where my parents lived and had to leave because of war thus it represents my motherland and eternal home”
- "It is my land”
- "I did not give up my land”
- "It is a country where many people and foreigners wish to see. Many historical and Islamic events took place there and it has people who are willing to stand up for what is right and wrong; a place where real exists”

These answers show that these Palestinians did not give up on their right of return. Some believe that they did not give it up but were forced to leave it, others believe that it is their right to return to their homeland, to their origin, and to the land of their ancestors. Others believe that seeing their country is happiness to them. Others agree that the circumstances now allow them only to visit, but they would live their if it was suitable.

Those 13 respondents who answered no were asked if they would return if the circumstances differ, if they could live in Palestine like their ancestors lived. Even with this in mind, 10 out of the 13 respondents answered no to this and only 3 said that they would return if the circumstances were different. The answers to why they would or wouldn’t was the following:
- “It is hard to leave your whole life behind, but I will keep visiting”
- “I started my life and career here in Jordan and moving will be difficult, you can’t just pack a life and leave”
- “My life is here”
- “My loyalty is to my country Jordan”
- “Jordan comes first”
- “It’s a dream”
- “Jordan has been my home since birth I do not feel like I belong to Palestine. My family, friends, and whole life is in Jordan”
- “I never visited or lived there”

These 10 who answered no are only a sample of many of the young generation of Palestinians in Jordan. The 2nd and 3rd generations did not choose the life they live now, they had to accept it and live in it. They are now working in Jordan and starting their lives as adults, the phase that comes after university and school. Their family and friends are in Jordan and leaving to go back to Palestine only means that they would leave all this behind and start all over.

The three who answered yes to going back if circumstances changed explained it by stating the following:
- “The love and loyalty for this country”
- “It is the country of my ancestors”
- “I never lived there and I know that life pattern there is different. If circumstances change I will consider”

Their love and loyalty to the country and the fact that it was their ancestors’ country makes them want to go back even if the situation was different. The life pattern there might be different than the pattern they are used to in Jordan but one respondent stated that they will consider even though it might be hard.

Knowing that this was a difficult question to answer, I wanted to know what Palestinians of my generation would feel regarding going back. The older generation would go back because life there is not unknown for them. They lived there once and were happy and they can do so again. Every person who was expelled in 1948, along with their descendants, have the right to return. It is considered a personal right for each Palestinian and a collective right for all of them together. Each refugee,
Palestinian or other, should be able to choose among alternatives, whether staying in where they live now or go back to their country of origin. It is important to know that the right of return is actually a right based on international law and supported by UN resolution 194, which is reaffirmed by the General Assembly each year (Musih, Bronstein, 2008).

10.4 General Analysis:

Older people tend to be more attached to a place than the younger generation because they develop "insideness" to the place they come from or live in. The place with time can become an extension to the self. A study done by Hay in 1998 proves that the attachment of a person to a specific identity and place will be stronger if they lived there for a long time and left, while those who either lived there for a short period of time or never at all will have a weaker sense of attachment (Anton, Lawrence, 2014). Younger generation tend to might be less attached to where they are from for many reasons. Most of the age group targeted aim to study or work away from home, thus their sense of attachment has to not be strong. The older generation did not have the option of leaving to work or study abroad available for them as it is nowadays. Traditions focused more on having them work and marry. These days, high percentages of the age group targeted in this thesis continue their university education out of their country and sometimes continue working abroad as well. Thus, they think about their future more than their attachment to a particular place or person.

Urban area settlers might also be less attached to a specific place because they tend to travel for leisure as well. This can be taken as the case of the upper/middle class compared to the lower class. The younger generation coming from rich families is recently deciding to travel the world to experience living in new cultures and gain an identity from everywhere they go. It is more likely to find an urban area settler with two passports than a rural area settler.

In the case of Palestinians living in Jordan, this attachment to the identity can come because of the attachment to the Palestinian cause itself. We can see from the quotes of participants that most of them were raised in a family that is interested in politics and especially Palestinian politics and the issue itself. Even though they have never really lived there and some did not even visit, being raised in a household that talks
about it daily and mentions its history as well as support the cause can definitely strengthen the attachment to that identity. From the results, one can see that a large number of the respondents believe in and attached to the dual identity they have. Being raised in Jordan with family and friends, as well as making memories in one-place attaches a person. Knowing that your ancestors belong to somewhere else and have memories and lives in a country that was taken by force attaches you to the country of origin as well.

Many rural refugee settlers answered that they feel they belong to Jordan more than Palestine. This could be because they were scared to answer thinking that someone would read the survey; although it was made clear that the person will remain anonymous. This could also be for them to show that they fit in perfectly, even though deep down they do not feel that. Also, urban settlers have ontological security; they are living in better life conditions that are more secure and maybe less supervised. This allows them to express themselves more freely about belonging to Palestine. Giddens explains how ontological security leaves the person with the feeling of stability and continuity. This feeling enables the person to act more freely and cope with any personal or state tensions and anxiety (Inesedy, 2002).

What was surprising though was the fact that the place of birth did not really effect the attachment. Those who were born outside of Jordan and Palestine still felt attached to the Palestinian and Jordanian identity. Again, this can be because of the fact that they were raised here, studied here, or even worked here. Their families and friends live in Jordan and share the same ideas on life. Living in Jordan now connects all the respondents together, since they were born outside but lived their lives in Jordan, the attachment to the identity was not really effected.

Palestinians living in Jordan face a crisis of identity. They live in a struggle of trying to preserve their Palestinian identity but at the same time accept and fit in with their Jordanian identity. The Instrumental or social theory of identity explains the Palestinian identity struggle well. The identity of a person is not fixed and is not constructed; a person can change his/her identity in order to fit in the surrounding. We can also say that the group or surrounding affects the attachment to the identity or the feeling that a person does not belong to the original identity anymore. This is the case
for many Palestinians who stated that they belong to the Jordanian identity or to both identities and not only their original Palestinian identity.

From the results that represent a sample of the Palestinians in Jordan, a person can see that the majority of the second and third generation asked believes in their dual citizenship. They still believe they are Palestinians but the identity for them is represented in history, culture, songs, and family. This also stresses on the fact that identity is not fixed; they were born with a Palestinian identity but living in Jordan added the Jordan identity in them.

As discussed and explained in the literature review, the idea of an imagined community for second and third generation of Palestinians is different because they do not actually have a land now to stand upon; they lack the territory. The role of memory, the never ending political struggle to return, and the role of culture all meet to construct an imagined community in the second and third generation of Palestinians. This is because these two generations did not actually have the chance to live on their land that is currently lost and colonized by others; which increases the difficulty. Thus, memory compensates for the loss of the land as a point of reference in the construction of the imagined community.
Chapter 11

Conclusion

Identity is a complex unclear term; people have different opinions on it and define it according to their own beliefs. The issue of Palestinian identity as seen in the literature review is a controversial issue. Many historians believe that it was lost with the land while others believe that it did not exist prior to the Nakbah. Palestinians are spread all over the world and many now have dual identity. This might mean that the Palestinian identity can fade away with time, if and only if the second and coming generations are no longer attached to it.

After living in Jordan my whole life and completing my university studies in Lebanon, the issue of Palestinian identity increased in importance. After reading a lot of literature on the Nakbah and life in Palestine before as well as how the generation that lived through the Nakbah built their lives in the countries they left to, and how seeing and knowing that both my grandmothers, their brothers, and their friends, are willing to leave the life they built in Jordan to go back to Palestine, I decided to conduct a study to know if Palestinian millennials are willing to do the same, how attached they are to their Palestinian identity, and what their identity means to them. Thus, my research question became "A comparison between Urban and Rural Palestinian Refugee Settlers in Jordan and their Attachment to their Palestinian Identity".

The survey was divided into several parts. The first part focused on getting the socio-economic information of the respondents, specifically where they live, whether they are employed, self-employed, or unemployed, and their position in their jobs. The second part focused on whether they engage in events that support the Palestinian cause, listen to cultural songs, or support a political Palestinian Party. The final part had questions regarding attachment to identity; what identity do the respondents relate to the most and why, what this identity means to them, and whether they are willing to go back to Palestine now or if the circumstances change.

The results showed that those living in rural refugee camps hold low-end jobs like bank messengers. Respondents living in Amman urban area hold medium to high end positions like designers, social media officers, program coordinators, and more. This
could be for different reasons, mainly education. Many of the respondents engage in cultural activities in order to keep the identity alive. Culture can play a very important role in resistance and preserving the identity. Taking the Palestinian case, there are Palestinian cinemas, theaters, poetry, and literature. This is all because the Palestinian identity is being threatened and culture is being used as a way to preserve it and enrich it. Memory is also a very important tool in preserving identity, I believe that Israelis and other states could keep trying to destroy Palestinian identity on paper but as long as it is in the memory of the old generation and being taught to the new generations, it will never fade away. The new generation takes part in all events and demonstrations standing with the cause as well as surround themselves with those who feel the same way about the identity and Palestinian cause. From the results of the survey distributed, many of my generation attend events that support the Palestinian cause like demonstrations, fundraisers, plays, and dabkeh events. Others listen to Palestinian cultural songs to keep the identity alive in them. Some politically support many of the Palestinian political parties.

Almost half the respondents feel that they relate to both the Palestinian and Jordanian identity. This makes sense because this generation was born in Jordan but raised with a Palestinian identity, keeping the fact that both cultures are very similar in mind. When dividing the answers of the respondents according to rural refugee camp settlers and urban settlers, it appeared that both settlers do feel related to both but the 21% of rural areas feel more related to the Jordanian identity while 5% feel more Palestinian. Even when this is the case, rural refugee settlers still want to go back to Palestine. Urban area settlers feel related to both identity but the next high percentage feel more Palestinian, unlike refugee camp settlers. The higher percentage as well want to return to Palestine even if they feel highly related to the Jordanian identity as well.

This thesis proved that urban Palestinian settlers in Jordan that come from the second and third generations are also attached to the Palestinian identity but without forgetting the Jordanian one. It also proved that rural camp Palestinian settlers are attached to the Jordanian identity and not only the Palestinian identity; which is the opposite of what I believed would be the case. The results filled the gap that was not present in the literature review. There is no focus on the second and third generation of Palestinians living abroad, not only in Jordan. Thus, there is not really an answer to the question of
their identity attachment, which causes people to make assumptions. The results in this thesis reflect a small sample of what could be an entire generation.
References


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Appendix 1 – English Survey

1- Age: 15-20  21-25  26-30  31-35  35-40  41-45

2- Were you born in Jordan or Palestine?

3- If you were born in Palestine, at what age did you come to Jordan?

4- Are you currently living in Amman?  Yes  No

5- If your answer was yes, please state the area you are in (E.g. Abdoun, Dabouq, Jabal Amman…)

6- If your answer is no, place state what governorate you are in:

7- How long have you been in Jordan?

8- Do you have a Jordanian citizenship? If yes, why? If no, why?

9- Are you currently in: School  University  Working  None

10- If you are working, are you employed, or self-employed?

11- Please state what is the title of your position

12- How long have you been in this position?

13- If self-employed, what is the number of your employees?

14- In what sector of the economy do you locate your business?

15- If unemployed, how long have you been out of work?
16- Is your family with you in Jordan or do you live alone?

17- If your answer is living alone, please state why:

18- Do you

- Listen to Palestinian cultural songs regularly?  Yes  No

- Support a specific Palestinian political Party?  Yes  No

  If yes, please state the name of the party ________________

- Do you engage in any Palestinian cultural activities (e.g. Dabkeh)?  Yes  No

  If yes, please state the activity ________________

- Did you ever engage in any event that aimed to support the Palestinian cause?  Yes  No

  If yes, please state what it was ________________

- Do you still want to return to Palestine?  Yes  No

  If yes, please state why ________________

- If your answer is NO, will you return if the circumstances changed?  Yes  No

  Please state why ________________

- What identity do you feel you relate to the most: Palestinian  Jordanian  Both

  Please state why: ________________

- What does this identity mean to you?
Appendix 2 – Arabic Survey:

1. العمر: 15-20 21-25 30-35 36-40

2. هل ولدت في الأردن أم في فلسطين؟

3. إذا كنت قد ولدت في فلسطين، في أي عمر أتبت إلى الأردن؟

4. هل تعيش حاليا في عمان؟

5. إذا كنت إجابتكم نعم، يرجى ذكر المنطقة التي تتواجد فيها (مثلاً عبدون، جبل عمان، جبل الحسين، جبل التاج ....)

6. إذا كانت إجابتكم لا، ما هي المحافظة التي تقيم فيها?

7. منذ متى تعيش في الأردن؟

8. هل تحمل الجنسية الأردنية؟

إذا كان الجواب نعم، لماذا؟ إذا كان الجواب لا فلماذا؟
9. هل أنت حالياً في: المدرسة         الجامعة             العمل              لا شيء

10. إذا كنت تعمل، هل أنت موظف، أو تعمل لحساب الخاص؟

11. ما هو منصبك الحالي؟

12. منذ متى وأنت في هذا المنصب؟

13. إذا كنت تعمل حالياً لحسابك الخاص، ما هو عدد موظفيك؟

14. في أي قطاع تعمل؟

15. إذا كنت حالياً لا تعمل، كم من الوقت لك عاطل عن العمل؟

16. هل عائلتك معك في الأردن أم هل تعيش وحدهك؟

17. إذا كان الجواب بأنك تعيش وحدهك، يرجى ذكر السبب:

18. هل تقوم ب: الاستماع إلى الأغاني الثقافية الفلسطينية بانتظام؟ نعم لا
دعم حزب سياسي فلسطيني معين؟ نعم لا
إذا كان الجواب نعم، يرجى ذكر اسم الحزب __________________________

هل تشارك في أي أنشطة ثقافية فلسطينية (مثلًا: دبكة)؟
إذا كان الجواب نعم، يرجى ذكر النشاط __________________________

هل ما زلت تريد العودة إلى فلسطين؟ نعم لا
إذا كان الجواب نعم، يرجى ذكر السبب __________________________

إذا كان الجواب لا، فهل ستعود إذا تغيرت الظروف؟ نعم لا
يرجى ذكر السبب __________________________

ما هي الهوية التي تشعر بأنك متعلق بها أكثر من غيرها: أردنية فلسطينية كلاهما
يرجى ذكر السبب __________________________

ماذا تعني هذه الهوية لك؟