The Palestinian Diaspora in Jordan: A case of Systematic Discriminations

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this research is to study the discourse constructions of the Palestinians in the diaspora residing in Jordan. The discourse constructed of the Palestinian, enables the government to discriminatory actions towards the Palestinians residing in Jordan, where for example Palestinian-origin Jordanian citizens have in recent years experienced their Jordanian citizenship been revoked. Jordan does this as an action to protect their own cultural and national identity. The theoretical framework which will be used in this research will be the one of constructivism, where the theory is used to analyze the construction of a threat. The research will be using a critical discourse analysis and will be analyzing speeches held from King Abdullah II of Jordan. The conclusions of this research will show how the Palestinian discourse in Jordan enables the Jordanian government to implement discriminatory policies toward the Palestinian-origin Jordanian citizens.

Keywords: Palestinian* Discrimination* Jordan* Constructivism* Diaspora* Cultural Identity* National Identity*

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1. Introduction

After the events of 1948 and the international community acknowledged the state of Israel as a sovereign one, marked the beginning of the diasporic condition of the Palestinians. The Palestinians spread out to neighboring countries and around the Middle East, some others remained in Israel as people of internal displacement and became refugees in their own land, which they still are until today (Brandt 1988: 224). The diaspora has been affected from other events than just the one of the Nakba according to the Palestinian-Israel conflict, for example the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the two Intifadas(uprisings), or the more contemporary case of the war in Gaza in 2014 (Smith 2012: 252-254; Korany 2012: 98; Shlaim 2012: 282). These events are all taken in mind to the reason of why the diaspora exists, however the mentioned events will not be researched in depth.

Max Weber was an advocate of "value neutral" research or rather the strive for it, this research will try to strive for it to be as objective as possible and will try to use as value neutral notions as possibly can be used in a topic of such sensitivity that the conflict between Palestine and Israel holds (Halperin & Heath 2012: 55-56). However as this research will focus on the Palestinian diaspora (e.g. the Palestinian side of the conflict) the event from 1948 will from hereinafter be named Nakba. The events of the Nakba affected thousands of Palestinians, and drove them out of their homes as Jewish settlers moved in, in their place. To define the Palestinian diaspora one has to have a clear point of departure, thus one has to acknowledge the events of the Nakba. Therefore the main reason of the Palestinian diaspora will have its departure point in the events of 1948 (Farah 2013: 42).

The case that will be researched in depth will be the Palestinians living in the diaspora in Jordan with a clear departure point of the Nakba amongst other events.

There are several Palestinian refugee groups in Jordan due to the previous mentioned events as well as the phenomenon of the Jordanian annexation of the West Bank and the disengagement of it in 1988 (Schulz 2003: 46-47). These groups can be described as refugees as a result of before and after the disengagement from the west bank which was a turning point for the status of Palestinians in Jordan. As Jordan had annexed the West Bank, all its citizens was considered Jordanian with a little difference in one designation. There were the Palestinians that were either green or yellow card holders. The green card holders was those who habitually lived in the West Bank, and those who were issued a yellow card was those
who habitually lived in Jordan but had material and/or family connections in the West Bank. These designations were made primarily in statistical purposes. The sole purpose of the statistical tool that the cards held was then used in the disengagement process as a criterion for determining citizenship status for the Palestinians. Green card holders became stateless refugees after the Jordanian disengagement from the West Bank, and the yellow card holders became Jordanian citizens (Jamjoum 2010: 24-25). The yellow card holders, Jordanian citizens of Palestinian descent, are now under a grave deal of pressure where the Jordanian government is under a process of revoking their Jordanian citizenship. Moreover these citizens of Palestinian descent are being prosecuted and put under systematic discrimination from the Jordanian government. According to Anis Kassim, an international law expert and a practicing lawyer in Jordan who is being interviewed by Hazem Jamjoum for the paper "Al-madjal" there are five different statuses that Palestinians have in Jordan. The first one is Palestinian - Jordanian which basically is Palestinian that are fully integrated into Jordanian society and are considered as Jordanian citizens no more no less. The second and the third category is the green and yellow card holders that are explained above. The fourth category is the ones that are designated as blue card holders which mainly are Palestinian refugees that are located in Jordan from after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war of when the Gaza Strip was occupied. Refugees that are blue card holders was never give Jordanian citizenship status and cannot enjoy the same benefits and rights compared to one that is a Jordanian citizen (Jamjoum 2010: 25-26).

The research seeks to study the condition of Palestinians living in the diaspora residing in Jordan. Jordan was affected by the refugee flows from Palestine as a result of events such as the Nakba as well as the 1967 Arab Israeli war. The Palestinian refugee situation will in this research be studied in the sense of identity creations, primarily that in recent years Jordanian citizens with Palestinian descent or heritage that came to Jordan as a result of the Nakba have been experiencing discrimination from the Jordanian state in form of losing their citizenships making them stateless (Human Rights Watch Report 2010: 2). The discourse created by the head of state of Jordan i.e. King Abdullah II, is that Palestinians with ties or heritage to Palestine that resides in Jordan who holds a Jordanian citizenship cannot really be Jordanian, where he uses notions that seem to advocate in favor of the Palestinian cause and their right to build a national home when Jordan actually uses discriminatory practices against Palestinians in Jordan.
This research is divided into seven sections, this is the end of the introductory section where the case of the research was introduced. The following section will introduce the research question, with a subsection that will explain the aim of the research. Following section will be the previous study section which is divided into different subsections that includes a discussion of a similar case example that could be developed in further studies amongst other things, previous studies of the case itself will also be included, and a subsection that will implement and discuss notions and concepts related to the case of the Palestinian diaspora in Jordan. In the section after that a theoretical discussion of the important concepts and notions that will be used in this research will be discussed, furthermore a constructivist theoretical framework will be discussed and introduced to the case which also includes a section of what the research's contributions to the area of study is. The following section will discuss a methodological framework of a critical discourse analysis integrated with Fairclough's four moments which will be used in the analysis section. The analysis section will analyze speeches from the 21st century held from King Abdullah II of Jordan which will be divided into four subsections according to Fairclough's four moments. The last section will be a conclusion where the research as a whole will be discussed and reflected upon.

2. Research Question

Having all the empirical work of the Palestinian diaspora situation in the near east, made deciding upon a research question a broad distinction to chose upon. There are many sets of angles and perspectives to research this area from, especially the Palestinian diaspora case that have been an issue for about six decades (Farah 2013: 41). During of which many events have passed through the international community. In this research the Palestinian diaspora will be studied from a methodological collectivist perspective, which means how structure or society effects the individual (Halperin & Heath 2012: 82). The structure or society in this case being Jordan, and the individual in this case being the Palestinians residing in Jordan. As the Palestinian diaspora have been a case that have progressed over six decades, the aspect of time is essential of studying this case as a tool to guide through current events. Furthermore studying a case throughout history one has to consider the social process that have affected the case, therefore this thesis will research the condition of Palestinians in the diaspora in Jordan today as a result of a social process through history. This research will focus on the discourse that the host country of Jordan constructs of Palestinians residing in Jordan in contemporary time and will use the social process of the diaspora as a tool to understand the
constructions of contemporary measures. Considering all of these aspects resulted in a research question:

*How does the constructed discourse of the Palestinian in the diaspora residing in Jordan, constructed by the King, work as a mean of protecting Jordanian cultural and national identity according to policy making and law legislation and how does it affect the Palestinians?*

### 2.1 Aim

This research has its aim in exploring the identity structure of Palestinian refugees in the diaspora in the near east. The identity structure of Palestinians in Jordan to be more exact will be studied. The research will explore how the named identity structures are constructed by the Jordanian head of state (i.e. its king) and ruling elites in Jordan, and how they construct a paradox of interests. A discourse construction that becomes a paradox by saying one thing publically, but that their actions are completely opposite to what is said.

Identity structures are usually constructed by discourses against an ethnic minority group or similar (Calhoun 1994: 9). The research will explore, and its aim will show how the construction of a discourse affects policy in Jordan and how they are justified by this constructed discourse. This discourse construction will be studied regarding the construction of the Palestinian refugees and the Jordanian citizens with a Palestinian heritage, namely green and yellow card holders. Focusing on the notion of "diaspora" the notion brings to the academia a vast and multifaceted notion that can be discussed in multiple perspectives. In this research and its aim, centering the Palestinian case of diaspora, subcategories that are discussed in relation to diaspora is "cultural- and national identity" and will thus be discussed. These notions will be discussed regarding the area of study and will be related to the Palestinian case in Jordan with its aim to highlight the phenomena of systematic discrimination against Palestinian refugees and Jordanian citizens with Palestinian heritage or descent i.e. green and yellow card holders.

### 3. Previous studies

In this section some background to the case will be presented as well as previous studies of the Palestinian diaspora situation. The case that this research will focus on will be presented in this section as well. Furthermore one additional case of Palestinians in the diaspora in
Lebanon will also be included in this section as an example. The Lebanese case will be included in order to better understand the Palestinian diaspora situation and how the systematic discrimination is being conducted in refugee host countries. Why the Lebanon case will be presented in this section is because in the Lebanon case the systematic discrimination are more explicit as a result of the discourse of the Palestinians being constructed of them as unwelcomed guests in Lebanon. The Lebanon case could also be seen as a case to develop in further studies.

3.1 Background of the Palestinian refugee situation in the Middle East.

The area of the Middle East has always been relevant in discussions of the international community in relevance to economy, natural resources, strategic importance and in peace and conflict discussions. What is relevant to the discussion according to peace and conflict is the outcome of those events. Whilst the international community is stuck in the paradigm of realism which makes the discussions only relevant on the structure and state level, the individuals of the conflicts are left in the shades in the discussion (Lawson 2012: 21-23).

The biggest refugee case in contemporary (post second world war era) humanitarian history is the one of the Palestinian diaspora. A direct cause of the conflict between Palestine and Israel. The issue is not only affecting the two states in question, it affects the surrounding countries in the Middle East as well. The status of the refugees in the mentioned countries is that they are left stateless, and the refugee status is not helping them in this case (Farah 2013: 41). The Palestinian refugee situation in the Middle East has a separate commission in the UN refugee sector called the United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestinians in the near east also described by the acronym UNRWA. What the commission provides for the refugees is the first and foremost the camps that they live in, where they supply the refugees with basic healthcare, primary schools as well as other basic supplements, however far from the basic supplements that a person living in the west receives or even a person with a citizenship of the host country receives (Feldman 2012:155). The Palestinian refugee situation is a complex case throughout the Middle East, no matter what country you analyze. To be a refugee or have the status of one means that you are protected under certain international laws and legislations, to be a refugee under the situation of the Palestinians means however that you are not. In the beginning of the Palestinian diaspora the UN created the UNRWA, this in order to provide the refugees with basic health care and fulfill certain rights etcetera. The complex matter of the UNRWA is that they are not empowered to guarantee the Palestinians their safety, security or legal and human rights. Responsibilities that were supposed left for the
host countries to supply, which in theory are committed to international and Arab conduct. However, Palestinian refugees had already the help from the international community in the form of UNRWA, an UN agency exclusively devoted to their relief. As this agency was exclusively for Palestinian refugees, the refugees were not covered by the 1951 convention to the status of refugees in the charter (Abbas, 1996: 37).

3.1.a The Lebanon case

One case or example of how Palestinian refugees in the diaspora are treated in host countries where they are located in and that UNRWA operates in, is Lebanon. The situation of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is a very crucial one, where basic human rights are not achieved, not by the UNWRA, nor by the Lebanese government (Ibrahim 2008:83). The rights that has to be highlighted and stressed is the right to make a living where the Ministry of Labor in Lebanon made a policy where professions in Lebanon should be restricted to Lebanese citizens only. Making the Palestinian refugees incapable of having or finding a job as they are not citizens of the hosting country even though they have been residing there for a while. These policy regulations prohibited the Palestinians from seventy job categories in Lebanon (Schenker 2012:69). Furthermore in Lebanese policy targeted indirectly against the Palestinians was that a foreigner with no citizenship from a recognized state was allowed to own property, i.e. the Palestinians was not allowed to own property (Schenker 2012:69). In order for understanding the Lebanese policies toward the Palestinians one have to understand their presumption of the refugee situation. According to Czajka in her study of discursive constructions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, the lack of policies and laws, directed directly towards the Palestinians, has to do with the assumption at the beginning of the diaspora that the Palestinian refugee situation would not last for long (2012:240). The creation of the Cairo agreement/accords in 1969 was therefore a setback in the perspective of policies and/or laws directed directly towards Palestinians. According to the Cairo agreement of 1969, Palestinian autonomy was given in the refugee camps in Lebanon and thus it gave the Palestinian Liberation Organization autonomy in the camps. This created the phenomena of a state within a state (Hanafi & Long 2009:137). Czajka highlights in her article on discourses of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon the creation, according to the Cairo agreement, of the states-within-states phenomena where the refugee camps in Lebanon is seen as such. Governance over these camps becomes strictly Palestinian out of the reach of the Lebanese
government which enables the creation of the discourse of the Palestinian refugee as not willing to integrate into the host country's society as they already have their informal state (2012:240-242). This discourse analysis made by Czajka highlights the case of the Palestinian refugee situation in the Middle East, in her study she uses Lebanon and the Cairo agreement to highlight the refugee situation. The state within state phenomena that occurred in Lebanon which came with the Cairo agreement is one example of how the identity construction of the Palestinian is excluded from the host countries cultural or national identity in order for the refugees to not be naturalized in the host countries identity.

The phenomena of inability to integrate into society and therefore becoming discriminated by host countries is also brought to light in other studies however from other perspectives. By the perspective of a proper structure of governance or rather the lack of it in the informal states that the camps of Lebanon has become has subdued the improvement of socio-economic prospects as well as the living conditions in the camps. Furthermore these conditions have jeopardized the security of the Palestinians as well as the Lebanese population (Hanafi & Long 2009:134). Although the Cairo agreement was signed in 1969 the lack of governance is an issue that has came along into contemporary time. According to Hanafi and Long the main issue in the camps as an outcome of the Cairo agreement is factionalism. Each camp has about dozens of factions which are competing for more power and greater influence (2009:139).

Policies or laws in the state of Lebanon are not directed directly towards the Palestinians rather towards foreigners with citizenship status of a recognized state. They are the ones who are included in the Lebanese society in terms of enjoying rights and are protected under the law as mentioned above. This in turn creates an even bigger integration gap between the Palestinian population and the Lebanese population. The policies are given recognition and justification by the international community as democratic ones, as the policies are not under the category of nationalist ethnic law. The Lebanese political system is built up so no group of the big three groups in the state (Shiites, Sunnis and Christians) are left out of governance (Ibrahim 2008: 84). Furthermore one could define that the Palestinians is a minority group and that they are targeted here and excluded from rest of Lebanese governance and society/decision making unit.

These studies tells us how the issue of state within state phenomena have progressed in Lebanon, however these studies also tells us how the Palestinian refugees in the diaspora are being left in the shades, the only assistance they have from the international community is
from the UNRWA, and contribution from host countries such as for example Lebanon that is mentioned above is not sufficient, if some contribution even comes at all.

The above stated case is just an example of how the Palestinian refugees in the diaspora are suffering. The case of the Palestinian refugees in the diaspora in Lebanon was an example of how the Palestinians live inside UNRWA camps and where they are not integrated into society. The next case which is this research's main one is how the condition of Palestinians in the diaspora live when they are integrated into society outside refugee camps but still are suffering from discriminatory practices taken by the host country.

3.1.b Jordan

The main case that this research will analyze is the Palestinians living in the diaspora in Jordan. The Palestinians living in the diaspora inside as well as outside refugee camps in Jordan is similar in some aspects but differs in a lot others and are rather complex matters, aspects that are not considered in the same way as in the Lebanon case. The difference between refugee camp arrangements in Lebanon and Jordan is whether it is a closed or open camp. The camps of Lebanon is closely similar to prisons where they are walled in, on the other hand in Jordan they are set more as an open urban area (Hanafi & Long 2009:135).

Speaking in conditional terms of the refugee camps, the refugees living standard are not the best as the refugee camps are overcrowded and just getting more populated. The Palestinian living in the diaspora in Jordan is estimated to be a bit over two million registered, however the case of the Palestinian residing in Jordan is that they are nearly fully integrated into Jordanian society, as the majority of the Palestinian population, does not live in refugee camps, where only 370000 live in refugee camps (Simadi & Nahar 2009:258, UNRWA 2014). Palestinians living in refugee camps in Jordan is only a fraction of the ethnic Palestinian population in Jordan as mentioned above and is usually the blue card holders that lives here. The blue card holders are Palestinian refugees from Gaza and are not allowed to receive Jordanian citizenship in the same matter that green and yellow card holders received theirs (Jamjoum 2010: 25). The other majority of Palestinians are nearly fully integrated to Jordanian society and are Jordanian citizens. Why the majority of Palestinians are fully integrated into Jordanian society has to do with the history of the region.

In Middle Eastern history after the arbitrary state lines were drawn from colonizers in the region and the creation of the Arab states in the region as well as the creation of Israel,
Jordan was called Transjordan. As the state of Jordan annexed the area of the West Bank and east Jerusalem both of these regions was therefore a part of Jordan, so was its citizens i.e. the Palestinians. Consequently Jordan has the largest population of ethnic Palestinians in the region of the Middle East, according to King Abdullah II of Jordan the ethnic Palestinians make up 43% of the Jordanian population, while some others claim that the Palestinians are a majority in Jordan and make up two thirds of the Jordanian population (Zahran 2012: 3). Even though Jordan annexed the West Bank the Jordanians has naturally had close ties with the Palestinians from the start of the diaspora in 1948 and have advocated in their favor to the international community many times in questions of their right to return as well as the right to compensation (Simadi & Nahar 2009:257). The biggest difference between Palestinians in Lebanon and in Jordan is that most of the Palestinians that became stateless and therefore refugees in the Nakba became fully integrated into Jordanian society and received citizenships with some restrictions as mentioned above while the same process was never made in Lebanon. This integration that the Palestinians received in Jordan was due to that the Palestinians that were residing in the West Bank area in the time of the Jordanian annexation became rather automatically Jordanian citizens until their right to return to their homes is fulfilled (Abbas 1996: 39).

Palestinian that became refugees after the Nakba was divided into two categories after the West Bank became Jordanian, green card holders or yellow card holders. Green card holders was the Palestinians that was residing in the West Bank when it was annexed, yellow card holders was the Palestinian that were residing in Jordan after the Nakba but had ties to the West Bank. So the Jordanian refugee policies after the event of the Nakba according to the Palestinian situation was to integrate the Palestinians into Jordanian society and made them citizens, which was a good policy at the time (Zahran 2012: 4). However the Jordanian disengagement from the West Bank in 1988 would change its identity and citizenship politics of Jordanian citizens with Palestinian heritage residing in the West Bank, which up until then had been considered Jordanian. The Palestinians that held green card i.e. a Jordanian citizenship was from then on out over just one night considered Palestinians and therefore stateless. The yellow card holders are now being targeted in Jordan, which entails that Jordanian citizens with Palestinian heritage residing in Jordan or any other location in the globe have seen their Jordanian citizenships being revoked from the state making them stateless (Schultz 2003: 46-47; Human Rights Watch Report 2010: 19).

The Jordanian ties and their relations to Palestine as a nation and Palestinians as an ethnic group, in their cause of them creating an own national country has been good and
Jordan often advocate in favor of Palestine and the Palestinians. However one could question their motives of doing so, as the Jordanians citizens with Palestinian descent or heritage in Jordan is bigger than the Jordanian national population itself, and this is where the complexity of the matter enters and the politics of the polarity between two nationalities in Jordan enters (Miller & Samuels 2009).

Questions of identity starts to emerge in the issue of revoking citizenships. The main category of the general Palestinian case is that they find themselves in a diaspora, studying a case of diaspora means that subcategories of cultural and national identity is automatically questioned. In the next section of the paper these notions and concepts of the overall topic of diaspora will be discussed.

3.2 Relating the notion of diaspora to the Palestinian case

The concept or notion of "diaspora" is multifaceted as mentioned above regarding to its last phase of development, from once only had one meaning or related to one specific group of people until now where the concept is diverse and can be viewed and studied from many aspects. This research as mentioned above will be focusing on the Palestinian diaspora and the victimhood of the diaspora in the near east, where I here focus on the Palestinian case in Jordan.

   The irony of calling it a "diaspora" in relation to the Palestinian case is that the specific people mentioned in the paragraph above that the notion had been strictly related to in history and in discussions of the international community, is the people who drove the Palestinians out from their supposed homeland, making the whole matter, one of a victimized diaspora (Cohen 2008:1-2) Thus replacing one displaced and victimized diaspora with another. According to Schulz (2003: 1-2) the concept of diaspora and the cultural and ethnic ties of Judaism goes hand in hand. However when the Jewish settled thus ending their diaspora as a contrast to the multifaceted and multi-located history of Jewish life, the settlers did so in accordance of western constructed concepts of the unbreakable link between race, nation and territory (Cohen 2008:30).

What signifies a diaspora is a transnational movement which is attached with an argument of globalization and the growth of non-nation based solidarities in the contemporary period (Anthias 1998:557). So the common idea of a diaspora, is the relation between feeling
solidarity to a homeland that does not exist, a phenomena of non-nation based nationalism. To preserve and the ability to identify as a group towards a homeland. That was what the Jewish ethnic group had during their diaspora (some say they still are in a diaspora) towards Israel as a homeland, and that is what the Palestinians have now towards the same homeland. So one can understand the complex matter of what the conflict holds in regards to identification toward a homeland.

The identity of the Palestinian diaspora, or the reference point of identity towards the presumably future nation of Palestine becomes the revolutionary spirit of the Palestinian people (Brandt 1988: 8-10). This becomes the connection between the exile groups living separately across different nation states as an identity and diaspora reference point. What unites these groups is the forced expulsion from an original homeland which in this case is removed. The identity of the Palestinian national becomes constructed globally on a world scale between Palestinians which is transnational (Anthias 1998: 561).

The infected conflict of the one between Palestine and Israel has its roots in questions of diaspora and identity. As to be defined as a diaspora it needs to relate and identify itself to a homeland or a wider ethnic category (Anthias  1998: 562), in this specific case of the infected conflict Israel used this as an argument to stay in the lands of the Palestinian, their argument is that they have a historical heritage and right to stay in the lands. They also use the argument of that the Palestinian who are a member of the wider Arab ethnic group can find another Arab country to reside in while there is no other Jewish state to reside in for the Jewish ethnic group. They also claim that this other Arab country that the Palestinians can see as their homeland is Jordan (Cox 2013).

As mentioned above diaspora formulates a population as a transnational community. The assumption is that there exists a natural and unquestionable 'organic' community of people without anything separating them or any differences between them. A people dedicated to the same political goal (Anthias 1998: 563). This is what Palestinians are, a people in diaspora. A community spread transnationally striving for the same goal, to return home once again. All connected by the same goal. Matters that are displayed and explicitly advocated for, politically by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and their charter. The PLO charter is directed to every Palestinian who have their heritage from Palestine to be a part and have an obligation towards the liberation of Palestine (PLO Charter 1968 Article Seven). The PLO was the first form of Palestinian political leadership, that would speak and being a representative for the Palestinian people. The identity of a Palestinian therefore
becomes politically driven and unites the Palestinians as an identity and more importantly to a
nationality no matter where they are residing at the moment (Anthias 1998).

The national and cultural identity ties are strongly related to the diaspora. The process of
creating such an identity manifests itself in the diaspora, essentially the creation, recreation
and the perseverance of it. In the next sub section of the research the notions of cultural and
national identity will be discussed as well as connected to the Palestinian diaspora case.

3.2.a Relating the notions of cultural and national identity to the Palestinian case

The colonial world of the global south have left its marks on the emancipated and post-
colonial societies that exists today. The concept of 'cultural identity' became more significant
in a post-colonial society as of how does identity represent the citizens of the postcolonial
society and who has shaped and reshaped their identity? According to Stuart Hall, identity is a
never ending product, always in process and made within representations. Within this never
ending cycle of producing identity the concept of cultural identity therefore became important
in the post-colonial era which have reshaped our world (1990: 222-223).

As of nearly the whole Arab world was under the colonial control, the Arabs was struck by
the struggle of shaping their own cultural identity (Fawcett 2012: 4). In post-colonial time the
Palestinian national as well as their cultural identity is about to vanish in replacement of
another. Their identity in the diaspora becomes stronger as they are shaping it and reshaping it
constantly in the absence of a homeland. The Palestinian cultural identity as any other cultural
identity comes from somewhere, have a specific history. In this specific case, they were a part
of the collective Arab culture and its identity. However like anything else with a history it
undergoes constant transformation, which entail that it is a never ending product. After the
events of the Nakba in 1948 the Palestinian cultural identity has been in constant
transformation and bit by bit breaking out of the Arab collective identity (Khalidi 2010: 177-
180).

The Palestinian matter was at the beginning in 1948 not just associated and exclusively a
Palestinian matter. The issue concerned the whole Arab world. It concerned the Arab world
because at the same time that the event of the Nakba took place the British and French
colonizers left the Arab world. Upon leaving, Arab leaders had a vision of a big Arab state or
federation, a pan-Arab vision which included the areas of Palestine as a part of the vision. The
Palestinian cause and returning them to their homeland was the number one priority for the
Pan-Arabic movement. However, bit by bit in the course of history Arab leaders started to lose faith in the Pan-Arabic movement even more so when they lost the Arab-Israeli war in 1967 and realized that the Palestinian cause was lost. Nation after nation in the Arab world started to make peace treaties and alliances to Israel. In this stage of history the Palestinian cause was not the collective Arab cause anymore, and the Palestinians started to create their own cultural and national identity in the diaspora (Smith 2012: 248-249). Cultural identity becomes here a subject of continuous play of history, culture and power (Hall 1990: 225).

At the beginning of the diaspora and the expulsion from their homeland the Palestinian matter was an Arab matter, however through time the matter became strictly Palestinian. So eventually their identity became revolutionary and rebellious in the strict sense. An outcome of rebellious and a revolutionary identity created in the sense of opposing a greater opponent than themselves (Brandt 1988: 8-10). In the same way that black people or more accordingly black experiences was created in the labor diaspora of the slave trade (Cohen 2008:160) they were positioned and subjected opposing a dominant regime of representation creating effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and then normalization of cultural identity (Hall 1990:225). The same normalization that we experience today of Palestinians. An identity has been created over years of living in the diaspora as a people without a homeland, without nationality, a people that are fighting to get it back, where some outside as well as inside spectators makes the philosophical choice of identifying them, as freedom fighters and others as terrorists. A normalization that the further we go into the future, the more normal becomes the idea and the identity of the Palestinian as a people without homeland living in the diaspora.

The Palestinian identity is kept for the Palestinians living in the diaspora located in Jordan, the fight for it as well. However, the fight is rather easy due to Jordanian policy against Palestinian refugees and their rights to integrate into society (Ibrahim 2008; Achilli 2014). The Palestinian diaspora has been marked by the phase of the concept that entails victimhood, they have been deterritorialized forcefully from their homeland and have been, as a cause of that deterritorialization, targeted and victims in host countries in near east countries ever since (Cohen 2008). This victimhood in the diaspora in the near east have shaped the Palestinian identity. Given that they are spread out transnationally, the only thing keeping them together as an ethnic category is according to Anthias that they have a political goal to strive for, this is what constructs and preserves their identity (1998). An identity that entails both national and cultural aspects. What is important to keep in mind in the case of the Palestinian identity is the
time aspect given the lack of homeland and still managing to preserve their identity. Keeping the time aspect in mind and given that creation of cultural identity is something constructed over the course of time and history, where it is being shaped and reshaped (Hall 1990), the fear from host countries are a fact. They are scared by, given the perseverance of the Palestinian identity, and the amount of refugees in their country, the idea that their own cultural identity will vanish in a near feature which is a fear for host countries such as Jordan.

Departing from this particular standpoint of diaspora, identity both cultural and national identity, the creation of it and the process of preserving it, let along the use of it as a tool for pushing through and justifying political policy in host countries such as Jordan in a fear for their own identity vanishing in replacement of the Palestinian, a theoretical framework has to be applied. A theoretical framework to guide one through the research in able to apply the aforementioned notions above. The case of the identity construction of the Palestinian refugees in the diaspora has to be seen from other perspectives than merely positivists. The process of identity construction and discourse constructions has to be seen from an interpretivist perspective which you will be able to follow in the next section where I will be discussing the application of a constructivist framework to the theoretical notions and concepts of diaspora and the foundations as well as the processes of how I will be conducting my methodological choice of critical discourse analysis.

4. Theoretical Considerations

4.1 Theoretical notions and concepts

Diaspora studies have been influenced from different directions, foremost from the perspective of identity and the struggle of keeping it in the absence of a homeland to identify towards. In notions of identity we also find studies of cultural - as well as national identity. These notions will be discussed and will be related to the issue of the Palestinian diaspora in Jordan. Identity structures that can in some stance be affected by Palestinian themselves but in more important aspects regarding human security the process of identity structures are out of the hands of the Palestinians.

In studies of diaspora according to Robin Cohen there is four phases throughout history of the concept that has represented the different ways of using the concept in studies. The first and foremost is the victimized perspective of a diaspora, a phase that in some cases have been
capitalized by and related to, the Jewish diaspora. A form of forced expulsion from a homeland. This phase or perspective of the concept is the one that this research will focus on and highlight throughout the research, however relating it to the Palestinian diaspora, more on that later on. In the second phase the concept expanded and was added to different notions of migration and immigration, i.e. political refugees, alien residents, ethnic and racial minorities etcetera. The third phase was the social constructivist critique of the second phase and that the main idea of the concept of diaspora and the link to homeland was not sufficient enough, what scholars meant was that identity is not relatable or connected to a specific territory it is constructed by its own ethnic definitions and also constructed by its surroundings. Lastly, the concept reached its renaissance, validating the phenomena of deterritorializing identity, the grounds of diaspora and its links to homeland has to be considered as well (Cohen 2008: 1-2; Safran 1991: 83; Olsson 2013: 249-250).

Based on the phases Cohen also created a diaspora typology. A typology that contains four different types excluding the perspective regarding diasporas as victims. The four other types are trade-, labour-, imperial- and deterritorialized diaspora. Although the different phases and different types in the typology can be used in various ways in social scientific research this specific research will be using the first and foremost phase and type of the concept, the phase of diaspora in the sense of victimhood. The different types or different phases should not be seen as exclusive to a specific type of research. The typology and/or the phases can be combined and researched as the aspects and different perspectives of a diaspora can be perceived and research from many angels in one case. For example the Jewish diaspora should not just be seen as a victim diaspora. After the creation of the State of Israel one could also include the imperial aspect of diaspora the same way one considers imperial United Kingdom as an imperial diaspora i.e. migration flow of people to populate a colony (Cohen 2008:160-161).

In the presence of this research the aspect of the victimized diaspora will be researched. However, other aspects will be included in this research. This approach will be taken considering the events of the Nakba which drove out the Palestinians from their homeland, forcing them to leave their homes making them victims (Khalidi 2010: 178). However one could also use the phase of the concept when it had its renaissance, and the concept became multifaceted in the sense of creating identities. This approach will also be taken in mind as the Palestinians living in the diaspora spread out over the world but mainly those located in Jordan, has undertaken different identities due to policy making relating directly or indirectly to the Palestinians living in exile. These policies have extended the
Palestine-Israel conflict and made it transnational. The victimized aspect of the Palestinian diaspora is not just about the forced expulsion they had to endure in the Nakba, it is also about the systematic discriminations toward the Palestinians in Jordan extending the victim label of the diaspora across national borders (Miller & Samuel 2009).

4.2 Theory

The question of which overall paradigm has had the most influence on international relations studies from the beginning of the academia until now, have amongst other debates merely been a debate between realist and liberalist assumptions. In contemporary international relations academia the debate have in a natural manner evolved into a debate between neorealist and neoliberalist assumptions. However the debate have had its shared commitments to some part of the field, for example - rationalism (Wendt 1992:391). The original sense of the notion of rationalism according to neorealist and neoliberal assumption is that humans are in nature, predictable and rational actors. The same assumption can be applied to states, where states are rational actors and therefore are predictable to the extent that the actor will define security in self-interested terms (Wendt 1992:392). These are the positivist perspectives of perceiving the international system as something rational, as a structure something that is predictable (Halperin & Heath 2012:49). Interpretivist perspectives of analyzing the international system is rather modern in international relation academia. This due to the idea of studying a system as not just parts of a structure, and that are predictable. Contemporary international relations academia allows a different perspective to the system as a whole and does not just see it as a predictable structure. Instead one can study the system through the intersubjective notion of process where identities and interests are growing internally in the sense of interaction, instead of depending on rational behavior where the analysis is displayed on the surface (Wendt 1992:394). The interpretivist perspective of perceiving and analyzing different systems and the international system as a whole was described as constructivism. Constructivism entails that a specific threat is something constructed through a process through interaction between actors, thus, the theory of constructivism is a direct critique to realism and neo realism where according to those theories anarchy is a precondition of the international system which actors act after. Constructivism in this sense means that, anarchy is not a precondition of the international system, anarchy is something constructed by the actors in the system and can thus be deconstructed (Wendt, 1992).

Departing from the phenomena of the Palestinian diaspora identity politics which
effects the systematic discrimination that the Palestinians are experiencing in Jordan, a constructivist theoretical framework will be conducted in this research. The constructivist framework will be used in exposing the depiction of "the other" of the Palestinians in Jordan. Considering the cornerstone of the theory involving interpretivist notions of describing phenomena instead of positivist notions of rationality, emphasis on an interpretivist research will instead be put on constructions of identities and that interests are produced by interactions, thus the theory gives a clarity to the phenomena of studying identity politics (Wendt 1992, Halperin & Heath 2012: 49). Furthermore, one of the keywords of the chosen theoretical framework is process. As explained earlier according to the matter of cultural and national identity, as well as the notion of diaspora and its relation to identity (Hall 1990, Anthias 1998) these matters can only be put in a historical context and be studied by the process of the creation and constructions of identities.

4.3 My Contribution To the Area Of Study

Diaspora studies have been studied from many different perspectives and angels throughout history from many influential scholars such as Cohen, Anthias, Safran and Hall (2008; 1998; 1991; 1990). Furthermore diaspora studies has included aspects or subcategories as an explanatory tool for diaspora such as cultural- and national identity that has to be taken in mind. My contribution to the studies of diaspora is that this study will include ideas and a theory from the academia of international relations and will integrate it to studies of diaspora. Mainly by considering a theoretical framework involving a constructivist perspective. Taking a constructivist perspective in studies of diaspora as well as the aspects that goes under diaspora which is cultural- and national identity, we can see that a social process through history has been essential of constructing these and are therefore applicable to the chosen theoretical framework. Taking this to the field of study in this thesis, constructivism is applicable to the case where the idea of constructivism is that security threats toward a nation state is something constructed in a process through history (Wendt 1992). Contributions to the academia of international relations as well as diaspora studies will be to extend and give leverage to the part of a diaspora that is under the category of victimhood. Where discourse constructions extend the victimhood in the diaspora.

The interpretivist theory of constructivism in this research will be used as an analytical tool to interpret the result of the analysis. Given the process based nature of the theory focusing on subjectivity and how mentioned threats are something constructed socially, rather than seeing
it from a perspective where a threat is something that always exists in the structure, the constructivist theory will give a clarity to the results found from the analysis. Considering previous works of constructivism and the nature of explaining that anarchy and a direct threat to the nation state is something constructed by subjects and their social interactions through a process of history (Wendt 1992, Hall 1990), this research will continue on that path especially the essential process containing the aspect of time and history. The theory of constructivism will be used in this research as mentioned on that given path, however it will differ in the sense that Palestinians in Jordan although affected by a transnational conflict, is something domestic in the case of Jordan and anarchy or the possible threat is constructed outside of the international structure and will be analyzed in the sense of one ethnicity constructing another as a threat which then acts and creates national policy accordingly (Smith 2012: 246; Fawcett 2012: 188-189; Lawson 2012: 28-29).

4.4 Hypothesis

In this research which will use a constructivist theoretical framework the aspect of time and history is an essential one due to one has to include a social process which will have to evolve in the frame of these aspects. This research will use a constructivist theoretical framework that will integrate notions tied to the research topic, which are the notions of diaspora, cultural and national identity. These notions in relation to the theoretical framework are notions that work according to time and are affected by social processes. The social process that entails the aspect of time and history in order for the cultural as well as the national identity to be constructed. The hypothesis that this research will ground itself upon is ethnic groups within a nation state that are portrayed in the discourse of their neighbors will eventually come to act according to that perception. The neighbor in question is Jordan and the ethnic group is the Palestinians living in the diaspora. The threat that is socially constructed by the head of State in Jordan is that the Palestinian ethnic group in Jordan is posed as a threat to the Jordanian own cultural and national identity and therefore the state of Jordan acts accordingly to that threat.

5. Methodological considerations

Considering a method in researching identity politics in the Palestinian diaspora is complex. The complexity of the choice comes in the nature of the concept "diaspora". The concept is multifaceted and can be analyzed and researched from different perspectives of social
sciences. As mentioned in the section of previous studies, the concept have had different phases throughout the history of social sciences (Cohen 2008), this research will be focusing on the perspective of the concept that describes it as a phase of victimhood. The concept is usually studied in the sense of national- and cultural identity and the perseverance of it. Studies of Anthias shows this, as she studies the factors of keeping the identity to a "home" in the diaspora (1998). Palestinians in the diaspora, in Jordan were put there as victims, after the events of the Nakba, a status of victimhood that have stayed with them since they arrived to Jordan amongst other countries. Their rights has been discriminated in various ways in Jordan. What this research will analyze is why these discriminations are justified in the host country of Jordan.

To research why a certain minority group with an ethnic diversity is treated the way they are from a state, one can analyze certain images being produced by ruling parties or elites within that state of the ethnic group being targeted. The way that these produced images gives meaning to their actions, as well as understanding to that sort of political behavior. How you do this is by a method of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis aim is accordingly, to expose the intentions that the political world has to agents and thus giving them reasons for acting in a certain way (Halperin & Heath 2012:310-311). The images produced are also called discourses. To research the severe condition of Palestinians in Jordan one has to understand the premise explained above, of producing certain discourses is what is happening in, what is called host countries of the refugees. Discourses constructed of the Palestinian in this case, in order for the Jordanian government to act and treat the Palestinians in a justifiable manner according to their understanding.

Discourse is important to study in historic as well as in contemporary terms, according to Halperin & Heath, discourses consists of concepts, ideas and categories in a socially constructed arena where meaning is produced and reproduced in a particular historical situation (2012:308). In the course of time the identity of the Palestinian in the diaspora have changed, from being a part of the collective Arab identity in the heart of the Pan-Arabic ideology, to being seen as just Palestinian. An identity that has been produced by hosting countries as of the cause of the Palestinians is not the cause of the Arabs anymore(Smith 2012: 249-248). The conflict between Palestine and Israel have brought with it many questions, along with many perspectives of analyzing it. One of the biggest question of the conflict is the one of the refugees, more precisely the matter of the right to return doctrine advocated in many legal texts such as UN resolution 194 (1948). A doctrine used by the host
countries in relation to them hosting the Palestinian refugees in order to implement justifiable discriminating policies against the Palestinian refugees where Palestinians are seen as just unwelcomed guests until their right to return is fulfilled (Zaharan 2012: 4). The Palestinian diaspora and the refugee question is the one that is the biggest factor preventing the two negotiating parties of Palestine and Israel reaching a sustainable peace plan (Abbas 1996: 36-37). As mentioned above this research will only focus on Palestinians living in the diaspora in Jordan but will have Syria and the events of their civil war as an indirect example to the Jordanian case, more on that in the analysis section.

A discourse analysis is a method of investing how specific discourses are created within a system of texts that brings certain objects or subjects into being. These discourses are created within a particular framework of institutional as well as historical contexts. The hypothesis used in a research will have characteristics of co-variations or associations between a given discourse and within the context it is being produced. The first step is the establishment of the co-variation or association between discourse and the context it is produced within, the second step is to ascertain the process of details to illustrate that the discourse has demonstrable effect (Halperin & Heath 2012:313-314).

5.1 Data

Given that this research will be using a discourse analysis, the data that will be used is speeches given from political elites in Jordan, more specifically the head of state in Jordan i.e. the king as they are a monarchy. The time period of the mentioned speeches that will be analyzed will be from in a contemporary perspective, mainly speeches held in the 21st century. To be more clear and specific than that, speeches held from the year 1999 until 2014. The chosen time period will be used in order to highlight the Palestinian issue in a modern perspective.

This data will be collected and analyzed from the perspective of a discourse analysis in order to see the discourse being produced by the head of state to implement the discriminatory policies targeted on Palestinian living in the diaspora. The premises of Jordan implementing these polices, and is under these premises the analysis will be conducted, is the premises of the doctrine of the right to return and naturalization. These premises is the factor of pushing the discriminatory policies through, where the right to return doctrine is used as tool that Jordan uses to advocate in Palestinians favor in order for pushing them out from the state. The notion of naturalization is related to identity of the Palestinians residing in Jordan.
and naturalization of the Palestinian identity to the Jordanian is something that Jordan is
trying to avoid (Zahran 2012). Basically the head of state is pushing forward for these
discriminatory policies in order for the Palestinians should not feel at home in Jordan, so in
the host states eyes their stay is just temporal thus they should abide by laws that are basically
targeted to a temporarily stay. The speeches will be collected from the Jordanian King’s
official website.

5.2 Why Discourse Analysis?

Given the theoretical framework of constructivism and the emphasis on process rather than
structure, historical context reproduction and the process of it is essential to acknowledge.
Thus the choice of using a discourse analysis.

Focusing on an oppressed group in this research such as the Palestinian refugees are in
this case, it is best studied with a method of discourse analysis which is the method that fits
into the specific matter of studies of an oppressed minority group. A discourse analysis falls
under as a subcategory under the one of textual analysis where one can take the direction of a
qualitative or a quantitative analysis. A discourse analysis is the qualitative direction of
textual analysis where one basically analyzes texts to find discursive meaning, i.e. one does
not just analyze the text itself but the relation of a text to its context, and the relation of power
and authority which shapes that context. A narrative analysis is another type of qualitative
textual analysis which is an analysis conducted in the form of analyzing a society by its basic
components. It is a type of analysis that falls under methodological individualism, where one
analyzes society through the aforementioned basic components researching for example
individual stories, journals, field notes, letters and/or conversations etcetera (Clandinin &
Connely 2000: 98-102). The direction that this research will take is the one of discourse
analysis, as the direction and perspective of the research is on the methodological collectivism
level, i.e. analyzing how the process of the system affects individual in a given civil society
(Halperin & Heath 2012: 82-83). So the methodological consideration of this research will be
a discourse analysis which breaks down into three different subcategories.

There are three different types of discourse analysis, there is, speech act theory, post-
structuralism, and, critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Halperin & Heath 2012:311-313). As
the Middle East are under constant pressure from the international community in matters of
human security and discriminatory laws, the discourse analysis applies well into matters of
Middle Eastern countries as one cannot just study a text or a speech as an own entity, the text/speech have a certain relation to contexts outside of a specific state that the text/speech have to fit into.

This research will use CDA as its method of analyzing set texts in order for reaching a conclusion. A critical discourse analysis is an analytical research that studies the way social power, abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk 2001:352). Choosing a discourse analysis, and the CDA direction of it will help to analyze the set texts in a manner where the parameters of the analysis explained above will give a clarity to the Palestinian case. As the analysis is set to analyze how dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in a social and political context (Van Dijk 2001) where the discriminatory policies are produced in this case. The use of CDA in the analysis will manifest itself in the set parameters and how they are interacted by the head of state in the social and political context and the construction of discourses. In CDA there is a sort of micro versus macro gap in this direction, where micro focuses on language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication, and power. Dominance and inequality are terms focused to the macro level. Micro and macro dimensions are related to the context of the data analyzed, i.e. the focus on which dimension the discourse have been constructed. Micro and macro contexts can also be referred to as local and broad contexts (Van Dijk 2001: 354). This research will focus on the micro level as it will be analyzing speeches from the King of Jordan, setting a certain discourse on the Palestinian refugees in order for the state to set the discriminatory policies. However, the bridge between the micro and macro level will always exist in a research which forms a unified whole to the matter, so the two levels of analysis will be integrated in order to unify the research and the analysis as a whole (Van Dijk 2001:354, Halperin & Heath 2012: 314).

5.3 Conducting the research & Faircloughs four ‘moments’

As explained above regarding the establishment of an association between discourse and context and relating that to a process where discourse has demonstrable effects one has to define the process apparatus of which the discourse becomes common sense. An apparatus that gives the discourse meaning and therefore becomes naturalized. An apparatus that can implicitly be understood as a social process involving two dimensions, articulation and interpellation. Two dimensions that can be understood as the micro versus macro distinctions explained above. Articulation is the process where linguistics and raw materials are given a prior to research how meaning is produced. According to Waldes (1996: 284-285) articulation
is the dimension that fixes meaning through a process of constantly establishing connections between elements in order for them to be seen as connected and seen as natural, with a goal to be seen as a reality. Articulation only represents one dimension of the social process, interpellation is the other that makes it successful. Interpellation entails the dimension of the process of which the discourse becomes common sense in reality and the acceptance of subject positions in society that the discourse constructs. The distinction of interpellation in the social process which constructs discourse embodies analytical tools of investigating how the discourse has been implemented in for example in the spoken, written word and in symbolic texts (Halperin & Heath 2012: 316).

Fairclough (2005: 42-43) explains the interpellation dimension of the construction of a discourse which have demonstrable effect through four steps. His argument is that there are four moments that are identified in order for to better comprehend the dialectical relationship between discourse and social change. These are; emergence, hegemony, recontextualization and, operationalization. These four steps basically explains the construction of a discourse and the implementation into social change.

1. Emergence: The translating and condensing of complex realities into new discourses constructed through the articulation of elements of existing discourses.
2. Hegemony: The contestation among discourses - part of the contestation between strategies and between groups of social agents - which may lead to particular discourses becoming hegemonic.
3. Recontextualization: The dissemination of discourses and their recontextualization in new organizations, institutions, or fields, or at new scales.
4. Operationalization: The enactment of discourses as new ways of (inter)acting. Their inculcation as new ways of being, or identities, their materialization in features of the physical world (Halperin & Heath 2012: 316-317).

It is through this framework of discourse analysis of navigating through the existing discourses and the emergence of new ones and their relation into a specific context that develops into a demonstrable effect into society that this research will eventually reach a conclusion. The emphasis of the analysis will lay on the equilibrium between micro versus macro dimensions as well as the closely related dimensions of articulation and interpellation that are essential in critical discourse analysis. This emphasis will be laid in order to analyze the social process as a whole, to not exclude any aspects and thus leaving gaps in the research. The analysis will lay its foundation on Faircloughs four elements or 'moments' that represents
the dialectical relationship between discourse and social change as a means of demonstrable effects. Consequently the analysis will have its departure point in these four moments of constructing a discourse.

The construction of a discourse that will be analyzed is the discourse of Palestinian refugees constructed by the King Abdullah II of Jordan. What construction that will be analyzed is how the head of state of Jordan in speeches constructs the discourse of the Palestinian living in the diaspora as not a citizen of Jordan but an unwelcomed guest waiting to return home. These constructions are made by statements such as "preserving the Palestinians right to return" (Zahran 2012: 3-4; Jamjoum 2010; Miller & Samuels 2009).

5.4 Self reflection of methodological considerations

For the analysis to be as credible as possible and valid to the public eye, the chosen case has to have a clear pattern between the chosen texts and that these patterns are constitutive of reality. According to Halperin and Heath a discourse analysis should meet three requirements for it to be a valid analysis. First, a clear and careful reading of the texts. Second, supply the reader to a clear interpretation that is relatable to the textual evidence analyzed. And lastly to present an analysis which seeks to be coherent, credible, plausible and fruitful (2012: 317).

The choice analyzing the case of identity politics related to the Palestinian diaspora in the near east from a method of critical discourse analysis was a choice taken after an careful evaluation of other types of methodological alternatives. The point of view that this research want to achieve is the one of methodological collectivism, which is how to analyze a certain case from the structure down to its basic components, its citizens. So the choice of discourse analysis fell under this explicit parameter. Mainly how the structure, in this case the head of state, effects its citizens of Palestinian refugees by constructing a discourse. Alternatives of methodological choices could have been for example quantitative textual analysis, ethnographic analysis or a narrative analysis. These alternatives was disregarded because of first, the parameter that this research wants to fulfill the aspect of methodological collectivism and is not fulfilled by for example an ethnographic analysis neither by a narrative analysis, well one can analyze stories or self biographies/journals of political elites and how specific decisions are taken according to Palestinian refugees, regarding narrative analysis, however these becomes stories created by subjects and one could not disregard the matter of bias and self-interests of that person and how the stories or self biographies/journals are angled to a
certain perspective. Secondly, a quantitative analysis is a methodological choice that wants to examine the texts themselves and thus disregarding the context that the text is made in, which in the particular case of Palestinian refugees is disregarding a substantial bit of the understanding of decisions made by head of states in the near east and which context they are decided in (Halperin & Heath 2012:310, 82, 287; Clandinin & Connely 2000).

6. Analysis

This chapter will integrate all the previous chapters to analyze the matter of the Palestinian diaspora in Jordan. The focus of the analysis will lay on the Palestinian diaspora and the identity constructions that occurs in a diaspora (Olsson 2013: 254), mainly in Jordan and the construction of the discourse of them being unwelcomed guests in that host country. The analysis will manifest itself in a critical discourse analysis where the discourse of the Palestinian is analyzed in official speeches that are held by the head of state in the host country of Jordan. The critical discourse analysis will have its departure point in the "four moments" of Fairclough and his understanding of discourse construction (Fairclough 2005). Furthermore, the analysis will integrate and make a clear distinction between the micro and macro level of analysis in critical discourse studies (Van Dijk 2001).

The time period that the analysis will manifest itself in is from the year 1999 until 2014, this time period is chosen in order to see the changes in discourse as a social process over time. Furthermore the time period is not chosen arbitrarily, 1999 was the year that a reign shift took place in Jordan, King Abdullah II took his place on the throne after his father's passing so the time period represents a beginning of a new social process with cultural heritage from the previous one. The time period could have been longer however in the case of the Palestinian diaspora and the conflicts in the Middle East always twisting and turning, the time period chosen integrates a contemporary time aspect. Additionally the chosen time period includes the revolutionary phenomena which includes the Arabic spring where one could follow how it affects the analysis in matters connected to the Palestinian diaspora issue in Jordan (Morrison 2014). The analysis will have its core in a theoretical framework of constructivism which integrates in the idea of a discourse analysis and the subjectivity of analyzing a phenomena and how it is not static but dynamic and is something constructed.

Before starting the analysis one have to decide what speeches the critical discourse analysis will address. As this research is specifically focusing on policies created by political
elites mainly the head of state of Jordan, speeches from the throne will be analyzed. The head of state in Jordan is as mentioned earlier King Abdullah II, i.e. Jordan is a monarchy. The King's power in the constitutional monarchy that is the system of which it functions, is rather vast. He is not bound to appoint prime minister or form the government, however he has the power to remove or dissolve the two. Furthermore the king has the power to declare war and command the armed forces (European Forum 2015). This is some of the power that King Abdullah II holds and gives insight to why his speeches has a stronghold in Jordan and that is why speeches from the throne are being analyzed. These will be analyzed according to the parameters explained above, but mainly focusing on speeches from the throne is chosen mainly because:

"Speeches from the Throne are constitutionally mandated formal addresses by the King at the opening of Ordinary Sessions of the Parliament, in which the Monarch lays out national policies and focuses on vital issues in the region. The speeches also address development plans and domestic policies, calling for cooperation among all branches of government in achieving certain national objectives, including, for example, expanded political participation. Speeches from the Throne commonly emphasise the core values and national aspirations that emanate from the founding principles of the Arab Revolt and the Hashemite-Jordanian commitment to the Arab nation, the Muslim community and the international community." (Jordanian King's office 2015).

The statement above is a clear description of what function that speeches from the throne have. Speeches from the throne thus entails the most important parameters that this research will focus on, domestic policies and national aspirations. Domestic policies and national aspirations will not be analyzed generally but will specify those two notions into the matter of the construction of the Palestinian diaspora discourse. Accordingly this is why these speeches are chosen in the analyze. Furthermore, the role of the king in the Jordanian political system where he has the last word in important political matters that includes both domestic and foreign polices is an important factor of why exclusively choosing King Abdullah's speeches from the throne.

A critical discourse analysis is usually displayed by analyzing linguistics to then make a clear correlation to the case studied, if there is one. However the complexity with this research is not analyzing the linguistics, it is the language barrier. King Abdullah II holds his speeches from the throne in Arabic, the speeches analyzed in this research are English transcripts of those speeches. Analyzing linguistics from a translated speech endangers the research to be discredited. In order for this not to happen this research will give the critical discourse
analysis another perspective by analyzing the English transcripts of the speeches in a general manner to find a correlation between the discourse created and the discriminatory policies.

6.1 Emergence

In the first phase of emergence the focus will lay on the translating of new discourses as well as the construction through articulation of elements of already existing discourses (Fairclough 2005: 42-43). On the emerging stage the micro level of analysis will be used and the articulation stage of an analysis, which mainly entails the process of language use (linguistics), verbal interaction, communication and the power of it in the analysis (Van Dijk 2001: 354; Halperin & Heath 2012: 312-314).

This phase of Faircloughs four moments will include speeches from the year of 1999 until 2000. I choose to begin my analysis in 1999 instead of 2000 is for the reason that King Abdullah II had just come to the throne after his father's passing, this brings a clarity to the first step of the process of the discourse creation, the emergence. An all new rule in the nation brings forward new ways of governing the named nation which brings to the table new ways of creating new discourses through articulation. What is included in this period is the Camp David summit (Korany 2012: 98), that includes the international community in the kings linguistics and his articulation of his speeches. An event that was important to the articulation and language use that the king used in his speeches was the event of the second intifada (also referred to as the Al-Aqsa Intifada) that took place in Palestine during this period (Shlaim 2012: 282).

King Abdullah II started his governing mentioning the Palestinians cause one time in his speech from the throne. He mentioned them according to the peace process that had now been an issue for four decades nearly and did not bring anything new to the peace process in this speech. The king says that that his government will continue to support their Palestinian brethren until they regain their rights and establish their independent state on their national soil and have Jerusalem as their capital. He also mentions that the Palestinian cause is the core of conflict in the region of the Middle East, and that no peace will be achieved without a just settlement to the issue (King Abdullah II 1999).

His choice to articulate himself and his language use according to the conflict is interesting. In his seat in power he does not address specific Palestinian groups i.e. Palestinians of Jordan or other Palestinian diaspora groups for that matter. He chooses to
address Palestinians generally meaning already here he establishes the identity of the Palestinians as a generalization a nationality and not as a specific group belonging to a specific nation, for example Palestinians of Jordan or Palestinians of Lebanon. In this generalization he also mentions that the nation of Jordan will support the Palestinians until they regain their rights (King Abdullah II 1999). No specific rights mentioned, but we assume here that it is the basic human rights he is talking about, these are rights not given to Palestinians living in refugee camps in Jordan (Farah 2013). So by generalizing the Palestinian identity into a nationality, the king does not want to associate the Jordanian nationality as something that equals the Palestinian. Given the context of the conflict and that the Palestinians have been in a diaspora since 1948, several generations of Palestinian have been residing in Jordan especially after 1967 after the annexed West Bank was erased from Jordan (Schulz 2012: 40-42), so to entitle the Palestinian nationality as its own entity is in order for the peace process to proceed but to exclusively entitle "rights" of just Palestinian as a goal and not entitle the rights of Palestinians in the diaspora living in Jordan gives it a discriminatory angle. The discourse in this early stage is already touching on the macro level of the critical discourse, which is the level of dominance and inequality.

The second speech from the throne that the new king in charge held was in 2000 and at this time the discourse is still on its first stage of emergence. In the beginning of this speech King Abdullah II emphasizes on the importance of human rights and freedom, human dignity, security and stability are all factors that has to be interconnected in order to build a strong Jordan. The same was said according to the peace process as in the previous speech. However in this speech, the king added that acts of killing and destruction to which the Palestinian people are being subjected are acts that international and humanitarian laws and regulations condemn. Furthermore he adds that the state of Jordan demands that the international community to fulfill its duty and enable the Palestinians to their freedom and independence on their national soil (King Abdullah II 2000).

To give a little context to the new angle regarding the Palestinian conflict now involving the international community, in 2000 the Camp David summit was held, a part of the peace process, that obviously did not prevail (Korany 2012: 98). More in that year that regards the involvement of the international community was that in 2000 the second Intifada (uprising) was a fact in Palestine which basically entails a war more or less (Shlaim 2012: 282). These two events in 2000 made the king involve the international community to his speech this time. However, his emphasis in the beginning of the speech of preserving human
rights and human dignity as well as human security, does not indicate to whom these human rights are targeted to. Would his concern involve Palestinian refugees or even Jordanian-Palestinians in Jordan, especially after the Camp David summit had crashed, and a civil war had broken out, then the weight he puts on "national soil" regarding Palestinian strife for freedom would not been so heavy. Instead the king could have expressed himself in notions of human protection, or human aid from a conflict zone as Palestine was at that point of time. And add that the Palestinian living in the diaspora as well as the refugees in Jordan at that time could feel secure, not only mentioning their fight for freedom and for them to return to their national soil.

In this speech the discourse is still at its first stage, the stage of emergence as said above. The discourse is used on the micro level rather than on the macro in this speech, where language use, communication and verbal interaction becomes crucial in a state of conflict in the region, especially when the people of one side of the conflict is residing within your own borders. A social process have been and is here in progress, of a discourse including the Palestinians, particularly in a time of conflict mentioning and putting weight into the fact of Palestinians and their strife to return to their national home.

6.2 Hegemony

In the hegemonic phase of the construction of Palestinians in the diaspora, will include speeches held from 2003 until 2006. The hegemonic phase will show how the discourse is contesting other discourses in order for it to become hegemonic (Fairclough 2005: 42-43). In this phase the focus is still on the micro level of the analysis where language use and verbal interaction are essential in the two first steps of constructing a discourse (Van Djik 2001: 354).

During this period of time the region of the Middle East went through a rough patch with events that indirectly and directly affected Jordan as a state as well as their policy making during that period which will be shown by the kings speeches as well as in his articulation and his language use. The events that affected the Middle East was the American intervention of Iraq, an intervention that had become an insurgency and that was spreading which reached Jordan (BBC 2005; Robins 2012: 318). Another event that was between this period of time was the intifada that was still in progress.

In his speech from 2003 the region of the Middle East was under even more conflict, the American intervention in Iraq mainly. In this speech he mentions the Palestinians and their
cause briefly, even though the second intifada was still in progress. The king merely repeats himself from earlier speeches regarding the Palestinians saying that their quest for freedom is embedded in Jordan's sentiment and conscious (King Abdullah II 2003).

This speech does not tell us a lot about the Palestinian. The king is still under the same course regarding the Palestinian cause as something important to Jordan but does not mention again, nothing about Palestinian refugees in Jordan. The discourse is now somewhat moving forward to the second stage of it becoming hegemonic, in the sense that in this speech as a difference to the other, he puts the Palestinian cause equal to the Iraqi one, which are in a full scale war whilst Palestine is undergoing an uprising. It becomes a sort of contestation between discourses and different social agents in two different scenarios.

We skip ahead two more years to the year of 2005. In 2005 there was an event of bombings of three hotels in the capital of Amman with many casualties. An event that was conducted by the terrorist organization of Al-Qaeda that had spread from the insurgency from the unstable condition that Iraq was in 2005 as an aftermath of the American intervention (BBC 2005). Evidentially the king was shaken by this event and larger parts of his speech was dedicated to this event and the reasons and the contra measures the state of Jordan will proceed with after this. He mentions that the reasons of the bombing was the unstable condition of the region at the moment and that the state of Jordan's number one priority is national security, which he have mentioned in previous speeches as well. Regarding the Palestinians he have not changed his emphatic direction according the Jordanian agenda for Palestinian freedom and their return to their national soil (King Abdullah II 2005).

The Palestinian cause falls under shade during this time in Jordan and with all right, considering that the state of Jordan having national security issues. However this threat and the security issues that happened in 2005 have been clearly emphasized by the king in previous speeches. He mentioned that the region of the Middle East is a highly unstable region with constant conflict and that national security is the main priority. He have mentioned this in cases regarding Palestine, Palestinian and Iraq too, but an unstable region as a whole too (King Abdullah II 1999; 2000; 2003; 2005). Here we see the social process that have its core principals in constructivist thought, mainly that a threat is something socially constructed through discourses and through the process of history. And from earlier speeches as well as this one we can see that he has constantly been repeating himself regarding the Palestinian cause in relation to notions of security and human security.
In the king's speech from 2006 the hegemony of the discourse reaches its peak. The king brings up as usually that the state of Jordan inherited and will always continue with the message of the Great Arab Revolt which involves the Palestinian cause and their right to return to as well as create their own nation state on their national soil, as mentioned the same as usual (King Abdullah II 2006). However, in this speech he adds to that matter another aspect to the cause. He mentions that:

"Jordan will not accept an unjust settlement of this issue, nor will Jordan accept any settlement that comes at its expense" (King Abdullah II 2006).

Here one could debate what the king means about unjust, and as the question what is just and unjust? Given that in his earlier speeches have stressed the importance of Palestinian building their own national home on their national soil, one could say that in the king's mind, anything other than that is considered unjust. So Palestinian finding a permanent new home as an ethnic group in Jordan is according to this statement by the king out of the question.

Here we see how the discourse has reached its hegemonic stage where there is now no question about how the discourse is constructed and how the king wants it to be played. There is no more room for contesting the discourse at this point and the discourse has to now take place in the next stage which is the recontextualization stage.

6.3 Recontextualization

In this stage of the four moments is when the discourse recontextualize in either new organizations, institutions, fields or at new scales (Fairclough 2005). This is where the discourse starts to be implemented in one or several of these three fields mentioned in the sentence above or in a bigger scale than before. In this phase of the construction of the discourse the micro level of analysis is still essential, however in the recontextualization phase the macro level of analysis becomes as important as the micro level where one sees how dominance and inequality are now integrated into different parts of a nation (Van Djik 2001: 354)

The recontextualization phase of the discourse construction process will provide speeches from the period of 2007 to 2010. During this time period the king relates the Palestinian case to Jordan's national interests, such as economic as well as political interests. Correlating the Palestinian case with economic as well as political interests shows that these aspects are affected by the Palestinian case. More specifically in 2008 Jordan took action
against the Palestinians and started to revoke citizenships of Palestinians that held Jordanian citizenship. Namely, the Palestinian yellow card holders i.e. Jordanian citizens with Palestinian descent or heritage with a connection to the West Bank. This action is according to Jordanian deputy minister Nayef Qadi justified by the idea that these actions are necessary for the Palestinian cause and strife for their national home in the sense of countering the Israeli agenda of unloading the Palestinians residing in Israel (Zahran 2012: 4; Human Rights Watch 2010: 36-37).

In 2007 King Abdullah II delivered a speech which one can see the recontextualization of the Palestinian case. In all previous speeches he very clearly states that Jordan will always advocate in the Palestinian favor and that Jordan will offer their support until the Palestinian have a national home on their national soil (King Abdullah II 1999; 2000; 2003; 2005; 2006). In this speech however, he includes the party that are making it impossible for the Palestinians to create their mentioned homeland, namely Israel. The king calls upon Israel, to end the occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands. He also includes bigger institutions such as religion and nationalism as a mean of bond to end any disagreement between Palestinian groups. Furthermore in his speech from 2007 where one can see the bigger scale that the discourse is now touching, he goes on putting a bigger emphasis on the creation of a Palestinian state where he says that the Palestinians has to unite their ranks and seize the available opportunity to realize peace and establish their own independent state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (King Abdullah II 2007).

The phase or moment of recontextualization manifested itself more strikingly in the kings speech from 2008. In his speech he mentions the Palestinian cause as usual, though this time he mentions the cause together with preserving Jordan's political and economical interests, where basically the mentioned interests are correlated to the Palestinian case and are interests affected by the presence of Palestinians in Jordan. He also points out that an Arab institutional consensus and unanimity is the best at supporting the Palestinians in their cause of creating their homeland on their own national soil as well as regaining their full rights (King Abdullah II 2008).

The discourse here is being introduced to larger scales than before as well as it is being introduced to new organizations and institutions. For example the Jordanian political and economical institutions are mentioned in this speech as well as the Arab unity as an organization. For the first time during his reign over Jordan, King Abdullah II mentions the Palestinian cause in relation to the importance of preserving economical and political
interests. Here we see how the discourse is manifested at its best, that the Palestinian cause is important although not as important as national interest regarding economy and politics and that their cause is somewhat correlated to these institutions.

We skip ahead to the year of 2010 and King Abdullah II's next speech from the throne addressing his parliament. In this speech he continues on the given path regarding the Palestinian case of it being a priority of the Jordanian state. In this speech he lifts up parts that he mentioned in the beginning of his reign, parts where he emphasizes on the essence of helping the Palestinians end the occupation in order to create their national home on their national soil. Furthermore he relates the Palestinian cause to a bigger Arab and Islamic notion, making the spectrum of the discourse of helping the Palestinian that much bigger (King Abdullah II 2010). The scale of the discourse cannot be any larger than what it is at this moment regarding Jordanian national, international in the sense of involving the institution of religion, as well as regional policy and so the recontextualization stage have therefore reached its peak.

6.4 Operationalization

In this stage of Faircloughs four moments is the enactment of the discourse, as finding new ways of interacting. The repetitive nature as we see with all the previous speeches has made the discourse into new ways of being or identifying the ethnic group. The discourse has now reached materializations in features of the physical world and operates in fields that affects the group who have a discourse constructed of them (Fairclough 2005). In the last phase of the discourse constructions the macro level of analysis where one can observe how the discourse is used in action and is included in the physical world (Van Dijk 2001: 354).

The time period of this phase of the discourse construction will manifest itself between 2011 to 2014. During this time period the region of the Middle East was highly unstable due to the Arabic spring (Norton 2012: 128). The Arabic spring affected Jordan more indirectly rather than directly. In neighboring country Syria, a civil war broke out as a direct effect of the Arabic spring. As a result of the civil war a massive flow of refugees reached Jordan. Palestinian refugees in Syria was not an uncommon phenomena due to Syria is one of the near east countries that UNRWA operates in. When the civil war broke out many of these Palestinians residing in Syria decided like many Syrians to seek refuge in Jordan. However, Jordan had already expressed themselves explicitly of the amount of refugees residing in
Jordan and had related that to the Palestinian case (see section 6.3 of recontextualization) and was very clear of taking actions against these amounts of refugees. The actions taken affected the Palestinian refugees fleeing from Syria to seek refuge in Jordan. Discriminatory and inhuman actions was taken by Jordan. Their policy according to Palestinian refugees coming from Syria was once they arrived to Jordan they were denied entry to the country and was sent back to the uncertain and highly unsecure condition of the civil war in Syria (Morrison 2014: 41-42).

In the kings speech from the throne in 2011 like always he mentioned the Palestinian cause, as well as in the last stage he brought up the topic and correlated it to higher institutions than just only the Jordanian ones, namely Arab and Islamic institutions. He stresses the fact of the matter that Jordan stands behind the Palestinians as well as their cause of establishing their independent state on their national soil as a first priority in Arab and Islamic causes (King Abdullah II 2011). However this time he adds something to the matter which he have never done before in previous speeches where he says:

"We will not accept, under any circumstances, any settlement of the Palestinian cause at the expense of Jordan or any of our national interests" (King Abdullah II 2011).

Here he breaks out of the simple discourse that it began where mentioning the Palestinian cause and their right to return to stress the fact that the Palestinian matter should and will not triumph Jordanian national interests and that Jordan will not fall a victim over the Palestinian case. He thus acknowledges the Palestinian matter a threat to Jordan as of now.

In 2013 when the king had his next speech the Middle East was in a very unstable condition due to the events of the Arabic spring. What struck Jordan was the refugee flows that came from neighboring Syria that was at that time which still takes place today, under a civil war. Among them many Palestinian refugees as explained above. Of course Jordan was affected by the Arabic spring as well, however the king did not express himself about how Jordan was struck by it. King Abdullah II expressed himself regarding the refugee flows from Syria and that Jordan hosts 600 thousand of refugees. He continues by saying that these refugee flows affects Jordan's already pressured resources and its infrastructure. The king emphasizes in this speech on the refugee flows from Syria and stresses the necessity of help from the international community for the reason that if no helps come than Jordan will take measures to protect the interests of their people and country. About the Palestinian case he is on the same path as before stating that the Palestinian case is a top priority for Jordan and that they
support them in ongoing negotiations on the basis of international legitimacy especially the Arab peace initiative\(^1\) (King Abdullah II 2013).

In this speech the Palestinian case is expressed implicitly in the Syrian refugee case. As explained above there are many Palestinian refugees among the Syrians that was residing in the UNRWA camps in Damascus that wanted to enter Jordan. However the kings measurements was executed and many Palestinians was not allowed to enter Jordan and had to return to the civil war in Syria(see above). Here is the operationalization phase at its highest as the discourse has find new ways of interacting and deciding upon individuals with a certain identity their future.

King Abdullah's speech from 2014 brings up the Palestinian case as usual and he continues on emphasizing on that it is one of Jordan's highest national priorities. This speech was delivered after the events of the 2014 Gaza war, so he also brings up the necessity of rebuilding Gaza and will continue to mobilize the international support. He stresses the importance of the peace negotiations to continue in its path so that the events in Gaza will not occur again, and of course so that the Palestinians can, and he stills emphasizes, establish their independent state on their national soil. According to the Syrian refugee crisis he still stresses the importance of the support from the international community to Jordan in order for them to manage to shelter the refugees coming from Syria (King Abdullah II 2014).

The discourse has now reached its final phase, and have integrated all of the phases above this and have become fully naturalized and operational in various organizations, institutions and fields as well as it has established itself in a bigger scale.

7. Conclusion

This research has studied the phenomena of the Palestinian diaspora, which have been focusing on the case of Palestinians living in the diaspora in Jordan. Studying cases of any diaspora, notions such as cultural and national identity are relevant to discuss. The two notions of cultural and national identity together with the concept of diaspora has been discussed and related to the Palestinian case in Jordan. The discussion made arguments of the Palestinians in the diaspora, the ones residing in Jordan possess a strong cultural and national

\(^1\) In 2002 the Arab league had a summit in Beirut where they discussed the Palestinian refugee issue and put up some demands on Israel in order for a peace plan to prosper. The demands was a complete withdrawal from Arab territory. A just solution for the Palestinian refugees according to UN resolution 194. And the acceptance of a sovereign Palestinian nation state(BBC 2002).
identity toward a missing homeland of Palestine. The strong Palestinian identity has made Jordan take action against the Palestinians residing in Jordan, which they have constructed as a threat to Jordan as a whole and in institutions such as economics and politics. Palestinians in Jordan living in the diaspora has been exposed to systematic discrimination from the Jordanian government due to the discourse that has been constructed of them where actions such as citizenships being revoked from Palestinians with Jordanian citizenship, and denial of entry to Jordan from a war infested country of Syria because one is a refugee with a Palestinian heritage or descent has taken place. This discourse that this research studies have been constructed under a social process through time. Given the aspect of a social process where a threat toward the nation is constructed, the theoretical framework of this research has been constructivist which have been integrated with a critical discourse analysis as a methodological framework.

The constructivist theory together with the critical discourse analysis is here used as tools to interpret the findings from the research's analysis. The constructivist approach gives a clarity to why the discourse of the Palestinian was constructed. Given the aspects of constructivism as the state of anarchy being strictly interpretivist, the analysis shows how King Abdullah II constructs the threat of the Palestinians and then acts accordingly. The actions in form of revoking citizenships from Jordanian citizens with Palestinian heritage taken by the Jordanian government can be seen as a protective measure for Jordan as a nation state. Protective measures that entails systematically discriminating Palestinians in Jordan. Measures taken in order for Jordan to protect their own cultural and national identity as the constructed threat of the Palestinians residing in Jordan, the fear of Jordan becomes that their cultural and national identity is about to vanish and be replaced by the Palestinian cultural and national identity.

To answer the question that this research is based upon I will repeat it here and give an explicit answer. The research question for this research was:

How does the constructed discourse of the Palestinian in the diaspora residing in Jordan, constructed by the King, work as a mean of protecting Jordanian cultural and national identity according to policy making and law legislation and how does it affect the Palestinians?

From the analysis we can draw the conclusion that the discourse constructed in a social process through time, as shown in the analysis, by the Jordanian King whom is the head of state, does in fact affect discriminatory policies toward the Jordanian citizens with
Palestinian-origin. However, any explicit discriminatory law legislations toward the Palestinian-origin does not exist. So the only thing the discourse affects is the states policy making.

As mentioned above this research has used an interpretivist constructivist approach to deal with the research problem. This approach was used due to its interpretivist nature of analyzing the given research area and problem where the notions of diaspora, cultural and national identity are included and are notions related to a social process that are constructed through time. Positivist approaches to this area of study could have been used as well, however, analyzing the named notions in an interpretivist manner would not be relevant to this specific area of research. One could possibly have studied the given speeches from an quantitative analysis and then studied the research problem under frameworks such as realism or liberalism which would presumably given structural or organizational answers to the research problem. This research however is interested in finding methodological collectivist answers rather than methodological individualist answers.

The contributions that this research will give to the academia of international relations as well as in societal factors, is a new perspective of seeing the Palestinian situation in the near east. Arab leaders have always advocated in favor of the Palestinian right to return to their homeland, however the incitements of doing so is not for the right reasons. Palestinians are being systematically discriminated in host countries such as Jordan. This research will contribute to analyzing the Palestinian diaspora phenomena from an individual human perspective instead of a structural state perspective.

Developing this research into further studies could be including or researching other Palestinian diaspora cases in other countries than Jordan. One example given in the section of previous studies is the case in Lebanon that could be studied in the same regard as this case was studied. Or one could possibly expand and break out from the near east and research the Palestinian diaspora in the west and how it affects the Palestinian identity structures there.
8. Bibliography


