

# **Negotiating Citizenship in Contemporary Jordan: A Simulation**

## **Policy Paper Assignment and Class Simulation**

### **Directions for Policy Paper Assignment**

Your team has been asked by King Abdullah II to represent the interests of a particular segment of society affected by current citizenship policy. The Royal Family, acting on behalf of all the current residents of Jordan, understands that there are tensions within Jordan. He understands that the differential citizenship status of identity groups and the lack of citizenship among some groups, affects work and education options, access to benefits and freedoms, standards of living, and senses of dignity, belonging, and inclusion. The Royal Family has supported sheltering multiple waves of refugees who are not Trans Jordanian, citing, among other sources of justification, its Bedouin traditions of hospitality. At the same time, the King realizes that the economic and political impacts of newcomers are significant. He is also acutely aware of past catastrophic civil wars and the on-going Arab upheavals that started in 2010 and continue to create instability in the region, sometimes deposing leaders. The King is convening a conference to peacefully address tensions caused by the current citizenship policy. You and others with expertise on aspects of this question will present your positions to one another and attempt to reach a consensus on whether or how Jordanian citizenship should be redefined.

Your identity group will do research to prepare an assessment of possible changes to the Jordanian state's policy on citizenship and the impact that such policy options would have on the interests of your identity group. This will require that you learn as much as possible about the interests of those you represent and how their interests intersect with the existing policy. You will create a policy paper that makes clear whom you represent, what their interests are, what impact current policy and at least two other policy options would have for your group. You will also recommend which option you recommend be implemented and make the case for that option being incorporated into the conference policy. Your policy paper will be posted on Moodle before the simulation and your group will do an oral presentation (5 minutes) and distribute a one-page executive summary of your findings as part of the simulation exercise.

But what is a policy paper, you ask. A policy paper is essentially a memorandum, written in the present or future tense, that offers practical advice to a decision-maker or decision-making body about the desirability of adopting and implementing a particular policy option. Your paper must be thoroughly researched, clearly citing the sources of information on which your paper is based. Attribution and documentation in a policy paper in a class setting are the same as for a research paper. Your paper must be concisely written in an active voice and be both professional and persuasive. Follow the format below, with each section designated with the heading indicated below.

### **Introduction/Background**

Keep it short and to the point. This section frames the interests of your particular group and the concerns/issue of the definition of citizenship currently in use by the Jordanian government.

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### **Problem Statement**

The problem statement may come at the end of the introduction. It concisely identifies the problem to be solved and may be in the form of a question.

### **Objectives**

Focus on a single decision-maker or decision-making body. Identify the objectives of the entity trying to solve the problem (in this case the Jordanian government, because while the conference will be making a recommendation, it is ultimately up to the government to implement or ignore the suggested policy). It is best to work from an official list in a government document or leadership statement. Consider the domestic political goals that may be associated with your policy recommendation. Defense issues can rarely be decided without considering domestic issues.

### **Options**

Enumerate the key policy options and describe them briefly. It is common to provide three options. For and against arguments do not constitute two options. Give the decision-maker some choices.

### **Analysis of Options**

How does each option serve the objectives listed above and what are the costs or issues associated with each. Consider positive and negative factors. You should be sensitive to each option's political repercussions.

### **Recommendation**

Select the best option and summarize why it is best. Do a reality check. Does the recommendation solve the problem; can it be implemented? Your recommendation should ideally stand alone, not requiring another iteration of the process to figure out how to implement it.

### **Executive Summary**

This is a one-page summary of key points that will allow the reader to understand your group's interests, goals and preferences and some idea of the evidence supporting the option you are advocating.

Class prior to the simulation, each group will give a presentation of no more than 8 minutes, highlighting their priorities and preferred options for whether and how the citizenship policy should be changed.

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### Instructions to Students

Greetings Scholars of Middle East Politics and Identity,

Please add your executive summaries to the newly created Google doc as soon as you are able. We would also encourage you to use google docs to post your entire paper and invite the class to view (but not edit) it.

Before Monday's class, your group should look over the other summaries (and skim the papers for added detail) to identify common ground with other groups as well as those proposed revisions your group would like to prevent from being implemented. During the simulation, you will be able to argue both for and against these changes and should have information available that will persuade others-- particularly the Royal Family -- that the changes you advocate are feasible (e.g. on economic, resource-related, and political dimensions) and how those you would not like to see might be disadvantageous.

You will have about 15 minutes at the beginning of class to strategize with your team, so preparing yourselves outside of class to hit the ground running is recommended. Props, business attire and -- particularly-- willingness to really play your assigned role are encouraged.

Looking forward to some great negotiations,

### Simulation Day Guidelines

**15 minutes:** Delegations meet in designated locations and review strategies for working with other groups to promote favored policy options or to try to block certain options from being broadly endorsed.

**60 minutes:** The negotiation table is opened and each group may send their official delegate to their designated spot (NOTE: only one delegate per group may sit at the negotiation table at any one time, delegates may tag in and out of the table depending on the negotiation topic). Remember to keep one delegate available for inquiries at your 'home location' in the room. [\[i\]](#)

#### 10-minute break

**10 minutes:** Announcement of the consensus proposal. The lead delegate from each group must sign the proposal and offer any reservations, declarations, or understandings about how it should be implemented.

**20 minutes:** Closing speeches 3 minutes/group (remember: delegates must decide the order of the closing speeches before the recommendation has been signed)

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**5-minute break**

**55 minutes:** Debriefing after simulation

## **Simulation Debriefing Questions**

**A quick review of the purpose of the simulation:**

1. To deepen your understanding of how theoretical concepts (e.g. identity, citizenship, national narrative, reinforcing and cross-cutting cleavages or identities, interests, allocation of resources, sources of state legitimacy) are put into practice in creating political policies and during political negotiations; and
2. To gain familiarity with the complexity of balancing competing interests within a society that is not a pluralistic, democratic system.

We will discuss both substantive issues involved in the simulation and the practice of the simulation itself.

## **PART I: Substantive Policy Issues**

1. With regard to your organization's negotiating position, what happened during the course of the negotiations? Did your position change? Why? (Did it change in response to certain factors, issues, lessons learned during the negotiations?)
2. To what extent did your understanding of identity (particularly the ideas of reinforcing and cross-cutting cleavages) and citizenship deepen or become problematic? In what way(s) How do you see your group fitting into the dominant national narrative of Jordan?
3. How did identities, interests, allocation of resources, sources of state legitimacy come into the conversation while you attempted to negotiate and create political policies?
4. How did your understanding of the complexity of balancing competing interests (particularly within a society that is not a pluralistic, democratic system) change as we did this simulation? Did you identify a common set of values or priorities that fits all members of the society?
5. Which issues became the dominant issues during the negotiations? Which 'organization'/identity took a leadership role during the negotiations? Is this realistic? Had you anticipated that another organization would take a more active role in the negotiations?

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6. Around which issues did negotiating coalitions form? Were these coalitions 'realistic'? Did they 'hold together' over the course of the negotiations? Would you consider these to be cross-cutting cleavages? Why or why not?

7. How well did groups play their roles? Were you frustrated by the actions of certain groups? Did you feel that they did not negotiate the way you had expected? Were topics introduced that did not reflect the 'interests' of those groups as you understood those interests from your own or the posted research? If so, why do you believe that the negotiators acted counter to their group's interests?

8. Which theoretical issues arose during the course of the negotiations? Were they raised, dealt with, or discussed in a similar way to our readings and lectures? If not, what explains this difference? List the theoretical concepts you felt were most important during the negotiation process.

9. What factors allowed for agreement to be reached? Which groups reached agreement? How robust is this agreement? What obstacles needed to be overcome? Do you expect that this agreement would be acceptable to the Royal Family? The Arab League? UN? Other important states or international organizations?

### **PART II: Simulation Practices**

1. Stand 'outside' your role as a state/organization negotiator when answering this question. Did this simulation mirror negotiations that would occur in the 'real world'? Explain using language appropriate to this class.

2. In every simulation, 'reality' is simplified. What aspects of the real world were missing from this simulation? Did the absence of these aspects of the real world undermine the effectiveness of the simulation? Were certain issues overplayed or unrealistic because of the individuals involved in the simulation? What is the cause of this constraint on reality?

3. How did you leave the simulation? How did you feel- frustrated, resigned, satisfied, etc.? What explains your sentiment? Do you feel this way because of your responsibility as an individual, your understanding of politics, your commitment to specific values, etc.? I encourage you to answer this question on your own. Then, ask your fellow group members how they felt- did they have similar concerns/ feelings about the simulation?

### **Examples of Student-Crafted Executive Summaries**

The executive summary of students' policy papers were shared as a common document. See the examples below.

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### **Citizenship Reform from a Circassian Perspective: Executive Summary**

We believe there are a few Articles worth re-evaluating and amending in the Jordanian citizenship laws, however, we determined that most pressing of these were the articles addressing distinctions between Arabs and non-Arabs. As Circassians in Jordan we benefit largely from having status as Jordanian citizens, however we as a people do not identify as Arab. We believe this creates a considerable amount of difficulty for other Circassians fleeing oppressive situations, such as in Syria, when pursuing citizenship in Jordan. Situating Arabs as a higher priority comparative to non-Arabs in terms of citizenship is dangerous in that it does not benefit all who are seeking refuge, favoring a few over others, while also serving to further strengthen societal hierarchies deeply entrenched in terms of Arab or non-Arab identity. We as Circassians have proven to be valuable assets to the history and the development of Jordan and we believe it is unfair and unjust to limit further Jordanian progress simply because refugees lack the Arab identity required for a fast path towards citizenship. For these reasons, we believe it is most pressing to eliminate this distinction in order to bring a greater opportunity for equality between those who identify as Arab and those who do not when seeking Jordanian citizenship. Through this shift in citizenship policy, we believe Jordan will continue to uphold their national image of accommodating refugees in need while also establishing a fair and nondiscriminatory path towards citizenship which will be unparalleled in the Middle East. We believe that through amending Article XIII, sections A and B, there will be an increase of valuable non-Arabs gaining citizenship and being able to contribute to the progress of Jordan as a whole.

### **UNHCR: Executive Summary**

The United States High Commissioner for Refugees recognizes the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan's long commitment to providing a peaceful haven for refugees. Jordan has generously welcomed millions of refugees over the last several decades— however, the UNHCR is deeply concerned about the growing problem of statelessness that threatens vulnerable populations of people living in Jordan.

Currently, there are several pressing issues that the UNHCR feels inhibit refugees' and non-citizens' ability to obtain citizenship. Firstly, approximately seventy percent of refugee children born in Jordan are unregistered and become stateless; thus they are automatically ineligible for many health-related, educational, legal, and political opportunities. Secondly, Jordanian women cannot pass on their citizenship to a foreign husband or to their children. This prohibits "foreign" family members from living in Jordan without a residence permit, along with the many problems of statelessness. Thirdly, restrictions on residency permits and employment permits greatly diminish refugees' and other non-citizens' ability to integrate into the community or use their skills.

Therefore, the UNHCR strongly urges the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to alter their citizenship laws by adopting proposed options one and two. Granting refugees and non-citizens easier access to citizenship, residency permits, and employment permits would better equip these vulnerable populations to become included members of their communities, to improve their

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standard of living, and to increase their upward mobility. Specifically, the UNHCR advocates increasing the potential for Jordanian women with foreign husbands to attain citizenship for her partner and her children. Beyond these improvements, the UNHCR strongly recommends that the Jordanian government direct more efforts towards improving the living conditions and opportunities for non-citizens rather than creating a broader, easier path to citizenship. While the UNHCR believes that adopting these changes will help reduce the refugee crisis in Jordan, further changes must be made in order to address the pervasive problem of statelessness among refugee children in Jordan.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is committed to protecting the world's most vulnerable populations and thus urges the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to work alongside the UNHCR in creating a better life for refugees living in Jordan.

### **West Bank Refugees in Jordan: Executive Summary**

Our review of the Jordanian citizenship policies suggests that the Jordanian government's current position on citizenship is biased and exclusionary. Current Jordanian policies surrounding West Bankers' citizenship lack transparency and are arbitrarily informed on different subsets of the population. This is especially true for West Bank refugees, who have faced an increase in the number of cases of citizenship revocation since 1954. A significantly more equal and efficient citizenship policy can be achieved through the establishment of more inclusive laws regarding West Bankers' access to fundamental human rights via Jordanian citizenship. Moreover, to resolve this systemic issue of West Bank refugee statelessness, the naturalization of West Bankers born in the Jordanian territory will allow future generations to fully enjoy their rights as citizens. The long-term residency of most West Bankers in Jordan suggests that these people have already integrated into society and, therefore, do not pose any serious threat to Jordanian ways of life. In addition, allowing more West Bank refugees to earn Jordanian citizenship will help promote the embedded Arab conception of national identity supported by Jordan's commitment to Arab unity within the region.

Today, West Bank refugees, who have been working, raising families and positively contributing to the state of Jordan for over fifty years, continue to struggle with finding recognition of a solution for their statelessness. In order to promote Jordan as a hospitable state for international immigration, the Jordanian government must first recognize the West Bank refugees who have already integrated into Jordanian society but who remain stateless.

### **Muslim Brotherhood Policy Proposal: Executive Summary**

#### **Introduction**

The Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood pays attention to religious, ideological, cultural and social issues in the fight against corruption and injustice (El-Said and Rauch 2015, 71). The Muslim Brotherhood is concerned with the basic well-being of the populace whose citizenship rights

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have been unjustifiably revoked and aims to provide Palestinians with the fundamental right to a respectable standard of living. We support a faithful and legally accountable implementation of the 1954 citizenship law with special attention to transparency and provision of basic social services. The effects of the disengagement of 1988 and the ongoing citizenship revocation of yellow card holders are causing underrepresentation of the Palestinian-Jordanian voice within the country, causing political imbalance and corruption.

### **Objectives**

The Jordanian state suffers from growing instability as a consequence of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, diverse identity groups and lack of access to education, work, and benefits. The MBM seeks to collaborate with the Hashemite monarchy in the following goals: interest in the security and stability of the Jordanian state, economic and political aspirations for reform, economy-related societal problems, the need of supportive political parties, and the conservation of Jordan's national integrity.

High levels of unemployment and poverty have slowed the economy (Sharp 2010, 22). The monarchy has advocated for "Jordan First" policies, emphasizing the improvement of the economic welfare of Jordanian citizens (Terrill 2010, 103), in addition to increased political participation of women and youth (Terrill 2010, 103). The peace and security of the Jordanian state is threatened by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Jordanians of Palestinian origin comprise more than half of all Jordanian citizens from either the West Bank or the pre-1967 borders of Israel (Sharp 2010, 25). The Muslim Brotherhood endorses the king's belief in a state where "Jordan is Jordan and Palestine is Palestine" (Sharp 2010, 25).

### **Options**

**Option 1: Jordanian policy on citizenship should be kept unchanged with particular attention given to its reinforcement with due process.**

This option recommends that, while keeping the citizenship law the same, the Jordanian government should implement a series of reforms to ensure the lawful exercise of procedures.

**Option 2: The Jordanian government should grant citizenship to Palestinian refugees born in Jordan as well as the Palestinians residing in Jordan since 1967, specifically to those who are stateless and who are currently holding a blue card.**

This option will allow the Palestinian refugees residing in Jordan to have citizenship rights in addition to their currently held nationality.

**Option 3: Dual citizenship for Palestinians to also hold Jordanian citizenship**

This option proposes a series of amendments in Articles 4, 5, and 6 of the Jordanian citizenship law, tailored to prevention of statelessness.

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### **Recommendation: Option 1**

The current law should be faithfully implemented. All documentation used to revoke citizenship should be made publicly accessible. The Palestinians with revoked citizenship should be granted rights to appeal and be provided legal assistance. The Follow-up and Inspection Department should be subject to judicial review.

### **East Bankers - Executive Summary**

#### **Introduction**

Inequality between paternal and maternal claims of citizenship is limiting the growth of the Jordanian population and the ownership of Jordanian values. Furthermore, the influx of Syrian and Iraqi refugees, in addition to the preexisting number of Palestinians in Jordan, has contributed to the instability of the concept Jordanian citizenship, risking the collective culture and identity. What right do these refugees have to citizenship? This question is asked keeping in mind our desire to avoid reshaping Jordanian national identity, and must be answered with careful attention to the ethnic divide between the Palestinian dominated private sector and Jordanian controlled public sector.

#### **Objectives**

Many of our neighbors rely on us for support and safety, but if we do not protect the integrity of our nation, we may succumb to the upheaval in the region. While it was important to stand by the Arab Nation at a time of great need, the influx of Palestinians, Syrians, and Iraqis are quickly overcoming our native Jordanian population. Should this trend continue, we will quickly lose our voice in politics and our autonomy in the state. Therefore, it is time that we review the 24 articles under Law number 6 of the Jordanian Constitution. In doing so, we must create stricter laws on citizenship and preserve the Nation of Jordan.

#### **Options**

We would like to change the policies allowing people to gain citizenship after living in Jordan for a set period of time. Instead we would like to grant Palestinians IDs that allow them to live and work legally in Jordan but do not grant them full rights of citizenship. We would like new policies to regulate the private sector that is predominantly being controlled by Palestinians. Lastly we think that the portion of the current policy dealing with the passage of citizenship to children should remain in place as it is.

#### **Analysis of Options**

The creation of a new ID status recognize the contributions of the Palestinians to our Kingdom. However we Jordanians do also recognize their right to come back to their homeland and this is why we cannot grant them Jordanian citizenship. We still allow them to work and contribute to our economy.

Focusing on the income and the ownership inequality in the private and public sector between Palestinians and Jordanians, we ensure that the rights and the interests of native Jordanians are a priority.

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Granting citizenship to those children of Jordanian mothers and unknown father's nationality, we allow those children to be raised under Jordanian values with our ideals and rules for a better future.

### **Recommendations**

We recommend the creation of the new status ID for Palestinians due to the rising differences between them and native Jordanians. We have a realistic approach and it is totally and easily applicable. We raise this as an option instead of revoking their right to work, we are realistic about their contribution to the kingdom's economy. We also recognise their right of return.

### **Christians - Executive Summary**

In summary, the Jordanian Christian community proposes the amending of three policies to the 1954 Nationality Law. Our first proposal is the changing of Article 4, Section 1 of the 1954 Nationality Law that states, "he is of good conduct and has never been convicted of an offence involving his honor or morals" (Kingdom of Jordan). We argue this policy does not allow Christians and other religious groups to determine their citizenship through an individual's secular law opposed to Sharia'a Law. Instead, we believe the law should be stated as, "He is of good conduct and has never been convicted of a criminal offence." This policy change is also our most recommended. We feel that the changing of this policy most adequately represents the Jordanian Christian community's needs. This is also supported by His Majesty King Abdullah II when he stated that "Arab Christians are an integral part of my region's past, present, and future" (Ibn Al-Hussein). The second policy we propose to change is Article 4, Section 2 of the 1954 Nationality Laws. The law does not allow an Arab to gain citizenship unless he has a "lawful means of livelihood." However, this is problematic as it is also illegal for "foreigners" to be eligible for employment. Due to this paradox, the Jordanian Christian community proposes the law should be amended to say, "He has plans to attain lawful means of livelihood." This would allow the refugees to become an integral class in Jordanian society, ultimately benefiting the economy. Our final policy proposal is to amend Article 4 of the 1954 Nationality Law that currently requires those seeking Jordanian nationality to "renounce his nationality of origin" (Kingdom of Jordan 1954). This is problematic because many Christian refugees would like to return to their homeland after what conflict they were fleeing has ceased. Therefore, we propose the policy to not require refugees to renounce their nationality of origin.

### **Iraqi and Syrian Refugee Perspectives: Executive Summary**

The Jordanian government faces a significant problem with a massive influx of Syrian and Iraqi refugees that has created a strain on national resources. The government desires to work on long-term development and sustainability while providing refugees with housing and services. Three options have been selected as feasible for dealing with this issue. Providing refugees with full citizenship rights would grant them access to the full spectrum of Jordanian public services, but could create instability and tension within Jordanian society. Resettlement would provide refugees with housing and shelter, but would be incredibly cost-prohibitive and is limited by inefficient resettlement laws. The most feasible option is the granting of temporary work visas

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to refugees, to allow them to obtain employment as well as contribute to the Jordanian economy and alleviate poverty. Though granting work visas is an idea that some view as the first step in allowing refugees to become Jordanian citizens, the plight of refugees in distress requires urgent action. Refugees continue to enter Jordan and the strain on national resources grows every day; the government must act quickly and effectively to aid refugees and provide solutions to their issues.

### **Jordanian Women: Executive Summary**

If a Jordanian man marries a non-Jordanian woman he can pass his citizenship to her and to their children. However, as outlined in Article 3 of Law No. 6 of 1954, the same cannot be said for a Jordanian woman marrying a non-Jordanian man. Jordanian women's inability to pass citizenship to their non-citizen husbands and any children they have is discriminatory and detrimental to the social and economic well being of the state. Over 600,000 people have migrated to Jordan since 2011, drastically influencing the homogeneity of the population, this will result in more families without citizenship rights.

In 2014 the Kingdom of Jordan promised to implement "privileged services" to the children of Jordanian mothers and foreign fathers, yet this promise was broken. Two years later the children and husbands still cannot access many public services. Over a long period of time, the inability to access public services is crippling not only to the individual but also to the nation, as it limits education, financial stability, and health. To rectify the situation, the Kingdom of Jordan should create the necessary infrastructure to grant full citizenship rights to the children of Jordanian women and their foreign fathers beginning in 2017 (as described in option one). Attaining citizenship will be a lengthy process, so the Kingdom of Jordan should commit to offering the public services they previously promised. Following these recommendations will sew the existing holes in the socioeconomic fabric, and will thus strengthen the nation as a whole.

### **Options**

Option 1 - Give citizenship to children born to mothers of Jordanian citizenship and to husbands of foreign nationality.

Option 2 - Give citizenship to children and deny citizenship to husbands of foreign nationality, but improve the husbands' access to privileges.

Option 3 - Give citizenship to children under matrilineal terms and deny citizenship and privileges to husbands of foreign nationality.

### **Recommendation**

By January of 2017, The Kingdom of Jordan should be prepared to assimilate the non-citizen children and husbands of Jordanian women. Following the same timeline, infrastructure should be established to truly provide health services, educational opportunities, and employment opportunities for both groups as they complete the citizenship application process. This is in

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accordance with the aforementioned option one. The options are presented in order of preference, option one being preferable to option two, which is preferable to option three. Option one would grant full citizenship rights to Jordanian women, while option two and three would only grant partial rights. Jordanian women deserve the same rights as Jordanian men, and implementing option one would mean equality of citizenship rights.