

Immobile Palestinians The Impact of Policies and Practices on Palestinians from Gaza in Jordan*

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In anthropological terms, refugees have undergone a violent 'rite' of separation and, unless or until they are 'incorporated' as citizens in their host state, they find themselves 'in transition' (Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 1992). Gazan refugees in Jordan encounter this vulnerability of "transition". They are "in between nation states" since they have left one polity but have not been incorporated into another.² In principle, they are caught "in transition" from a more settled and predictable past to an abruptly changed and unpredictable future.

In Jordan, about 150,000 Palestinian refugees from Gaza share this vulnerability.³ In the form of temporary passports, they are granted only travel-documents without citizenship rights and entitlements, with the result that they cannot secure a stable living in Jordan, they do not have easy access to basic Jordanian government services, nor can they easily travel abroad to look for work. Few countries admit them, because they have no official proof of citizenship. Furthermore, any delay in renewing the temporary passport or in applying for one puts an individual at risk of becoming undocumented with difficult implications. Mobility was the only option Palestinians had when they fled their homeland in 1948 or 1967. Today, some groups among the refugees – like the Gazans in Jordan – cannot even contemplate the option to escape

*. NB: As this paper was getting ready for publication, some administrative measures were taken by the Jordanian Prime Minister Faisal El-Fayez which ameliorates the access of Gazans to public services. In September 29th 2004, in the daily *El Ghad* newspaper, it was reported that the Prime Minister El-Fayez called for the issuance of a two-year residency card for Gazans. The director of Passports Department, Awni Yirfas, explained that this will facilitate the processing of the official paper work for the Gazans. About 117,700 refugees from Gaza will benefit from this decision. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Interior increased the renewal fees of the two-year temporary passport held by the Gazans to 100 JD (\$140) per passport (*El Ghad*, September 30th, 2004).

1. FMRS, American University of Cairo.

2. Fabos, A., 2000, « Notes on the concept of liminality », unpublished typescript.

3. *Al-Sabeel Weekly*, January 9-15, 2001, by Saqed Rashid ; U.S. Department (2001) Country reports on Human Rights Practices-2000, Jordan, www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/2000.

the vicious cycle of vulnerability in which regional politics and administrative bottlenecks have caught them.

This paper first presents historical and factual data, and discusses the legal and administrative frame within which several states in the regions aim to manage the case of refugees from Gaza. Politics and regulations specifically designed for the Gazans underline their vulnerability as refugees and as individuals who have lost most of their rights.⁴ For example, when they left Palestine, they did not expect that their stay in Jordan would prevent them from further moves and travel outside its borders. The second part presents various examples of Palestinians from Gaza who have been immobilised as a result of politics, regulations on aliens and specific restrictions on the rights of refugees from Gaza. The last part looks at official statements about these Palestinians, including government promises to ameliorate their conditions and the political reactions to such promises. The article considers the legal tools that could provide Gazans with minimum basic rights of employment, higher education, ownership and travel.

HISTORICAL AND LEGAL CONTEXT

Gazans displaced in 1948 and 1967

The main group of Gazans in Jordan are refugees who were displaced twice, first by the 1948 War that led to the creation of the State of Israel, and again as a result of the 1967 Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip, that had remained under Egyptian sovereignty since 1948. On arrival in Jordan, they were granted temporary Jordanian passports although not citizenship rights. They had no protection of a state nor any UN body. The so-called passport serves two purposes: documenting the Gazans in Jordan as temporary residents (like an ID card), and providing them with a travel document (*laisser-passer*) at the international level so that they may access countries other than Jordan.

Apart from those who integrated into Jordan because they were naturalised and/or had the financial means, the others live in two refugee camps in Jordan, where they receive the services of UNRWA – the UN agency that has been providing relief and works to Palestinian refugees in the Middle East since 1950⁵:

- Gaza (also called Jerash) camp has almost 30,000 inhabitants, most of whom are refugees from Gaza;

4. A table at the end of the paper shows the level of rights Palestinians have according to the official documents they hold.

5. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) was established in 1949 based on Security Council Resolution (UNSC) 302 to coordinate with the governments of host states to carry out relief and works programmes.

- Hittin camp hosts 45,550 refugees from 1948 who were displaced again in 1967 including a few hundreds Gazans.

RIGHTS AND PROTECTION

For the Gazans, the loss of rights has been cumulative. First came the dispossession of their homelands after UN Resolution 181 that partitioned Palestine, the ensuing Israel-Arab war and Israel's declaration of independence in 1948. Later, as they arrived in neighbouring areas (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip), they were registered as refugees by UNRWA and were only provided with urgent relief and assistance projects.⁶ Those registered by UNRWA were given ration cards and defined as 'Palestine refugees' according to the following criteria:

Persons whose normal residence was Palestine during the period of 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948 and who lost both their homes and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict and took refuge in one of the countries or areas where UNRWA provides relief, and their direct descendants through the male line (UNRWA's Consolidated Eligibility Instructions in Takkenberg 1998).

A new wave of Palestinians, particularly those from the cities and the refugee camps of the West Bank and Gaza, fled once again as a result of the 1967 war. They sought shelter in such countries as Jordan, Syria and Egypt. They were defined as 'displaced persons' in UN General Assembly Resolution 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967, which described them as those "*who have been unable to return to the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967.*" It is again UNRWA that was charged with giving the refugees-displaced relief and assistance, while the agency never included protection of refugees in its mandate.

When Jordan annexed the West Bank in 1950, it granted Palestinians who resided there fully-fledged Jordanian citizenship.⁷ But Gazans, who arrived at the aftermath of 1967 war, were left without this citizenship and remained stateless, a concept Najeh Jarar defines as the lack of rights to individual freedom, political participation and full share in the social heritage of a nation (see Marshall, 1950, in Jarrar, 1996). According to international law, since there is no Palestinian state, Palestinian citizenship is non-existent today. Palestinians who have not acquired the nationality of a third state therefore continue to be stateless (Takkenberg, 1998: 181).

Shiblak (2001) differentiates between two kinds of statelessness for Palestinians:

6. The Red Cross first recorded Palestinian refugees and later gave the work to UN Relief for Palestine Refugees which later became UNRWA. Egypt established a local committee to shelter refugees.

7. In all other cases in the Middle East, Palestinian refugees to this day are neither protected by a state nor by a UN body and are therefore other instances of statelessness.

de jure: Palestinians who hold travel documents, such as the temporary Jordanian passport, Egyptian, Lebanese, Syrian travel documents and the Palestinian passport delivered by the Palestinian National Authority.

de facto: Palestinians who were born in a country but were denied its citizenship and the rights it entails. This includes the children of a mother who is a national of the host country and whose husband is a stateless Palestinian. Even if the children were born or lived most of their lives in their mother's country, they cannot be naturalized.

Two Conventions relate to the stateless Palestinian refugees from Gaza but, in practice, they are not applied. They are meant to improve their status and grant them the widest guarantees of fundamental human rights.⁸ These international legal instruments are: the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. To benefit from these conventions, a person must be determined to be 'stateless,' that is "*a person who is not considered a national by any state under the operation of its law.*" The 1961 Convention also recommends in its definition that 'persons who are stateless *de facto* should as far as possible be treated as stateless *de jure* to enable them to acquire an effective nationality.' However, the 1954 Stateless Convention has a clause similar to the Refugee Convention and UNHCR Statute, stipulating that the Convention "*shall not apply to persons who are at present receiving from organs or agencies of the United Nations other than the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – UNHCR – protection or assistance so long as they are receiving such protection or assistance.*"

The limited applicability of the 1951 Refugee Convention to Palestinian refugees and the conventions on statelessness has excluded Palestinians and Gazans from having basic human rights. It is important to note that Palestinians – refugees, displaced and stateless persons – have lacked a body to protect and enforce their rights, and to ensure that the proper legal instruments are implemented with regard to their legal status. Only recently, a reinterpretation of Article 1D of the 1951 Convention by UNHCR has led the agency to include in its mandate those Palestinians who have not been receiving assistance and protection from another UN body.

Thus, Gazans receive no protection from the Jordanian state since they are not citizens nor Jordanian nationals. They can neither seek the protection of UN bodies through the international legal instruments created to tackle statelessness. When applied to Gazans, all these international tools become contingent (thus OMIT). Thus, Gazans have lost their basic rights including the right to free mobility.

8. Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that 'everyone has the right to a nationality.'

FROM FORCED MIGRATION TO VULNERABILITY AND IMMOBILITY

The Gazans who arrived in Jordan after the 1967 war and the occupation of the Gaza Strip (and West Bank) were granted temporary Jordanian travel documents to replace the Egyptian travel documents issued in Gaza which had been under the Egyptian administrative rule since the signing of the Rhodes Armistice in 1949. From 1949-1967, the Egyptian Administration retained most of the basic legislation inherited from the Ottoman and the British Mandate periods, including the Palestinian Citizenship Order of 1925 (Kassim, 1989). The Egyptian travel documents were supposed to help them travel to and from the Strip. However, in the 1967 war, they fled to Jordan via the West Bank. They could not go to Egypt due to Israeli raids in the Sinai Peninsula. Nor did Egypt want them on its territory. By 1968, and if they held Egyptian travel documents, Jordan eased their mobility and legalized their stay by issuing them a one-year temporary passports. Later the validity of the passport was extended to three years. In the mid 1980's, the policy was changed again, and the passport had to be renewed every two years.⁹ In 1986, Gazans who still held an Egyptian document were given a chance to replace it with a two-year passport.¹⁰

Although Gazan refugees in Jordan are provided with relief, health and education services by UNRWA, not all of their needs can be met. For example, their lack of citizenship means it is difficult to find jobs or to go on to higher education. According to interviewed Gazans for the purpose of this paper, the word "Gazan" written on the passport affects the way they are treated by government officials. Applying for work is a major preoccupation for their survival especially that practicing professional work is not possible. Nor are they allowed to register with professional societies/unions or create their own offices, firms or clinics. In addition, work in the private sector is contingent upon security approval. Hence, work opportunities are very limited. The informal sector is an option but there is the risk of exploitation. For most Gazans, finding a way to leave Jordan so as to look for work abroad is a matter of survival, but the ever changing intricacies of their legal status restricts their mobility.

Until 2000, the criteria for the provision of services to a Jordanian citizen was a national identity number and a family dossier (*daftar 'aileh*) that contains the registration of family members through marriage, birth and death at the Civil Status Department. On 22 October 2002, a circular was sent to

9. This was confirmed by several Passport department officials but no concrete dates or administrative regulations were uncovered.

10. The difficulty for holders of the Egyptian travel document was renewing their residencies in Egypt every six months or one year. This would oblige them to do it in person by traveling to Egypt. In case of any delay, the person loses fully his right of re-entering Egypt and would only be able to renew his travel document through the Egyptian embassies abroad (El-Abed, 2005).

all governmental departments by the Prime Minister's office emphasising the fact that the national identity number is *the* only reference to be considered for any paper work concerning the citizens of Jordan.¹¹ Those without this number include Gazans holding two-year passports and the West Bankers who kept their Jordanian passports (serving as *laisser-passer* only) after Jordan officially severed all legal and administrative relations with the West Bank in 1988. Although Gazans with limited rights and vulnerable living conditions in Jordan have no option but to leave, their movement is impeded by a number of barriers: visas, recognition of their travel documents and passport renewal.

CASE STUDIES

THE AMBIGUITIES OF THE POST-OSLO CONTEXT

After signing the Declaration of Principles of Oslo in 1993, the PLO arrived in the Palestinian Territories and established the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Many PLO members, Gazans and other holders of travel documents, chose to return and be part of the PNA or the police force in Gaza and the West Bank.¹² Gazans who lived in Jordan together with holders of Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese travel documents whose possibilities of travel abroad were limited constituted the majority of those who applied to return. Women whose parents still lived in Gaza or the West Bank were able to apply for their children and husbands to join them through the family reunification programme, *the lam shaml*.¹³ Others could go by applying for and obtaining a visitor's permit through their families in Palestine. The permit, issued by the Israeli authorities, is usually valid for three months. Consider to the experience of Rami, from Hittin camp¹⁴, under the new administrative arrangements:

In 1999, as he was coming back to Jordan from Palestine, Rami's two-year passport was withdrawn by the Jordanian authorities. Rami had studied

11. Number 2B- 11- 1- 13910 from the Prime Ministry.

12. According to some readings, it may be possible that an agreement between Israel and the PLO was discussed on a quota of 40,000 refugee immigrants to Israel over a period of five years (who eventually were from the PLO fighters). In any event, it was agreed that Israel has the sovereign right to decide who can and cannot enter. <http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/MEPP/PRRN/prmepp.html>

13. Israeli conditions for the right of residency are: 1) that the person was registered in the Israeli census in the newly Occupied Territories in 1967, 2) that s/he holds an Israeli identity card, and 3) that s/he has been visiting the territories regularly, at least every six years, since the census was conducted (Hovdenak, 1997: 67). The family reunification programme was carried out through those who had Israeli identity cards which later became Palestinian IDs (and were approved by the Israeli authorities).

14. Individuals discussed here are from Jerash and Hittin camps and were interviewed during the summer and fall of 2001.

law at a Jordanian community college and worked as an assistant at a law firm for two and a half years in Hebron (West Bank). He returned to Amman due to the high cost of living in Palestine but the Jordanian authorities thought that he had applied for a Palestinian passport and therefore would not renew his temporary Jordanian passport. Despite proving that he did not have a Palestinian document and that his stay in the Palestinian territories was based on a family invitation, Rami is still waiting for a new two-year passport. He lost his job in Hebron by returning to Jordan and lost his only identity paper that would permit him to live normally in Jordan (August 2001).

Rami was brought up in Jordan and could only be in the Palestinian territories temporarily. He was not a permanent resident of Hebron, and when he was there he had to return to Jordan every three months to renew his permit. However, he was suspected of having applied for a Palestinian passport. Now he has lost both the Jordanian temporary passport and the chance to return to Palestine to apply for a Palestinian passport. Not surprisingly, he feels that “being Gazan in Jordan is like being guilty”.

Because of Arab League agreements, having dual Arab citizenship is not possible. Since 1996, the PNA has been issuing Palestinian passports, renewable every three years, to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, or to those who benefit from *the lam shaml*. For Gazans, the passport can be advantageous, especially since it has been recognised by more than 80 states as a travel document and has helped some Palestinians to go abroad (Shiblak, 1998). However, most countries require its holders to obtain visas that are often difficult to obtain, particularly since this document is not recognised as proof of citizenship. Although, in the absence of an internationally recognised Palestinian state (there is no citizenship-granting authority in Palestine), Jordan does not permit holding both the Jordanian temporary passport (for the Gazans) or the permanent passport (for the West Bankers) if they apply for the PNA passport.¹⁵ In the 1980s, Jordan facilitated the entry of holders of a family reunification card (*lam shaml*) and permanent residents of West Bank and Gaza by issuing them residency cards renewable every three years. After Oslo, same regulations were applied for those holding the PNA passport, to renew the residency in Jordan, the PNA passport holder needs to leave the country and re-enter. This has placed a number of individuals into untenable situations, leading to their socioeconomic marginalisation and to their legal death. Worse, children are also affected:

While in Jordan, Samah married a Gazan with a two-year passport and over the years the couple had seven children. Due to administrative ignorance

15. On 20 February, 2004, Jordanian newspapers and television news bulletins reiterated these conditions about dual Arab documents.

*and carelessness, the father did not register the children on his passport that would have allowed them to obtain temporary passports. After Samah was repudiated, she realised that not all her children could apply for the two-year passport. To overcome this, she took advantage of having the family reunification card and applied to include her children on her lam shaml card. In 1997, as a way to help her children to get proper identity documents, she and her children went to Gaza to apply for Palestinian IDs and passports that are renewable every three years. When she returned to Jordan, she realized that, as holders of Palestinian passports, she and her children had now become foreigners under Jordanian law. They now needed residency permits. In 2000, when their Palestinian passports expired, the uprising (intifadah) prevented the family from travelling to Palestine to renew them. These passports were also the only documents to enable their Jordanian residency permits to be issued. Alternatively, they could have paid a fee and renewed the passports at the Palestinian embassy in Amman. Lack of money prevented them from doing so. Without a residency permit, the children lost their rights to be admitted to schools, to sit for government exams, to take driving tests, etc. Today, Samah and her children live illegally in Jordan, afraid of being reported to the police and hoping for a solution. The aid they are getting from UNRWA is their only income.*¹⁶

The Palestinian passport did not help Samah. In fact it created unexpected burdens. Living in Jordan, she and her children needed to apply for a residency permit as any other holder of a non-Jordanian passport. Furthermore, the unstable conditions in Palestine dampened her hopes of going back. Indeed, hopes of all Palestinians faded, with the limited possibilities from collapsing peace prospects and *the intifada*.

STATELESSNESS AND PATRIARCHAL CONCEPTION OF CITIZENSHIP

In Jordan, as in most other Middle-Eastern countries, women cannot pass on their citizenship to their children. Neither is citizenship granted to a child born on the territory of a state from a foreign father. Moreover, law makes married women dependant on their fathers or husband for processing papers related to their children. Because of this patriarchal conception of citizenship based on *jus sanguinis*, children of Jordanian women married to Gazans are at risk of being left without a legal existence.

*Heba is a Jordanian national with a five-year passport.*¹⁷ *She married Ahmad who is Gazan and holds an Egyptian travel document. A year after their marriage, the authorities arrested Ahmad and charged him for being*

16. In July 2001, UNRWA was distributing to hardship cases a cash subsidy of some 50 JD (\$70) per family per year and food rations every three months.

17. The case of Heba was reported in *Al-Sabeel*, 18 Sept. 2001.

without a Jordanian residence permit. He was deported to Sudan, but his Egyptian travel document does not permit him to enter Egypt, since he exceeded his stay abroad and hence has lost his right of residency in Egypt. After her husband's deportation, Heba had a baby but could not register the child since the father was outside the country. Heba has been unable to go to Sudan and join her husband.

Holders of both the Egyptian travel document and the Jordanian temporary passport are stateless and their mobility is restricted. Yet, as a resident in Jordan, Ahmad would have been better off if he had applied for a temporary Jordanian passport which would have given him at least legal residency in Jordan. Egypt in turn, validates the residency of the holder of the Egyptian document as long as s/he lives in Egypt or returns to Egypt within six months or a year (on the basis of a pre-issued one-year return visa). If a person, as in Ahmad's case, prolongs his stay outside Egypt, his right to re-enter Egypt lapses (El-Abed, 2005).

Restricted regulations on refugees and on women cumulate in a number of cases to create dead-end solutions for the stateless. By law, and by practice, statelessness is so disempowering that it can turn simple individuals into helpless victims who have no legal recourse to solve their situation. In the following case, political as well as administrative reasons have split a family and created an undocumented child.

Salma also holds an Egyptian travel document. A resident of Jerash camp, she obtained a visa and residency contract in the United Arab Emirates based on a work contract. She needed to get a job herself as Raed, her husband, was unable to be the breadwinner after his temporary passport was withdrawn because of his affiliation with an Islamic group. When Salma left, she was pregnant and in 1999 gave birth in Abu Dhabi. Since the baby's birth, Raed and Salma have not seen each other and the baby has not been registered. Raed could not renew his travel document for security reasons leaving him with no official documents to permit him to travel. Salma cannot register their child at the Egyptian embassy in the Emirates as it can only be done in Jordan (being registered at the embassy in Jordan). She has no right to leave the UAE with an unregistered child without being accompanied by her husband or having his official permission which he cannot provide since he no longer holds an official identity document. The family has been separated by administrative measures and all attempts to remedy the situation have been in vain.

STATELESSNESS AND POLITICAL EXPRESSION

Gazans on temporary Jordanian identity documents live in a state of "limbo" with few basic rights. Their administrative vulnerability can also be abused to curtail their political activities.

Born in 1943 and originally from Gaza, Malek is well known in his camp and heads an Islamic party in his district. Until the 1967 war, he lived in Cairo. He and his family fled to Jordan where they lived in a camp in Jordan. He applied for and was granted a one-year passport in 1968, replacing his Egyptian travel document. He was also issued an ID card, which at that time was provided to Gazans with the lam-shaml of Gaza area to serve as an identification card for daily life and for travel between the East Bank and the West Bank, by then under Israeli occupation. From the time he arrived in Jordan, Malek had no intention of travelling so he made no effort to renew his temporary passport each time it expired. When trying to renew it in 1980, he was rejected due to his affiliation with several opposition political groups. This meant that he had lost his only identification card. Malek nonetheless continued his political activities. He opposed the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan (1994) and expressed his opinion in speeches at the Friday mosque. In 1995, he was jailed for 10 days and taken to the Allenby Bridge on the Palestinian-Jordanian border to be deported, but the Israeli authorities refused to let him in. He was then taken to the airport, and told that an official command by the Minister of Interior terminated his residency in Jordan, and that he was to be expelled to Iran. He reported his situation to the police in Dubai, a transit stop. With efforts of the local police and in coordination with the Jordanian embassy, he was returned to Jordan. A former Member of Parliament bailed him out. Ever since, he has been unable to have a bank account and cannot receive registered mail since he does not have official identification papers. He cannot even have his property and his house registered in his name or in the name of any family member.¹⁸

Association or activity with parties and unions make stateless persons even more vulnerable. As a Gazan, Malek was unable to acquire his basic citizenship rights, but now he is unable to even acquire identification papers to get minimum government services, or to find another solution.

CONCLUSION: POLICIES AND POLITICS TOWARDS STATELESS PALESTINIANS

The compartmentalisation of stateless Palestinians into categories (see Annex below) illustrates how institutional labelling can generate social alienation and further limit legal rights. Governmental policies and administrative measures have made Gazans unable to acquire their rights, to be mobile and to be able to speak out about their conditions. To overcome such a restrictive environment, some chose to leave, an act which in itself

18. Under law No 1930-1996 of 30 March 1997, foreigners need permission of a ministerial council to rent, buy or sell property, something was never granted to Malek.

risked making them even more vulnerable to worse living conditions, having no identification papers. Borders, which were once easily crossed during their forced migration, have become impermeable since their arrival in Jordan.

The vicious circle continues even when international conventions on statelessness call for the protection of basic human rights. Such calls are in vain. Stateless Palestinians have been left 'in orbit' awaiting the mercy of a better, more inclusive interpretation of international conventions or the mercy of host states to better protect their rights. In an age calling for open borders, many Palestinians continue to live as stranded persons with limited rights, waiting for borders to open and for promised rights to materialise.

Naturalising Palestinians has been the subject of intense debate throughout the Arab world. Officials of the Palestinian Authority themselves do not want this move to be taken by the host states: "We are against the settlement of the refugees in any country, but the host countries should provide the refugees with a dignified living (...) The host countries should allow the refugees to work, live and move in dignity until they achieve their right of return," Cabinet Minister Saeb Erekat, a West Bank Palestinian commented.¹⁹ In order to maintain a sense of 'Palestinianism' (Dajani, 1986), to preserve the Palestinian identity and to remind Israel of its responsibility to the original inhabitants of Palestine who had been driven out, most Arab countries refuse to grant Palestinians citizenship. However, the Jordanian case is different when considering that the majority of Palestinians there have been granted Jordanian citizenship since 1950.

In late November 2003, *Al-Hayat* newspaper reported that Jordan's Prime Minister Faisal Al-Fayez had announced that his country would deliver temporary passports to more than 120,000 Palestinian refugees from the Gaza Strip who resided in Jordan. The Premier was quoted as saying that the objective of the exercise was "to facilitate the daily life of all Gazans resident in Jordan and to give an opportunity to Palestinians for education, medical treatment and travel". He insisted that it was "a humanitarian gesture" that by no means equated to the "granting of Jordanian citizenship".

The reason the minister needed to be so cautious in his statement was because any gesture that modifies the legal status of individuals and relates to citizenship can be interpreted as a move towards settling Palestinian refugees where they are now (*Tawteen*). This is what occurred with the initiative by Queen Rania to give Jordanian women the right to naturalise their children. The headline on the front page of *Shihan*, a popular Jordanian weekly, stated that: "The decision will naturalise 150,000 Gazans residing in Jordan" (12 Nov. 2002).

19. "Palestinian refugees: championed by Arab world yet treated like outcasts", AP, 4 January, 2004.

ANNEX

LABELLED 'STATELESS'

According to R. Zetter: "Labelling is a way of referring to the process by which policy agendas are established and more particularly the way in which people, conceived as objects of policy are defined in convenient images" (Zetter, 1991: 44). In Jordan, this labelling has materialised in the different colours being given to official documents as part of a process of differentiating amongst Jordanians and non-Jordanians.

In Jordan, there are almost 200,000 Jordanians – originally Palestinians – who have the Palestinian identity card under the *lam-shaml* programme. To *label* them in a clear way, they are issued yellow cards. These yellow cards indicate that they are permanent residents in Jordan but have access to the Palestinian territories through their Palestinian IDs. Palestinians who live in the West Bank permanently and have still kept their Jordanian passports – mostly a five-year passport but without a national number – are given green cards. The yellow and the green cards are Jordanian crossing cards, necessary for travelling between Jordan and the Palestinian territories and used at the borders (on the Jordanian side).

The several existing categories are outlined in the following table:

Origin	Residence Type	Passport Type	Family Book [*]	Lam Shaml ^{**}	Crossing Card	Access to services
Jordanian-East Bank	Permanent in Jordan	5-year with national ID number	Yes	No	-	Full access
1948 Jordanian-Palestinian	"	"	"	No	-	"
1967 Jordanian-Palestinian	"	"	"	Yes	Yellow family reunification	"
"	Permanent in West Bank	5 year passport without a national ID card	No	Yes	Green Card	No permanent residency, work permit necessary, property ownership conditional on ministry approval
Jerusalem	Permanent in Jerusalem	5-year without ID	No	Yes	Green Card	"
Gaza	Permanent in Jordan	2-year	No	Yes/ No	Blue Card if holder of Lam Shaml card in Gaza	"
West Bankers/ Gaza Strip dwellers	Permanent in WB/Gaza	PA Passport (LP)	No	Yes	Permission to enter	Arab foreigners access with valid residency

* This serves in registering the civil status of the members of the Jordanian family (birth and marital status).

** Family Reunification card (an Israeli issued ID card providing that the holder is a citizen in the West Bank or Gaza).

