Fall 2014

The Effect of the Syrian Crisis on Jordanian Internal Security

Andrew E. Szparaga
SIT Study Abroad

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Andrew E. Szparaga

Indiana University Bloomington

Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, Political Science

SIT, Middle East, Jordan, Amman

Academic Director: Ashraf Alqudah, Ph.D.

Project Advisor: Haitham Al-Zou'bi, Ph.D.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR JORDAN MODERNIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE PROGRAM SIT STUDY ABROAD, FALL 2014

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

Jordan has a refugee crisis; between 620,000 and 1.3 million Syrian refugees are seeking refuge in Jordan. This report aims to answer which aspect of Jordanian security the refugees have the biggest effect on. It also aims to answer whether the refugees based in camps, like Za'atari, or those integrated into the Jordanian communities are more threatening to internal security. Because many argue that Syrian refugees have a negative effect on the economic, environmental, military, political, and social securities of Jordan, many believe that they might pose a possible threat to the country's internal security factors.

The Syrian refugees have posed a great threat to the Jordanian security. Economically, the refugees cause higher housing prices and unemployment levels; a country that is rated as the second water-poorest nation cannot handle the stress of new population members; military incursions from Syria and rebel forces hiding amongst the refugees threaten the country's military security. Terrorism and instability threaten Jordan's politics, while new diseases and a dismantled education system harm Jordan's societies.

Key Words: International Law & Relations, Political Science, Regional Studies: Middle East

Introduction

One of the most overlooked aspects in a refugee crisis is the effect on the host countries. Jordan has become the country with the most refugees in the Middle East. The United Nations High Council for Refugees (UNHCR) reports there are approximately 618,000 registered refugees in the country, but government reports indicate that the number might be closer to one million. Jordan has been providing refuge for the region almost as long as it has been a state. It began hosting Palestinian refugees in 1948, just two years after becoming a state. It also accepted Palestinian refugees in 1967, and Iraqi refugees in 2003. Jordan has been a safe-haven to refugees from all over the Middle East, but at what expense? Jordan's resources will not last forever. With the internal conflict in Syria lasting longer and longer, the number of people seeking to escape the hostilities has increased. According to the UNHCR (2014), Refugees make up a quarter of the Amman, Mafraq, and Irbid governorates, 27.7 per cent, 25.5 per cent, and 23.3 per cent, respectively. Additionally, the number of refugees currently living in Za'atari camp, the largest in the country, hosts about 150,000 refugees, according to Guzansky and Striem (2013).

It has long been the opinion of this researcher that internal security applies to much more than just the political and military machines. While these are two very important aspects of security, there are other aspects. The economy is a crucial security sector, as well s the environment. There is also a social aspect of security, focusing on religion, culture, as well as health and wellness. There are countless other sectors of security, such as technological and intellectual, but this study focuses on the threats to

Jordan's economic, environmental, military, political, and societal security. For the purposes of this report, these five sectors make up Jordanian Internal Security.

This study is important to the 21st century Middle East. With extremist groups such as the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and others threatening countries such as Iraq and Syria, it is important to look at the stability of the remaining countries in the region. Jordan, nicknamed the Switzerland of the Middle East, because of its tendency to act as a conflict mediator, has become one of the last remaining stable countries in the region. Syria has been in a civil conflict since 2011. Iraq's instability dates back to 2008 changes to its political structure and the 2003 US invasion. Lebanon and Israel-Palestine have been hotbeds for instability, with armed conflicts resurfacing every few years. A military junta has ruled Egypt since the ouster of President Mohamed Morsi 368 days after his taking office. The list of political unrest in the Middle East is long, but Jordan has been the one country in the region with relative stability. The Syrian crisis risks putting enough pressure on the country to finally cause it to join the rest of the neighborhood in chaos. The term Syrian crisis, as used in this research, has two meanings. It primarily refers to the large numbers of Syrian refugees in Jordan. It also refers to the current internal conflict in Syria, as both of these have an effect on Jordan's internal security.

This study will focus on Jordanian internal security as a whole. It centers on five main sectors of security: economy, environment, military, politics, and society. It will look at the effect of the Syrian crisis on each of these sectors, both directly and indirectly. The research process consists of interviews with, and observations of, specialists in each field. It also utilizes reviews of material culture and scholarly work. The material culture consists of magazine and newspaper articles, as well as reports and publications

presented by international aid organizations. This study is limited to security threats as perceived by Jordan, and Jordanians. It does not involve the point of view of refugees, nor does it test the effect of the Syrian refugees on the internal security of other host countries. It is expected that Jordanian security will be affected the by Syrian refugees, and it is believed that the refugees will negatively affect each sector of Jordanian security. This report seeks to uncover what aspect of security is most affected by the Syrian crisis, and also seeks to answer whether refugees in camps, or those dispersed in Jordanian communities pose more threats to Jordanian internal security.

Literature Review

This work is based on a theory outlined in Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde's book, Security: A New Framework for Analysis. There are two different points of view on security studies. The first grew out of the "military and nuclear obsessions of the Cold War" (Buzan, Wæver, de Wilde, 1998, p. 2). The intense narrowing of this theory, dubbed the traditional ideology, gave rise to the second theory. Buzan et al. (1998) describe the origin of the widening of security began with the prominence of economic and environmental agendas in the 1970s and 1980s, and concerns regarding identity issues and transnational crime during the 1990s (p. 2).

The authors argue that the traditional military-political understanding of security defines a threat, but it is not confined to this understanding (p. 21). The political-military approach describes threats as something that jeopardizes the survival of a referent object (p. 21). Often times, the referent object is the state, as in the military-political theory, however, in the other three major sectors, the referent object is harder to identify. This research classifies the referent object as the State. It can be take on many forms, such as

the national economy, the relationship between the Jordanian civilization and the biosphere, as well as the national identity.

The widened theory argues that security threats fall into five sectors, a more in depth look at security threats when compared to the theory argued by traditionalists. Threats can be classified as economic, environmental, military, political, or social. Traditionalists argue against this theory, claiming that it overthinks and over classifies threats. Threats are not mutually exclusive, and can be classified into multiple sectors.

Economic security is made up of access to markets and resources used to sustain levels of welfare, environmental security relies on the protection and maintenance of the ecosystem. Military security is based on the offensive and defensive capabilities of the state, and political security deals with the stability of political systems, while societal security covers sustainability of culture and national identity (p 8).

While a majority of documents found describe security in the traditional sense, a few support the widened view of security. While mainly focusing on the political aspect of security, Guzansky and Striem (2013) argue that there is an economic risk associated with the refugees, as they "are flooding the Jordanian labor market and causing a rise in the prices of basic commodities". The article also cites threats to Jordanian political security, by noting the current and future risks of refugee protests in the Kingdom. Environmental security, as discussed in Kubursi, Grover, Darwish, and Deutsch (2011), argue that water has social benefits that outweigh private rewards. They claim " the use of water in agricultural [applications] may result in benefits that exceed the private returns to farmers. Among these are food security, border security, and national interest" (pg. 9). Water production facilities are owned by the state, as noted in Kubursi et al., and

threats to Jordanian water supplies actually end up threatening the state's security as well as the societies. Nield (2013) states the affect of the refugees on multiple sectors of security, noting pressures on the environment, politics, and society. "The influx of people is exerting pressure on water supply, on energy, on education, and on infrastructure" (Nield, 2013). The refugees are using water in a country with already dangerously low levels; Jordan also imports almost all of its energy, a pipeline from Egypt supplies most of the county with energy. Politics in Jordan are also suffering as a result of the Syrian crisis, despite reforming the government, there has not been much gained in terms of political security (Nield, 2013). One of the main therats to political security is civil unrest, however Nield argues against this, stating

> Deterred by a tradition of loyalty to the monarchy, a degree of political
> participation and the sight of what has happened elsewhere in the Middle
> East in the aftermath of popular uprisings, there is little appetite among
> Jordanians to foment political instability in their own country (2013).

While Guzansky's comments on civil unrest are focused on the refugees, Nield focuses on Jordanians. Both make up an important aspect of the political sector of internal security, as both threaten it. Refugees in the country, specifically those with Islamist ties and those upset with living conditions, might attempt to make political moves against the monarchy; but Jordanians, a majority of which support the monarchy, are less likely to submit themselves to the chaos exhibited in other countries following protests.

Jordan's security should not be looked at merely as military and political based. Security is encompassed of many different aspects. It is necessary for

Jordanian officials, as well as international players, to take a variety of threats into account.

Methodology

This research process first began with analysis of material culture. The researcher analyzed newspaper articles related to the topic, as well as resources from international institutions and relevant governmental publications. These international institutions were selected because of their experience working with the refugees. Because a majority of the refugees are living in camps run by the United Nations, documents and reports from the United Nations High Council for Refugees (UNHCR) were selected as part of the material culture review. Additionally, a majority of figures were found using sites such as the Central Intelligence Agency's World Factbook, which compiles data and organizes it into various sectors for each country. Reports and publications from ministries in Jordan were also found and analyzed. As the process continued, the researcher also found documents and articles from scholarly sources and publications. While not necessarily part of the material culture section, these documents provide much needed insight and information into the effects of the crisis on Jordan's security. Sources for this section such as the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) and the Middle East Research Information Program (MERIP) were selected based on their focus of the areas in question. Additionally, an international study organization, the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) was used based on its specialty in this field.

The second stage of this research process involved conducting interviews. Experts with experience in the five focuses of security were interviewed using questions based off the analysis of the material culture. Key aspects of scholarly articles and

documents, as well as news articles, were used to help refine questions, in order to elicit a stronger response. Articles from Middle Eastern newspapers, such as *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *The Jordan Times*, were chosen based on their proximity to the area in study. The tone and actions of the interviewees were analyzed to evaluate the validity of their statements.

Interviewees were selected based on the five aspects of security. Specialists in each field of security were preferred, based on their familiarity with the topic and the field. For the economic aspect, the researcher was connected with a Jordanian economist and professor, Dr. Ibrahim Badran. A project manager at the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Sameeh Al-Nuimat, was selected to answer questions on the environmental aspect. Another interviewee with history in military and intelligence work answered questions pertaining to the military, political and social aspects of security. While a distinct member of each field would have been preferred, it was unlikely, due to the security and sensitivity of ongoing investigations and government efforts. The information about Za'atari camp, well known as the least stable and overcrowded Syrian refugee camp, was collected through an interview with an employee of a non-governmental organization (NGO) working in the camp. Additionally, the advisor of this project, Dr. Haitham Al-Zou'bi, was selected based on his experience working with refugees; his interview gave much needed introduction to the status of refugees in Jordan, as well as preliminary information on some of the topics included in this research.

The research sites were dependent on the interviewee. One interviewee requested to meet at a café in a well-known area of Amman. Two interviewees requested that the

interview take place in their offices, and two others requested to be interviewed in their homes. The comfort of the interviewees was a critical aspect, as their tone and body language were being analyzed as they spoke. In order to limit false indicators on the emotional, mental, and cognitive levels, the interviewees had to be in a calm state. If they were in a new or majorly populated location, they would be on edge and most likely would be less forward with information. This is especially critical with interviewees working with sensitive information.

The first interviewee, an employee of an NGO working in Za'atari camp, will be referred to as "NGO Worker Z". They were allowed to pick the interview site, and picked a familiar and comfortable café. Due to a slight language barrier, the interview was conducted in Arabic with an occasional sprinkling of English words. There were very few indications of increased emotion or cognitive processing; however, when the interviewer mentioned an April 2014 riot in the Za'atari camp that resulted in the burning of tents and injuries and deaths of police and refugees alike, the interviewee's posture stiffened and tone became very stern. A similar reaction occurred with the mention of human trafficking, to which the interviewee outright denied.

The second interviewee, one with experience working as both a member of the Jordanian armed services and intelligence officer, will be referred to simply as "Intelligence Officer X". The interview took place in their office, a much different atmosphere than the first interview. As the interviewee sat down to begin, they turned on the television behind the interviewer. Throughout the interview, the interviewee's eyes darted between the interviewer and the television, which was set to CNN without sound. This strange behavior made it difficult to gauge the interviewee's responses. The first

interviewee's eyes would dart around when cornered with a difficult question, indicting increased cognitive activity. But it was difficult to tell if this was the same case with the second interviewee, or whether they were just interested in the news.

The economist, Dr. Ibrahim Badran, was met in his home. Whereas most interviews were conducted during the week, this interview took place on a Saturday morning. Dr. Badran did not show any increased emotional responses, nor did he show changes to his physical state. The interview with the IUCN engineer was conducted in his office on a Thursday morning. Similar to the intelligence officer, this interviewee obtained authorization from his superior to commence with the interview. While there were no topics that triggered any emotional or physical responses, he did repeatedly emphasize the fact that the current water crisis in Jordan was not the sole fault of the refugees, and that the Jordanian government does not have clear knowledge on whether or not water is being used by the refugees in the population or Jordanians.

One of the biggest obstacles faced during the research process was the availability of texts. The book that this project's theory was based on, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, was published in the 1990s, and was difficult to find. The researcher attempted to access it using various methods, the first of which was purchase online. Sites such as Amazon had paper and hardback editions, but lacked a digital copy. While these two versions would have solved the problem, the issue with shipping to Amman, Jordan added a layer of difficulty. The online shipping page stated that it would not have been delivered until after the assignment's due date. The book seemed to be non-existent in any form other than physical copies. The only copy of the book found was a portable document file (.pdf) of the first two chapters. It seemed that no one had access to this

book, except for the National Library of Australia, which offered to scan and send the book, for a hefty price. A scan of the missing 150 pages was ordered, however the next day an email was received stating that the book way still under copyright, and legally only one chapter could be scanned. Luckily the introduction and first chapter of the book gave enough background that the researcher could create and independent theory based on the work of Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde.

The original plan for the Independent Study Project (ISP) was to compare the security of the five Syria Refugee camps (Azraq, Cyber City, King Abdullah Park, Mrajeeb Al Fhood, and Za'atari), and determine which was the most threatening to Jordanian Internal Security. However, safety and time constraints prevented access to the camps and a study of this magnitude. It was obvious that the project needed to be changed and refined. With help, the project was evolved to prevent exclusive study of the camps. While they would still be taken into account when analyzing the security of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the project began to focus mainly on the associated theories and the refugee crisis as a whole.

The project was a constantly changing process. While the original plan involved interviews with members of the military and intelligence bodies, this was soon realized to be unrealistic. Based on the sensitivity of the desired topics, it was unlikely that members of the Jordanian government would participate in the research process, due to their own security risks. These risks include personal and job security. Before the interview with the member of the intelligence service commenced, the researcher was told that the interviewee had received permission to comment on this topic from the administration in

the Jordanian Intelligence Directorate. Any and all identifying characteristics have been removed at the request of Intelligence Officer X, and NGO Worker Z.

Findings and Results

Economic Effects

Jordan's economy is already one of the smallest in the Middle East. Depending on foreign assistance, the Hashemite Kingdom imports energy sources from its oil rich neighbors, and has faced high poverty and unemployment rates, as well as inflation and a large deficit (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). The Syrian refugees in Jordan are affecting the local and national economies alike, and are therefore harming Jordanian people.

The Syrian refugees are negatively affecting the housing market, in the North as well as in Amman and other major cities. They are raising the price for houses, which affects Jordanians who cannot afford to live in higher price houses. According to Hall (2013), the first wave of refugees in 2011 rented the most inexpensive apartments, priced at 150 dinars per month; a year later, all the 200 and 250 dinar apartments had been rented, now leaving the apartments at 300 and 400 dinars per month. This inflationary pressure in rents and housing prices affects the local and household economies.

Life for Jordanian families is already considerably harder since the internal conflict in Syria began. Prices for everyday household objects, such as agriculture products, most of which are imported from Syria, have increased significantly (Badran, personal communication, November 22, 2014). Dr. Ibrahim Badran, a former Secretary-General of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, has noted that Jordan used to import cheaper products from Syria, and due to a decrease in supply, and an increase in demand,

prices have increased (2014). The United Nations' World Food Program (2014) has reported a 200,000-ton increase in food demand. This affects both the national and local economies. Families all across Jordan are suffering as a result of the price changes, and the national prices for food are increasing as well.

The refugees also worsen the current unemployment issue in Jordan, which affects both families and the nation. Dr. Badran (2014), who uses the unofficial number of approximately 1.25 million refugees, claims the refugees have a labor force of about 25 per cent of the total number of refugees in Jordan. Of this number, about 70 per cent find work in Jordan. This amounts to over 200,000 jobs, according to Dr. Badran, who uses the unofficial number of over a million Jordanian-based refugees. Due to Syria's more industrialized economy, refugees, who are more experienced than Jordanian workers, are more desirable than Jordanians (Badran, interview, 2014). However, the industrialization is not the only factor that makes refugees more popular in the work place; the refugees receive financial support from external players, such as the United Nations and other donor countries (Intelligence Officer X, personal communication, November 19, 2014). Thanks to this external support, they are able to support their families on lower wages, whereas Jordanians would not be able to (Badran). Dr. Badran claims that the refugees often take jobs that are 'less-worthy,' mainly in the unspecialized labor sector, they are often paid in non-taxable cash, which undermines the Jordanian economy (Intelligence Officer X, interview). In a static economy with an unemployment rate of 14 per cent, every job matters. (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014).

The national economy of Jordan is not untouched by the Syrian crisis. Foreign trade affected by the ongoing internal conflict in Syria, and internal issues such as health

funding are worsened as well. Dr. Badran also affirms that trade with Syria is operating at a quarter of what it used to (personal communication, 2014). Imports from the Awalite nation have nearly stopped, due to taxes and dangers implemented by the Islamic State combined with the ongoing civil dispute (Bronstein & Griffin, 2014). Land trade with Lebanon and Turkey, which used to travel through Syria, has also nearly halted, and trade with Europe has been diverted through Jordan's only seaport, Aqaba, at an additional cost (Badran, 2014). According to the WTO (2014), imports from the European Union make up almost 22 percent of the country's imports (pg. 97). Because Jordan's economy is a services-based economy, imports are necessary to provide for its citizens.

Environmental Effects

Jordan's environment is also threatened by the Syrian crisis. Jordan's water supplies are among the most critical to its security; with such a dry climate worsened by a long drought, water is scarce, and everyday life is made exponentially harder.

One of the biggest issues Sameeh Al-Nuimat, a water specialist for the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), is facing is water usage. According to him, the water share per capita has decreased significantly in the past year, from 160 cubic meters per year to 135, and it is expected to drop below 100 cubic meters per year (personal communication, November 27, 2014). While it is impossible for the Jordanian government to differentiate between refugee or Jordanian's usage, refugees in the camps use considerably less than those in communities (Al-Nuimat, 2014). In this aspect, refugees in the camps are less harmful to the Jordanian environment. Those in camps have water allotments, whereas those in communities have access to what seems like unlimited water.

In addition to water usage, contamination is a serious issue on the Jordanian environment. According to Shami (2013), Za'atari poses a threat to subterranean aquifers. Refugees generate over 34 million cubic meters of wastewater per year, which puts pressure on sewage systems in the surrounding areas, and also contaminates groundwater due to poor removal strategies (Namrouqa, 2013). The Za'atari aquifer is one of the biggest in the area, and supplies water to the nearby towns and villages; it is also used for agriculture. If it were to be contaminated, then lives in not only the immediate villages would be affected, but also locations where the agricultural goods were shipped to would also be endangered.

Jordan's water usage is already among the lowest in the world, especially because it is the second water- poorest nation. As mentioned by Sameeh Al-Nuimat, and echoed by the Minister of Water and Irrigation, the refugees are not the sole cause for these issues, but the addition of near ten per cent of Jordan's population is bound to worsen the already tough living conditions in Jordan (2014).

Military Effects

There are very few military threats to Jordan, at least compared to the other sectors of security. According to an NGO worker in Za'atari, The police deal with the refugees in the camps with occasional help from the gendarmerie, which are stationed outside; however there have been no major threats (NGO worker Z, personal communication, November 19, 2014). Sullivan and Tobin (2014) report that the Jordanian armed forces guards the border and receives refugees at specified entrance points. According to Intelligence Officer X, a large number of refugees are smuggled into the country illegally, without proper documentation (personal communication, November

22, 2014). While refugees are generally not threatening the military sphere of Jordan, there is an issue that straddles the military and political spheres.

While the refugees have not posed many military threats to Jordan, the ongoing clashes in Syria have. In April 2014, a convoy of military vehicles entered Jordan from the north (Akrour, 2014). The Syrian government denied that the vehicles were theirs, and a Jordanian security source recognized that "the targets were Syrian rebels in civilian cars mounted with machine guns" (Holmes, 2014).

Brigades have been moved to the north to help support the border protection effort, according to Intelligence Officer X (2014). Despite this addition, military forces in the north are being spread thin to cover a wide range of tasks. "They are forced to work long hours, shuttling refugees, checking into their backgrounds, and protecting the border" (Intelligence Officer X, 2014).

The biggest military threat from the Syrian crisis is not the refugees. In fact, it is the effects of the Syrian internal conflict that poses a more serious threat. The refugees have very little contact with the military, and actors in Syria are the ones more likely to enter Jordan.

Political Effects

One of the only apparent political threats from the Syrian crisis overlaps with a major military threat: terrorism. Since the 2005 attacks on three hotels in Amman, Jordan's primary fear is terrorism, and it takes every precaution to prevent it. As mentioned above, a number of refugees have entered the country without proper identification; without documents, it is unknown whether or not these are members of the Islamist groups plaguing Syria, or members of the Assad regime. Both of these pose

issues to Jordanian politics. In September 2014, the Islamic State vowed to take revenge on the members of the coalition of countries currently using airstrikes to diminish the extremist group (Saul, 2014). Jordan is a member of this coalition, and the treat is omnipresent. A number of members of Salafist groups have been apprehended in Jordan. Over 70 were arrested in August for having ties to radical groups (Luck, 2014). While a majority of these were Jordanian citizens, according to Intelligence Officer X (2014), they still were influenced by the thoughts spread through the Internet and personal communication with members of these radical groups. The Assad regime also threatens Jordanian politics. In May, the Syrian ambassador to Jordan was forced to leave the country; the ambassador claimed, "Jordan is an essential link of aggression against Syria" (al-Masri, 2014). In addition, Jordan had been involved in training the opposition fighters, which the Syrian regime might takes as a hostile act. Jordan has taken a firm stance against both the Islamists in Syria as well as the Assad regime. This move opens the door for threats from both sides of the Syrian conflict, either of which could be hiding amongst the refugees seeking to covertly harm Jordan.

There is also the threat of political unrest. Guzansky and Striem (2013) argue "the refugees in Jordan stand to arouse political unrest or take part in future protests [...] especially if they contain Islamist elements averse to monarchial rule". While Jordan's monarchy survived the political protests of the Arab Spring, protests from refugees, especially those with Islamist ties, pose a very real threat to the endurance of the government.

Societal Effects

Jordanian society is another critical aspect of the nation's internal security. According to a 2014 article in the Economist, "Four out of five Syrian refugees live in Jordan's cities and towns [...]" (E.A.D., 2014). Due to such a high concentration in the Jordanian communities, threats to Jordanian society are possibly the most damning to Jordan's security.

According to an NGO worker based in Za'atari, there are large numbers of Syrians leaving the camp, which is known to have an issue with involvement from both Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic State activists (NGO Worker Z, 2014). While NGO Worker Z has noted the process for refugees to leave the camp during the day requires forms and approval, they also acknowledged that there is no system to ensure that the refugees going to the places they have indicated on their forms (NGO Worker Z). This lack of security is co. Refugees may be agents working against the Hashemite Kingdom; while they are in the camps they are isolated from potentially harming Jordanian communities. While a system without checks is alarming, there are other ways of leaving Za'atari. The Ministry of the Interior has reported that nearly 54,000 refugees have fled the camp (Khandaji, Hakawi, 2014). It is not known where these refugees flee to, or what their intentions are, whether to do harm, or to just escape poor living conditions inside the camp. However, even if they do not intend to harm Jordanian society, they may inadvertently be threats.

The refugee camps are incubators for diseases. Intelligence Officer X mentioned that the refugees are bringing diseases that have not had a case in Jordan for a number of years, as well as those that have never been in Jordan (Intelligence Officer X, interview,

2014). ORSAM (2014) reports that the UNHCR claims, "that no serious outbreak of sicknesses has been observed among the Syrians" (pg. 30), however, the director of communicable diseases argues otherwise. According to the newspaper, Asharq Al-Awsat (Al-Daamah, 2013), he claims numerous cases of contagious diseases such as tuberculosis and hepatitis have been observed among the refugees. The refugees that leave the camp are risking spreading these diseases to the Jordanian population. Jordan's health sector is already weakened by a high deficit and increased workloads doctors have to deal with. An increase in difficult to treat, highly communicable diseases is a major threat, to the health sector's limited resources and Jordanian society itself

The Education system is also feeling the stress of refugees, as teachers are working double in order to accommodate the influx of new students. ORSAM (2014) reports that 35 per cent of refugees are of school age, and receive education free of charge (pg. 30). While education should be available to all, poor Jordanians see the refugees as getting special treatment, when they are in need themselves. Dr. Haitham Al-Zou'bi has experience working with refugees, notes that many refugees have lost months or even years of education, and since they are being taught using the Jordanian curriculum, they need to catch up, or else drop out (Al-Zou'bi, personal communication, October 19, 2014). With an increase of children out of school, there is an increased risk of involvement in crime.

The refugees integrated in the communities have an effect on the mindset of the Jordanian populations. "Anxiety is building that the influx of refugees is overwhelming the kingdom," Jordanians are becoming paranoid because they feel outnumbered (Hall 2011). Overtime, the anxiety turns into animosity. According to 2013 a poll run by the

University of Jordan's Centre for Strategic Studies, there is 73 per cent of the population

is against hosting more refugees, a nine per cent increase from the 2012 survey (E.A.D.,

2014). Refugees are harming Jordanian society through the possibility of terrorism, the

spread of diseases, stress on the education system, and the increase in crime.

Conclusion

   It is obvious that the refugees have had an effect on the internal security of

Jordan. The refugees have, to some extent, negatively influenced five important facets of

security. These results invalidate the traditionalist theory of security, arguing that internal

security is only political and military based. In fact, the information collected proves the

opposite; the Syrian refugees have had a stronger impact on the Jordanian economy,

environment, and society than they have had on the military and politics. Due to

sensitivity of ongoing operations, it was unable to attain specific information on threats to

Jordanian military and politics, but generalizations were used based on theories and news

reports. It is hard to definitively say which of the five sectors of security are most

threatened by the refugees; but it is safe to argue that the economy and society have the

most threats, and the refugees pose the most damage to them. The Jordanian economy is

weak, and cannot support the incorporation of a group equivalent to ten per cent of its

population. Moreover, due to the high number of refugees, coupled with the weakened

state of the Jordanian economy, Jordanian families are suffering. The price of homes is

being inflated; commodities are becoming more expensive, as a result of halted trade and

increased demand. The societal effects of the refugee's presence have also been

devastating. They have put stress on the healthcare and education systems, and have also

introduced new dangerous activities such as human trafficking and illegal prostitution, according to Intelligence Worker X (personal communication, 2014).

This research shows that refugees in the communities pose more of a risk to Jordanian internal security, as opposed to those situated in the refugee camps. While Za'atari camp, the largest of the Syrian camps in Jordan, poses its own threats, they are not as dangerous to Jordanian internal security as the integrated refugees are. Environmentally, the water used by refugees in the camps is limited, whereas refugees incorporated into the Jordanian communities have access to unlimited water flow. Economically, the refugees in the camps do not drive up housing prices, nor do they find employment in Jordan. While they pose less risks to the environment and the economy, these sectors are not without issues. Jordanian aquifers risk contamination by improper sanitation practices. Additionally, the cost of continuing to house such high numbers of refugees takes a significant portion of the national budget.

Refugees in the camps also affect the military, politics, and society of Jordan. There is a significant presence of extremist organizations in the camps, particularly in Za'atari. These extremists are often intermixed with the refugees, and incite action against the Jordanian government. The refugee camps are not only an incubator for extremist thought, but also for diseases and illnesses. However, it is not until the refugees are among the Jordanian population that these two threats become prevalent.

This report does not mean to villainize the refugees, nor does it blame them for all the internal issues in Jordan. According to the UNHCR (2014), Jordan has received over 586,000,000 US Dollars from the UNHCR as a result of the refugee crisis. The refugees have also brought new businesses, such as ice-creameries and confectioners, and Syrian

investment in the kingdom has now climbed to114 million dinars (N.W., 2013). While the refugees have had a fair share of benefits on Jordan, there is no doubt that they have also upset the delicate balance of Jordanian internal security.

Study limitations

Despite being planned out and organized, this study had its limits. The first, and most difficult to overcome, was the withholding of information due to the sensitive nature of the topic. While the goal of this project was to highlight the threats to Jordanian Internal Security, for obvious reasons, the Jordanian government would not allow the participants in this research to openly discuss any major threats to its security, nor would it allow them to talk about ongoing operations. The point of this topic was to highlight threats to the Jordanian economy, environment, politics, and people. Due to this, the research only touched the surface of security threats. While information on specific military or political threats would have enhanced the quality of this report, it would have adverse side effects on the Jordanian government and Jordanian security.

Recommendations

This study is by no means comprehensive, and there is still much work to be done on security and refugee studies, in both the Middle East and across the globe. For those wishing to continue and add upon this research, it is recommended to interview refugees and visit the Syrian refugee camps. It might also benefit to compare the effect of the Syrian crisis between the other host countries.

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Appendices

Consent Form—English
EFFECT OF THE SYRIAN CRISIS ON JORDANIAN INTERNAL SECURITY
ANDREW SZPARAGA, INDIANA UNIVERSITY

School for International Training – Jordan: Modernization and Social Change

Instructions:
Please read the following statements carefully and mark your preferences where indicated. Signing below indicates your agreement with all statements and your voluntary participation in the project. Please ask the researcher if you have any questions regarding this consent form.

I am aware that this interview is conducted by an independent undergraduate researcher with the goal of producing a descriptive case study comparing Bedouin values and customs with the culture of non-tribal Jordanian society.

I am aware that the information I provide is for research purposes only.

I am aware that I have the right to full anonymity upon request, and that upon request the researcher will omit all identifying information from both notes and drafts.

I am aware that I have the right to refuse to answer any question and to terminate my participation at any time, and that the researcher will answer any questions I have about the study.

I am aware of and take full responsibility for any risk, physical, psychological, legal, or social, associated with participation in this study.

I am aware that I will not receive monetary compensation for participation in this study, but a copy of the final study will be made available to me upon request.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use my name and position in the final study.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use my organizational affiliation in the final study.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use data collected in this interview in a later study.

Date: **Participant's Signature**

Researcher's Signature   **Participant's Printed Name**

Thank you for participating!
Questions, comments, complaints, and requests for the final written study can be directed
to:
Dr. Ashraf Al-Qudah, SIT Jordan Academic Director
Telephone (962) 0785422478
Email: ashraf.alqudah@sit.edu

Consent Form—Arabic

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مشاركة في دراسة بحثية

أنت مدعو للمشاركة في بحث حول: تأثيرات الأزمة السوريّة على أمان الداخلي للاردن

الباحث: اندرو سبراجا (Andrew Szparaga)

الإجراءات:
إذا تمت الموافقة على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة سأقوم بمقابلتك وسؤالك بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة بموضوع الدراسة.

السرية:
سأبقي على سرية جميع المعلومات التي سأحصل عليها أثناء المقابلة. غير أنه سيكون من الأكثر فائدة للدراسة إذا كنت أستطيع ذكر إسمك ومؤسستك و بعض الإقتباسات.

يرجى إختيار واحد مما يلي:
____ أود أن تكون هذه المقابلة من غير مسمى
____ أسمح للباحث إستخدام إسمي في هذا البحث

للإتصال والأسئلة:
الرجاء عدم التردد في الاتصال بالباحث في أي وقت. يمكنك السؤال الآن أو في أي وقت بعد المقابلة على البريد الإلكتروني:

يمكنك أيضا الإتصال ب:
مجلس البحوث المؤسسي مع جمعية التعلم العالمية
د. اشرف القضاة ، الممثل والمدير الأكاديمي لجمعية التعلم العالمية
هاتف:0785422478
البريد الإلكتروني: ashraf.alqudah@sit.edu
فاكس:

بيان الموافقة:
لقد قرأت المعلومات المذكورة أعلاه، وأوافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة.

التوقيع _____   توقيع الباحث _____

التاريخ _____   التاريخ _____

شكرا لتعاونكم

</div>

Interview Questions

    NGO Worker Z

1. What are some of the security threats in Za'atari? And how are they being handled?

2. Is there a problem with members of the Islamic State in Za'atari? Who is dealing with these threats? And do they have a chance of leaking into Jordanian society?

3. I read a publication stating that a number of refugees in Za'atari have "escaped into the night." Is this a threat that the Jordanian society should be concerned about?

4. For example, are these criminals or members of extremist groups that escape, or just refugees who are unhappy with the living conditions that seek a new life?

5. Have there been any major political issues that have divided the country resulting from the Syrian crisis?

6. I know that the military guards the exteriors of the camps, but have there been any military threats to Jordan?

7. For example, have the refugees caused any societal dangers to Jordanian society?

    Intelligence Officer X

1. What are the biggest societal issues that have resulted from the Syrian incorporation into Jordanian communities?

2. In August and September, a number of IS (Da`ash) supporters had been arrested in Jordan, according to the Jordan times. To what extent has the Islamic State active in Jordanian society?

3. Are more of these active IS members Syrian refugees or of Jordanian descent?

4. What are some of the political threats that the Syrian crisis (either the refugees, or the ongoing internal conflict in Syria) has had on Jordan?

Dr. Ibrahim Badran

1. An article in "Jordan Business" from July 2013 claims that there has been a 40% decrease in trade with Syria, is this number accurate, and why only 40%?

2. A common response I have received to questions about economic effects of the Syrian crisis has been the real estate prices. Has the Syrian crisis caused any other economic effects on the Jordanian economy?

3. How many Syrian refugees have found employment in Jordan?

4. Which is more threatening to the Jordanian national economy, the price of hosting the refugees, or the damages to the economy they cause?

Sameeh Al-Nuimat

1. Jordan has been listed as the second poorest country, in terms of water, what effect have the Syrian refugees had on this ranking?

2. How much water do Syrian refugees use compared to Jordanian citizens? Are there major discrepancies?

3. Do refugees in the camps cause more damage to the country's environmental issues, or the refugees within the communities?

4. In addition to water issues, what other environmental issues are worsened by the Syrian refugee's presence?

5. Have the refugees posed any issues to Jordanian gas and energy? Are there discrepancies in the levels used?

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Consent to Use of Independent Study Project (ISP)

(To be included with the electronic version of the paper and in the file of any World Learning/SIT Study Abroad archive.)

Student Name: ANDREW EMMETT SZPARAGA

Title of ISP: THE EFFECT OF THE SYRIAN CRISIS ON JORDANIAN INTERNAL SECURITY

Program and Term: JORDAN MODERNIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE, FALL 2014

1.   When you submit your ISP to your academic director, World Learning/SIT Study Abroad would like to include and archive it in the permanent library collection at the SIT Study Abroad program office in the country where you studied and/or at any World Learning office. Please indicate below whether you grant us the permission to do so.

2.   In some cases, individuals, organizations, or libraries in the host country may request a copy of the ISP for inclusion in their own national, regional, or local collections for enrichment and use of host country nationals and other library patrons. Please indicate below whether SIT/World Learning may release your ISP to host country individuals, organizations, or libraries for educational purposes as determined by SIT.

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Student Signature: _Andrew E Szparaga_   Date: 6 DECEMBER 2014

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Statement of Ethics
(Adapted from the American Anthropological Association)

In the course of field study, complex relationships, misunderstandings, conflicts, and the need to make choices among apparently incompatible values are constantly generated. The fundamental responsibility of students is to anticipate such difficulties to the best of their ability and to resolve them in ways that are compatible with the principles stated here. If a student feels such resolution is impossible, or is unsure how to proceed, s/he should consult as immediately as possible with the Academic Director (AD) and/or Independent Study Project (ISP) Advisor and discontinue the field study until some resolution has been achieved. Failure to consult in cases which, in the opinion of the AD and ISP Advisor, could clearly have been anticipated, can result in disciplinary action as delineated in the "failure to comply" section of this document.
Students must respect, protect, and promote the rights and the welfare of all those affected by their work. The following general principles and guidelines are fundamental to ethical field study:

I. Responsibility to people whose lives and cultures are studied
Students' first responsibility is to those whose lives and cultures they study. Should conflicts of interest arise, the interests of these people take precedence over other considerations, including the success of the Independent Study Project (ISP) itself. Students must do everything in their power to protect the dignity and privacy of the people with whom they conduct field study.
The rights, interests, safety, and sensitivities of those who entrust information to students must be safeguarded. The right of those providing information to students either to remain anonymous or to receive recognition is to be respected and defended. It is the responsibility of students to make every effort to determine the preferences of those providing information and to comply with their wishes. It should be made clear to anyone providing information that despite the students' best intentions and efforts, anonymity may be compromised or recognition fail to materialize. Students should not reveal the identity of groups or persons whose anonymity is protected through the use of pseudonyms.

Students must be candid from the outset in the communities where they work that they are students. The aims of their Independent Study Projects should be clearly communicated to those among whom they work.

Students must acknowledge the help and services they receive. They must recognize their obligation to reciprocate in appropriate ways. To the best of their ability, students have an obligation to assess both the positive and negative consequences of their field study. They

should inform individuals and groups likely to be affected of any possible consequences relevant to them that they anticipate.

Students must take into account and, where relevant and to the best of their ability, make explicit the extent to which their own personal and cultural values affect their field study. Students must not represent as their own work, either in speaking or writing, materials or ideas directly taken from other sources. They must give full credit in speaking or writing to all those who have contributed to their work.

II. Responsibilities to Hosts

Students should be honest and candid in all dealings with their own institutions and with host institutions. They should ascertain that they will not be required to compromise either their responsibilities or ethics as a condition of permission to engage in field study. They will return a copy of their study to the institution sponsoring them and to the community that hosted them at the discretion of the institution(s) and/or community involved.

III. Failure to comply

When SIT Study Abroad determines that a student has violated SIT's statement of ethics, the student will be subject to disciplinary action, up to and including dismissal from the program.

I, Andrew Szparaga, have read the above Statement of Ethics
        (Printed Name)

        And agree to make every effort to comply with its provisions.

Student Signature: _Andrew E. Szparaga_   Date: November 4, 2014

SIT Study Abroad
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LRB/IRB ACTION FORM

Name of Student: Andrew Emmett Szparaga	Institution: World Learning Inc. IRB organization number: IORG0004408 IRB registration number: IRB00005219 Expires: 22 December 2014
ISP Title: The Effect of the Syrian Crisis on Jordanian Internal Security, from the Perspective of Jordanian Security Agencies	LRB members (print names): Dr. Ashraf F. Alqudah, Ph. D. (Chair) Dr. Ismael Abu Amoud, Ph. D. Dr. Badr Al Madi, Ph. D.
Date Submitted: 3 November 2014	**LRB REVIEW BOARD ACTION:**
Program: JOR Fall 2014	
Type of review:	Approved as submitted
Exempt ☐	LRB Chair Signature:
Expedited ☒	
Full ☐	
	Date: Nov. 11, 2014

Form below for IRB Vermont use only:

Research requiring full IRB review. ACTION TAKEN:

__ approved as submitted __ approved pending submission or revisions__ disapproved

_____   _____

IRB Chairperson's Signature   Date