



THE INTERACTIONS OF REFUGEES, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL LAW IN JORDAN

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Article history:	Abstract:
Received: March 10 th 2022 Accepted: April 10 th 2022 Published: May 22 th 2022	Refugees have become a major issue in the world within the past century. Syrian refugees are a major concern throughout the world, but specifically in Jordan. Jordan has taken in one of the highest numbers of Syrian refugees in the world. The researcher used the positional theory of adherence put forth by Kreps and Arend, which looks at the reason behind states following international law including the strength of the state in the international system, the normativity of the international law, the mechanisms to enforce the international law, and the extent to which the international law infringes on a state's sovereignty, to determine the reasons Jordan would or would not follow the international refugee regime. The rights provided to refugees who did not go through the urban registration process were examined. The researcher hypothesized that Jordan would not provide adequate rights to refugees, but that there would be legal aid available to refugees to combat this. Several different theories of international relations, such as realism and constructivism, were examined to determine how well they applied in Jordan. Then Syrian refugees and professional working with Syrian refugees were interviewed to test the previous hypothesis.

Keywords: International Law and Relations; Law; Regional Studies: Middle East

INTRODUCTION

International law provides a guide for how states should deal with one another, how they should treat their own citizens, how they should treat foreigners, how they should conduct war, etc. While many states follow many internationally accepted laws and norms, all states, to some extent, do not fully follow all of them. There are many reasons states choose to follow or not follow international law, ranging from the difficulty of following the law to how much the law infringes on a state's sovereignty to how the law affects the relations of a state with other states. A major factor in state compliance is the lack of mechanisms to enforce many international laws. The lack of ways to enforce international creates problems that affect different issues in international law, of which one of the most important issues is human rights. Human rights are often negatively affected by the lack of consequences to states that don't enforce them, which, in turn, negatively affects vulnerable people most in need of human rights protections.

Refugees are one of the most vulnerable people groups in the world, forced to leave their home country and reside in a country where they are not citizens. Refugees have been around for centuries, but have become a major issue within the last one hundred years. Today, there are more than 21 million refugees in the world (UNHCR, 2015) The most recent

wave of refugees includes almost 5 million refugees from Syria alone (UNHCR, 2015). Syrians are fleeing Syria for a number of reasons, ranging from escaping a repressive government to running from the terror group ISIS to trying to survive the civil war in the country, and many other reasons.

This most recent wave has had a large impact on many countries all over the world, forcing them to examine their international agreements concerning refugees. These international agreements, such as the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, dictate how a state treats refugees, what rights they give to refugees, and what aid/benefits they provide for refugees. While many states have signed such international agreements, not all have, and even those who have, do not always follow the agreements as they should. This dependency on states to follow their international agreements or to follow international standards in lieu of agreements, is part of what makes refugees vulnerable. The vulnerability created by this dependency requires that states are examined to ensure that they are treating refugees in internationally accepted standards.

The researcher became interested in studying how states follow international law and standards in regards to refugees, primarily, because of an interest in human rights law as a career. The human rights of vulnerable people are most often forgotten about or

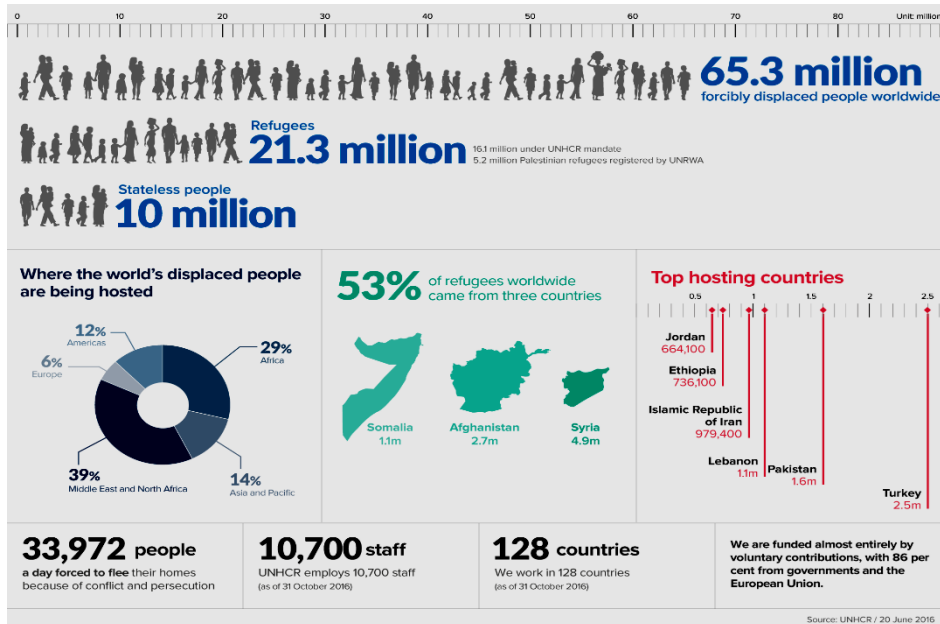


abused, and so, studying refugees' rights in relation to international law was an ideal way to pursue future interests in the law field as an undergraduate student. The interest of the researcher to study the interaction of international law and refugees was strengthened by a visit to the Zaatari refugee camp near the border of Syria and Jordan. The despair that the place itself gave off in contrast to the hope and resilience displayed by the refugees living there, inspired a deeper desire to make sure that vulnerable people's, like refugees', rights were being protected. Studying how Jordan was treating refugees seemed to be an excellent way for the researcher to funnel the desire and interest to help people protect their rights through the law into research.

This study aims to examine the relationship between international law and refugees in Jordan. To determine the extent to which Jordan respects refugees' rights and follows international standards, the urban registration process and its effects on Syrian refugees are examined. The researcher will use the positional theory of adherence of international relations and international law to explain the level at which Jordan follows international standards of human rights for refugees. The main motivation in developing this theory by Kreps and Arend was to explain why states do or do not follow international law. The positional theory of adherence states that the likeliness that states will adhere to international laws and standards depends most heavily on "the position of that state in the international system, as well as the nature of the treaty regime, the extent to which the regime infringes on state sovereignty, the nature of verification/enforcement arrangements of that regime, and the normativity of the treaty regime" (Kreps & Arend, 2006, p.332). In order to develop the theory, the authors looked at the adherence of states to several different treaty regimes. It was found that more powerful states in the international system are less likely to follow an international legal regime that infringes heavily on state sovereignty, that has weak enforcement mechanisms, and that has weak normativity. Conversely, the weaker a state is within the international system, the more likely it is to follow an international treaty regime despite the circumstances of the regime. Also, under the positional theory of adherence, it is possible for a state to have a high level of adherence to a treaty regime, even if they are not a signatory of the treaty.

Jordan would fall somewhere in the middle of the power spectrum for this theory because of its relationship with the United States and its position as one of the only stable countries in the region. The international refugee regime would be considered to infringe moderately on a state's sovereignty, to have very few mechanisms for enforcement, and has unclear normativity within the international system. Therefore, it is expected by the researcher that Jordan will likely not adequately apply the human rights standards of the international refugee regime completely for unregistered refugees living outside of refugee camps. However, the researcher does expect that there will be adequate legal aid available to help refugees go through the registration process and to help unregistered refugees in general.

Studying how refugees are treated in Jordan is important for several reasons. The flood of refugees from Iraq and Syria is one of the largest crises of the past several decades. This is an issue for the entire world, but even more so for the middle east and Jordan. As shown by the UNHCR graphic below, there are 4.6 million Syrian refugees in middle east in general and over 650,000 in Jordan alone (2016). The Middle East hosts the most refugees of any region in the world and is also one of the largest source regions for refugees (UNHCR, 2016). According to UNHCR numbers, Jordan is in the top six hosting countries in terms of the number of refugees taken in (2015) and the second largest proportion of refugees compared to its population in the world (2016). This extremely fast increase in the Jordanian population is exacerbating the resource problem in already water poor Jordan. Jordan's compliance with international standards on how to treat refugees is very largely affected by the resources they have and the aid they receive from the international community. Studying how Jordan treats refugees is important, so that the international community can properly distribute aid to Jordan. Another reason it is important to study Jordan's treatment of refugees is that it is always important to make sure any country is following human rights principle for its own citizens and for foreigners. Also, how refugees are treated by Jordan affects the modernization efforts of Jordan as a state and how Jordan continues to change as a society. Studying how laws are actually applied to refugees can help improve legal and practical conditions for refugees and refugees' rights in Jordan.



In order to create clarity in the project, several ideas need to be defined and explained. For this research, whenever the term refugee is used, the definition of refugee set out in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees is being referred to. The 1951 convention states that a refugee is a person that:

“owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”.

Also, any references to refugees in this research is about Syrian refugees. Whenever the term internationally accepted standards is used, standards that are set and agreed upon by a large part of the international community, is being referred to. Internationally accepted standards for the treatment of refugees, refugees’ rights, and human rights come from the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol, and the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Legal aid is any legal help given to a refugee by an independent lawyer or by a lawyer in an organization. The concept of non-refoulement refers to the idea that a refugee should not be deported back to the country they are fleeing.

The urban registration process refugees outside of refugee camps go through is a complicated process that again needs to be explained for the sake

of clarity in the research. When refugees first arrive in Jordan they are required to first go to one of the refugee camps run by the UNHCR and Jordanian authorities. If a refugee wants to leave the camp to reside in an urban setting, they must seek permission from Jordanian authorities, who then issue the refugee an asylum seeker’s certificate. If a refugee leaves a camp without the permission of the Jordanian authorities, they do not receive a certificate. In 2015, Jordan instituted the urban verification process, or the urban registration process. This process requires refugees to register with the Jordanian Ministry of Interior (MOI). To register, a refugee needs to go to a police station in the district they live in and provide their Syrian identity documents, asylum seeker’s certificate, a health report, proof of residence, and pay the registration fee. Refugees then have their iris’s scanned and are issued their MOI cards.

With an MOI card, a refugee can access healthcare, education, employment, and humanitarian aid. Without registration and an MOI card life in Jordan can be difficult for refugees living outside of a camp. A previous study on the registration process by the Norwegian Refugee Council and the International Human Rights Clinic at Harvard Law School found that refugees could be unregistered for several reasons, such as lack of birth certificates for children, waiting for identity documents to be returned by the Jordanian authorities, the lack of an asylum seeker’s certificate, lost identity documents, etc (2016).

LITERATURE REVIEW

As stated above, the primary theory being used to frame the research is the numbers versus



rights theory. While this is the main theory the researcher is using, there are other theories in relation to international law, human rights, and refugees that are useful to examine. Theories of international relations in general will be briefly covered, and then a few theories on why states give refugees the rights they do will be examined. It is useful to examine the main theories of international relations to gain a better general understanding of why states act the way they do in the international system. Theories dealing with how states treat refugees are important to gain a more specific perspective on states' actions towards refugees in the international system.

Two theories in international relations that are relevant to the topic of refugees are realism and constructivism. Realism is based on the idea that the international system is anarchical in nature and that states are sovereign. The sovereignty of states causes them to either be forced into cooperation with other states or to choose to cooperate. The option to choose or be forced into cooperation is dependent on the power of the state. The realist view of the world is based on four main assumptions: survival is a state's main goal, states are rational actors, all states have some military capacity, and those states with the most military and economic capacity have the most power (Mearsheimer, 1994). In the realist perspective, states do not have a large incentive to take in refugees or protect the rights of refugees under international law. However, Jordan has done just that. As a rational actor Jordan would not take in as many Syrian refugees as it has or given them any rights if its main goal is survival. It would benefit Jordan more as a sovereign state with surviving as its main goal to entirely restrict the rights of refugees to make it easier to protect its own security. Realism does not apply well in Jordan as it has not taken such extreme measures against refugees.

Constructivism is another theory under international relations that could be applied to refugee situations. Constructivism does not focus on what are considered objective facts about the world, but rather on social contexts, to explain how states behave (Wendt, 2000). These social contexts include ideas, norms, beliefs, history, etc. Constructivists would consider all of these factors when trying to understand why Jordan has accepted as many refugees as they have and why it they have given these refugees the rights they have under international law. The history of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, the fact that the refugees coming into Jordan are Arab, the religious beliefs of the Jordanian population, and many other social contexts are all acceptable reasons for Jordan's

actions towards refugees from a constructivist perspective.

While international relations theories are important to gain a general view state behavior towards refugees, there are other theories that deal more specifically with this issue. One of these theories, and the main one examined in this research, is the numbers vs. rights theory, originally put forth by Ruhs and Martin (2008) to explain the number of rights low-skilled migrant workers receive in high income countries, but later adapted by Talib (2013), in the article "Numbers Versus Rights: State Responsibilities Towards Asylum Seekers and the Implications for the International Refugee Regime". Ruhs and Martin (2008) originally theorized that the more migrant workers a country takes in, the less rights that country gives them, and the fewer migrant workers a country takes in, the more rights that country gives them. Talib used the same theory to explain the number of rights a country gives asylum seekers. Talib focused on the ten countries that take in the most asylum seekers and the ten countries that take in lowest number of asylum seekers in 2009, and then, looked at the rights given to those asylum seekers under international law. Generally, the results followed the numbers vs. rights theory with a few outliers, which were determined to be because of the individual situations in those states.

The situation in Jordan follows the numbers versus rights theory moderately well. As stated above, Jordan has the second largest proportion of refugees for its population in the world haven taken in over 660,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2015). Jordan does offer these refugees many rights, including education, healthcare, employment, freedom of movement, etc. However, these rights are only extended to refugees who are registered with the government, leaving unregistered refugees with access to any of these rights and benefits. Also, the right to legal employment is severely limited, being mostly for unskilled labor. Jordan does provide some rights to refugees, but limits these right, so that some refugees do not receive their rights. Therefore, the numbers versus rights theory is applicable in Jordan.

The body of work relating to theories on the reasons states give refugees rights under international law is continuing to develop, but still needs further development. Despite this, other information relating to the international refugee rights regime is important to examine. Arulanantham reached several useful conclusions in the article "Restructured Safe Havens: A Proposal for Reform of the Refugee Protection System" that offer further insight into how effective the human



rights regime for refugees is. The most relevant conclusion is best summarized by the following statements, "...the refugee system does not adequately address situations of mass influx. While the system sometimes succeeds in dealing with individual claimants, when large numbers of people flee persecution, it breaks down" (2000). The author points out that most refugees are fleeing because their human rights have been violated in their own country and refugees themselves do not create these situations. Therefore, refugees should not be treated as a "problem" that needs to be controlled, which, when this happens, can sometimes lead to refugees' human rights being violated in a host country. The author proposes a system that would involve a body separate from the UNHCR to report on and monitor human rights for refugees.

While Arulanantham does not necessarily offer a theory on why states honor refugees' human rights, he does offer useful conclusions that also apply in Jordan. The large number of refugees in Jordan has created significant problems for the country and caused trouble for the systems that protect the rights of refugees. The lack of funding to protect refugees and resources to provide for refugees was worsened by the large influx of refugees into the country in such a short amount of time. Jordan still has only received about half of the funds it has requested to meet its needs for refugees, which is one way that the system for refugees is not able to hand large influxes of people.

METHODOLOGY

To receive a more accurate set of data about how Jordan is meeting refugees' human rights and the urban registration process, two separate groups were interviewed. These two groups were determined after an initial test of the interview questions. Initially, two professionals were contacted to test if the interview questions were feasible and suitable for the research. However, one professional cancelled the interview and the other did not have time for an interview, and therefore, answered the questions through email. The answers received allowed the researcher to determine that the questions needed to be adapted to receive more specific information and that refugees also needed to be interviewed for their perspective.

The first interview group included adult, Syrian refugees. Several different NGOs were consulted in order to determine participants for interviews. Interviews with the refugees were set up through the respective NGOs they were involved with. A group interview was conducted with three refugees

from one organization based in Amman. The interview was conducted at the NGO with an interpreter for those who did not speak fluent English. Before the interview was conducted, each refugee was given a consent form (see appendix A) and the reason for the consent form and its content were explained. Those who wanted a copy of the consent form were provided with one. All of the participants signed the form and two also gave verbal consent. Seven questions were asked relating to the urban registration process and human rights (see appendix B) and the refugees took turns responding to each question. The answers given by each refugee and the emotional state of each was recorded by the researcher. The interview lasted approximately one hour during one session.

Refugees were chosen to interview because they could offer insight of the people actually affected by the urban registration process and the carrying out of human rights. Syrians were chosen because they are the largest group of most recent refugees in Jordan. Adults were chosen because they are the ones that have to go through the registration process for themselves and their dependents. Interviews were used instead of surveys to gather information specific to each person's experience with the urban registration process and how it affects them. Participants were found through NGOs because this was determined to be the easiest and best way to approach refugees for an interview. It is easier to find a group of refugees through an organization they are involved with, rather than going up to people on the street or knocking on people's doors to determine if they are a Syrian refugee. Such a method would not have been feasible within the time period the researched had to conduct interviews, about four weeks, and also, could have possibly been dangerous. The researcher also theorized that refugees would be more likely to trust someone, and therefore participate in an interview, that an NGO had approved to conduct an interview over someone that they had no connections with who wanted to ask them questions. The location for the interview was chosen for the convenience and comfort of the refugees.

The second group interviewed was professionals that work with refugees. These professionals were all adults working in various sectors. Professionals working with refugees were found through contact lists from two different people, one in the legal field and one that works with refugees. Interviews with the professionals were set up by the researcher through a phone conversation with further correspondence through email. Four separate interviews were conducted. Three of the four



interviews were conducted at the office of the person being interviewed, two in Mafraq and one in Amman, and the fourth was conducted at a coffee shop in Amman. Before the start of each interview, the participants were given a consent form (See appendix A). The reason for the consent form and its contents were explained and a copy of the consent form was provided for those who wanted one. Three participants signed the form and one gave verbal consent. Each interviewee was asked eight questions relating to the urban registration process and human rights (see appendix C). The answers given and the emotional state of the participant were recorded by the researcher. Each interview lasted approximately between forty minutes to one hour and the interviews were conducted during a two-week period of time.

Professionals were chosen because of their expertise in the field of refugees, on the registration process, on human rights for refugees, and on legal matters facing refugees. Interviews were used because these professionals had detailed information about human rights for refugees and the urban registration process that a survey would not have been able to fully access. Professionals were chosen from contact lists of two other professionals because of the existing connections that would allow participants to determine that the researcher was conducting a legitimate study. Interviews were set up through phone contact to ensure that each participant was willing to be interviewed and had sufficient time to be interviewed. Phone contact was also used to make sure there was direct contact with the participant. The location of each interview was chosen for the convenience of each participant.

Several measures were used to protect the identity and integrity of the participants in this research. The names of nor any identifying remarks of participants were recorded for research purposes. Refugee participants were not asked their names, although some provided documents related to the urban registration process that had identify information. No pictures were taken of these documents and no information was recorded from them. The translator used for the refugee group interview was another researcher who was given consent by the participants as well. Professionals' identities were protected by the fact that only the researcher knew which professionals had been contacted and which had agreed to interviews from the lists of contacts given to the research by other people. The integrity of all participants was protected through several options given to each participant. All participants were informed of their right to not answer

any question for any reason, to stop the interview at any time for any reason, and to decided that the information given could not be used for the research at any time after each interview.

The integrity of the data collected was ensured through different methods during the research as well. Each participant from each group was asked the same questions as the other members in their group. The questions for each group were different because of the different perspectives each group offered. While they were different, the questions were only slightly different and fell into the same corresponding categories. This similarity in questions between the two groups allowed for two different perspectives on the same issues. Also, to maintain integrity in the data and avoid any misunderstanding or misrepresentation of the data, only what the participants themselves said was recorded. None of the researchers own thoughts on or interpretations of the participants' answers were recorded during the interviews.

Several obstacles arose during the research process that affected the quality, scope, and depth of the data collected. The first obstacle the researcher faced was that the original idea for the research was too broad and would not provide in depth information on how international law was followed in regards to human rights for refugees in Jordan. The researcher then chose to narrow the topic of research to how the urban registration process affected the human rights of refugees. This narrowing of the topic gave the researcher a much clearer idea of questions for interviews which ended up giving the researcher a much deeper and more useful data set.

Another obstacle was the communication barrier between the researcher and some of the refugee participants. The researcher's lack of Arabic skills and the refugees' lack of English skills lead to the use of a translator. While the translator was very helpful, they lacked some of the necessary language skills to communicate the entirety and complexity of some of the questions. This lead to some of the questions being simplified and weakened from their original intent. The answers received from these questions were still useful to the research, but not what the researcher originally intended.

A final obstacle that occurred during the research process took place when setting up the interviews. Many of the professionals contacted were too busy or unwilling to participate in the research. Some interviews were cancelled which lead to both less professionals and less refugees being interviewed. More interviews with refugees could have led to a



better understanding of what challenges refugees perceive they face and more interviews with professionals could have given a broader consensus on human rights for refugees in Jordan and the urban registration process. However, the data collected still gives a good idea of the different perspectives on the issues discussed in the interviews.

FINDINGS

Gathering two different perspectives on the same issue provided a more complete set of data than if only one perspective had been studied. The answers of refugees to questions were similar in nature, but varied from the answers professionals gave to similar questions. This difference allowed the researcher to determine a middle ground which provided a more accurate representation of the situation in Jordan.

One question both groups were asked dealt with the difficulty level of the registration process for refugees once they moved to an urban setting. The refugees' answers differed on this question with two of the three thinking the registration process was rather easy and the third thinking the process was very difficult for Syrians. The refugee that felt that the registration process was difficult had very different initial experience with registration than the other two refugees. One refugee was able to register easily and obtain their MOI card, even without a passport, through the help of a spouse already in Jordan. The other came to Jordan with a passport and did not have any trouble during the urban registration process. However, both agreed that if they had not had relatives in Jordan or papers, the registration process would have been more difficult. The refugee that felt that the urban registration process was difficult had their passport lost by officials and was told that they would need to go to Damascus for a stamp and papers to prove their identity. All three agreed that the renewing of the registration and MOI cards every year is a nuisance because of short notice as to the time and place for renewing and the fact that large numbers of people are called in for one day.

The disagreement between the professionals themselves and between the professionals and refugees on the difficulty of the urban registration process illustrates an unfortunate disconnect from the reality of the registration process. This disconnect may come from the fact that the professional interviewees did not often deal with the registration, like the refugees did. However, this lack of understanding and consistency about the difficulty level of the urban registration process by professionals can cause real problems for refugees. The professionals are all

citizens in Jordan and therefore, could have a voice in changing the system of registration. Refugees, not being citizens, do not have the same kind of power. Refugees need the professionals to have a clear and coherent idea about the difficulty level in the urban registration process so that the refugees' concerns can be broached more effectively with the proper authorities.

Another question that both groups were asked dealt with the services available to refugees who aren't registered in the urban registration process. All three refugees agreed that there are no government services in Jordan for refugees who aren't registered and one stated that it is extremely difficult to live in Jordan if you aren't registered. The professionals all agreed that there were some services for refugees who weren't registered, but that most government services would not be available to unregistered refugees. One interviewee at an NGO thought that healthcare for delivering a baby is the only service provided by the government for un-registered refugees. Three interviewees from different NGOs agreed that some NGOs would still provide aid to unregistered refugees and that some would not. One of these interviewees stated that some NGOs tie aid to the refugee having an asylum seekers certificate. The other two interviewees stated that their organizations still provide aid and services to refugees who aren't registered.

The relative agreement between the two groups on the issue of services for unregistered refugees is troubling for the situation of refugees' human rights in Jordan. If refugees cannot access services like healthcare, education, work, or humanitarian aid, then they cannot live a decent life. This lack of a decent living situation takes away the most basic of all human rights, as stated in part 1 of Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services..."(1948). Not having access to these rights just because of a lack of registration is a violation of any person's human rights, let alone already vulnerable refugees. While registration is useful in helping Jordan protect its security, it should not determine who gets access to commodities that provide basic, decent living conditions.

Two questions were asked to both groups of interviewees that led to similar responses for each question. The first question asked about the consequences for refugees who weren't registered



with the refugees agreeing that no services would be provided for those not registered. The professionals had different answers to this question, with four stating possible deportation, one stating that there were no consequences because there has been no deadline set for registration, so the authorities cannot carry out any consequences, and one stating consequences other than deportation. The consequences given for lack of registration other than deportation by one interviewee included being sent to Azraq camp, signing a paper saying they would not work without proper documentation, and children being sent to Azraq camp without their parents. If the provider of the family is sent to Azraq camp, the rest of the family can either go to camp with them, go back to Syria, or stay outside of the camp (with some resorting to sex work, child marriage, or becoming involved in forced labor to survive).

The participants were then asked about the issue of deportation. The refugees all said that there was no way they could go back to Syria even if they were deported. While three of the four professionals agreed that deportation back to Syria could happen from a lack of registration in Jordan, two stated that deportation was more likely to happen for security reasons rather than a lack of registration, one stated that they did not think that lack of registration was a big enough reason to be deported back to Syria, and one stated that they had never heard of anyone being sent back to Syria. Deportation was considered more likely to happen if a refugee was thought to be a security threat to Jordan and was also not registered, by one interviewee.

The lack of legal aid available to or known by refugee is problematic. Access to legal could help refugees through the often complicated urban registration process. Besides the help access to legal aid would give to refugees during the registration process, it would also help refugees with many legal issues that they could face in Jordan. Legal aid could provide more stability for refugees in troubling situations. Legal aid could help unregistered refugees fight for their rights while living in Jordan. More legal aid needs to be provided for refugees through NGOs and the legal aid that is available needs to be more widely advertised to refugees so that they can take advantage of it. Legal aid is important for every person, especially vulnerable people like refugees, to make sure that their rights are being protected within the system. Without such protection, there is not as much accountability within the system of a state for refugees as there should be.

The mixed, but rather positive responses to the abovementioned question, offer hope for the rights of refugees in Jordan. While restricting refugees' freedom of movement is undesirable, Jordan has shown that it is willing to reform its stance to provide refugees with the rights they deserve by stopping largely unnecessary deportations. The willingness to change its practices show that Jordan could change its stance on registration and the services and rights provided by being registered. Those in positions of influence can feel more optimistic in their efforts to convince authorities to take measures to reduce violations against refugees' human rights.

CONCLUSION

The urban registration process put in place by Jordan can cause serious adverse effects for refugees that aren't registered and causes difficulty for those who attempt to complete registration. This process allows Jordan to deny rights to portions of refugees despite the circumstances that led to them not registering. The original hypothesis of the researcher that Jordan does not adequately apply human rights to unregistered refugees was proved to be mostly correct. Unregistered refugees were found to be unable to access most government services, to have limited employment options, and to be under the threat of the restriction of their freedom of movement. All of these conditions are violations of a refugee's human rights. However, one major violation of refugee rights that Jordan has taken steps to lessen is refoulement. The effort to reduce deportations provides hope that Jordan will take steps to reduce the violations that the registration process causes to refugees' rights.

One way that Jordan could reduce the violations caused by the registration process is to make the process easier, so that most refugees would be able to easily gain an MOI card. Jordan could do this by lessening the requirements to gain an MOI card, such as eliminating any fees to register or giving more options to refugees without certain forms of identification. Jordan could also, increase its efforts to return identification documents to refugees. At the very least, Jordan should allow unregistered refugees to receive humanitarian aid from NGOs. NGOs and other international actors need to encourage Jordan to take such steps, until a better solution to the registration process can be determined.

The second part of the researcher's original hypothesis that legal aid would be largely available to refugees during the registration process and at other times was proved to be incorrect. There seemed to be



very little legal aid available to refugees for the registration process. The legal aid that was available was not widely available or known about to refugees. Legal aid needs to be readily available to refugees, so that they can have help during the confusing registration process and so that their rights are being protected through the legal system. NGOs need to develop more legal sections within their organizations. This would allow them to be able to directly provide legal aid to refugees and would make legal aid more known and available to refugees who need it.

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