

**The European Union and Jordan:
Building Resilience in the Face of the Syrian Refugee Crisis**

(Supervisor: László Csicsmann PHD, Nagyné Rózsa Erzsébet PhD)

Lina Aleassa

**Budapest,
2023**

1. Research Background

“Syria is the biggest humanitarian and refugee crisis of our time, a continuing cause of suffering for millions which should be garnering a groundswell of support around the world.” This is how Filippo Grandi, the United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR) High Commissioner described the Syrian crisis (UNHCR, 2020). Although, the echoes of the strife in Syria is growing louder in Ukraine, with the same images of bombings, destructions and displacements, the Syrian crisis remains one of the worst humanitarian crises ever. Eleven years have already passed on this on-going war in Syria. What makes the picture even worse, there seems a little hope to end those refugees suffering and returning home safely to their homes.

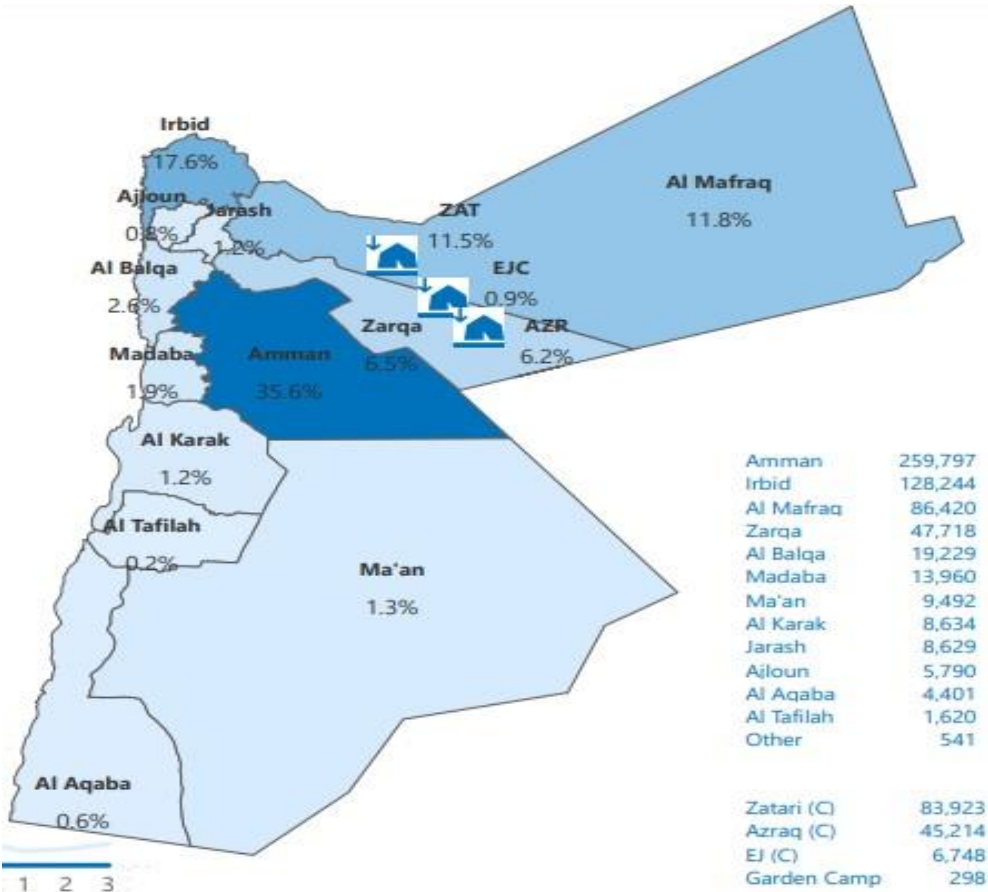
The war has not only resulted in the destruction of the country, but also the human costs have been very high. Based on estimations by the UNHCR, 600 thousand have been killed since 2011, 6.9 million have become internally displaced inside Syria, 5.4 million have become refugees, mostly in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt (Council on Foreign Relations, 2023). While some of those refugees have dangerously managed their way through the Mediterranean to Europe, the majority remains in the neighboring countries including Jordan, where it has more than 1.3 million refugees¹.

For this reason, the impact of the on-going war is not only restricted to Syria, but also to the whole region including Jordan. The sudden influx of refugees has magnified the country's own challenges; as Jordan is a middle-low class country with very limited resources, an increasing rate of poverty and unemployment, amid a region of turmoil. The Syrian refugee crisis has placed financial, social, and institutional strains on Jordan as a host community. According to the UNHCR, there is an estimated of 1.3 million Syrian refugees in the country's different governorates (UNICEF, 2022). 653,292 of those were registered as Syrian refugees and asylum seekers in Jordan as of September 2023 (UNHCR, 2023). This means that more than 50% of Syrian

¹ As of 2023, the total population of Jordan is almost 11.3 million according to the last data of World Population review. This makes the Syrians counts to almost 13% of the total population (World Population Review, 2023b). Yet, as will be illustrated later, Jordan has received different waves of refugees. The largest are the Palestinians, who count to almost 2 million registered Palestinians under the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA) and then the Iraqis.

refugees in Jordan are unregistered, and are deprived of any assistance provided by the UNHCR. The majority of those refugees in Jordan live in the local communities rather than refugee camps. Out of the total registered Syrian refugees, only 136,181 live in the official camps of the Syrian refugees in Jordan, Zaatari (83,923), Azraq (45,214), and Margeeb Alfhood, (6,748) (Operational Data Portal Refugee Situation, 2023b). The remaining 543,035 are mostly in Jordan’s urban areas, concentrated in Amman (35.6%), Al Mafraq (11.8%) and Irbid (17.6%) as the figure shows

Figure 1. UNHCR Registered Persons of Concern Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Jordan
 Source: (Operational Data Portal Refugee Situation, 2023b)



The distribution of those refugees and their concentration in the northern and central governorates have drastic impacts ;as those governorates are the location of main cities and have the highest share of population: Amman has 1.036 330 and Irbid 250. 645 (Population Hub , 2023). Consequently, the socio-economic impact of massive number of refugees are catastrophic. The

influx of refugees has burdened the poor infrastructure of the country. It causes an increased demand on water, energy, shelter, education, and health services. Moreover, it has caused a competition within the labor sector between Syrians and Jordanians (Seeberg, 2020). Such impacts made the deprived Jordanians to mobilize over their grievances, as public frustration grows.

Thus, these socio-economic strains threaten Jordan's stability. Jordan has long been viewed as a beacon of stability in a fragile region, yet, there is a growing risk that the country is becoming destabilized. Since the establishment of the modern Jordanian state, this resource-constrained country has gained increasing strategic importance for its geographical location between conflict zones, including the Arab -Israeli wars, the wars in Iraq, the Syrian and Lebanese civil wars, and the global war against terrorism. Whilst predictions of Jordan's collapse have proven incorrect on every occasion, yet, there is a growing sense of concern over the country's stability. Commentators warn that Jordan stands on the edge of collapse amid the intensification of a range of stresses that have emerged as a consequence of the country's complex geopolitical, social, economic, and historical context, including the influx of Syrian refugees. (Elkahlout & Hadid, 2021).

It is not a common case that refugees have a significant impact on the host community's political or security situation. However, in Jordan's case, while the kingdom is a part of a coalition that targets terrorist groups and combats extremist radical ideologies, a threat to its internal and external security is likely to occur. These factors jeopardize the country's security, as al Rukban attack shows. In that attack, six Jordanian security personnel were killed in a suicide truck bomb attack near a makeshift refugee camp on the border with Syria (BBC NEWS, 2016). The fear of attacks at the Syrian-Jordanian borders urges the kingdom to maximize its border security and abandon the open- border policy² (Alougili , 2019). Furthermore, as Jordan's borders have been secured successfully by the Jordanian army, despite the multiple attempts to penetrate them, militant Islamist groups including, the ISIS, have enhanced their efforts to destabilize Jordan through establishing dormant cells, scattered throughout Jordan. Those cells exploit the deteriorating economic conditions within the kingdom to cause internal dispute and civil unrest. These were

² Open-borders policy is a type of controlling border policy which would still be allowing for monitoring and passport controls, however, it *would provide legal routes for migrants and allow temporary migration. In that respect it is less restrictive than closed- border policy which does not provide such routes* see James Gledhill (Gledhill, James;, 2008).

successful to launch some attacks on the Jordan soil, as in the cases of Baqa, Kerak, Fuhies and Salt attacks (Al Sabaileh, 2019).

Moreover, during the first years of the conflict, the continuous influx of refugees has made security concerns persist, especially in the Syrian camps. Safety and security have degraded, with theft, fires and riots commonplace. The Zaatari camp, in particular, has been a big security concern. The danger was not only restricted to the residents of camps, but it also threatened aid workers and journalists (Abuqudairi, 2013). As security concerns prevailed, Jordan was forced to adopt different policies to deal with these challenges.

The massive number of refugees and their distribution within local communities made Jordan securitize Syrian refugees. According to the Securitization theory, an issue is securitized once it is introduced as a threat to the national security (Waever, 2011; Eroukmanoff, 2018). This implies that those refugees are presented as a threat to Jordan, as they might affect its social cohesion, they can be considered as a threat to the socio-economic, the political stability of the kingdom and its broaden national security. Moreover, there are fears related to terrorism, as there are fears that those refugees are related to terrorist groups. In this regard, the Jordanian army have arrested terrorist group members, disguised as women and with fake identification, among Syrians refugees along the Jordanian border (Nahhas, 2018).

Consequently, refugees can be seen as a challenge to Jordan on the national level. However, due its crucial role in promoting stability, moderation, and inter-faith tolerance and since it's a strategic partner for the EU on the regional and global level, the EU has realized the importance of increasing its support for such a significant actor in the region. Hence, the EU has sought to advance its relations with Jordan and increase its cooperation with it on different levels and across different sectors (Press and information team of the Delegation to Jordan, 2023b).

As for Europe, the on- going crisis cannot be separated from its 2015-2016 migrant crisis, also known as the refugee crisis, when Europe received more than 1.3 million asylum seekers applicants, from which 378,000 were Syrians, accounting for 29% of all of Europe's asylum seekers, the highest share of any country (Pew Research Center , 2016). This crisis, along with other crises within and beyond the EU, made the EU adopts a different approach in response to its

current problems, in particular, the refugee crisis. Hence, building state and societal resilience became one of its five priorities of foreign and security policy as emphasized in the European Union Global Strategy of 2016 (EUGS) (The European Union External Action Service , 2016).

In this policy document, the term ‘resilience’ or ‘resilient’ appears more than 40 times throughout the EUGS (Missiroli, 2017). Thus, it was mentioned more than democracy, 27 times, or human rights, 12 times. The EUGS enumerates many different policy tools and strategies to promote and maintain resilience including, inter alia: the support to accountable governance; the fight against terrorism and organized crime; the protection of human rights; the reform of the justice, security and defense sectors; and building rule-of-law capacity. The main goal of all these strategies is to make ‘resilience’ a better longer-term durable solution for the challenges and crises facing the EU in its neighborhood and surrounding, including Jordan.

As for ‘resilience’ as a concept, the commission defines it as “The ability of states and societies to reform, thus withstanding and recovering from internal and external crises" (The European Union External Action Service , 2016, p. 26) .Since then, the EU directed all its efforts and funding toward ‘resilience’ building of the neighboring countries and the host of those refugees.

For Jordan as a host, this is translated on the ground in response to the Syrian refugee crisis. The EU is one of the most important international donors to Jordan in response for the Syrian crisis. Since the beginning of the civil war in Syria, the EU has pledged more than 3.5 billion EUR for Jordan through different instruments including humanitarian, development and macro-financial assistance (European Commission , 2022).

Moreover, its political support is also significant. The EU has been co-hosting the Brussels Conferences to support the future of Syria and the region since 2017. The Brussels Conferences have become over the years a platform to reemphasize the international community's continued support to the UN and the UN Special Envoy's efforts for a negotiated peaceful political solution to the Syrian conflict, in line with the UN Security Council Resolution 2254. These conferences also aim to mobilize the necessary financial support to meet the need of the Syrians and their host communities (Press Release , 2021). In these conferences, the EU emphasizes its commitment to build resilience, as a better strategy to respond to the crisis.

Hence, it is crucial to understand the impact of this support and if it contributes to Jordan's national security and secure Europe, by pursuing a policy of migrant containment through which Europe tries to govern migrants from distance.

1.1. The Scope and Positioning of the Research Subject

'Resilience' building has become the response to the on-going Syrian crisis and been adopted by the international donors and the host countries' policies. Hence, it is crucial to understand the implication and the role of such a policy to achieve and promote the security of the donors and the hosts of the Syrian refugees. As a result, this paper comes within the scope of the security studies, as 'resilience' building has become a pillar of the migration and security policy of both the EU and Jordan.

'Resilience' has been adopted by different institutions in different sectors. This "magical concept" has come across different academic fields. As for International Relations and Migration Policy Studies, 'resilience' is considered a new concept in this field. When it comes to the EU Commission, 'resilience' was adopted as a foreign and security policy in its EUGS of 2016, when it became one of the five priorities of the EU foreign policy (The European Union External Action Service , 2016). In this document policy, the EU has emphasized its commitment to building resilience, not only of the EU member states, but also of its neighboring countries including the host communities of refugees. However, it has not been the first time that the Commission adopted resilience. It was adopted in previous policies in the humanitarian aid policies. 'Resilience' first appeared in the EU Approach to Resilience as a response to the food crisis in 2012. Then, it was borrowed by the Commission in the EU foreign policy in 2016 through the EUGS. The definition provided in the Strategy defines 'resilience' as "the ability of states and societies to reform, thus withstanding and recovering from internal and external crises" (High Representative of the EU 2016: 23). Since then, it became a pillar and a main priority of its foreign and security policy, especially in response to crises.

As for Jordan, since 2015, it started to adopt 'resilience' in its local policies. This happened in parallel to the international community's response to the Syrian crisis, as a shift from humanitarian aid to development nexus. The drastic impact of the influx of the Syrian refugees into Jordan would

make this paper of a great interest to Jordan as a host for those refugees and a receiver of the EU's support to build its resilience in response for the crisis. Further, it would be of a great interest to the EU and its institutions, which have been supporting Jordan since the beginning of the crisis, with the aim of securing the country and securing its own borders by keeping the refugee where they are.

1.2. The Significance, Actuality and Relevance of the Research Subject

Choosing the EU's 'resilience' building in Jordan as a response to the Syrian crisis as a topic for this dissertation is significant. This significance stems from different reasons; first, after 7 years of adopting this policy, this paper aimed to examine the role of resilience to achieve and promote security by the EU. 'Resilience' has become widely used in different EU foreign and security policies including ,and not restricted to, the European Neighborhood Policy review of 2015 , its 2016 EUGS and its Strategic Approach to resilience of 2017. The EU emphasized its commitment to 'resilience' building of the EU and its neighbors, including Jordan, to achieve its own and the neighboring countries security, but how the EU's contribution in 'resilience' building really contributes to Jordan's and the EU national security is not clear, and this is what the paper aimed to answer.

Second, as both Jordan and the EU securitized refugees, it would be crucial to see the role of 'resilience' as a security strategy, to secure both the donors and the host countries of those refugees. The term securitization was associated originally with the Copenhagen School and International Relations scholars such as Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, Jaap de Wilde, and others. It can be seen as the process by which states determine and specify threats to national security according to subjective rather than objective views of perceived danger (Kilroy, 2018). Thus, by securitizing refugees, they are dealt with as an urgent security issue. This Shifts the refugee crisis from a low priority political concern to a high priority concern. In turn, this requires urgent actions for both Jordan and the EU (Eroukmanoff, 2018).

Finally, although 'resilience' is a well-known term in Engineering, Socio-Ecological Systems science, and Psychology, it is relatively a new comer in Political science, International Relations, and Security Studies. Since these related fields are sensitive to buzzwords (for example of

‘human security’), the question arises whether ‘resilience’ is not just another popular but short-lived term, bound to disappear as quickly as it appeared. That depends, of course, on its potential meaning and subsequent tangible effects. ‘Resilience’ is abstract and malleable, and although this may have contributed to its acceptability to policymakers, it also provokes the question whether it is not just an empty catch-phrase or container concept. Indeed, in abstraction, ‘resilience’ might mean as little as an ontological factor ‘a capacity of life itself’, until we start asking ‘resilience to what?’, ‘resilience of whom?’, and ‘resilience by what means? (Anholt & Wagner , 2016). This is absolutely crucial in order to successfully navigate the ‘more connected, contested and complex world’.

For this reason, this paper aims to contribute to this debate by attempting to answer such questions and identify the tangible effects of ‘resilience’ as a policy. This would be a great value added to policymakers in general, and more specifically, for Jordan and the EU policy makers. Considering the characteristics of the EU ‘resilience’ building, as revealed in the Action Plan for Resilience, it demonstrates the significance of the local context. This means that the implementation of ‘resilience’ would be of a varying success based on the local actor. Another reason for the varying success is that the institutionalization of ‘resilience’ discourse into EU foreign policy has been characterized as 'very limited' and 'shallow'. The reason for this is partly because the EU's existing institutional architecture staggers the implementation, and partly because the Member States cannot seem to agree on what ‘resilience’ means (Joseph and Juncos 2019: 999). Hence, this paper, as an empirical research, aimed to draw attention to the local actor, Jordan, and its implementation of ‘resilience’ building with the support of the EU, the EU understanding of ‘resilience’ in the Jordanian context, their success and the tangible effects that have been achieved and what have been missed to enhance this policy efficiency in the future.

As for the actuality of the research, it stems from the on-going war on Syria. This makes the possibility of new waves of refugees to either Jordan or the EU is possible, probably with less intense than the early years. Moreover, there is little hope for the majority of those refugees to return back to Syria. Since 2016, only 63,770 of the total registered refugees have returned voluntarily to Syria, the highest share was during 2019 after the reopening of borders between Jordan and Syria (UNHCR, 2022). However, there are some fears hindering other refugees to return, as the situation is not getting much better. At the same time, they feel they are trapped in

Jordan with economic and social restrictions as they see it (Federman & Akour, 2019). Thus, it seems many of those refugees are going to stay either in Jordan or leave for Europe, but again how 'resilience' building contributes to secure those refugees' need in Jordan so it may keep them in Jordan instead of migrating to Europe and threaten its own external borders is not completely obvious.

As for the relevance of this paper to my school, actually, 'resilience' building as such is a new topic and has not been discussed by many students. The aim of my paper was to interpret how Jordan as a host country and the EU as a donor are working to secure those refugees' rights, thus, to be reflected on their security as a whole. For this reason, this topic could be a new addition to my school and can be an illustration of the EU-Arab world relations, as well. The EU has bilateral relations with all the Arab countries along the Mediterranean and 10 countries, including Jordan, are covered by the European Neighborhood Policy. In this policy, the EU emphasizes its commitment to strengthen its relations and support for these partners, to tackle their different crises. Yet, this is not a wide common topic at the school. In addition, in the same policy the EU emphasizes its commitment to 'resilience' building as a policy to secure Europe and its Arab world neighbors including Jordan. In that respect, by studying Jordan- EU relations and the EU's 'resilience' building in Jordan, I am taking a case which would be of a value added to the school, and a new addition to the discussed topic which would open the door to future research by new students.

Moreover, as the researcher's sub-programme is International Security Studies, it would have a contribution to the school security studies directly since it explores 'resilience' building as a security policy which has never been discussed by any student at the school before.

And the last point here is that it comes within the researcher own interest, as a Jordanian, to investigate and learn more about EU-Jordan relations. Since the EU considers Jordan a strategic partner, it would be crucial for me as a Jordanian researcher to shed light on such a relationship. In addition, the fact that the researcher is a Jordanian facilitated conducting such a research in terms of obtaining the primary data and hence it made the research more feasible.

2. The Research Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore how ‘resilience’ is constructed within the EU and the Jordanian context, as well as to ask what sort of impact ‘resilience’ has had on Jordan's security as a host for Syrian refugees, as a main focus, and the EU as donor.

One way of doing this was through document analysis. The document analysis covered the EU-Jordan bilateral agreements that were concluded at the time of adopting ‘resilience’ in response for the crisis, i.e. from 2015. The analysis of these agreements, in particular, aimed to draw attention to how ‘resilience’ is understood within the EU-Jordan context. The focus of this analysis tried to grasp the objectives, characteristics, methods and instruments of ‘resilience’ building in Jordan. This attempted to illustrate the difference between theory and practice, if there is any, as this might hinder ‘resilience’ building and its objective. The EU's and Jordan's main documents and strategies used in the analysis are all found on the EU's and Jordan's official websites. The study of documents included the revision of reported information from the Commission, the EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis in Arabic the ‘MADAD Fund (EUTF-MADAD), or the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) projects such as: mid-term and final evaluation report.

To support the analysis, semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts from both Jordan and the EU. The respondents were chosen based on their expertise in the field of ‘resilience’ building in Jordan: academics, politicians, project managers, and heads of departments from public institutions in Jordan responsible of the response to the Syrian refugee crisis or civil society activists.

Conducting interviews with some politicians from the EU side, like member of the EU parliaments, unfortunately, could not be achieved. Yet, the author was able to conduct semi-structured interviews with EU officials from the European Union External Action Service- the Middle East and North Africa Division (MENA). The European Commission’s Directorate-General for Neighborhood and Enlargement Negotiations (DG NEAR), the EU Delegation in Jordan, and EU scholars who are specialist in ‘resilience’. Twenty interviews were conducted in the period between June 2022 and August 2023.

The findings were predominantly based on the analysis of qualitative data. This included the outcomes of several formal face-to-face meetings and informal discussions. The formal face-to-face meetings with politicians or civil society activists were conducted in Jordan. The other part of interviews were Skype or zoom meetings because of the difficulty of conducting face to face interviews as the respondents were in another country far from the author. The interviews engaged with some of the key definitions and arguments in the ‘resilience’ literature in the EU-Jordan context, which enabled the author to frame the analysis of how ‘resilience’ has been translated into practice.

The other method upon which this thesis built upon was through looking at the tangible and intangible impacts of the EU support to Jordan. Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, the EU is at the forefront in supporting Jordan to handle its impact, however, since its support to Jordan is political, economic, and in different sectors, examining its role in preserving Jordan social cohesion, stability and the broader security is crucial. Designing a model to quantify the impact was one method. Obtaining the data for this model was from the results in reports of [EUTF-MADAD](#), which was established in December 2014 to enable a more coherent and integrated EU response to the crisis. It primarily addresses longer-term ‘resilience’ and early recovery needs (economic, educational, social and psycho-social) of Syrian refugees in neighboring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and Iraq, and supports overstretched host communities and their administrations. In Jordan, the EUTF Syria is responding to the needs of refugees and host communities in four different areas: education - basic and higher, livelihood, water and sanitation and health and in complementarity with projects funded under The European Commission's Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations department (ECHO) as well as the European Neighborhood Instrument (Press and information team of the Delegation to Jordan, 2023b). Moreover, as the EU is a main contributor in the 3RP, obtaining data from this plan’s reports and the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) portal was another source of these data.

The evaluation and the annual reports of this plan provided an important source for quantitative, as well as a qualitative data about the contribution of the different donors, including the EU. These reports take stock of the support to Jordanian public institutions by 3RP partners, including the EU, and enable regular tracking of the evolution of the 3RP towards strengthening ‘resilience’.

3. The findings

- First, on the theoretical level this dissertation proved, the EU's 'resilience' building in Jordan is not only Maintenance, Marginal or Reflexive, rather more than one type of 'resilience' can be found together in Jordan.
- Second, on the empirical level, considering the impact of the EU's 'resilience' building, the dissertation concluded that the Jordanian's institutions promote 'resilience' building in Jordan. Taking the historical institutions approach demonstrates that the Jordanian ministries have worked on developing their institutional capacities with the purpose of living up to the agreements with the EU (MoPIC, 2023). One reason for this ability is Jordan's institutional flexibility. Being in a region full of turmoil and facing different exogenous shocks enabled the Jordanian policy makers to enhance this flexibility, as it is much needed.
- The third conclusion is related to the impact of the EU's 'resilience' building in promoting Sustainable Developments Goals. The paper concludes that this impact differs from one sector to another. The EU's different instruments including the EURT, EIB, and EBRD with almost 100 projects in different sectors contribute to achieve this. In the energy sector, for instance, this support helped Jordan to increase its dependency on the renewable energy. In the education sector, the [EUTF](#) helps Jordan to compile with its commitment regarding the right of Syrians' children in education. Although, the target is not fully achieved but, there is always a progress. In 2022, there were almost 145 thousands out of the 257 thousands Syrian children enrolled in the Jordanian schools, and Jordan will not be able to achieve this target without the EU's support. In other sectors like health, the progress was slower. This is due to the surge of Covid and the need to contain it. The result was the need for new actions and shift into other priorities.
- Another conclusion is that there are many challenges that hinder bridging the gap between the humanitarian-development nexus, which is a main goal for 'resilience' building. The urgent need for protection and basic needs make the priority for providing these services, especially with the decrease in funding and the surge of Covid.
- Regarding the dissertation main question and the EU 'resilience' building role in to promoting the EU own security. The dissertation proved that the success of the EU external migration governance through 'resilience' building as a response to the Syrian Refugees case varies between the different

country hosts. The EU-Turkey Deal plays a more successful role as a buffer zone than Jordan. While Jordan 'resilience' building works better than Lebanon. This success can be proved in numerical terms for Turkey. At the peak of the crisis, Italy and Greece were asylum seekers' main arrival points in Europe, with more than 861,000 arrivals in Greece in 2015. The number fell to 36,000 the year after the EU-Turkey deal. This can't be proved in numerical terms for Jordan, but qualitative analysis supports this claim.

- As for Jordan 'resilience' building impact on the EU, Jordan cooperative approach has enabled it to harmonize the EU efforts in line with Jordan policies so that they best support the refugees and the local communities. This in turn has been reflected on those refugees integration and the country social cohesion. Consequently, this indirectly contributes to keep those refugees closer to their home. Yet, the dissertation also concluded that 'resilience' building as an external migration governance can't be taken for granted to secure the EU borders or safe its borders from a new wave of Syrian refugees. The rise of anti-migration sentiment in the country hosts, the low tendency of returning back to Syria and the absence of political solution in the future may lead to this. By 2022, there has been a 52% increase in the number of asylum seekers to the EU. Almost 40% of all applications in the EU member states in 2022 were Syrians, Afghans, Turks and Venezuelans
- In term of the EU 'resilience' building and Jordan' security. The dissertation proved that it is one factor. The dissertation proved the EU instruments contributes to enhance 'resilience' capacities. These capacities represent the potential for proactive measures to be taken in order to deal with shocks or stresses. The author was capable to prove the connection between Buzan classification of the security sectors and the EU 'resilience' building capacities. These capacities, which include providing services, protection, social cohesion, the EU's Macro- financial assistance, and border management support, have a key role in promoting Jordan economic, political, military, societal and environmental security.
- The dissertation proved that Jordan national security is not fully dependent on the EU only, but here are other internal and external factors contribute to this. In this respect, The U.S. is a key security provider for Jordan (U.S. Department of State, 2022). The U.S is Jordan's single largest provider of bilateral assistance. The US annual direct support amounts to \$1.65 billion making Jordan the third country receiving the largest amount of the U.S.

foreign aid, preceded only by Afghanistan (\$4.89 billion) and Israel (\$3.3 billion) (World Population Review, 2023a). *The U.S direct security assistance is half a billion annually are makes its military aid amounts to 20% of Jordan's total military defense budget (Sharp, 2023) .*

- In addition the dissertation concluded that Saudi Arabia, to a certain extent, is also considered a security provider for Jordan. It is true that Saudi Arabia has been the second biggest donors to Jordan in the last few decades, Saudi Arabia is Jordan's largest economic partner, with investments of more than \$13 billion and trade between the two reached \$5 billion in 2022 (Omari, 2022), however, there were some ups and downs in their relations that makes it difficult to put their relation in one specified mold. Although they have the same positions regarding different issues including the war in Syria and Libya, there are disagreements including the war in Yemen. Yet, this did not stop the Saudis from supporting Jordan when its stability was in risk. This happened when Jordan was under a big wave of protests in 2018, they were there to support Jordan with a direct full package of loans and grants (Muasher, 2020).
- Other internal factor contributes to Jordan security is Jordan's people and the Jordanian culture of hospitality, even before Syrian refugees, this hospitality contributes to Jordan security for decades. Jordan's approach to the waves of refugee crises, starting from the first wave of Palestinians in 1948, indicates that the Arab tradition of hospitality still exists and the notion of being the gracious neighbor (Urhová, 2023) remains part of Jordan's policies. Although the influx of refugees puts great pressure on Jordan's already limited resources, King Abdullah has repeatedly emphasized that welcoming refugees is the right thing to do, as they have nowhere else to go and are being persecuted in their own countries (Urhová, 2023). This was crucial, specially, during the first years of the crisis to avoid the tension between the refugees and local communities.

4. Main references

- Alshoubaki, W., and Harris, M. (2018). The impact of Syrian refugees on Jordan: A framework for analysis. *Journal of International Studies*(2), 154-179.
- Alsoudi, A. (2020). The Socio-Economic Impact of Syrian Refugees on Labor in Jordan: Case Study on *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 10(1), 1- 23.
- Anholt, R., and Wagner, W. (2016). Resilience as the EU Global Strategy's new leitmotif: pragmatic, problematic or promising? *Journal of Contemporary Security Policy*, 37(3), 414-430.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1228034>
- Anholt, R., & Sinatti, G. (2020). Under the guise of resilience: The EU approach to migration and forced displacement in Jordan and Lebanon. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 311-335
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1698182>
- Badarin, E., and Schumacher, T. (2020). 'The EU, Resilience and the Southern Neighborhood After the Arab Spring'. In Cusumano, E. and Hofmaier, S. *Projecting Resilience Across the Mediterranean* (pp. 63-84). London: Palgrave Macmillan,.
- Badarin, E. (2021). Politics and economy of resilience: EU resilience-building in Palestine and Jordan and its disciplinary governance. *European Security*, 30(1), 65-84
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2020.1828357>
- Barblet, V., Hagen-Zanker, J. and Mansour-Ille, D. (2018, February 7). *The Jordan Compact Lessons learnt and implications for future refugee compacts*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Policy Briefing Retrieved from data2.unhcr.org: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/62095>
- Bargués, P. (2020b). Resilience is “always more” than our practices: Limits, critiques, and skepticism about international intervention. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 41(2), 263-286.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1678856>
- Bargués, P. (2022, May 05). *The EU Strategic Compass: A Blueprint for a European Defensive and Securitisation Policy*. Retrieved from <https://www.cidob.org/>:
https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication_series/project_papers/joint/the_eu_strategic_compass_a_blueprint_for_a_european_defensive_and_securitisation_policy2
- Bargués, P., and Morillas, P. (2021). From democratization to fostering resilience: EU intervention and the challenges of building institutions, social trust, and legitimacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Democratization*, 28(7), 1319-1337.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2021.1900120>
- Bargués, P., and Schmidt, J. (2021). Resilience and the Rise of Speculative Humanitarianism: Thinking Difference through the Syrian Refugee Crisis. *Journal of International Studies*, 49(2), 197–223.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298211031297>
- Bourbeau, P. (2013a). Resilience, Security, and World Politics.
In D. Chandler, and J. Coaffee, *The Routledge Handbook of International Resilience* (pp. 50-65). London: Routledge.
- Bourbeau, P. (2013b). Resiliencism: premises and promises in securitisation research. *Resilience*, 1(1), 3-17.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2013.765738>
- Bourbeau, P. (2015). Resilience and International Politics: Premises, Debates, Agenda. *International Studies Review*, 17(3), 374–395.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/misr.12226>
- Bourbeau, P. (2018a). *On Resilience: Genealogy, Logics, and World Politics* (1st edition ed.). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourbeau, P. (2018b). A Genealogy of Resilience. *International Political Sociology*, 12(1), 19-35.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olx026>
- Buzan, B. (1991a). *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post Cold War Era*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Buzan, B. (1991b). New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century. *International Affairs*, 67(3), 431-451.
- Buzan, B., Waever, O. and De Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Buzan, B., and Hansen, I. (2009). *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press

- Carpenter, S., Walker, B., Anderies, J. and Abel, N. (2001). From Metaphor to Measurement: Resilience of What to What? *Ecosystems*, 765–781.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10021-001-0045-9>
- Carpenter, A. (2014). *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*. London: Springer
- Chandler, D. (2013). “Human-centred” development? Rethinking “freedom” and “agency” in discourses of international development. *Millennium*, 42, 3–23.
doi: [doi:doi.org/10.1177/0305829813492184](https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829813492184)
- Chandler, D. (2014). Beyond neoliberalism: Resilience, the new art of governing complexity. *Resilience International Policies, Practices and Discourses*, 2(1), 47-63.
- Chandler, D. (2020, March 25). *Coronavirus and the End of Resilience*. Retrieved from E-Interantional Relations: <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/03/25/opinion-coronavirus-and-the-end-of-resilience/>
- Chandler, D., and Coaffee, J. (2017). *The Routledge Handbook of International Resilience*. London: Routledge.
- Chandler, D., and Reid, J. (2018). The Neoliberal Subject: Resilience, Adaptation and Vulnerability. *International Journal on World Peace*, 35(1), 89-91.
- Chandler, D., Grevin, K., and Wakefield, S. (Ed.). (2020). *Resilience in the Anthropocene Governance and Politics at the End of the World*. London: Routledge.
- Council of the European Union. (2003, December 08). *European Security Strategy : a secure Europe in a better world*.
Retrieved from Publication of the European Union: <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2860/1402>
- Davoudi, S., Shaw, K., Haider, J. L., Quinlan, A. E., Peterson, G. D., Wilkinson, C., and Porter, L. (2012). Resilience: A Bridging Concept or a Dead End? “Reframing” Resilience: Resilience Assessment of a Pasture Management System in Northern Afghanistan Urban Resilience : What Does it Mean in Planning Practice? Resilience as a Useful Concept for Climate Change. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 13(2) 299-333.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2012.677124>
- de Coning, C. (2016). From peacebuilding to sustaining peace: Implications of complexity for resilience and sustainability. *Resilience*, 4(3), 166-181.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2016.1153773>
- Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs. (2023, October 13). *Common European Asylum System*. Retrieved from <https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/>:
https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system_en
- Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations. (2017, April 04). *Lebanon Compact*. Retrieved from <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/lebanon-compact.pdf>
- Duffield, M. (2012). Challenging environments: Danger, resilience and the aid industry. *Security Dialogue*, 43, 475–492.
doi: [doi:doi.org/10.1177/0967010612457975](https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010612457975)
- Edward, C. (2009). *Resilient Nation*. London: Demos.
Retrieved from https://demos.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Resilient_Nation_-_web-1.pdf
- El-Abed, O. (2014). The Discourse of Guesthood: Forced Migrants in Jordan. In A. H. Fábos, & R. Isotalo, *Managing Muslim Mobilities. Religion and Global Migrations* (pp. 88-100). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137386410_5
- European Commission. (2011, May 25). *Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the Council, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions*. Retrieved from <https://eeas.europa.eu/>:
<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2011:0303:FIN:en:PDF>
- European Commission. (2012a October 3). *The EU approach to resilience. Learning from food security crises*. Retrieved from [ec.europa.eu: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/policies/resilience/com_2012_586_resilience_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/policies/resilience/com_2012_586_resilience_en.pdf)
- European Commission. (2012b, April 11). *Commission Staff Working Document SHARE: Supporting Horn of Africa Resilience*. Retrieved from ec.europa.eu:
[file:///C:/Users/windows/Downloads/comm_native_swd_2012_102_staff_working_paper_en_v3_p1_6912_04_0%20\(2\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/windows/Downloads/comm_native_swd_2012_102_staff_working_paper_en_v3_p1_6912_04_0%20(2).pdf)
- European Commission. (2013a, May 23). *Council conclusions on EU approach to resilience*. Retrieved from relief web: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/council-conclusions-eu-approach-resilience>

- European Commission. (2013b, June 19). *Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries 2013-2020*. Retrieved from europa: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/policies/resilience/com_2013_227_ap_crisis_prone_countries_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2015a, November 18). *Review of the European Neighbourhood Policy*. Retrieved from European Commission: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/219079/ec_eas_joint-communication_review-of-the-enp_18112015_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2015b, July 22). *The European Union in a changing global environment A more connected, contested and complex world*. Retrieved from eucivcap.files.wordpress.com: https://eucivcap.files.wordpress.com/2017/03/20150625-european_union_changing_global_environment-more_connected_contested_complex_world.pdf
- European Commission. (2016a, April 26). *Communication From the Commission to the European Parliament ,the Council,the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Lives in Dignity from aid dependence to self reliance*. Retrieved from ec.europa.eu: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/policies/refugees-idp/Communication_Forced_Displacement_Development_2016.pdf
- European Commission. (2016b, June 5). *Building Resilience: The EU's approach Factsheet*. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/>: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/thematic/EU_building_resilience_en.pdf
- European Commission . (2017a, December 16). *Resilience The 2nd International Workshop on Modelling of Physical, Economic and Social Systems for Resilience Assessment*. Workshop Proceeding Ispra: EU. <https://www.p4arm.org/document/the-2nd-international-workshop-on-modelling-of-physical-economic-and-social-systems-for-resilience-assessment/>
- European Commission . (2017b, July 6). *Joint Communicaition to the European Parliament and the Council* Retrieved from www.eeas.europa.eu: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/join_2017_21_f1_communication_from_commission_to_inst_en_v7_p1_916039.pdf
- European Commission. (2021, April 05). *Jordan Economic Analysis*. Retrieved from ec.europa.eu: https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/international-economic-relations/enlargement-and-neighbouring-countries/neighbouring-countries-eu/neighbourhood-countries/jordan_en#macro-financial-assistance
- European Commission . (2022a, March 8). *Global Europe: Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument*. Retrieved from <https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/>: https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/funding-and-technical-assistance/funding-instruments/global-europe-neighbourhood-development-and-international-cooperation-instrument_en
- European Commission . (2022b, May 18). *Factsheet - Responding to the Syrian Crisis: EU support in Jordan - English*. Retrieved from <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/>: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-05/06052022_factsheet_eu_support_jordan.pdf
- European Commission . (2023a, February 5). *European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations Jordan Factsheet* . Retrieved from <https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/>: https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/where/middle-east/jordan_en
- European Commission . (2023b, June 15). *Syria and the region: International community mobilises €5.6 billion during the 7th Brussels Conference*. Retrieved from <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/>: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/news/syria-and-region-international-community-mobilises-eu56-billion-during-7th-brussels-conference-2023-06-15_en#:~:text=During%20the%207th%20Brussels%20Conference%20on%20'Supporting%20the%20future%20of,bill
- European Commission . (2023c, August 06). *The Recovery and Resilience Facility*. Retrieved from <https://commission.europa.eu/>: https://commission.europa.eu/business-economy-euro/economic-recovery/recovery-and-resilience-facility_en#rrf-supported-projects-in-the-member-states
- Eurostat. (2023, 08 04). *Asylum statistics*.

- Retrieved from eurostat static explained:
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Asylum_statistics&oldid=539013
- EUTF in Response to the Syrian Crisis. (2023, October 10). *Monitoring & Evaluation*. Retrieved from <https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/>:
https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/monitoring-evaluation_en
- Evans, G. (2020, August 31). *Europe's migrant crisis: The year that changed a continent*. Retrieved from [bbc.com: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53925209](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53925209)
- External Monitoring and Evaluation For the European Regional Trust Fund in Respond to the Syrian Crisis. (2021, december 31). *9th Results Report the European Regional Trust Fund in Respond to the Syrian Crisis*. Retrieved from <https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/>: <https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-12/Ninth%20Results%20Reporting%20-%20EUTF%20Syria%20%26%20Region%20-%2008-December%202021.pdf>
- External Monitoring and Evaluation For the European Regional Trust Fund in Respond to the Syrian Crisis. (2022a, December 9). *Jordan country brief EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis*. Retrieved from <https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/>: https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-12/3_10thRR-Autum-Findings-2022-Jordan.pdf
- External Monitoring and Evaluation For the European Regional Trust Fund in Respond to the Syrian Crisis. (2022b, March 31). *Jordan country brief EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis*. Retrieved from <https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/>: https://trustfund-syria-region.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-12/3_10thRR-Autum-Findings-2022-Jordan.pdf
- Evans , B., and Reid, J. (2014). *Resilient Life: The Art of Living Dangerously*. Pristol : Polity Press.
- Fakhoury, T. (2016). Securitising Migration: The European Union in the Context of the Post-2011 Arab Upheavals. *The International Spectator*, 51(4), 67-79.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2016.1245463>
- Fakhoury, T. (2017). Governance Strategies and Refugee Response Lebanon in the Face of Syrian Displacement. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 94(4), 681-700.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743817000654>
- Fakhoury, T. (2019). *The European Union and Arab Refugee Hosting States: Frictional Encounters* . Working Paper No. 01/2019. Vienna: Centre for European Integration Research. Available at <https://eif.univie.ac.at/downloads/workingpapers/wp2019-01.pdf>
- Fakhoury, T. (2020, December 10). *Refugee Governance in Crisis: The Case of the EU-Lebanon Compact*. Retrieved from <https://www.magyc.uliege.be/>:
<https://www.magyc.uliege.be/upload/docs/application/pdf/2021-09/d2.3-v1december2020.pdf>
- Fakhoury, T. (2021a, Novemebr 16). The external dimension of EU migration policy as region-building? Refugee cooperation as contentious politics. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1972568>
- Fakhoury, T. (2021b). Refugee return and fragmented governance in the host state: displaced Syrians in the face of Lebanon's divided politics. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(1), 162-180.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1762485>
- Financial Tracking Services. (2023a, October 5). *Jordan 2022, Country snapshot for 2022*. Retrieved from <https://fts.unocha.org/>: <https://fts.unocha.org/countries/114/summary/2023>
- Financial Tracking Services. (2023b, October 5). *Syrian Arab Republic Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) 2022*. Retrieved from <https://fts.unocha.org/>: <https://fts.unocha.org/appeals/1072/summary>
- Flockhart, T. (2020). Is this the end? Resilience, ontological security, and the crisis of the liberal international order. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 215-240
- Gordon, G. (2017). *Solving the Refugee Employment Problem in Jordan: A Survey of Syrian Refugees*. Amman: International Rescue Committee
Available at <https://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/document/1405/irc-syrianrefugeeemployment-041117.pdf> : 72dpi
- Hall, P. A., and Lamont, M. (2013). *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Handmer, J., and Dovers, S. R. (1996). A Typology of Resilience: Rethinking Institutions for Sustainable Development. *Industrial & Environmental Crisis Quarterly*, 9(4), 482-511. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26162520>

- Holling, C. S. (1973). Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 2-23.
- Huang, C., and Ash, N. (2018, February 05). *Jordan, Lebanon Compacts Should Be Improved, Not Abandoned*. Retrieved from <https://deeply.thenewhumanitarian.org/>: <https://deeply.thenewhumanitarian.org/refugees/community/2018/02/05/jordan-lebanon-compacts-should-be-improved-not-abandoned>
- Huang, C., and Gough, K. (2019, March 12). *The Jordan Compact: Three Years on, Where Do We Stand?* Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/>: <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/jordan-compact-three-years-where-do-we-stand>
- Inter Sector Working Group. (2017). *Jordan Refugee Response: Inter-Agency Coordination Briefing Kit - November 2017*. Amman: UNHCR. Available at : <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107>
- Jordan Chamber of Industry . (2019). *EU-Jordan Relaxed Rules of Origin The Initiative's Potential to Attracted Investment for Employment*. Amman: Jordan Chamber of Industry and International Labour of Organization. Retrieved from <https://jci.org.jo/investment/img/investen1.pdf>
- Jordan kam Portal. (2016, February 25). *National Resilience Plan 2014-2016*. Retrieved from jordankmportal.com: <https://jordankmportal.com/resources/national-resilience-plan-2014-2016>
- Joseph, J. (2013a). Resilience as embedded neoliberalism: A governmentality approach . *Resilience:International Policies, Practices and Discourses*, 1(1), 38-52
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2013.765741>
- Joseph, J. (2013b). Resilience in UK and French Security Strategy: An Anglo-Saxon Bias? *Politics*, 33(4), 253-264.
- Joseph, J. (2016). Governing through failure and denial: the new resilience agenda. *Millennium – journal of international studies*, 44(3), 370–390.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829816638166>
- Joseph, J. (2019). *Varieties of Resilience: Studies in Governmentality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph, J., and Juncos, A. E. (2019). Resilience as an Emergent European Project? The EU's Place in the Resilience Turn. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57(5), 995-1011. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12881>
- Joseph, J., and Juncos, A. E. (2020). A promise not fulfilled: The (non)implementation of the resilience turn in EU peacebuilding. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 41(2), 287–310.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1703082>
- Juncos, A. E. (2016, October 24). Resilience as the new EU foreign policy paradigm: a pragmatist turn? *European Security*, 26(1), 1-18.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2016.1247809>
- Juncos, A. E. (2018). Resilience in peacebuilding: Contesting uncertainty, ambiguity, and complexity. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 39(4), 559–574.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2018.1491742>
- Korosteleva, E. A. (2020). Reclaiming resilience back: A local turn in EU external governance. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 41(2), 241-262.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1685316>
- Korosteleva , E. A., and Flockhart, T. (2020). Resilience in EU and international institutions:Redefining local ownership in a new global governance agenda. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 41(2), 153-175.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2020.1723973>
- Lenner, K. (2020, May 23). Biting Our tongues”: Policy Legacies and Memories in the Making of the Syrian Refugee Response in Jordan. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 39(3), pp. 273–298.
- Lenner, K., and Turner, L. (2018, February 5). *Learning from the Jordan Compact*. Available at: <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/66886>
- Lenner, K., and Turner, L. (2019). Making Refugees Work? The Politics of Integrating Syrian Refugees into the Labor Market in Jordan. *Middle East Critique*, 28(1), 65-95
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2018.1462601>
- Manners, I. (2002). Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(2), 235-58. Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-5965.00353>
<https://www.jordannews.jo/Section-36/Opinion/Gaining-from-free-trade-24862>
- McAslan, A. (2010). *The concept of resilience: understanding its origins, meanings, and utility*. Working Paper . Adelaide: Torrens Resilience Institute. Available at :

- <https://www.flinders.edu.au/content/dam/documents/research/torrens-resilience-institute/resilience-origins-and-utility.pdf>
- McDonald, M. (2012). *Security, the Environment and Emancipation: Contestation over Environmental Change*. London: Routledge
- MoPIC . (2015, March 5). *Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis Executive Summary 2015*. Retrieved from <https://www.unocha.org/>: <https://www.unocha.org/>
- MoPIC . (2019, April 06). *Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis 2020-2022*. Retrieved from <http://www.jrp.gov.jo/>: <http://www.jrp.gov.jo/Files/JRP%202020-2022%20web.pdf>
- MoPIC. (2022, December 31). *Funding Status for Jordan Response Plan 2022*. Retrieved from <http://www.jrp.gov.jo/>: <http://www.jrp.gov.jo/Files/24-01-2023.pdf>
- MoPIC. (2023, March 27). *Jordan Response Plan*. Retrieved from <https://faolex.fao.org/>: <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/jor203286E.pdf>
- Oliveira, V. (2020, July 28). *The Copenhagen School and the Securitization Theory*. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/>: <https://medium.com/@victoroliver/the-copenhagen-school-and-the-securitization-theory-2d0588a8c6f5>
- O'Malley, P. (2010). Resilient subjects: Uncertainty, warfare and liberalism. *Economy and Society*, 39(4), 488-509. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2010.510681>
- Operational Data Portal Refugee Situation. (2020, June 23). *Jordan Response Plan 2020-2022 / Funding status*. Retrieved from unhcr: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/77263>
- Operational Data Portal Refugee Situations. (2023a, January 18). *Jordan: Economic Inclusion of Syrian Refugees (January 2023)*. Retrieved from unhcr.org: <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/jordan-economic-inclusion-syrian-refugees-january-2023>
- Operational Data Portal Refugee Situation . (2023b, Septemebr 30). *External Statistical Report on UNHCR Registered Refugees and Asylum-Seekers Jordan as of 30 September 2023*. Retrieved from <https://data2.unhcr.org/>: <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/103965>
- Osisanya, S. (2020, December 25). *National Security versus Global Security*. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/>: <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/national-security-versus-global-security>
- Pew Research Center . (2016, August 2). *Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015*. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/>: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/>
- Press and information team of the Delegation to Jordan. (2023, october 1). *The European Union and Jordan*. Retrieved from Delegation of the European Union to Jordan: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/jordan/european-union-and-jordan_en?s=201
- REAL. (2002). *Resilience Measurement Practical Guidance Note Series* . Washignton: USAID. Available at https://www.fsnnetwork.org/sites/default/files/GN_Overview_Final_0.pdf
- Salem, H; Morrice, Linda (2019). A review of social cohesion initiatives and challenges with a focus on Jordan and education. University of Sussex.
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schmidt, J. (2014). Intuitively neoliberal? Towards a critical understanding of resilience governance. *European Journal of International Relations*, 21(2), 402-426. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066114537533>
- Schumacher, T. (2017, July 7). *The 2015 Review Process of the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy*. Retrieved from www.iemed.org: <https://www.iemed.org/publication/the-2015-review-process-of-the-eus-european-neighbourhood-policy/>
- Scipioni, M. (2017). Failing forward in EU migration policy? EU integration after the 2015 asylum and migration crisis. 25(9), 1357-1375. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1325920>
- Seeberg, P. (2009). The EU as a realist actor in normative clothes: EU democracy promotion. *Democratization*, 16(1), 81-99. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340802575858>
- Seeberg, P. (2020). Syrian refugees in Jordan and their integration in the labour market: Jordanian migration diplomacy and EU incentives. *Mediterranean Politics*, 157-170. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2020.1758452>

- Stollenwerk, E. (2021). Preventing governance breakdown in the EU's southern neighbourhood: fostering resilience to strengthen security perceptions. *Democratization*, 28(7), 1280-1301. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2021.1928079>
- The European Union External Action Service . (2016, June 28). *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy*. Retrieved from [eeas.europa.eu: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eugs_review_web_0.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eugs_review_web_0.pdf)
- Tocci, N. (2017). *Framing the EU Global Strategy A Stronger Europe in a Fragile World*. Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan .
- Tocci, N. (2020). Resilience and the role of the European Union in the world. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 41(2), 176-194. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1640342>
- Turner, L. (2015). Explaining the (Non-)Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan. *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 386-404 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2015.1078125>
- UNHCR. (2022b, July 09). *Education Jordan January-June 2022*. Retrieved from reliefweb: <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/jordan-education-dashboard-january-june-2022>
- UNHCR. (2022c, September 30). *Syria Regional Refugee Response Durable Solutions*. Retrieved from Operational Data Portal: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria_durable_solutions
- UNHCR. (2023a, October 13). *Refugee Statistics*. Retrieved from <https://www.unrefugees.org/>: <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/statistics/#:~:text=Turkey%20continues%20to%20be%20the,percent%20of%20all%20refugees%20globally>
- UNHCR. (2023b). *Socio Economic Situation for Refugees in Jordan*. New York: UNHCR.
- UNHCR. (2023c, October 5). *Total Persons of Concern by Country of Asylum*. Retrieved from data2.unhcr.org: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>
- UNICEF. (2022, March 1). *Syrian Refugees*. Retrieved from <https://www.unicef.org/>: <https://www.unicef.org/media/118541/file/2022-HAC-Syrian-refugees-revised-March.pdf>
- UN Sustainable Development Group . (2015, May 26). *From crisis to resilience in Jordan* . Retrieved from <https://unsdg.un.org/>: <https://unsdg.un.org/latest/blog/crisis-resilience-jordan>
- Waeber, O. (2011). Politics, security, theory. *Security Dialogue*, 42(4-5). doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010611418718>
- Walker , J., and Cooper, M. (2011). Genealogies of resilience: From systems ecology to the political economy of crisis adaptation. *SAGE Journal*, 143–160.
- Walklate, S. and McGarry, R. and Mythen , G. (2014). Searching for Resilience: A Conceptual Excavation. *Armed Forces and Society*, 40(3), 408-427. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X12465419>
- Young, O. R. (2010). Institutional dynamics: Resilience, vulnerability and adaptation in environmental and resource regimes. *Global Environmental Change*, 20(3), 378-385
- Youngs, R. (2018). *Europe reset. New directions for the EU*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Zilber, T. B. (2017). The Evolving Role of Meaning in Theorizing Institutions. In R., Greenwood, C., Oliver, T., Lawrence, and R. Meyer. *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (pp. 418-450). London: SAGE . doi: <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041916-021108>

5. List of own publications related to the topic

Aleassa, L. (2020a).EU-Jordan Partnership: Fostering Resilience in the aftermath of the 2015 European Neighborhood Policy Review. *International Conference on Social Science, Humanities and Education* (eds.) Proceedings of The 4th International Conference on Social Science, Humanities and Education, Conference: Berlin, Germany 15.12.2020. - 17.12.2020. Diamond Scientific Publishing: Vilnius (16-34).

Aleassa, L., (2020b).Fostering Resilience in the Aftermath of the 2015 European Neighborhood Policy Review: Evidence from Jordan. In NORDSCI (ed.) *NORDSCI International Conference: Business and Management Law Political Science*. Conference proceedings, Conference: Sofia, Sofia, Bulgaria 12.10.2020 - 14.10.2020. Saima Consult Ltd: Sofia (129-150).

ISBN: [9786197495140](#)

Aleassa, L. (2020c). Building Resilience as a Security Strategy for Donors and Hosts: The Case of the EU and Jordan concerning the Syrian Refugees. In Z., Szerényi, K., Erzsébet AND I., Benczes (eds.)*Contemporary global challenges in geopolitics, security policy and world economy*, (136-169).Corvinus University of Budapest, International Relations Multidisciplinary Doctoral School, Budapest.

Aleassa, L. (2021).The Dilemma of Resilience, as a Security Strategy, for the Donors and the Hosts in Response for the Syrian Crisis: in the Case of the European Union and Jordan. In NORDSCI (ed.) *NORDSCI International Conference: Business and Management Economics and Tourism Finance Law Political Science*. Conference proceedings. София: Saima Consult Ltd, Sofia: (327-348).

DOI: ISBN: [9786197495249](#)

Aleassa, L. (2022).The EU's Regional Refugees Approach: A Promising, yet, Contesting Approach. In R., Kiss (ed.) *Critical Rethinking of Public Administration: Book of Abstracts*. Association of Hungarian PHD and DLA Students, Budapest, (24).

Aleassa, L. (2023). The Dilemma of Resilience for the Donors and the Hosts in Response for the Syrian Refugee Crisis: Evidence from Jordan and the European Union. *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences*, 50 (5), 532-549.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35516/hum.v50i5.540>