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IRREGULAR MIGRATION IN JORDAN, 1995-2007

Fathi Arouri

CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2008/71

Irregular Migration Series

Demographic and Economic Module

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Euro-Mediterranean Consortium
for Applied Research on International Migration

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This publication is part of a series of papers on the theme of Irregular Migration written in the framework of the CARIM project and presented at a meeting organised by CARIM in Florence: "Irregular Migration into and through Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries" (6 - 8 July 2008).

These papers will also be discussed in another meeting between Policy Makers and Experts on the same topic (25 - 27 January 2009). The results of these discussions will be published separately. The entire set of papers on Irregular Migration are available at the following address: <http://www.carim.org/ql/IrregularMigration>.

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CARIM

The Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) was created in February 2004 and has been financed by the European Commission. Until January 2007, it referred to part C - “*cooperation related to the social integration of immigrants issue, migration and free circulation of persons*” of the MEDA programme, i.e. the main financial instrument of the European Union to establish the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Since February 2007, CARIM has been funded as part of the AENEAS programme for technical and financial assistance to third countries in the areas of migration and asylum. The latter programme establishes a link between the external objectives of the European Union’s migration policy and its development policy. AENEAS aims at providing third countries with the assistance necessary to achieve, at different levels, a better management of migrant flows.

Within this framework, CARIM aims, in an academic perspective, to observe, analyse, and predict migration in the North African and the Eastern Mediterranean Region (hereafter Region).

CARIM is composed of a coordinating unit established at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) of the European University Institute (EUI, Florence), and a network of scientific correspondents based in the 12 countries observed by CARIM: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and, since February 2007, also Libya and Mauritania. All are studied as origin, transit and immigration countries. External experts from the European Union and countries of the Region also contribute to CARIM activities.

The CARIM carries out the following activities:

- Mediterranean migration database;
- Research and publications;
- Meetings of academics;
- Meetings between experts and policy makers;
- Early warning system.

The activities of CARIM cover three aspects of international migration in the Region: economic and demographic, legal, and socio-political.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: www.carim.org

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Abstract

This paper tackles the question of irregular migration in Jordan through its four main aspects. The first concerns irregular labour migrants and has been approached by using figures showing the socio-economic profile of non Jordanians working in Jordan and, additionally, unemployment in Jordan. This is done by assuming close similarities between legal and irregular labour migrants. The second is an attempt to estimate the stocks and describe the characteristics of irregular migrants in Jordan through data collected from arrival and departure statistics. The author focused on the nationalities of persons involved from 1995 to 2007.

The third part of the paper is dedicated to refugees in Jordan. Two main groups have been singled out: the Palestinians (from 1948) as an older refugee group and the refugees from Iraq (from 1990) as a more recent one. Their numbers, geographic distribution and main demographic and other characteristics have been described. In the fourth part, the paper brings out some aspects related to transit migration before closing with conclusions and recommendations.

Although the paper points to the unavailability of reliable data on irregular migration in Jordan, it makes use of a whole range of indirect estimations, all available from the Department of Statistics (DOS) and the Ministry of Labour (MOL) and from arrival and departure statistics and associated surveys. The 2004 population census data gives an idea about the non-Jordanians in Jordan broken down according to nationality and reason and duration of stay in Jordan. The MOL data provides statistics about non-Jordanians holding work permits broken down by nationality, educational levels, occupational levels, marital status, place of residence and monthly earnings. For refugees, data was extracted from UNRWA statistics and Fafo survey (2007) on Iraqis in Jordan.

Résumé

Ce papier traite de la migration irrégulière en Jordanie à travers ses quatre aspects principaux. En premier lieu, le profil démographique et socioéconomique des travailleurs migrants irréguliers a été présenté sous l'hypothèse d'une ressemblance avec le groupe, plus connus, des non jordaniens travaillant en Jordanie.

En deuxième lieu, l'auteur, dans une tentative d'estimer les stocks de migrants irréguliers en Jordanie, fait usage des données sur les entrées et sorties de migrants franchissant les frontières et issus de diverses nationalités et ce pendant la période 1995-2007.

La troisième partie du papier est dédiée aux réfugiés en Jordanie. Deux groupes distincts ont été largement décrits. Il s'agit des Palestiniens, comme le groupe le plus ancien (depuis 1948) et des Irakiens arrivant en Jordanie depuis le début des années 1990. Leurs effectifs, répartition spatiale et principales caractéristiques démographiques ont été décrits. En quatrième lieu, le papier mentionne brièvement quelques aspects liés à la migration de transit avant de déboucher sur des conclusions et recommandations.

Même si le papier fait état d'un manque crucial de données fiables sur la migration irrégulière en Jordanie, il a tiré profit d'un ensemble de données estimant indirectement ce phénomène. Les sources sont le Département de la Statistique (DOS), le Ministère de l'Emploi (MOL) et les enregistrements et l'enquête sur les entrées et sorties du territoire. On cite également le recensement de 2004 qui donne une idée sur les non Jordaniens en Jordanie, leur nationalité, raison et durée de séjour.

Les données du MOL informent sur les non Jordaniens disposant d'un permis du travail par nationalité, niveau d'éducation, activité et emploi, statut matrimonial, lieu de résidence et revenu mensuel. Concernant les réfugiés, deux sources de données principales ont été consultées : les rapports et base de données de l'UNRWA et l'enquête du Fafo sur les réfugiés Irakiens en Jordanie, réalisée en 2007.

Introduction

Since the early 1970s Jordan, as a part of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean (SEM) region, has witnessed a pattern of unstable and often irregular migration. In addition to a large number of Palestinian refugees from the 1948 and 1967 Arab Israeli Wars, a large number of workers, from Arab and non-Arab countries, mainly since early 1970s, came to work in Jordan, some of them without work permits.

During the Lebanese conflict of 1975, a number of Lebanese migrants came to Jordan as refugees or looking for work. Due to the Iran-Iraq war, a small number of Iraqis sought refuge in Jordan.

In the aftermath of the First Gulf war in 1990, many Jordanians left Kuwait, Iraq and the Gulf States and returned to Jordan. At the same time many Arabs, mainly Egyptians, and non-Arab nationals left Kuwait and Iraq to reach their own countries via Jordan. In the aftermath of the second Gulf War in the year 2003, hundred of thousands of Iraqis fled their country and sought refuge in Jordan.

As we can see, three types of irregular migration in Jordan may be distinguished:

- i) Irregular labour migration,
- ii) Refugee migration,
- iii) Transit Migration.

Irregular labour migration

Irregular labour migration includes those who are either irregular by entrance, by stay or by employment, while some may be irregular in two or even in three respects. It is clear that a number of these migrants were admitted as foreign workers on a legal basis: but these subsequently became irregular because of changing labour legislation or because they overstayed their residence permits. It is noteworthy that many Arab nationals can enter the Kingdom without entrance permits or visas: Egyptians, Syrians, and until very recently, Iraqis.

In general, while irregular labour migrants respond to opportunities offered by the labour market of the countries where they find themselves, they do not respond to a formal demand for labour and they do not fulfil all the legal conditions of entry, stay and employment, and therefore may be considered as “undesirables” by the relevant government.

Refugee Migration

Refugees in Jordan are the most common type of irregular migrants. They originate mainly from Palestine (from Palestine since 1948, from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since 1967) and from Iraq.

The influx of Iraqi refugees to Jordan is the largest recent population flow and the one where accurate statistics are most difficult to come by.

Transit Migrants

Transit migration refers to those migrants who, while heading for regions further away, become trapped far from home because they do not meet visa conditions. This type of migration has been common in Jordan since the early 1970s. For example, many Egyptians came to work in Jordan en route to finding a job in Iraq or in the Gulf countries. Similarly, many Iraqi refugees plan to leave Jordan once they have a visa from the USA or from a European Country.

Irregular migration is a new phenomenon in Jordan. As far as we know, there is no specific data or research in Jordan concerning irregular migration as such.

This paper makes an attempt to study irregular migration in Jordan by using data available from the 1994 and 2004 Population and Housing Censuses, arrival and departure statistics, including Arrival and Departure Surveys for Tourism Purposes 1998 and 2007, Ministry of Labour statistics, UNRWA statistics, and the 2007 Fafu survey of Iraqis in Jordan. We have given the study the following headings:

- i) Irregular labour migrants,
- ii) Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan,
- iii) Refugees,
- iv) Transit migrants,
- v) Conclusions and Recommendations.

1. Irregular Labour Migration in Jordan

1.1. Introduction

As we have already noted there is no reliable data about irregular labour migration in Jordan for the period covered by our study; therefore, we will make use of all indirect data available from the Department of Statistics (DOS), and the Ministry of Labour (MOL). In general, arrival and departure statistics for Jordan, broken down by nationality for the period of study, can give us an overview of population movements from 1995 to 2007. The 2004 population census data gives an idea about non-Jordanians in Jordan revealing nationality and reason and duration of stay. The MOL data provides us with statistics about non-Jordanians holding work permits including nationality, educational levels, occupational levels, marital status, place of residence and monthly earnings.

This section discusses irregular labour migration in Jordan under two main headings :

- i) Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan.
- ii) Unemployment in Jordan.

1.2. Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan

Before the announcement of the results of the 2004 Population and Housing Census, the only figure available for non-Jordanians working in Jordan were those of non-Jordanian workers holding work permits, published regularly by the Ministry of Labour (see Table 1). The number of non-Jordanians holding work permits increased from only 4,000 in the year 1976 to 37,600 in the year 1990, to 110,600 in the year 2000, to 314,000 in the year 2007. We can see then that the number of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan fluctuated, sometimes sharply, from one year to the next.

Although some of these fluctuations are the result of the political situation in the region and the economic situation in Jordan, we suspect that the fluctuations are really about the Ministry of Labour's changing policies. In fact, we generally witness sharp increases in the number of work permits when the MOL adopts a strict policy towards Non-Jordanian workers in the Jordanian labour market.

Similarly, we notice a sharp decline in the number of work permits in the years when the MOL adopted an easy policy towards non-Jordanian workers in the Jordanian labour market. This trend seems very clear in the years 1992, 1995, 1999, 2001 and since 2003. In addition, the MOL has recently adopted a new policy toward the non-Jordanian Labour force in Jordan, especially toward

Egyptians. The Ministry has asked that anyone who is willing to come to work in Jordan should, as a prerequisite, obtain a work permit for this purpose.

The 2004 Population Census results show that the labour force in Jordan in the year 2004 was 1,454,074 persons (1,262,765 Jordanians and 191,307 non-Jordanians). The last number is, however, much smaller than the number provided by the MOL for the same year, which was 218,800. This means that there are differences between census data about non-Jordanians living and working in Jordan and the MOL data on non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan.

This is mainly due to the fact that some of non-Jordanians living in Jordan, particularly Palestinians from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank who have lived in Jordan since 1967, do not need to have a work permit to work in Jordan, while some non-Jordanians work in the Kingdom without work permits. This means that there is irregular labour migration in Jordan.

As we mentioned earlier, we can see that irregular migration is, above all, a legal matter. And, in the case of Jordan, where data about irregular migration is so scarce, it is useful to study regular migration in order to understand some of the main characteristics of irregular migrants. This paper makes use of MOL statistics to study regular labour migration in Jordan, its size and main characteristics.

It is worth mentioning that the Ministry of Labour is the only institution responsible for organizing the labour market in Jordan. Therefore, this source of data represents one of the most important for the Jordanian labour market.

From the previous discussion we come to the following conclusions:

- There are many non-Jordanians who are working in Jordan without work permits. We have then an illegal labour force, or irregular labour migrants. And though their number is not that clear, there are certainly tens of thousands: a predictable number in the case of labour market in Jordan.
- The author, as the MOL officials, suspects that the number of work permits since 2004 is, given the new MOL regulations and the expiation of Syrians and Iraqis in Jordan, very close to the actual number of Non-Jordanians working in Jordan (see Table 1).

Table 1. Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits in Jordan, 1983-2007 (000)

Year	Number of Work permits	Increase in Number of Work permits %	Year	Number of Work permits	Increase in Number of Work permits %
1983	58.4	-	1996	43.0	-51.3
1984	153.5	+95.1	1997	116.5	73.7
1985	101.5	-52.0	1998	114.0	-2.5
1986	97.9	-3.6	1999	154.2	40.2
1987	79.8	-18.1	2000	110.6	-43.6
1988	63.0	-16.8	2001	136.6	26.0
1989	47.6	-15.4	2002	127.1	-9.5
1990	37.6	-10.0	2003	148.4	21.3
1991	30.1	-7.5	2004	218.8	70.4
1992	96.4	66.3	2005	260.4	41.6
1993	53.0	-43.4	2006	289.7	29.3
1994	42.3	-10.7	2007	314.0	24.3
1995	94.3	52.0			

Source: Ministry of Labour (MOL), Annual Report, Several Years, MOL, Amman-Jordan

Although nationals from many Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria and, until very recently, Iraq can enter Jordan without a visa, they need permits to work. We know that all non-Jordanians in Jordan are supposed to enter the country legally for security reasons. But some of them, as we mentioned above, work in Jordan without work permits.

Unfortunately, very little information, if any, is available about how many there are and their characteristics. But we can make educated guesses about their numbers, educational level, economic sector, where they are working, etc. In order to do so, we discuss in this section the main characteristics of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan, for in general, we can, with slight differences, accept that irregular labour migrants in Jordan have the same characteristics as regular labour migrants.

1.2.1. Non-Jordanians Holding work permits and working in Jordan by Age, Gender and Marital Status

In table 2, we see that the majority of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan are males: they represent 81.5% in the year 2006. There is no data available about non-Jordanians holding work permits in Jordan by age, but the results from the 2004 population and housing census shows that 64.2% of the non-Jordanians that are economically active in Jordan are in the 20-39 age group, and only 5.2% of them are in the 50 years+ age group.

Although this data represents only non-Jordanians economically active in Jordan, it is not far from the age distribution of non-Jordanians holding work permits in Jordan, see Table 3

Table 2. Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits in Jordan by Gender 1983-2006 (000)

Year	Males	Females	Total	Year	Males	Females	Total
1983	51.9	6.6	58.4	1996	36.5	6.5	43.0
1984	143.8	9.7	153.5	1997	111.4	5.1	116.5
1985	91.4	10.0	101.5	1998	108.3	5.7	114.0
1986	86.1	11.8	97.9	1999	147.6	6.6	154.2
1987	68.0	11.8	79.8	2000	101.9	8.6	110.6
1988	52.8	10.3	63.0	2001	136.6
1989	39.6	8.0	47.6	2002	112.6	14.6	127.1
1990	30.7	6.9	37.6	2003	123.2	25.1	148.4
1991	24.0	6.1	30.1	2004	185.0	33.8	218.8
1992	88.8	7.7	96.4	2005	228.6	31.7	260.4
1993	44.8	8.2	53.0	2006	244.9	44.8	289.7
1994	35.3	7.0	42.3	2007	265.9	48.0	314.0
1995	88.1	6.3	94.3				

Source: Ministry of Labour (MOL), Annual Report, Several Years

Table 3. Distribution of Non-Jordanians Living in Jordan 15+ Years of Age Economically Active by Age and Gender from the 2004 Population and Housing Census in Jordan

Age \ Sex	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
15-19	7889	5.5	2695	5.7	10584	5.5
20-24	24200	16.8	15152	32.2	39352	20.6
25-29	33415	23.2	11970	25.4	45385	23.7
30-34	29213	20.3	8915	18.9	38128	19.9
35-39	19896	13.8	4117	8.7	24013	12.6
40-44	13152	9.1	1871	4.0	15023	7.9
45-49	7135	4.9	927	2.0	8062	4.2
50-54	4450	3.1	496	1.1	4946	2.6
55-59	2560	1.8	242	0.5	2802	1.5
60-64	1200	0.8	104	0.2	1304	0.7
65&+	653	0.5	80	0.2	742	0.4
Total	144239	100.0	47068	100.0	191307	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics (DOS), 2004 Population and Housing Census, 2006, Amman – Jordan

In Table 4 we see that the majority of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan in 2006 were single 93.9% (93.1% male, 98.3% female) and only 6.0% of them were married: 6.9% male and 1.6% female.

Table 4. Distribution (%) of Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits by Gender and Marital Status in Jordan in the Year 2006

Marital Status\Sex	Males %	Females %	Total %
Single	93.1	98.3	93.9
Married	6.9	1.6	6.0
Divorced	0.0	0.0	0.0
Widow	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman – Jordan

As almost all the irregular labour force enters Jordan legally, we can argue that the irregular labour force in Jordan was, mainly, part of the regular labour migrant force in previous years and, therefore, we might reasonably suppose that the irregular labour force in Jordan is particularly made up of young single males.

1.2.2. Non-Jordanians Holding Work Permits by Nationality and Gender

In Table 5 we see that the majority of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan are Egyptians, at 69.6%, followed by nationals from non-Arab Asian countries at 27.9%. We also see that

the majority of males were Egyptians at 82.2%, against 15.1% for migrants from non-Arab Asian countries. It is clear then that the overwhelming majority of female migrants, 97.5%, were from these non-Arab Asian countries. This means that the Jordanian labour market is attractive for a male labour force from neighbouring Arab countries and for a female labour force from non-Arab Asian countries.

Table 5. Distribution of Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits by Gender and Nationality in Jordan in the Year 2006

Country or area of Nationality\Sex	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Egypt	201381	82.2	210	0.5	201591	69.6
Syria	3023	1.2	75	0.2	3098	1.1
Iraq	1492	0.6	153	0.3	1645	0.6
Other Arab Countries	1179	0.5	449	1.0	1628	0.6
Pakistan	1550	0.6	145	0.3	1695	0.6
India	4957	2.0	174	0.3	5131	1.8
Philippine	1849	0.8	10905	24.4	12754	4.4
Sri Lanka	7994	3.3	9685	21.6	17679	6.1
Other Asian non-Arab Countries	20848	8.5	22762	50.8	43610	15.1
European Countries	452	0.2	136	0.3	588	0.2
USA	126	0.1	24	0.0	150	0.1
African non-Arab Countries	28	0.0	45	0.0	73	0.0
Other Countries	64	0.0	18	0.0	82	0.0
Total	244943	100.0	44781	100.0	289724	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman - Jordan

It is worth noting that many Egyptians are working without work permits, and the MOL's efforts are mainly directed at solving this problem.

1.2.3. Non-Jordanians Holding Work Permits by Gender and Educational Level

Table 6 indicates that the educational level of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan is low. 84.1% of them (82.5% males, 92.9% females), in the year 2006, were illiterate, 87.4% of them (85.4% males, 98.6% females) had never finished secondary school. It is worth noting that 11.4% of them had an Intermediate Diploma (13.4% males, 0.9% females). Only 0.8% of them (0.9% males, 0.4% females) had a Bachelor degree or better. This means that only a small part of the non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan are well educated, while the majority of them are poorly educated and work in manual jobs in agriculture, construction and the services sectors.

Table 6. Distribution of Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits by Gender and Educational Level in Jordan in the Year 2006

Educational Level	Male %	Females %	Total %
Illiterate	82.5	92.9	84.1
Read and Write	1.8	5.3	2.4
Elementary	0.7	0.2	0.6
Preparatory	0.3	0.2	0.3
Vocational Apprenticeship	0.1	0.0	0.0
Secondary	0.3	0.2	0.3
Intermediate Diploma	13.4	0.9	11.4
Bachelor	0.7	0.2	0.6
High Diploma	0.0	0.0	0.0
Master	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ph.D.	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman –Jordan

It can be argued that educational level is one of the main factors which affects the decision of the labour migrant to ignore the migration laws and work without having a work permit. And we suspect that the majority of irregular labour migrants have only a low educational level.

1.2.4. Non-Jordanians Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan by Gender and Economic Activity

On table 7, we can see that the majority of non-Jordanian males are working in the agriculture sector (27.8%), the manufacturing sector (25.2%), the construction sector (18.1%), the wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels (13.9%) and personal and social services (11.4%). The majority of non-Jordanian female workers (79.7%) are working, instead, in the personal and social services sector. 18.1% of the non-Jordanian female workers were working in the manufacturing sector in 2006. This data is a reflection of the educational level of non-Jordanians working in Jordan, where the jobs in these sectors do not need a highly-educated or a highly-qualified labour force, especially for females, and where the majority work as house helps in the personal services sector.

Table 7. Distribution of Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits by Gender and Economic Activity in Jordan in the Year 2006

Economic Activity	Males %	Females %	Total %
Agriculture and Hunting	27.8	0.3	23.6
Mining and Quarrying	1.2	0.0	1.0
Manufacturing	25.2	18.1	24.1
Electricity, Gas and Water	0.1	0.0	0.1
Construction	18.1	0.1	15.3
Wholesale and Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels	13.9	1.1	12.0
Transportation, Storage and Communications	0.8	0.1	0.7
Finance and Real Estate	1.5	0.5	1.3
Personal and Social Services	11.4	79.7	22.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman – Jordan

1.2.5. Non-Jordanians Holding Work Permits Working in Jordan by Gender and Vocational Classification

Table 8 reveals that 29.1% of male non-Jordanian workers work as agricultural workers and 19.9% of them as construction workers, while 78.4% of non-Jordanians female workers work as house service workers. These figures are consistent with the previous figures on educational levels in Table 6.

Table 8. Distribution of Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits by Gender and Vocational Classification in Jordan in the Year 2006

Vocational Classification	Males %	Females %	Total %
Agriculture Workers	29.1	0.4	24.6
Construction Workers	19.9	0.0	16.8
Cleaning Workers	0.6	0.2	5.1
Loading and Unloading Workers	8.4	0.0	7.1
House Service	2.5	78.4	14.2
Others	31.6	20.9	29.9
Bakery	2.5	0.0	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman – Jordan

From the little data available we see that many in the irregular labour force in Jordan are working in Agriculture, Construction and the wholesale and retail sectors.

1.2.6. Non-Jordanians Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan by Job Categories and Gender

Due to the low educational levels of non-Jordanians working in Jordan, the majority work in low job categories. On one hand, 53.6% of male workers are unskilled and production workers, 29.1% are agriculture workers, 15.2% are service workers and only 1.1% of them are professional and technicians. On the other hand, non-Jordanian female workers are concentrated in the personal service sector, where 79.9% of them are service workers. And, as in the case of males, a reasonable proportion of non-Jordanian female workers are production workers and only 0.9% of them are professionals and technicians (see Table 9).

Table 9. Distribution of Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits by Gender and Job Categories in Jordan in the Year 2006

Job Categories	Males %	Females %	Total %
Professionals and Technicians	1.1	0.9	1.1
Seniors and Management Workers	0.5	0.2	0.4
Clerks	0.0	0.1	0.1
Sales Workers	0.4	0.0	0.3
Service Workers	15.2	79.9	25.2
Agricultural Workers	29.1	0.4	24.6
Un-skilled and Production Workers	53.6	18.4	48.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman – Jordan

1.2.7. Non-Jordanians Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan by Monthly Earning

Due to the characteristics of non-Jordanian workers in Jordan, it is expected that most work in low-earning jobs. From Table 10 we notice that 40.9% of non-Jordanian workers are earning less than 100 Jordanian Dinar (JD) per month (JD=1.4\$), 57.7% with monthly earning of between 100 and 200 JD a month and only 1.0% with 300 JD or more. This means that, though wages in Jordan are relatively low compared with wages in the Arab Gulf countries, non-Jordanians working in Jordan, are working in low paid jobs and in low paid sectors with low monthly earning, especially when compared to Jordanian nationals (see Table 10).

Table 10. Jordanians and Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits and working in Jordan by Monthly Earning (JD) in the Year 2006 (JD=1.4 \$)

Monthly Earning (JD)	Jordanians, %	Non-Jordanians, %
Less than 100	8.0	40.9
100-199	48.2	57.7
200-299	29.0	0.4
300 & +	14.7	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman – Jordan. Department of Statistics, Employment and Unemployment Survey, First Round, April 2006, Amman – Jordan

1.2.8. Non-Jordanians Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan by Governorate

From Table 11, we learn that the majority of non-Jordanians (73.7%) working in Jordan are in the medial region of the country, 51.7% of them in the Amman governorate. This is to be expected as this area is, economically and demographically, the most important in the country. The second area is the northern part of the country, 18%, with 11.5% of them in the Irbid governorate. Although, the southern region of the country is a very important region in Jordan, economically – the port of Aqaba, the only port in the country, is situated there – only 8.2% of the non-Jordanian workers are in the southern governorates and only 0.8% of them are in the Aqaba governorate.

Table 11. Distribution of Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits by Governorate in Jordan in the Year 2006

Governorate	%
Amman	51.7
Madaba	2.2
Irbid	11.5
Jerash	1.4
Ajloun	0.6
Balqa	10.6
Karak	4.1
Ma'an	2.7
Zarka	9.2
Mafraq	4.5
Tafela	0.6
Aqaba	0.8
Total	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 2006, Amman –Jordan

From the previous discussion and our contention that irregular migrants have similar characteristics to regular migrants we can conclude that the majority of irregular migrants, are low paid, young, single males with low educational and occupational levels working mainly in agriculture, construction and the service sectors, mainly in the medial part of the country.

1.3. Unemployment in Jordan

Jordan has, since its establishment, adopted an open door policy towards migration from Jordan, in order to ease unemployment and to increase workers' remittances, which were and still are one of the most important sources of foreign currency in Jordan.

Already in the early 1970s Jordan had become one of the first sending and receiving labour force countries in the region. Jordan's government also adopted an open-door policy towards international labour force migration to Jordan, in order to satisfy shortages in the labour market, especially in some sectors such as agricultural and construction where an unskilled and semi-skilled labour force was needed. This happened because of the high demand for Jordanian labour in the Gulf States from the early 1970s to the early 1980s.

Unemployment rates in Jordan started to increase sharply in the late 1980s, especially for females. All data available refers to the fact that, while the unemployment rate in Jordan was increasing, the number of non-Jordanians working in Jordan was increasing, which seems unreasonable (see Table 12).

To find a solution to the increasing number of unemployed Jordanians, one of the suggested policies was to control the Jordanian market by putting constraints on non-Jordanians working in Jordan and by adopting a replacement policy, which means replacing non-Jordanians working in Jordan with unemployed Jordanians.

This policy of labour substitution, to have any chance of success, needs to, seriously, take into account that the non-Jordanians working in Jordan are, in general, less educated, working mainly in low-paid occupations, in inconvenient working conditions, for long hours, in the agriculture, construction and services sectors. Jordan needs then to adopt suitable policies to encourage unemployed Jordanians, who are well educated and better qualified, to compete with non-Jordanian workers, in these work sectors with their difficult conditions.

Table 12. Unemployment Rates among the Jordanian Labour Force 15+ Years of Age by Gender from Selected Employment and Unemployment Surveys (1993-2007) (%)

Year	Males	Females	Total
1993	16.8	36.7	19.7
1994	13.6	29.4	15.8
1995	13.0	29.1	15.3
1996	11.3	21.9	12.8
1997	11.7	28.5	14.4
1998	12.1	26.1	14.4
1999	9.8	21.6	11.6
2000	12.3	21.0	13.7
2001	13.7	20.6	14.7
2002	14.0	21.9	15.3
2003	13.4	20.8	14.5
2004	11.8	16.5	12.5
2005	12.3	19.7	13.4
2006	12.5	24.9	14.4
2007	10.3	25.6	13.1

Source: DOS, Statistical Yearbook, 2005, Amman – Jordan.

DOS, Employment and Unemployment Survey, (First Round), 2006, Amman- Jordan

It should now be clear why many employers in Jordan prefer to employ non-Jordanians, especially Egyptians. Indeed, we can assume that non-Jordanians who are working in Jordan without work permits are mainly Egyptians with low educational levels and working in low occupations, mainly in the agriculture and construction sectors.

2. Arrival and Departure Statistics and Irregular Migration in Jordan

2.1. Introduction

Arrival and Departure Statistics are one of the main sources of data for studying international migration of any kind in any country. Jordan has collected such data since the early 1960s and we suspect that, for security reasons, this data is reasonably accurate.

Unfortunately, this data comes with few details: only nationality, year and month, means of transportation and point of entry being set out.

Due to the importance of having more details on arrivals and departures, the Department of Statistics in Jordan (DOS) conducted two surveys entitled Arrivals and Departures in Jordan. The first, conducted in the year 1998, covered the period from February 1998 to January 1999, and the second, conducted in the year 2006 covered the period from July 2006 to June 2007.

These two surveys were for tourism purposes and they do not provide us with much data about the main characteristics of arrivals and departures in Jordan, the reason for entering and leaving, and the period of stay.

2.2. Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan

2.2.1. Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan: general trend

From Table 13 we can see that the number of arrivals to Jordan increased sharply from 3910 thousand in the year 1990 to 9536 thousand in the year 2006 with an annual growth rate of 5.7% and that the number of departures from Jordan increased from 3683 thousand to 8992 thousand for the same period with an annual growth rate of 5.7% over the same period.

As a cumulative figure, the number of total arrivals in Jordan from 1st of January 1990 to 31st of December 2006 was 86340 thousand and the number of Departures from Jordan, for the same period was 81623 thousand. If we assume that the arrival and departure statistics are accurate, this means that there are some 4717 thousand net migrants to Jordan from 1990 to 2006. This figure seems unreasonable and needs to be analyzed taking into consideration that the estimated population in Jordan for 2006, according to the DOS, is 5600 thousand. This suggests that the statistics on departures tend to underestimate more than those on arrivals if we assume, reasonably, that few of those who enter the country die there. This seems to be the case given the duration considered here (16 years).

2.2.2. Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan by Nationality

From Table 14 we learn that the cumulative number of arrivals from Arab countries during the period 1990-2006 was 75070.4 thousand representing 86.9% of total arrivals for the whole period, and the cumulative number of departures of Arab Nationals from Jordan was 71275.4 thousand representing 87.3% of departures from Jordan for the same period. This means that the net (arrivals – departures) for the same period equals 3795 thousand, 80.5% of the total net (arrivals – departures) in Jordan for the same period.

Table 13. Arrival and Departure Statistics in Jordan 1990-2006 (000)

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals- Departures
1990	3910	3683	227
1991	3121	2875	246
1992	4334	4085	249
1993	4188	4119	69
1994	4367	4129	238
1995	4391	4339	52
1996	4266	4175	91
1997	4266	4112	154
1998	4586	4647	-61
1999	4766	4579	187
2000	4616	4075	541
2001	5235	4540	695
2002	5542	5359	183
2003	5307	5455	-148
2004	5029	4878	151
2005	8880	7581	1299
2006	9536	8992	544
Total	86340	81623	4717

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, DOS, Amman- Jordan

To make things easier, we know that the majority of Arab nationals who come to Jordan for visit or work during the 1990-2006 periods are Egyptians, Syrians and Iraqis. Therefore, we used Arrival and Departure Statistics for Jordanians and each one of these countries separately.

Table 14. Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan of Arab Nationals, 1990-2006 (000)

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals- Departures
1990	3351.4	3102.3	249.1
1991	2857.0	2637.2	219.8
1992	3952.6	3753.5	199.1
1993	3766.7	3727.7	39.0
1994	3900.6	3688.4	212.2
1995	3723.8	3676.7	47.1
1996	3568.5	3467.8	100.7
1997	3582.5	3442.9	139.6
1998	3933.0	3940.9	7.9-
1999	4018.5	3853.8	164.7
2000	3840.4	3402.8	437.6
2001	4584.4	3996.2	588.2
2002	4910.8	4808.7	102.1
2003	4639.7	4855.6	215.9-
2004	4274.8	4257.7	17.1
2005	7815.3	6755.5	1059.8
2006	8350.4	7907.7	442.7
Total	75070.4	71275.4	3795.0

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, DOS, Amman – Jordan

From Table 15 we learn that the cumulative number of Jordanian arrivals for the 1990-2006 period was 24398.7 thousand representing 28.3% of cumulative arrivals in Jordan for the whole period, and that the cumulative number of Jordanian departures for the same period was 24708.8 thousand representing 30.3% of the cumulative departures from Jordan for the whole period. We previously saw that (total arrivals-total departures) for the whole period equals - 310.1 thousand. This figure seems very reasonable; the MOL in Jordan for example, estimated the number of Jordanians working in the Gulf at 122 thousand in the year 2006.

**Table 15. Jordanian Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan,
1990-2006 (000)**

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals-Departures
1990	1276.6	1143.2	133.4
1991	893.8	858.8	35.0
1992	1090.5	1079.1	11.4
1993	1089.5	1128.1	-38.6
1994	1142.7	1072.2	70.5
1995	1104.5	1127.4	-22.9
1996	1102.8	1140.5	-37.7
1997	1198.3	1233.1	-34.8
1998	1282.9	1346.8	-63.9
1999	1450.9	1561.3	-110.4
2000	1597.6	1625.0	-27.4
2001	1723.3	1755.0	-31.7
2002	1626.3	1726.4	-100.1
2003	1410.4	1532.9	-122.5
2004	1239.5	1320.2	-80.7
2005	2498.3	2303.5	194.8
2006	2670.8	2755.3	-84.5
Total	24398.7	24708.8	-310.1

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, Amman - Jordan

From Table 16 we learn that the total cumulative arrivals, cumulative departures, and (cumulative arrivals – cumulative departures) for Egyptian nationals were respectively 10121.8 thousand, 9332.0 thousand and 789.8 thousand. This figure is not consistent with other figures available from other sources, especially from MOL. Therefore, we need more data to understand these figures. But we can safely conclude that, many Egyptians are working in Jordan without work permits.

**Table 16. Egyptian Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan,
1990-2006 (000)**

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals- Departures
1990	736.3	804.8	-68.5
1991	621.4	558.6	62.8
1992	930.5	816.9	113.6
1993	903.8	890.7	13.1
1994	1026.9	1005.3	21.6
1995	878.1	864.0	14.1
1996	803.3	745.4	57.9
1997	600.5	595.9	4.6
1998	373.4	384.9	11.5-
1999	270.4	257.7	12.7
2000	215.0	192.6	22.4
2001	325.1	305.5	19.6
2002	354.7	312.8	41.9
2003	410.3	338.5	71.8
2004	440.4	369.6	70.8
2005	507.5	320.6	186.9
2006	724.2	558.2	166.0
Total	10121.8	9332.0	789.8

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, Amman - Jordan

Table 17 reveals that the total cumulative arrivals, departures and net (cumulative arrivals – cumulative departures) for Syrian nationals were respectively 17611.8 thousand, 16000.3 thousand and 1611.0 thousand.

These figures do not seem to be reliable as we always think that the number of Syrian nationals in Jordan is much fewer. In general, Syrian nationals can come to the country without visas and we assume that they come to work in Jordan, mainly in the Northern part of the country, seasonally and for a short period of time. We need more data to understand these figures.

**Table 17. Syrian Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan,
1990-2006 (000)**

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals- Departures
1990	611.8	489.5	122.3
1991	566.3	480.6	85.7
1992	648.1	587.5	60.6
1993	720.6	681.1	39.5
1994	699.9	637.1	62.8
1995	679.3	665.0	14.3
1996	688.7	623.7	65.0
1997	717.1	625.8	91.3
1998	946.5	931.0	15.5
1999	939.4	809.2	130.2
2000	898.6	689.4	209.2
2001	1127.2	835.8	291.4
2002	1364.4	1282.2	82.2
2003	1352.6	1488.8	136.2-
2004	1271.3	1373.9	102.6-
2005	2071.6	1665.5	406.1
2006	2307.9	2134.2	173.7
Total	17611.3	16000.3	1611.0

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, Amman - Jordan

Table 18 shows that the total cumulative arrivals, cumulative departures and net cumulative arrivals for Iraqis were respectively 6057.1 thousand, 5669.8 thousand and 387.3 thousand. This figure is very close to the number of Iraqis in Jordan according to the Fafu estimates which concludes that there were between 450-500 thousands Iraqi residents in Jordan as of May 2007. Table 19 summarizes the results from Tables 13-18.

Table 18. Iraqis Arrival and Departure Statistics in Jordan, 1990-2006 (000)

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals- Departures
1990	96.0	91.2	4.8
1991	277.0	258.4	18.6
1992	570.0	585.1	15.1-
1993	233.1	245.9	12.8-
1994	246.7	228.8	17.9
1995	263.9	263.9	0.0
1996	187.0	186.5	0.5
1997	264.5	242.4	22.1
1998	327.3	317.8	9.5
1999	358.0	339.3	18.7
2000	330.2	308.9	21.3
2001	417.5	374.3	43.2
2002	391.4	385.1	6.3
2003	371.0	343.9	27.1
2004	230.6	219.9	10.7
2005	889.6	746.9	142.7
2006	603.3	531.5	71.8
Total	6057.1	5669.8	387.3

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006,

Table 19. Arrival and Departure Statistics in Jordan, 1990-2006 by Nationality (000)

Country of Nationality	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals- Departures
Jordanian	24398.7	24708.8	-310.1
Syria	17611.3	16000.3	1661.0
Egypt	10121.8	9332.0	789.8
Iraq	6057.1	5669.8	387.3
All Arab Countries	75070.4	71275.4	3795.0
Non-Arab Countries	11269.6	10347.6	922.0
Total	86340.0	81623.0	4717.0

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, Amman – Jordan

From the previous discussion, we have learnt that there is a serious problem in arrival and departure statistics for Jordan. Although we can be sure that there is irregular migration in Jordan, it is a very difficult to estimate the numbers and characteristics of these migrants. To make things easier, this study will then make use of data available from the DOS and the MOL.

Table 20 represent the arrivals and departures of Non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan and their net cumulative arrivals for 1990-2006 by nationality. Comparing these figures, we can only say that our data is completely incredible and that it is simply impossible that the difference between these figures is due to irregular migration.

Table 20. Arrival and Departure Statistics in Jordan 1990-2006 by Nationality and Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan in the year 2006 (000)

Country of Nationality	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals-Departures	Non-Jordanian Workers Holding Work Permits and Working in Jordan 2006
Syria	17611.3	16000.3	1661.0	3.1
Egypt	10121.8	9332.0	789.8	6.1
Iraq	6057.1	5669.8	387.3	6.201
All Arab Countries	75070.4	71275.4	3795.0	207.9
Non-Arab Countries	11269.6	10347.6	922.0	81.8
Total	86340.0	81623.0	4717.0	289.7

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, Amman – Jordan and MOL Annual Report 2006, Amman- Jordan

To find another way of looking at the available data, we make use of the 2004 population census. Table 15 shows that there has been a sharp increase in the arrival and departure statistics since 2005, and to make use of the 2004 population census and arrivals and departure statistics, we recalculated arrival and departure statistics for the period 1990-2004 by nationality so that they were comparable with the distribution of non-Jordanian populations in Jordan (see Tables 21-23).

From Table 23 we learn that though the differences are narrowing, there is still a wide gap between the figures from the different sources of data related to migration and, above all, irregular migration.

Though there is no clear cut figures about irregular migration in Jordan, we need have no doubt, for many reasons, that there was irregular migration in Jordan right through this period, and that irregular migration remains and will remain for a long time to come.

Table 21. Distribution of Non-Jordanian Population Living in Jordan by Gender from the 2004 Population and Housing Census (000)

Country of Nationality	Males	Females	Total
Syria	22.3	15.8	38.1
Iraq	24.5	15.6	40.1
Egypt	91.7	20.7	112.4
All Arab Countries	210.3	113.3	323.6
Non-Arab Countries	21.0	47.6	68.7
Total	231.3	160.9	392.3

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2004, 2006, Amman – Jordan

Table 22. Arrival and Departure Statistics in Jordan 1990-2004 by Nationality (000)

Country of Nationality	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals-Departures
Jordan	19229.6	19650.0	-420.4
Syria	13231.8	12200.6	1031.2
Egypt	8890.1	8453.2	436.9
Iraq	4564.2	4391.4	172.8
Total Arab Countries	58904.7	56612.2	2292.5
Non-Arab Countries	9019.3	8437.8	581.5
Total	67924.0	65050.0	2874.0

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, Amman - Jordan

Table 23. Arrival and Departure Statistics in Jordan 1990-2004, by Nationality and Non-Jordanian Population Living in Jordan from the 2004 Population and Housing Census (000)

Country of Nationality	Arrivals	Departures	(Arrivals-Departures)	Non-Jordanians living in Jordan
Syria	13231.8	12200.6	1031.2	38.1
Egypt	8890.1	8453.2	436.9	40.1
Iraq	4564.2	4391.4	172.8	112.4
Arab Countries	58904.7	56612.2	2292.5	323.6
Non-Arab Countries	9019.3	8437.8	581.5	68.7
Total	67924.0	65050.0	2874.0	392.3

Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2006, Amman – Jordan, and the 2004 Population and Housing Census, 2006, DOS, Amman – Jordan

2. 3. Arrivals and Departures from 1998 and 2006 Surveys

2.3.1. Introduction

Due to the importance of arrival and departure statistics, the DOS had conducted, over the last ten years, two surveys on arrivals and departures for tourism purposes, one in 1998 and the second in 2006. These two surveys looked at arrivals to and departures from Jordan by nationality and residence (see Table 24).

From Table 24 we learn that the resident arrivals represent only 19.4% of the total arrivals for the period February 1998-January 1999, and 24.7% for the period July 2006 –June 2007. At the same time, we see that 29.2% of all departures during the period of February 1998-January 1999 were residents, and that 25.2% of all departures during the Period of July 2006-June 2007 were of residents.

By nationality, we see that there are differences between the Arab Nationalities. The highest proportions were for Jordanians then for Syrians, Egyptians and Iraqis.

Table 24-a. Distribution of Resident and Non-Resident Arrivals and Departures to Jordan by Nationality during February 1998- January 1999 (000)

Country of Nationality	Departures			Arrivals		
	Non-Resident	Resident	Total	Non-Resident	Resident	Total
Jordan	369.4	1334.6	1704.1	648.9	902.2	1551.1
All Other Arab Countries	2553.1	136.2	2689.2	2743.6	71.8	2815.3
Syria	897.1	11.9	909.0	935.7	4.2	939.9
Iraq	296.8	22.3	319.0	327.1	2.5	329.7
Egypt	301.0	87.2	388.2	317.9	60.1	377.9
Others	700.3	23.7	724.0	664.4	1.9	666.3
Total	3622.8	1494.5	5117.3	4056.8	975.9	5032.7

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 1998 "For Tourism Purposes", DOS, Amman- Jordan, April 2000.

Table 24-b. Distribution of Resident and Non-Resident Arrivals and Departures to Jordan by Nationality during July 2006-June 2007 (000)

Country of Nationality	Departures			Arrivals		
	Non-Resident	Resident	Total	Non-Resident	Resident	Total
Jordan	859.6	1759.7	2619.3	534.4	1996.8	2531.1
All Other Arab Countries	5037.2	488.6	5525.8	5704.0	399.4	6103.4
Syria	-	-	-	-	975.7	975.7
Iraq	-	-	-	-	269.6	269.6
Egypt	-	-	-	-	120.6	120.6
Others	1096.8	111.0	1207.8	1240.7	61.2	1301.9
Total	6993.6	2359.3	9352.9	7479.1	2457.3	9936.4

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 2006/2007 "For Tourism Purposes", DOS, Amman- Jordan, December, 2007

2.3.2. Resident Arrivals to Jordan

From Table 25 we learn that the highest proportion of resident arrivals in Jordan was for those who came to visit their relatives and friends, then those who came for vacation and leisure. In the 2006 survey, 11.9% of resident arrivals to Jordan (2457.3 thousand) said that they came to Jordan on a business trip. This means that 292.4 thousand of arrival residents in Jordan are somehow working in the Kingdom.

Table 25. Distribution of Resident Arrivals (International Visitors) by Main Purpose of Visit Abroad during the period of February 1998 – January 1999 and during the period of July 2006 – June 2007

Purpose of Visit Abroad	1998 Survey %	2006 Survey %
Vacation and Leisure	19.4	21.6
Visiting Relatives and Friends	31.9	39.8
Business Trip	6.5	11.9
Seminar/Conference or Training Course	0.8	1.1
Medical Treatment	0.5	0.9
Study	2.6	1.8
Religious Visit	--	8.6
Crew or Driver	31.0	13.4
Other	7.3	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 1998 " For Tourism Purposes ", DOS, Amman- Jordan, April 2000. Arrivals and Departures Survey 2006/2007 " For Tourism Purposes ", DOS, Amman- Jordan, December 2007

By gender, we see that the majority of the resident arrivals in Jordan were males (86.5%), the highest proportion of these were Egyptians and the lowest non Arab-foreign nationals (see Table 26).

Table 26-a. Distribution of Resident Arrivals by Nationality and Gender during the period of February 1998- January 1999 (000)

Country of Nationality	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Jordan	745.5	86.5	116.1	13.5	861.6	100.0
All Other Arab Countries	61.5	86.5	9.6	13.5	71.1	100.0
Syria	2.6	61.8	1.6	38.2	4.1	100.0
Iraq	1.8	71.5	0.7	28.6	2.5	100.0
Egypt	53.6	89.1	6.5	10.9	60.1	100.0
Other countries	1.0	58.5	0.7	41.5	1.8	100.0
Total	808.0	86.5	126.4	13.5	934.5	100.0

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 1998 " For Tourism Purposes ", DOS, Amman- Jordan, April 2000.

Table 26-b. Distribution of Resident Arrivals by Nationality and Gender during the Period of July 2006-June 2007 (000)

Country of Nationality	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Jordan	1657.9	83.6	326.0	16.4	1983.9	100.0
All Other Arab Countries	342.0	86.0	55.8	14.0	397.8	100.0
Syria						100.0
Iraq						100.0
Egypt						100.0
Other countries	38.0	62.1	23.2	37.9	61.2	100.0
Total	2037.9	83.4	405.0	16.6	2442.9	100.0

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 2006/2007 "For Tourism Purposes", DOS, Amman- Jordan, December, 2007

By age, we learn that the majority of resident arrivals in Jordan were in the 30-44 age group, then the 15-29 age group for the 1998 survey and the 45-64 age group for the 2006 survey (see Table 30).

Table 27-a. Distribution of Resident Arrivals by Nationality and Age (%) during the period of February 1998- January 1999

Country of Nationality	Less than 15	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	%
Jordan	1.0	32.6	48.2	16.0	2.3	100.0
All Other Arab Countries	0.2	26.3	63.0	9.6	0.9	100.0
Syria	2.2	35.4	50.6	10.2	1.5	100.0
Iraq	0.6	22.3	53.1	19.4	4.6	100.0
Egypt	0.0	26.5	64.1	8.8	0.6	100.0
Other countries	0.5	26.1	52.0	20.0	1.5	100.0
Total	0.9	32.1	49.3	15.5	2.2	100.0

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 1998 " For Tourism Purposes ", DOS, Amman- Jordan, April 2000.

Table 27-b. Distribution of Resident Arrivals by Nationality and age during the Period of July 2006-June 2007

Nationality	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+	%
Jordan	0.2	8.9	62.2	27.3	1.4	100.0
All Other Arab Countries	0.1	6.1	67.7	25.8	0.3	100.0
Foreign-Total	0.3	8.8	64.7	25.5	0.6	100.0
Total	0.1	8.5	63.2	27.0	1.2	100.0

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 2006/2007 " For Tourism Purposes ", DOS, Amman- Jordan, December 2007

2.3.3. Non-Resident Departures from Jordan

Because the 1998 and 2006 arrival and departure surveys were designed for tourism purposes, they naturally concentrated on tourists to Jordan, on non-resident departures, and on all types of data related to tourism. For our study, we see that non-resident departures from Jordan might shed some light on irregular migration in Jordan.

From Table 28 we learn that the majority of non-resident departures are Arabs, and that the majority of Arabs are Syrians, Egyptians and Iraqis. By gender, we notice that the majority of them, 85.6% were males for the 1998 survey (see Table 29).

Table 28. Percentage Distribution of Non-Resident Departures by Nationality during the period of February 1998- January 1999

Country of Nationality	1998 Survey		2006 Survey	
	Number (000)	%	Number (000)	%
Jordan	348.2	10.1	859.6	12.3
All Other Arab Countries	2421.1	70.5	5525.8	79.0
Syria	877.8	25.6	-	-
Iraq	273.7	8.0	-	-
Egypt	298.7	8.7	-	-
Other countries	663.4	19.3	1096.8	15.7
Total	3432.7	100.0	6993.6	100.0

Sources:

a- Arrivals and Departures Survey 1998 "For Tourism Purposes", DOS, Amman- Jordan, April 2000.

b- Arrivals and Departures Survey 2006/2007 "For Tourism Purposes", DOS, Amman- Jordan, December, 2007

Table 29. Distribution of Non-Resident Departures by Nationality and Gender during February 1998-January 1999 (000)

Nationality	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Jordan	269.8	77.5	78.5	22.5	348.2	100.0
All Other Arab Countries	2187.9	90.4	233.2	9.6	2421.1	100.0
Syria	804.0	91.6	73.8	8.4	877.8	100.0
Iraq	249.5	91.1	24.3	8.9	273.7	100.0
Egypt	259.9	87.0	38.8	13.0	298.7	100.0
Other countries	480.9	72.5	182.5	27.5	663.4	100.0
Total	2938.6	85.6	494.1	14.4	3432.7	100.0

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 1998 " For Tourism Purposes ", DOS, Amman- Jordan, April 2000.

From Table 30 we see that the majority of non-resident departures from Jordan were transit, 46.1%, those who came to visit relatives and friends, 17.3%, and those who came for vacations, 15.2%, in the year 1998.

From the previous discussion, we might conclude that from all the data available, there is no data directly related to irregular migration in Jordan. And certainly, Jordan, like many other countries, needs more special studies to collect data and study irregular labour migration more carefully.

Table 30. Percentage Distribution of Non-Resident Departures by Main Purpose of Visit to Jordan during the period of February 1998- January 1999

Purpose of Visit to Jordan	%
Vacation	15.2
Visiting Relatives and Friends	17.3
Business Trip	3.2
Seminar/Conference or Training Course	0.4
Medical Treatment	2.7
Study	0.6
Crew or Driver	13.6
Transit	46.1
Other	0.8
Total	100.0

Source: Arrivals and Departures Survey 1998 " For Tourism Purposes ", DOS, Amman- Jordan, April 2000.

3. Refugees in Jordan

3.1. Introduction

Many of the non-Jordanians living in Jordan are Palestinian Refugees from 1948 Palestinian or from the Palestinian territories, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, who have been living in Jordan since 1967. They do not need any type of permission to stay or to work in Jordan.

From the early 1990s and due to the Iran-Iraq and the Gulf wars, many Iraqis came to Jordan as refugees, starting with a few in the early 1990s and with huge numbers from 2003. Until very recently, there was little data available about Iraqis in Jordan, their numbers, their geographic distribution and their main demographic and other characteristics. This study deals with refugees in Jordan, making use of all data available.

3.2. Palestinian Refugees

According to United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) statistics there are 4562.8 thousand Palestinian refugees as of 31 December 2007, 1903.5 thousand of them, representing 42% of all registered refugees, are in Jordan (see Table 31). Only 332.9 thousands of them or 18% of the registered Palestinian refugees in Jordan, are residents in refugee camps. There are only ten refugee camps in Jordan distributed across the country (see Table 32).

Table 31. Palestinian Refugees from Palestine Occupied 1948 Registered by UNRWA as of 31 December 2007 by References to Agency Installations

	Jordan	Lebanon	Syria	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Total
Registered Refugees (RR)	1903490	413962	451467	745776	1048126	4562820
Increase in RRs over Previous Years (%)	2.4	1.4	2.1	3.2	3.1	2.6
RR as a % of Total RRs	42	9	10	16	23	100.0
Existing Camps	10	12	9	19	8	58
RR in Camps (RRCs)	332948	219201	121898	189787	491636	1355470
RRCs as % of RRs	18	53	27	25	47	30

Source: Public Information Office, UNRWA Headquarters (GAZA), February 2008

The largest Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan is Al Baq`a Camp hosting 68.4 thousand Palestinian refugees, representing 20.5% of all registered Palestinian refugees in the Palestinian refugees' camps in Jordan (see Table 32).

Table 32. Existing Palestine Refugees Camps in Jordan and Palestinian Refugees Registered With UNRWA as of 31 March 2005

Camps	Registered Refugees	%
Amman New Camp	50703	15.2
Irbid	24351	7.3
Husn	20988	6.3
Souf	15882	4.8
Jabal Al-Hussein	29998	9.0
Baq`a	68386	20.5
Zarqa	18004	5.4
Marka	38425	11.5
Talbieh	871	0.3
Jerash	15488	4.7
Total	332948	100.0

Source: Public Information Office, UNRWA Headquarters (GAZA), May 2005

Since its establishment by UN resolution No. 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949, UNRWA bears the responsibility for supporting the Palestinian refugees in their host countries, support that includes their education, health and social services.

From all the data available, we begin to glimpse the size of the economic problems facing the Jordanian economy due to the size of the Palestinian refugee problem in Jordan.

3.3. Iraqi Refugees in Jordan

3.3.1. Introduction

Starting from early 1990s and owing to the Iran-Iraq and Gulf wars Iraqis started to come to Jordan as refugees, a handful in the early 1990s and then huge numbers from 2003. Before the 2007 Fafo Survey, little data was available concerning Iraqis in Jordan, their numbers, their geographic distribution and their main demographic and other characteristics.

3.3.2. Iraqi Arrivals to and Departures from Jordan, 1990-2006

From Table 18 we learn that the number of Iraqi arrivals in Jordan was only 96 thousand in 1990, but that it had increased to 889.6 thousand by 2005 and had decreased to 603.3 thousand by 2006. At the same time the number of Iraqi Departures from Jordan increased from 91.2 thousand in the year 1990, to 746.9 thousand in 2005 and decreased to 531.5 thousand in 2006. From this data we also learn that the (arrivals - departures) for the same period increased from 4.8 thousand in 1990 to 142.7 thousand

in 2005 and decreased to 71.8 thousand in 2006. Using cumulative figures we also see that the net total arrivals for the whole period 1990-2006 was 387.3 thousand, which means that this figure is close to the total number of Iraqis in Jordan by the end of 2006, assuming that the Arrival and Departure Statistics for Jordan are reasonably accurate.

3.3.3. Iraqis in Jordan from the 1994 Population and Housing Census

In the 1994 Population and Housing Census we find that the total number of Iraqis in Jordan was 24.5 thousand (15.4 males, 9.1 females) 90.4% of them living in urban areas and only 9.6% of them living in rural areas (see tables 33 and 34). Not much data is available about Iraqis in Jordan from the 1994 population and housing census, but the figures seem reasonable compared to arrival and departure statistics for Jordan.

Table 33. Population Distribution in Jordan by Gender and Nationality from the Population and Housing Census 1994 (000)

	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Jordanians	1926.8	89.2	1868.3	94.4	3795.1	91.7
Non-Jordanians	209.1	9.7	105.9	5.4	315.0	7.6
Iraqis in Jordan	15.4	0.7	9.1	0.5	24.5	0.6
Jordanians Abroad	24.9	1.1	4.6	0.2	29.4	0.7
Total	2160.7	100	1978.7	100	4139.5	100.0

Source: Results of the General Census of Population and Housing of Jordan 1994, Population Characteristics, Volume No. 2, Department of Statistics, Amman- Jordan 1997.

Table 34. Iraqis Population Distribution in Jordan by Gender, Rural – Urban from the 1994 Population and Housing Census

	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Rural	1962	12.8	395	4.3	2357	9.6
Urban	13416	87.2	8728	95.7	22144	90.4
Total	15378	100.0	9123	100.0	24501	100.0

Source: Results of the General Census of Population and Housing of Jordan 1994, Population Characteristics, Volume No. 2, Department of Statistics, Amman- Jordan 1997.

3.3.4. Iraqis in Jordan from the 2004 Population and Housing Census

Table 35 revealed that the total number of Iraqis in Jordan for the 2004 Population and Housing Census was 40.1 thousand (24.5 males, 15.6 thousand females), 87.8% of them were living in urban areas, and only 12.2% of them were living in rural areas (see Table 36).

Table 35. Population Distribution in Jordan by Gender and Nationality in Jordan from the 2004**Population and Housing Census (000)**

	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Jordanians	2371.3	90.3	2310.7	93.3	4682.0	91.7
Non-Jordanians	231.3	8.8	160.9	6.5	392.3	7.7
Iraqis in Jordan	24.5	0.9	15.6	0.6	40.1	0.8
Jordanians Abroad	23.6	0.9	5.7	0.2	29.4	0.6
Total	2626.3	100.0	2477.4	100.0	5103.6	100.0

Source: Main Results, Population and Housing of Jordan 2004, Volume 4, Characteristics of Jordanians Abroad, Characteristics of Non-Jordanians and Characteristics of Persons with Special Needs, Department of Statistics, Amman-Jordan, 2006.

Comparing Iraqi arrival and departure statistics for Jordan and the 2004 Population and Housing Census results, we notice that there are significant differences between what was expected and the results of the population census (see Tables No. 18 and 35).

Table 36. Iraqis Population Distribution in Jordan by Gender, Rural – Urban from the**Population and Housing Census 2004**

	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Rural	3709	12.2	1189	7.6	4898	12.2
Urban	20744	87.8	14442	92.4	35186	87.8
Total	24453	100.0	15631	100.0	40084	100.0

Source: Main Results, Population and Housing of Jordan 2004, Volume 4, Characteristics of Jordanians Abroad, Characteristics of Non-Jordanians and Characteristics of Persons with Special Needs, Department of Statistics, Amman-Jordan, 2006.

Similarly if we compare the number of Iraqis holding work permits and working in Jordan (1645 in the year 2006, Table 5), with the number of Iraqis economically active 13148 (10727 employed and 2421 unemployed) as found in the 2004 Population and Housing Census, we will understand that there is a data problem concerning the number of Iraqi refugees in Jordan (Table 37).

Table 37. Iraqi Population Living in Jordan, 15+ Years of Age by Economic Activity Status and Gender from the 2004 Population and Housing Census

Economic Status	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Economically Active	11566	71.3	1582	15.3	13148	49.5
Employed	9913	61.1	814	7.9	10727	40.4
Unemployed	1653	10.2	768	7.4	2421	9.1
Not Economically Active	4658	28.7	8781	84.7	13439	50.6
Student	1241	7.6	1223	11.8	2464	9.3
House Maker	130	0.8	6555	63.3	6685	25.2
Other	3287	20.3	1003	9.7	4290	16.1
Total	16224	100.0	10363	100.0	26567	100.0

Source: Main Results, Population and Housing of Jordan 2004, Volume 4, Characteristics of Jordanians Abroad, Characteristics of Non-Jordanians and Characteristics of Persons with Special Needs, Department of Statistics, Amman- Jordan, 2006.

3.3.5. Iraqis in Jordan, their Number and Characteristics from the 2007 Fafo Survey

Upon the request of the Government of Jordan, The Norwegian Research Foundation Fafo with the help of the Department of Statistics in Jordan (DOS), the Ministry of Planning in Jordan (MOP), and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), conducted a survey of Iraqis in Jordan, (Fafo, 2007).

The 2007 Fafo Study on Iraqis in Jordan, their number and characteristics, concluded that there were between 450000 and 500000 Iraqis residents in Jordan as of May 2007. While many estimates of the number of Iraqis in Jordan before the results of the 2007 Fafo study had put forward numbers as high as one million or 750000, representing 18% of the total population. According to the Fafo study, 77% of them arrived in Jordan in 2003 or later, with the highest volume of movement taking place in 2004 and 2005.

The migration of Iraqis to Jordan is predominantly a migration of families. On average there is a small bias towards women in the Iraqi population in Jordan. They have a mean age of 29.5 years as opposed to 24 years for Jordanians. 70% of them are of working age (15+ years). 25% of Iraqi women aged 15-50 have given birth in Jordan during the last 5 years. Iraqis in Jordan are well-educated and 22% of Iraqi adults are in work. 60% of them are employees for someone else, while 30% of Iraqi men are employers. 25% of the households own the dwelling that they are currently residing in.

It is clear, from the results of the 2007 Iraqis in Jordan Survey that the number and the main characteristics of Iraqis in Jordan is substantially different from what might have been expected, which means that if this population is a problem for the Jordanian economy, it is a smaller problem than was imagined.

4. Transit Migration

It has long been clear to those who were familiar with the labour market in Jordan that Jordan was only the first leg for many workers, particularly workers from Arab countries and especially workers from Egypt, in finding a better job, in Iraq in the 1980s, and, later on, in the Gulf States. It is worth mentioning that many Iraqi refugees in Jordan, as the 2007 Fafo survey shows, look on Jordan as a stepping stone towards Europe or the US .

Unfortunately, there is very little information, if any, about transit migration in Jordan. Although, DOS in Jordan is making efforts to collect data and cover many important demographic and economic aspects, migration still needs more work before we can begin to understand it properly.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

The Department of Statistics in Jordan (DOS) noted that the total population size in Jordan in the year 2006 was 5600 thousand. 51.5% of Jordanians are males, 62.9% of them are living in the middle region, 27.8% in the Northern region and only 9.3% of them are living in the Southern region.

Total labour force supply in the year 2006 was estimated to be 1308 thousands (967 thousands males, 171 thousand females), the unemployed were estimated at 170 thousand (121 thousand males, 49 thousand females) with an unemployment rate of 13% (11.1% for males, 22.3% for females) (Ministry of Labour Annual Report, 2006).

The number of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan in the year 2006 was 289724 (244944 males, 44780 females), 36% of them working in the services sector, 25.1% in the manufacturing sector, 23.6% in the agricultural sector, and 15.3% in the construction sector (MOL, 2006).

After our analysis of irregular migration in Jordan, we offer the following conclusions and recommendations.

5.1. Conclusions

1. The number of non-Jordanians working in Jordan and holding work permits has substantially increased in the last years according to Ministry of Labour Statistics, because of Labour Ministry efforts to organize the Jordanian labour market. We, however, suspect that the number of non-Jordanians working in Jordan is still higher than the official figures suggest, which means that there is irregular labour in Jordan.
2. There is no data available about the length of stay of non- Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan from the Ministry of Labour or, indeed, from any other sources. However, from our notes we can say that there is no permanent labour force migration to Jordan. And while some non-Jordanians may stay in Jordan for a long period of time, sometimes even for years, many of them return to their countries for months every year, especially those who are working in certain parts of the economy such as the construction sector. Some of these, we suspect, work without work permits and this type of labour force migration is irregular migration.
3. The majority of non-Jordanians holding work permits and working in Jordan are young males, poorly educated, working in economic sectors, such as agriculture, construction and the service sectors This is why some of them did not renew their work permits, this assuming that they had such permits to start with.
4. They are working in low level occupations, working too many hours, and getting low monthly wages.
5. Although, we think that we have a reasonable number of non-Jordanian workers working without work permits in Jordan and playing an important role in supporting the Jordanian economy, there is very little, if any, information available about them.
6. Although there is not much data available about non-Jordanians working without work permits from the little information available we see that the majority are young males, poorly educated, working in low status, poorly paid jobs.
7. International labour force migration in Jordan has affected the unemployment rate in Jordan both ways: Jordanian emigrants eased the unemployment rates in Jordan from the early 1950s onwards, while labour force migration to Jordan, especially since the late 1980s, affected unemployment in Jordan negatively.
8. Unemployment rates among females are almost double unemployment rates among males and a high proportion of the unemployed have high qualifications.

5.2. Recommendations

On the basis of the previous conclusions we offer the following recommendations:

- i. To ease high unemployment in Jordan, there are two main possibilities:
 - a. A decrease in labour-force supply, by affecting population growth rate (fertility and migration rates), and/or labour force participation rates.
 - b. An increase in labour force demand by increasing investment, in order to increase GDP (which means creating more jobs). For Jordan we recommend the following:
 - The adoption of a population policy to determine suitable fertility and migration levels (mortality levels are supposed to be reduced) and the proper policies to achieve these goals, (through the Jordanian National Population Council).

- The adoption of economic policies to encourage both local and foreign investment in Jordan, which is the most realistic way to create jobs and solve the unemployment problem.
 - Better control of labour force migration in Jordan through Ministry of Labour work permits.
- ii. Concerning data we recommend official efforts (through the Ministry of Labour) and private efforts (academic researchers), to collect information about Jordanians working abroad and non-Jordanian workers working in Jordan.
 - iii. By improving work conditions in Jordan, Jordanian workers will compete with non-Jordanian workers in Jordan, especially in the occupations and economic sectors where today non-Jordanians dominate such as agriculture, construction and the service sectors.

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