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Demographic and Economic Module



CARIM
Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration

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This publication is part of a series of papers on Gender and Migration written in the framework of the CARIM project and presented at a meeting organised in Florence: “Gender and migration in Southern and Eastern Mediterranean and Sub-Sahara African countries” (18-19 October 2010).

These papers will be discussed in two meetings between Policy Makers and Experts on the same topic in winter 2011. The results of these discussions will also be published.

The entire set of papers on Gender and Migration are available at <http://www.carim.org/ql/GenderAndMigration>

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CARIM

The Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) was created at the European University Institute (EUI, Florence), in February 2004 and co-financed by the European Commission, DG AidCo, currently under the Thematic programme for the cooperation with third countries in the areas of migration and asylum.

Within this framework, CARIM aims, in an academic perspective, to observe, analyse, and forecast migration in Southern & Eastern Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan Countries (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 17 countries observed by CARIM: Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Palestine, Senegal, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey.

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.

CARIM carries out the following activities:

- Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan migration database;
- Research and publications;
- Meetings of academics and between experts and policy makers;
- Migration Summer School;
- Outreach.

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 study attempts to shed light on the main characteristics of gender and migration from and to Jordan. As to immigration patterns, females account for an increasing proportion of foreign workers in Jordan. They come to cover labor shortages in low-skilled occupations where Jordanians do not wish to work, in the 'personal and social services' sector as well as in the Qualified Industrial Zones, where their importance is currently on the rise and where working conditions are unsatisfactory. The main sources of foreign female labor in Jordan are non-Arab Asian States, especially Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. With respect to Jordanians abroad, in 2009 they were estimated at 350,000 individuals, of whom only 16.6% were females. Emigration from Jordan towards other Arab countries (i.e. the most important from a quantitative point of view) is supposed to take place under a temporary project, while emigrants directed towards North American countries, which represent, however, an important proportion of recent migrants, are more long-term oriented. In these latter countries, women, as well as men, tend to be highly-educated and are mainly employed in highly-skilled occupations. Moreover, an important part of this analysis is dedicated to the link between migration and education, which demands an analysis of foreign students in Jordan as well as of Jordanians studying abroad and raises important issues. Finally, the last section of the paper proposes some policy recommendations and in particular argues for new institutions dedicated to migration movements in order to give robust and reliable evidence on Jordanian migration patterns.

Résumé

Cette étude se propose d'apporter un éclairage aux principales caractéristiques du lien existant entre genre et migration depuis et vers la Jordanie. Les femmes immigrées en Jordanie constituent une part croissante parmi les travailleurs étrangers dans le pays. Elles couvrent généralement des pénuries d'emplois peu qualifiés que les Jordaniens ne veulent eux-mêmes pas occuper, notamment dans le secteur 'services sociaux et à la personne' et dans les Zones Qualifiées Industriels, au sein desquels leur nombre croît aujourd'hui, et leurs conditions de travail restent insatisfaisantes. Les principaux flux de femmes travailleuses immigrées sont en provenance de pays non-arabes et asiatiques, en particulier de l'Indonésie, des Philippines et du Sri Lanka. La part des Jordaniens résidant à l'étranger est estimée, au titre de l'année 2009, à hauteur de 350 000 individus, incluant une proportion de 16,6% de femmes. Les principaux flux d'émigration à destination d'autres Etats arabes s'inscrivent, en principe, dans une stratégie à court terme, alors que les émigrants à destination de l'Amérique du Nord - lesquels représentent une importante proportion parmi l'émigration récente -, s'inscrivent dans un projet migratoire à plus long terme. S'agissant de ces dernières destinations et à l'instar des hommes, les femmes sont davantage issues de l'enseignement supérieur, et sont principalement employées dans des postes hautement qualifiés. En outre, un important segment de cette analyse sera consacré à l'analyse du lien existant entre migration et éducation - lequel part d'une enquête menée sur un échantillon d'étudiants étrangers résidents en Jordanie, et d'étudiants jordaniens résidant à l'étranger -, dont il conviendra de tirer un certain nombre de conclusions. Enfin, la dernière section de cette note énonce une série de recommandations et préconise, en particulier, le développement de nouvelles institutions consacrées à l'analyse des mouvements migratoires en vue de dresser un tableau plus compréhensif des caractéristiques de la migration jordanienne.

Introduction

Jordan standing as it does in the heart of the Middle East has played an important role as both a passageway and a final destination for international migrants. Jordan has been too an important sending country for migrants directed towards the Gulf region.

As to **outward migration**, Jordanians have been leaving the country since the early 1950s, directed, for the most part, towards the oil-producing Gulf countries. Indeed, according to the Jordanian Population and Housing Census, in 1961 the number of Jordanians abroad was 62,862 of whom about 80% were in Arab countries, about 32,765 workers (Department of Statistics, 1964). Later, the number of Jordanians working abroad increased to 103,500 in 1970, reaching 350,000 in 2008 (Ministry of Labour, 2008). Unfortunately, no details of their profiles are available and therefore no estimates by sex can be made, though there is a strong consensus that most of these emigrants are males.

Being a country of emigration, Jordan is an important **receiver of labor migration** flows, too. These inward flows started back in 1973 and were brought in to cover local shortages in agriculture and construction. The number of foreign nationals holding a work permit increased from 79,600 thousand in 1980 to 335,700 in 2009, where the percentage of females grew from 3.8% to 16.4%, respectively (Ministry of Labor, 2009). Women are overrepresented in the 'social and personal services sector', playing a fundamental role in Jordanian society: in 2009, among the foreign citizens working in this sector (51,700 individuals), 96.8% were females (50,046 persons). They came mainly from the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia (Ministry of Labor, 2009).

In addition to labor migrants, Jordan is also known as **a receiving country for forced migrants**, particularly Palestinians and Iraqis. The former arrived in Jordan in different waves: i) in 1948, there was the first huge influx of Palestinians; ii) later, after the Israeli occupation of West Bank and East Jerusalem in 1967, about 240,000 Jordanians of Palestinian origin fled from the West Bank to the East Bank and they were considered Internally Displaced Persons, while, an additional smaller group of around 15,000 Palestinians fled from Gaza to Jordan becoming refugees under UNRWA; iii) finally, as a consequence of 1990-1991 Gulf War, around 300,000 Palestinians, many of them born in the Gulf, were forced to leave Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and headed for Jordan, whether it was their home country or not (Di Bartolomeo et al., 2010). Moreover, a massive wave of forced migrants arrived in Jordan with the exodus of Iraqis after 2003. According to FAFO, the estimated number of Iraqis living in Jordan exceeded 450,000 in 2007. However, the true number of Iraqis is still unknown. Unfortunately, no information is available on forced migration according to sex. This paper will, in any case, not deal with forced migration patterns though we are, of course, conscious of the importance of this issue for Jordanian society.

Diagnosing the phenomenon of migration and estimating its size and characteristics is not easy in Jordan, nor, indeed, in most Arab countries owing to the lack of regular censuses and surveys for migration, as well as owing to the poor communication between Jordanian citizens and Jordanian embassies and consulates abroad, particularly labor advisers who have been appointed there. Based on the available data about Jordan in terms of gender and migration, this paper is structured as follows. The first part is dedicated to analyzing **immigration** in Jordan from a gender perspective focusing on labor migration; the second section presents the gender dimension of **outward migration** from Jordan; in the third part, we will point to the link between **education and migration patterns** by analyzing both in and out migration trends. Finally, some conclusions and policy recommendations are reported.

1. Inward migration in Jordan: a gender perspective

1.1 Foreign population residing in Jordan

According to the last national Census, in 2004, non-Jordanian resident females were 160,933, or 41.0% of the total resident foreign population. Their numbers tend to decrease when considering only the foreign resident population aged 15 years and older of which females represent 39.3%, equal to a stock of 109,878 women. As expected, the proportion of women is much less important than the labor-force population their number being 47,068 in 2009, or 24.6% of the total foreign labor force residing in Jordan (table 1).

Table 1. Foreign resident population residing in Jordan by sex, 2004

Type of Population	Sex			% of foreign nationals of the total resident population (of reference) in Jordan
	Males	Females	Total	
Total resident population	231,34	160,933	392,273	5.46
Total resident po. (aged 15+)	169,804	109,878	279,682	5.23
Total resident labor force population	144,239	47,068	191,307	3.58

Source: Jordanian Population and Housing Census - 2004

Foreign resident population

In 2004, foreign resident females in Jordan stood at 160,933, or 41.0% of the total resident foreign population. These women had a low educational profile where **87.5%** of them held a qualification lower than high school. Regarding reasons for migration, most come to Jordan for family reasons, i.e. to accompany a spouse or a family member (35.0%), followed by 'other objectives'¹ (32.9%) and work (26.6%) (Department of Statistics, 2006).

Foreign resident labor force population

As mentioned above, in 2004 the foreign female labor force population residing in Jordan equaled 47,068 individuals, or 24.6% of the total foreign labor force. Table 2 shows some characteristics of this population.

Table 2. Foreign female labor force population by duration of stay (2a) and by country of nationality (2b) (in %), Jordan, 2004

2a Duration of stay		2b Country of nationality	
Less than 1	17.6	Arab Asian countries	49.6
1-4	41.3	Arab African countries	11.0
5-9	14.5	Non-Arab Asian countries	36.7
10-14	9.9	Non-Arab African countries	0.1
15-19	5.6	European countries	1.8
20 and more	10.5	Other countries	0.8
n.a.	0.5		
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

Source: Jordanian Population and Housing Census - 2004

¹ Other objectives here include treatment, education, tourism and any other reason other than work or the accompaniment of spouse or a family member.

As to the duration of stay of foreign females in Jordan, the majority resided in Jordan for a relatively short period: 58.9% from 0 to 4 years and 14.5% from 5 to 9 years. Female emigration in Jordan is thus a **quite recent phenomenon** even if these results could also suggest that the choice to migrate to Jordan is, in most cases, a **temporary project**. Unfortunately, more accurate data are not currently available. As to their country of origin, half of them came from **Arab Asian countries** (49.6%), followed by non-Arab Asian countries (36.7%) and Arab African countries 11.0%.

1.2 Foreign nationals holding a work permit in Jordan

Labor migration to Jordan began in the early 1970s and migrants worked in jobs that Jordanians no longer desired to work in, especially in construction, agriculture and social services.

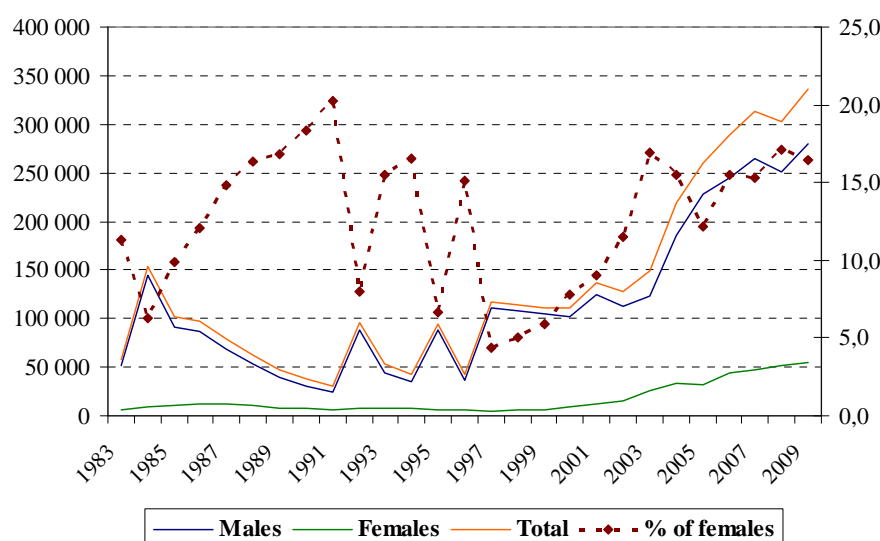
According to data on foreign workers holding work permits in Jordan, this migration **has grown in the last decades**; the number of migrant workers increasing from 58,500 in 1983 to 335,700 in 2009, meaning an annual average growth rate of 18.1%. In absolute terms, the size of female foreign workers registered a remarkable increase from 6,600 to 55,200 over the same period (annual average growth rate of 22.3%). In relative terms, it passed from 11.3% in 1983 to 16.4% in 2009 despite its growth, until the mid 1990s, being characterized by high volatility, depending mostly on the larger numbers of foreign men, which jumps up and down over time. In contrast, **at the end of 1990s**, the number of foreign female workers started to grow consistently and variations of their proportion seem to be more regular, suggesting a growing need for foreign female labor in the country (see table 3 and figure 1).

Table 3. Foreign population holding work permits by sex, Jordan, 1983-2009

Year	Male		Female		Total		Female-Male Ratio (%)
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
1983	51,900	88.7	6,600	11.3	58,500	100.0	12.7
1984	143,800	93.7	9,700	6.3	153,500	100.0	6.7
1985	91,400	90.1	10,000	9.9	101,400	100.0	10.9
1986	86,100	87.9	11,800	12.1	97,900	100.0	13.7
1987	68,000	85.2	11,800	14.8	79,800	100.0	17.4
1988	52,800	83.7	10,300	16.3	63,100	100.0	19.5
1989	39,600	83.2	8,000	16.8	47,600	100.0	20.2
1990	30,700	81.6	6,900	18.4	37,600	100.0	22.5
1991	24,000	79.7	6,100	20.3	30,100	100.0	25.4
1992	88,800	92.0	7,700	8.0	96,500	100.0	8.7
1993	44,800	84.5	8,200	15.5	53,000	100.0	18.3
1994	35,300	83.5	7,000	16.5	42,300	100.0	19.8
1995	88,100	93.3	6,300	6.7	94,400	100.0	7.2
1996	36,500	84.9	6,500	15.1	43,000	100.0	17.8
1997	111,400	95.6	5,100	4.4	116,500	100.0	4.6
1998	108,300	95.0	5,700	5.0	114,000	100.0	5.3
1999	104,600	94.1	6,600	5.9	111,200	100.0	6.3
2000	101,900	92.2	8,600	7.8	110,500	100.0	8.4
2001	124,200	91.0	12,300	9.0	136,500	100.0	9.9
2002	112,600	88.5	14,600	11.5	127,200	100.0	13.0
2003	123,200	83.1	25,100	16.9	148,300	100.0	20.4
2004	185,000	84.6	33,800	15.4	218,800	100.0	18.3
2005	228,600	87.8	31,700	12.2	260,300	100.0	13.9
2006	244,900	84.5	44,800	15.5	289,700	100.0	18.3
2007	265,300	84.7	47,900	15.3	313,200	100.0	18.1
2008	251,500	82.9	51,800	17.1	303,300	100.0	20.6
2009	280,500	83.6	55,200	16.4	335,700	100.0	19.7

Source: Jordanian Ministry of Labor

Figure 1. Foreign population holding work permits in Jordan by sex (1st axis) and proportion (%) of female foreign workers out of the total foreign worker population (2nd axis) in Jordan, 1983 – 2009



Source: Jordanian Ministry of Labor

As to their provenance, in 2009, Egyptian workers accounted for the 71.5% of the total number of foreign workers in Jordan, compared to 1.5% for the other Arab States. Other foreign nationals came instead mainly from non-Arab Asian States (26.5%), especially from Indonesia (8.0%), Sri Lanka (6.1%), and the Philippines (4.3%). However, **the distribution of foreign nationals according to nationality largely differs by sex**. Indeed, while female Arab nationals are very few (501 or 0.9% of the total number of female foreign workers vs 244,548 or 87.2% for males), a large majority of women originated in non-Arab Asian states (54,483 or 98.7% vs 34,512 or 12.3% for males), especially Indonesia (48.3%), the Philippines (23.5%) and Sri Lanka (22.8%) (table 4).

Table 4. Foreign population holding work permits in Jordan by nationality and sex, Jordan, 2009

Nationality	Sex					
	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Egypt	239,843	85.5	169	0.3	240,012	71.5
Syria	2,852	1.0	58	0.1	2,910	0.9
Other Arab Countries	1,853	0.7	274	0.5	2,127	0.6
Iraq	1,306	0.5	113	0.2	1,419	0.4
Pakistan	1,957	0.7	248	0.4	2,205	0.7
India	6,174	2.2	78	0.1	6,252	1.9
Philippines	1,513	0.5	12,971	23.5	14,484	4.3
Sri Lanka	8,031	2.9	12,605	22.8	20,636	6.1
Indonesia	327	0.1	26,647	48.3	26,974	8.0
Other Asian Countries (Non-Arab)	15,204	5.4	1,821	3.3	17,025	5.1
European Countries	899	0.3	130	0.2	1,029	0.3
U.S.	318	0.1	32	0.1	350	0.1
African Countries (Non-Arab)	72	0.0	46	0.1	118	0.0
Other Countries	156	0.1	10	0.0	166	0.0
Total	280,505	100.0	55,202	100.0	335,707	100.0

Source: Jordanian Ministry of Labor

About 51% of foreign labor was concentrated in the Amman Governorate. As to their **occupational profile**, foreign nationals work mostly in the agricultural sector (26.7%), social and personal services (25.6%), manufacturing (19.9%), trade, restaurants and hotels (13.5%) and construction (11.4%). Women work, instead, mainly in the personal and social services sector (91.4%) and particularly as domestic servants.

It is worth mentioning that, in 2009, foreign women accounted for 52.2% of all guest laborers working in the **Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZs)** in Jordan and about 71% of all female workers in these areas (Jordanians or non-Jordanians). As a whole, females (Jordanians and non Jordanians) represented, in 2009, 39.4% of all workers in QIZs. In Jordan, there are six QIZs, namely Sahab, Al-Hassan, Al-Karak, Adlale, Ajeezah and Arsaifeh of which the number of companies in these QIZs are 81 distributed as follows: Sahab (30), Al-Hassan (33), Al-Karak (2), Adlale (13), Ajeezah (1) and Arsaifeh (2). Moreover the percentage distribution of female foreign workers in them was respectively 13.0%, 40.8%, 9.9%, 35.0%, zero% and 1.3%.

As to the **educational profile**, foreign workers holding a work permit in Jordan have a low education profile 89.7% in 2009 being illiterate. This proportion is even higher among women (98.8%).²

Finally, it is worth mentioning that most foreign females are single (99.3%) while only a few are married (0.7%) or divorced/widowed (0.03%). This labor force is distributed according to the type of work permit as follows: granted for the first time (46.7%), regranted (41.5%), after changing work place (11.3%) and others (0.5%).

Here, **one can concludes** that foreign females holding a work permit in Jordan are characterized thus:

- Most non-Jordanian female workers come to Jordan alone and not as families: in 2009, 99.3% of them were single. The majority of these workers are from Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka. The incentive for those workers to emigrate is the difference in real wages between Jordan and their countries of origin.
- The level of education of female foreign nationals holding a work permit is low: in 2009 the rate of illiteracy among them was 98.8%. However, it is worth mentioning that these figures are not consistent with those found in the General Census of Population and Housing of 2004, which pointed out that the illiteracy rate of female non-Jordanians 15 years of age and above was 15.2%, while 41.41% of this category was single (Department of Statistics, 2006).
- The majority (91.4%) are employed in low-skilled occupations, with **little protection**, e.g. the social and personal services sector.
- The average wages paid to non-Jordanian female workers is relatively low, and, indeed, is often less than the minimum wage in Jordan, 150 Jordanian dinars, (211.86 U.S. dollars), something that would naturally encourage householders and some investors to bring in such workers. In 2009, the percentage of emigrant workers who receive a monthly income lower than 110 dinars was about 42%.
- Such labor does not cause any crowding effect on Jordanian workers, due to the low average wages paid to non-Jordanians which Jordanians would not accept, or to the reluctance of Jordanian females to work in certain sectors and economic activities, such as social and personal services and in the QIZs, which in turn reflect a form of shame culture.
- The migration of foreign female workers to Jordan is likely seen as temporary migration, where its duration is mostly between two and four years, because the majority of female emigrant workers work in the social and personal services, particularly as domestic servants and they are always replaced not less than every two years.

² A small percentage among them had tertiary education as they were called owing to their distinguished experience and qualifications and therefore they usually get higher wages than Jordanians at a rate ranging between 10-20% more in accordance with the legislation of public universities in Jordan.

2. Outward Migration: a gender perspective

Outward migration from Jordan began in the 1950s. In 1962, according to the General Census of Population and Housing, the number of Jordanians abroad was 62,862, or 7.0% of the total resident population in Jordan.³ In 1964, the number of Jordanian workers abroad was 32,765, or 52.0% of Jordanians abroad (Department of Statistics, 1964). The purpose of this emigration is thus mainly related to work and is directed towards other Arab countries (79.1%), especially the **Gulf States**.

The number of Jordanian emigrants increased from 103,500 in 1970 to 305,400 in 1980 to decrease later to 287,500 in 1990 (Athamneh, 2006). In 2009, the total number of Jordanians abroad was about 350,000 (table 5), of whom 16.6% were females. 141,600 workers resided in the Arab Gulf states, Libya and Egypt. The **United Arab Emirates** was the most attractive destination for Jordanian workers (54,800), followed by **Saudi Arabia** (50,900) and **Kuwait** (18,900) (Ministry of Labor, 2009).

Table 5. Jordanians residing abroad, 1970-2009

Year	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2001	2006	2009
Number	103,500	198,400	305,400	339,300	287,500	275,000	260,600	300,000	350,000

Source: Athamneh, 2008; Jordanian Ministry of Labor, Annual Reports

Analyzing the characteristics of Jordanians abroad, including their distribution by sex remains a major issue. No data can be picked up from *ad hoc* surveys and little from censuses. Nevertheless, it is certain that it was mostly a migration of individuals not a migration of families, and most emigrants are males except a small percentage of female spouses, or females working in the field of education in some Arab Gulf states who went on leave or transferred from their work in Jordan to work from 3-5 years in these countries, where the estimated number of those females was about 8,000 at the end of 2008.

Given the limitation of this data, our study has attempted to introduce some of the characteristics of female Jordanians abroad through the results of the **Jordanian General Censuses of Population and Housing of 2004** and the **statistics of destination countries** (mainly Population registers and Labor Force Surveys) as collected by OECD.

2004 Census data

The 2004 national census recorded 29,397 Jordanians abroad, of whom **19.6%** (5,749) were women. Females emigrated mainly for family (41.8%), study (23.0%) and work (18.2%). As to the duration of residence abroad, the great majority went abroad for a period of between 1 and 4 years (33.7%) and for less than 1 year (33.5%). Only a few were abroad for more prolonged periods, i.e. from 5 to 9 years (7.9%) or more than 10 years (8.7%). The rest had resided abroad since birth (13.1%) or did not specify the period of residence abroad (3.1%). The emigration of Jordanians, including women, is thus likely to be conducted under a **temporary framework**.

DIOC dataset (OECD.stat)

According to the statistics from destination countries as provided by OECD (OECD.stat), Jordanians residing in the OECD area around 2000 were 63,892, of which females represented only 38.2% (24,435). What is interesting is the distribution of Jordanians in OECD countries by country of residence. Indeed, three countries hosted alone 80% of Jordanians abroad around 2000, namely the US (with 77.3% of the total Jordanian population abroad and 80.0% of the female population), Canada (where the same values equaled respectively 6.6% and 7.6%) and the UK (respectively 4.0% and

³ The results of the 1961 General Census of population and Housing in Jordan claimed that the population of the Kingdom is 900,800 individuals (Department of Statistics, 1964).

3.8%). It can be concluded that while Jordanians tend to migrate towards other Arab countries, a number are also attracted to North America and to the only major European Anglophone country, while Continental Europe is unpopular with Jordanian emigrants.

Among those who have declared their educational level (63,117), a high-educational profile is observed: 41.5% have a high-educational level, while 38.3% a medium one.⁴ However, it is worth noting that the same values are lower for the female population standing at 34.0% and 38.0%, respectively. Meanwhile, their occupational profile partially reflects their skills profile even if women seem to be in a more disadvantaged position with respect to their male counterparts. Indeed, while the majority of men are employed as professionals (31.4%) and 'legislators, senior officials and managers' (14.8%), women are more likely to be employed as 'service workers and shop and market sales workers' (22.6%) and clerks (20.2%), even if an important part among them is employed as well as technicians and associate professionals (15.4%) and as professionals (17.2%). As a whole, it can be concluded that despite some differences in the type of work, Jordanians residing in OECD countries are rarely employed in low-skilled occupations.⁵

An interesting aspect of Jordanian emigration towards Northern America is related to the length of residence there. The majority (62.2%) of Jordanians residing in the US and Canada in the years around 2000 stayed there for more than 10 years: the numbers were 58.7% for Jordanian females. This seems to indicate a more long-term oriented project compared to that of emigration directed towards other Arab countries.

3. Analyzing the link between education and female migration in and from Jordan

Migration for education has been a historical reason for out-migration for Jordanians; its momentum has, however, slowed, with the expansion of higher education institutions in Jordan. The University of Jordan was the only institution in the Kingdom until the year 1976: in Jordan there are today 26 public and private universities.

As to emigration for education, despite the limitations of estimating Jordanian students abroad,⁶ some figures can be offered. In the academic year 2000/2001, there were 31,003 Jordanians studying abroad. This number dropped to 25,220 in 2005/2006 only to rise again to 28,854 in 2008/2009. Among them, females represented around 20% (Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, 2009). The main destinations of this emigration were the United Arab Emirates, Syria, Egypt, the US, Germany, Ukraine and Russia and it is worth mentioning that this kind of migration usually ends with the completion of education.

As to foreign students in Jordan, this has been an increasingly common phenomenon in the last decade, especially among female students. The number of non-Jordanian students enrolled in institutions of higher education was 24,699 in 2006 and increased to 27,871 students in 2009, with an average annual growth rate of 4.1%. Foreign female students also increased between the abovementioned two years from 6,686 to 8,536 at an average annual growth rate of 8.5%, a rate exceeding 3.5 times the one registered by their male counterparts. 27.1% of all non-Jordanians students in 2006 and 30.6% in 2009 were females (table 6).

⁴ 'High level of education', or ISCED 5/6 includes those who had completed the first or the second stage of tertiary education; 'Medium level of education', or ISCED 3/4 includes those who had completed the upper secondary education or first or post-secondary non-tertiary education.

⁵ However, it is worth mentioning that the rate of activity largely differs by sex, standing at 77.8% for men vs 36.2% for women.

⁶ Figures are estimates of advisers working in Jordanian embassies around the world.

Table 6. Non-Jordanian students enrolled in Jordanian higher education institutions by level of education in which they are enrolled and sex, 2006, 2009

Year	Level of Education	Sex					
		Males		Females		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
2006	Bachelor	16,153	72.3	6,174	27.7	22,327	100.0
	High Diploma	33	48.5	35	51.5	68	100.0
	Master	1,546	78.8	417	21.2	1,963	100.0
	Ph. D	281	82.4	60	17.6	341	100.0
	Total	18,013	72.9	6,686	27.1	24,699	100.0
2009	Bachelor	17,173	69.1	7,684	30.9	24,857	100.0
	High Diploma	85	57.4	63	42.6	148	100.0
	Master	1,790	71.6	710	28.4	2,500	100.0
	Ph. D	287	78.4	79	21.6	366	100.0
	Total	19,335	69.4	8,536	30.6	27,871	100.0

Source: Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

The proportion of women is higher among those who are enrolled in the 'higher diploma degree', though it dropped from 51.5% in 2006 to 42.6% in 2009. On the other hand, the numbers are lower among students enrolled in doctoral programs, despite it increased from 17.6% in 2006 to 21.6% in 2009 (table 6).

Finally, another form of female immigration to Jordan is the immigration of academic workers who are employed in Jordanian universities. In 2009, there were 7,613 academic workers in Jordanian universities, of which 11.8% were foreign (897) and of whom 23.2% (208) were females. As to their profile, female foreign academics mainly originate in other Arab countries (81.3%) (table 7).

Table 7. Academic staff employed in Jordanian universities by nationality and sex, 2006, 2009

Nationality	2006		2009	
	Number	%	Number	%
Jordanian	5,668		6,716	
Male	4,672	82.4	5,350	79.7
Female	996	17.6	1,366	20.3
From Arab States	797		800	
Male	624	78.3	631	78.9
Female	173	21.7	169	21.1
From non-Arab States	77		97	
Male	50	64.9	58	59.8
Female	27	35.1	39	40.2
Total	6,542		7,613	
Male	5,346	81.7	6,039	79.3
Female	1,196	18.3	1,574	20.7

Source: Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Conclusions and policy recommendations

The analysis sheds light on the following points regarding the gender dimension of migration to and from Jordan

- Jordan is still an important sending and receiving country for all types of international migration whether labor migration, forced migration, or voluntary migration and whether voluntary migration be for education, tourism and treatment;
- As to emigration patterns, the proportion of females in the overall expatriate labor population from Jordan increased remarkably from 3.2% in 1973 to 5.7% in 1992 and then to 16.4% in 2009. The average female-male ratio was 14.7% during the period (1983-2009), while when the ratio peaked in 1991 it reached 25.4%. If they are mainly found in other Arab countries, where emigration is a temporary project, Jordanians are today well represented in other countries, especially in North America and the UK, where they tend to have high educational and occupational profiles and where their migration project seems to be more long-term oriented.
- As far as immigration patterns are concerned, since the end of 1990s, the size of foreign female workers started to grow consistently in order to cover labor shortages in low-skilled occupations where Jordanians do not wish to work, i.e. in the 'personal and social services' sector as well as in the QIZs, where their importance is currently on the rise and working conditions are unsatisfactory. The main sources of foreign female labor in Jordan are non-Arab Asian States, especially Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka;
- Finally, female emigration for education is supposed to be significant despite the lack of accurate figures of Jordanians studying abroad. Meanwhile, Jordan is a receiving country for foreign students, especially females, where in 2009 the proportion of females within the emigrant student population (both males and females) accelerated year after year until it reached 30.6%, while 20.7% of all non-Jordanian professors in these universities were women.

There is clearly a need, from the scientific point of view, of a body to register migration to and from Jordan, as well as the need for adequate funding for the implementation of surveys in order to provide a database to monitor international migration to and from Jordan. This should encourage studies and research activities which tackle the issue of migration and gender and that would in turn help decision makers to design policies that maximize the benefits both of in and out migration.

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