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General overview of migration into, from and through Jordan

Abdel Baset Athamneh

CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2012/03

**Series - Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan Migration:
Recent Developments**

Demographic and Economic Module



Co-financed by the European University Institute and
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Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration

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Abdel Baset Athamneh
Assistant Professor, Dept. of Economics, Yarmouk University

The entire set of papers on Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan Migration: Recent Developments are available at <http://www.carim.org/ql/MigrationDevelopments>.

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[Full name of the author(s)], [title], CARIM AS [series number], Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, [year of publication].

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European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

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For more information:

Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI)

Convento

Via delle Fontanelle 19

50014 San Domenico di Fiesole

Italy

Tel: +39 055 46 85 878

Fax: + 39 055 46 85 755

Email: carim@eui.eu

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/>

Abstract

Jordan is both a receiving and a sending country for migration. Since its independence, it has received several waves of forced migration as a result of regional instability. Moreover, Jordan is a major receiver of labour migrants, too, especially from Egypt and non-Arab Asian countries, the non Arab-Asian migrants being mainly women and typically employed in the service sector. As to emigration trends, Jordan has long been a sending country, especially to the Arab Gulf states. This note attempts to shed light on the main characteristics of inward and outward Jordanian migration patterns and characteristics in recent times.

Résumé

La Jordanie est à la fois un pays d'origine et d'accueil d'importants flux migratoires. Depuis son indépendance, le pays a accueilli plusieurs vagues de migration forcée liée à des motifs tenant essentiellement à l'instabilité de la région. De plus, il est un pays d'attraction pour les travailleurs migrants originaires, en particulier, d'Egypte et de pays asiatiques non-arabes, ces derniers enregistrant le départ de flux principalement de femmes, employées dans le secteur des services. Quant aux tendances enregistrées dans le champ de l'émigration, la Jordanie s'est longtemps positionnée comme un pays d'émigration, à destination plus particulièrement des Etats du Golfe. Cette analyse se propose de retracer les contours des caractéristiques principales et des tendances enregistrées du phénomène migratoire vers et depuis la Jordanie au cours de la période la plus récente.

Introduction

Jordan is both a receiving and a sending country for migration. Since its independence, it has received several waves of forced migration as a result of regional instability. More than half a million Palestinian refugees due to the Arab-Israeli war reached Jordan in 1948 and, then in 1967, about 300,000 displaced Palestinians fled the West Bank to the East Bank of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. As a result of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Jordan faced a new wave of Iraqi forced migration. Estimates of the number of Iraqis in Jordan vary. According to UNHCR, there were around 750,000 Iraqi refugees in 2007. Further, Jordan is a major receiver of labour migrants, too. As to emigration trends, Jordan has long been a sending country, especially to the Arab Gulf states.

This study attempts to shed light on the main trends and characteristics of migration from, to and through Jordan. Specifically, the first section deals with inward migration to Jordan, highlighting the role of foreign workers in the country with a special focus on the presence of Palestinian refugees. A second section is then dedicated to outward migration patterns and characteristics. A third section describes, instead, remittances from and to the country and their impact on socio-economic conditions in Jordan and elsewhere. Finally, the fourth section concludes with specific policy recommendations.

1. Inward migration to Jordan

1.1 A quantitative profile of foreign nationals living in Jordan: Census results

The results of the General Census of Population and Housing in Jordan in 2004 showed that the number of non-Jordanians living in Jordan was 392,273, or 7.7% of the total resident population, including 160,933 females (41%). Non-Jordanians residing in the Kingdom are unevenly distributed across regions: 87.1% live in urban areas and only 12.9% in rural areas. Table 1 shows the distribution of foreign nationals residing in Jordan by country of nationality and sex.

Table 1. Foreign nationals residing in Jordan by country of nationality and sex, 2004

Country of nationality	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Arab Asian countries	115,643	50.0	90,244	56.1	205,887	52.5
Non-Arab Asian countries	16,158	7.0	41,988	26.1	58,146	14.8
Arab African countries	94,656	40.9	23,098	14.4	117,745	30.0
Non-Arab African countries	167	0.1	164	0.1	331	0.1
Western Europe countries	1,967	0.9	1,935	1.2	3,902	1.0
Eastern Europe countries	695	0.3	1,785	1.1	2,435	0.6
North American countries	1,773	0.8	1,422	0.9	3,195	0.8
Middle American countries	14	0.0	40	0.0	54	0.0
South American countries	99	0.0	108	0.1	208	0.1
Oceania countries	168	0.1	175	0.1	343	0.1
Total	231,340	100.0	160,933	100.0	392,273	100.0

Source: 2004 Population Census – Jordan

82.5% are from other Arab countries, while a significant minority (14.8%) are from non-Arab Asian countries, most of these are women, who represent 72.2% of the total. This labour force responds well to Jordanian labour market needs by covering labour shortages in the social service sector. The distribution of non-Jordanians living in Jordan by governorate of residence is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Foreign nationals residing in Jordan by governorate of residence and sex, 2004

Governorate of residence	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Amman	120,161	51.9	89,612	55.7	209,773	53.5
Balqa	15,185	6.6	6,728	4.2	21,913	5.6
Zarqa	31,032	13.4	25,476	15.8	56,508	14.4
Madaba	3,593	1.6	1,898	1.2	5,491	1.4
Irbid	18,114	7.8	13,280	8.3	31,394	8.0
Mafraq	10,151	4.4	4,773	3.0	14,924	3.8
Jerash	10,659	4.6	8,837	5.5	19,496	5.0
Ajloun	899	0.4	395	0.2	1,294	0.3
Karak	4,835	2.1	3,926	2.4	8,761	2.2
Tafilah	1,037	0.4	381	0.2	1,418	0.4
Ma'an	4,185	1.8	1,500	0.9	5,685	1.4
Aqaba	11,489	5.0	4,127	2.6	15,616	4.0
Jordan	231,340	100.0	160,933	100.0	392,273	100.0

Source: 2004 Population Census – Jordan

53.5% residing in Jordan live in the Governorate of Amman. Governorate of Zarqa was in second place (14.4%), and then came Irbid (8.0%) so that 3 out of 4 (74.0%) foreign nationals live in the Middle Region, 17.1% in the North Region and 8.1% in the South Region.

Table 3. Foreign nationals residing in Jordan by economic activity status and sex, 2004

Economic Activity Status	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Economically Active:	144,239		47,068		191,307	
a. Employed	135,728	94.1	42,908	91.2	178,636	93.4
b. Unemployed	8,511	5.9	4,160	8.8	12,671	6.6
Not Economically Active:	25,565		62,810		88,375	
a. Students	13,250	51.8	9,510	15.1	22,760	25.8
b. House Maker	616	2.4	48,717	77.6	49,333	55.8
c. With Means	2,275	8.9	862	1.4	3,137	3.5
d. Disabled	4,795	18.8	3,707	5.9	8,502	9.6
e. Other	4,325	16.9	0	0.0	4,325	4.9
f. Unspecified	304	1.2	14	0.0	318	0.4
Total	169,804		109,878		279,682	

Source: 2004 Population Census – Jordan

According to table 3, 68.4% of foreign nationals living in Jordan were economically active in 2004. The vast majority of them were employed (93.4%), though men at 94.1% are in a more advantaged position than women at 91.2%.

With regard to the marital status of non-Jordanians older than 15 and living in Jordan: 43.21% are single, 54.08% are married 54.08%, 0.56% are divorced, and 1.62%, are widowed, 0.02% are separated and 0.48% are unspecified. For women the corresponding figures stood at: 41.41%, 53.12%, 1.15%, 3.68%, 0.05% and 0.06%, while they stood, for men, at: 44.38%, 54.7%, 0.24%, 0.28%, 0.004% and 0.04%.

As to their educational profile, in 2004, foreign nationals in Jordan tend to be low skilled: 60.3% do not hold a degree higher than basic education and specifically 17.3% are illiterate, 8.2% can only read and write, 11.7% have a primary education, 15.2% a preparatory education and 8.0% a basic education. The educational profile of women is even lower. Indeed, 63.7% of women are without an educational level higher than primary. Only 1.1% of the foreign population (0.9% for women) have received a tertiary education (source: Department of Statistics). The educational profile reflects the sectors of activity where foreign nationals are mainly employed, though a gender segmentation of foreign labor force is also evident. Globally, they are mainly employed in the services (38.2%; 56.6% for women), followed by mining, manufacturing and water, gas and electricity supply (27.6% and only 0.1% for women), construction (22.5%; 42.4% for women) and finally agriculture, hunting, and forestry (11.7%; 0.9% for women).

1.2. Labour migration to Jordan

Labour migrants and their characteristics are here analyzed thanks to work permit data. Labor migration to Jordan started in 1973 and coincided with rising national income in Jordan and thus higher demand for both local and foreign labor. Therefore, the number of foreign workers (i.e. those holding a work permit) in the Kingdom increased from 376 workers in 1973 to 79,566 in 1980, to 165,000 in 1990, then the number declined to 141,186 in 2000, while it rose again to 335,707 in 2009 (Table 4).

Table 4. Foreign population holding work permits, 1973-2009

Year	Number
1973	376
1974	519
1975	2,228
1976	4,790
1977	9,733
1978	18,738
1979	41,042
1980	79,566
1981	93,402
1982	120,000
1983	130,000
1984	153,519
1985	143,000
1986	130,000
1987	120,000

Year	Number
1988	148,000
1989	196,000
1990	165,000
1991	239,000
1992	153,000
1993	159,000
1994	213,000
1995	285,000
1996	184,400
1997	130,229
1998	123,985
1999	169,542
2000	119,337
2001	141,186
2002	127,181
2003	148,351
2004	218,756
2005	260,400
2006	289,724
2007	313,962
2008	303,325
2009	335,707

Source: Jordanian Ministry of Labour

Concerning the level of education of migrant workers to Jordan, there is no specific direction, during the last four decades, neither a striking rise or fall: the proportion of those with an education level below the General Secondary Certificate increased from 60.9% in 1973 to 91.4% in 2009, while the proportion of those with secondary school decreased in the abovementioned years from 15.7% to 0.20%, as the proportion of the Diploma holders also decreased from 13.8% to 7.8%. The proportion of BA holders declined from 1.3% to 0.15% in the same years. It should be noted that the percentage of foreign workers with less than secondary education continues to increase reflecting Jordan's needs for migrant workers particularly in economic activities that do not require high academic qualifications. This, of course, is due to the abundance of a highly-educated Jordanian labor force which ultimately matches both internal and foreign demand, particularly demand in the Arab Gulf countries. In 2009, foreign workers are mainly employed in the service sector (29.6%), mining and manufacturing industries (19.6%), and the construction sector (11.4%). These statistics confirm what was already seen in the 2004 census data.

Foreign workers from Egypt constituted, in 2009, the majority of non-Jordanian workers (71.5%), where its percentage was 12.5% in 1973 which peaked in 2001 (82.3%). The proportion of non-Arab foreign workers increased from 14.5% in 1973 to 27.0% in 2009, and was mainly represented by Asian people working in the service sector. The vast majority of foreign workers are men even if their importance has decreased from 96.8% in 1973 to 83.6% in 2009, with the percentage of women growing from 3.2% to 16.4%. Both the increase in Asian nationals and women in the total foreign population indicates the gradual but continually rising importance of foreign nationals employed in the

service sector, whose jobs are no longer desired by Jordanians workers due to low wages, long working hours and, indeed, the hard nature of these jobs.

These important immigration levels has mainly been the result of Jordanian migration policies, which have been twofold:

I. Replacement policies:

Jordan has seriously worked in the last decade at replacing foreign workers with national workers, but this policy has not been entirely successful as there are no obligations and no particular encouragement from the government, in addition there is the continuous need in Jordan for foreign workers to work in some economic activities where nationals are reluctant to receive employment because of the combination of hard work and low wages.

II. Wage-setting policy:

Jordan has raised the minimum wage in the Kingdom in 2009 to 150 Jordanian dinars (212 U.S. dollars) per month; the main objective of this policy is to reduce the competition of foreign workers with national workers. This limit does not necessarily reflect the actual wage paid which is often much higher and this does not reflect well on the cost of living in Jordan. However, some unemployed Jordanians may wish to take up jobs typically undertaken by foreign workers.

1.3 A focus on Palestinian refugees living in Jordan

Jordan is a close neighbour to Palestine and the Kingdom has been affected by the Palestinian question and by its political, economic, and demographic consequences more than any other Arab country. The Jordanian authorities estimate that 494,000 Palestinian refugees fled to Jordan in the wake of the war of 1948. This figure is close to the UNRWA statistics that estimated them in 1950 at 506,200 refugees, about (55.2%) of the total Palestinian refugees of that time, 914,200. This indicates that most of the Palestinian refugees fled to Jordan (The United Nations, 2010).

The number of Palestinian refugees in Jordan increased from 613,743 in 1960 to 716,372 in 1980 and then to 1,570,000 in 2000. In June, 2010 UNRWA estimated the number of Palestinian refugees in Jordan at 1,983,000, 41.6% of the 4,767,000 in the region (The United Nations, 2010).

There are thirteen refugee camps in Jordan. Ten of them are under the mandate of the UNRWA: Irbid, Zarqa, Jabal Al-Hussein, Marka (Hiteen), Suf, Jerash, Azmi Al-Mufti, Baqa, Talbia, and Al-Wihdat. There are also three camps which are not under the competence of the UNRWA: Assokhneh, Madaba, and Al-Amir Hassan Quarter (Hnakeen).

It is important to mention some peculiar characteristics of the Palestinian refugee situation in Jordan:

1. Jordan hosts the largest part of those Palestinian refugees registered in the UNRWA's five operational regions constituting 41.6% of those refugees for which UNRWA were responsible in 2010.
2. Most Palestinian refugees in Jordan have full citizenship rights on the grounds of the unification between the East and West Banks of the Kingdom in 1950, and according to the Jordanian Constitution of 1952.
3. In 2010, 82.8% of the Palestinian refugees live outside the camps, while the rest live in the camps. They are not able to leave these camps because they are unable to find dwelling places outside or, in certain cases, because some consider the camp as a symbol for the survival of the refugee question and a symbol of their rights.

4. The Palestinian refugees in Jordan established poor neighborhoods at the fringes of the main cities and near some rural towns. It also established new cities, such as Arsayfeh in Azarqa governorate where most inhabitants are Palestinian refugees.
5. The locations of the Palestinian refugee camps are largely in urban areas. They are in Amman, Irbid, Zarqa, Balqa, and Madaba governorates.
6. The Palestinian refugees in Jordan nearly constitute about one-third of the total population of the country, which is the higher rate than any of the other UNRWA's operational regions.
7. The Integration of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan was easier, relatively, than it was in other regions as a result of the historical relations between Jordanians and Palestinians, and also because of the acquisition of full-citizenship by Palestinian refugees. Hence, they participated on an equal footing with other Jordanians in the political, economic and social aspects of life.

UNRWA statistics on September 2009 indicated that the number of Palestinian refugee families in Jordan came to 405,666 with average family size at 4.87 which was the highest average compared with the other UNRWA operational regions (3.70 in the West Bank, 4.43 in Gaza Strip, 3.73 in Lebanon and 3.99 in Syria). About 61.6% of these families consisted of five members or fewer, while only 2.6% of the families had more than ten members. Palestinian refugees inside camps in Jordan were estimated in September 2009 at 340,611 individuals and 68,881 families and consequently the average family size was 4.94 individuals (The United Nations, 2010).

2. Labour emigration from Jordan

Jordan is a major labor-exporting country, particularly to the Arab Gulf oil-producing states, where migration started in the 1950s. The General Census of Population and Housing in Jordan in 1961 suggested that the number of Jordanians abroad was 62,862 of whom 79.8% lived in Arab countries of whom 32,765 were working. While the total number of Jordanians working in the Arab States at this time accounted for 25,901, (79.1% of all Jordanian emigrant labor). The corresponding rate was 0.32% in Asia and Africa, and 5.1% in Europe and 15% in the Americas and 0.5% in other countries (the Department of Statistics, 1964). As a result of the substantial rise in world oil prices at the beginning of the 1970s investments accelerated in Arab-oil exporting countries in particular those in the Arab Gulf, pulling workers from Jordan and other Arab and foreign countries and encouraging them to migrate to the Gulf States. Thus significant changes took place in the labor market in Jordan in terms of the number of emigrant laborers and unemployment rates, and later Jordan began looking for foreign workers to fill jobs in certain economic sectors. The number of the Jordanian emigrant workers increased from 103,000 workers in 1970 to 305,400 in 1980 and then to 339,000 in 1987 (Ibrahim, 1989). In 1995, the number of Jordanian emigrant workers was estimated at 275,000 and at 260,600 in 2001 and then they increased again to 350,000 in 2009 (Ministry of Labor, 2009).

With regard to the characteristics of the Jordanian labor emigrant, in 2000, data are available but only for OECD countries: in the years around 2000, people born in Jordan and residing in OECD countries were more likely to be: 1. men (52.4%), highly educated (41.0% hold a tertiary education and 37.8% a secondary or post-secondary degree) and employed in highly-skilled jobs (69.3% were employed in highly-skilled jobs, especially as professionals, 28.3%; legislators, senior officials and managers stood at 13.4%; and technicians and associate professionals at 11.3%) (source: OECD data).

Available data on flows suggest that during the 1970s and 1980s the number of Jordanian workers going abroad increased dramatically, with an average annual growth of 7.2%. This important growth may be attributed to the following determinants:

1. The increase in external demand for Jordanian workers, especially after the rise in oil prices, which created considerably differences in real wages between the receiving countries of the Jordanian workers (mainly the Gulf States) and Jordan. For example the real wage rate in Saudi Arabia was during the 1980s more than three times that of Jordan (Ministry of Labor,

1987). This does not necessarily mean equal levels of wages paid to Jordanian workers abroad compared to what was actually paid to citizens there. In 1981, the average monthly wage paid to the Jordanians workers in Saudi Arabia accounted for 130 JDs compared to 305 JDs for Saudi citizens (Talafha, 1983), nevertheless, Jordanian labor continued emigrating due to the differences in real wages.

2. The open-door policy adopted by Jordan in encouraging the out-migration of Jordanian labor and calling for foreign labor. At that time, Jordan did not launch any policies to regulate or prevent the migration of workers or expertise from Jordan abroad since emigration assists the balance of payments through the contribution of remittances of Jordanians abroad, as well as by taking advantage of differences between the wages Jordanian workers earn abroad and what foreign workers earn in Jordan. Accordingly the net inflow of remittances increased from 190.6 million dinars in 1980 to 1946.7 millions in 2008, with an annual growth rate of 8.7% during that period (1980-2008), while the proportion of remittances of Jordanians abroad to the GDP went from 22.36% to 18.00%, this percentage reached a peak in 1984 (27.4%). The proportion of remittances of foreign workers in Jordan to GDP in the same two years went from 4.3% to 2.37%. The last percentage also peaked in 1984, the year which witnessed a significant increase in the size of the Jordanian emigrant workers (334,300) at the same time as there was a significant increase in the size of foreign workers in Jordan (153,500) (Ibrahim, 1989), (tables 4&5)
3. Jordanian emigrant labor is, in general, characterized by a high level of education compared to other workforces in the region. Some studies (Bricks and Sinclair, 1980) noted that 78.8% of Jordanian workers in Kuwait in 1975 were from the ‘professionals, technicians and skilled workers’ category. 24.1% of Jordanian labor abroad held graduate certificates in 1987.
4. The high rate of growth in the labor force in Jordan during last four decades is also notable. The average annual population growth came to more 3.0 % accompanied with high growth in the labor force (4.36%) over the same period. Therefore the high rate of growth in the labor force was not associated with a parallel growth in the capacity of the Jordanian economy to create additional jobs, which in part pushes new entrants to the labor market to migrate abroad (Share, 1991).

3. Remittances

3.1 Remittances of foreign workers from Jordan

Remittances from Jordan have continuously increased since Jordan began calling for foreign workers in 1973: they passed from 46 million dinars in 1980 to 46.8 million in 1990 and then jumped to 123.6 million in 2000 with an exceptional increase in 2008 to 295.3 million dinars. Put in other terms the rate of annual growth in remittances from foreign workers in Jordan was about 6.87% from 1980-2008, while the rate of growth in the number of workers over the same period came to 4.9%. This indicates that the share of foreign workers’ remittances increased and peaked in 1998 (at about 1184 dinars), while its average was 648.6 over the same period. Here, it must be noted that remittance levels before 1980 were modest due to the small numbers of foreign workers in Jordan.

Table 5. Foreign labor remittances from Jordan and the stock of foreign workers living in Jordan 1973-2009

Year	Foreign labor remittances from Jordan (in Million JDs)	Stock of foreign workers	Stock of foreign workers as a % of employed population in Jordan
1973	0	376	0.1
1974	0	519	0.2
1975	0	2,228	0.6
1976	0	4,790	1.3
1977	15	9,733	2.6
1978	20	18,738	4.8
1979	24	41,042	10.1
1980	46	79,566	18.9
1981	52	93,402	21.5
1982	62.4	120,000	26.6
1983	72.8	130,000	27.8
1984	97.5	153,519	31.7
1985	93	143,000	28.5
1986	86.5	130,000	24.3
1987	62.4	120,000	21.6
1988	57.2	148,000	25.9
1989	52	196,000	33.6
1990	46.8	165,000	26.2
1991	41.6	239,000	37.0
1992	58.5	153,000	21.7
1993	54.1	159,000	19.6
1994	65	213,000	22.5
1995	75	285,000	29.2
1996	70.8	184,400	18.6
1997	141.8	130,229	12.6
1998	146.8	123,985	11.6
1999	144.6	169,542	15.2
2000	123.6	119,337	10.4
2001	120.8	141,186	12.0
2002	121.3	127,181	10.4
2003	141.9	148,351	12.1
2004	170.1	218,756	17.5
2005	218.4	260,400	20.8
2006	251.1	289,724	23.6
2007	299.6	313,962	23.9
2008	295.3	303,325	22.6
2009	-	335,707	23.9

Source: Central Bank of Jordan

For the remittances of foreign workers in Jordan and their contribution to economic variables, table 5 indicates the number of foreign workers in Jordan, which reached its maximum in 2009 (335,700 thousand workers). The proportion of foreign labor to total labor force, reached its peak in 1991 and amounted to about 37%, while the proportion of foreign workers remittances to the GDP reached its maximum in 1984 (5.6%).

3.2 Remittances sent to Jordan by Jordanian emigrants

The number of Jordanian emigrant workers increased from 152,900 thousand workers in 1973 to 305,400 in 1980 and then to 339,000 in 1987 (Ibrahim, 1989). The number was estimated in 1990 by 339,000 (El-Khasawneh, 1992) which decreased to 260,600 in 2001, and then started increasing again to reach 350,000 in 2009, (Ministry of Labor, 2009). Table 6 shows that the remittances of Jordanians abroad witnessed a significant growth, remittances increased from 14.7 million dinars in 1973 to 871.7 million in 1995, while in 2009 they amounted to 2.242 billion dinars. The rate of annual growth in remittances during the period (1973-2008) was about 15.4%.

As to the contribution of remittances to GDP it was, in the corresponding years, 5.2%, 20.5% and 18.0%. Concerning the proportion of remittances to private consumption, it increased from 8% in 1973 to 25.4% in 1980, then dropped to 16.8% in 1990, then increased again to 24.3% in 2000, while in 2007 it decreased to 20.5%: the peak came in 1997 when it stood at 32.2%. With regard to investment, remittances varied. The remittances rate increased from 31.1% in 1973 to 56.6% in 1980, while it decreased to 47.8% in 1990, to rebound after that to 92.9% in 2000 and to 94.8% in 2007. In 1985 this rate reached its peak, 105%.

Table 6. Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad: their Contribution to some macroeconomic variables, 1973-2008

Year	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad (Million JDs)	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad as a % of GDP	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad as a % of private consumption	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad as a % of Gross investment
1973	14.7	5.2	8.0	31.1
1974	24.1	6.9	12.1	38.1
1975	53.3	18.9	18.0	60.6
1976	129.6	25.5	30.0	72.3
1977	154.8	25.5	27.9	21.5
1978	159.4	22.4	24.5	60.3
1979	180.4	20.0	21.3	56.0
1980	236.7	22.4	25.4	56.6
1981	340.9	26.0	29.9	53.7
1982	381.9	25.3	26.2	60.9
1983	402.9	25.2	25.5	75.2
1984	475.0	27.4	28.8	90.2
1985	402.9	22.8	22.4	105.0
1986	414.5	21.4	24.1	101.2
1987	317.7	15.9	19.0	70.8
1988	335.7	16.3	20.6	65.4
1989	358.3	16.3	21.9	64.6

Year	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad (Million JDs)	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad as a % of GDP	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad as a % of private consumption	Remittances sent by Jordanians residing abroad as a % of Gross investment
1990	331.8	13.5	16.8	47.8
1991	306.3	11.6	15.1	45.2
1992	573.1	18.3	21.6	54.6
1993	720.7	21.6	26.0	55.3
1994	763.7	20.7	27.0	54.9
1995	871.7	20.5	28.6	62.5
1996	1,094.8	26.4	31.7	75.8
1997	1,173.5	26.4	32.2	88.6
1998	1,093.8	23.2	26.6	92.1
1999	1,179.8	24.3	28.2	87.2
2000	1,177.3	22.9	24.3	92.9
2001	1,283.3	23.6	24.9	103.8
2002	1,362.3	23.7	24.5	105.9
2003	1,404.5	23.0	21.3	94.8
2004	1,459.6	20.3	22.1	72.8
2005	1,544.8	19.3	19.7	56.5
2006	1,782.7	19.5	20.3	59.9
2007	2,122.5	20.9	20.5	60.3
2008	2,242.0	18.0	-	-

Source: Central Bank of Jordan

Conclusions

Jordan is both a receiving and a sending country for migration. This paper described the main characteristics of forced and labour migration to Jordan as well as labour emigration patterns from Jordan. Since its independence, it has received several waves of forced migration as a result of regional instability. More than half a million Palestinian refugees due to the Arab-Israeli war reached Jordan in 1948 and, then in 1967, about 300,000 displaced Palestinians fled the West Bank to the East Bank of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. As a result of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Jordan faced a new wave of Iraqi forced migration. Estimates of the number of Iraqis in Jordan vary. According to UNHCR, there were around 750,000 Iraqi refugees in 2007. As to labour immigration trends, both the increase in Asian nationals and women's proportions in the total foreign population indicates the gradual but continually rising importance of foreign nationals employed in the service sector, whose jobs are no longer desired by Jordanians workers due to low wages, long working hours and, indeed, the hard nature of these jobs. As to emigration trends, Jordan has long been a sending country, especially to the Arab Gulf states.

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