

CARIM – Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration

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CARIM – Migration Profile

Jordan

The Demographic-Economic Framework of Migration
The Legal Framework of Migration
The Socio-Political Framework of Migration

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The Demographic-Economic Framework of Migration

Various forms of migration movements from, to and through Jordan have continuously played a key role in shaping its demographic, economic and political structure.

As to emigration patterns, since the 1973 oil price increases large outflows of Jordanian citizens – mainly highly-skilled and of Palestinian origins – emigrated towards the oil-producing countries and overseas, which represent still today the most important destination for Jordanians.

In the same period, Jordan became the recipient of unskilled and semi-skilled workers destined to fill shortages in the agrarian, construction and service sectors. Considered as a sort of replacement migration, today's foreign workers represent a fundamental component of the Jordanian labor market. However, the high levels of unemployment among nationals combined with large numbers of foreign workers is much debated. Furthermore, being at the crossroads of two major areas of instability and prolonged conflicts, Jordan has become the destination for several waves of forced migrants from Palestine — the majority of whom were granted Jordanian citizenship — but also from Lebanon and Iraq.

Outward migration

Stock

Data on Jordanians abroad are scarce and fragmentary. Only by using origin and destination sources, can a quantitative picture of the phenomenon be partially traced.¹

JORDANIAN STATISTICS (available only for oil-producing countries, 2008)		DESTINATION COUNTRIES' STATISTICS (most recent data, circa 2008)			
UAE	54,834	33.9	UE-27	24,158	19.1
Qatar	50,928	31.5	of which Germany (2008)	7,716	6.1
Kuwait	30,748	19.0	UK (2008)	3, 105	2.5
Oman	18,888	11.7	Italy (2009)	2,692	2.1
Saudi Arabia	3,396	2.1	SEM COUNTRIES (*)	17,562	13.9
Libya	3,060	1.9	of which Syria (2004)	12,897	10.2
Total	161,854	100.0	OTHERS (*)	84,591	67.0
			of which USA (2006)	71,306	56.5
			Canada (2006)	7,440	5.9
			Total	126,311	100.0
Main total		288,165			
(*) According to data availability, "Southern and Eastern Mediterranean (SEM) countries"					

comprehend Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Syria and Turkey, while "others" comprehend Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Switzerland and USA.

Sources: Jordanian Ministry of Labor (Jordanian statistics); Census and population registers (destination countries' statistics).

In 2008, according to the national Ministry of Labor, Jordanians residing in oil-producing countries stood at 161,854. The majority of them lived in the United Arab Emirates (33.9%), Qatar (31.5%), Kuwait (19.0%) and Oman (11.7%). As to the rest of the world, the most recent data (*circa* 2008) would put the figure at 126,311, of which more than a half (56.5%) live in the US, 19.1% in the EU-27 and 13.9% in other SEM countries.

Inward migration

Stock

In 2004, according to census data, 342,273 foreign nationals resided in Jordan or 7.7% of the total resident population. Among them, 191,307 were economically active – or 13.2% of the total active population – of which 178,636 were employed. The unemployment rate of foreign nationals was thus estimated at 6.6% vs 22.8% of the total resident population and 25.2% among Jordanian nationals. In this regard, the Census revealed the seriousness of unemployment in Jordan which, until the dissemination of the Census results, was instead estimated at "only" 12.5% by the 2004 Employment and Unemployment Survey.

1994		2004		Average annual growth rate	2004 Economically active population	
Total	%	Total	%	(%)	Total	%
157,998	50.2	205,887	52.5	3.0	58,576	30.6
92,131	29.3	115,190	29.4	2.5	29,696	15.5
24,501	7.8	40,084	10.2	6.4	13,148	6.9
31,805	10.1	38,130	9.7	2.0	14,185	7.4
127,976	40.6	117,754	30.0	-0.8	80,023	41.8
124,566	39.5	112,392	28.7	-1.0	78,486	41.0
21,608	6.9	58,146	14.8	16.9	51,101	26.7
9,933	3.2	13,552	3.5	3.6	13,369	7.0
7,383	2.3	10,486	2.7	4.2	1,607	0.8
314,965	100.0	392,273	100.0	2.5	191,307	100.0
7.6		7.7			13,2	(*)
(*) Percentage of economically active foreigners on the total economically active population. Source: bordanian national Cansus (1994 and 2004)						
	Total 157,998 92,131 24,501 31,805 127,976 124,566 21,608 9,933 7,383 314,965 7.6 y active fore	Total % 157,998 50.2 92,131 29.3 24,501 7.8 31,805 10.1 127,976 40.6 124,566 39.5 21,608 6.9 9,933 3.2 7,383 2.3 314,965 100.0 7.6 y active foreigners of	Total % Total 157,998 50.2 205,887 92,131 29.3 115,190 24,501 7.8 40,084 31,805 10.1 38,130 127,976 40.6 117,754 124,566 39.5 112,392 21,608 6.9 58,146 9,933 3.2 13,552 7,383 2.3 10,486 314,965 100.0 392,273 7.6 7.7	Total % Total % 157,998 50.2 205,887 52.5 92,131 29.3 115,190 29.4 24,501 7.8 40,084 10.2 31,805 10.1 38,130 9.7 127,976 40.6 117,754 30.0 124,566 39.5 112,392 28.7 21,608 6.9 58,146 14.8 9,933 3.2 13,552 3.5 7,383 2.3 10,486 2.7 314,965 100.0 392,273 100.0 7.6 7.7 7	Total % Total % (%) (%)	Total % Total % % 70 %

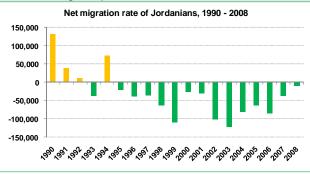
¹ For Jordan, the issue of *where* emigrants are counted emerges strikingly. Indeed, using statistics provided by destination countries would underestimate Jordanian emigrants since the Gulf states (the main destination for Jordanians) do not disseminate data on population by nationality; on the other hand, using only Jordanian statistics is not feasible either since the Ministry of Labor does not collect data on destination countries from the "oil-producing countries". Finally, the national Census only considers migrants away from home for less than one year, leading again to an underestimation of emigrants.

As a whole, in 2008, there were 288,165 Jordanians living abroad, or 4.9% of the total resident population in Jordan.

Due to data limitations, the profile of Jordanians abroad is available only for those who reside in OECD countries. In the years around 2000, women represented 47.6%. As to their socio-economic characteristics, they had a highly-skilled profile both for educational skills (41.0% held a tertiary education and 37.8% a secondary or postsecondary degree) and for occupational position (69.3% were employed in highly-skilled jobs, especially as professionals, 28.3%; legislators, officials and managers,13.4%; technicians and associate professionals, 11.3%) (OECD.stat). Finally, it is worth noting that, unlike majority of Southern and Mediterranean countries, the profile of Jordanian emigrants is very similar in all OECD countries. seeming to be determined more by educational conditions at home than by destination countries' selective migratory policies.

Flows

Data provided by the Jordanian Public Security Department permit a history of Jordanian migration flows during the period 1990-2008.

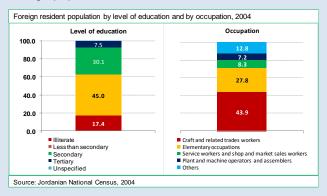


Source: Jordanian Public Security Department (in De Bel Air, 2010)

As a consequence of the 1990-1991 Gulf War, around 300,000 Palestinians, many of them born in the Gulf, became forced migrants from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and headed for Jordan, whether it was home for them or not. Emigration started growing again in the mid-1990s – just after the signing of the peace accord between Jordan and Israel – and persists though fluctuating.

By looking at the evolution of remittances of expatriates to Jordan from 1961 to 2009, the same trend is observed. In this regard, using remittances as a rough proxy of migrants' stock and their annual variations as flow proxies seems a reasonable exercise.

Foreign nationals came mainly from other Arab Asian countries (52.5%) especially Palestine (29.4%), Iraq (10.2%) and Syria (9.7%) and Arab African countries (30.0%) - of which the vast majority were Egyptian nationals Nevertheless, by comparing the two censuses (1994 and 2004), the growing importance of non-Arab nationals emerged: their annual average growth rate stood at 16.9% (vs 2.5% for the total foreign population), while their proportion of the total foreign population more than doubled from 6.9% to 14.8%, reaching 26.7% when only the economically active foreign population is considered.

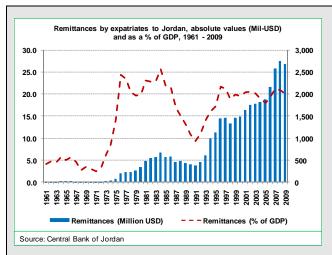


As to their profile, foreign nationals in Jordan are: **a)** mainly men (59.0%), **b)** young (mean age of 26.2), **c)** poorly educated (62.4% have less than secondary level), **d)** employed at low occupational levels (e.g. 43.9% as craft and related trades workers and 27.8% in elementary occupations) and **e)** mainly working in the manufacturing (26.6%), construction (22.5%), in the service sector (17.9%, of whom 82.6% employed in private households) and in the agricultural sector (11.7%).

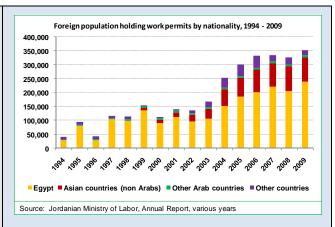
Flows

Data on the evolution of foreign workers holding work permits confirm the growing importance of Asian nationals as well as a parallel rise in the percentage of foreign nationals employed in the service sector (where Asian nationals are mainly employed).

CARIM Migration Profile: Jordan



Here, the two previous phases of Jordanian emigration emerge: the start of massive emigration after 1973 and the gradual return in the mid 1980s as a consequence of the progressive replacement of Arab by Asian workers in the Gulf countries. Furthermore, the importance of remittances comes out strikingly. In 2009 they equaled 2,682 Million USD or 20.0% of GDP.



After decades of an "open door" policy, in 2007, Jordan initiated a protectionist policy aimed at granting certain jobs to nationals. For instance, in 2007 and 2008, the number of foreign nationals holding work permits dropped as a consequence of changes in the labor law which made many foreigners with a valid work permit irregular. Following these political changes, in 2005 and 2006, 34,586 foreigners were expelled from Jordan while in 2008 5,000 Bangladeshis were repatriated. (www.smc.org in Fargues, 2009).

"Refugees" in Jordan: a complex issue

Massive inflows of Palestinian but also Lebanese and Iraqi forced migrants have, over time, reinforced the idea of Jordan as "a refugee haven" (Chatelard, 2010).

As to Palestinians, following the Arab-Israeli 1948-war and the subsequent extension of Jordanian sovereignty over the West Bank and East Jerusalem, the Palestinians who settled in Jordan in that period were around 506,200 (100,000 on the East Bank and the rest on the West Bank, source: UNRWA). All of them were granted Jordanian citizenship by the Jordanian state together with refugee status (including their descendants) by UNRWA. 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 (Jordanian Ministry of the Occupied Territories); however, they were considered as Internally Displaced Persons since they had just moved from one part of Jordan to another. In addition, a smaller group of around 15,000 Palestinians (Olwan, 2010) who fled from Gaza to Jordan had been granted refugee status under UNWRA but had not been granted citizenship rights. A major change in the status of Jordanians of Palestinian origins occurred in 1988 when the Jordanian authorities' decision to sever administrative and legal ties with the WB meant that Jordanians of Palestinian origins residing there (before July 1988) lost their nationality and full citizenship: according to McDowall (1989) around one million individuals (860,000 from the West Bank and 130,000 from East Jerusalem) became stateless Palestinians.

Today, as a result of this complex situation, there are 1.9 million Palestinian refugees in Jordan (UNRWA, 2009 data) the majority of whom are not migrants under the "country of birth criterion" since they were born in Jordan. Furthermore, most of them (except for about 120,000 refugees originally from the Gaza Strip) have full Jordanian citizenship so they cannot be considered migrants either under the "country of citizenship" criterion. However, since 1988 and especially over the past few years, the Jordanian government has been arbitrarily withdrawing Jordanian nationality from its citizens of Palestinian origin, making them stateless. According to Human Rights Watch (2010), between 2004 and 2008, the Jordanian authorities had withdrawn nationality from over 2,700 of its citizens of Palestinian origins.

As to the Iraqi refugees, some of them fled to Jordan in the 1990s and the rest after the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. However, they have never been counted and due to the political sensitivity of this issue, estimates have to be taken with caution. For instance, in 2007 UNHCR estimated that there were 750,000 Iraqi refugees in Jordan. In the same year the Norwegian research centre FAFO found a much lower number at 161,000, an estimate which was later revised upwards to 450,000-500,000. Still today, the number of Iraqis refugees in Jordan is unknown.

References: Human Right Watch. 2010. Stateless again; Chatelard G. 2010. Jordan: A Refugee Haven, Migration Information Source, available at http://www.migrationinformation.org; De Bel-Air F. 2010. Highly skilled migration from Jordan: a response to socio-political challenges, CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2010/12, Florence; Olwan M. 2010. Palestinians in Jordan, CARIM, RSCAS, European University Institute, internal note; Fargues P. 2009. "Work, Refuge, Transit: An Emerging Pattern of Irregular Immigration South and East of the Mediterranean", International Migration Review, Vol. 43, Issue 3, pages 544–577; McDowall D. 1989. A profile of the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Journal of Refugee Studies, Vol.2, No.1; Fargues P. 2006. International migration in the Arab region: trends and policies, paper presented at the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in the Arab Region, Beirut, 15-17 May 2006, UN/POP/EGM/2006/09/Rev.

² Again, UNRWA data on Jordanians of Palestinian origins residing in Jordan (i.e. refugees) have to be taken with caution because registration is a voluntary act. However, while declaring a birth implies an interest, the same does not apply to registering a death or a departure (Fargues, 2006).

The Legal Framework of Migration

Foreign nationals' entry and stay in Jordan are mainly governed by law n°24 of 1973, as modified in 1998. The status of foreign nationals in Jordan varies greatly according to, *inter alia*, activity, place of work, national origin. Overall, immigration is considered temporary, a response to needs in the national economy, which is legally protected from foreign competition and speculation. Arab nationals are privileged as far as entry, stay and access to citizenship are concerned.

In the last years, Jordan has attempted to improve the framework and the rights of some foreign worker categories, especially domestic workers who mostly come from the Philippines, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, but also foreign workers employed in Qualifying Industrialised Zones where already lax rules are regularly violated. Like in neighbouring countries, exploited workers organised some strikes – considered as illegal. Besides, the work of Egyptian citizens, who are numerous in Jordan, was further regulated in 2007, the same year as in Libya.

Palestinians form a specific category, or rather several categories. Among the Palestinians who were granted Jordanian citizenship between 1948 and 1988, one million would have lost it after Jordan withdrew from the West Bank. If they resided in the West Bank before 1988, they are considered foreign nationals whose entry into Jordan is not guaranteed, while they can obtain a five-year passport enabling them to travel. Palestinians from Gaza are not entitled to Jordan citizenship, but can also be granted a five-year passport, which is a residence permit as well as a travel document. They constitute a part of Palestinian refugees received in Jordan and placed under the mandate of UNRWA³. The most part of Palestinian refugees have Jordanian citizenship. The status of Palestinians varies then, be they in Jordan or in Palestine. This status is in the thrall of the "Jordan solution", which is sometimes proclaimed in the region as an alternative to the Palestinians' right of return, and as a threat of a new afflux of Palestinians.

While UNRWA is in charge of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, UNHCR⁴, which has been in Jordan since 1991, deals with other nationalities. Although Jordan has not ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention, it has recognized refugee status granted by UNHCR since 1998. Protection can only be temporary in Jordan, which rejects the idea of local integration. Longer-term solutions depend for the most part on resettlement opportunities in third countries. In 2003, UNHCR opened a Border Centre to receive refugees, mostly from Iraq while the border between Iraq and Jordan has remained open. Most Iraqi refugees in Jordan are not registered as refugees. Since 2007, they have had to get new types of passport in order to enter Jordan.

³ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East.

⁴ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

	Outward migration	Inward migration		
General legal references		Law n°24 of 1973 on Residence and Foreign Nationals' Affairs, modified by Amendment n°90/1998.		
		1990 Convention⁵: not ratified.		
		ILO: 20 conventions ratified ⁶		
	Bilateral agreements: on Egyptian workers' employment (1985, 2007); on the placement of Indonesian domestic workers (2009); on manpower with the Philippines (2006), Pakistan and Sri Lanka (2007), Algeria (2004), the United Arab Emirates (2006), among others.			
	Member State of the <i>League of Arab States</i> .			
Circulation	Entry and Exit Freedom for Jordania citizens with a valid passport.	Circulation simplified in border zones for neighbouring countries' citizens.		
Entry and Exit	Citizens from CCG ⁷ member can get entry visas at the border, many other nationalities, inc European ones.			
Struggle against	ruggle against Palermo protocols against Trafficking in Persons ⁸ : ratified			
irregular migration	Palermo protocols against the Smuggling of Migrants: not ratified			
	Law n°9 of 2009, Prevention of Trafficking in Persons: up to ten-year sentence			
	w	Law n°24 of 1973: Irregular entry is penalized with one to six months in prison or a 10 to 50 dinar-fine. Also sanctions against carriers.		
	45	Irregular stay is punished with a fine of 15 to dinars each month.		
		Employment of irregular workers is punished that fine. The irregular worker is deported and rbidden to return for 3 years.		
		Any other offence can be sanctioned by a 1 eek to a 1 month-prison sentence, or at least a dinar-fine.		
	ch	Deportation decisions can be judicially allenged, without effectiveness.		

⁵ Convention on the Protection of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Family.

⁶ Including conventions C111 concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation and C118 Equality of Treatment of Nationals and Non-Nationals in Social Security, but excluding conventions C97 concerning Migration for Employment and C143 concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers.

⁷ The Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf.

⁸ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, and Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 15 November 2000.

Rights and settlement

Freedom to stay abroad.

No participation to local or general elections without a residence in Jordan.

Access to Social Security (law n°30 of 1978).

Any foreign national should be registered if staying more than two weeks.

Any estate rented to a foreign national should be declared.

Stay permits: temporary permit of one year renewable; residence permit of 5 years for women married to Jordanian citizens, and for people living regularly in the country for ten years.

The residence permit is delivered in the case of professional activity, or sufficient means of living, or commercial or industrial investments, or locally unavailable skills, or for studies.

Arabs and students, among others, are exempted from residence fees. Arab investors and their families can obtain a 3-year permit.

Family reunification: minor children in the charge of the migrant. For Egyptians, one year residence in Jordan and sufficient income (350 dinar *per* month) enable the right of visit for the wife, ascendants, minors children and non-married daughters (*Regulation of 10 August 2009*).

Access to Employment: modified in 2007. Linked to a stay permit and a work permit. Employer's statement. National preference + Arab priority. Professional activity, as employee or not, should not compete with Jordanians' activities (certificate to be obtained from authorities). Liberal professions, government employment and a list of professions are reserved for nationals.

Improvements in domestic workers' labour since 2003. Since Law n°48 of 2008, domestic and agriculture workers have been covered by Labour Law. Law n°89 of 2009 reforms recruitment agencies.

Specific stay and employment conditions in Qualifying Industrial Zones (*Decree n°90 of 2000* and *28 of 2002*).

Limited social rights for foreign citizens (strike, union participation).

Access to public services (health, education): no.

Access to estate ownership: yes, for residence, upon ministerial authorisation with reciprocity condition. Re-sale to a Jordan citizen is forbidden for 3 years after purchase. Arab citizens are exempted from reciprocity condition and they can also buy to invest. *Law* n°24 of 2002.

Law n°6 of 1954 amended in 1987: Jus sanguinis by descent of father. Jordan mothers only transmit their citizenship to their children in case of the risk of statelessness and if the children are born in Jordan. No Jus soli. Specific provisions for Arabs concerning access to nationality through marriage (3 years instead of 5) or naturalization (possible exemption of the previous 4 year-residency requirement). Specific naturalization procedure for Arabs after 15 year residency. Marriage with a Jordan woman does not grant a foreign male any right to Jordan citizenship. Jordanian naturalization is conditioned to the loss of the nationality of origin. There is the possibility for Jordan nationals to acquire another citizenship without losing their Jordan citizenship.

Specific citizenship granting conditions for Arab investors after 3 years residency (1999 Decision).

Granting of Jordan Citizenship to Palestinians who lived in the West Bank – annexed to Jordan – from 20/12/1949 to 16/02/1954. No extension to Palestinians in Gaza. End of granting citizenship with the end of territorial claims on the West Bank in 1988. Jordanian citizenship would have been withdrawn from one million Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin who resided in the West Bank before 1988.

Refugees

1951 Convention⁹: not ratified.

Party to the *Protocol for the Treatment of Palestinians in Arab States*, 1965. UNRWA competence on Palestinian refugees, whether Jordanian or not, who are granted a five-year passport.

No national procedure. UNHCR in the country since 1991. *Agreement with UNHCR* in 1997 and *Memorandum of Understanding* in 1998: recognition of the UNHCR RSD¹⁰, stay in Jordan limited to 6 months, right to work. *Letter of Understanding* in 2003 for the creation of a Border Center and for the temporary protection of Iraqi nationals, among others.

⁹ Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees.

¹⁰ Refugee Status Determination.

The Socio-Political Framework of Migration

Jordan's migration scene has been shaped by economic, political, and security considerations.¹¹ In the last decades, Jordan has undergone a process of economic liberalization which has had a deep impact on emigration and immigration policies and flows from, through and into the country.

The Jordanian government has, first and foremost, galvanized bilateral cooperation for economic emigration with receiving countries, notably the Gulf States, so as to export Jordanian skilled labour. Policies spurring skilled emigration from Jordan are to be read against an economic and socio-political backdrop; namely as a governmental reaction to rising challenges such as the need to relieve unemployment, to attract foreign aid, to increase private revenues through emigrants' financial transfers, and to ensure control over political opposition. It was also a response to the Gulf States' high demand for skilled Jordanian labour.

Spurring skilled emigration has, however, raised contentions, especially when it comes to evaluating the extent to which the departure of professionals leads to human-capital drainage in the country.¹⁴

Historically characterized by its pan-Arab stance, Jordan has welcomed, since the 1920s, massive inflows of Arab (and to a lesser extent non-Arab) economic migrants (e.g. From Egypt, Syria etc.) and refugees.¹⁵

With a relatively open-door policy for semi-skilled and low-skilled economic immigration, Jordan has devised an immigration policy apparatus that focuses on regulating the status of foreign labour and allocating quotas for their recruitment. These policies have responded to economic and labour needs in the country, while sparing the Jordanian government from having to implement drastic and structural socio-economic adjustments in the country.

Formerly labeled as a "refugee haven"¹⁶, Jordan has received massive inflows of refugees, transit and undocumented migrants whose mobility and displacement are intricately connected to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to other regional tensions. Hosting the largest community of Palestinian refugees in the Arab world, Jordan has, unlike Lebanon, bestowed Jordanian citizenship on most of them.

The latest massive refugee inflows took place in the wake of the 2003 war in Iraq as hundreds of thousands of Iraqis arrived in the Hashemite kingdom. Still, as of 2006, due to various economic, security and political concerns, Jordan tightened its immigration laws and residency rules. A major policy controversy that has affected the Iraqi issue revolves around Jordan's refusal to classify displaced Iraqis on Jordanian soil as "refugees". Instead, Jordan insists on considering them as "guests" or "fellow Arabs". Whilst this discourse resurrects pan-Arabist stances, it is a response to the country's inability to provide comprehensive and long-lasting legal and political solutions for refugees.

Although Jordan has an active civil society carrying out humanitarian and awareness-raising functions, local actors are in many ways kept in check and are unable to significantly alter or infiltrate policy-making in the migration realm, especially with regard to the refugee question.

See Geraldine Chatelard, "Jordan: A Refugee Haven", Migration Information Source, 2004. http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=236

¹² Ali S. Zaghal and Arda Freij Dergarabedian, "Migration-Related Institutions and Policies in Jordan" *CARIM Analytical Paper*, 2004 http://www.carim.org/Publications/CARIM-AS04 04-Dergarabedian-Zaghal.pdf, p.1.

¹³ See Laurie Brand, "State, Citizenship, and Diaspora: the cases of Jordan and Lebanon", Working Paper, School of International Relations USC, February 2007, p.3; Francoise de Bel Air 2010, "Highly-skilled Migration from Jordan: a response to socio-political challenges", CARIM Analytical Paper, 2010, p.12.

¹⁴ Brain drain has been acknowledged at governmental level, yet no clear action is undertaken. See http://www.carim.org/public/polsoctexts/PO3JOR1095_922.pdf.

¹⁵ In addition to the Palestinian and Iraqi refugees who have fled to Jordan in different waves, we cite the cases of Armenian and Circassian migrants who arrived to Jordan in the 1920 and the 1930s.

¹⁶ See Chatelard, op.cit. See also p.4 in the migration profile.

¹⁷ See De Bel Air: "Iraqis in Jordan since 2003: what socio-political stakes?" *CARIM Research Paper* 2009/10.

The situation of both Palestinian and Iraqi refugees on Jordanian soil cannot be separated from regional dynamics. While the situation of the Palestinian refugees has to be analysed against the backdrop of the Arab-Israeli peace process, its failings, and the controversy over the permanent settlement of Palestinians in Jordan, the situation of Iraqi refugees in Jordan cannot be dissociated from the more global issue of Iraqi displacement and the collapse of the Iraqi state.

Jordan's socio-political framework	Outward migration	Inward migration		
Governmental Institutions	Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Labour; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Higher Education	Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Labour; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Planning, Department of Statistics in Jordan (DOS)		
Governmental Strategy	Facilitate successful Jordanian emigration; establish links with the Jordanian Diaspora and encourage remittances and local investments; organise expatriate conferences so as to consolidate business links between Jordan and its Diaspora communities; pass bilateral labour agreements to employ Jordanians abroad (notably in the Gulf states); collect information on Jordanian professionals abroad working in OECD and Arab countries ¹⁹ ; devise policies on return migration	Set up rules concerning the entry and residence of foreign nationals and regulate their residence for legal periods of time; provide estimates pertaining to the actual figures and location of foreign workers; enforce work permits' fees collection; define quotas for the employment of foreign manpower and design employment conditions and minimum salaries of foreign workers in the Jordanian labour market; set up bilateral agreements in the labour field (including the recruitment and bringing of guest workers); ²⁰ fight against irregular and transit immigration in, through, and from Jordan; reduce the number of undocumented workers through practices such as deportation; identify refugees and define their "status" and legal as well as social rights		
Civil Society Action	Initiatives of Jordanian organisations, migrant associations as well as professional and student Diaspora networks aimed at: - providing special services to Jordanians working abroad and fostering and consolidating links among them (e.g. Jordan Medical Association; the Jordanian Engineers Association abroad; the businessmen Association for the organisation of bi-yearly expatriate investors' conference; Jordanian social clubs abroad (Nadi al Ijtima'i al-Urduni)).	 a) Associations' and labour unions' initiatives aimed at improving the socio-economic rights of immigrants and immigrant workers, providing assistance to refugees, loosening restrictions targeting them as well as safeguarding and improving their civil and human rights or offering legal aid (e.g. National Centre for Human Rights, Jordanian Domestic Helpers Agencies Association (DHAA); the General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions; the Textile Workers' Union; Jordanian Red Cross; Caritas, Jordanian Women Union, Nour al Hussein Foundation); b) Associations operating strictly as "nadi riadhi ijtima'i thaqafi" (socio-cultural clubs) or "jama'iyat khairia" (benevolent associations)) targeting Palestinian and Caucasian refugees; c) Professional associations' initiatives aimed at banning the hiring of foreigners in sixteen professions so as to reduce unemployment in Jordan and support the Palestinians' right of return (e.g. The Professional Association Complex) 		

¹⁹ Jordanian embassies in the Gulf (labour attachés, i.e., seconded from the Ministry of Labour) are now organising a round of survey in order to identify characteristics of expatriates in the Gulf (questionnaire forms are available at the embassies' websites).

For a list of the endorsed bilateral agreements in the field of workforce, see http://www.carim.org/public/polsoctexts/PS2JOR031_EN.pdf

Challenges

The necessity to:

- Link emigration state policies with a developmental domestic perspective which takes into account the costs and benefits of skilled emigration on the one hand, and which does not only focus on Diasporas as "alleviators unemployment" or providers of remittances²¹ on the other;
- Ensure a match between education and job opportunities in the country so as to counter the departure of Jordanian professionals in the university and health sectors;
- Address the issue of emigrants' grievances and political involvement in the homeland;
- Collect more data (which heretofore remains scarce)²² about Jordanian Diasporas' situation and distribution;
- Spur high-level research that ponders how Jordan Diasporas can contribute to human capital accumulation in the country itself.

The necessity to:

- Enhance coordination among different governmental structures and actors managing immigration;
- Improve the coherence and transparency of the institutional framework regulating immigration which often leads to imprecise immigrant categories, notably in the case of refugees. This in turn hinders adequate policy response and makes immigrants prone to precariousness;
- Enhance Jordan's humanitarian stance towards refugees by:
- Developing less discriminative rules regarding refugees' stay, and socioprofessional integration; ²³
- Including in the process of economic and labour planning in Jordan the refugees' profile and qualifications;
- Empowering the associative sector and local networks, so that they can feed and influence policy-making;
- Design sustainable strategies with international organisations (UN agencies) in order to provide viable solutions for refugees' stay and integration.

International Cooperation

Consolidating bilateral cooperation with external parties for the recruitment of skilled Jordanian workforce (close cooperation with neighbouring Arab states as well as the Gulf); forming consultative committees in conjunction with international organisations (e.g. IOM) in issues related to economic emigration and reform of labour legislation.

international Collaborating with organisations so as to reinforce the Jordanian government's capacity building managing immigration (e.g. collaboration IOM with for the establishment of the Center for Studies and Analysis of Immigration Policies in Jordan)24; developing collaborative mechanisms with the UNRWA so as to deal with Palestinian refugees' stay and provide them with services; developing collaborative mechanisms with UNHCR in order to deal with Iraqi refugees on Jordanian soil, provide them with relief and services, and/or find solutions for their relocation: developing collaboration mechanisms with the Norwegian Research institute (FaFo) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNPF) so as to conduct a survey of Iragis in Jordan

(1) This socio-political framework does not claim exhaustive coverage but intends rather to provide a synthetic picture of the socio-political facets and policy developments shaping migration developments and governance in, across, and from Jordan.

²² See Fathi Arouri, "Circular Migration in Jordan 1995-2006", CARIM Analytical Notes 2008/35, p.2.

²¹ Brand, op.cit., p.4.

lmmigrants classified as visitors or refugees are generally prohibited from having a professional activity. In the specific case of Iraqis, Jordan has refused assistance programs that are solely designed for the latter so as not to "acknowledge the existence of a refugee category within the population." See De Bel Air, op.cit, 2009, p. 7.

²⁴ See section on immigration policies, Ministry of Labour, Jordan, http://www.mol.gov.jo/Default.aspx?tabid=225.