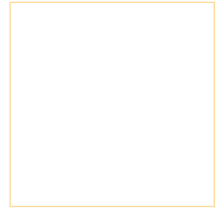
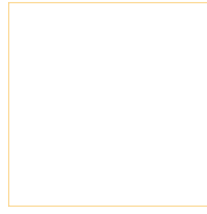
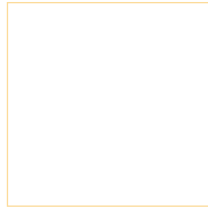
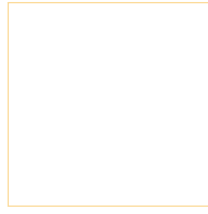
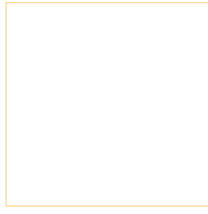


Migration Profile: Jordan

Françoise De Bel-Air

Jordan's last population census gave the total population of the country as 9,531,712 in November 2015, 2,918,125 (31 per cent) of whom were foreign nationals. If accurate,¹ these numbers indicate that Jordan is a major migrant-receiving country. Jordan has the highest refugee-to-population ratio and the country is also now the top refugee hosting country in absolute numbers. Indeed, it hosted more than 2.7 million registered refugees as of September 2016;² of whom 2.1 million persons of Palestinian descent registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) who have lived in the country for decades; and 664,100 refugees under UNHCR's mandate including Syrians and Iraqis.³ Besides, Jordan is a migrant-sending country too: an estimated 10 percent of Jordan's nationals (700 to 800,000) are expatriated abroad, most of them to the Gulf States.

Jordan being historically a regional migration crossroads,⁴ its socio-political history and geopolitical ambitions defined the country's policy approach to migration movements. At first, an openness to Arab migrants sustained the pan-Arabist claims of the ruling Hashemite dynasty, yet was coupled with a promotion of the right of return of refugees to their homeland. The first wave of refugees from Palestine, forced to flee following the Israeli-Arab war and the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, trebled Jordan's national population as Jordan naturalised all Palestinian refugees on both Banks, together with the residents of the West Bank.⁵ However, Jordan's official stance was always to defend Palestinians' right of return, in line with UN resolution 194.⁶ In order to secure the implementation of the resolution, Palestinian refugees were excluded from the operational mandate of the International Organization for Refugees (IOR),⁷ and they were placed under the responsibility of a specific UN body, the

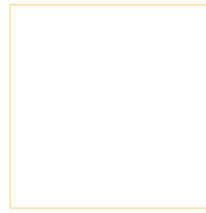
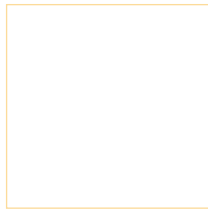


United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).⁸ Jordan's official support for the refugees' right of return also drove the regime to reject the 1951 Geneva Convention related to the status of refugees (or its 1967 Protocol). The Six-Day War in 1967 and the occupation of the West Bank by Israel pushed a second wave of refugees onto the East Bank, some original residents of the West Bank, not considered refugees but categorised as "displaced" within the borders of Jordan.⁹ Some 1948 naturalised refugees (registered with UNRWA) who had found shelter on the West Bank, along with some Palestinians from Gaza who did not hold Jordanian nationality,¹⁰ travelled to the East Bank, too. Later, the First Gulf War of 1990-1991 forced a third wave of 350,000 "returnees" to Jordan: these were Jordanian nationals, most of whom were originally Palestinians naturalised after 1948, who had emigrated to the Gulf States. It can be said that Palestinian refugees, the displaced and returnees played a decisive role in Jordan's nation-building process. Their incorporation into Jordan's citizenry and polity gave the country a diplomatic role at the regional and international levels, as well as a demographic visibility. It also gave some political substance to the Hashemites' pan-Arabist project.¹¹ The emigration of Jordanian nationals to Arab oil producing countries, from the 1950s onwards and especially after 1973's oil boom, also served the political interests of the regime, through its "open door" policies. Besides using emigrants as spearheads of Jordan's influence beyond the country's borders, emigration compensated for some citizens' (mostly, Palestinian refugees and displaced persons) eviction from the capital redistribution process, hence removing potential dissent from the country.¹² Moreover, remittances received by the migrants' families played a determinant role in the development of a consumption-based, non-productive economy and mode of wealth accumulation.¹³ The new private wealth spurred new demands in terms of services (domestic work for instance), while public "rentier" income¹⁴ was channelled to infrastruc-

ture developments. As a result, work immigration to Jordan shot up in the 1970s, with, particularly, Egyptians and South East Asians arriving to work in the country. Low-skilled immigration enhanced the status of Jordanians through a job-ladder effect,¹⁵ and foreign labour became an element in the clientelist redistribution of assets to citizens. Open-door migration policies, therefore, determined Jordan's demographic, economic and political existence, and the country's influence and resilience.¹⁶

Yet, two sets of factors pushed for a reform of migration policies: first, for labour migrants, and second for refugees. The collapse of Jordan's rentier economy started in the mid-1980's, and was compounded by the return of Jordanian expatriates from the Gulf.¹⁷ This forced the country into a drastic reform process of its economy. This was supported by a series of agreements with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank which called for reform measures such as trade liberalisation, financial deregulation and privatisation. Since the 2000s, educated Jordanians have returned to the Gulf in massive numbers, but keeping ties with expatriates is now high on the government's agenda.¹⁸ However, the economy still struggles with low productivity and high unemployment rates.¹⁹ Yet, low-skilled activities are still looked down on by Jordanian workers: the cleaning and construction sectors for instance, as well as the manufacturing sector, one of the spearheads of economic-political reform.²⁰ For these reasons, business owners still favour foreign workers, who are also cheaper to employ. Immigrants are, therefore, seen as competing with local workers and the immigration of foreign labourers has become a political matter.

As far as refugees are concerned, the open-door policy and the assimilation of other Arabs into a Pan-Arabist Jordan ended formally in July 1988 with the severance of all administrative and legal ties between the West and the East Banks by King Hussein (in Arabic the *fak irtibat*). A million or more Jordanian nationals residing on the West Bank lost their full Jordanian nationality, henceforth conditional on



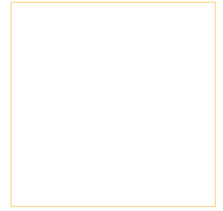
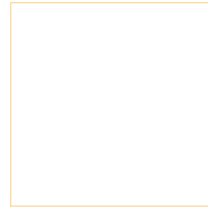
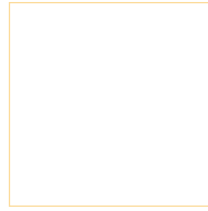
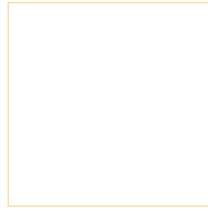
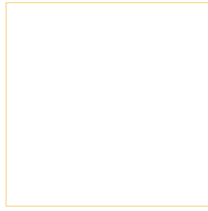
residency in a shrunken Jordan, the East Bank. The PLO-Israel Oslo agreements in 1993 and the Wadi Araba Accords signed in 1994 between Jordan and Israel, moreover, *de facto* settled the 1948 refugees in host countries.²¹ Yet throughout the 2000s, the stalling peace processes deepened fears of a possible “transfer” of Palestinians to Jordan by Israel.²² Among nationalists, the issue of the “Jordanian”/ “Jordanian-Palestinian” ratio became more burning than ever and several thousand Jordanian citizens were stripped of their nationality.²³ Palestinians and Jordanians of Palestinian descent are now split between various legal-political categories and various levels of access to services.²⁴

This set of factors radically changed the stakes and perceptions of openness to refugees (and workers) from the region. The new challenge of migration management for Jordan is to reconcile attracting foreign capital, keeping a political role in regional events and abiding by the demands of donors in terms of political-economic reform, while protecting domestic stability and security. And this, in a context marked by growing inflation, pressure on scarce local resources and the housing market, as well as, most of all, by fears of an extension of regional conflicts to the Kingdom. The Second Gulf War and the collapse of Saddam Hussein’s regime in Spring 2003, which brought to Jordan several hundred thousand refugees from Iraq,²⁵ raised all these challenges again. In a bid to silence the issue of possible long-term refugee settlements, Jordanian officials initially downplayed the Iraqis’ numbers and their humanitarian situation, calling them “guest” and not refugees. Later, while taken as a security issue,²⁶ Iraqis also became an economic opportunity: inflating their numbers allowed for more international aid to be channelled into the country, aid that could be used in part for vulnerable Jordanian communities.²⁷

Since the advent of the war in Syria in March 2011 Jordan has been receiving Syrian refugees within the framework of its Law of Residency and Foreigners’ Affairs.²⁸ Those among them who seek asylum and

access to UNHCR’s services in Jordan are automatically recognized as *prima facie* refugees²⁹ under the framework of a Jordan-UNHCR Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed in 1998.³⁰ Yet, entries to Jordan were quickly restricted, first for the Palestinian³¹ and Iraqi refugees from Syria as of 2012,³² and later in 2013, for all Syrians. Mounting security concerns explain these restrictions.³³ To date, in September 2016, an estimated 70,000 Syrians are stranded in the desert no-man’s-land between Jordan and Syria.³⁴ Fewer than 20 percent of registered Syrian refugees reside in camps, but since mid-2014 the movements of those settled in host communities have been increasingly restricted. UNHCR was instructed to stop delivering Asylum Seeker Certificates (ASCs) to refugees with no ‘bail out’ documents,³⁵ pushing refugees, in a *de facto* manner, into camps for access to services.³⁶ Police operations measures also drove more Syrian residents to camps, such as the verification campaign which started in February 2015, to biometrically register Syrian refugees living in urban areas.³⁷ Returns to Syria were reported, some forcible.³⁸ Some governmental services available to Syrian refugees living outside the camps were also cancelled late 2014, such as free access to healthcare centres. The government claimed the health sector was already overburdened and budgets stretched.³⁹ For lack of funds, the World Food Program (WFP) had also to drop one third of Syrian refugees from its food voucher program in Middle Eastern host countries, including 450,000 beneficiaries among urban refugees in Jordan. These were only partly reinstated one year later.⁴⁰ By mid-2015, 86 percent of Syrians in urban areas were found to live below the Jordanian poverty line.⁴¹

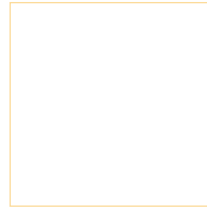
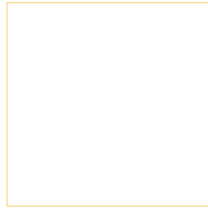
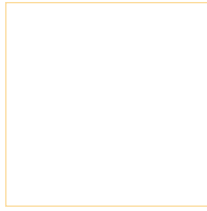
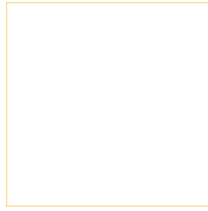
The policies applied to Syrian refugees, more vulnerable in general than most Iraqis received by Jordan in the 2000s,⁴² and the terms of the MoU signed with UNHCR all support Jordan’s stance that the refugees’ stay in Jordan should be temporary.⁴³ In spite of Syrians’ investments and wealth creation, prices went up and the competition of native labourers with Syrians, is an especially sensitive issue.⁴⁴ Refu-



gees' right to work is, indeed, not mentioned in the MoU. However, Syrians can legally enter the labour market under conditions granted to other foreigners: obtaining a work permit is conditional on residency, the sponsor/ employer has to pay permit fees and the profession has to be opened to non-Jordanians. Some Syrians found (irregular) employment on low-paid jobs in the informal economy, as few managed to pay labour permit fees and refugees do not have residency documents. Moreover, those living in refugee camps are not entitled to work permits: this includes those who entered Jordan through unofficial border crossings. Syrian employment quotas also apply.⁴⁵ Within the global framework of the Jordan-EU Mobility Partnership,⁴⁶ and amid a deepening EU migration crisis, the Syria donors conference held in London 4 February 2016 had Jordan commit to integrate 200,000 Syrian refugees into its labour force within five years, especially in the country's Special Economic Zones.⁴⁷ In return, the EU, the World Bank and other donors promised Jordan two billion US\$ or more aid packages ("compacts"), grants and cheap loans, as well as improved access to European trade markets for Jordanian products. The aim of the compact was to "transform the Syrian refugee crisis into an opportunity for development": priorities outlined in the resilience component of the plan target host communities.⁴⁸

The move was hailed as a step towards refugees' self-reliance, as even Syrians without documents can apply for labour permits.⁴⁹ A grace period for waiving penalties and new visa fees was extended to October 2016, during which there would be no deportation of illegal workers to camps. It is expected that irregular workers would legalise their situation and that unofficial Syrian businesses could be formally registered. In return, Jordan hopes that securing wages for Syrians would increase consumer spending, and drive up all wages.⁵⁰ However, non-Syrian foreign labourers will be affected by the measure, which spurred protests by employers.⁵¹ Moreover, Syrians face many obstacles in accessing legal employment, including the limited range of professions avail-

able to non-Jordanians and the sponsorship issue.⁵² Amid political tensions,⁵³ the delivery of aid and loans, which is conditioned on Jordan's performance in meeting its employment goals, has been slow to follow through since the London Conference.



OUTWARD MIGRATION

Stock

In 2014, an estimated 785,000 Jordanian migrants (first-generation, born in Jordan) were residing abroad, that is 10.5 percent of the country's total national population. The vast majority of Jordanian expatriates were in Arab countries (84 percent), including Palestine.⁵⁴ However, the main destination for Jordanian migrants are the Gulf States, and especially Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The two countries together host an estimated 450,000 Jordanians, or 68 percent of all Jordanian migrants.⁵⁵

Estimates of Jordanian migrants' stocks by region and selected countries of residence (2013-2015)				
	Source	Def.	Number	% of all emigrants
Arab Countries			Around 660,000	84%
Gulf States				
Saudi Arabia			250,000	
UAE			200,000	
Kuwait	(1)	(B)	55,081	
Qatar			40,000	
Oman			7,403	
Bahrain			7,000	
Other Arab countries				
Of which Palestine		(A)	55,709	
Libya	(2)	(B)	20,408	
Iraq			10,336	
North America			75,018	10%
US	(4)	(A)	65,618	
Canada			9,400	
Europe 28+Switzerland+Norway			31,541	4%
Of which Germany			8,836	
UK	(3)	(A)	7,000	
Sweden			3,898	
Others	(2); (4)		20,000	2%
Of which Australia	(4)	(A)	5,960	
Total emigrants			Around 785,000	100%

Sources:

(1) national population registers and other estimates, <http://gulfmigration.eu/> Estimates for Kuwait: Dec. 2012; Saudi Arabia: 2013; Qatar, UAE, Bahrain: 2014
 (2) UN/DESA, rev. 2015; (3) receiving countries' statistics, 2014-2015; (4) OECD-DIOC database, year 2013.

Definition of migrant: (A) country of birth; (B) country of nationality.

"Others" refers to non-Arab African and Asian countries, South America, Turkey, Russia and Ukraine.

For "Palestine", see footnote.

INWARD MIGRATION

Stock

In November 2015, Jordan's sixth population census counted around 2.9 million foreign residents, 30.6 percent of the total population of 9.5 million. This was an astonishing increase from the 392,273 non-Jordanians recorded eleven years earlier during the 2004 census: a seven-and-half-fold increase and a growth of 153 percent.

Foreign population residing in Jordan by country of nationality (2004; 2015)				
Country of nationality	2004		2015	
	Number	% total	Number	% total
Arab countries	323,641	83		
Of which Syria	38,130	10	1,265,514	43
Egypt	112,392	29	636,270	22
Palestine	115,190	29	634,182	22
Iraq	40,084	10	130,911	4
Yemen	2,585	1	31,163	1
Libya	1,057	0	22,700	1
Asian countries	58,146	15		
Of which Indonesia	13,552	3		
Sri Lanka	11,310	3		
European countries	6,355	2		
Of which the U.K.	878	0		
North America	3,195	1		
Of which the U.S.	2,841	1		
Other countries	936	0	197,385	7
Total	392,273	100	2,918,125	100

Source: Jordanian population censuses (2004; 2015)
 2015 census: partial results available as of September 2015

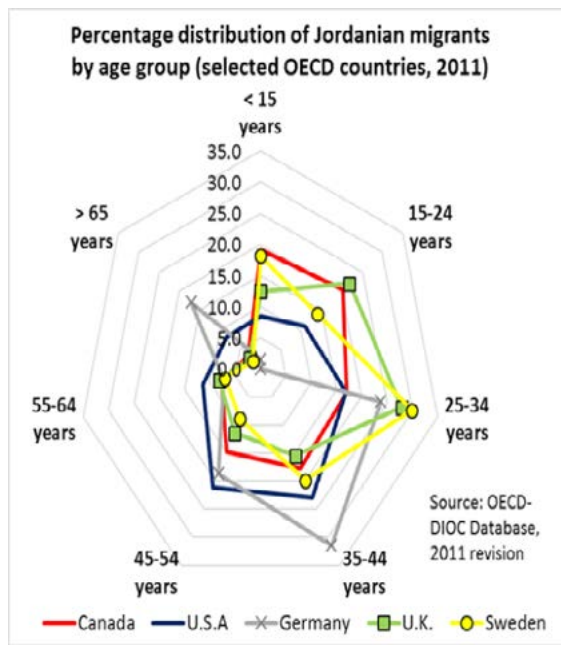
The only census results disclosed to date (September 2016) on the nationality breakdown of the non-national residents highlight the role of regional political instability in the makeup of migrant communities in Jordan. Besides Egyptians, who remain the second nationality group and are considered labour migrants, the numbers of nationals from Arab countries at war shot up: a three- to a thirty-three-fold increase between 2004 and 2015, according to nationality.

The numbers recorded in 2004 may have been underestimated, especially that of Egyptians who are often in an irregular situation. The increase in the numbers of Iraqis between the two dates may be explained by the long-term settlement of refugees from



Jordanian expatriates in the Gulf usually have a balanced sex ratio: 109 males for 100 females in Kuwait in December 2012, for instance.⁵⁶ Of the 55,081 Jordanians residing in Kuwait that year, 37 percent were workers and 63 percent were family dependents. The high proportion of family dependents among Jordanian expatriates there indicates that they are mostly highly-skilled: the level of income and skills, indeed, determines the right to family reunion in Gulf countries.⁵⁷ These nationals occupy professions in the upper income bracket, which offer the best possibilities for family reunion.⁵⁸ The last scientific survey on Jordanians employed abroad, conducted in the 1980s, emphasized that 32% held a university degree (7,3% in the non-migrant population), while 36% were employed as technicians.⁵⁹ Jordanians working in the Gulf States, among whom a small but growing proportion of females,⁶⁰ are employed in many sectors: in the Defence and intelligence services, in engineering and construction, media and IT, in education, higher education and health sectors, tourism and hotel services, in finance as well as in the management and business sectors.⁶¹

Non-Arab countries host much smaller numbers of Jordanian migrants: around 75,000 in the US and Canada; and 31,000 in Europe (c. 2015). Most of them are male (58 percent) and 85 percent are in working age groups (aged 15- 64).

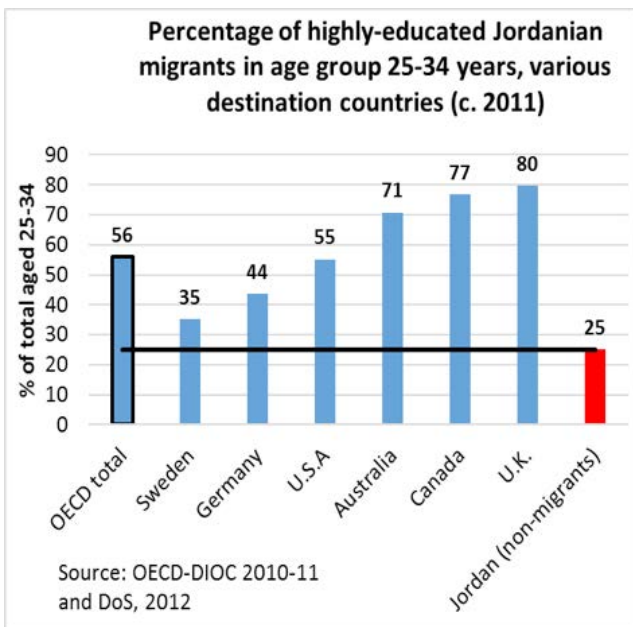


the second Gulf War and especially, its most violent phase in 2006-2007; the current situation in Iraq may have deterred many from returning. The growth of the number of Palestinians⁶⁹ (from 115,000 to 634,000) may also be explained by the continuous degradation of the political and economic situation in the Palestine National Authority (PNA). The very high figure of 1.3 million Syrians in Jordan, however, raises questions. Syrians registered as refugees by UNHCR in November 2015, at the time of the census, numbered 633,644. This would mean that 631,870 Syrians were residing in Jordan as non-refugee migrants at that date: 1,265,514 Syrians counted in census - 633,644 recorded refugees that same month. This figure seems in tune with the estimates of 500,000 to 700,000 Syrians residing in Jordan at the beginning of the conflict, released unofficially by the Jordanian Ministry of Interior in 2011.⁷⁰ Some factors may, indeed, support the increase of the non-refugee Syrian population in Jordan, from the 38,130 recorded in 2004: 1- Some Syrian families who were living in Lebanon, as well as Syrian business owners relocated to Jordan after Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon in late April 2005, and during the following years.⁷¹ Since these arrived after 2004 census, their numbers are unknown; 2- Syrian seasonal workers included many in the north of Jordan, who used to commute from Syria without proper work permits. These may have crossed over with their families when the conflict began; 3- In the run-up to a conflict, the first wave of migrants to the nearest countries usually concerned the ones with capital, be it financial (assets or possibility of income in the host country) or social (business, family⁷² or ethnic networks, for instance). The wealthy among these early migrants may not have needed, or sought registration in order to access basic services.⁷³

That said, many in Jordan denied that a reliable door-to-door counting of all residents, including Syrians, was conducted during the November 2015 census.⁷⁴ Besides, counts performed by concerned ministerial bodies and other agencies 1- select counted populations in line with the agency's focus; and 2- support inter-agency competition for resources and influence. Figures of non-refugee Syrians in Jordan could be inflated, for economic and political purposes as during other refugee waves, yet to an unknown extent.⁷⁵



However, these aggregated figures cover a very diverse demographic and socio-economic profile by country of destination, as emphasized in Figure 1. All displaying a balanced sex ratio, Sweden and Canada host families with children: around 20 percent of Jordanian migrants there are below 15 years of age. In the US, meanwhile, the age distribution of Jordanian migrants rather suggests the presence of families and middle-aged professionals. By contrast, 56 percent of the Jordanian nationals residing in the UK in 2015 held education-related residency permits,⁶² which is consistent with the age group most represented there (25-34 years). Germany hosts a majority of men (77 percent), most of them aged 25 to 44 years, as well as above 65. This rather skewed age and sex distribution may be partly explained by the specificity of the Jordanian population in Germany: as of December 2015, 26 percent of Jordanian residents there held a permit for humanitarian purposes, while half were there under family reunion schemes.⁶³ Those in refugee-like situations and family members also made up a sizeable share of Jordanians in Sweden: respectively, 16 and 73 percent of permit-holders.



In Jordan, as elsewhere, migration is a selective process: migrants are twice as educated as non-migrants (Fig. 2). In general, Jordanian migrants are highly-educated (56 percent of those aged 25 to 34 for instance). Yet, the receiving countries' policies and socio-economic

Syrians make up the vast majority of refugees registered by UNHCR in Jordan (91 percent). It is interesting to note, too, that figures of Iraqi and Yemeni registered refugees are markedly lower than the total figures of these nationalities recorded in the census. This confirms the presence in Jordan of wealthy and/or unregistered nationals from countries at war in the region.

Refugees registered by UNHCR in Jordan by nationality (August 2016)	
Syrians	655,831
Iraqis	58,455
Yemenis	4,813
Sudanese	3,104
Somalis	767
Others	1,286
Total	724,256
Source: Jordan UNHCR Operational Update, September 2016	

As of mid-September 2016, most Syrian refugees were registered in the governorates of Amman (27 percent) and Irbid (21 percent). Camps dwellers made up 22 percent of all registered Syrian refugees with Za'atari camp housing 79,884 persons. Syrian refugees displayed a balanced sex ratio and were mostly young (52 percent were aged 0-17). The 4,758 unaccompanied children recorded made up less than 1 percent of all registered Syrians. Most refugees came from Dera'a (42 percent of the total).

Besides UNHCR-registered refugees, as of December 2015, 2,117,361 refugees from Palestine were registered by UNRWA in Jordan. Of these, most have full citizenship⁷⁶ and only a small share of these refugees should be considered as migrants.⁷⁷ There are three unofficial and ten recognized Palestine refugee camps in Jordan. The latter accommodate nearly 370,000 Palestine refugees (18 percent of all registered Palestinian refugees in Jordan).⁷⁸ According to a survey conducted in 2013, non-citizen Palestinian refugees were most often Gaza Palestinians or their descendants, who held two-year temporary passports.⁷⁹ As non-nationals, they are more vulnerable and at risk of poverty.

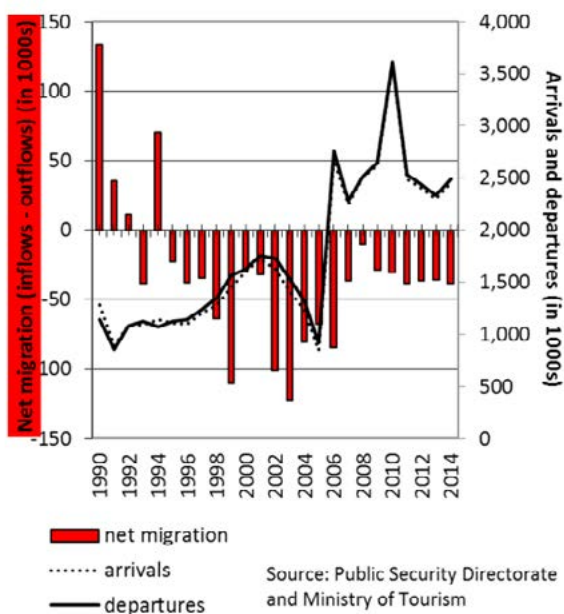


setup also strongly select migrants. The UK's and Canada's points-based immigration system mostly channel highly-educated, post-graduate students and young highly-skilled professionals to these countries. In Sweden and Germany, meanwhile, there are more less educated family members and male refugees.

Flows

The propensity to migrate is high in Jordan: 37 percent of the country's youth aged 15 to 29 expressed their desire to emigrate in 2010.⁶⁴ Migration flows have been subject to great variations over the last decades, due to political events as well as to economic fluctuations in the region. Following the 1973 oil-boom, emigration from Jordan to the Gulf oil-producing countries surged. However, the progressive replacement of Arab by Asian workers after 1979 led to the gradual return of Jordanian migrants from the Gulf countries during the 1980s. As illustrated in Figure 3, the 1990-1991 Gulf War forced a further 300,000 expatriates back to Jordan.

Net migration flows, arrivals and departures of Jordanians (1990-2014)



After a brief upsurge in returns following the signing of the peace process between Jordan and Israel in 1994, net migration has nevertheless remained steadily negative since 1995. The increase in oil prices in the early 2000s

Palestinian refugees from Syria (PRS) number around 17,000 in Jordan,⁸⁰ where they live with a precarious legal status and under threat of deportation. The same survey estimated that 68 percent of Palestinians living outside camps, and 86 percent of Palestinians living inside camps were registered with UNRWA as refugees. Non-registered Palestinians may then be persons categorised as “displaced” (i.e., displaced for the first time from the West Bank after 1967), or de-facto 1948 refugees who either failed to register with UNRWA, lost their registration, or did not wish to use UNRWA services.⁸¹

As of 2014, foreign nationals holding a valid labour permit stood at 324,410, of whom 78 percent were males. Most were poorly educated: 95 percent were recorded with below secondary level of education. The vast majority were Egyptian nationals: 65 percent of all foreign workers and 83 percent of all males among them. Bangladeshis, meanwhile, made up 13 percent of all permit holders and 48 percent of females among them, followed by Filipinas and Sri Lankans (respectively 21 and 15 percent of legal female workers).

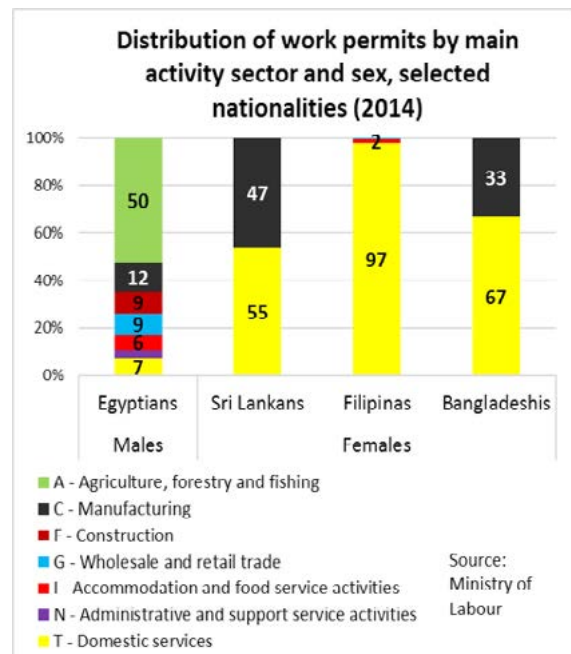
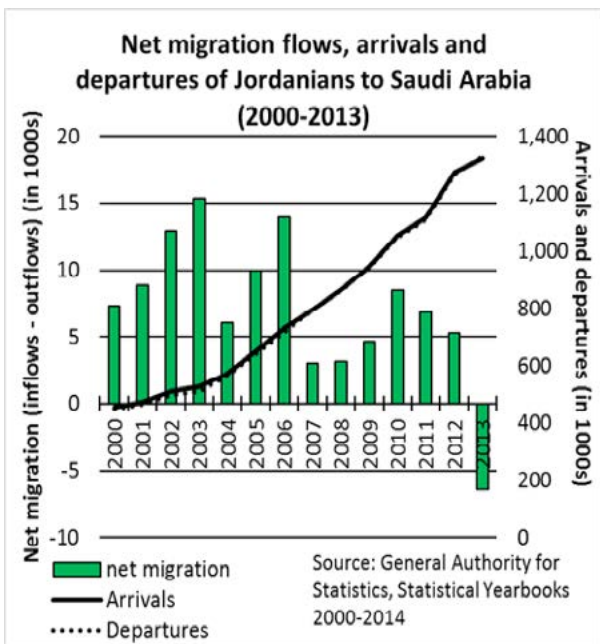


Figure 7 indicates the selectivity of employment by sex and nationality in Jordan: Egyptians (and other male Arab workers) are mostly employed in agriculture and construction, while females, mostly Asians from



led to considerable investment in all sorts of projects in the Gulf region, and increased the need for highly-skilled workers in numerous sectors, hence the new record-high net outflow in 2003. However, the 2008 financial crisis and the ensuing economic slowdown in many GCC states (UAE especially) tempered the net outflows. Figure 3 also suggests an acceleration of mobility of Jordanians since the mid-2000s, illustrated in the hike in the number of movements recorded at the borders (departures and arrivals) after 2006 (black and dotted lines). Direct observation suggests that Jordanian professionals and investors increasingly took up activities in several locations, or started keeping businesses running abroad, while at the same time creating start-ups in Jordan.⁶⁵

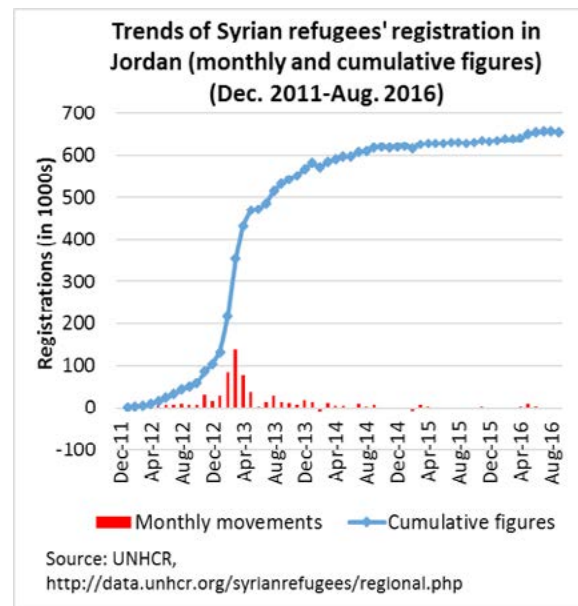


As a matter of fact, Jordanians' entries to and exits from Saudi Arabia (Figure 4), the major destination for Jordanian migrants, went up steadily over the decade, but net flows have been decreasing since 2006. They have even been negative (more Jordanians leaving than entering Saudi Arabia) in 2013. As they are mostly skilled and highly-skilled, it is unlikely that Jordanians left as a result of the massive crackdown campaigns conducted that year by the Saudi authorities against foreigners in an irregular situation. However, it is possible that Jordanians there, have first, repatriated their families, and also explored new business opportunities in more

the three selected countries, dominated household domestic work. Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi women are also many in manufacturing (apparel and garment) industries. These are often located within Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZs) where workers are housed in compounds.

However, irregular labour prevails in Jordan: recent governmental estimates suggested that foreign labourers numbered around 800,000 as of mid-2016, including about 300,000 holders of regular working permits. Of the guest workers employed in the agricultural sector, for instance, only 40 per cent were said to have permits and of these, 70 per cent had purportedly moved to work illegally in other sectors.⁸² As for Syrians, who were granted only 5,700 work permits in 2014, estimates of informal workers range between 42,000 and 150,000 (World Bank)⁸³, and 160,000 to 200,000 (Jordan's Ministry of Labour, 2015).⁸⁴ Syrians allegedly working without permits were said to be in the construction, retail and wholesale stores, restaurants, services and agriculture sectors.

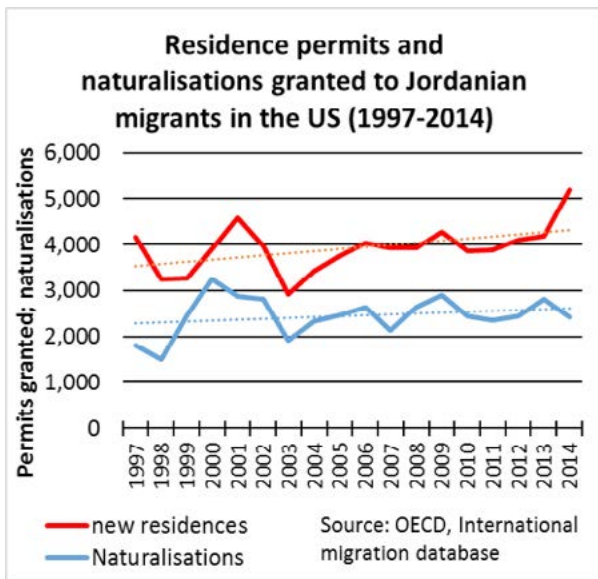
Flows



The outflow of Syrian refugees to Jordan started immediately after March 2011. Refugees intended to stay close to their original locations in order to commute or return easily. Cross-border networks



politically-stable environments like Western countries. These changes are the cumulative effect of the political tensions since the Arab uprisings, the economic uncertainties ongoing since the 2008 financial crisis and the contractions in public expenditure and in subcontracting (in construction, infrastructural projects especially), coupled with the constraints in employment posed by the numerous labour reforms (the new policies of Saudisation of the workforce especially).

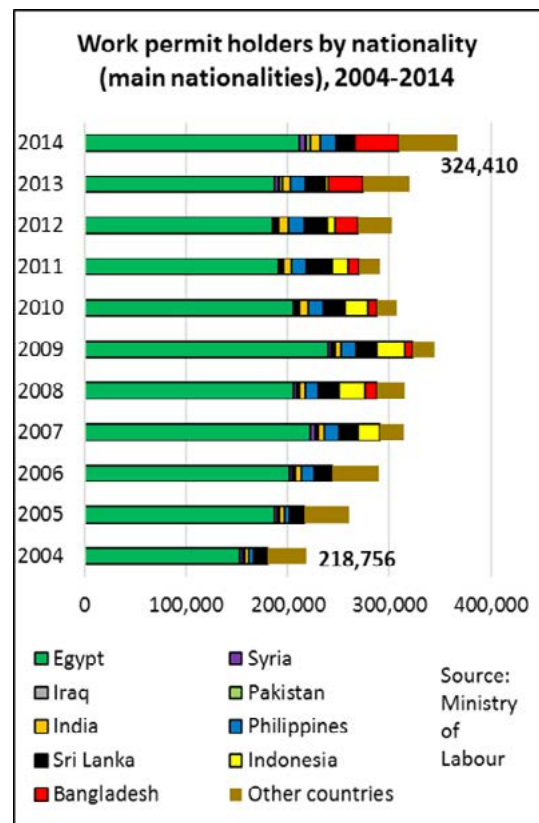


It appears that, since 2003, more Jordanians took up residency in the US, host to the largest community of Jordanian migrants outside the Gulf (Fig. 5). Permits granted increased, from 2,927 in 2003 to a high of 5,187 in 2014 and the total stocks of Jordanian migrants grew by 72 percent during the period.⁶⁶ The movement of naturalisations is relatively well correlated to that of permits ($r=0.67$ until 2013), which perhaps indicates “strategic transnationalism”⁶⁷ (securing a Western nationality to guarantee mobility in a context of the increasing “securitization” of migration).

Meanwhile, the flow of remittances sent back by expatriates continued rising, after a brief stalling in the aftermath of the financial crisis in the late 2000s (Figure 6). This confirms the sustainability of migration flows from Jordan. Remittances constituted about 10 percent of the country’s GDP in 2015, down from about 23 percent in 2001-2002.⁶⁸ Against the backdrop of increasing remittances, this drop in their relative share

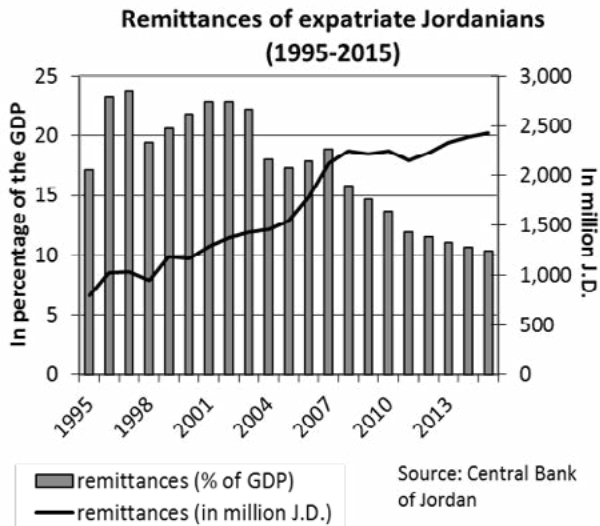
(family, intermarriage, seasonal employment, business) also initially provided short-term accommodation and assistance. Figure 8 indicates that new registrations peaked during the first half of 2013 and reached about 300,000 for that whole year. Since late 2013, the progressive closing of Jordan’s borders has kept total numbers of refugees almost at standstill with 33,291 new arrivals in 2015 and about 36,000 for the first nine months of 2016.⁸⁵ Some returns to Syria were reported, mostly by families having exhausted all their resources and support mechanisms in Jordan and deportations to Syria also occurred.⁸⁶ As of early 2016, Syrian refugees’ rate of resettlement to a third country from Jordan was very low (2.3 percent).⁸⁷

The flows of foreign workers have also changed over recent years. Egyptians continued to dominate the labour market, but a diversification of Asian nationalities can be noticed. Filipina and Sri Lankans, mostly female domestic labourers were briefly outnumbered by Indonesians in the late 2000s, before a ban stopped the latter’s employment. Also, the increase in the numbers of Bangladeshis points to the development of the manufacturing industrial sector in Jordan.



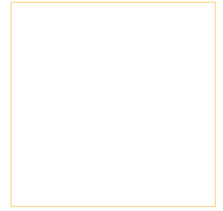
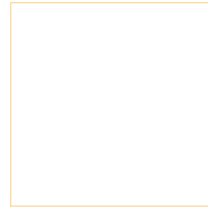
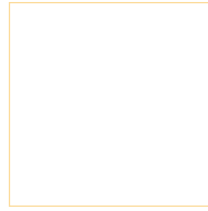
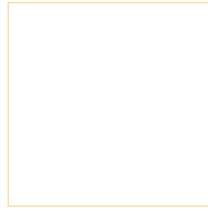
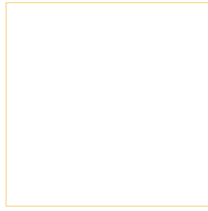


of the GDP is due to the increase in Jordan's GDP over the same period. Notwithstanding their nature as private assets, expatriates' remittances still play a major role in supporting households' income and Jordan's economy.



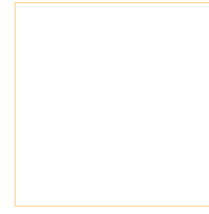
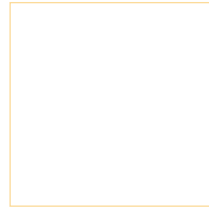
The total number of work permits delivered stalled between 2007 and 2011. This was partly a result of the economic slowdown of the late 2000s and partly due to the toughening of labour force nationalisation schemes (Jordanisation). This was, then, coupled with attempts at better controlling irregular labour. Yet, since the beginning of the Syrian war, the number of permits granted are on the rise again. This suggests that new foreign investments and an increase in consumption due to population increases stimulated employment in Jordan, including foreign employment.

Figures from Jordan's Ministry of Labour indicate that the total number of valid work permits issued to Syrians as of August 2016, had reached above 26,000 and was on the rise, in line with Jordan's commitments to international donors. Syrians then made up 11% of the total migrant officially registered labour force. This was up from a modest 1.8 percent in 2014. Syrians who are mostly low-skilled, will surely compete with most other foreign nationalities, Arab (Egyptians) and Asian, for jobs in industry, construction, trade and hospitality, as well as in agriculture.

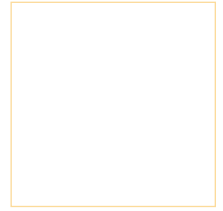
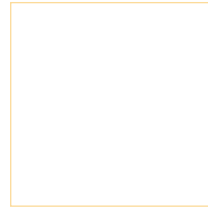
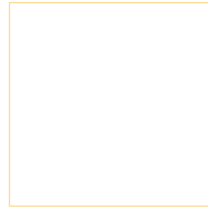
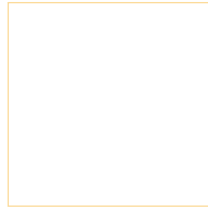
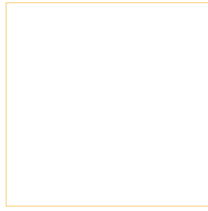


Footnote

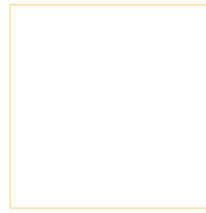
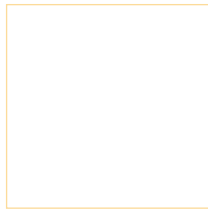
- 1 These numbers will be discussed in the following section (Inward migration-stocks).
- 2 As recently emphasised by Amnesty International in a report on the global refugee crisis <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol40/4905/2016/en/>
- 3 We use the term “migrant” to designate persons born outside Jordan, who may (or may not) currently hold Jordanian nationality.
- 4 Historically a crossroad of trade, pilgrimage and nomadic circulation routes and seasonal migration, the Emirate of Transjordan was established in 1921 after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Its population of Bedouin, sometimes nomadic populations, Arab and Caucasian (Tcherkess) villagers later aggregated with traders, artisans, soldiers and bureaucrats from the Hedjaz, Syria and Palestine, called upon by Abdallah I, an Arab nationalist, to lay the basis of the State apparatus.
- 5 The East Bank of Jordan alone received between 70,000 and 100,000 persons and 280,000 to 400,000 went to the West Bank, whose territory was annexed by Jordan in 1949 in a bid to expand its territory and influence.
- 6 UNGA resolution 194 (III), voted 11 December 1948.
- 7 Palestinian refugees were rejected by the International Organization for Refugees (IOR, the body preceding UNHCR) in 1948, for according to the UN organization, Palestinians could not convincingly demonstrate their forced expulsion. Additionally, OIR and its successor UNHCR, was geared towards reinstalling refugees in third countries, which contravened refugees’ unconditional rights to return to their homelands in Arab countries’ views (see Dorai, K; and Al-Husseini, J. “Palestine”, in: Simon, G. (ed.). *Dictionnaire géo-historique des migrations internationales*, Paris: Armand Colin, 2015, pp. 284-289 (p. 286)).
- 8 UNGA Resolution 302(IV) of 8 December 1949. Palestinian refugees were defined as those: (1) whose normal place of residence was Palestine from 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948; (2) who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflicts; (3) who found refuge in a country where UNRWA provides assistance; or (4) who is a descendant through the male line of someone meeting conditions (1) to (3). UNRWA’s operation zone was circumscribed to Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- 9 They were considered “displaced” within the borders of Jordan, because of Jordan’s annexation of the West Bank between 1949 and 1967, and therefore, did not qualify for registration as UNRWA’s beneficiaries. UNGA Resolution 2252 (ES-V), 4 July 1967 defines the displaced Palestinians as those “unable to return to Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967”. The East Bank received 240,000 to 330,000 1948 refugees and displaced persons.
- 10 Between 1948 and 1967, the Gaza Strip was administered by Egypt. The 1948 refugees who settled in Gaza were registered with UNRWA and all the resident population there was granted Egyptian travel documents.
- 11 Jordanians of Palestinian descent are indeed a part of the networks of economic patronage and political clientelism which have structured Jordanian society. Besides their role in the setting up of Jordan’s State apparatus since 1921 (see footnote 4), some Palestinian families have been long-term allies of the Hashemites, and have occupied high-ranking political functions since 1921, including in the Army and intelligence services. The decision, taken by Arab representatives in the 1974 Rabat Conference, to grant the PLO sole representation of Palestinians (claimed by Jordan) spurred the perception, for many on the East Bank, that Palestinians were ultimately a menace to Jordan’s sovereignty and security, henceforth limiting opportunities of Jordanian-Palestinians within the State apparatus. On Jordan’s political demography and nation-building process, see: De Bel-Air, F. “Migration, Security and the Palestinian Question. Palestinian Refugees in Jordan and Lebanon: Granting Rights, or Pushing for Resettlement?”, *CARIM Research Report 2012/02*, San Domenico Di Fiesole (Florence, Italy): Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS), European University Institute (EUI), 2012. <http://www.carim.org/index.php?callContent=484&allText=1737>).



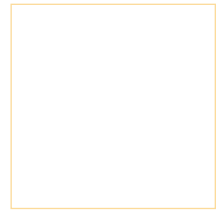
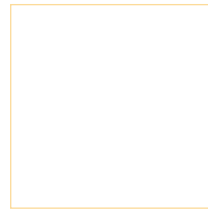
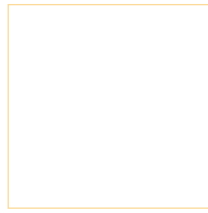
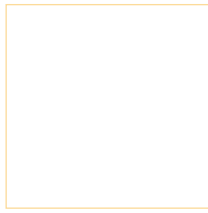
- 12 Those evicted from the patronage and clientelism networks (see footnote 11).
- 13 External revenues not generated by productive activities amounted to 50 percent of Jordan's GDP c. 1980. They were private funds, the remittances sent by some 300,000 Jordanian workers expatriated in the Gulf (approximately one third of its labour force), as well as public funds, the important amounts of aid granted by oil-producing countries to Jordan.
- 14 Arab developmental aid to Jordan, encouraged by the steady flows of skilled and highly-skilled Jordanian workers to the Gulf, reached as high as 25 percent of Jordan's GDP in the mid-1980s. This made Jordan a "rentier economy" (Brand, L. *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
- 15 Refers to the upscale mobility of non-expatriate labour force, even though its education and qualification levels remain low, because the influx of the rent into the economy raised its ambitions, in terms of wages as well as in terms of status.
- 16 De Bel-Air, F. « Migrations internationales et politique en Jordanie », *Revue européenne des Migrations internationales*, 2003 (19), pp. 9-41.
- 17 After a decrease in oil prices, Arab aid started declining, while Arab workers were to be gradually replaced by Asians in the Gulf countries in the early 1980s. Their progressive return to the country dried out remittances. Jordan resorted to borrowing to keep up the strong public sector and the newly acquired standard of living and consumerist habits of its population, until it had no choice but to open negotiations with the IMF, to reschedule its debt.
- 18 Essentially to attract more investments and transfers. Expatriates' conferences under royal patronage and involving high-ranking political and economic actors have been held since the 1990s, the last one in Summer 2015.
- 19 Estimated at about 15 percent mid-2016 (http://dos.gov.jo/dos_home_e/main/archive/Unemp/2016/Emp_2016-q2.pdf).
- 20 Mainly in the Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZs), special economic zones set up in Jordan in the aftermath of the peace process with Israel. It introduced export-led, labour intensive industrial plants, mainly in the sector of textile and garment. QIZs offer duty- and quota-free access to the US and EU markets for products manufactured by "qualifying" enterprises located in those enclaves, which must meet certain criteria regarding foreign participation to qualify under the program.
- 21 By recognizing the State of Israel in Oslo and Wadi Araba Agreements, Palestinian authorities and Jordan implicitly acknowledged as impossible a return of the 1948 refugees to territories belonging to Israel.
- 22 The failure of the Oslo agreements postpones the creation of a Palestinian State. As Israel keeps control of occupied lands in the West Bank, the Palestinians hold a political but not a territorial identity. The question of the political representation of the diaspora's members, in Palestinian institutions as well as in the host countries (they are full citizens in Jordan since 1950) is thus raised, along with fears of double allegiance.
- Moreover, if initial supporters of the peace agreements stated that recognition of Israel by Jordan would work both ways and so secure Jordan's sovereign borders and political existence, its failure reignites fears that Jordan may become the alternative homeland to Palestinians (Abu Odeh, A. *Jordanians, Palestinians, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in the Middle East Peace Process*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999, p.234; De Bel-Air, 2012 (op.cit.), pp. 38-39).
- The concept of "transfer", or "the organised removal of the indigenous populations of Palestine to neighbouring countries" has been an essential part of Zionist political thought since T. Herzl. See Masalha, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of 'Transfer' in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*, Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992.
- 23 Originally from the West Bank, these citizens were said not to have been living on the East Bank at the time of the 1988 fak irtibat (Human Rights Watch. *Stateless Again. Palestinian-Origin Jordanians Deprived of their Nationality*, February 2010). In 2009, public protests were held over such reports, while na-



- tionalist voices defended them in the name of refugees' right of return and Anti-Zionism (on this and the "political naturalisations" debate, see De Bel-Air, 2012 (op.cit.), pp. 47-51).
- 24 <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/palestinian-refugees-in-jordan/palestinian-refugees-in-jordan>.
- 25 After refugees fleeing Saddam Hussein's repression against the Shiites and other opponents during the 1990s, the 2003 war and its aftermath brought new waves of Iraqis to Jordan: former allies of Saddam Hussein's regime and after 2006-2007, families fleeing the civil war, sectarian conflicts and clashes with the American troops. UNHCR and the Jordanian government estimated their numbers to have reached 750,000 in the mid-2000s, a figure later contested and estimated as being closer to 160,000 as of 2007 (Faf/Jordan Department of Statistics. Iraqis in Jordan 2007: *Their Number and Characteristics*, November 2007).
- 26 Until November 2005 and a terrorist attack on international hotels in Amman, Iraqis could enter Jordan freely. After the attacks in 2006, the entries of adult males and other categories (Shiites for instance) were restricted, while residency conditions were tightened. Entry visas were imposed in late 2007 and Iraqis have to hold residency documents (De Bel-Air, F. "Iraqis in Jordan since 2003: What Socio-Political Stakes?", in : *Iraqi Refugees in the Host Countries of the Middle East*, CARIM-RR 2009/10, Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM), San Domenico di Fiesole (Florence, Italy): Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS), European University Institute, 2009 <http://hdl.handle.net/1814/11255> and De Bel-Air, F. "State Policies on Migration and Refugees in Jordan", Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Program, American University in Cairo AUC, 2008, <http://www.aucegypt.edu/ResearchatAUC/rc/cmrs/reports/Documents/Francoise%20de%20Belair.pdf>).
- 27 See for instance Chatelard, G. et al. *Protection, mobility and livelihood challenges of displaced Iraqis in urban settings in Jordan*, International Catholic Migration Commission, May 2009, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/751268C72BA0BCD0492575EE0018E0D8-Full_Report.pdf; Seeley, N. "The Politics of Aid to Iraqi Refugees in Jordan", Middle East Report 256, <https://www.google.fr/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=18&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwjubLb3dDPAhXCDsAKHay5BbM4ChAWCE0wBw&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.merip.org%2Fmer%2Fmer256%2Fpolitics-aid-iraqi-refugees-jordan&usg=AFQjCNHkTevhdTuXoYtCnWVhkkKAf6Nhbw> ; De Bel-Air, 2009, op. cit.
- 28 Syrians are allowed to enter Jordan with their passport only. Visa and residency permit are not required (Achilli, L. "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: a Reality Check", *MPC Policy Brief* 2015/02, San Domenico di Fiesole: Migration Policy Centre, EUI-RSCAS, February 2015, p. 3). Syrians need to register with UNHCR and the Jordanian Ministry of Interior only if they want to access assistance and services available to asylum seekers (Chatelard, G. "Iraqi and Syrian Refugees in Jordan Adjusting to Displacement: Comparing their Expectations towards UNHCR and their Capacities to use their Educational Assets", in Dionigi, F. et al. *The Long Term Challenges of Forced Migration. Perspectives from Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq*, London: LSE Middle East Centre Collected Papers, n° 6, September 2016, pp. 22-25 (p. 23)).
- 29 Syrians are not required to undergo a refugee status determination process and are thus afforded protection and access to subsidized primary health care and other essential services.
- 30 The Jordan-UNHCR MoU was partially amended in March 2014 to give UNHCR 90 days to examine applications submitted by refugees who enter Jordan.
- 31 Al Hussein, J. and Dorai, K. "La vulnérabilité des réfugiés palestiniens à la lumière de la crise syrienne", *Confluences Méditerranée*, 87 – Automne 2013, pp.95-107.
- 32 Amnesty International. Growing Restrictions, Tough Conditions: *The Plight of Those Fleeing Syria to Jordan*, 2013, p. 10 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/MDE16/003/2013/en/>
- 33 Due to Jordan's participation in the anti-terrorism coalition and since September 2014, in the military campaign against the Islamic State and Jabhat Al-Nusra in



- Syria and Iraq, the country underwent border attacks since 2012, attempts at the infiltration of activists, as well as operations by local supporters of Da'esh.
- 34 Williams, S.E. The “buffer zone” plan for 70,000 stranded Syrian refugees, *IRIN News*, 7 October 2016. <http://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2016/10/07/%E2%80%9Cbuffer-zone%E2%80%9D-plan-70000-stranded-syrian-refugees>
- 35 Formal bail out applications must be submitted to the Syrian Refugee Assistance Department (SRAD) by camp residents and requires a Jordanian sponsor with a direct family relation with the applicant, among other characteristics (Achilli, 2015, op. cit., p.6).
- 36 Without a valid ASC, refugees cannot access UNHCR's and its partners' services such as cash and food assistance. The ASC is also indispensable for obtaining Ministry of Interior Service Card for refugee which grants access to public health care and education services in host communities (Achilli, 2015, op. cit., p. 5).
- 37 And issue them new cards from the Ministry of Interior.
- 38 As reported by Human Rights Watch <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/11/23/jordan-vulnerable-refugees-forcibly-returned-syria> Palestinians from Syria (PRS) also suffer insecurity and risk deportation <http://www.irinnews.org/report/101539/case-exposes-jordans-deportation-double-standards>
- 39 Francis, A. *Jordan's Refugee Crisis*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 2015, p. 24 <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/09/21/jordan-s-refugee-crisis/ilpe>
- 40 Those in camps were excluded for the measure and kept their vouchers. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/wfp-reinstate-food-aid-229000-syrian-refugees>
- 41 Assessment Framework and UNCHR Jordan. *Jordan Refugee Response- Vulnerability Assessment Framework, Baseline Survey*, May 2015, <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/jordan-refugee-response-vulnerability-assessment-framework-baseline-survey-may-2015>
- 42 Most Iraqis in Jordan were middle-class, educated urbanites while Syrian refugees more often coming from rural areas and small towns. A survey by Care International showed that only 13 percent of a sample of vulnerable Syrians held a university degree, as opposed to 50 percent among Iraqis in 2007. Care International. *Lives Unseen: Urban Syrian Refugees and Jordanian Host Communities Three Years into the Syria Crisis*, 2014; FaFo, 2007, op. cit..
- 43 Akram, s. et al, *Protecting Syrian Refugees: Laws, Policies, and Global Responsibility Sharing*, Boston University School of Law, 2015, <http://www.bu.edu/law/files/2015/07/FINALFullReport.pdf>. This is in spite of the fact that many Syrians residing in Jordan are not registered with UNHCR.
- 44 <http://eng.majalla.com/2014/07/article55250594>; http://muftah.org/syrian-refugees-jordanian-economy/#.V_44muCLTIU; Dorai, K. « La Jordanie et les réfugiés syriens », *La Vie des idées*, 7 juin 2016. ISSN : 2105-3030, <http://www.laviedesidees.fr/La-Jordanie-et-les-refugies-syriens.html>
- 45 See: ILO. *Work Permits for Syrian Refugees in Jordan*, ILO Regional Office for Arab States, 2015, p 3; 5-6.
- 46 The MP was signed in October 2014 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-1109_en.htm; http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/docs/20141009_joint_declaration_establishing_the_eu-jordan_mobility_partnership_en.pdf
- 47 Cf. footnote 20.
- 48 https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/498021/Supporting_Syria_the_Region_London_2016_-_Jordan_Statement.pdf; http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-2570_en.htm On the World Bank's role in the project, see: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/jordan/brief/economic-opportunities-for-jordanians-and-syrian-refugees-questions-and-answers>
- 49 <http://www.unhcr.org/5715ef866.html>.
- 50 Luck, T. “Jordan's Syrian Refugee Economic Gamble”, *Middle East Institute*, 24 May 2016 <http://www.mei.edu/content/article/jordan-s-syrian-refugee-economic-gamble>
- 51 The Labour Ministry announced that it had stopped the recruitment of new guest workers on 28 June 2016,



for regulating the labour market and study the number of guest workers in Jordan. <https://www.google.fr/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwiZh5DdsdXPAhXDUBQKHZyMAskQFgghMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.jordantimes.com%2Fnews%2Flocal%2Ffarmers-protest-halt-guest-worker-recruitment&usq=AFQjCNFAUeo1zIAagAlzvsXS7f5v-HwdCA>

52 In Jordan, as in the Gulf States, the sponsorship rule applies to foreign labourers. They receive the labour permit upon sponsorship of their employer, who pay the permit and other fees. Yet, many Syrians work for several employers, who are unwilling to sponsor them officially. See: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/07/jordan-free-work-permits-syrian-refugees.html>

53 <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/jordan-violent-protests-dhiban-unemployment-160623100230190.html>

54 Figure taken from UN/DESA (2015). *Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin* (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015), where estimates are based on official statistics on the foreign-born or the foreign population. Palestine refers to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East-Jerusalem.

The figure, however, raises questions. Palestine's census of 2007 recorded 50,350 Palestinian individuals (i.e., holders of Palestinian Authority's (PA's) documents) as being born in Jordan, which is probably the source for this estimate. However, a share of these may not technically be classified as migrants from Jordan (i.e., born Jordanians on the territory East of the Jordan River), for two sets of reasons: 1- Between 1948 and 1967, the West Bank was annexed by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Therefore, Palestinians born there during the period held Jordanian nationality, and may have reported themselves as being born in Jordan. Yet, they did not physically migrate; 2- Some Palestinians may be born in Jordan (East Bank), without holding Jordanian nationality: for example, the residents of and refugees from the Gaza Strip, placed under Egyptian administrative supervision between 1948 and 1967, were not naturalised by Jordan after 1948; and 3- Some Jordanians of Palestinian descent

were stripped of their nationality by Jordan since 1988. The estimate of interest to us here, i.e., the number of Jordan (East Bank)-born Jordanian nationals, holding PA documents or not, residing in Palestine at the time of census, stands somewhere between 50, 350 and 431, which is the number of residents recorded as Jordanian nationals during census 2007 in Palestine (i.e. holding Jordanian nationality documents but no PA passport). See: <http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/Downloads/book1822.pdf>.

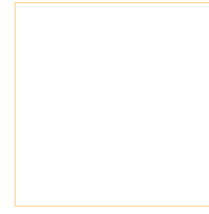
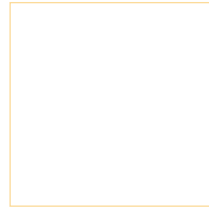
55 The Gulf States do not usually disclose data on foreign residents disaggregated by nationality, especially Saudi Arabia and the UAE, the main receivers of Jordanian migrants. The present data for the two countries are therefore estimates. Moreover, the Gulf states define migrants as foreign nationals (nationality criteria) and the naturalisation of foreigners is almost impossible there. Figures may thus include a share of second- or third-generation, Gulf-born Jordanians. The sources of estimates are listed in <http://gulfmigration.eu/gcc-estimates-of-the-figures-of-foreign-nationals-arab-nationalities-by-country-of-residence-in-the-gcc-2010-2014/>

56 All ages. As a matter of comparison, Egyptians for instance have a much more skewed sex ratio: 335 men for 100 women among Egyptians residing in Kuwait that year. Kuwait is the only country with Bahrain which offers some demographic data disaggregated by nationality, based on figures of residency permit holders by category / purpose of residency (worker; family dependent; student, etc.).

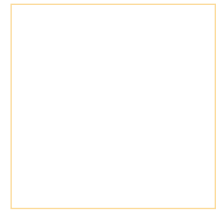
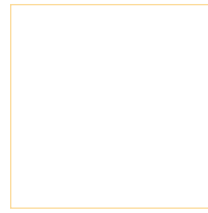
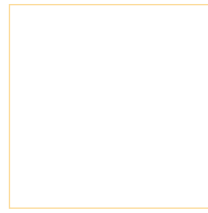
57 The length of stay does not seem to play a role in family reunion: Jordanians who had been settled in Kuwait since the 1950s left the Emirate during the First Gulf War of 1990-1991. The Jordanians currently residing there mostly arrived in the 2000s.

58 By comparison, only 28 percent of Egyptians in Kuwait were registered as family dependents, and even fewer among mostly low-skilled professionals from Asian countries: 13 per cent of Indians, for example, are family dependents.

59 Royal Scientific Society (RSS). *Workers Migration Abroad: Socio-Economic Implications for Households in Jordan*, Amman: RSS/Economic Department, 1983.



- 60 De Bel-Air, F. "Gender Politics and Migration Policies in Jordan", *Gender and Migration in Southern and Eastern Mediterranean and Sub-Sahara African Countries*, Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM), CARIM ASN 2011/03, San Domenico Di Fiesole (Florence, Italy): Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS), European University Institute (EUI), 2011, pp. 1-25. <http://www.carim.org/index.php?callContent=484&callText=1550>
- However, only 17.5 percent of Jordanian females in Kuwait were registered as workers in 2013.
- 61 De Bel-Air, F. "Jordan, a land of no return? Highly-skilled migration, before and after the Arab Spring", in: Fargues, Ph. / Venturini, A. (Eds.). *Migration from North Africa and the Middle-East: Skilled Migrants, Development and Globalization*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2015, pp. 134-150
- 62 Eurostat data, as of 31 December 2015: All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December of each year [migr_resvalid]. The data on residency permits concern here the Jordanian nationals, i.e., born in Jordan or not.
- 63 Permits delivered under "other reasons" in Germany cover humanitarian purposes; <https://service.berlin.de/dienstleistung/324859/en/>. "Subsidiary protection" and "refugee status" permits were added to this category of permits granted for humanitarian reasons.
- 64 According to the Silatech Index, a representative yearly survey of young people in the League of Arab States. Silatech-Gallup. *The Silatech Index: Voices of Young People*, 2010, p. 18. Available at: <http://css.es-cwa.org.lb/sd/1382/SilatechMasterinteractive.pdf>. By comparison, 20 percent of young Egyptians and 37 percent of young Moroccans expressed their wish to migrate during that survey.
- 65 Founder and CEO of Aramex Company Fadi Ghandour stated at the end of 2012 that Jordan was a regional hub for Internet start-ups, leading "in terms of animation, e-commerce, creating original Arabic content online and in terms of pure outsourcing opportunities," with Egypt as a close second. Salih, C. "Fadi Ghandour Sees Bright Future for Region's Entrepreneurs", *Al-Monitor*, November 6, 2012.
- 66 From 40,543 in 2003 to 69,719 in 2014. The number of Jordanians in the US had fallen by almost a half between 2001 and 2003, from a peak at 79,000 recorded migrants.
- 67 Gardner, A. "Strategic Transnationalism: The Indian Diasporic Elite in Contemporary Bahrain", *City & Society*, Vol. 20, Issue 1, pp. 54-78, 2008.
- 68 A period of economic insecurity and reshuffling of migration flows from the West to the Gulf after 9/11
- 69 Those classified as Palestinians may 1- hold a temporary Jordanian passport (without a national number), either a two-year temporary passport (issued to those from the Gaza Strip), or a five-year temporary passport (issued to those from the West Bank who are not Jordanian citizens); 2- hold a Palestinian (PNA) passport.
- 70 Email consultations with Jordanian researchers, and refugee NGO legal specialists in Jordan, June 2016.
- On the basis of her interviews with Jordanian officials, Katharina Lenner explains the figure of 700,000 Syrians in Jordan before the war: "This latter estimate, it was explained to me by the head of the SRAD [Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate, Ministry of Interior, our add.], is based on the difference between entry and exit numbers between January 1st, 2006 and March 2011, provided by the GID [General Intelligence Department, Ministry of Interior, our add.] upon the SRAD's request. It was estimated that of this number of around 500,000, who were assumed to be household heads only 25% were married and brought one child with them. Accordingly, 250,000 were added to the estimate, arriving at 750,000 overall. This estimate was subsequently updated in the light of new entries and exits, arriving at 752,064 in August 2015". Lenner, K. "Blasts from the past: Policy legacies and memories in the making of the Jordanian response to the Syrian refugee crisis," *EUI Working Papers, MWP Red Number Series 2016/32*, 2016, p. 12.
- 71 Following Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri's assassination in February 2005. A sizeable number of Syrians shifted their assets from Lebanon to Jordan in search of financial stability and a favourable business climate.



72 For instance, the populations of the border regions of Dera'a in Syria and Ramtha in Jordan are closely knit by intermarriages (some families and tribal groups live on both sides of the border), as well as by cross-border seasonal work from Syria to Jordan.

73 Refugee waves are increasingly deprived, hence in dire need for protection as refugee. This is supported by studies on the “returnees” from Kuwait to Jordan during the first Gulf War, and on refugee flows from Iraq after the breaking out of the second Gulf War in 2003.

74 See Lenner, 2016, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

75 As a matter of fact, the figure of 200,000 labour permits (those promised by Jordan at the Syria donors' Conference in London early 2016), could suggest the presence of 950,000 Syrian nationals in the country, providing 1- the age and sex structure of the Syrian population as a whole is identical to that of the registered Syrian refugees as of September 2016, i.e. males aged 18 to 59 years making up 21 percent of the population; 2- only males apply for permits; 3- All men would apply for work permits (none remaining inactive) and 4- the number of refugees from Syria is expected to remain stable over the next two years. On that basis, a gross estimate of the total Syrian population would be: $200,000/21*100=952,381$.

76 Refugees without fully-fledged Jordanian citizenship may 1- hold a temporary Jordanian passport (without a national number), either a two-year temporary passport (issued to those from the Gaza Strip), or a five-year temporary passport (issued to those from the West Bank who are not Jordanian citizens); 2- hold a nationality/ residency permit from another country.

77 As stated above, those categorised as “refugees” from Palestine are those who were displaced as a result of the creation of Israel in 1948 and fled to the West Bank (then annexed by Jordan), to the East Bank (Jordan), to the Gaza Strip, to Syria or to Lebanon. The refugees who were not born in Jordan (i.e., the migrants among them) are thus the ones born before 1948, hence aged 67 and above in 2016.

78 <http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan>

79 Who came to Jordan from the Gaza Strip: they may have originally been from the Gaza Strip, or may

have taken refuge in the Gaza Strip in 1948 and have been further displaced to Jordan in 1967 or during subsequent hostilities. See: Tiltnes, A. and Zhang, H. Progress, challenges, diversity. Insights into the socio-economic conditions of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Oslo: Fafo-report 2013:42, 2013, p. 32.

80 <http://www.unrwa.org/syria-crisis>

81 Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

82 <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/800000-guest-workers-are-jordan-%E2%80%94-ministry>; Namrouqa, H. “Farmers to protest halt to guest worker recruitment”, *Jordan Times*, 15 August 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/farmers-protest-halt-guest-worker-recruitment>

83 JORDAN PROGRAM-FOR-RESULTS Economic Opportunities for Jordanians and Syrian Refugees- Environmental and Social Systems Assessment (ESSA), World Bank, August 1, 2016 <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/898321470127542828/pdf/107343-EA-P159522-Box396301B-PUBLIC-Disclosed-8-1-2016.pdf>

84 <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/around-200000-syrians-illegally-work-jordan-%E2%80%94-ministry>

85 UNHCR's statistics indicate that the renewal of registration took over new registrations in early 2014. *External Statistical Report on UNHCR Registered Syrians*, 30 Sep 2016, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107>

86 See footnote 38.

87 Jordan also deported other refugees (600 Sudanese in January 2016 for instance, who were claiming more resettlement opportunities in third countries) <https://www.irinnews.org/feature/2016/01/06/jordan-cracks-down-under-refugee-pressure>



Migration Policy Centre

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