

Mapping and Study of the Jordanian Diaspora in Germany

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List of Abbreviations

AZR	Ausländerzentralregister <i>Central Register for Foreigners</i>
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge <i>German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees</i>
BMBF	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung <i>German Federal Ministry for Education and Research</i>
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung <i>German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development</i>
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst <i>German Academic Exchange Service</i>
DAFI	Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund
DZHW	Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung <i>German Centre for Higher Education Research and Science Studies</i>
ETF	European Training Foundation
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GDP	Gross domestic product
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH
GJU	German-Jordanian University
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JEMPAS	Support to the Mobility Partnership between the EU and Jordan
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MPC	Migration Policy Centre
ODA	Official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ORCA	Owners of Recruitment Companies' Association
PME	Programm Migration für Entwicklung <i>Programme Migration for Development</i>
SOEP	German Socioeconomic Panel
SVR	Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration <i>The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration</i>
UAE	United Arab Emirates
US	United States

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Executive Summary

Introduction

This study has been commissioned by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH* (GIZ) on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (*Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung*; BMZ) in response to an acute need for the analysis of diasporas in Germany. Informing GIZ's Programme Migration for Development "*Programm Migration für Entwicklung*" (PME), the study seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the Jordanian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives based in Germany. It will also examine the structures, activities, and agendas of these organisations in a range of areas (e.g. politics, business, science, academia, culture) with respect to Jordan and to Germany. Considering their development engagement, potential for cooperation between the Jordanian diaspora organisations and GIZ will be identified.

Concept of diasporas

Since the 1990s, the use and application of the diaspora concept has grown rapidly through its use in academic, cultural, and political spaces. In line with newer analyses within diaspora literature that see diasporas as a practice and often use the social movement approach for analysis (Koinova, 2014; Adamson, 2012; Sökefeld, 2006; Brubaker, 2005), this study interprets diasporas as fluid, complex, and dynamic. This project recognises that diasporas, being heterogeneous, consist of various groups with different interests, agendas, and degrees of organisation. Whether formal or informal, diaspora organisations and networks promote engagement and mobilisation by the diaspora through collective action.

Considering the role of individuals and organisations, diaspora engagement is a concept central to this study. In this regard, the role in the development of their homeland is also important. Importantly, diaspora engagement is extensively heterogeneous and reflects the diversity of diasporas themselves. Since diaspora members may face different social, economic, and political conditions in their destination countries, diaspora engagement is highly dependent on individual diaspora communities. The size, composition, and distribution of diasporic groups also differentially drives diaspora engagement.

Methodology

The research performed for this study took the form of an extended exploratory mapping, which employed several methods (e.g. extended desk research, snowball sampling). A literature review on diaspora engagement and the Jordanian diaspora in Germany was first conducted. Secondary data and statistics were also analysed to provide an overview of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of members of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany. Second, a mapping of Jordanian migrant organisations in Germany was performed using a search of the Common Register Portal of the German Federal States. Contact information for these organisations was taken from the *Handelsregister* or was found through additional online

searches. Six contacts for Jordanian organisations in Germany provided by GIZ were also included in the mapping. Third, members of the diaspora were interviewed in a semi-structured manner. All interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed using an inductive content analysis to identify common and unique narratives of diasporic experiences. Informal and unstructured interviews with GIZ staff members were also conducted to provide an overview of the work of GIZ in the Jordanian context.

Jordanian diaspora: Migration patterns & history

Jordan being country with a long history of both immigration and emigration, its government encouraged labour migration to oil-producing countries in the Gulf during the 1950s and 1960s, largely in response to a tremendous influx of migrants and refugees displaced by the first Arab-Israeli War (Wahba, 2012). More labour migration in the 1970s was due to the expansion of the oil-based economy in the Gulf States and the resulting economic opportunities in the growing private sector. A third wave of highly skilled emigration took place in the mid-1990s as a result of the 1994 peace deal between Jordan and Israel (MPC, 2013; De Bel-Air, 2010). In the 2000s, significant numbers of educated Jordanians returned to the Gulf countries for purposes of labour (De Bel-Air, 2016). Migration to this day continues largely due to high rates of unemployment in the country (World Bank, 2016; Wahba, 2012). As of 2009, there were a total of 339,755 Jordanian emigrants living abroad, largely in countries in the Gulf, the United States, or in countries of Western Europe. In 2017, Germany was a top-ten destination for Jordanian emigrants (UN DESA, 2017).

Jordanian diaspora organisations

When members of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany described themselves, interviewees generally indicated the group is demographically and socio-economically diverse on the one hand. Nonetheless, many of its members share characteristics, such as being economically active in the labour market and partaking in cultural and traditional activities of their country of origin, while also striving to integrate into German society. One of the main distinctions amongst the Jordanian diaspora in Germany can be found between student diaspora groups and non-student diaspora groups which usually include families settled in Germany.¹ The interests of both groups also vary, with student groups being more interested in networking, assistance in daily issues such as providing support with getting housing, organising social activities, and hosting German language classes as well as opportunities to interact culturally. The non-student organisations have broader aims and their interest lies in strengthening connections with Jordan, exploring business opportunities between Germany and Jordan, teaching children Arabic, as well as establishing connections with other Jordanian diasporas in the European Union (EU).

¹ Usually student groups are not officially registered as organisations, and they suffice by gathering via social media (such as Facebook), whereas the formal diaspora organisations are officially registered.

Policy influence on Jordanian diaspora activities

Jordan's legal framework for Jordanian emigration includes the Jordanian Constitution, its Social Security Law, as well as a number of bilateral and multilateral agreements with Qatar, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and other minor Arab receiving countries. The Jordanian diaspora is able to access Jordan's social security system. Other governmental engagement with the diaspora includes the encouragement of associations and clubs for Jordanian emigrants abroad as well as the establishment of a bi-annual expatriate conference in Jordan. Moreover, the Ministry of Labour and the King Abdullah II Fund for Development also have activities that engage with the Jordanian diaspora.

Bilateral political relations between Germany and Jordan have a long history, and coordination that aims to promote economic relations and development cooperation between Germany and Jordan also exists. The most recent cooperation between the GIZ and Jordan is through launching several job-generating projects, which include an Enhanced Productivity Programme for job creation and creating small-sized projects in partnership with effective stakeholders. The main fields of action for GIZ's PME in Jordan include the Returning Experts and Diaspora Cooperation programmes.

Key challenges and avenues for cooperation

The Jordanian diaspora organisations are still emergent. Nonetheless, they still have the potential and possibility to become more actively engaged both in the Jordanian and German societies. In realising their engagement capacity, Jordanian diaspora organisations also are confronted with a range of challenges in Jordan, within the diaspora community, and in Germany that hinder them from effectively engaging. In Jordan, organisations primarily face difficulties with bureaucratic procedures. Within the diaspora community, it is especially difficult for organisations to mobilise members due to dispersion and the size of the diaspora. In addition to a lack of human capital, organisations also experience capacity constraints due to limited infrastructure and financial resources. In Germany, some members of the organisation feel confronted by recent xenophobic and Islamophobic attitudes.

Recognizing the obstacles faced by the Jordanian diaspora, there are several recommendations and ways forward for cooperation with the GIZ (and PME more specifically) to support the growing potential for development-related activities of the Jordanian diaspora. Particularly, initiatives of PME should focus on enabling the engagement of Jordanian diaspora organisations and active individuals through capacity-building initiatives and financial support as well as considering untapped potential among Jordanian entrepreneurs and professional organisations. More generally, there should be increased efforts made to better statistically understand the characteristics (e.g. size, geographical distribution, socio-economic background) of the Jordanian

diaspora in Germany. In addition to this, the involvement of women and youth² should be encouraged to further diversify the nature of diaspora engagement. Such aforementioned forms of cooperation and collaboration have extensive potential to support existing organisations and enable new initiatives to reach their potential capacity.

² For example, children of first or second generation migrants.

1. Introduction

Jordan is a country with a long history of both immigration and emigration. The government encouraged labour migration to oil-producing countries in the Gulf during the 1950s and 1960s, largely in response to a substantial influx of migrants and refugees displaced by the first Arab-Israeli War (Wahba, 2012). More labour migration in the 1970s was due to the expansion of the oil-based economy in the Gulf States and the resulting economic opportunities in the growing private sector. In a third wave, emigration from Jordan increased significantly again following the 1990-1991 Gulf War and in the mid-1990s as a result of a peace agreement between Jordan and Israel (MPC, 2013). Migration to this day continues largely due to high rates of unemployment in the country (World Bank, 2016; Wahba, 2012). Data on Jordanians abroad are scarce and fragmentary (MPC, 2013). However, according to the most recent available data, it is estimated that there are over 782,000 Jordanian emigrants living abroad, with the majority of them residing in countries in the Gulf (JSF, 2017), followed by the United States or in countries of Western Europe. In 2017, Germany was among the top ten destination countries for Jordanian emigrants, with 12,704 Jordanians living in Germany (UN DESA, 2017);³ men make up 77 percent of this group, most of them aged 25 to 44 years or above 65. Of the Jordanian citizens with residence status (*Aufenthaltstitel*) in Germany as of 31 December 2016, 4,865 had a limited residence permit and 3,245 had a permanent residence status. Limited residence permits were granted primarily for family reasons (2,615) and purposes of education (1,015), with humanitarian grounds (575),⁴ work-related purposes (390), and other reasons (265) playing a smaller role.

This study has been commissioned by the German Development Cooperation (*Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*; GIZ) GmbH, on behalf of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (*Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung*; BMZ), in response to a critical need for the analysis of diasporas in Germany. Particularly, this study quantitatively (through secondary sources data) and qualitatively (through primary data collection) examines the characteristics of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany. This study acknowledges that diasporas, being heterogeneous and complex, consist of various groups with different interests, agendas and degrees of organisation. As such, the study seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of Jordanian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives (both organised and not organised) based in Germany. The study will evaluate the degree of organisation and form of these organisations as well as their activities and agendas. Moreover, the study will explore specific policies in place related to the Jordanian diaspora as well as the activities of the diaspora in a range of areas (e.g. politics, business, academia, culture) with respect to Jordan and

³ A 2013 report by the Migration Policy Centre (MPC) in Florence estimated that 7,686 Jordanians live in Germany (MPC, 2013).

⁴ More information on these permits can be found on the Service-Portal Berlin (n.d.)

Germany, its digital presence, and its development engagement. Finally, potential for cooperation between Jordanian diaspora organisations and GIZ will be identified.

The study informs GIZ’s Programme Migration for Development (*Programm Migration für Entwicklung*; PME), which focuses on promoting the capacity of migrants in Germany to engage in knowledge transfer within development-oriented sectors in their origin countries. Funded by the BMZ, PME is a global programme active in twenty-five countries, including Jordan, and has five focus areas: migration policy advisory services, migration counselling, development-oriented return, business ideas for development, and diaspora cooperation. Having experienced a range of structural changes during the last year, the programme currently consists of two modules. The first module – “Development-oriented migration” – includes the fields of action that have been relevant since the beginning of the programme (e.g. knowledge transfer of return migrants, cooperation with diaspora organisations, migrants as entrepreneurs, migration advice and policy consulting). The second module – “Informed return and reintegration” – was added at the beginning of 2017 to expand BMZ’s returnee programme *Returning to New Opportunities*. In particular, this module supports the return and reintegration of migrants and refugees who return to their origin countries from Germany. The second module also involves the establishment of information centres to support returnees with reintegration as well as to advise the local population about opportunities in the partner countries.

The aims of the study are threefold; (1) to get an overview of the characteristics of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany, (2) to map contacts of Jordanian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives (as well as any loosely organised network) based in Germany and examine their development potential, and (3) to develop recommendations regarding a context-specific and context-appropriate strategies to engage with members of the diaspora. The study focuses on the following main research questions, with sub-questions being elaborated in Table 1:

- How is the Jordanian diaspora characterised?
- What Jordanian diaspora organisations exist in Germany, and what are their aims and activities?
- In what ways does the diaspora contribute to the development of Jordan?
- What are the potentials for constructive cooperation between the Jordanian diaspora and the GIZ?

Table 1: Research sub-questions

Topic	Research questions
Characteristics of the Jordanian diaspora	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the demographic and socioeconomic profile of members of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany? • In what ways has the diaspora developed (e.g. through home- and/or host-country factors?)

Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What networks, organisations, associations, and initiatives of the Jordanian diaspora exist in Germany, and what are their aims and activities? • What kinds of cooperation (e.g. in the form of umbrella organisations) exist among different groups within the Jordanian diaspora? • What lines of division or conflict exist among different groups within the Jordanian diaspora?
Transnational practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What forms of engagement and involvement with Jordan do different types of diaspora organisations pursue, and what factors influence these initiatives? • What are the prospects for mobilisation of these organisations to foster development in Jordan and in their wider region of origin? • What lines, if any, of conflict exist with or in the country of origin?
Potentials for cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the needs and goals of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany? • How can these goals be connected for constructive involvement and cooperation between the GIZ and members of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany?

The rest of this report is outlined as follows: Section 2 defines the concept of diaspora as it is used in this study and looks into the role of organisations in diaspora engagement. The methodology used in the study is described in Section 3. In Section 4, the migration patterns and history of the Jordanian diaspora is presented, and the characteristics of the Jordanian immigration population in Germany are examined. Section 5 analyses the Jordanian diaspora organisations as well as their characteristics and engagement practices. Section 6 considers the existing Jordanian policies toward the diaspora as well as the development and diaspora policies in Germany. In Section 7, key challenges and avenues for cooperation are outlined. Section 8 concludes the report.

2. Concept of diasporas

Defining the concept of diasporas

Since the 1990s, the term ‘diaspora’ has grown to describe immigrant populations, displaced communities, ethnic minorities, and transnational social formations. Since then, meanings of the term have become increasingly dispersed (Brubaker, 2005), with several definitions and conceptualisations of the term having since been developed (see Van Hear, 2014 & 1998; Cohen, 2008; Sökefeld, 2006; Gilroy, 1993; Safran, 1991; Hall, 1990).

Safran (1991) and Cohen (2008), for example, suggest that diasporas require a dispersal of the original homeland to two or more other places (either forcefully or voluntarily in search of work or trade). Moreover, they argue that diasporas are characterised by the presence of a common myth or idealisation of the homeland; a commitment to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland; the eventual development of return movement; the development of an ethnic group consciousness and its mobilisation; as well as a troubled relationship or tension with the host society (Cohen, 2008; Safran, 1991). Similarly, Van Hear (1998) outlines three minimal criteria for the definition of a diaspora, namely (1) the dispersal from a homeland to two or more other places, (2) an enduring presence abroad, and (3) a social, political, and/or cultural exchange between those who are spatially separated.

New approaches

Drawing from these conceptualisations of diaspora, Brubaker (2005) suggests that, rather than seeing diasporas as static, unchanging, and inactive entities, they should be treated as “an idiom, stance, and claim” that can be deployed by diaspora members (p. 1). Particularly, this allows diasporas to be conceptualised in ways beyond substantialism and cultural essentialism. Moreover, this line of thinking draws from the social movement approach to analyse diasporas and also allows for seeing diasporas as practices. In this regard, Sökefeld (2006) maintains that, based on the social movement approach, there must be opportunities, structures, and practices that enable the mobilisation of diasporas, particularly when seeing diasporas as “contingent on the imagination of a transnational community and upon the self-identification of actors as members of this community” (p. 271).

As such, Sökefeld (2006) argues that diaspora formation relies on the mobilizing practices of its networks for the proliferation of collective action. Adamson (2012) similarly understands diasporas using a framework of social movements, suggesting that diasporas are formed by “political entrepreneurs acting rationally and strategically through the strategic deployment of identity frames and categories” (p. 32). In addition, Koinova (2011; 2014) relies on the literature of transnational social movements when considering the mobilisation of diasporas. Koinova (2014) suggests that, similarly to transnational social movements, “diaspora entrepreneurs can act on global and local opportunity structures, [...] reframe issues during foreign policy lobbying, [...] and use ‘transnational brokerage’ to connect smaller networks into larger ones” (p. 4).

In line with such newer analyses within diaspora literature, this study sees diasporas as fluid, complex, and dynamic. This study recognises that diasporas, being heterogeneous and multi-layered, consist of various groups with different interests, agendas, and degrees of organisation. In this regard, the findings of this particular study on the Jordanian diaspora should not be considered representative of the Jordanian immigrant population per se, but rather, should serve to highlight characteristics of the Jordanian migrant organisations (diaspora organisations, in particular), associations, and initiatives (both organised and not organised) based in Germany.

Organisations & the role of diaspora engagement

Whether formal or informal, diaspora organisations and networks – as also explored in this study – can guide collective action to promote engagement and mobilisation of its members (Van Hear, 2014; Sökefeld, 2006). Such organisations can, among others, include schools, religious entities, as well as community organisations (Van Hear, 2014). It is especially important, however, to critically reflect on the role of diaspora organisations as they often claim to represent the diasporic group as a whole, without necessarily having the legitimation to do so. In this regard, it often tends to be a rather small elite who mobilise in the name of the diaspora (Koinova, 2017; Al-Ali, Black & Koser, 2014). Keeping these considerations in mind, Section 5 of this report investigates the Jordanian diaspora in Germany, its organisational framework, its transnational linkages and practices, as well as its role in the development of Jordan.

Diaspora engagement is extensively heterogeneous and reflects the diversity of diasporas themselves. Because diaspora members may face different social, economic, and political conditions in their destination countries, diaspora engagement is highly dependent on individual diaspora communities. The size, composition, and distribution of diasporic groups also drives diaspora engagement in a variety of ways. Despite sharing a country of birth or origin, diaspora communities can also differ from one another in terms of interests, values, aims and objectives, aspirations, activities, and institutions (Shain & Barth, 2003; Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001). It is important, however, to distinguish between the capacity and desire to participate in diasporic forms of engagement. Particularly, the ability to engage in the diaspora is driven by factors such as distance, security, wealth, resources, social capital, and class (Van Hear & Cohen, 2016). Considering these complexities, Section 4 of this report provides an overview of the characteristics of Jordanian emigration and the diaspora in Germany, both historically and currently. Moreover, Section 6 of this report is devoted to furthering the understanding of the diaspora- and country-specific factors that influence the engagement of the Jordanian immigrant population and its potentials for development.

3. Methodology

The research performed for this study took the form of an extended exploratory mapping, which employed several methods (e.g. extended desk research, snowball sampling) for the collection and analysis of data. Specifically, the study is focused on the diaspora organisations that target Jordan or the Jordanian community in Germany. As such, a literature review on diaspora engagement and the Jordanian diaspora in Germany was first conducted. Secondary data and statistics were also analysed to provide an overview of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of members of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany.

Second, to construct a comprehensive overview of the organisational landscape, a mapping of Jordanian migrant organisations in Germany was conducted. As part of this, a search of the Common Register Portal of the German Federal States (Handelsregister, 2017) was performed using the German and English keywords *Jordanien*, *jordanisch*, *jordanische*, *jordanischer*, *Jordan*,

and *Jordanian*. Fourteen organisations of relevance were identified. Contact information for these organisations was taken from the *Handelsregister* or was found through additional online searches. Six contacts for Jordanian organisations in Germany provided by GIZ were also included in the mapping. After the identification of key persons to contact through the initial mapping, snowball sampling and extended desk research were used to identify additional contacts. A total of eight contacts were excluded due to missing contact information (phone, physical/mailling address, email address) and lack of a web presence or Facebook page. The findings presented in this study relate to the seven organisations (one of the seven is a female sub-chapter) for which contact information (phone, email address, or a web presence) and information on their aims and activities were available. Information about the activities and aims of these organisations included in the mapping has been taken from their websites or Facebook pages as well as the information gained during the interviews. As can be seen in Table 2, five individual interviews and two group interviews were conducted with Jordanian diaspora organisations.

Table 2: Characteristics of interview respondents (Organisations)

Code	Gender	Main organisational focus	Reason(s) for migration	Year(s) of arrival in Germany	Date & place of interview
I1	Male	Networking, integration & advocacy	Family & Work	2002	November 2017; Phone
I2	Male	Student network, culture & integration	Education	2012	November 2017; Phone
I3	Male	Culture	Education & work	1987	November 2017; Offenbach
I4	Male	Networking, integration & advocacy	Second generation (German mother)	Born in Germany	November 2017; Wiesbaden
I5	Group (3) (All male)	Networking, integration & advocacy	Education & work	1980s-1990s	November 2017; Berlin
I6	Group (2) (1 male, 1 female)	Networking, integration & advocacy	Education & work	1980s-2000s	November 2017; Berlin

17	Female	Networking, integration & advocacy (focus on women)	Education & work	1990s	November 2017; Berlin
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Source: Fieldwork data

Thirdly, to gain a deeper understanding of the engagement of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany, members of the diaspora were interviewed. These individuals were either heavily involved with diaspora activities or in the establishment of organisations in the past. In total, nine key informants of the Jordanian diaspora were interviewed between November and December 2017. Characteristics of the individual interview respondents can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3: Characteristics of interview respondents (Key Individuals)

Code	Gender	Main organisational focus	Reason for migration	Year of arrival in Germany	Date & place of interview
I11	Female	Culture	Second Generation	Born in Germany	November 2017; Berlin
I12	Male	Professional	Work	1977	November 2017; Neu-Isenburg
I13	Male	Integration & advocacy	Family & Work	2000	November 2017; Frankfurt
I14	Female	Integration & advocacy	Second generation	Born in Germany (?)	November 2017; Frankfurt
I15	Male	Integration & culture	Work	2005	November 2017; Frankfurt
I16	Male	Integration & culture	Family	1969	November 2017; Berlin
I17	Male	Advocacy & human development	Work	1963	November 2017; Berlin
I18	Female	Advocacy & human development	Second generation	Born in Germany	November 2017; Berlin
I19	Male	Advocacy, culture, integration & human development	Work	1955	November 2017; Berlin

Source: Fieldwork data

The interviews with both the organisations and the key informants were carried out in a semi-structured manner based on an interview guide (found in Appendix B) with the following focuses:

1. **Introduction and migration history:** As an introduction, respondents were asked to share their migration experience: about their life before leaving Jordan, about their reasons for migration, and the year in which they migrated to Germany.
2. **Jordanian diaspora:** These questions dealt with asking respondents about the characteristics of the Jordanian diaspora (in terms of socioeconomic and demographic factors, political aspirations, ethnicity, and religion) as well as its networks and ties to Jordan. Moreover, the questions addressed the evolution of the diaspora since the respondent's arrival in Germany.
3. **Basic organisational information:** Respondents were asked information about their organisation, specifically about how and why it was established. Questions aimed to determine the origins and goals of the organisation, its registration status and financing, as well as the size and composition of its membership.
4. **Current organisational activities:** This section aimed to determine the current activities and events organised by the organisation. Questions also addressed the reasons behind the organisation's core activities and the role of the organisation in the development of Jordan (e.g. through fund-raising events, raising collective remittances, and mentorship programs). References to socio-economic issues, problems and challenges as they pertain to the country of origin as well as within the diaspora are also considered.
5. **Cooperation:** These questions dealt with understanding the forms of cooperation and networks that exist among diaspora organisations and other stakeholders in both the German and Jordanian contexts, as well as programs that facilitate such collaboration. Further, the questions aimed to explore potential cooperation between Jordanian migrant organisations and GIZ.
6. **Main challenges and future plans:** This section sought to uncover what the Jordanian migrant organisations planned to achieve in the coming months and years (i.e. short-, medium-, and long-term goals). Moreover, the questions aimed at identifying what organisations saw as challenges and obstacles for the current and future engagement.

Though these questions served as a guide for each of the interviews carried out as part of this study, the questions were asked in a flexible manner that allowed for natural and fluid discussions with each of the respondents. All of the interviews were recorded, based on the permission of the interview respondents. To ensure in-depth analyses of the interview data, all interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed using an inductive coding scheme to identify common and unique narratives of diasporic experiences.

In addition to the interviews with the Jordanian diaspora organisations and members, informal and unstructured interviews with GIZ staff members were also conducted. These interviews provided an overview of the work of the GIZ in the Jordanian context as well as with regards to migration and development more generally. Serving as additional background knowledge for this study, these interviews helped to inform Section 6.2 on development and diaspora engagement policies in Germany.

4. Jordanian diaspora: Migration patterns & history

Given that the dimension and nature of diaspora involvement depends on the size, composition, and distribution of diaspora groups as well as on individual capabilities and aspirations, it is essential to understand the broader migration patterns as well as the social, economic, and political conditions that Jordanian migrants encounter in their destination country. As such, this section provides a brief overview of general emigration trends from Jordan. Moreover, it considers the characteristics of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany.

4.1. Jordanian emigration profile

Due to the influx of migrants and refugees displaced by the first Arab-Israeli war, Jordan's population tripled between 1952 and 1979.⁵ Considering this, Jordan's government promoted labour migration to emerging countries of oil production in the Gulf – such as Kuwait, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia – during the 1950s and 1960s. “Framed by the ideology of Pan-Arabism, this emigration was conceived of as Jordan's contribution to Arab unity and economic integration” (Chatelard, 2010). During this time, Jordanian emigrants helped support the establishment of public (e.g. educational, medical) services and facilities in these countries (Chatelard, 2010). In a second wave of migration, a massive number of Jordanians again emigrated to neighbouring countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council following the increase of oil prices in 1973. This labour migration from the mid-1970s was due to the expansion of the oil-based economy in the Gulf States and the resulting economic opportunities in the growing private sector.

For the most part, these movements were dominated by the migration of highly skilled Jordanian citizens, often male and of Palestinian origin (MPC, 2013; Athamneh, 2012; Wahba, 2012; Chatelard, 2010). During this time, the Jordanian government established educational training programmes to prepare citizens for their emigration (Chatelard, 2010). Due to the role of remittances, the country's government adopted an open-door policy to encourage out-migration (as well as to call for foreign labour), rather than being concerned with brain drain (Athamneh, 2012; Chatelard, 2010). By the mid-1980s, almost 42% of the labour force had left the country, and unemployment decreased from 12% in the 1960s to 2% in 1986 (Chatelard, 2010). Following the 1990-1991 Gulf War, however, 350,000 returnees from the Gulf States (many of which were originally Palestinian) came back to Jordan as forced migrants (De Bel-Air, 2016).

A third wave of highly skilled emigration took place in the mid-1990s as a result of the 1994 peace deal between Jordan and Israel (MPC, 2013; De Bel-Air, 2010). The Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty provided for free movement of Jordanians to Israel without immigration restrictions (Roberts, 1995). By the end of the 1990s, however, much of Jordan's emigration was directed at Canada and the US for work and education. According to De Bel-Air (2010), it is estimated that “50% of all Jordanian migrants were in North America at the end of the 1990s” (p. 3). In the 2000s, significant

⁵ Palestinian refugees from the two wars were granted the Jordanian citizenship.

numbers of educated Jordanians returned to the Gulf countries for purposes of labour (De Bel-Air, 2016).

Current emigration continues due to high unemployment rates, which consistently impact youth and women; unemployment rates in the country were 12.9% in 2009 (Wahba, 2012) and 11.1% in 2014 (World Bank, 2016). Recent research argues that there is a link between Jordan’s economic situation and the recent arrivals of Syrian refugees that are hosted by the country (Stave & Hillesund, 2015).⁶ A recent report by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (Stave & Hillesund, 2015) states that the unemployment rate among Jordanians has increased from 14.5 to 22.1 per cent since the Syrian crisis, with unemployment being highest among youth among the lowest educated and poorest segments of the population.

The World Bank (2016) reported Jordan’s 2013 emigrant stock to be 782,000.⁷ Though these data do contain the numbers of Jordanian refugees as reported by UNHCR to a certain extent, more recent data from UN DESA (2017) estimate the Jordanian emigrant stock in 2017 to be 744,582. As seen in Table 4, the top ten destination countries for these emigrants included Saudi Arabia (29.27%), the UAE (21.64%), the US (9.96%), Palestine (7.43%), Kuwait (7.38%), Qatar (4.41%), Libya (2.80%), Oman (2.57%), Bahrain (2.00%), and Germany (1.71%) (UN DESA, 2017).

Table 4: Top 10 destination countries for Jordanian emigrants, 2017

Rank	Destination Country	Stock	% of total stock
1	Saudi Arabia	217,904	29.27
2	UAE	161,143	21.64
3	US	74,138	9.96
4	State of Palestine	55,322	7.43
5	Kuwait	54,923	7.38
6	Qatar	32,861	4.41
7	Libya	20,865	2.80
8	Oman	19,108	2.57
9	Bahrain	14,874	2.00
10	Germany	12,704	1.71

Source: UN DESA, 2017 // Note: In the cases of Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Kuwait, UN DESA (2017) adds the number of refugees (as reported by UNHCR) to the estimates of international migrants.

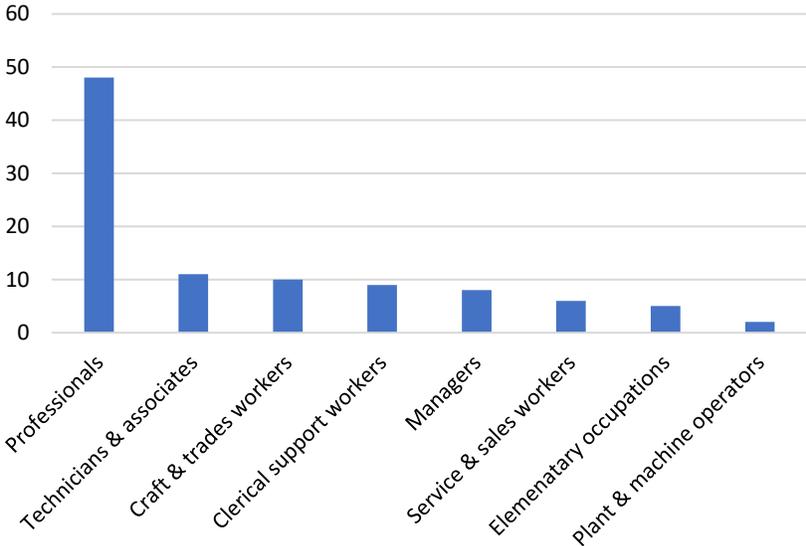
⁶ A study by Svein Erik Stave & Solveig Hillesund (2015) – published by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and Fafo – finds that the arrival of Syrian refugees to Jordan in recent years has led to heightened competition for the existing jobs in Jordan as well as increased unemployment, especially among youth: “There are already reports of significant impacts from the influx of Syrian refugees on the Jordanian labour market, and there are strong concerns about the effects on available job opportunities, wage levels, working conditions, access to work, etc., for Jordanians as well as for the refugees and immigrant workers” (Stave & Hillesund, 2015, p. 4).

⁷ Older data estimates suggest that emigrants contributed to nearly 4.9% of the Jordanian population (Wahba, 2012). As of 2009, there were a total of 339,755 migrants abroad, representing 5.4% of the total population; 52.4% of this stock was male, while the remaining 47.6% was female (MPC, 2013).

There are limited data (especially recent ones) on the profiles and characteristics of Jordanians abroad. The European Training Foundation (ETF) (2017), however, explains that Jordanian emigration for labour purposes tends to be circular and that emigration from the country tends to positively select more educated individuals. The Migration Policy Centre (MPC) (2013) suggests that the socioeconomic characteristics of Jordanian emigrants tend to only available for the emigrants residing in OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries. Still, estimates from 2006 reveal that Jordanian emigrants are generally highly skilled with 43.2% having tertiary education and 39.8% having secondary or post-secondary education. Moreover, the same data show that 57.6% of Jordanian emigrants were employed in medium-highly-skilled positions. Of these, 21.8% in professional positions, 13.7% in managerial positions, 11.4% as technicians and associate professionals, and 10.6% as clerks (MPC, 2013, p. 2).

Moreover, the 2014 Households International Migration Surveys (cited in ETF, 2017) indicates that 88% of Jordanian emigrants have a formal job offer in their destination country before leaving Jordan. More recently, the World Bank (2016) suggests that 41.1% of Jordan’s total emigrants (37.9% of female emigrants) in OECD countries were tertiary educated (p. 153). Based on data from the 2010 Jordan Labour Market Panel Survey, Jackline Wahba (2012) suggests that 62% of Jordanian emigrants have a university degree and 95% live in urban areas. Moreover, 94% were employed, of which 79% in the private sector, at the time of emigration (Wahba, 2012). Figure 1 shows the overseas occupations and economic activities of Jordanian emigrants as of 2012.

Figure 1: Overseas occupations of Jordanian emigrants, 2012 (in %)



Sources: Adapted based on figure in Wahba (2012) // Note: Wahba (2012) suggests elementary occupations refer to unskilled positions, without specifying further. A distinction between professionals and the other professions is also not given in more detail.

With respect to Jordanians living abroad, remittances sent by emigrants back to Jordan have a role of importance in the Jordanian economy. The “Jordanian economy has one of the world’s highest levels of remittances as a proportion of GDP [...] and remittances are a key source of income and foreign exchange for Jordan” (Wahba, 2012, p. 2). In fact, growth of Jordan’s economy between the 1970s and 1980s was highly driven by inward sent remittances, and remittances made up an average 23% of Jordan’s GDP between 1999 and 2009 (Wahba, 2012). According to the World Bank’s *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*, Jordan received USD \$3.643 billion in remittances in 2013. For purposes of comparison, during the same period, the country received USD \$1.75 billion in net FDI (foreign direct investment) inflows and US\$1.41 billion in net ODA (official development assistance). Moreover, outward remittance flows in 2013 were a mere USD \$457 million. More recently, Jordan was a top ten remittance recipient in the Middle East and North Africa in 2015, with the country receiving USD \$3.776 billion (World Bank, 2016).

4.2. Characteristics of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany

Section 4.2 provides an overview of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany. Information about Jordanian students is taken from data published by Germany’s Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*; BMBF) as well as the German Federal Statistical Office (*Statistisches Bundesamt*) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017c; BMBF, 2016a; 2016b). The Statistisches Bundesamt collects annual data on the immigrant population in Germany and provides, where available, information on the gender, age, average length of stay, and residence status of migrants disaggregated by nationality. It is important to note, however, that this annual publication (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a) does not include information for migrants that have naturalised to gain German citizenship. It also does not provide information on key demographic and socioeconomic indications (e.g. education, labour market performance).

Rather, such information is collected as part of the annual microcensus, which provides valuable data on the education status and income situation of migrants living in Germany. The 2016 microcensus, however, does not provide disaggregated data on Jordanian migrants in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017b). Therefore, few conclusions can be made about the current socioeconomic and education status of Jordanians in Germany. Limited data from the Central Register of Foreign Nationals (*Ausländerzentralregister*, AZR) on the geographical distribution and ages of Jordanian residents in Germany between 2011 and 2011 were also consulted. During desk research, the Statistisches Bundesamt’s GENESIS database as well as the German Socioeconomic Panel (SOEP) were also consulted. No meaningful conclusions, however, could be made based on the German SOEP due to the limited number of observed households.

In response to the limited data found during desk research, a number of institutions were additionally contacted via email with the intentions of gaining a more statistically-informed overview of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany. The contacted institutions included: the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesministerium für Migration und Flüchtlinge*,

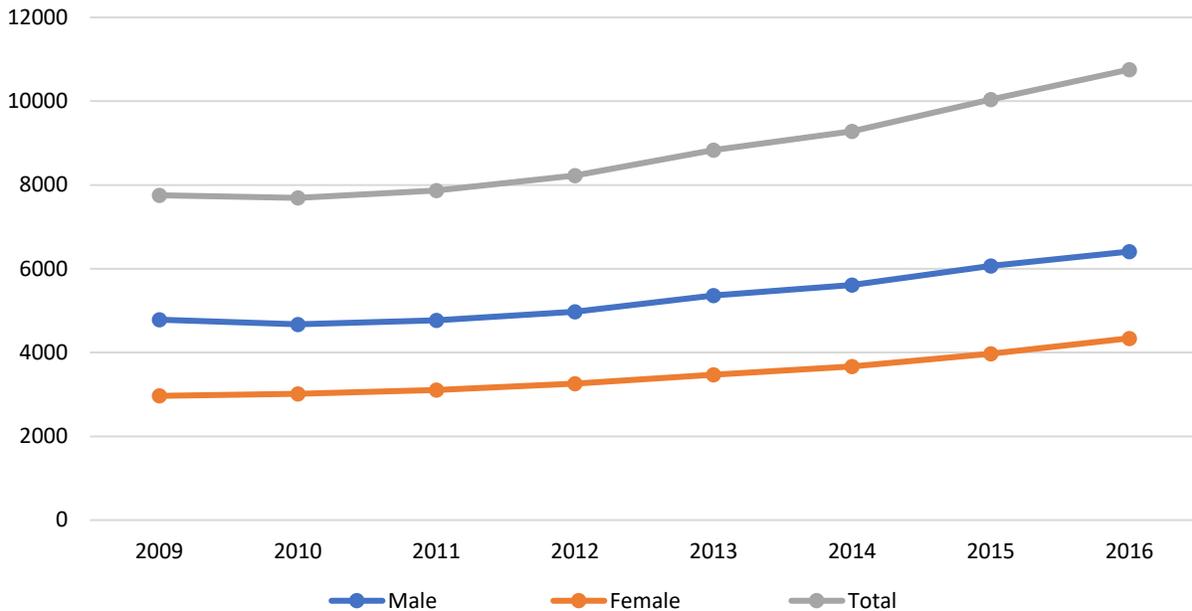
BAMF); the Federal Employment Agency (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*); the Federal Employment Agency's division International Placement Services (*Zentrale Auslands- und Fachvermittlung, ZAV*); the German Centre for Research on Higher Education (*Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung, DZHW*); the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, BMBF*); the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (*Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, SVR*); as well as the *Statistisches Bundesamt*. Even though these contacts were established, little to no additional information could be accessed. However, despite these difficulties and significant data limitations, the characteristics of Jordanian immigrants in Germany (based on available data) are presented here to the greatest extent possible.

4.2.1. Size and geographical distribution

Between 2009 and 2016, there has been steady growth of the number of Jordanian citizens living in Germany. This is visualised in Figure 2. As of 2009, there were 7,752 Jordanian citizens living in Germany, of which 4,786 (61.7%) were male and 2,966 (38.3%) were female. By the end of 2016, there were a total of 10,755 Jordanian citizens in Germany, with 6,410 (59.6%) being male and 4,340 (40.4%) being female (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a).

According to different data received from Germany's *Ausländerzentralregister* (2017), 10,470 Jordanian citizens were living in Germany at the end of 2016, aligning closely with the data made available by the *Statistisches Bundesamt*. Data from *Ausländerzentralregister* (2017) suggest that, by 31 October 2017, the number of Jordanian citizens in Germany had risen to 11,424. The same data suggest that there were 7,872 Jordanians citizens in Germany at the end of 2011; 8,227 at the end of 2012; 8,836 at the end of 2013; 9,283 at the end of 2014; and 10,041 at the end of 2015 (*Ausländerzentralregister*, 2017).

Figure 2: Number of Jordanian citizens in Germany, 2009-2016

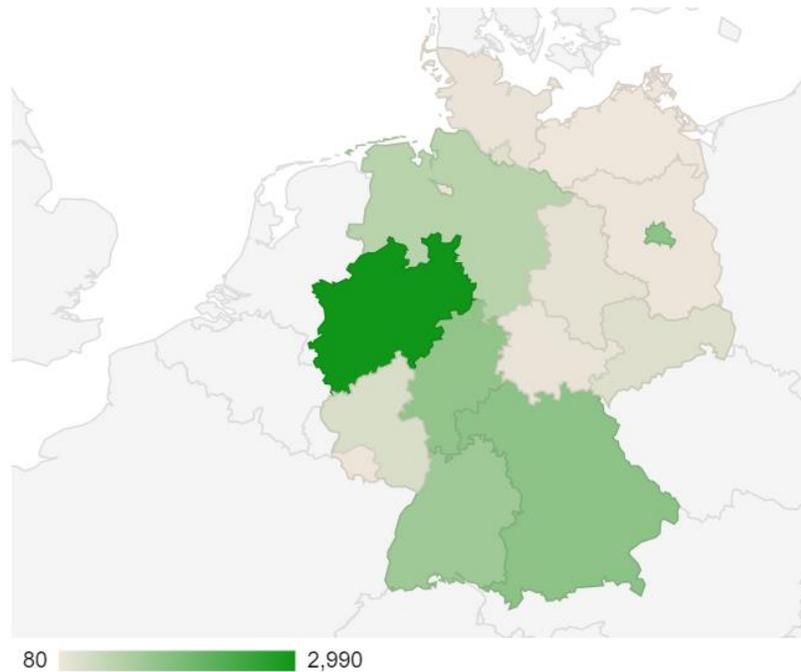


Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a, pp. 34-41

Based on data from the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (2017a) about geographical distribution (see Figure 3), approximately 2,990 (or 27.8%) of the 10,755 Jordanian citizens in Germany as of December 2016 were living in the federal state of North Rhein-Westphalia in the northwest of Germany. At this time, larger numbers of Jordanian citizens were also living in the federal states of Bavaria (1,345; 12.51%), Berlin (1,330; 12.37%), Hesse (1,280; 11.90%), Baden-Württemberg (1,120; 10.41%), and Lower Saxony (785; 7.30%). Between less than 1% and 4% of Jordanian citizens were living in each of the remaining federal states in Germany, namely Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, and Thuringia (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a, pp. 104-106).

This geographical distribution of Jordanian citizens as described by the Statistisches Bundesamt is similarly represented by data from the Ausländerzentralregister. As shown in Table 5, the majority of Jordanian citizens live in North Rhein-Westphalia, with other common federal states of residence including Bavaria, Berlin, Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, and Lower Saxony. This geographical distribution has remained rather constant since 2011 (Ausländerzentralregister, 2017).

Figure 3: Geographical distribution of Jordanian citizens in Germany, December 2016



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a, pp. 104-106 // Note: Figure 2 was created by the authors using Google Geocharts

Table 5: Geographical distribution of Jordanian citizens in Germany, 2017 vs. 2016

Federal States	31 October 2017	31 December 2016
Bavaria	1,436	1,343
Berlin	1,352	1,317
Bremen	159	125
Hesse	1,346	1,286
Hamburg	297	293
Saxony	358	312
Saarland	121	103
Thuringia	158	156
Brandenburg	142	109
Lower Saxony	856	786
Saxony-Anhalt	253	215
Rhineland-Palatinate	394	383
Baden-Württemberg	1,196	1,109
Schleswig-Holstein	153	140
North Rhine-Westphalia	3,114	2,984
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	89	79
TOTAL	11,424	10,740

Source: Ausländerzentralregister, 2017a

An overview of the residence status (*Aufenthaltsstatus*) of Jordanian citizens residing in Germany as of December 2015 is provided by Table 6. Of the 8,855 Jordanian citizens with residence status (*Aufenthaltstitel*), 4,865 had a limited residence permit and 3,245 had a permanent residence status. Another 640 individuals had applied for a residence permit, and 5 had no need for a residence permit or were stateless individuals. Limited residence permits were granted primarily for family reasons (2,615) and purposes of education (1,015), with humanitarian grounds (575), work-related purposes (390), and other reasons (265) playing a smaller role.

Almost twice the number of men held permanent residence permits when compared to female Jordanian citizens with the same residence status. Another 180 Jordanian citizens in Germany had EU mobility from being nationals of an EU member state. Moreover, 1,120 Jordanian citizens were residing in Germany in December 2016 without status, namely without an “exceptional leave to remain” and without a temporary, limited, or permanent residence status (*ohne Aufenthaltstitel, Duldung oder Gestattung*) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a). Additionally, 297 Jordanian citizens were granted naturalisations in 2016, making up a very small percentage of the total 110,383 persons who got German citizenship in that year (Statistisches Bundesamt/Destatis, 2017).

Table 6: Residence status of Jordanian citizens in Germany, December 2016

		Male	Female	Total
Residence status (<i>Aufenthaltsstatus</i>)		5,215	3,640	8,855
	Limited residence permits (<i>Aufenthaltstitel – zeitlich befristet</i>)	2,600	2,260	4,865
	Education	800	215	1,015
	Work	340	50	390
	Humanitarian grounds	310	265	575
	Family reasons	985	1,630	2,615
	Other	165	100	265
	Permanent residence permit (<i>Aufenthaltstitel – zeitlich unbefristet</i>)	2,185	1,160	3,345
	Other	430	215	650
	No need for residence permit, Stateless persons	5	–	5
	Applied for residence permit/legal status (<i>Aufenthaltstitel</i>)	425	215	640
EU mobility		120	60	180
Exceptional leave to remain (<i>Duldung</i>)		160	65	220
Temporary residence permit (<i>Aufenthaltsgestattung</i>)		170	115	285
Without status (<i>ohne Aufenthaltstitel, Duldung oder Gestattung</i>)		745	465	1,120

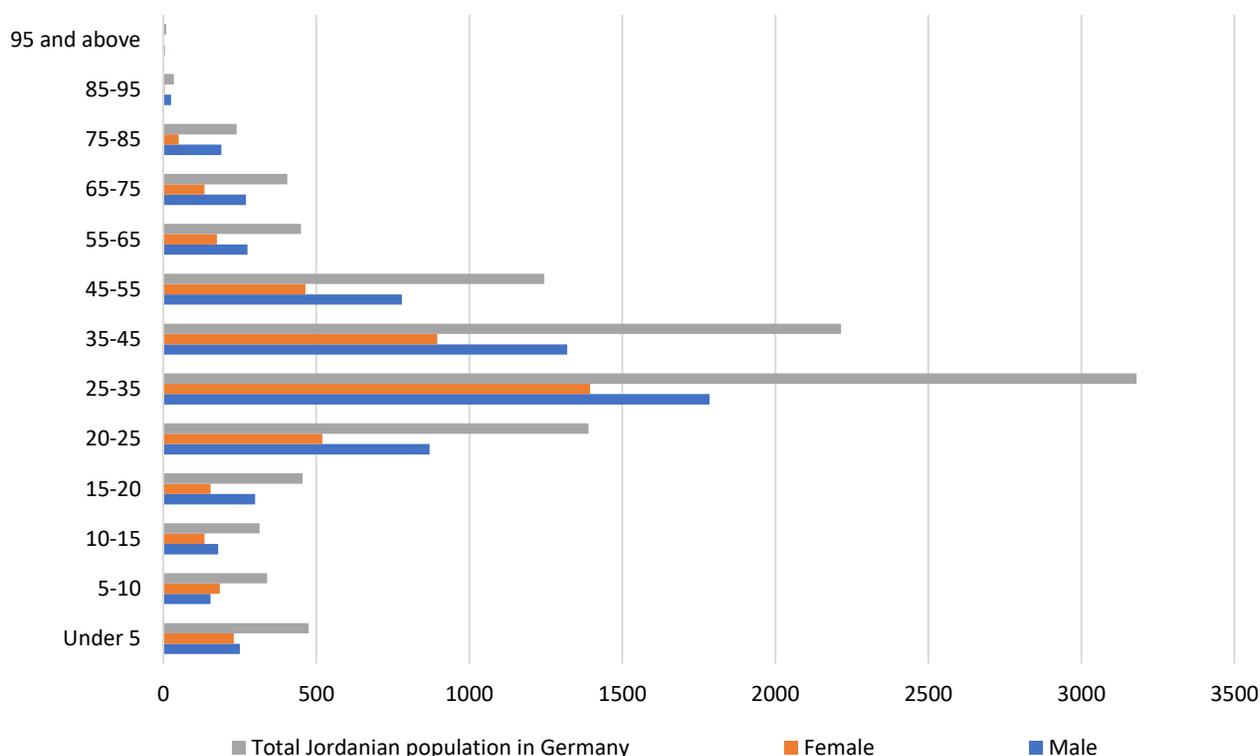
Total	6,410	4,340	10,755
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Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a, pp. 137-139

4.2.2. Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics

As shown in Figure 4, most Jordanian citizens in Germany are between the ages of 25 and 35 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a). Only in Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt are Jordanian citizens slightly younger, with 18-25 being the most common age group (Ausländerzentralregister, 2017). Overall, the average age of the Jordanian population in Germany is 34.4, with the average age for females being 32.9. Males are slightly older and have an average age of 35.4 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a). Compared to Germany's total population, the Jordanian population in Germany is young.⁸ Very few Jordanians in Germany are aged between 85 and 95, and even fewer are older than 95 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a).

Figure 4: Age groups of the Jordanian population in Germany, December 2016



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a, pp. 56-58

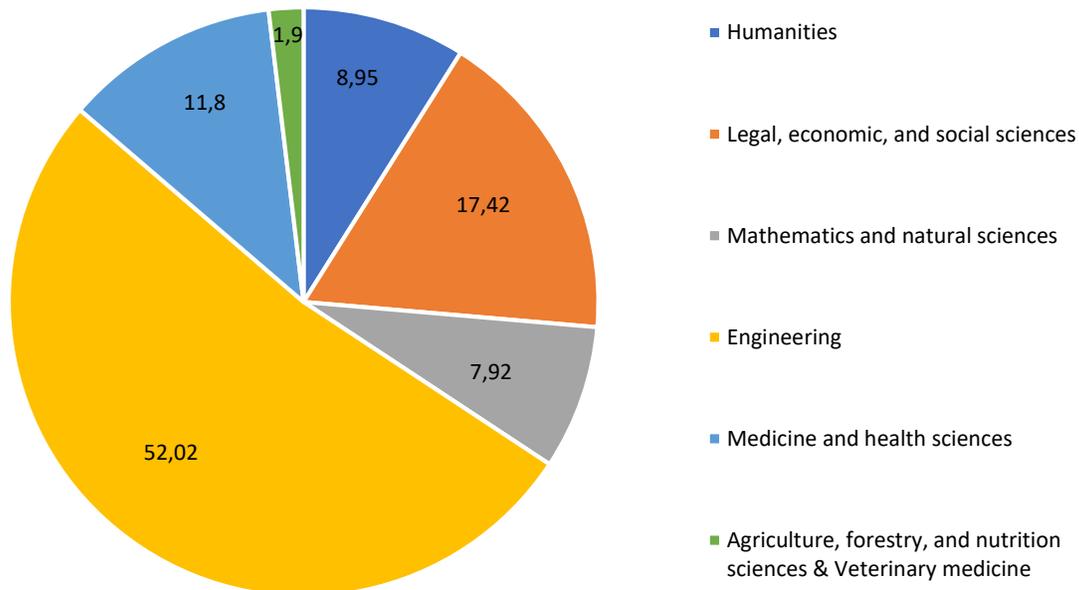
Of the 6,410 Jordanian men in Germany as of 31 December 2016, 3,020 were single, 25 were widowed, and 355 were divorced. Moreover, 2,450 were married (of which 815 were married to

⁸ The average age of the total German population is 46.8 years, with that of females being 47.9 and that of males being 45.7 (CIA, 2017).

a German partner) and 15 were in a life partnership (of which 5 had a German partner). The family status of 545 was unknown (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a, pp. 75-76). Moreover, of the 4,340 Jordanian women in Germany as of 31 December 2016, 1,395 were single, 85 were widowed, and 115 were divorced. Moreover, 2,485 were married (of which 840 were married to a German partner). The family status of 260 was unknown (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a, pp. 81-82).

Jordanians are becoming increasingly interested in pursuing higher education in Germany, especially following the opening of a German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst; DAAD) office and the establishment of the German-Jordanian University (GJU), both of which are located in Jordan’s capital, Amman (Omari, 2014). According to Germany’s Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF, 2016b), there were approximately 1,263 Jordanian students registered at an institute of higher education in Germany between 2015 and 2016. As shown in Figure 5, the most popular field of study among Jordanian students in Germany is engineering (52.02%). Other popular fields of study include legal, economic, and social sciences (17.42%); medicine and health sciences (11.8%); humanities (8.95%); and mathematics and natural sciences (7.92%). Agriculture, forestry, and nutrition sciences, in addition to veterinary sciences, are the least common field of study and are studied by only 1.9% of Jordanian students in Germany (BMBF, 2016a). As shown in Table 7, of the 1,263 Jordanian students in Germany in 2015/2016, 675 studied at a university and 588 studied at a university of applied sciences (*Fachhochschule*).

Figure 5: Fields of study of Jordanian students in Germany, winter semester 2015/2016



Source: BMBF, 2016a

Table 7: Institutions of Jordanian students in Germany, winter semester 2015/2016

Institution of higher education	Number of Jordanian students	Percentage of total
University (<i>Universität</i>)	675	53.44
University of applied sciences (<i>Fachhochschule</i>)	588	46.56
Total	1,263	100

Source: BMBF, 2016b

Similarly, more recent data on Jordanian students from the winter semester 2016/2017 are provided by the Statistisches Bundesamt (2017c). During this time, there were a total of 1,447 Jordanian students studying in Germany, of which 997 were male and 450 were female. Of these 1,447 students, 734 studied at universities (*Universitäten*), 2 studied at educational colleges (*Pädagogische Hochschulen*), 5 studied at arts schools (*Kunsthochschulen*), and 706 studied at universities of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulen, ohne Verwaltungsfachhochschulen*) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017c, pp. 382-394). Their fields of study are shown in Table 7. Notably, the majority of Jordanian students in Germany studied engineering or legal, economic, and social sciences during the 2016/2017 winter semester. Sports were the least popular field of study (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017c).

Table 8: Fields of study of Jordanian students in Germany, winter semester 2016/2017

Field of study	Males	Females	Total
Humanities	36	55	91
Sport	3	–	3
Legal, economic, and social sciences	173	125	298
Mathematics and natural sciences	60	50	110
Medicine and health sciences	122	29	151
Agriculture, forestry, and nutrition sciences & Veterinary medicine	13	14	27
Engineering	560	160	720
Arts	15	16	31
Other	15	1	16
Total	997	450	1,447

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017c, p. 404

As discussed earlier, a lack of recent data makes it difficult to provide a comprehensive overview of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany. Aggregated data on Jordanian citizens in the past German microcensuses (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a) makes it challenging, if not impossible, to report on their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Moreover, different data sources, each providing information on the different categories of Jordanian immigrants (general population, students, etc.) across different time periods, limits detailed comparisons and analyses of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany. The general lack of any additional data severely limits

any attempts at accurate and detailed comparisons as well as analyses of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany. As such, it is especially recommended that disaggregated data about the understudied characteristics of the Jordanian population in Germany (population size, age, residence status, geographical distribution, educational background, employment status, etc.) be further collected and analysed.

5. Jordanian diaspora organisations and their engagement in development

An overview of the emergence and the developments of the Jordanian diaspora is given in Section 5. Moreover, the section provides a subjective view of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany and its development, its organisational landscape, and its transnational practices and linkages.

5.1. Subjective view on the Jordanian diaspora in Germany and its development

In this section, the data collected through the interviews carried out with members of the Jordanian diaspora are presented, with a focus on their individual perceptions on the characteristics of the Jordanian immigrant population as well as on the emergence and developments of the organised diaspora in Germany.

While the political situation in Jordan has remained relatively stable in the past two decades, unemployment remains a critical problem. This is especially true for the young population, as youth unemployment rates are one of the highest in the Middle East and North Africa region (OECD, 2018). Economically, the country continues to struggle with a heavy reliance on external financial loans and aid. And while there were many attempts to force developments on the macroeconomic model of the country, there have been unnoticeable improvements on the unemployment outcomes, and socio-economic wellbeing (see Section 6 of this report). Coupled with the considerable size of youth cohorts, the mismatch between their economic expectations and lack of employment opportunities encourages some Jordanians to consider leaving the country to pursue other opportunities.

According to the field research conducted, the first wave of Jordanians to Germany – which consisted of mainly male labour migrants – arrived somewhere in the early 1960s. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, many young labour migrants started going back to Jordan to get married and returned to Germany with their wives. This also coincided with the increase in students arriving to Germany to obtain their professional degrees, in medicine and engineering for example

Many interview respondents agreed that, on average, Jordanians tend to be well educated:

“Most Jordanians here are highly educated. In most big cities like Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, I always met doctors who are Jordanian, and most of the children that are born here become well educated.” (Interview I3)

It was noticed, however, that there is a social class distinction⁹ between different groups of Jordanians. This distinction originates from the home country and seems to persist to a degree within the different migrant groups in Germany. Among the differentiating factors that reflect social status is the type of profession (for example, an owner of a fast food restaurant versus a medical doctor).

The issue of religiosity was also brought up in the interviews, and the interview respondents shared the view that, while many would self-identify as adherents to their religion, they do not consider themselves as intolerant or ultraconservative religiously. When asked further, most interviewees would agree that their observance to religion is personal and cultural (for example, observing Ramadan, celebrating the feast, etc). Additionally, when comparing themselves to other immigrant groups, interviewees did not see themselves as religiously engaged and that the religious activities in which they participate do not go beyond helping out at the mosque and attending Quran school:

“Jordanians stick to religion normally. In comparison to other Muslim and Arab diasporas they don’t engage much.” (Interview I3)

Several interviewees also made the argument that, from their own perspective, there is no conflict between religiosity and integration. As such, it is perceived by respondents that that being religious or culturally conservative does not stand in the way of civic participation and involvement in Germany:

“I think Jordanians want to integrate, but they keep their mindset. When it comes to things like personal culture and religion, they keep their mindsets, and some traditions they keep entirely. But, for example, that a girl goes to study or that she is politically active, that is alright. There are families that allow that. But in a few points where it becomes very private, they are still old-fashioned.” (Interview I18)

In this regard, Jordanians in Germany come from both Muslim and Christian backgrounds. There seems to be no consensus among the various people interviewed as to the ratio of Muslims to Christians. However, it is thought that Christians make up to be somewhere between 5-10% of the overall diaspora. Many interviewees made it a point to emphasize that there are good relationships and mutual respect among all Jordanians, Muslims and Christians alike. Perhaps the only thorny issue about the two subgroups of the diaspora was the issue of interfaith marriage.¹⁰

The gender element is also worth pointing out. The majority of the interviews were conducted with males, and only four females were included within the group of interviewees. Women’s issues were brought up during several interviews.¹¹ In this regard, most included discussions about how

⁹ Societal distinctions could be socio-economic distinctions or affiliations within specific groupings in the Jordanian society, including regional origins, tribe, religion, and life-style (e.g., nomadic, village, or urban).

¹⁰ While the interviews did not go into depth about the issue of interfaith marriage as it was beyond the scope of this research, the explanation regarding this point was said to be of cultural and religious nature.

¹¹These issues were brought up by women and men.

well women are integrated into the German society and that families want their daughters to study and work. However, challenging issues were also highlighted, especially as they relate to women who find themselves in vulnerable positions in the society. One specific area relates to women knowing their legal rights. The following example was given when one interviewee was asked about the specific problems that women face within the immigrant community in Germany.

“One of the problematic issues for Jordanian women is divorce...she is Jordanian, her husband divorces her, she wants to get her passport, and she can’t get a new one, and so she is stuck here and she can’t go back home, she doesn’t know her rights, she doesn’t speak the language, and she doesn’t want to lose her children...it’s a mess. This is one of the big problems that goes under the radar” (Interview I1)

Looking at the organised diaspora, it is important to point out that the interviewees were those who distinctly identify as part of the Jordanian diaspora as such. This is a very critical point, when contrasting the group and its specificity to the Palestinian diaspora. A considerable proportion of the Jordanian citizens are Palestinian refugees in origin, while those who are considered originally Jordanians are for the most part Bedouins from the south or farmers from the north.¹² This reality is also reflected in the Jordanian population in Germany, which is composed of a mixture of these two groups. Hence, the Jordanian diaspora can be considered as multi-layered, where belongings to different transnational communities may overlap.

Both the Jordanian and Palestinian diasporas can be identified as part of the wider Arab diaspora, and both diasporas share many similarities, for example with regards to cultural traditions. Still, the largest distinction is that the “migratory process” of the Jordanian diaspora and its development is not conflict induced but rather much more a result of socio-economic conditions. In this context, the focus of this study lies on diaspora organisations that explicitly target Jordanian or the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany. Hence, Palestinian organisations that pursue the objective of an independent Palestinian state were excluded from this study.¹³ This does not mean that these objectives are not relevant but rather are related to the Palestinian diaspora. With that said, reference is made to instances and examples of solidarity by the Jordanian diaspora to causes of the Palestinian diaspora and the Arab diaspora as a whole.

The fluidity between the Jordanian diaspora and the Palestinian diaspora was also frequently highlighted by the research participants. Specifically, some persons in the Jordanian diaspora identify as both Jordanian and Palestinian, especially for those who hold Jordanian passports but

¹² For a comprehensive discussion of the make-up of Jordanian-Palestinian society, refer to Nimeh, Z. S. (2012). *Social citizenship rights: Inequality and exclusion*. Boekenplan.

¹³ A specific Palestinian diaspora mapping study has also been conducted, see: Koch, K. & N. J. Ragab (2018). *Mapping and Study of the Palestinian Diaspora in Germany*. Maastricht Graduate School of Governance (Study was commissioned by the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GIZ).

originally come from Palestine. While some interviewees had reservations about the similarity between the groups,¹⁴ most respondents expressed positive opinions about these interlinkages:

"There is not a big difference between the Palestinians and Jordanians here. It's just that the Jordanians say they are Jordanians and the Palestinians say they are Palestinian. That is the only difference. The group is quite homogenous, like a big large family." (Interview 115)

Perhaps, the major perceived difference between the activities of the Jordanian and Palestinian diasporas is that the Palestinian diaspora activities have a significant element of political engagement, whereas the Jordanian groups lean more towards cultural and social engagement.

"I don't think there is a lot of difference between the groups, there are some activities that are mixed [...referring to when groups/individuals come together in social and cultural activities], what I think maybe the difference is if they are political [Referring to the idea that if diaspora engagement is political in nature] they won't be mixed, however culturally the groups are very similar." (Interview 12)

Several interviewees also indicated that the Palestinian diaspora is much better organized than the Jordanian one.

5.2. Organisational Landscape

The organized Jordanian diaspora is heterogeneous. On one level, it is clear that there is a distinction between informal Jordanian student groups and more organized diaspora groups, the latter of which is mainly made up of families whose heads are economically active in the labour market. Student groups seem to be more interested in networking within the Jordanian and Arab communities in Germany, interacting with German locals, providing assistance in daily issues such as getting housing, organising social activities, hosting German language classes, and developing opportunities to interact culturally. Non-student diaspora organisations have broader aims, and their interests lies in strengthening connections with Jordan, supporting entrepreneurial endeavours and developing business opportunities, teaching children of the diaspora members the Arabic language, as well as establishing connections with other Jordanian diasporas in the EU.

Considering the geographical distance between the various locations where members of the Jordanian diaspora live (see

¹⁴ This related mainly to the political engagement, and that not always members of the Jordanian diaspora want to engage in issues related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Figure 3) throughout Germany, many disjointed efforts have been made by members in the community to self-organize and impel diaspora engagement in an effective manner. This, however, proved to be challenging especially from the view point of older interviewees who came to Germany before the 1970s. Particularly, the issue of overcoming internal disunions and consolidating the larger group was a challenging task. These divisions seemed to relate mainly to visions on the direction of the organization and interests as well as personal leadership styles among the diaspora members (and the boards of those organizations), thus affecting cohesiveness and agreement among the various groups:

"From what I know, there are about 20 Jordanian communities/organisations/groups here in Germany. But many don't register or don't exist anymore. Frankfurt alone has 3 or 4 different organisations here." (Interview I13)

To add another layer to the heterogeneity of these organisations, their cultural nature and Arabic heritage makes it possible for other diaspora groups to also join in. In some of the organisations membership is not limited to Jordanians, as clearly indicated by one of the identified organisations in the federal state of Hesse:

"As requested by the Amtsgericht, we have a democratic voting system, and we have a council with 7 people. We have 380 members, not all Jordanians. They are mixed Arab members as well, from Morocco, Syria, Egypt, and Jordan as well, but many Jordanians." (Interview I4)

Another point is that several active members of the diaspora are becoming more aware of the importance of overcoming personal divisions and joining forces. In this regard, it was mentioned by interviewees that an umbrella diaspora structure might help the Jordanian diaspora to become more united and effective.

In this context, a European umbrella organization with several chapters was recently founded, with the Germany chapter as the founding member. The organization called *The Highest Jordanian European Authority*, began as an initiative in 2016 and was officially established in 2018. The organisation's general management and headquarter is based in Berlin. The organisation aims to be an EU umbrella organisation for all the Jordanian diaspora groups, with the objective of promoting collective action as well as strengthening solidarity and social cohesion among members of the Jordanian diaspora as well as Germany in Europe. The German chapter of *The Highest Jordanian European Authority* aims to contribute positively to the Jordanian citizens in Europe who are considered ambassadors to their country as well as to strengthen the meaning of identity and support the stability and overall development of Jordan and the Jordanian citizen in the diaspora. The chapter's activities include creating a database of all Jordanian diaspora members, containing professional information, in addition to creating a strategic plan for the diaspora for the next 25 years.

Given that a limited number of Jordanian diaspora organisations were discerned as part of this study, the aims and activities of the other identified associations (in addition to the German

chapter of the *Highest Jordanian European Authority*) will be discussed now in more detail. Firstly, the *Deutsch-Jordanische Gesellschaft e.V.* was founded in 1963. By facilitating meetings and gatherings, the organisation aims to bring together private and professional networks between Jordan and Germany, foster intercultural dialogue and create awareness within the German-Jordanian society, as well as act as an information broker between the two countries.

Established in 2015, the *Vereinigte jordanische Gemeinde, der BRD e.V.* aims to consolidate relations between the Jordanian diaspora and German society as well as to explore economic opportunities between Jordan and Germany in the areas of tourism, economy, culture, and art. In this regard, the association hosts cultural gatherings and organises sports activities. Similarly, the *Jordanischer Verein in Deutschland* was established in 1986 and provides a platform for positive interaction among the Jordanian diaspora members in Frankfurt by organizing cultural events and meetings.

Though it currently has no ongoing activities, the *Jordanische Gemeinde Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.* wants to bring together members of the Jordanian diaspora to engage in social and cultural activities. The association was founded in 2005. Founded in 2012, the *Jordanische Gemeinde-Deutschland e.V.* aims to bring together the Jordanian diaspora through cultural and societal engagement. In this regard, mentioned among its aims is to organize cultural activities and sponsor small initiatives in Jordan. The *Arabisch-Deutscher Kulturverein (Al-Huda Moschee)* was founded in 2011 with the mission to guide younger generations of Jordanians growing up in Germany by teaching them about the Arabic culture and spreading it in the society in a courteous manner and with respect to the other religions. In this context, the organisation arranges Arabic and religion classes, hosts cultural activities and gatherings, and promotes social engagement.

5.2.1. Membership

According to the information gathered from the interviews, the number of members in the Jordanian diaspora organisations is somewhere between 60 and 100. However, because not all members are registered, concrete numbers are difficult to come by. Increasing membership was a point mentioned by several key interviewees as an area that they would like to improve. While the composition stresses the “family” element of membership, it seems that more men than women participate in the activities. The exception to this is the *Al Sausanat*, which is a chapter of the Jordanian diaspora organisation in Berlin that is made up only of women. This group was established as a platform to increase the engagement in women’s issues. This group involves active and motivated women from various professions, such as translators, city officials, child care, embassy employees, and travel agencies.

While the engagement is open to all, people can also start to get individually involved at age 18. The average age of those involved is 40, and membership includes first and second-generation migrants.

The groups are quite diverse professionally, though many are small business owners of e.g. restaurants and car dealerships. Others have more administrative and clerical professions, while some have higher skilled professions in the fields of engineering and medicine. It is difficult to estimate precisely based on the interviewed groups what the actual breakdown of these different professional groups is. Nonetheless, it could be assumed that there is no one particular profession in which members of the diaspora are associated or engaged. While some diaspora groups identified as having more professionals (such as engineers) as members, other organisations identified academics as making up the larger share of their members.

In January 2018, the Friedrich Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg hosted a large diaspora exhibit wherein the Jordanian students of the university were heavily engaged. The Jordanian students actively participated and promoted their presence in representing the students of the Jordanian diaspora. In this regard, students are a significant group that must be highlighted when examining diaspora engagement. They are mainly interested in networking, in sharing information, and in making the study experience of other Jordanian students smoother and more efficient. One of the engaged individuals indicated that his engagement stemmed from a desire to bring together other Jordanians in socio-cultural events as well as information sharing, when speaking of creating a Facebook group which targets mainly students in Germany:

"I felt there is a need to share information, so I started this initiative. I came in 2012 and I had no venue to get information, even from the embassy, and sometimes the things people need to know are simple if you know the context and culture of where you are." (Interview 12)

The Jordanian students can be an important component of diaspora engagement, whether during their time in Germany or when they return to their country after completing their studies. When they return to Jordan, these students can bring back knowledge, experience, and connections. At the moment, there seems to be no concrete initiatives targeted specifically towards Jordanian students. Nonetheless, it could be an interesting avenue to explore, especially when considering the increase in the number of Jordanian students joining higher education institutions in Germany.

5.2.2. Capacities

For the most part, work in the organisations is done on a voluntary basis. Moreover, funding is mainly based on donations. There are also some contributions from paying members, although some of the organisations indicated that getting all members to pay membership fees is usually challenging.

"We have about 400-500 families who participate in activities. Not all of them pay the membership fees, though. Only around 100 pay member fees, which is around 20 euros per month per family. I wish everyone would pay. Most of the donations come from Jordanians who want to support our community. But it is not a lot of money. It'll be something between 100 and 1000 euros." (Interview 16)

Most of the money received by the organisations goes to cover the cost of rent as well as, for example, the food and drinks bought for cultural activities. A couple of the interviewees indicated that they think that they would also be able to tap into public funds, if they had well written out projects or concepts. The respondents, however, acknowledge that this process would involve a lot of work and that they are not well equipped and not aware enough of the process in order to do so:

“If you have a good concept or idea and it is well structured, you could probably approach the government, and it would be supportive, depending on what the project is.” (Interview I1)

5.2.3. Cooperation and diaspora Networks

Based on the fieldwork conducted as part of this study and as was mentioned earlier, the Jordanian diaspora in Germany is rather heterogeneous. There is a common pattern in the narrative that there are two main groups making up the diasporas, namely the families and the students (with the former being more engaged).

There is no clear form of collaboration among the various Jordanian diaspora groups per se, with the exception of the newly created Highest Jordanian European Authority (which, as mentioned, has a German chapter but aims to operate throughout Europe). It is important to note that, while the creation of such an organisation would have organisational benefits (e.g. such as coordinating activities and pool resources), it is still not an obligatory structure per se. This means that if smaller diaspora organisations want to continue operating separately, they are not obligated to operate under such an umbrella.

Similar networks between Jordanian diaspora organisations also exist. This can especially be observed through solidarity initiatives where members of the Jordanian diaspora participate in mainly Palestinian and other Arab diaspora organisations. Events organised by these organisations can, for instance, include cultural and political events. Some examples include members of the Jordanian diaspora participating in documentary screenings, hosting discussions on issues related to the Middle East, organising charitable contributions to drives and donations (e.g. winter clothing campaign for Gaza children, zakat¹⁵ donation to the people of Yemen), or participating in political activities (e.g. a march in Neukölln protesting the declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in December of 2017).

Moreover, various personal and individual initiatives were also realised by different diaspora members as a response to crises (most recently, the Syrian crisis) for initiating clothing drives or collecting donations.

¹⁵ Zakat is a form of charity giving treated in Islam as a religious obligation under the five pillars.

5.2.4. Digital Presence

In recent years, the use of digital communities has been exponentially on the rise. The widespread adoption of the many social network platforms (such as Facebook and Twitter) has created a new form of presence, which has regrouped interaction and transcended geographical territories. When discussing the issue of digitalisation with members of the Jordanian diaspora, it becomes very clear how having such platforms has offered an easier form of interaction to the increasing number of Jordanian diaspora communities scattered geographically.

“There is a lot of communication that we would not be able to have, had it not been for our Facebook page. We have a faster and easier platform of communication” (Interview I2)

While the digitalisation of diaspora engagement is a topic in itself and warrants more structured investigation, several points could be deduced from the interviews. Notably, there seems to be a distinction made between the digital networks and physical networks on the ground. It is also observed that the digital networks do not match the geographical networks in terms of dispersion. For example, the number of active social media network members of the Berlin Jordanian diaspora is a much larger number than the actual active diaspora on the ground in Berlin.

Some important points to highlight about the digital presence:

- It cannot be controlled if members of a digital group are indeed residents in Germany or, in fact, members of the Jordanian diaspora.
- When examining existing websites of diaspora groups, none of the websites publish exclusively in Arabic. Rather, they tend to present postings in a combination of Arabic and German.
- When it comes to communication among group members of the digital networks, Arabic is the prominent language.
- As was mentioned by one of the interviewees, the anonymity of the digital space eases the diaspora participation especially when discussing potentially controversial topics.

5.3. Transnational practices

5.3.1. Contributions and Activities in the Origin Country

As a result of the context discussed earlier in this chapter, the activities of the Jordanian diaspora can – for the most part – be seen as socio-economic in nature and stem from the domain of networking and personal relations. In recent years, the activities of the diaspora became more structured in nature, and several diaspora organisations became more engaged in discussing business and academic collaborations. One example which was communicated during the interviews is an initiative by the *Highest Jordanian European Authority* and its German chapter in organizing a summer trip to Jordan in 2017. This included hosting a forum for the young members

of the Jordanian diaspora as well as for Jordanian students in Germany and Europe. The aim of the event as was explained in their flyer was to “connect the Jordanian diaspora youth with their origin, to introduce them to heritage sites, and to show the potential that they can be ambassadors Jordan in the countries they live in.” Between the 14th and 23rd of July 2017, the group (which included around 45 persons, in addition to 10 students from Jordan) met with members of the government, the parliament, members of the armed forces, and several youth leadership organisations as well as participated in tourist visits and cultural events¹⁶. As was mentioned in one of the interviews, the trip aimed to provide a holistic experience; highlight not only business aspects but also collaborative activities related to tourism; and increase cultural awareness to fight extremism and foster positive engagement between Jordan and Germany and Europe.

This engagement, according to the members of the diaspora, is based on the realisation that diaspora members can mobilize together and start (or partake in) initiatives that can lead to an improved quality of life for themselves, the population in Jordan, and their children. While these initiatives are still young and their outcome is early to judge, their success would be of significant relevance for the engagement of the Jordanian diaspora in the future.

Further activities of the Jordanian diaspora organisations in their country of origin can be classified as socio-cultural (with some being charitable in nature) and educational or can be related to business engagement and political awareness.

On the socio-cultural front, some organisations have local links (for example, charitable individuals) with whom they liaise to gather donations for specific causes. One of the organisations that engages in this manner is the German-Jordanian Society (i.e. the *Deutsch-Jordanische Gesellschaft*) in Wiesbaden:

“We are mainly interested in carrying out cultural events. We sponsor social projects in Jordan, which means we gather donations. For example, we communicate with a charity for the persons with mental disability called [Centre of Hope for Special Education] in Jordan. That is a non-profit organisation run by a German lady that has been operating in Jordan for 40 years. We support them wherever we can, and for our organisation's 50-year anniversary, we gathered donations and we were able to build solar panels on the roof of their building, thus helping them save electricity costs.” (Interview I17)

Within their cultural and social capacities, some organisations also attempt to raise funds for financial assistance to local Jordanian organisations. This is typically done through collecting donations for specific causes in Jordan.

¹⁶ Meetings included meetings with the Ministers of Awqaf, of Youth, the UNESCO Ambassador of Jordan (Princess Dana Firas), and the Petra News Agency. Additionally, the members of the Germany chapter of the Authority (as well as other EU chapters) met with the Minister of Investment and the president of the Chamber of Commerce in Amman and Irbid, among others, to discuss potential venues and collaborations for business in the future.

"We organized a bike tour many years ago (and we repeated it in 2016) with 100 bikers, and we gathered donations from Germany for the Cancer Centre and gave the money to the Queen Noor Foundation back then" (Interview I12)

Another avenue for collaboration is in the academic field, where it seems that one of the focal points of engagement is the GJU in Amman. This is done through supporting Jordanian students studying at the university and who are interested in continuing their studies in Germany but also through engaging with German students who go to study in Jordan. This is especially the case when students in German universities can engage in a semester abroad in Jordan.

"We want to create a network from our organisation for graduates of the GJU so that they can organize themselves and we can arrange internships or jobs, or work experience, work connections in Germany. Our organisation could be the platform through which they can permanently stay in touch. We are currently working on creating a new website that also has an internal communication tool." (Interview I5)

5.3.2. Contributions and Activities in the Destination Country

Contributions and activities of Jordanian diaspora organisations within Germany are largely characterised by activities related to culture and integration. The organisations that are included in the mapping are, to various degrees, involved in cultural, social, and networking activities. Cultural activities include – for example – celebrating the Jordan national day, hosting wakes for deceased community members, and organising activities of performing arts or cultural crafts for the general public. Additionally, some organisations also offer Arabic classes and organise Quran Schools. Interviewees also mentioned that, sometimes, finding the right calibre to teach these classes can be challenging, especially as most people have to do this on a voluntary basis.

"Finding teachers is a challenging task, for someone to teach Quran or the Arabic language, that person should be highly educated, not politicized and professional. These are children, and they can be highly influenced." (Interview I13).

Another area of contribution is in creating awareness of radicalisation and extremism, as well as fostering dialogue and debate within the diaspora but also within the German society as a whole. This is done either through social events (e.g. presentations or documentary screenings) but also through solidarity events (e.g. a march on the 19th of December 2017, which was the one-year anniversary of the 2016 Berlin Christmas Market attack) to denounce extremism and commemorate victims of terrorism.

"We are against radicalism and terrorism, we want to be proactive, and create a platform where we can invite people to speak about this and come up with solutions. We would like to come up with a booklet to discuss these issues and their significance in the German society." (Interview I1)

Many members within the diaspora also mentioned that there should be more engagement of the diaspora members in partaking in activities that foster cohesion in the German society. As transnational social agents, the Jordanian diaspora organisations can play an important role via their networks and through their context-specific knowledge about structures in both Jordan and Germany.

Political awareness for members of the diaspora in political issues in Jordan was also brought up in the interviews. An initiative by the *Highest Jordanian European Authority* was given as an example of a diaspora activity, where an online survey has been created that examines the attitudes and concerns of the diaspora regarding the 2020 parliamentary elections in Jordan.

6. Policy influence on Jordanian diaspora activities

Section 6 considers the influence of policies – in both Germany and Jordan – on diaspora activities. Diaspora engagement and the transnational engagement of migrants is highly shaped by the political context in origin and destination countries. Policies driving the political opportunity and engagement structures of migrants, targeting the sending and receiving of remittances, as well as shaping conflict dynamics play a role in how migrants engage in both their origin and destination countries. As such, it is crucial to understand how such specific policy-related factors interact to influence the engagement of the Jordanian diaspora and the potential for development in this regard.

6.1. Jordanian policies toward the diaspora

Starting before the 1970s, Jordan's government created emigration policies that promoted labour migration of Jordanians abroad, largely in response to high unemployment rates and a surplus workforce in Jordan at the time. Such policies quickly became an integral part of Jordan's political strategy. Particularly, Seccombe (1987) suggests that "What was initially an individual response to political and economic crises had, by the early 1970s, become an accepted tenet of economic policy. Thus, the three-year development plan (1973-75) call[ed] for greater investment in vocational education in order that Jordan might benefit from increased workers' remittances" (p. 122). The country was faced with the consequences of brain drain shortly thereafter (Seccombe, 1987). This skills shortage, suggests El-Sakka (2007), limited Jordan from implementing the desired development policies and prompted the country's ex-Crown Prince Hassan to demand the creation of a fund for sending countries of labour migrants to be financially compensated.

Despite this, the Jordanian government continued to promote a *laissez-faire* policy towards emigration due to the growing significance of remittances for the country (Seccombe, 1987). Jordan's emigration policy largely continues to be of an "open door" nature (ETF, 2017; De Bel-Air, 2007). The ETF (2017) suggests that Jordan's "National Agenda 2006–2015, a document paving the way for reforms in the country across the board, promoted economic emigration through the

systematic matching of the Jordanian workforce with regional and international labour demand and by providing assistance to Jordanians working abroad” (p. 11). With regards to Jordan’s economic development, a number of measures have also been made to include Jordanians abroad. Specifically, such steps are taken in the Jordan Economic Growth Plan 2018-2022 by the country’s Economic Policy Council. As outlined in the report, throughout the next five years, the Investment Committee aims to create opportunities for foreign investments by, at least in part, “focusing on attracting and promoting investments from Jordanians residing abroad” (The Economic Policy Council, n.d., p. 34).

Moreover, the plan aims to increase the role of Jordanian embassies abroad and Jordanian companies in “opening new export horizons for construction, engineering, and housing services, including consultancy services” (The Economic Policy Council, n.d., pp. 89). In this regard, the plan promotes “Jordan’s human capital abroad by looking for job opportunities in high-income neighbouring Arab countries using different channels and networks with employers abroad” (The Economic Policy Council, n.d., p. 111). The country’s national development plan, Jordan 2025: A National Vision and Strategy, also recognizes the contributions that Jordanians abroad can make to national development. At the same time, the plan remarks: “sustainable long term economic development cannot be built by having a large number of the nation’s ‘best and brightest’ work abroad and replacing them with unskilled foreign workers who transfer their savings outside the country. The first priority of our national education system and labour markets should be to provide meaningful opportunities for Jordanians to work in Jordan” (King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein and Prime Minister Abdullah Ensour, n.d., p. 29).

Though Jordan does not have any institutions dedicated specifically to emigration or the Jordanian diaspora, stakeholders involved in the emigration process include family private/business networks; private recruitment firms and their representative association (ORCA); the Ministry of Labour, specifically the Employment Offices and Workers Abroad under the Employment Directorate and the Labour Inspective Directorate; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates; the Ministries of Education and of Higher Education; as well as universities. Likewise, stakeholders involved in relations with the Jordanian diaspora include the Royal Court; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates; the Ministry of Labour’s Social Security Corporation; professional and expatriate associations; as well as the diaspora’s online portal (namely, <http://connect.jo>) (ETF, 2017, p. 12).

Finally, the Jordan’s legal framework for emigration – which includes the Jordanian Constitution, its Social Security Law, as well as a number of bilateral and multilateral agreements – is shown in Table 8. The Jordanian diaspora is able to access Jordan’s social security system. There are also systems in place to regulate private recruitment agencies and validate migrants’ educational diplomas and work experience. Other governmental engagement with the diaspora includes the encouragement of associations and clubs for Jordanian emigrants abroad as well as the establishment of a bi-annual expatriate conference in Jordan. Jordanians are, however, unable to vote in elections without also having residence in Jordan (ETF, 2017).

Table 8: Jordan’s legal framework for emigration

Laws and regulations	Bilateral agreements	Multilateral agreements	Rights and settlements
<p>Emigration: Constitution of 1952, article 9</p> <p>diaspora: Social Security Law No. 30 of 1978 (amended in 2010 and 2014); Citizenship law allowing double nationality</p>	<p>Labour agreement with Qatar (1997)</p> <p>Labour agreement with Kuwait (2001)</p> <p>Labour agreement with the United Arab Emirates (2006)</p> <p>Labour agreement with other (minor) Arab receiving countries</p>	<p>EU-Jordan Mobility Partnership Declaration (signed on 9 October 2014)</p>	<p>Constitutional freedom to travel and reside abroad</p> <p>Access to social security for expatriates (Law No. 30 of 1978)</p> <p>Regulation of private recruitment agencies</p> <p>Validation of migrants’ diplomas and work experience</p> <p>No participation in elections without residence in Jordan</p>

Source: Taken directly from ETF, 2017, p. 12

The Jordanian government has also established a number of measures for Jordanians going abroad, namely the Migrant Support Measures from an Employment and Skills Perspective (MISMES). First, **MISMES 1** involves “supporting/regulating the emigration of Jordanians abroad by the Ministry of Labour” (ETF, 2017, p. 32). The Ministry of Labour provides an online portal that allows Jordanians to search for occupational opportunities both within Jordan and abroad. Moreover, due to rising unemployment rates since 2016, the Ministry promotes emigration by tracking job opportunities in Gulf countries and supervising the activities of private recruitment agencies.

Second, **MISMES 2** deals with “verifying/guaranteeing [educational] diplomas and work experience by the Ministry of Labour”; more specifically, the Ministry of Labour “approves the diplomas and certificates received from [Technical and Vocational Education and Training] TVET institutions, university degrees from public and private institutions, official letters from Jordanian employers relating to previous work experience in a particular sector and the subject’s command of a foreign language when this is required e.g. English” (ETF, 2017, p. 33).

Third, **MISMES 3** outlines the “support for job searching and job placement abroad by the private sector” (ETF, 2017, p. 33). As of 2016, the Ministry of Labour had licensed seventy-three private recruitment agencies, which are members of the Owners of Recruitment Companies’ Association (ORCA), to support potential emigrants with regards to finding employment abroad.

Fourth, **MISMES 4** describes the Med-Generation project for Jordanian emigrants. This EU-funded project which was active between 2013 and 2016 “aimed at strengthening the [Jordanian] expatriates’ bond with their homeland and promoting links between Jordan and its diaspora” and “sought to map and mobilise Jordanian expatriate ‘talent’ in the OECD countries, including senior executives, entrepreneurs, scientists and investors, in order to support the country’s economic and human development” (ETF, 2017, p. 34).

Finally, **MISMES 5** establishes JEMPAS (Support to the Mobility Partnership between the EU and Jordan), which is the first project established by the EU-Jordan Mobility Partnership. The projects, implemented by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development, aims to both support the Jordanian diaspora and to fight human trafficking. Specifically, the “project reflects the will of the Jordanian authorities to accelerate the development of economic cooperation mechanisms with the diaspora beyond the organisation of bi-annual conferences” (ETF, 2017, p. 35).

Similar to the online employment portal managed by the Ministry of Labour and outlined by MISMES 1, the **King Abdullah II Fund for Development** manages the online employment portal **ForUs.jo** (KAFD, n.d). As part of the Fund’s Employability Development programme, ForUS was launched in May 2016 and “aims at fundamentally changing the culture of work and the jobs search techniques as finding a job opportunity requires receiving career counselling, self-development and engaging in voluntary activities in the society” (KAFD, n.d., a). The program supports the employment prospects and careers of Jordanians by providing services related to career counselling, in addition to training and capacity building tools as well as job and volunteering opportunities. ForUs also enables Jordanian entrepreneurs to develop their own start-ups by providing information and contacts for starting and funding a company. Moreover, the ForUs.jo portal provides access to job opportunities both in Jordan and abroad. Of the 1,423 available job offerings on the portal as of November 2017, 613 were in Jordan, while the others were abroad. The majority of the offerings abroad were in the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Qatar, Egypt, Lebanon, and Bahrain. A small number of positions were also offered in China, Kuwait, Oman, Poland, Sudan, and Tunisia.

On a related note, the King Abdullah II Fund for Development also manages a number of programmes that aim to support universities students, especially in order to go abroad. Like the ForUs project, the **Career Guidance Offices Project** is part of Fund’s Employability Development programme. The programme aims to support “university students with career counselling services and opportunities to equip them with the necessary skills to increase their employability and enhance their job search techniques” (KAFD, n.d., b). One of the affiliate career guidance offices of the project is part of the GJU, among twenty-four other universities in Jordan. The GJU also highly supports and encourages international cooperation, especially with universities of applied sciences in Germany. Particularly, all Bachelor students of the university “have the opportunity of spending one year in a German speaking country abroad during their study program” (German Jordanian University, 2017). Moreover, the King Abdullah II Fund for Development also runs the **International Travel Support Programme**, which “seeks to facilitate the participation of Jordanian

universities' students in global youth activities to gain real-life experience by covering a range of travel costs to relieve the stress of financial barriers. It provides opportunities for students to engage in student exchange programs, conferences and training programs by covering a range of costs for their travel" (KAFD, n.d., c). To this day, the program has provided international opportunities for 215 students from twelve public and private Jordanian universities (KAFD, n.d., c).

6.2. Development and diaspora engagement policies in Germany

Bilateral political relations between Germany and Jordan have a long history. Just in the last few years alone, numerous political visits have taken place between the two countries. In October 2016, Queen Rania gave a speech on the Day of German Industry in Berlin. During the same month, King Abdullah II accepted the Peace of Westphalia Prize in Münster and also met with Chancellor Angela Merkel and then Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier in Berlin. Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel visited Jordan in April 2017, while Federal Minister of Defense Ursula von der Leyen visited the country in May 2017. Moreover, a number of German political foundations – namely the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, and the Hanns Seidel Foundation – have offices in Jordan and promote activities in the country (Auswärtiges Amt, 2017).

Jordan and Germany also engage together in development cooperation and have strong relations of economic, academic, and cultural cooperation. Within the frame of **development cooperation**, GIZ has been working in Jordan since the late 1970s and has an office in Amman. A total of 125 national staff and 77 international staff work on GIZ's Jordan programmes, which are related to supporting employment and education (e.g. vocational training and job creation), improving water resources, and assisting Jordanian municipalities in providing for hosted Syrian refugees.

When it comes to refugees (the majority of whom live in cities, rather than in refugee camps), there are increasing challenges for Jordan's municipalities with regards to healthcare provisions, resource conservation and waste management, as well as access to the labour market and education system. In this regard, GIZ helps to create "long-term prospects for both Jordanians and Syrian refugees by assisting the host municipalities where many of the refugees are living, and thus contributing to the stability of the country" (GIZ, n.d.).

Jordan faces high population growth that strains an already weak industry. Additionally, the Jordanian unemployment rates (around 14% officially and around 30% unofficially) are high, and a third of the country's population lives in relative poverty. In helping to address these challenges, GIZ aims to create economic and vocational opportunities within Jordan by promoting educational prospects as well as job trainings and creation. Moreover, a lack of natural resources (a limited water supply, in particular), in addition to climate change and environmental pollution, are also significant development issues experienced by Jordan as a desert nation. In this regard, GIZ focuses on improving Jordan's water resource and wastewater management system as well as addressing

concerns related to environmental protection and resource conservation. The focus on water especially stems from the fact that Jordan is one of the most water-scarce countries globally, and the water resources are increasingly strained by the large numbers of Syrian refugees hosted by the country (GIZ, n.d.). In addition to its projects in Jordan, GIZ also manages a number of “regional programmes which are being implemented from Jordan, including in the microfinance sector, for the economic integration and empowerment of women, for assisting Palestinian refugees, and joint projects with Arab partners” (GIZ, n.d.).

Similarly, the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) – which is a joint operation between GIZ and the German Federal Employment Agency – has experts in Jordan supporting developmental cooperation between the two countries in the areas of water and the environment (CIM, n.d.). The CIM also implements the BMZ-funded PME. The main fields of action of PME in Jordan are the *Returning Experts* and *diaspora Cooperation* components:

- *Returning Experts*: This field of action aims to support qualified migrants in their return from Germany to Jordan to work in development-related fields and engage in knowledge transfer with the local community and institutions. Though many of the current returning experts are PhD holders and former DAAD (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*; German Academic Exchange Service) scholars, this is not a condition to apply for the program. The programme specifically provides assistance to the returning experts with job placements, networking opportunities, as well as financial support (i.e. a salary “top-up”) connected to a local employment contract. In this regard, the programme also works to match the returning experts directly with employers, although challenges faced include difficulties with gaining a comprehensive overview of the job market in Jordan. Returning experts can also apply for additional funds to host workshops, trainings, or networking trips as well as to purchase workplace equipment. To engage in the programme, the migrants returning from Germany to Jordan must have lived in Germany for at least a year, during which they either earned a degree or worked at the professional level. As of December 2017, there were fifteen returning experts supported through the program in Jordan. Due to the currently homogenous nature of the *Returning Experts* programme, PME is looking to expand the field of action to also include sectors and occupational fields other than academia.
- *Diaspora Cooperation*: PME supports both cooperation with migrant organisations as well as with individual diaspora experts. The programme aims to support Jordanian migrant organisations based in Germany to apply for a grant (up to 40,000 EUR) to collaborate with a local organisation based in Jordan in a specific development project. Collaboration should be based on a joint project, programme, or activity that also engages in knowledge transfer. Through this support, PME aims to support the transfer of knowledge from the diaspora into the country of origin and the foundations of collaboration for sustainable improvement. In the last year, no Jordanian diaspora organisation applied for project

funding. In addition to this, PME developed the new field of action *Diaspora Cooperation*, which supports experts from the diaspora who temporarily return to Jordan in a short-term timeframe (between three weeks to six months). Though this part of the programme is still in its beginning, interested experts from the diaspora can apply for logistic and monetary support to cover the expenses for their voluntary/unsalaried commitment.

Finally, **cultural relations** between the two countries, as suggested by the Auswärtiges Amt (2017), are based on “academic cooperation, archaeological cooperation and bilateral cultural and language programmes conducted by the Goethe-Institut in Amman.” The Goethe-Institut in Amman organizes music and theatre events as well as cultural exhibitions for those with an interest in the German culture. The Institute, which oversees a number of schools in Jordan, helps to offer German language courses, even at the university entrance levels. With regards to **archaeological cooperation**, cultural exchanges happen through joint excavations supported by German and Jordanian institutions, such as the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology of the Holy Land as well as the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

There is also extensive **academic exchange** between Jordan and Germany. DAAD has had an office in Amman since 2012 and helps to offer opportunities for university study to Syrian refugees and Jordanians. The Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund (DAFI), similarly, provides more than 200 refugees in Jordan the opportunity to study at university. Moreover, the GJU is located in Mushaqar and has an enrolment of approximately 4,400 students. GJU is partnered with more than 80 universities in Germany, and all GJU students spend a semester of their fourth year studying abroad in Germany. GJU also provides trainings for teachers of the German language in Jordan.

7. Key challenges, Opportunities and Avenues for Cooperation

Emerging from desk research and informed by this study’s interviews, Section 7 discusses the key challenges of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany. Avenues for cooperation between the German government and the Jordanian diaspora to support development in Jordan are also highlighted.

7.1. Key Opportunities and Challenges

It is evident that the Jordanian diaspora community is growing. Several members of the diaspora who were interviewed indicated that they feel that Jordanians in Germany have a positive reputation in the German society as a whole, which makes them feel included in the society and encourages them to be further engaged:

“Most of the Jordanians here only have one goal, go to work and then go straight home. Jordanians have a good reputation here, because they are never in trouble with the law/authorities or with the population. And if you say you are from Jordan people like this

because of our king and many have been to Jordan to see Petra, so we Jordanians aren't seen as trouble." (Interview I13)

Additionally, there seems to be a perception among members of the diaspora that they should increase their level of engagement within the German society but also with the country of origin. When probed about what type of engagement the members felt needed to be emphasized, "economic activities" and "cultural dialogue" were the main points mentioned. Despite a positive outlook by many within the diaspora, the Jordanian diaspora organisations still face a range of challenges in the Jordan, within the diaspora community, and in Germany that prevent them from reaching their full potential.

7.1.1. Challenges in the host country context

A resonating challenge that several interviewees mentioned was socio-cultural in nature. The sharp increase of asylum applications in Europe, with numbers reaching its peak in 2015, not only led to solidarity movements welcoming those seeking protection in Germany, but also engendered anti-immigration resentments and increasing xenophobia/Islamophobia, which tends to be further amplified by a rise right-wing movements and parties (Geddes & Scholte, 2016). The repercussions of the Syrian crisis (and other conflicts), especially as it relates to the number of refugees who entered Germany, was also an issue that was identified by some interviewees as a challenge for the existing immigrants in Germany, especially those who considered themselves as the early comers. The narrative of the Middle East (and Muslim majority countries) has drastically changed and, in recent years, has become framed in a negative construct of conflict and securitisation. As a result, for those who migrated prior to the changing narratives in the Middle East, feelings of insecurity and a perception of a collective attack from the host community began to emerge:

"I notice a difference because she [the wife] wears a headscarf. A couple of years ago we were looking for a place, the landlord said 'such a beautiful woman, why is she wrapped up?' I think we didn't get the place because she was wearing a headscarf." Interview I15

Additionally, this also created a sense of resentment from older migrants towards the newcomers:

"The authorities now confuse newcomers or refugee people with us. We grew up here, the newcomers even have more rights than me...I understand that there is a lot of stress in the governments, but you still need to know how to treat people." (Interview I16)

One interviewee mentioned his nostalgia to an earlier Germany, when members of the diaspora did not feel stereotyped but rather were included as part of the whole society:

“Things used to be different here, you find more people are being labelled in and out of a box, for example, if you receive unemployment or if you wear a headscarf. Right now, because of the refugees they immediately think, 'Okay, you don't speak German, you're all unemployed ('Ihr seid asozial' - are anti-social/do not contribute to society). It used to be different. It used to be that you had the same rights and were treated the same.” (Interview I16)

Experience of discrimination and exclusion engendered by a discourse based on a categorisation of differences, hence, in some cases influenced the feeling of belonging to the German society. As integration and transnational engagements of migrants, tends not to be a zero-sum game, but instead happens simultaneously and in many cases even reinforce each other (Hammond, 2013; Portes, Escobar & Radford, 2007), a feeling of dis-belonging to the host country context may hamper engagement with the origin country.

At the same time, it is also important to mention a couple of interviewees also saw this challenge in a different way, namely as a motivation to engage and discuss the differences in the society.

“My wife wears a scarf, in general she has no problems, and she enjoys her work [she teaches English at a Public German school], her colleagues don't see any problem, on the contrary it is a good way to show that she is well integrated and she is happy to be here.” (Interview I2)

7.1.2. Challenges in the Origin Country Context

To engage within their country of origin, members of the Jordanian diaspora seem to face two types of obstacles. The first, which is more substantial, is institutional and relates to bureaucratic obstacles as well as organisational hindrances. The other challenge is more personal as it relates to perceived lack of safety and security when travelling back to Jordan due to the political situation in the Middle East.

Despite diaspora policies and the different development venues in Jordan (see Section 6), the attributes of governmental institutes and services on the ground in Jordan were repeatedly quoted as a major source of frustration and an obstacle in the face of positive engagement. Interviewees mentioned that declared efforts to create linkages and networks have to be pushed through too many channels for progress to be made. This is especially frustrating for diasporic entrepreneurs who would like to go to Jordan and invest or collaborate in business in the country. Entrepreneurs can bring many gains to their country of origin, but disproportionately complex administrative procedures, time-consuming bureaucracy, and low government capacities remain a challenge that keeps the prospects of investment in the origin country minimally attractive.

Expectations of what different entities can and cannot do when it comes to diaspora engagement also seem to be an issue. For example, it is unclear to what extent the German embassy in Jordan could or should support diaspora initiatives if they are coming from an individual:

“I wish for more cooperation between Jordan and Germany. The German embassy in Jordan doesn’t facilitate this for us, we would like a bit more flexibility. A bit more cooperation. [referring to attempts to sponsor medical professionals to come to Germany]. If I am helping someone then usually I know they are a decent person. Not all of them, but usually. But the ones I help are usually intelligent, from good families, and I know that they are willing to come back to Jordan and do something for their country, I can show that.” (Interview I17)

This can be seen as an example of someone aspiring to be engaged, coupled with a lack of knowledge on how to become actively engaged in Jordan. Additionally, though to a marginal extent, the current situation in the region and its impact on Jordan was seen by some as an obstacle that limits the engagement potential of the diaspora:

“Travelling to Jordan isn’t what it used to be. You hear about terrorist warnings, and attacks and the area is in turmoil. When you want to think about getting involved, even if it is for economic purposes, one has to consider the risks, and the moment the situation in the region as a whole is not stable.” (Interview I14)

7.1.3. Challenges within the diaspora

The disconnectedness of the diaspora and its various organisations was frequently stated as the major challenge in the Jordanian diaspora engagement, which resulted in lost efficiency and effectiveness due to effort duplication, lack of consolidation, and the inability to pool resources. According to the interviewees who listed this issue as the major barrier for effective diaspora engagement, some form of collective organisation, such as an umbrella construction, might be a solution to improve potential and productivity. As mentioned previously, the recent initiative to establish the *Highest Jordanian European Authority* (which includes a highly active German chapter) is an attempt to deal with this issue. Because the organisation has just started, however, it is still difficult to judge its engagement success and outreach. With that said, it is important to keep in mind that, while an umbrella construct might be the preferred option for some diaspora organisations, others prefer more diversity in the nature of the different diaspora groups. For example, some interviewees indicated that they would be more interested in individual (or smaller scale) diaspora activities.

The lack of financial resources and personnel capacity were mentioned as another major challenge for the Jordanian diaspora. This includes the lack of office spaces and meeting points as well as the reality that organisations often heavily rely on donations, membership fees, and volunteer work to realise their activities. Additionally, some interviewees indicated that not having a fixed location for their associations to meet was a major challenge. Interviewees were also explicitly asked about

language and cultural adaptations in Germany. However, these issues did not seem to be major obstacles or challenges for the Jordanian diaspora per se.

7.2. Opportunities and Avenues for Cooperation

As was mentioned earlier in this report, the CIM supports developmental cooperation between the two countries and implements the BMZ-funded PME, with the main fields of action in Jordan being the Returning Experts and diaspora Cooperation component. In line with these two themes, some opportunities, in addition to other avenues of cooperation, are identified.

Returning Experts:

Members of the diaspora can play an important role in the development of their countries of origin, through engagement in entrepreneurship, academia, tourism, trade, health, and advocacy activities. By drawing on their various financial resources, expertise, and social and professional networks built while in Germany as well as their networks and context knowledge in Jordan, diaspora members are well positioned to identify opportunities that (if supported) can be beneficial to the Jordanian population as well as the involved institutions, whether in Jordan or Germany.

There seems to be considerable number of professionals among the Jordanian diaspora communities in Germany. However, no systematic way of linking those professionals with their country of origin to share knowledge and expertise had been identified. Returning experts can play an instrumental part in establishing and maintaining sustainable links between institutions in Germany and in Jordan. Thus, exploring avenues which can establish and facilitate connections would open a window of opportunity for effective engagement. These connections would not only be limited to the experts and institutions in Jordan but would also include institutions in Germany and Jordan as well as the diaspora members themselves.

An “expert database” can be compiled and made available for access and utilisation by host and origin countries. Such a database can constitute a valuable information base into which users could rely to identify the trained experts they require to establish and maintain research networks, virtual learning networks, policy advice, and so on. Moreover, it can also link to ongoing initiatives in Jordan such as those mentioned in Section 6.2.

Diaspora Cooperation:

While there seems a strong willingness of Jordanian diaspora organisations to actively engage in development-orientated activities in the origin country, a general lack of capacity for many organisations has been identified as one of the main barriers in this regard. Given the resources of the diaspora, there lies an untapped potential that could be harnessed by promoting the

involvement of Jordanian diaspora groups in the diaspora cooperation component. Building on existing but unsystematic initiatives of the groups as well as the desire and willingness of the members to become engaged (as has been discussed in this report), relevant institutions in Germany and Jordan can have vital roles to play in concretely fostering an enabling a framework for diasporas to maximize the developmental impact of their activities.

In order to ensure more long-term and strategic capacity development and training of diaspora organisations, funding streams should move beyond a donor-based framing towards providing more structural funding opportunities. In addition, providing trainings in capacity development could address potential obstacles related to organisational leadership, fundraising, project management, and strategic planning.

Scenario-building workshops on potential fields of development-oriented involvement would be a first step, including a mapping of different stakeholders and potential partners in the origin country that could promote and facilitate more strategic and long-term development efforts of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany.

Migrants as Entrepreneurs:

The *Migrants as Entrepreneurs* field of action may be an important channel to provide knowledge, skills, and foreign direct investments to Jordanian diaspora entrepreneurs and businesses and to boost the struggling economy in Jordan, which tends to be characterised by high unemployment rates (particularly among youth) and low economic growth. These entrepreneurs can bring investment and innovative ideas into Jordan. The current interest of the Jordanian government to become more engaged with its diasporas should be capitalized upon (see Section 6); this includes the encouragement of associations and clubs for Jordanian emigrants abroad as well as the establishment of a bi-annual expatriate conference in Jordan.

While this study was concerned with a more general mapping of Jordanian diaspora in Germany, more specific evidence-based research could be conducted to understand the nature, scope, and operations of the Jordan diaspora businesses, specifically including the characteristics of diaspora/migrant entrepreneurs. This type of research could be a starting point to examine the critical elements of facilitating diaspora entrepreneurship and to distinctly understand the political, institutional, and regulatory environments; funding opportunities; information and network access; as well as the necessary business training programs. Understanding these unique characteristics, the diaspora entrepreneurs and the context specific business environments can be highly beneficial in the development of customized policies focused on stimulating the diaspora's entrepreneurship engagement and investment.

Other avenues for cooperation:

Data collection and enhanced documentation: As outlined in Section 4.2, reliable data on the population of Jordanian origin in Germany is not available to a great extent. Next to the lack of accurate numbers, there appears to be little to no information on socio-economic characteristics including education levels, prior or current economic activity, or the like. This general lack of data severely limits any attempts at accurate and detailed comparisons as well as analyses of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany. As such, it is especially recommended that disaggregated data about the understudied characteristics of the Jordanian population in Germany (population size, age, residence status, geographical distribution, educational background, employment status, etc.) is further collected and analysed. Such information would go a long way in allowing improved profiling and, as such, targeting of policies towards this group.

Additionally, and similar to the mapping studies that are conducted on the specific diaspora engagements in Germany, it would also be useful to understand the layer of the overall Arab diaspora and the engagement on that level (if it takes place). This might include examining interlinkages and interrelated aspects between the Jordanian diaspora and other Arab diaspora groups but especially with the Palestinian diaspora, as strong interlinkages could exist among these two groups.

Enhanced documentation of best practices and lessons learned from existing diasporas businesses operating from Germany (especially within the region) should also be developed. The accurate capturing of these good practices can be useful in the facilitation of knowledge sharing, thus providing a platform of successful ideas and initiatives, creating more efficiency, and reducing duplication.

Promoting involvement of individuals, especially women and youth: The profile of the diaspora organisations interviewed was comprised of mainly males from the older or middle age generation.¹⁷ This does not necessarily mean that women or the Jordanian youth in Germany do not partake in diaspora engagement (for example, the *Al Sausanat* discussed in Section 5) but, rather, that their engagement might also be more difficult to capture in the frame of this study. Reaching out to Jordanian women, student, and youth organisations, as well as implementing joint workshops on how to promote engagement of these target groups, can be a way to promote diversity in the cooperation of GIZ, and more specifically PME, with the Jordanian diaspora.

¹⁷ This is in line with other studies revealing that collective action of diaspora groups tends to be a result of the mobilisation of a small elite of political entrepreneurs (Portes, Escobar, & Arana, 2008; Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003).

8. Conclusion

Diasporas are heterogeneous and multi-layered, meaning they consist of various groups with different forms, interests, agendas, and degrees of organisation. This reflects the diversity of diasporas themselves with regards to origin places, socio-economic factors, religion, political affiliations, and reasons for migration. In this regard, the findings of this study should not be considered representative of the Jordanian immigrant population in Germany as a whole. Rather, the findings of this study should serve to highlight characteristics of the Jordanian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives (both organised and not organised) based in Germany. As such, this study aims to improve the current understandings of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany as well as the contribution of Jordanian immigrant organisations to development in Jordan.

The Jordanian diaspora is not large per se, even though it has been growing since the 1960s. While there is no consensus among diaspora members on the size of the Jordanian diaspora, official records put it at around 10,000 members. It should be noted, however, that this number generally does not count Jordanian-Germans who do not hold the Jordanian nationality and have become naturalised Germans. The landscape of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany can be mainly broken down into student groups (who are mainly males) and groups who engage families that economically active (engaged in work activities). The basis for engagement in diaspora activity is mainly for social, cultural, or professional reasons and is not political per se. The student groups are more interested in networking, providing assistance in daily issues such as getting housing, organising social activities, and hosting German language classes or opportunities to interact culturally. On the other hand, the family groups are more interested in establishing connections with Jordan for future generations, developing business opportunities, teaching children Arabic. These organisations are generally also interested establishing connections with other Jordanian diasporas in Europe.

In realising their engagement capacity, Jordanian diaspora organisations also are confronted with a range of challenges in Jordan, within the diaspora community, and in Germany that hinder them from reaching their full potential. In Jordan, organisations primarily face difficulties with bureaucratic procedures, while within the diaspora community, it is especially difficult for organisations to mobilise members due to fragmentation within the diaspora. In addition to this lack of human capital, organisations also experience capacity constraints due to limited infrastructure and financial resources. In Germany, members of the organisation feel generally challenged by xenophobic and Islamophobic attitudes.

Recognizing the obstacles faced by the Jordanian diaspora, there are several recommendations and ways forward for cooperation with the GIZ (and PME more specifically) as well as more generally to support the growing potential for development-related activities of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany. Particularly, initiatives of PME should focus on enabling the engagement of Jordanian diaspora organisations and active individuals through capacity-building initiatives and

financial support as well as consider the untapped potential among Jordanian entrepreneurs and professional organisations. More generally, increased efforts should be made to better statistically understand the characteristics (e.g. size, geographical distribution, socio-economic and - demographic characteristics) of the Jordanian diaspora in Germany. In addition to this, more involvement of women and youth should be encouraged to further diversify the nature of diaspora engagement. Such aforementioned forms of cooperation and collaboration have extensive potential to support existing Jordanian diaspora organisations and new initiatives to enable them to reach the full range of their capabilities.

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Appendix A: Mapping of Jordanian diaspora organisations

Organisation	Year	Email/Website	Category	Aims & Activities
<i>Deutsch-Jordanische Gesellschaft e. V.</i>	1963	nabil.khbeis@d-g-j.com	Development, Civil society	<p>Aims: Bringing together private and professional networks between Jordan and Germany; Fostering intercultural dialogue and creating awareness within the German-Jordanian Society; Acting as an information broker between the two countries</p> <p>Activities: Facilitating meeting and gatherings</p>
<i>Vereinigte jordanische Gemeinde, der BRD e.V.</i>	2015		Civil society	<p>Aims: Consolidating relations between the Jordanian diaspora and German society; Exploring economic opportunities between Jordan and Germany in the areas of tourism, economy, culture, and art</p> <p>Activities: Hosting cultural gatherings and sports activities</p>
<i>Jordanischer Verein in Deutschland</i>	1986	nasser.suleiman@hotmail.com	Civil society	<p>Aims: Providing a platform for positive interaction among the Jordanian diaspora members in Frankfurt</p> <p>Activities: Organizing cultural events and meetings</p>

<i>Jordanische Gemeinde Berlin-Brandenburg e. V.</i>	2005	h.mudallal@hotmail.de	Civil society	<p>Aims: Bringing together members of the Jordanian diaspora to engage in social and cultural activities</p> <p>Activities: Currently no activities</p>
<i>Jordanische Gemeinde-Deutschland e.V.</i>	2012	awamleh@hotmail.de	Integration, Civil society	<p>Aims: Bringing together the diaspora through cultural and societal engagement</p> <p>Activities: Organising cultural activities; Sponsoring small initiatives in Jordan</p>
<i>Arabisch-Deutscher Kulturverein (Al-Huda Moschee)</i>	2011	http://adkulturverein.de/	Civil society	<p>Aims: Guiding the generations growing up in Germany so that they are on the right track in society and lead others to the right path; Teaching younger generations about the Arabic culture and spreading it in society politely and with respect to the other religions</p> <p>Activities: Organising Arabic classes; Hosting cultural activities and gatherings, religion classes; Promoting social engagement</p>
<i>The Highest Jordanian European Authority (German Chapter)</i>	2018	jo.eu17@yahoo.com	Integration, Development, Civil society	<p>Aims: Contributing positively to the Jordanian citizens in Europe who are considered ambassadors to their country; Achieving a reputation for the homeland and having a positive impact in the community to strengthen the meaning of identity and support the stability and overall development of Jordan and the Jordanian citizen in the diaspora; Wanting the</p>

				<p>Jordanian diaspora in Europe to be a true reflection good citizenship and engagement</p> <p>Activities: Creating a database of all Jordanian diaspora members, containing professional information; Creating a strategic plan for the diaspora for the next 25 years; Promoting exchange, awareness, and cultural activities</p>
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Appendix B: Interview guide

QUESTIONNAIRE IDENTIFICATION	
x.1 Questionnaire Number	
x.2 Date	
x.3 Location interview	
x.4 Organisation name	
x.5 Organisation contact person	
x.6 Contact person phone number	
x.7 Contact person email address	
x.8 Organisation mailing address	
x.9 Consent to share contact details with GIZ?	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes

Interviewer introduction

Thank you very much for speaking with me. I am a researcher from Maastricht University/United Nations University-MERIT in the Netherlands, and I am studying the ways in which organisations like yours engage (or do not engage) with social, economic, and political life in Jordan as well as in Germany. The purpose of this study is to figure out, to which extent and through what activities diaspora organisations contribute to the peacebuilding process in Jordan. The research seeks to understand how organisations like yours are structured, what kinds of activities you undertake, and what the primary goals of your organisation are. I am collecting this information as part of a project commissioned by GIZ (German Development Cooperation), which hopes to use this information both to understand different types of engagement activities and to investigate which organisations could participate in development initiatives in cooperation with GIZ. I will take note of whatever we talk about today — as we speak, you will see me writing information down. I want you to know that I will share the information with the other project staff, but we will not share your information beyond our team and will keep it confidential. To ensure I have an accurate record of our discussion, do I have your permission to record our talk?

One of this study's goals is to have a roster of diaspora and migrant organisations that can be used to foster participation in homeland development initiatives. Do I have your permission to share your contact details with GIZ?

A. Introductory question

First, I would like to start with a more personal question.

1. Can you tell me a bit more about your migration experience?
 - a. How was your life before you left Jordan?

- b. In what year did you migrate to Germany?
- c. What were the reasons for your migration?

B. Jordanian Diaspora

Now, I would like to ask you some questions on the Jordanian diaspora.

1. Can you tell me some details about the Jordanian diaspora in Germany?
 - a. Is it homogeneous or heterogeneous (in terms of socioeconomic factors, ethnicity, political aspirations and religion)?
 - b. Are there strong ties/networks within the Jordanian diaspora in Germany and in other countries? [What is the role of ethnicity and religion, if any?]
 - c. What is the relationship to Jordan? Are there strong connections? What is the relationship to the state?
 - d. How do you perceive the “evolution” of the Jordanian diaspora since you have lived in Germany?

C. Basic Organisational Information

Now, I would like to ask some basic information about your organisation — about how it started, why it started, and its registration status.

1. What motivated you to become engaged?
2. In what year was this organisation established? [*Potential follow-up/prompts*: Have you been with the organisation for much of/not much of its history? Have you seen it change much in the time you’ve been here?]
3. Why was the organisation established, and why at that time?
4. What would you say is the goal or the “core mission” of the organisation? Has it changed over time?
5. What kind of organisation do you consider [name of organisation]? For instance, would you consider it a humanitarian organisation, political organisation, a professional network, a religious organisation, etc.?
6. Is your organisation registered?
7. What is the size of your organisation’s membership (excluding staff)? Does this include both active and inactive members? (What is the size of both groups?)
8. Is the size of your membership consistent, or does it fluctuate?
9. What is the composition of your membership? What is the distribution in terms of:
 - a. Gender
 - b. Age
 - c. Generation (e.g., first, second, etc.)

- d. Ethnic group
- e. Other characteristic [Education or skill level]

10. How is your organisation financed?

11. Is the organisation part of any larger network of organisations, like an umbrella organisation for all Jordanian diaspora organisations, or a transnational migrant platform, or something similar? Why or why not?

D. Current Organisational Activities

Now, let us talk about what your organisation *does*, about what kinds of activities or events your organisation organises or takes part in. I am also interested in your view on the conflict.

1. What does your organisation do to contribute to development of Jordan? (*Please, describe all activities in detail*) [*Prompt: Does your organisation have fund-raising events and, if so, for what causes? Does your organisation have a mentorship programme? How does your organisation engage with the wider Jordanian community?*]
2. Have these core activities changed over time?
3. Where do these activities take place? For instance, are some activities run exclusively from the country of destination while others take place in Jordan?
4. Why have these activities become the focus of your organisation? What inspired these activities?
5. Aside from these “core activities”, what other sorts of actions or events does your organisation take part in? [*Alternate formulation: In a typical year, what activities will your organisation have carried out?*]
6. Does your organisation raise collective remittances? [*Prompt: If yes, how is the money transferred to Jordan/refugee camps? What are the challenges?*]

E. Cooperation

1. Are any of your organisation’s activities run in cooperation with other organisations or institutions, either in the country of destination or somewhere else? If so, which ones and how? [*In other words: does your organisation cooperate with others to execute certain activities?*]
 - a. Do you cooperate with other Jordanian diaspora organisations from Germany or other countries of residence? Why or why not? If yes, could you give me the names of the organisations?
2. How does your organisation interact with stakeholders in Jordan?
 - a. What kind of stakeholders are these?
 - b. Does your organisation support any specific group in Jordan?

3. Does the government in Germany have programs in place to facilitate cooperation with stakeholders in Jordan?
4. Do you see potentials for cooperation with the German Development Cooperation?
5. If yes, through which means/forms?

F. Main Challenges and Future Plans

Finally, I would like to talk about the future of your organisation — about what is on your agenda for the coming months and years.

1. What would you like to see the organisation achieve in the future? [For instance, what are its short/medium/long-term goals?]
2. What are its key challenges/obstacles now and in the future?

Is there any other important information that you think I should know?